UC Berkeley
UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title
"Vous êtes hombre de bien”: A study of bilingual family letters to and from colonial Louisiana, 1748-1867

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/07b228j2

Author
Thomas, Jenelle

Publication Date
2017

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

“Vous êtes hombre de bien”:
A study of bilingual family letters to and from colonial Louisiana, 1748-1867

By

Jenelle Katherine Thomas

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Romance Languages and Literatures

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Mairi McLaughlin, Chair
Professor Justin Davidson
Professor Andrew Garrett

Fall 2017

“Vous êtes hombre de bien”:
A study of bilingual family letters to and from colonial Louisiana, 1748-1867

Copyright 2017

by

Jenelle Katherine Thomas

Abstract

"Vous êtes hombre de bien":
A study of bilingual family letters to and from colonial Louisiana, 1748-1867

by

Jenelle Katherine Thomas

Doctor of Philosophy in Romance Languages and Literatures

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Mairi McLaughlin, Chair

In this dissertation, I use a bilingual epistolary corpus to examine the interaction of language contact, language- and genre-specific conventions, and speakers' individual communicative strategies. Although multilingualism was a common historical condition, many traditional language histories and studies of historical speech only consider monolinguals, or bilingualism as it affects a particular language, rather than seeing multilingualism as part of an individual and community repertoire. In contrast, this study uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to examine the linguistic practices of a bilingual network of speakers in both of their languages. The corpus analyzed here is a collection of private letters which I selected and transcribed from the family correspondence of Francisco Bouligny, a soldier and military governor in colonial New Orleans. These letters were written in both French and Spanish as the family and acquaintances corresponded between New Orleans, France, and Spain for a period spanning from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century.

I address the following research questions through case studies at three levels: phonological/orthographic, morphosyntactic, and pragmatic.

(1) In what way(s) does bilingualism affect language usage? How do bilingual and monolingual usage differ?

(2) How does bilingualism interact with other factors such as convention, genre, audience, and stance, and how do bilingual writers use the resources of their two languages in their production?

In Chapter 3, I find widespread orthographic variation conditioned by factors such as age and geographic location. However, I argue for the inclusion of language-specific education and literacy as an additional factor in variation, as I find that the written standard can obscure variation and contact effects while also serving as a resource for bilinguals when writing in a second language. Chapter 4 addresses the contrast between the complex and simple past tenses in both Spanish and French. As the monolingual patterns of use in each language diverge, I find that bilinguals as a group do not follow monolinguals in showing an increased use of the complex past in French but not Spanish. Although individual patterns vary greatly, bilinguals use

the French complex past overall less frequently than monolinguals, arguably because of the restraining influence of Spanish contact. This contact influence can be seen in discourse-pragmatic uses of the two tenses, used to shape the narrative or create temporal contrast. In Chapter 5, I consider the construction of identity and interpersonal relationships in bilingual correspondence through choice of language, forms of address, and expressions of sincerity. I find that speakers choose and continue to use only one language with their addressees, even when both speakers are bilingual, and that this choice is motivated largely by the characteristics of the addressee. The choice of second person pronouns (T or V) patterns fairly rigidly according to language and familial relationship, but I argue that speakers vary opening formulae to express more subtle distinctions in the intimacy of the relationship. Some speakers similarly appeal to existing formulae to convince the addressee of their sincerity, but this can be shown to be particularly true of less literate or second-language speakers, while other speakers eschew explicit mentions of sincerity for other strategies. Overall, although speakers show awarenes of epistolary norms in each language and in many ways adhere to language-specific practices, they also manipulate these conventions in meaningful ways.

This study is the first to delve into issues of historical bilingualism through a balanced bilingual epistolary corpus and one of few to explore language use in Spanish Louisiana. I find that individual speakers show evidence of using resources from their bilingual repertoire to aid in composition and construction of meaning in various ways. This is particularly true of loci of variation in the individual language systems or structures that share typological similarities across the systems. However, at the community level the variety of individual patterns and the force of the monolingual norms and written formulae appear to inhibit the spread of change. I underscore the importance in future studies of considering a speaker's (and community's) language use in its entire context, including other languages, literacies, and considerations of genre, as we explore how speakers use the available resources for interpersonal communication and how that translates to the community level.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS i
LIST OF FIGURES iv
LIST OF TABLES v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vii

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION 1
1.1 Historical sociolinguistics and epistolary corpora 1
1.2 Historical multilingualism 5
1.3 Research objectives and dissertation structure 8

CHAPTER 2 : CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY 10
2.1 The Bouligny family 10
2.2 The corpus 11
2.3 Methodology 18
2.3.1 The text 18
2.3.1.1 Transcription 18
2.3.1.2 Authorship and audience 20
2.3.2 The speaker 24
2.3.2.1 Names 24
2.3.2.2 Age 25
2.3.2.3 Education 25
2.3.2.4 Language competence 29
2.3.3 Analysis 31
2.4 Conclusion 33

CHAPTER 3 : ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONOLOGY 34
3.1 Variation and the evolving standard 34
3.1.1 ‘Standard’ orthography and the academies 34
3.1.2 French 39
3.1.3 Spanish 40
3.2 Contact and orthography 42

3.3 Self-correction, drafting, and editing 46
3.3.1 Metadiscursive commentary 46
3.3.2 Self-correction 47
3.3.2.1 Marie Louise 49
3.3.2.2 Luis II 52
3.3.3 Discussion 54
3.4 Conclusion 55

CHAPTER 4 : SIMPLE AND COMPLEX PAST TENSES 57
4.1 Simple and complex past tenses in Romance 57
4.1.1 The present perfect 57
4.1.2 Aoristic drift 59
4.1.3 Diverging paths: French and Spanish in the 17th-19th centuries 60
4.2 Bilingual usage 61
4.2.1 Auxiliary selection and past participle agreement 61
4.2.1.1 Auxiliary selection 62
4.2.1.2 Agreement 63
4.2.2 Frequency effects 67
4.2.2.1 By decade 68
4.2.2.2 By individual 68
4.2.3 Correlation with temporal adverbials 72
4.2.3.1 Monolinguals 72
4.2.3.2 The Bouligny corpus 75
4.2.4 Past reference without temporal adverbials 78
4.3 Conclusion 80

CHAPTER 5 : INTERSUBJECTIVITY AND EPISTOLARITY 82
5.1 Language choice 82
5.1.1 Which language? 82
5.1.2 Code switching 86
5.2 Forms of address 91
5.2.1 Pronominal forms (T/V) 91
5.2.1.1 Historical development 91

5.2.1.2 The Bouligny corpus 94
5.2.2 Nominal constructions in opening formulae 100
5.3 Sincerity 103
5.3.1 Definitions of sincérité and sinceridad 104
5.3.2 Sincerity in the Bouligny corpus 105
5.3.2.1 Attachment and friendship 107
5.3.2.2 Avoiding 'sincerity' 110
5.4 Conclusion 112

CHAPTER 6 : CONCLUSION 114

REFERENCES 117
APPENDIX 1: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION 135
APPENDIX 2: THE BOULIGNY FAMILY TREE 141
APPENDIX 3: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENT IMAGES 143

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Social network diagram of the Bouligny family letters, showing place of residence and language, direction, and volume of correspondence 13
Figure 2.2: Letter from Joseph Bouligny, 1777. 19
Figure 2.3: Letter from Juan I Bouligny, 1770 23
Figure 2.4: Letter from Juan I Bouligny, 1770 23
Figure 2.5: Letter from Joseph Bouligny, 1770 24
Figure 2.6: Example of text processing with NLTK 32
Figure 3.1: Letter (draft) from Luis II Bouligny, 1854 48
Figure 3.2: Letter (copy) from Marie Louise Bouligny to Boutard, 1802 50
Figure 4.1: Percent use of the complex past by decade 68
Figure 4.2: Percent use of the complex past by individual, sorted by gender 69
Figure 4.3: Percent use of the complex past by individual, sorted by generation 70
Figure 4.4: Percent use of the complex past by individual, sorted by language proficiency 71
Figure 5.1: Social network diagram of the Bouligny family letters, showing language and direction of correspondence 83
Figure 5.2: Language choice, inset a (centered on the Darons) 84
Figure 5.3: Language choice, inset b (centered on Marie Louise and Francisco I) 85
Figure 5.4: Social network diagram of the Bouligny family letters, showing choice of address form (T, V, or plural) 95
Figure 5.5: Pronominal forms of address, inset a (centered on Boutard) 96
Figure 5.6: Pronominal forms of address, inset b (centered on Francisco I and Marie Louise) 96
Figure 5.7: Pronominal forms of address, inset c (centered on Marie Magdelaine) 97
Figure 5.8: Pronominal forms of address, inset d (centered on Vincent Guillaume d'Auberville) 98
Figure 5.9: Pronominal forms of address, inset e (centered on Joaquin and Luis II) 98
Figure 5.10: Pronominal forms of address, inset f (centered on Francisco II) 99

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1: Corpus breakdown by author and language 15
Table 2.2: Corpus breakdown, sorted by total word count 16
Table 2.3: Types of letters in the Bouligny corpus 17
Table 2.4: Examples of classification of degree of bilingualism 30
Table 3.1: Selected spelling norms proposed in the 17th-19th centuries in French and Spanish 38
Table 3.2: Percent use of <ai> as compared to <oi> in imperfect and conditional verb endings for authors writing in French 39
Table 3.3: Percent use of <b> as compared to <v> in reflexes of the verb haber for authors writing in Spanish 41
Table 4.1: Agreement of past participle in gender and number in French 65
Table 4.2: Percent use of the complex past (C) by generation 69
Table 4.3: Percent use of the complex (C) past by language competence 70
Table 4.4: Use of the simple and complex pasts with temporal adverbials in French epistolary literature (Caron and Liu 1999) 73
Table 4.5: Use (tokens) of simple and complex pasts with temporal adverbials in Spanish personal documents (letters and others) in the 18th and 19th centuries (CORDIAM). 74
Table 4.6: Use of simple and complex past tenses in a corpus of Spanish plays (Copple 2013) 75
Table 4.7: Use (tokens) of simple and complex past tenses in the Bouligny corpus with temporal adverbials in French and Spanish 76
Table 5.1: Choice of T or V according to relationship (excluding plurals) 94
Table 5.2: Tokens of 'sincere' and ‘sincerity’ in French (F) and Spanish (S) 106
Table 5.3: Tokens of sincerity by author 106

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Manuscripts

HNOC	Historic New Orleans Collection
LaRC	Louisiana Research Collection, Tulane University
MSS	Manuscript collection
B	Box
F	Folder

Other

CORDE	Corpus Diacrónico del Español (http://corpus.rae.es/cordenet.html)
CORDIAM	Corpus Diacrónico y Diatópico del Español de América (http://cordiam.org/)
RAE	Real Academia Española (http://www.rae.es/)
DLE	Diccionario de la Lengua Española (dle.rae.es)
FM	French Monolingual
FD	French Dominant
SD	Spanish Dominant
SM	Spanish Monolingual

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

More people than I can name contributed to the production of this document, but special thanks are due:

First and foremost, to my committee, especially Mairi McLaughlin, chair and advisor extraordinaire, who has made me a more incisive thinker and writer, and without whose endless support, encouragement, and hard work on my behalf I would never have made it to this point. Huge thanks also to Justin Davidson and Andrew Garrett for their extremely valuable feedback and willingness to work to a very tight schedule.

To the Berkeley RLL program and people for their intellectual, emotional, and financial support, especially rockstar grad advisor Veronica Lopez. I am very thankful for the fellowships and funding (especially Rodriguez Continuing Student Fellowships) which have allowed for research trips to New Orleans and for time spent writing. To the Romance Linguistics crew, namely Mike Arrigo, Elyse Ritchey, Brock Imel, Emily Linares, and Zack Bekowies, thank you for your attendance and feedback on what must have seemed like innumerable and endless presentations on the Bouligny letters, and for being such a safe space for intellectual discussion, emotional vulnerability, and wine consumption.

To my real-world cheerleaders, especially my family, who supported me the whole way through. (Look Mom, I did "just write the thing"!) To the ladies of Dwinelle: Mia Lilly, Irina Popescu, Megan Briggs Magnant, and Molly Borowitz, for keeping me sane. And especially to James and Jean Luc, for caffeine, cupcakes, and a million billion other things, particularly for not taking me too seriously and reminding me of the importance of a good walk.

To the letter-writers and the family members who kept those letters safe for two centuries so I could get my hands on them. Finally, to the lovely archive and reading room staff who answered questions, pulled boxes of documents, photocopied endless stacks of letters, and took pity on a squinting young researcher by handing her a magnifying glass.

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

"Vous êtes hombre de bien": so writes Bruna Bouligny de Herreros in a letter to her cousin in 1846. Examples such as this, where Spanish elements are introduced into a letter written in French, highlight the multilingual nature of the world that speakers like Bruna navigated during the colonial period. Although it seems clear that multilingualism was a common historical reality, many traditional language histories, including those of French and Spanish, have treated the monolingual speaker as the norm, while simultaneously relying on contact, especially substrate, influence as a last resort to explain certain linguistic developments.[1] This tension between the view of a language as a monolithic whole and the grudging acknowledgement of external influence has deemphasized the bilingual speaker's place in linguistic communities and her role in variation and change. While recent scholarship has brought more attention to the importance of including minority communities and non-elite speakers for a broader and more complete view of historical language use, historical sociolinguistic investigation has not yet adequately examined the language practices of bilingual communities. The aim of this project is to address this gap using a case study of the private correspondence of a small bilingual network stretching between Louisiana, France, and Spain in the 18th and 19th centuries.

1.1 Historical sociolinguistics and epistolary corpora

The aim of historical sociolinguistics as originally defined by Romaine (1982: x)[2] is to break away from the traditional conception of a single history of a particular language by integrating sociolinguistic questions of variation and change into historical studies of the language. This break from traditional histories is still an ongoing struggle, especially for languages—like those of the Romance family (Oesterreicher 1997: 197-8)—with a strong tradition of ideology of the standard (Watts 2015: 2). As is evident in its name, the field has ties to, and incorporates methods from, both modern-day sociolinguistics and the broad umbrella of historical linguistics. In some conceptions of the field (e.g. Bell 2013), the field of sociolinguistics does not preclude historical investigation, although its focus has been on contemporary data (Nevalainen 2015: 244). Many historical linguists, however, have traditionally had little interest in the societal context for linguistic change. In pulling from both fields, historical sociolinguistics has highlighted the importance of historical data and of sociolinguistic methods for analyzing it.

One way in which the gaps left behind or glossed over by the standard conception can be filled, and the view of a language as a monolithic whole challenged, is through extreme inclusivity, that is, through the investigation of as many texts, text types, speakers, regions, etc. as possible. This approach leads to a multiplicity of alternative histories, or 'language history from below', as compared to a singular view imposed from above (Elspaß 2012b: 156). This inclusivity also addresses the inherent and oft-discussed problem of historical (socio-) linguistics; the lack of data, or, the fact that the only linguistic data available to us is limited. In some ways our textual sources are random in terms of what scraps of paper survive, but in other

[1] More recent work on Romance is much less prone than early histories of the language were to separating out internal and external sources of change and only relying on the latter in the absence of possible internal explanation; see e.g. Sala (2013) for an overview of the history of contact in Romance.
[2] Romaine (1982) uses the term *socio-historical linguistics*.

ways extremely biased, as their existence and survival are conditioned by social factors such as who was able to write and whose writing was deemed worthy of preservation—all affected by interconnected factors such as power, wealth, literacy, gender, and education. Expanding our conception of what is useful linguistic data by incorporating the linguistic production of traditionally underrepresented populations such as lower-class, less literate, female, or in this case, multilingual, speakers has the effect of diversifying and broadening our picture of the historical linguistic landscape, but it also conveniently increases the total amount of data available.

Among the new influx of non-traditional text types available to contribute to alternative language histories are ego-documents, particularly the private letter. These are a valuable source of linguistic data firstly because they provide access to production from speakers who are not necessarily represented in traditional histories (the 'gap-filling' function), and secondly because they are perhaps the closest we can get to spontaneous historical speech (van der Wal and Rutten 2013; Elspaß 2012b: 159). It is useful here to distinguish medium (spoken or written) from what Koch and Oesterreicher (2001) call the language of immediacy and distance. Placing types of linguistic production on a binary according to medium obscures the fact that the categories of oral and written communication are not homogenous within themselves, and that a note written to a friend is arguably much closer to informal conversation than some other written documents, such as a scientific treatise. On the immediacy/distance spectrum, which relies on such classifications as relationship with the interlocutor, spontaneity, privacy, and connection with the topic, the private letter is much closer to the immediacy end than are other forms of written communication which have been used in historical linguistic analysis, such as literary texts. While there is undeniably a composed element to letter-writing, including the use of standard or formulaic features, a personal letter is private communication with a familiar/intimate interlocutor, generally about subjects to which the speaker has an emotional connection, and about a topic freely chosen by the interlocutors.[3]

Schneider's (2013: 61) classification includes other criteria in determining proximity to speech, including whether the text was ever produced orally, whether the speaker and writer are the same person, and the time between speech and the recording of it. He places letters behind only recorded speech and recalled speech—and ahead of invented speech such as literary dialect—in their proximity to speech.[4] This is due to the fact that the speaker and writer are identical and the speech and recording of it are simultaneous. Because letters record utterances which were never produced orally, they are hypothetical or 'imagined' speech, but are produced in what Schneider calls 'near-speech mode'. While other sources may provide more examples of 'oral' or vernacular features,[5] each of these sources is not without its own disadvantages. Representations of dialect in literature, for example, are also hypothetical speech events, where the speaker and writer are not the same (Schneider 2013: 61). These vary from quite detailed representations to stylizations which foreground specific features, meant to simply create heterogeneity and evoke otherness in comparison to the standard (Azevedo 2002: 510).

[3] Of course our idea of "privacy" is dependent on historical context, just as other social variables such as class are (see Bergs 2012). "Speaker" can be understood as a general term for the person who produces language, and "speech" for that language, although of course this may be oral or written.

[4] In his typology, the categories of recorded or recalled speech include documents such as interview transcripts or ex-slave narratives.

[5] However, as Oesterreicher (1997: 198) notes, these 'oral' features will only ever be indirect. Traditionally the study of letters has privileged semi-literate speakers because of the increased likelihood of oral features being present (Oesterreicher 1997: 200-1; Schneider 2013: 61).

Private, and especially family, correspondence is additionally useful because it consists of authentic—if imagined and composed—interaction between interlocutors who are often identifiable and about whom we have some background information. This interactional component, which is not available from other types of data used in sociohistorical analysis (e.g. plays, folktales, or even some modern sociolinguistic interviews), uniquely allows for analysis using interactional methods (Palander-Collin et al. 2009: 5; Martineau 2013: 132). Thus, in addition to its use in elucidating the history of a single language, private correspondence allows for insight into the linguistic production of interconnected individuals, and, on a larger scale, of entire communities. Corpora of family letters, in particular, often contain communication among intimate family members as well as extended family (perhaps of a different social standing) and other unrelated community members. This creates what Martineau (2013: 141) calls "a microcosm of linguistic communities". This network effect, in addition to the immediate nature of the language used in letters, makes the genre a useful source of linguistic data, especially in studies such as this one where the focus is on the community level.[6] In bilingual communities, examination of corpora such as the one examined here allows us a broader perspective on individual and community language use by focusing on both languages, including what language is used with whom (see § 5.1). In the same way that only using sources from one type of individual or one genre limits our understanding of the wide range of linguistic practice, inclusion of only one of a bilingual speaker or community's languages gives only a half view of their language use.

The diversification of sources is one method of moving towards a more nuanced and more comprehensive understanding of historical language production; another is to include new approaches to this data (Watts 2015: 9). Exactly what types and methods of inquiry can be said to be included in the field of historical sociolinguistics has been a matter for much debate.[7] However, in recent years the field of historical sociolinguistics has expanded from the investigation of historical variation to include other approaches, in many ways paralleling developments in sociolinguistics in general. This expansion has led to a simpler definition of the field as "the reconstruction of the history of a given language in its socio-cultural context" (Conde-Silvestre and Hernández-Campoy 2012: 1). Broadly speaking, historical sociolinguistic research draws from various subfields of social science and linguistic analysis such as history, sociology of language, philology, corpus linguistics, and discourse analysis to examine the connection between linguistic usage and the speaker's socio-historical environment (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2012: 27).

Nevalainen (2015: 245) follows Bell (2013) in outlining three principal branches of (historical) sociolinguistic investigation: sociolinguistics of multilingualism, ethnographic-interactional sociolinguistics and variationist sociolinguistics, separating the last category into sociology of language and critical constructivism. This differs from other conceptualizations of the field in moving away from more macro-level approaches—sociology of language and traditional variationist analyses—and increasing focus on micro-level interactional approaches. The tension between macro- and micro-level approaches continues to be evident in both historical and non-historical sociolinguistics, where it is often framed as a progression in 'waves' of theoretical thought from the more traditional 'Labovian' examination of correlation of linguistic features with broad social categories toward investigations of language use at the local and individual level (Eckert 2012). These two poles can (but do not always) correlate with

[6] See, for example, Bergs (2005) on social network analysis with family letters.
[7] See e.g. Nevalainen (2015) for an overview.

quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis, where the latter is understood to incorporate methods from pragmatics, discourse analysis, and stylistics. While these two approaches are often set up as opposing theoretical models, it is in fact the case that they are complementary; neither adequately accounts for all linguistic choices. A complete analysis must take into account speaker stance and performativity as well as macro-level trends (Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre 2015: 34; Palander-Collin et al. 2009: 4; Nurmi and Pahta 2004: 448). The interactional component of letter corpora is only available at a particular level of analysis. While large letter corpora, which exist for English, Dutch, German, and French,[8] allow for analyses of linguistic production across broad swaths of society and time, micro-level or interactional analysis is only feasible with smaller corpora (or subcorpora of the above)—like collections of family letters—specific to a particular sociohistorical context. In this project, therefore, I combine micro-level qualitative investigations of specific writers' practice with community-wide norms and compare them with broader trends in monolingual usage when available.

Although work on French and Spanish letters has in general been fairly limited, studies of private letters have been much more frequent North American context.[9] Of particular note is France Martineau's project "Le français à la mesure d'un continent" which incorporates research on both historical and contemporary North American varieties of French, including Martineau's own work on Canadian French (2007). [10] The focus of her project has been on exploring variation at multiple linguistic levels of the language use of those French speakers outside of France and is a good example of how the incorporation of previously underrepresented speakers can illuminate and broaden our view of historical French, particularly of those varieties outside of Paris. Letters to and from French-speakers in Louisiana, the focus of this study, have been addressed to some extent by a collection of case studies of a random but representative sample of letters written by Francophones during the 18th and 19th centuries (Dubois 2003; 2011).[11] From these studies we have information about several features of this population's language, from prosody to linguistic ideology. They have the advantage of representing a large section of the populace but tell us more about overall trends than individual language use, and do not consider bilingualism. In this project, in contrast, I incorporate analysis of individual speakers' usage as well as community-wide trends.

Many of the studies of Spanish letters have also focused on language from the Americas, most particularly 16th century immigrant letters from the West Indies (Cano Aguilar 1996; Fernandez Alcaide 2009). While the study of letters from the West Indies allows for incorporation of a large variety of speakers, including those with a low level of literacy, as well as variationist analysis of macro-level trends, the nature of this corpus means that we know almost nothing about the authors and their individualized context, making in-depth sociohistorical analysis impossible. Other studies involving letters, especially in the 18th and 19th

[8] These are, respectively: *Corpus of Early English Correspondence,* https://www.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/varieng/corpus-of-early-english-correspondence (Raumolin-Brunberg & Nevalainen 2007); *Letters as loot* (Van der Wal et al. 2012); a corpus compiled by Elspaß (2012a); and *Corpus de français familier ancien,* http://polyphonies.uottawa.ca/corpus/i-corpus-de-francais-familier-ancien/ (Martineau 2007, 2013). Here I do not include those large corpora which may include letters (e.g. CORDIAM) because they include very little background information about the authors.

[9] For work on public letters, see, e.g. Branca-Rosoff and Schneider (1994); see Lodge (2013) for linguistic analysis using letters in the Parisian context.

[10] Project information is available at continent.uottawa.ca.

[11] The corpus used for the volume edited by Dubois (2011) is described by Salmon (2011) and available at http://www.lib.lsu.edu/sites/all/files/sc/exhibits/e-exhibits/cffs/.

centuries are isolated studies of a single feature, as is the case, for example, for Balestra's (2008) study of address forms in private correspondence from California and New Mexico. However, some of these studies, which will be discussed below (§ 1.2), do consider bilingual communities. Work on letters in Spanish Louisiana—where it was in contact with French—is almost non-existent, the exception being King's (2011) study of business correspondence.[12] There is a large gap in the scholarship on Spanish letters in terms of time period, geography, and analysis of individual speaker strategies, gaps which this project seeks to address by considering Spanish speakers in Louisiana.

Despite the variety of these studies of historical letters, monolingual studies of letter corpora are additionally limited in that they do not consider language use by multilingual individuals and communities. For families in a language contact situation, the microcosm of linguistic practice often includes multiple languages, and may shift over time. For such communities, examining documents in only one of the community languages provides an incomplete picture of the community's sociolinguistic situation; instead we must consider all available production to understand the dynamics of multilingual communities (Martineau 2013: 141). Additionally, the examination of multilingual corpora can give us insight into the ways that contact between languages plays out at the individual and community level. This study also adds to the limited number of historical linguistic studies of letters in French and Spanish. Much of the existing—and particularly, theoretical—work on letters focuses on English data,[13] and although studies involving other languages such as this one, particularly in a comparative perspective, are beginning to be more common (Dossena and del Lungo Camiciotti 2012; Van der Wal and Rutten 2013), this study is the first large-scale analysis of a balanced bilingual letter corpus.

1.2 Historical multilingualism

Scholarly interest in language contact and change has multiplied over the last few decades, particularly since the 1988 publication of two books on contact, one by Thomason and Kaufman, and the other by Frans van Coetsem.[14] Broadly, the large questions in language contact studies involve the linguistic and social mechanisms, conditions, and constraints involved in the actuation and diffusion of contact-influenced changes.[15] These parallel in many ways general linguistic questions in asking what changes are possible or likely, and how they arise and spread throughout a population.[16] The focus is therefore on both variation and macro-level change.

In terms of conditions and constraints of contact-influenced change, one area of contention is the importance of typological similarity as compared to social factors. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 35) argue that typological factors are secondary to the sociolinguistic history of the speakers in determining the amount of contact influence. That is, the idea that

[12] Work has instead focused on contemporary (endangered) varieties in small isolated communities which have retained varieties of Spanish (MacCurdy 1950; Lipski 1987, 1988, 1990; Holloway 1997).
[13] e.g. Fitzmaurice (2002); Bergs (2005); Dossena and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2008); Auer et al. (2015).
[14] These are, however, not the first to broach the subject; see e.g. Weinreich 1974 [1953]. Recent introductions to the field include those by Thomason (2001), Winford (2003), and Matras (2009); see also *The handbook of language contact* (Hickey 2010).
[15] I follow McLaughlin (2011:109) in using this term rather than *contact-induced* change to account for the possibility of multicausation.
[16] See e.g. Weinreich et al. 1968; Chambers and Schilling-Estes 2013.

typological similarity is a *necessary* factor for contact-influenced change appears unfounded, given that in a sufficiently intense social contact situation, anything can be borrowed regardless of the typology of the languages involved (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 14).[17] However, the primacy of social factors does not preclude the influence of typological similarity; in fact, neither social nor typological factors alone can account for patterns of contact-influenced change (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 15; Epps et al. 2013: 210). Therefore, all else being equal, we can expect greater influence in situations of contact between genetically related or typologically similar languages (Besters-Dilger et al. 2014: 1-2). As Schulte (2012: 331) puts it, "if unrelated, often typologically very different languages influence each other and are subject to transfer of linguistic structures, then it stands to reason that there is even more [...] influence or transfer between sister languages that share a comparatively similar structure". The Romance languages provide an ideal set of case studies for testing this, particularly historically because of their family relationship, geographical spread, and amount of documentation.[18] On a typographical level, then, a case of French-Spanish contact such as that studied here would appear to be one where we might expect to see examples of contact-influenced variation and perhaps change. I consider structures at the phonological/orthographic (Chapter 3), morphosyntactic (Chapter 4) and pragmatic (Chapter 5) levels which show structural or formal similarities across the two languages. Increased 'permeability' to influence has been said to exist specifically at points of superficial similarity, because speakers can reproduce an existing structure but transfer the semantic-pragmatic rules of another language (Silva-Corvalán 1994: 135, 164-6). If this is the case, we might expect to see contact influence in the use of these features which show formal similarities.

If we also understand contact-influence linguistic change to be more likely in situations of increased social contact and bilingualism, cases such as the one studied here of family bilingualism would seem to favor such change. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 67) find that cases of moderate and heavy contact influence "involve a group of active bilinguals who speak the source language fluently and use it regularly for at least some ordinary communicative purposes. The contact in these cases is intimate enough that we can reasonably speak of a joint community." They stress that this includes a high degree of bilingualism in terms of both competence and length of time, both of which apply to the social network examined here.[19] It would seem, then, that both social and typological factors would favor contact-influenced change in this case. However, there are some factors which would seem to disfavor change in this case, including the presence and influence of normative and/or literary standards. Where there is pressure on speakers to conform to established (monolingual) norms, diffusion of innovations can be slowed, limited, or stopped (Matras 2009: 312).

[17] Silva-Corvalán (1994:167) does not believe this applies to syntax; see Silva-Corvalán (2008) and Thomason (2008) for the two sides of this issue, also McLaughlin (2011) on the borrowability of syntax.

[18] See e.g. Posner and Green (1993) and Schulte (2012) for works on Romance varieties in contact. Situations of Portuguese and Spanish in contact have received particular attention: see, e.g. Amaral and Carvalho (2014) and the work on Uruguay-Brazil border varieties: Elizaincín (1976), Carvalho (2003), Lipski (2009). Besters-Dilger et al.'s (2014) volume discusses typological and genetic similarities in a comparative perspective.

[19] Long and short amounts of time do not appear to be defined more specifically. Trudgill (2010: 315) also appeals to this distinction as a condition for determining what the effects of contact will be, as well as the distinction between bilingual communities involving adults as contrasted with those who are bilingual from a young age. I assume here that my corpus, which spans a little more than a century and includes five generations, is closer to a long-term situation of bilingualism in which most of the bilingual speakers learned both languages as children.

The question of diffusion of a contact-induced change should be differentiated from its actuation; the existence of a contact-influenced innovation does not mean that it will be picked up, as is the case with other innovations.[20] Contact-induced changes must begin with a bilingual speaker, who we understand to be constantly managing multiple linguistic repertoires. For this speaker, there is a tension between loyalty to contextual norms promoting the use of certain features in specific contexts and the expressivity possible with the use of his entire repertoire (Van Coetsem 1988: 9; Matras 2009: 4). The link between the linguistic choices of a bilingual agent and language-wide change, however, is still fuzzy, although social network analysis in contemporary and historical situations have begun to shed some light on this community level (Milroy and Milroy 1985; Bergs 2005). The current project explores bilingual language practice and variation at the individual and community levels in order to examine to what extent the behavior of individuals within the network pattern with each other and with the monolingual community.

A final question to be posed is what exactly can be said to constitute contact-influenced change. While a very strict view might limit this to only include changes which would not have arisen through strictly internal development, in its broadest conception, "contact is *a* source of linguistic change if it is *less likely* that a given change would have occurred outside a specific contact situation" (Thomason 2008: 14). This broader conception has the advantage of not eliminating the possibility of multicausation and frames contact as a normal mechanism of change and not an explanation of last resort. I will take the view that our classification of contact-induced changes need not be limited to the introduction of new or previously agrammatical structures. For Heine and Kuteva (2005: 46), for instance, change can consist "simply of a higher frequency and/or a more extensive use of an existing pattern." This is a view also taken by McLaughlin (2011: 24; also 2013), who argues that contact influence can lead to change at the levels of frequency, form, or function. Particularly in the case of typologically similar or genetically related languages, we might expect to see more shifts in frequency or distribution or even semantic shifts in analogous structures such as Romance past tenses (Chapter 4) or discourse-pragmatic features and strategies (Chapter 5).[21]

In the historical context, studies of contact influence additionally come up against the problems occasioned by the written medium and the influence of the standard and genre-specific norms. In many corpora the preference is for semi-literate speakers whose writing might show more non-standard (oral) features and will be less influenced by the educational standard (Oesterreicher 1997: 201). This was not a criterion in compiling this corpus, as it would be nearly impossible to find speakers who were only semi-literate in both of their languages.[22] However, the generally high level of education does not mean that this corpus will not be useful for addressing questions of how education and language-specific written conventions interact with the other features present in the corpus. For example, I investigate the influence of the written standard between draft and fair copy and for a less literate speaker in Chapter 3; in Chapter 4, I consider language-specific narrative strategies, and in Chapter 5, I discuss the use of

[20] It may even be suppressed, particularly in cases of stigmatization, where social constraints may lead to heightened awareness of the appropriateness of certain of these structures in particular contexts. For example, McLaughlin (2011: 51) found lower rates of the preposed adjective, which had garnered negative attention as being due to English influence, in her corpus of translated news dispatches.

[21] See Matras (2010) for an overview of implicational hierarchies outlining the levels of the language at which we might expect contact-influenced change.

[22] Additionally, in order to avoid circularity, a corpus should not be compiled based on the presence of vernacular features, especially if those features form part of the analysis (Martineau 2013: 133-4; Schneider 2013: 69).

formulae. Moreover, a high level of education or literacy does not preclude the presence of 'vernacular' features since all linguistic exchange is, to some extent, hybrid (Martineau 2013: 134; Blanche-Benveniste et al 2002: 17).

Nevalainen (2015: 245) notes that the current "focus on the sociolinguistics of multilingualism is of particular relevance in the historical context and a growth area in historical sociolinguistics." This interest is evidenced by, for example, studies of historical multilingualism (Adams 2003; Pahta et al. forthcoming) as well as works on contemporary multilingual writing such as those on code-switching in various written genres (Callahan 2004; Sebba et al. 2012) or translation of press articles in both contemporary and historical situations (McLaughlin 2011; 2013; 2016). For the most part, investigations of historical multilingualism have studied the impact of multilingualism on writing in a single language. The focus, in most cases, is on the ways that letter-writers incorporate or code-switch elements of other languages into the matrix language (Nurmi and Pahta 2004; 2010; 2012; Pahta and Nurmi 2009; Oronoz 2009; Moyna and Coll 2015), without necessarily considering a bilingual's entire range of production.[23] While these studies consider language contact as an important element affecting linguistic production, they show one-way contact, rather than mutual influence. To my knowledge, the only studies based on bilingual letter corpora are Moyna's (2009) study of language shift in 19th century rural Californians (Spanish-English), Martineau's (2013) examination of language shift and borrowing in a family of French-English bilinguals residing in 19th century Detroit, and Enrique-Arias' (2014) study of the Catalan and Castilian correspondence of an 18th-century Mallorcan noblewoman. These are all small-scale studies but show an increasing interest in examining bilingualism at a community level.

Given the above, there is an obvious gap in studies of historical language use. Despite the potential for family letter corpora to illuminate historical language use, studies in French and Spanish have been few and far between and have for the most part ignored issues of multilingualism. Work on multilingual letters in these and other languages is mostly interested in code-switching or contact effects on one or the other of the languages, rather than the linguistic production of a balanced community of bilinguals in both languages. The project undertaken here, in contrast, examines bilingualism as part of a community's regular practice and the effect that has on language use.

1.3 Research objectives and dissertation structure

In this project, I investigate the linguistic production of a small bilingual network including the effects of language contact between French and Spanish at the individual and community level, and how speakers manage their bilingual repertoires within the letter genre.

Specifically, I explore the following questions with reference to private family letters in French and Spanish:

(1) In what way(s) does bilingualism affect language usage? How do bilingual and monolingual usage differ?

[23] See § 5.1.2 for a discussion of code-switching.

(2) How does bilingualism interact with other factors such as convention, genre, audience, and stance, and how do bilingual writers use the resources of their two languages in their production?

No existing letter corpus allows for the examination of bilingual French and Spanish linguistic practice; to investigate these questions I have therefore created my own corpus of private family letters of Late Modern French/Spanish bilinguals. In compiling my corpus, I looked for a collection of private family letters with a dense social network and available sociohistorical background information about the writers. This family and corpus needed to be balanced in terms of language (both overall and in at least some of the individual authors) in order to be able to access questions of bilingualism and its effect on linguistic production in both languages. I have therefore compiled and transcribed a corpus of private family letters from the 18th and 19th centuries, including writing from Spanish Louisiana, France, and Spain. This corpus centers around Francisco I Bouligny, a Spanish soldier posted in colonial Louisiana.

Chapter 2, "Corpus and methodology" introduces the Bouligny family and the corpus of letters. I additionally discuss my methodological approach to transcription and analysis of the corpus. The remaining chapters of the dissertation are organized into case studies in order to perform the in-depth analysis and discussion at both the individual and community level which would not be possible with a general survey. I have chosen features from various linguistic levels—orthographic, morphosyntactic, and pragmatic—in order to consider whether the effects seen are similar and of a similar magnitude at different levels.

In Chapter 3, "Orthography and phonology" I address the complex interaction between phonology, orthography, education, and multilingualism. Because adherence to standard written norms can obscure variation in phonology, variation and contact effects can be difficult to trace at this level. However, orthographic norms in the 18th and 19th centuries were neither so fixed nor so ubiquitous as to result in perfectly invariable texts. This is particularly true where writers have less education or compositional ability in at least one of their languages, and so we may see, for bilingual speakers, the influence of phonology as well as a second language.

In Chapter 4, "Simple and complex past tenses", I examine variants which are formally analogous in both languages: that of the simple (*pretérito, passé simple*) and complex (*presente perfecto, passé composé*) pasts. During this time period, however, monolingual usage diverged fairly rapidly in the two languages. In this chapter I examine the frequency and context of use of the two past tenses in both languages both quantitatively and qualitatively, exploring whether bilingual and monolingual production differ, and if so, in what ways.

In Chapter 5, "Intersubjectivity and epistolarity", I discuss how speakers use their linguistic repertoire within the epistolary context to position themselves in relation to their interlocutor. I first examine the choice and use of the two languages, including code-switching, and the various writer- and addressee-specific factors which influence it. The second part of the chapter looks at how speakers manipulate forms of address in both languages to define and negotiate their relationship, and in the third I examine a few ways in which the letter-writers express sincerity of thoughts and feelings.

I conclude in Chapter 6 with a comparison and discussion of the three case studies. Finally, I consider the value of corpora such as this to historical sociolinguistics and contact studies and end with some directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2 : CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

The search for a bilingual corpus of French and Spanish letters led to the context of colonial Louisiana, which, although originally a French territory, was under Spanish control for nearly fifty years. The corpus I selected for analysis is a set of letters from the Bouligny family, whose members exchanged letters between Louisiana, France, and Spain in French and Spanish over a period of more than a century. I present here the details of the corpus and methods used to address the research questions introduced in Chapter 1. In Section 2.1, I give a brief introduction to the Bouligny family and their historical context. In Section 2.2, I describe the corpus. Finally, in Section 2.3 I describe my methodological approach to transcription, text analysis, and sociolinguistic categorization of the speakers represented in the corpus.

2.1 The Bouligny family

The Bouligny family is in some ways unexceptional for a well-off European family of the time; their correspondence tells us of their interest in career advancement, religious observance, marrying well, and amassing wealth, as well as the drive to provide for their children and to connect with members of the immediate and extended family. In many ways their situation as immigrants has much in common with those who settled in the rest of the Americas and exchanged letters with loved ones back home. There are a few characteristics that set the family and their correspondence apart as valuable subjects of sociohistorical linguistic investigation, however. The first is simply the fact that their correspondence—produced in the first place as a result of the transatlantic family network caused by immigration—has survived the years. Part of this is a result of the prominence of Francisco I and his descendants which has ensured that the family papers were preserved in the archives. Second is the multilingual nature of their historical context and correspondence, and especially the fact that many members were literate enough in both languages to read and write in both Spanish and French. While it seems clear that bilingualism was not an uncommon historical situation, especially in a context such as Louisiana where there were several transitions in the governing language as well as increasing numbers of immigrants, bilingual literacy would seem to be rare at a time when overall literacy was somewhat limited. Both of these conditions, of course, are due to the fairly high social and economic status of the family members. This means that this project will have less to contribute from the point of view of less literate or less affluent speakers who might show less influence of the textual tradition and thus more 'oral' features. However, it can explore this very influence, in addition to focusing on bilingual speakers, who have been an underrepresented group in traditional language histories which concentrate on the dominant varieties (Elspaß 2012b: 158, 161). Another advantage of the Bouligny corpus for sociohistorical linguistic investigation is the amount of information we have about the different members of the family, and in some cases about their interlocutors, thanks to their historical interest (Martin 1990; Din 1981, 1993). A brief overview of the family and their history follows; I have provided more biographical information about each individual represented in the corpus in Appendix 1, and Appendix 2 contains a family tree.

The Bouligny family had its roots originally in Italy, then France, before spreading to Spain and Louisiana. Francisco I's grandfather moved to Alicante, Spain in pursuit of business opportunities in the early 18th century and his descendants made the place home. Juan I, Francisco I's father, was born in Marseilles and married a Frenchwoman, but thereafter settled in

Spain with their thirteen children. The family ran an import/export business which unfortunately failed after being passed down to Francisco I's brothers Joseph and Juan II. Juan II moved on to a career as a diplomat, rising to the rank of ambassador in Constantinople. Joseph maintained the family estate, Alcoraya. The other male children—Francisco I, Lorenzo and Luis I—entered the Spanish military and served in Spain and abroad in the Spanish colonies (Martin 1990: 99-119). The European branch of the Bouligny family continued in the military and bureaucratic professions and were caught up in various military conflicts, including the Peninsular War, which left two of Joseph's sons exiles in Paris (Martin 1990: 123-129).

Francisco I settled in Louisiana, brought there in 1769 as part of the Spanish forces responding to the Creole rebellion of the previous year. He eventually rose to the rank of commandant of the fixed Louisiana Regiment and acting military governor, although he never attained his goal of governorship and the news of his final promotion to brigadier general arrived after his death (Din 1993: 29; 1981: 307). He married a Louisiana Creole, Marie Louise Le Sénéchal d'Auberville. Her mother was born in New Orleans; her father was an administrative officer in the French navy, stationed in New Orleans after the Seven Years' war (Din 1993: 46). The d'Auberville and Bouligny families lived through several transitions in Louisiana government and society, beginning with the acquisition of the sparsely populated province by Spain in 1762 to the huge influx of immigrants as the Spanish government sought to increase the population as a barrier (*barrera*) province against the British and Americans (Din 2014: 3, 21).

Francisco I and Marie Louise had four children who lived to adulthood, all were raised bilingual in French and Spanish (Din 1993: 160). The three sons followed in their father's footsteps and entered the Spanish military at a young age. In 1800, ownership of the Louisiana territory was transferred back to France in a secret agreement after the Third Treaty of San Ildefonso and the territory remained under nominal Spanish rule until 1803, just before the formal transfer to the United States, where it achieved statehood in 1812. Amidst these political transitions, Francisco I's sons and their families gave up army life and moved on to plantation ownership and politics. One of Francisco I's grandsons, John Edward Bouligny, served in the U.S. Senate in the years leading up to the Civil War (Martin 1990: 297-303).

2.2 The corpus

Due to the transatlantic nature of the d'Auberville and Bouligny family connections, we have more than a century's worth of personal correspondence in Spanish and French. Although the word 'corpus' often is read to imply a balanced and representative sample, in this case, as in many (Auer and Fairman 2013: 79), the corpus is based on an existing collection of texts which was not created with representativity as the main consideration. I began with the existing collections of this family's correspondence and created the corpus based on their social network, the genre, and the language combination. These are the personal letters held at the Historic New Orleans Collection (HNOC): d'Auberville-Bouligny, Bouligny-Baldwin, and Bouligny-Genin family papers; and the Rosemonde E. & Emile Kuntz Collection, Louisiana Research Collection, Tulane University (LaRC).[24] I began with those documents marked 'personal' or 'private' correspondence, excluding letters marked 'official' by the archives. This is of course not always a clear line: although the letters included are all labeled 'personal' or 'family' letters, they show

[24] Documents are referenced according to their archival designation, that is, archive (HNOC or LaRC), collection (MSS), box (B), and folder (F).

varying degrees of formality and deal with a range of topics from business to family history and gossip. The corpus contains letters discussing for example, the indigo crop and investments; the d'Auberville inheritance; a disgraceful incident involving Lorenzo that required family intervention to save his career; family illnesses, births, and deaths; the education of the next generation and the financial burdens this caused, including requests for loans; Joseph's complaints about his brother Juan II's treatment of him; and even the use of new reading glasses. Often family news is mixed in with the discussion of financial matters. Because of the mixed nature of epistolary discourse, I relied on the archival distinctions rather than making more stringent topic-based decisions.[25]

I excluded a number of letters because they were not connected to the core family correspondence network. For example, a Bouligny cousin named Jean François Marigny wrote letters to another cousin, Dubuclet, in which he mentions the Boulignys. Although they are part of the archive, I have excluded these letters from this corpus because of their isolation from the rest, that is, neither Marigny nor Dubuclet are connected to any other correspondent in the network. Additionally, because my focus is on Spanish and French I have excluded letters written in English, such as those (dated 1860 and 1864) from Mary E. Parker, John Edward's wife. However, the existence of these letters does illustrate the family's transition to English by the mid-19th century, despite the continued multilingualism of some family members, such as John Edward.

The correspondence network for the Bouligny letter corpus appears in the diagram in Figure 2.1. For each author[26] and recipient, the diagram shows:

(i) the place of residence or of writing, indicated by the color of the text
(ii) the direction of correspondence, indicated by the direction of the arrows
(iii) the language of correspondence, indicated by the color of the arrows
(iv) volume of correspondence (number of words), indicated by the size of the lines

There are distinct nodes in this network, and as we can see from the number of arrows connecting them to other correspondents in the network, the core of this corpus consists of letters addressed to or written by Francisco I[27] and his wife Marie Louise. Smaller nodes are grouped around other correspondents, for example Luis II or Vincent Guillaume Le Sénéchal d'Auberville. These secondary nodes then bring in other correspondents who are not connected to the Marie Louise or Francisco I. For example, Joaquin Bouligny y Fonseca is connected to Luis II, to whom he wrote three letters, but also corresponded with John Edward Bouligny and Carlos and Marie Daron. These nodes reflect generational groupings as well as linguistic differences.

[25] See Bergs (2004) on a socio-pragmatic letter typology. Copies of official letters quoted within personal correspondence, such as Pierre I de Milleville's letter to M. de la Bourdonnaye (HNOC MSS 103 F 3) are included, however.
[26] Including secondary encoders; see 2.3.1.2 for a discussion of letter-writing roles.
[27] Although Francisco's own letters have for the most part not survived (Din 1993: xiii; 174).

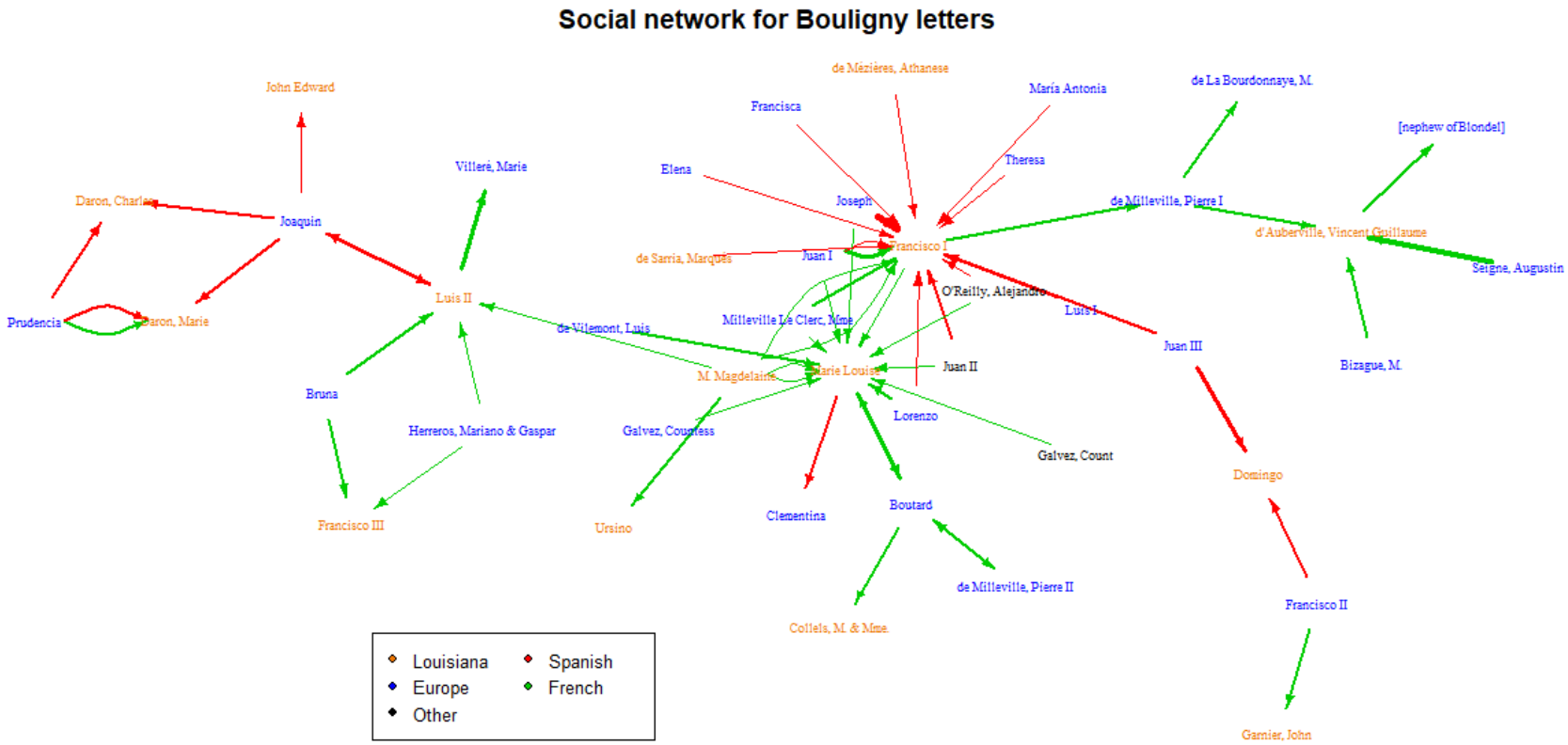


Figure 2.1: Social network diagram of the Bouligny family letters, showing place of residence and language, direction, and volume of correspondence

As shown by the color of the arrows, Francisco I receives the majority of his correspondence in Spanish, while letters addressed to Marie Louise are in French. I discuss language choice in more depth in Section 5.1. Most of the letters in the corpus are those received in Louisiana, sent from correspondents in Louisiana, Europe, or occasionally from other locations such as Mexico or Constantinople. The fact that the majority of texts were received in, rather than sent from, Louisiana is a function of the collection's location in New Orleans; I have not been able to find a corresponding archive in Europe for the letters sent from Louisiana, if indeed they have survived. The letters in the corpus which were written in New Orleans to addressees in Europe or elsewhere are therefore drafts, copies, or quoted letters which have their own value for analysis as they often show editing and self-corrections (see § 3.3).

Overall, the corpus is comprised of 117 letters containing approximately 47,000 words, organized in 94 physical documents. These physical documents do not correspond exactly to letters because they may include writing from more than one author. For example, a 1769 document includes a letter from Juan I Bouligny to his son Francisco I, but also notes from Francisco I's sisters Theresa and María Antonia.[28] This is one physical document, but three individual letters. A few of the letters also are accompanied by what look to be contemporary translations, which are not counted or analyzed as part of the corpus but are consulted on occasion for qualitative discussion.

Represented in the corpus are 32 different authors from five generations, of which ten are female.[29] The female authors tend to produce fewer and shorter texts—and/or fewer of their texts have survived—so while almost a third of the authors are female, their contribution to the corpus is quantitatively much smaller: 22% (26) of the letters, 13.2% of the total word count (6,214). The fact that several of the authors are female and that some of them did produce several texts speaks both to the social position of the family and perhaps the higher literacy rate in New Orleans (see below).

The letters were written over 119 years (1748-1867): 75 from the 18th century, 38 from the 19th century, and 4 undated. The corpus is fairly evenly split as to language: 59 of the 117 letters are in French, 58 in Spanish (21,486 and 25,639 words, respectively). Eight authors wrote in both languages; their names appear italicized in Table 2.1, which shows the number of texts and both total and average word counts for each writer.[30] Where the letters are not signed, I have used letter content, historical context, metadata from the archives, and handwriting comparison to determine writer and recipient.

[28] HNOC MSS 171 F 27.

[29] The number of individuals involved in the correspondence is much higher, when addressees, secondary encoders, and scribes are included.

[30] Here I have only included the primary encoder without discussion of those letters which were signed by multiple people or included the use of a scribe; see § 2.3.1.2 for a discussion of letter-writing roles.

WRITER	NUMBER OF LETTERS			WORD COUNT			AVERAGE WORD COUNT		
	FRENCH	SPANISH	**TOTAL**	FRENCH	SPANISH	**TOTAL**	FRENCH	SPANISH	**TOTAL**
Bizague	1		**1**	1202		**1202**	1202		**1202**
Bouligny de Estefani, Prudencia	1	1	**2**	411	411	**822**	411	411	**411**
Bouligny de Herreros, Bruna	3		**3**	1410		**1410**	470		**470**
Bouligny y Fonseca, Joaquin		9	**9**		2597	**2597**		288.6	**288.6**
Bouligny, Elena		1	**1**		42	**42**		42	**42**
Bouligny, Francisca		1	**1**		93	**93**		93	**93**
Bouligny, Francisco I	2		**2**	871		**871**	435.5		**435.5**
Bouligny, Francisco II	1	2	**3**	290	593	**883**	290	296.5	**294.3**
Bouligny, Joseph	1	20	**21**	167	13737	**13904**	167	686.5	**662.1**
Bouligny, Juan I	10	1	**11**	2271	172	**2443**	227.1	172	**222.1**
Bouligny, Juan II		5	**5**		1233	**1233**		246.6	**246.6**
Bouligny, Juan III		6	**6**		4169	**4169**		694.8	**694.8**
Bouligny, Lorenzo	1	1	**2**	402	49	**451**	402	49	**225.5**
Bouligny, Luis I		1	**1**		97	**97**		97	**97**
Bouligny, Luis II	3	1	**4**	2242	516	**2758**	747.3	516	**689.5**
Bouligny, María Antonia		1	**1**		16	**16**		16	**16**
Bouligny, Theresa		2	**2**		139	**139**		69.5	**69.5**
Boutard	6		**6**	2475		**2475**	412.5		**412.5**
d'Auberville Bouligny, Marie Louise	2	2	**4**	598	1294	**1892**	299	647	**473**
de Jesus, M. Magdelaine	9		**9**	1252		**1252**	139.1		**139.1**
de Mézières, Athanese		1	**1**		253	**253**		253	**253**
de Milleville, Pierre I	2		**2**	738		**738**	369		**369**
de Milleville, Pierre II	2		**2**	280		**280**	140		**140**
de Sarria, Marqués		1	**1**		59	**59**		59	**59**
de Vilemont, Luis	1		**1**	611		**611**	611		**611**
Galvez, Count	1		**1**	187		**187**	187		**187**
Galvez, Countess	1		**1**	106		**106**	106		**106**
Herreros, Mariano	2		**2**	88		**88**	44		**44**
d'Auberville, Vincent Guillaume	1		**1**	442		**442**	442		**442**
Milleville Le Clerc, Mme	2		**2**	442		**442**	221		**221**
O'Reilly, Alejandro	1	2	**3**	68	169	**237**	68	84.5	**79**
Seigne, Augustin	6		**6**	4933		**4933**	822.2		**822.2**
TOTALS	59	58	**117**	21486	25639	**47125**	364.2	442.1	**402.8**

Table 2.1: Corpus breakdown by author and language. Names in italics indicate speakers who corresponded in both French and Spanish

WRITER	NUMBER OF LETTERS			WORD COUNT			AVERAGE WORD COUNT		
	FRENCH	SPANISH	**TOTAL**	FRENCH	SPANISH	**TOTAL**	FRENCH	SPANISH	**TOTAL**
Bouligny, Joseph	1	20	**21**	167	13737	**13904**	167	686.5	**662.1**
Seigne, Augustin	6		**6**	4933		**4933**	822.2		**822.2**
Bouligny, Juan III		6	**6**		4169	**4169**		694.8	**694.8**
Bouligny, Luis II	3	1	**4**	2242	516	**2758**	747.3	516	**689.5**
Bouligny y Fonseca, Joaquin		9	**9**		2597	**2597**		288.6	**288.6**
Boutard	6		**6**	2475		**2475**	412.5		**412.5**
Bouligny, Juan I	10	1	**11**	2271	172	**2443**	227.1	172	**222.1**
d'Auberville Bouligny, Marie Louise	2	2	**4**	598	1294	**1892**	299	647	**473**
Bouligny de Herreros, Bruna	3		**3**	1410		**1410**	470		**470**
de Jesus, M. Magdelaine	9		**9**	1252		**1252**	139.1		**139.1**
Bouligny, Juan II		5	**5**		1233	**1233**		246.6	**246.6**
Bizague	1		**1**	1202		**1202**	1202		**1202**
Bouligny, Francisco II	1	2	**3**	290	593	**883**	290	296.5	**294.3**
Bouligny, Francisco I	2		**2**	871		**871**	435.5		**435.5**
Bouligny de Estefani, Prudencia	1	1	**2**	411	411	**822**	411	411	**411**
de Milleville, Pierre I	2		**2**	738		**738**	369		**369**
de Vilemont, Luis	1		**1**	611		**611**	611		**611**
Bouligny, Lorenzo	1	1	**2**	402	49	**451**	402	49	**225.5**
d'Auberville, Vincent Guillaume	1		**1**	442		**442**	442		**442**
Milleville Le Clerc, Mme	2		**2**	442		**442**	221		**221**
de Milleville, Pierre II	2		**2**	280		**280**	140		**140**
de Mézières, Athanese		1	**1**		253	**253**		253	**253**
O'Reilly, Alejandro	1	2	**3**	68	169	**237**	68	84.5	**79**
Galvez, Count	1		**1**	187		**187**	187		**187**
Bouligny, Theresa		2	**2**		139	**139**		69.5	**69.5**
Galvez, Countess	1		**1**	106		**106**	106		**106**
Bouligny, Luis I		1	**1**		97	**97**		97	**97**
Bouligny, Francisca		1	**1**		93	**93**		93	**93**
Herreros, Mariano	2		**2**	88		**88**	44		**44**
de Sarria, Marqués		1	**1**		59	**59**		59	**59**
Bouligny, Elena		1	**1**		42	**42**		42	**42**
Bouligny, María Antonia		1	**1**		16	**16**		16	**16**
TOTALS	59	58	**117**	21486	25639	**47125**	364.2	442.1	**402.8**

Table 2.2: Corpus breakdown, sorted by total word count. Names in italics indicate speakers who corresponded in both French and Spanish

Table 2.2 also shows the number of texts and words produced by each writer, sorted by total word count. From this we can see that Joseph is by far the most prolific author in the corpus with 21 letters (13,904 words)—almost three times that of the next most prolific writer, Augustin Seigne. Most of the authors are represented by one or two letters. The wide variability in the data I have for each writer complicates quantitative and statistical analysis across the corpus in that some writers are more represented in the corpus and in other cases token counts are quite low, a problem seen with sampling in historical investigations across the board (Ayres-Bennett 2004: 12). This means that in many cases I have chosen qualitative analyses based on specific individuals, but where quantitative data is presented, it is important to keep in mind the uneven distribution of writers in the corpus.

Included in these totals are several types of documents representing different stages of the composition process, as can be seen in Table 2.3. Of the 117 letters in the corpus, 98 are fair copies—that is, a letter that was actually sent, which in some cases was the only draft due to time or financial constraints (Dossena 2012: 21). Three texts are duplicate letters (that is, both a fair copy and a duplicate were sent and received); for two of these we have both the fair copy and the duplicate, all included in the corpus. Two texts are contemporary copies of letters sent to New Orleans (the originals do not appear in the corpus); and six are texts copied wholesale into another letter. The other eight texts are drafts or copies of letters sent from New Orleans and retained by the author.

TYPE	DESCRIPTION	NUMBER
Fair copy	received in New Orleans	98
Duplicate	received in New Orleans, marked as duplicates	3
Contemporary copy	received in New Orleans, not in the hand of the original author	2
Quoted letter	whole passages quoted in another letter	6
Draft/copy	written in New Orleans	8
		117

Table 2.3: Types of letters in the Bouligny corpus

I have grouped drafts and retained copies together in the last category because in many cases it is difficult to distinguish them. While some texts show extensive editing and are clearly drafts, the existence of editing does not in and of itself indicate a draft, since we often see editing occurring in a fair copy as well. These duplicates and drafts are extremely valuable for our understanding of the drafting and composing process, particularly in areas where writers made changes (see § 3.3).

2.3 Methodology

In this section, I present my methodological approach to transcription and data analysis. Section 2.3.1 focuses on the text: I discuss transcription of the corpus and the difficulty of attribution given the various roles involved in correspondence, including scribes. In Section 2.3.2, I focus on attributes of the speaker: names, age, education, and language competence. Section 2.3.3 discusses my approach to topic selection and data analysis.

2.3.1 The text

2.3.1.1 Transcription

Transcription of the documents took place during the spring of 2016 (February-May). For those letters found in the Historic New Orleans Collection (HNOC), I transcribed the text from the original documents at the HNOC Williams Research Center. I then proofread these transcriptions in a second round after finishing all transcription, also from the original documents, and retained photocopies for later reference.[31] In contrast, the documents from the Kuntz Collection, Louisiana Research Collection, Tulane University (LaRC) are fully digitized.[32] In the case of these letters, I examined the physical documents, but transcribed and proofread from the digital copies.

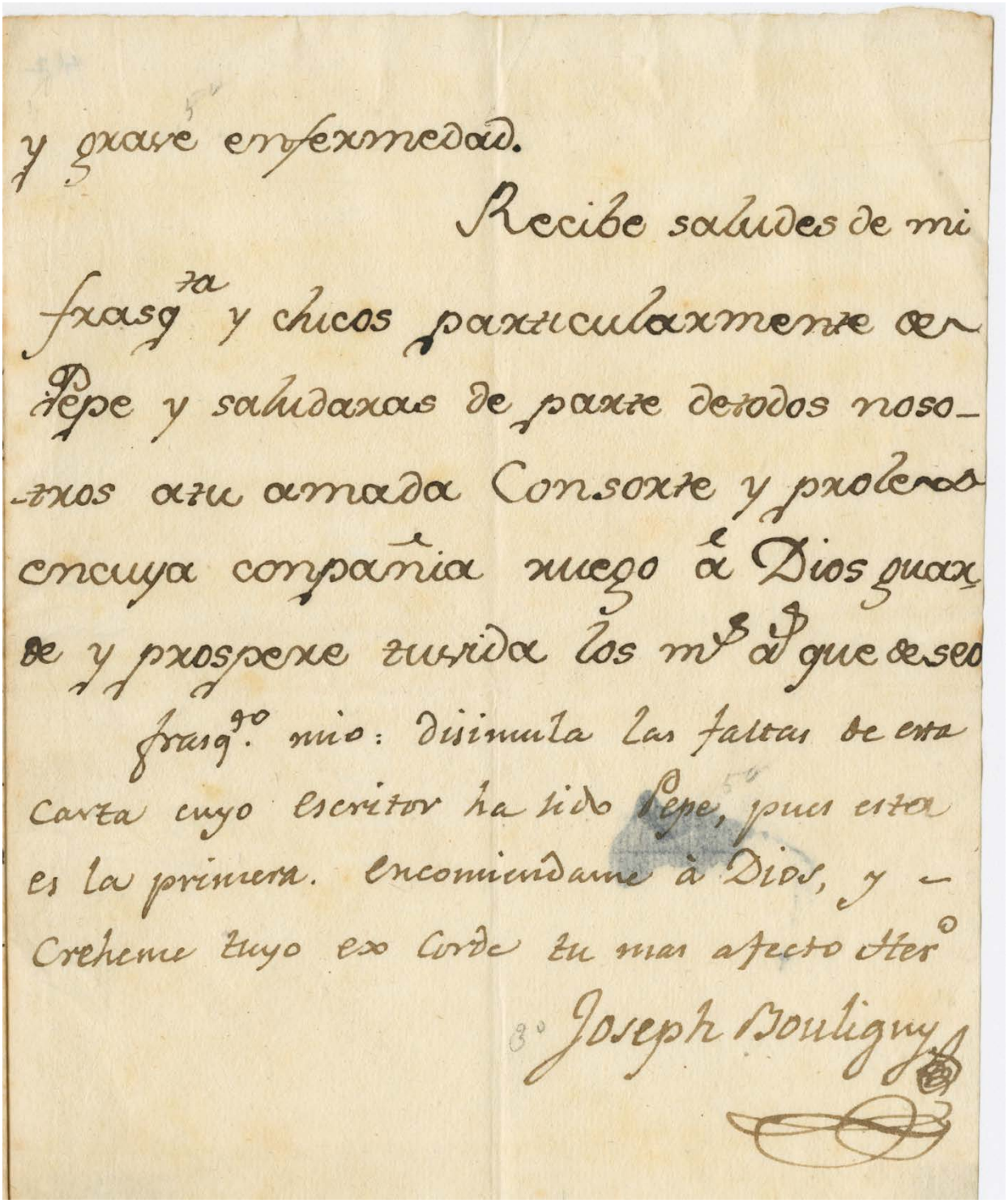
An example of my transcription is provided below (Figure 2.2). I kept the transcriptions as diplomatic as possible, that is, elements such as line breaks, spelling, spacing of morphological units, abbreviations, and punctuation are as faithful as possible to what appears in the handwritten document. I use square brackets ([ ]) within the transcribed text to enclose:

(i) illegible or unclear letters or words
(ii) transcriber's notes, including whether there are additions, insertions, edits or crossings-out in the text; changes in handwriting; or places where the paper is torn or ink has bled through
(iii) letters in superscript or other indications of abbreviations, thus I transcribe 'D^{n}' as 'D[super n]', 'nr̃o' as nr[tilde]o.

Within the transcription itself, I have not recorded information about materiality, e.g. line spacing, but it is included in my metadata/transcriber's notes and will be addressed as needed in discussion of individual texts. As Dossena (2012: 22) notes, the physical appearance of the letter can inform our understanding of the writer's self-representation or social standing, and is therefore pertinent to sociohistorical linguistic analysis. Note, for example, that in Figure 2.2 the first writer (in this case, the scribe), covers the entirety of the paper, to the point that he must break words up over two lines. This, in addition to his large, precisely formed handwriting and

[31] Ideally the transcriptions would have been performed and checked by more than one person. However, practical considerations made this impossible (cf. Dossena 2012: 24).
[32] Except KTCU MSS 600A B2 F28, which was oversize. In this case, I transcribed from the physical document and obtained a digital scan. The LaRC documents are available at: https://digitallibrary.tulane.edu/islandora/object/tulane:p16313coll29

variable word separation, perhaps indicate a less practiced—though educated—writer (Fairman 2008: 201).



y grave enfermedad.

Recibe saludes de mi frasq^ta y chicos particularmente de Pepe y saludaras de parte de todos nosotros a tu amada Consorte y proles en cuya compañia ruego à Dios guarde y prospere tu vida los m^s a^s que deseo

frasq^to mio: disimula las faltas de esta carta cuyo escritor ha sido Pepe, pues esta es la primera. Encomiendame à Dios, y creheme tuyo ex corde tu mas afecto Her^o

Joseph Bouligny

Figure 2.2: Letter from Joseph Bouligny, 1777 (HNOC MSS 171 F50) with transcription. Image reproduced with permission from the Historic New Orleans Collection (78-92-L, 50).

[page 3]
y grave enfermedad.
Recibe saludes de mi
frasq[super ta] y chicos particularmente de-
Pepe y saludaras de parte detodos noso-
-tros atu amada Consorte y prole[infinity sign]
encuya compañia ruego â Dios guar_
de y prospere tuvida los m[super s] a[super s] que deseo
[in different hand:]
frasq[super to]. mio: disimula las faltas de esta
carta cuyo escritor ha sido Pepe, pues esta
es la primera. encomiendame à Dios , y -
creheme tuyo ex Corde tu mas afecto Her[super o]
Joseph Bouligny

In the examples given throughout this work, I have kept the line breaks, spelling, spacing of morphological units, and also transcriber's notes where relevant, but I have rendered superscript and diacritics to aid readability. For example, 'frasq[super ta]' in the example above appears in examples as 'frasq^{ta}'. Additional transcriptions, corresponding to letter images presented in the rest of this work, appear in Appendix 3.

2.3.1.2 Authorship and audience

While on first inspection letter-writing may seem to be a straightforward case of a single writer addressing a single recipient, it in fact commonly involves several participants on both ends, each of whom might exert influence on the form and language of the letter.[33] The terminology for describing these roles is both inconsistent and a matter for debate;[34] I have provided here my own definitions of the participants based on those of Dossena (2012: 20). Possible roles on the production side of correspondence include:

Encoder: the person whose meaning is expressed in the letter, either having written the letter personally (in a holograph or auto-signed letter) or dictated to a scribe. This term is preferred over "author" or "writer" when distinguishing between the message and the physical process of writing it.

Scribe: the person who physically writes the letter as a personal or professional task

Secondary encoder: A non-primary participant in the letter-writing process but who is nonetheless represented in either content or signature. For example, Joseph signs a letter, for which he is both scribe and primary encoder, with both his and his brother Juan II's names.[35] Juan II's role, in this case, is that of *secondary encoder*. This category also

[33] See Bergs (2015) for discussion of tricky issue of linguistic features of scribes.
[34] See Dossena (2012) for a discussion of conflicting terminology.
[35] HNOC MSS 171 F 37.

applies to a person who is cited as providing a message for the recipient (e.g. your brother says he will write to you tomorrow) but who is not the active encoder.[36]

I use *scribe*, for example, as a general term for the person who wrote the letter, and do not include Dossena's distinction between *scribe* as a professional and *writer* as the person who wrote the letter because of the potential for confusion in the use of the latter. [37] This distinction can instead be captured by the contrast of *social scribe* with *professional scribe*, where the former is a friend or family member and the latter a paid professional (Nobels and van der Wal 2011: 348). Throughout this work, I will use 'writer' as a general term when the encoder and scribe are the same person but where applicable I specify that there is more than one person involved in production.

While the focus in historical sociolinguistics has often been on speaker-related characteristics which may influence language and style, including the writer's mastery of those styles (Auer 2015: 155), research on audience design (Bell 1984; 2001) suggests that intended audience also affects speaker style. Indeed, audience will be shown to play a part in, for example, the selection of forms of address and language choice (Chapter 5). I have defined audience roles as follows:

Addressee: the person to whom the letter is primarily written (addressed to).

Secondary Addressee: a person to whom the letter is not addressed, who is an intended secondary audience, corresponding to Bell's *auditor*. For example, Joaquin Bouligny y Fonseca writes to his cousin John Edward, asking him to forward, but read first, an enclosed letter to the latter's father.[38] In this case John Edward is not the primary addressee for the second letter but is a known and ratified participant.

Outside reader: In Bell's (1984) framework, *overhearer*: a person who the speaker knows is there and hearing the interaction, but who is not addressed explicitly. Here, this translates into a reader who was not explicitly addressed, but who could reasonably be expected to read the letter (e.g. family members).[39]

In the rest of this section I focus on the production side of correspondence, particularly authorship and the identification of scribes. In order to attribute authorship and proceed with sociolinguistic analysis, it is necessary to determine whether the person who signed or sent a letter and the person who physically inscribed it are the same person. This relies on examination of the physical document, especially handwriting, despite the fact that difficulties arising from less legible handwriting as well as the time investment involved in transcription of handwritten corpora lead some scholars to avoid such corpora (Fairman 2015: 59). Nobels and van der Wal (2011) propose a methodology ("Leiden Identification Procedure," LIP) for identifying the presence of scribes, which includes the following factors:

---

[36] Fairman (2012) uses *source* for the origin of the message.
[37] I also eliminate the category of *sender*—the person who sent the letter—which I find unnecessary for this project.
[38] HNOC, MSS 171 F 139, MSS 171 F 140.
[39] I do not include Bell's *eavesdropper* as a separate category because since the speaker does not know this person exists, s/he has no effect on style (Bell 1984: 160). It is possible, however, that speakers, aware of the general possibility of third parties beyond the *secondary addressee* and *outside reader*, altered their styles accordingly, although they cannot have expected that this group would include researchers two centuries in the future.

(i) explicit reference to scribal aid or a condition which changes the encoder's handwriting
(ii) comparison with other texts, both those from the same encoder and those from different encoders but with the same handwriting
(iii) differences between the handwriting of the body text and signature
(iv) the social status of the signatory, the historical likelihood of their literacy, and the quality of handwriting

Although Nobels and van der Wal (2011) test a digital handwriting matching program and call for increased interdisciplinary collaboration for attacking this problem, they find that "human beings are still undoubtedly better at recognizing matching handwritings" (2011:351).[40] I have not used handwriting recognition software for the data in my corpus for this reason as well as the fact that I have not found a program developed for French and Spanish. Additionally, I am working with a relatively small set of documents and the quality of the photocopies I have would not allow for digital handwriting recognition. While I am not an expert in handwriting analysis, I have followed the above heuristic in identifying similarities and differences in handwriting and have noted the existence and identity of scribes where possible.

One of the clearest cases of the use of a scribe in my corpus is the letter in Figure 2.2 above. Firstly, the content of the letter mentions the presence of the scribe as well as his identity: Joseph notes in a post-script that his son Juan III was the scribe and asks his interlocutor to ignore any errors (1). He also gives a reason for the use of a scribe, noting at the beginning of the letter that he is too ill to pick up a pen, leading us to understand this as an unusual occurrence. There is also a clear change of handwriting, and comparison with others of Joseph's letters (e.g. Figure 2.5) clearly shows that the handwriting at the top of the page is not his.

(1) disimula las faltas de esta
carta cuyo escritor ha sido Pepe,

Joseph, 1777 (HNOC MSS 171 F 50)

Other cases require a bit more work on the part of the researcher, as in the example presented below. The letters in Figure 2.3 and Figure 2.4 are signed by Juan I, whereas Joseph's signature and paraph appear in the letter in Figure 2.5. However, if we take a closer look, it becomes clear that the second letter was not in fact a holograph letter. We can see that the handwriting changes for the closing and signature, and comparison with the other two letters allows for identification of Joseph as his father's scribe.

[40] See also Smit (2011).

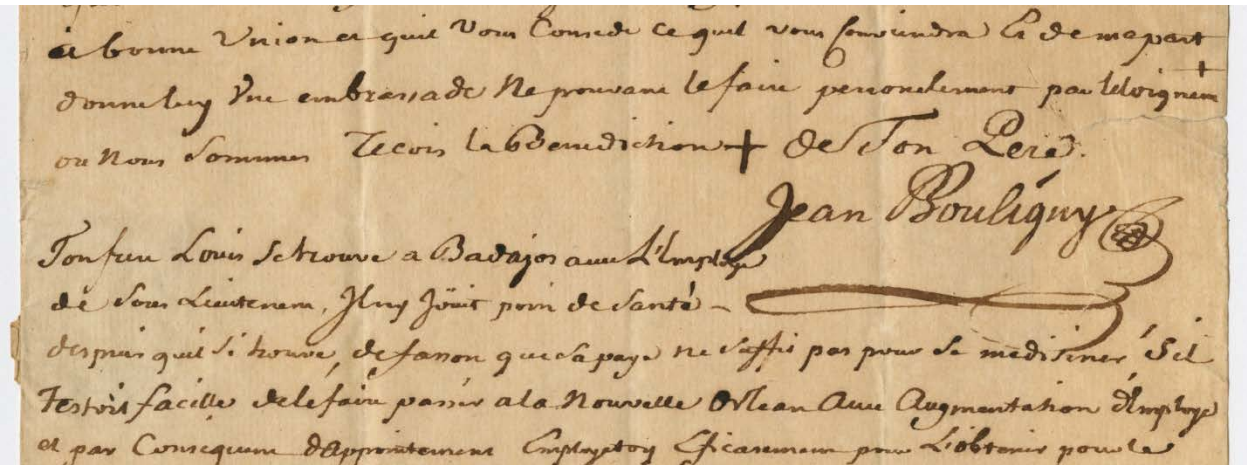


Figure 2.3: Letter from Juan I Bouligny, 1770 (HNOC MSS 171 F 30). Reproduced with permission from the Historic New Orleans Collection (78-92-L, 30)[41]

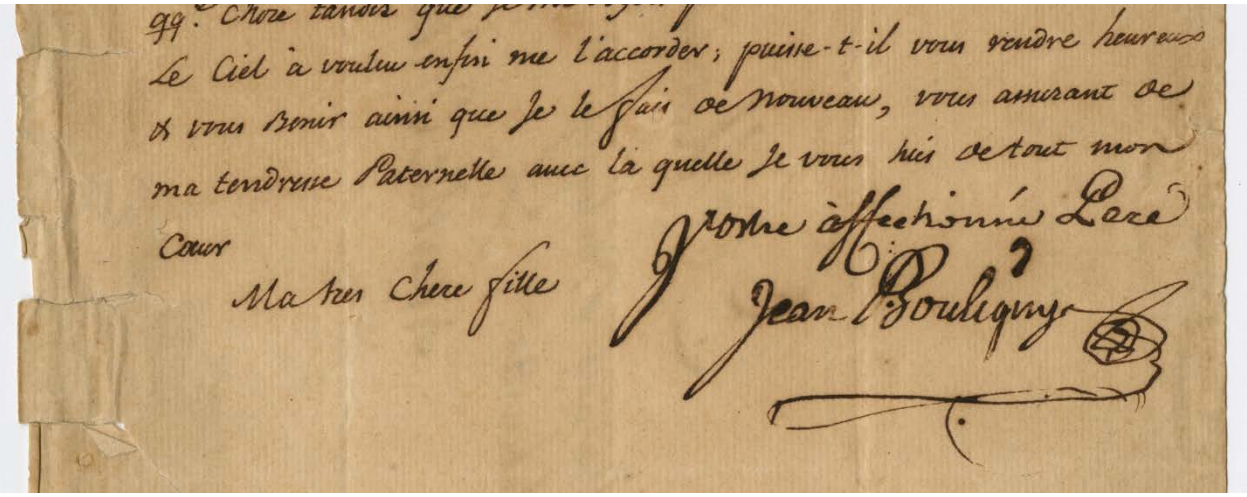


Figure 2.4: Letter from Juan I Bouligny, 1770 (HNOC MSS 171 F 28). Reproduced with permission from the Historic New Orleans Collection (78-92-L, 28)[42]

[41] See Appendix 3 for transcription.
[42] See Appendix 3 for transcription.

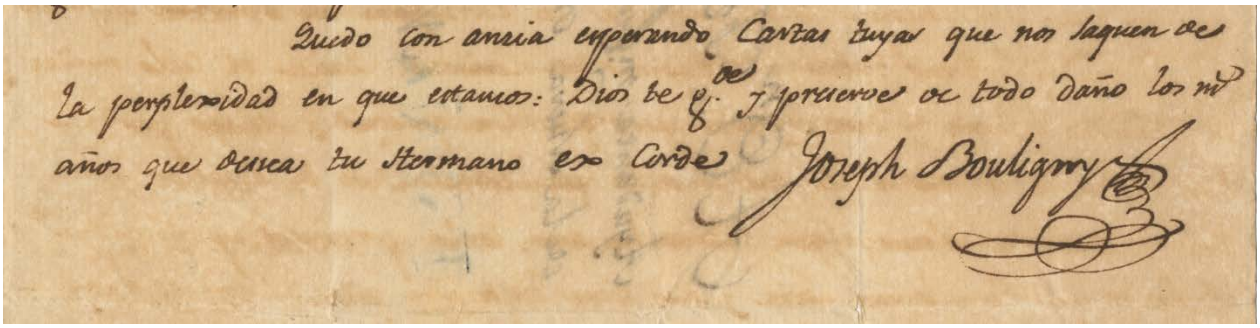

Quedo con ansia esperando Cartas tuyas que nos saquen de
la perplexidad en que estamos: Dios te g. de y preserve de todo daño los m.s
años que desea tu Hermano ex corde Joseph Bouligny

Figure 2.5: Letter from Joseph Bouligny, 1770 (HNOC MSS 171 F 31). Reproduced with permission from the Historic New Orleans Collection (78-92-L, 31)[43]

2.3.2 The speaker

In previous sections I have given a brief history of the Bouligny family, but sociohistorical analysis involving both the individual and the community requires an understanding of the family members in their sociohistorical context. In this section I therefore discuss the writers represented in the corpus in terms of larger social variables. The writers are fairly homogenous as to occupation and economic status, in that they are fairly well-off members of the merchant, military, and bureaucratic classes, so I do not focus on that aspect of their social position. I instead first discuss the names I will use to distinguish the various writers, given the family's naming practices, then the way the speakers are classified by age, education level, and language competence.

2.3.2.1 Names

Names in this family are quite fluid; in addition to given names and a variety of nicknames and pet names, most people represented in the corpus have both a French and Spanish version of their name, of which the spelling was also variable.[44] I discuss this in more detail in Chapter 5, but in the rest of the dissertation I have chosen one form for clarity and consistency. For those speakers who used both versions of their names, I have chosen to use the most common name or the one on their birth certificate. For example, Francisco I's sons Domingo, Ursino and Luis II were born into a Spanish governmental apparatus, and so were known by their Spanish names for much of their lives, but began to use the French versions in the first decade of the 19th century (Din 1993: 233, 235). I therefore use the Spanish versions here. The exception to this rule is for the sake of continuity within the family. Rather than differentiate those with the same name by using nicknames, as the family did (e.g. Juan III was most often 'Juanito'), I will number them by generation. So although Jean Bouligny, Francisco I's father, most often used the French version of his name, in order to avoid possible confusion occasioned by Jean, Juan, and Juanito, I will call them Juan I, Juan II, and Juan III, respectively. I will refer hereafter to the various members of the family who share the last name Bouligny by their first names since full names will quickly get cumbersome.

[43] See Appendix 3 for transcription.
[44] Some alternate names can be seen in the biographical entries in Appendix 1 and in the family tree in Appendix 2.

2.3.2.2 Age

Five generations of writers are represented in the corpus; author age at time of writing ranges from under ten years old to over 90. Since many writers produced texts over several decades, rather than grouping speakers by age at time of writing I have instead grouped them into generations based on their position within the family tree (Appendix 2). For those speakers in the corpus who are not part of the Bouligny family, I have grouped them with their correspondents by time of writing or, if known, those of a similar age. While this sometimes has the effect of grouping together speakers who may be many years apart in age (the oldest and youngest of Francisco I's siblings were born 28 years apart), it has the advantage of being somewhat less arbitrary in that it is based on an existent social grouping. This grouping allows for discussion of change over generations as well as change in real time, in orthography (§ 3.1.2 and 3.1.3), tense usage (§ 4.2.2.2), or even social norms in terms of address (§ 5.2).[45]

2.3.2.3 Education

In general, we have little specific information about the educational level or training of many of the individuals in the corpus. However, by examining the educational context in 18th and 19th century Europe and Louisiana we can gain an overall view of the education members of the family might have had, supplemented with what information is available. Simply the fact that these writers produced texts speaks to a fairly high level of literacy, but the texts in the corpus vary in several ways, including such material considerations as regularity of the handwriting and use of space to consistency of the orthography and use of formulae or intertextuality. Literacy, far from being understood as a singular concept, should be viewed as a set of abilities and practices which include everything from interpreting pictures to reading texts aloud to producing one's own name to composing and producing one's own texts (Houston 2002: 3). Fairman (2008: 193-4) calls this last *letteracy*, that is, writing as opposed to reading ability; this too can be understood on a spectrum of stylistic and lexical complexity and adherence to standard written practice.

Education in early modern Europe was very much divided by wealth, occupation, and social position, and seen as a way of preserving social distinctions. The lower classes, boys and girls alike, were for the most part restricted to the most basic education in literacy and labor, and post-elementary education was open only to the middle and upper classes. The general hierarchy of literacy, which of course varied from individual to individual, had landowners and professionals at the top, then urban merchants, artisans, prosperous farmers, with lower class industrial, urban, and rural laborers showing the lowest rates of literacy (Houston 2002: 6, 17, 142). The Bouligny family belonged to the upper tiers of this hierarchy, although they were not part of the nobility.

In Alicante, where the Bouligny family settled, the educational situation was in flux in the second half of the 18th century, and particularly in the 1770s, as the church and state vied over administrative control of education. Prior to this point, public education had been under the control of the church; most teaching was done by members of the religious orders. In the 18th

[45] See Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2013) and references therein for a discussion of change in real and apparent time. Bergs (2005: 60) approaches generations in a similar way.

and 19th centuries educational access was expanded to nearly all the middle and merchant classes, but in some cases with a reduction in quality (Larrosa Martínez 1993: 185).

The Bouligny family was part of a rising merchant, military, and professional class. The family was able to afford some education for the children, but the cost of this education seems to have weighed heavily;[46] Joseph, for example, asks for financial aid to help educate his children.[47] This education, and other money and favors invested, allowed the children to gain employment in professions that would in turn increase the family's wealth and prominence in a nation-state that was increasingly reliant on literate members of the military and bureaucracy, educated at universities and other, sometimes specialized academies (Houston 2002: 109-110, 86). Din (1993: 13) notes that Francisco I's family probably went to large effort both financially and in calling in favors to gain him entry into the military, a fact that would later come back to create conflict with his siblings over their inheritance.

The focus of basic education, particularly in Catholic countries like Spain, was at first on memorization of religious doctrine. Students then moved on to reading, also learning by rote, and finally to writing, learned at first by copying existing texts. Many children did not make it to this last step, especially if female or poor (Houston 2002: 65-9). In the examinations which became more common and even obligatory as the state exercised more regulatory control, students were expected to be able to spell (including explaining accent marks), read, identify parts of speech and other Spanish grammatical structures, and complete writing exercises, including transcribing a dictated letter. This was in addition, of course, to the heavy emphasis on Christian doctrine (Larrosa Martínez 1993: 24-26). Curricula also often included Latin, even towards the end of the early modern period (Houston 2002: 27). In Alicante, there was a special focus on pronunciation practice in order to counteract the influence of Valencian on the Spanish spoken (and written) in the region (Larrosa Martínez 1993: 33-4). Letter-writing, too, was a learned skill, whether at school or through reference to epistolary manuals. The latter became more and more explicitly targeted at certain populations and genres by the end of the 19th century, as literacy and writing culture diffused through society. Letter-writing began to be seen as a practical skill rather than a literary art, and the consequent didactic resources came to resemble collections of recipes rather than philosophical treatises on rhetorical style (Dauphin 2000: 56).

Francisco I Bouligny attended the Seminary of the Immaculate Conception in Orihuela. It was a school for boys which had opened four years before Francisco enrolled (1747). There he did a course in Latin Grammar and received a diploma in 1750.[48] It is Francisco I's only known formal training, as he does not seem to have received instruction in cadet school, but rather acquired necessary skills on the job (Din 1993: 12). The number and variety of titles in his library upon his death[49] suggest that Francisco I was "fairly well read for a man of the eighteenth century" and one of the best educated officers in Spanish Louisiana (Din 1993: 12, 228).

Francisco I's brothers and other male relations, as members of the Spanish merchant, bureaucratic, and military professions, received a similar, and in some cases more comprehensive, education. Bruna writes in 1846[50] that her sons (ages 12 and 10) are learning Latin and French as well as Spanish, and beginning other subjects such as geography, math,

---

[46] During this period, economic pressures were the major determining factor in the amount of schooling a child received, and the skills he or she learned (Houston 2002: 55-56).
[47] HNOC MSS 171 F 50.
[48] One of Francisco I's school notebooks is held by the Louisiana Research collection (LaRC 600 B 2 F 42).
[49] Of the 48 titles, only five were in Spanish, probably reflecting little demand and consequent availability of Spanish-language books in Louisiana (Din 1993: 228). See Din (1981) for a list of titles.
[50] HNOC MSS 171 F131.

drawing, and of course 'la doctrine chrétienne'. They were being given a comprehensive education although the desirability of particular professions has changed; although their father was a general, Bruna does not want them to enter the military because of what she sees as a lack of opportunity. Joseph's son Antonio (Tonico) attended university, studying philosophy there and mathematics in a *colegio* (the middle level of education) in expectation of bachelor and master of arts degrees;[51] his other sons were educated in unspecified *colegios* and *academias* (specialized educational institutions below university level). Several of the authors make reference in their letters to outside texts, both books and pamphlets, demonstrating a variety of outside reading.

For women, education in religion and housekeeping skills with some reading and writing was the norm; boys dominated grammar schools (Houston 2002: 24-27). However, it is clear from their correspondence that Francisco I's sisters and other female relatives were educated at least to the point of being able to write letters. Although we have almost no biographical information about these women, it is possible that they benefited from some formal schooling, familial instruction, or a private tutor or governess, a practice that was spreading down the social hierarchy by the 18th and 19th centuries (Houston 2002: 101).

For the Louisianan branch of the Bouligny family the situation was somewhat different. Educational and career opportunities for boys were limited in 18th-century Louisiana. Most army officers' sons (including the young Boulignys) followed in their fathers' footsteps and embarked on a military career, attending the associated regimental school which opened in the 1780s but closed because of lack of instructors by 1789. Domingo, perhaps along with his brothers, was educated here. In 1791 Francisco I took the school in hand, requesting copies of army ordinances and Félix Colón's *Juzgados militares de España y sus Indias* for instructional purposes. (Din 1993: 159-160, 181).

Catholic education was also limited, with many spending only two years in school and returning to homes on their plantations at age eight or ten; a fact lamented by the Spanish bishop (Heaney 1993: 196). After the closure of the small Capuchin school in 1731, there is no mention of a school until 1771. By 1795, there were four schools for boys of European descent, one a Spanish-language school (Clark 2007: 115-116, footnote 55), mandated by the Spanish government in a letter to governor Unzaga (Bjork 1925: 561). Din (1993: 159-60) speculates that Francisco I's sons may have also attended this Spanish school. There they would have learned "the holy fear of God, sound principles of Piety, and the Christian Religion" as the teachers' contracts put it, basic Spanish grammar and spelling, penmanship, and basic arithmetic (Bjork 1925: 565). At the higher levels, the four contracted teachers were to teach Latin, including parts of speech, syntax and translation. A few students did come to learn basic reading and writing, but none progressed beyond, and no students came to learn Latin (Bjork 1925: 561-2).

Education in Spanish was in fact met with resistance in Louisiana; in 1788, Governor Miró reported that the population had little interest in Spanish education and unless punitive measures were adopted, the students would continue to attend French schools. This disinterest in Spanish education is illustrative of the situation in general, where although Spanish was the language of the courts, the populace, with the exception of native Spaniards, remained French-speaking (Bjork 1925: 561-2).[52] While in the early years there were few formal training

[51] HNOC MSS 171 F 50, MSS 171 F 52, MSS 103 F 9.

[52] The instructors in the Spanish school brought with them a series of books for use in the library and sale to pupils; the majority were Latin works but some Spanish and a few French texts were included (Bjork 1925: 566). In 1780, however, the books for the school's library had yet to be unpacked. This is mentioned as possible evidence that the

opportunities for Francisco I's sons, the boys appear to have taken advantage of the few resources available before and during their service in the military (which they entered very young). They all grew up bilingual and literate in both languages (Din 1993: 160). [53] As for the later generations, John Edward and his brothers (Luis II's children) attended public school, of which Luis II was a staunch supporter (Martin 1990: 297).

Young women in Louisiana, in contrast to the situation in Europe, had much more opportunity for at least primary education in literacy and arithmetic, as well as Catholic doctrine, due to the presence of the Ursuline nuns. While we do not have any information specifically about the education of Marie Louise d'Auberville, her daughter, and her granddaughters, it is extremely likely that they, like other New Orleans women, received some instruction from the Ursulines.[54] Marie Louise appears to have undertaken her own correspondence, including for business and legal transactions, and was also literate in both Spanish and French.

The nuns, whose New Orleans convent had been established in 1727 (Clark 2007: 1), dedicated themselves to education of girls from all classes and races while also performing other social tasks such as nursing the sick and caring for orphans and battered women (Clark 2007:103). The sisters of the order were strongly connected to the female section of New Orleans society from at least 1730,[55] and probably had a hand in the education of nearly every woman growing up in New Orleans during this period, regardless of the political turmoil of the world outside the convent (Clark 2007: 156; Heaney 1993: 261). Heaney (1993: 138) notes that after the arrival of the Ursuline order, women were not married until they had received instruction from the Ursulines, particularly in Catholic doctrine and religious duty. This was in contrast to the preceding period, when women had married very young (between twelve and fourteen years of age), many before making their First Communion.

Perhaps because of their educational efforts, literacy rates for women in colonial Louisiana were much higher than elsewhere in the world. In the early 1760s, 72 percent of white women were literate,[56] as compared with 42 percent in France. This was a dramatic increase from the early years of the Ursuline presence, when only 40 percent of the population could sign their names, and male literacy was 15 per cent higher than that of women (Clark 2007: 114-115). It is therefore more likely that women from New Orleans, including Ursuline nuns, were able to write their own letters, especially in the early years of this corpus, and in fact we do have letters from Marie Louise and Soeur Marie Magdelaine de Jesus to compare with those of the men.

Overall, the members of the Bouligny family appear to have had access to several years of education which included reading and writing, sometimes in multiple languages, as well as other subjects such as religious doctrine and sometimes occupation-specific training. This varied from individual to individual and the later generations had more access to education than their older relatives. Gender also appears to have been a factor, particularly for those in Europe, where women in general had less access to education than men or their counterparts in Louisiana. This means that we can expect the Bouligny letters overall to show influence of education in one or

---

school never opened, (Clark 2007: 115, footnote 55, citing McCutcheon 1937) although it seems from Miró's dispatch that the instructors did have a few students.

[53] Luis II writes letters in both French and Spanish; his brothers must have had similar abilities.

[54] This despite the fact that Marie Louise spent several years abroad from ages seven to 14 and her daughter Josefina married just after her 15th birthday.

[55] For example, they established a laywoman's confraternity (Clark 2007: 76).

[56] As measured by ability to sign their names in the marriage register. The Spanish practice of not allowing illiterate persons to make their mark in the marriage register obscures these numbers for the Spanish colonial period (Clark 2007: 113-114, footnote 52).

more languages, and the letters are not for the most part the production of less literate individuals. Education and letteracy, however, varies between individuals and in each language, as we will see, for example, in § 3.2 and 3.3.

2.3.2.4 Language competence

As seen above, the corpus includes speakers with varying ranges of education in each language, leading to varying literacy (and letteracy) in each language. That is, though the network is bilingual overall in that bilingual individuals communicate in both languages, we find both intra- and interspeaker variability in language competence and writing ability. Some speakers in the corpus were most likely monolingual, even in their oral practice, and produced texts in only one language. This is almost certainly the case, for example, with speakers like M. Magdelaine de Jesus, a New Orleans Ursuline nun born in France, or Vincent Guillaume Le Sénéchal d'Auberville, Marie Louise's father and member of the French navy, and his correspondents.

However, we cannot make this judgement in all cases. Some of the writers who produced texts in only one language were almost certain to have spoken and perhaps written in both languages to some extent, even if this fact is not represented in the corpus. The most obvious example is that of Francisco I himself. We only have two of the letters he wrote, which both happen to be in French, but as a Spanish citizen in service of the Spanish army who receives a huge amount of correspondence in Spanish, we can conclude that this is simply a case of lack of documentation. Similarly, many of Francisco's siblings (Elena, Francisca, Luis I, and Theresa) are only represented in the corpus in Spanish, but given their family circumstances can be assumed to have some knowledge of French. Similar to Francisco I's case is that of Bruna, a Spanish national whose letters to Luis II and Francisco III are in French.

Degree of bilingualism is a very difficult feature to quantify, especially historically, and may change over the course of a person's lifetime. It is additionally tied up with considerations of education and literacy. In most of the discussion that follows I will discuss the writer's language competence qualitatively and individually. For quantitative analysis, however, I have grouped the speakers into four categories, where the middle two are bilingual speakers, as follows:

(i) French Monolingual (FM)
(ii) French Dominant (FD)
(iii) Spanish Dominant (SD)
(iv) Spanish Monolingual (SM)

NAME	BIRTHPLACE	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	OCCUPATION	PARENT (P) / SPOUSE (S) LANGUAGE	EDUCATION	LANGUAGE OF CORRESPONDENCE WRITTEN (W) / RECEIVED (R)	**CATEGORIZATION**
Le Sénéchal d'Auberville, Vincent Guillaume	Brest, France	New Orleans (French)	French Naval officer	French	France?	French (W, R)	**FM**
Marie Louise d'Auberville Bouligny	New Orleans (French)	New Orleans (French and Spanish)	French navy (father) Spanish military (spouse)[57]	French (P,S) Spanish (S)	New Orleans, France?	French (W, R) Spanish (W)	**FD**
Francisco I Bouligny	Alicante, Spain	New Orleans (Spanish)	Spanish military officer	French (P, S) Spanish (P, S)	Spain	French (W, R) Spanish (R)	**SD**
Joaquin Bouligny y Fonseca	Paris, France (to age 2-4)	Segovia, Spain	Spanish military officer, professor at the College of Artillery	Spanish (P, S) French (P)	Spain?	Spanish (W, R)	**SM**

Table 2.4: Examples of classification of degree of bilingualism

These groupings have been determined from the biographical data, including education, as well as the language of correspondence. In Table 2.4, I have provided the relevant information for one individual in each of the four categories to illustrate the classification process. Again taking Francisco I as an example, he would be categorized as Spanish Dominant because although he spoke and wrote French, he was born in Spain, and his occupation required Spanish.

[57] Although Marie Louise did not herself have an occupation, it is customary practice when dealing with historical data to group women with their fathers or husbands when considering rank or class (Nurmi and Pahta 2004: 435). In this case, her father's and husband's occupations must have had some effect on her social circle.

Additionally, the majority of his personal correspondence was in Spanish, although the only surviving letters written by him are in French.[58] There is clearly variation within the bilingual groups, from those who probably understood some of the other language to those who were most likely balanced bilinguals. This last group includes, for example, Francisco I's sons, who grew up with parents who came from two different language traditions, in a Louisiana territory where the language of official life was Spanish but that of private life was French. I have classified them as Spanish Dominant because their education was most likely in Spanish, as was, at least initially, their professional life, but they illustrate how this grouping (necessarily) obscures variation.

2.3.3 Analysis

I have selected case studies at three linguistic levels (phonology and orthography, morphosyntax, pragmatics) in order to both cover a wide range of features but at the same time delve into the specifics of a few features of interest. The selection of these specific case studies was based on a combination of factors. First, I chose features that were in flux in monolingual usage, have been the subject of scholarly interest in one or both languages, or are potential sites of contact influence due to structural similarities. For example, the rapid shift in monolingual French usage of the complex and simple pasts, especially as compared to the relative stability in monolingual Spanish, led me to focus on the past tense system (Chapter 4). Other features are of interest because of the nature of the corpus and speakers, such as phonology and orthography in a less letterate speaker's letter or self-correction strategies (§ 3.2-3.3). These give us important insight into a bilingual's interaction with the act of writing in a corpus where most speakers are fairly well-educated. This type of analysis is only possible, however, in a corpus that includes letters from less letterate speakers as well as edited drafts. Because the corpus is composed of personal letters, I chose to examine topics specific to letter-writing, such as forms of address in opening formulae (§ 5.2.2) or expressions of sincerity (§ 5.3). Other topics were chosen specifically to address issues of bilingualism, such as discussions of language choice or code-switching (§ 5.1), topics which are only relevant in a bilingual context.

Because of the variety of features under study as well as the desire to connect individual variation to community-wide practices, I approach the data at both the micro and macro levels. In practice, this means both that I move between analyses at the level of the individual and the community and that I combine qualitative analysis of specific examples with larger quantitative measures of how the data patterns over time or according to broad social categories. Quantitative measures are particularly useful for features with larger token counts and in measuring the frequency of one variant as opposed to another, as is the case in many orthographic features (§ 3.1) or even the choice of past tenses (§ 4.2). They also allow me to address my first research question, which asks how the speakers in this corpus behave similarly or differently to what we know of general monolingual usage by comparing large-scale trends. However, other questions, especially those included in the second research question relating to speaker-specific communicative strategies, lend themselves more clearly to primarily qualitative methods for analysis. This is the case for discourse-pragmatic features such as those discussed in

[58] I use the term 'dominant' rather than 'native' because one's native language is not necessarily one's primary language (Winford 2005: 382).

Chapter 5, but also for delving into the specific context of use of the complex past (§ 4.2) or individual interactions with orthographic norms in self-corrections (§ 3.3).

This mixed-methods approach also applies to the use of digital tools for text and quantitative analysis. The qualitative analyses are based for the most part on examples chosen from the transcribed text (in text files) and material documents. However, quantitative analysis implies extraction of tokens from the corpus. In some cases, I chose to extract tokens manually, as was the case for past tense usage (Chapter 4) and mentions of sincerity (Chapter 5). In these cases, which involved smaller numbers, it was important to control for variation in form and to make sure to include forms which might have been excluded in the digital text processing method described below.

For other quantitative analyses, I processed the text using Python's NLTK package (Bird et al. 2009). This involved first importing the text to Python and removing punctuation as well as text enclosed in square brackets ([ ]) so that my transcription comments would not be included in analysis. I then tokenized the text using the package's *word_tokenize* function for French and Spanish. This version of the text, which is essentially a word list (see Figure 2.6), was used to calculate word counts for each text and to extract words containing specific letters for the analysis in § 3.1. This means that punctuation, transcriber's notes and metadata are not included in these calculations. Words spread across two lines are joined together while maintaining as much as possible the word boundaries of the original document. This method does, however, have the disadvantage of removing any words or letters that were in brackets due to uncertainty in transcription. For visualization of the data, I created plots and graphs with R (R Core Team 2013) using the *ggplot2* and *igraph* packages. Other methodological issues specific to each case study chapter are treated there.

```
Out[7]: ['\ufeff',
         'alicant',
         'le',
         '21',
         '8',
         '1769',
         'jay',
         'receu',
         'en',
         'son',
         'temps',
         'mon',
         'tres',
         'cher',
         'fils',
         'ta',
         'letre',
         'de',
```

Figure 2.6: Example of text processing with NLTK

2.4 Conclusion

The Bouligny family corpus of private letters uniquely allows for analysis of historical bilingual language use at several different linguistic levels. The network of correspondence that bridged the Atlantic for more than a century is a valuable example of long-term community bilingualism. By examining individual and community practice both quantitatively and qualitatively, we can investigate questions of the effects of language contact on usage as well as the way that speakers navigate their multiple language repertoires in written communication with their family members. I have transcribed their correspondence and selected several case studies which I turn to in the following chapters as a way of approaching the research questions presented in §1.3: what are the effects of bilingualism on language use, how does bilingualism interact with convention, genre, audience, and stance?

CHAPTER 3 : ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONOLOGY

In this chapter I examine linguistic variation and contact influence at the orthographic and phonological levels and the ways in which they are represented in the written medium. I begin in Section 3.1 by comparing the orthography of authors in this corpus to prescriptive rules being proposed during the 18th and 19th centuries, a period of increasing standardization in both languages, in order to investigate the amount and distribution of orthographic variability. In Sections 3.2 and 3.3, I then explore the three-way interaction of phonology, (standard) orthographic representation, and bilingualism. Since contact influence on phonology is thought to occur even in situations of less 'intense' contact (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74-5), we would expect in this situation of strong bilingualism to see some contact effects on pronunciation. However, the written medium and the context of increasingly diffused and accepted language-specific orthographies can obscure evidence of contact influence. I therefore examine two case studies which give us insight into how individual speakers manage multiple linguistic repertoires and orthographic systems. The first (Section 3.2) is a letter written by a writer who is less schooled in the French standard and who may therefore show more influence of both pronunciation and Spanish orthography. In the second case study (Section 3.3), I examine letter drafts and copies to get at what authors' self-corrections reveal about their linguistic production, insecurities, and knowledge of and attention to the standard, and particularly the effects that language competence and literacy might have on that process. I conclude in Section 3.4.

3.1 Variation and the evolving standard

Broadly, the 17th-19th centuries were a period of increasing standardization and codification of both French and Spanish (Cano Aguilar 2008: 3076; Posner 1997: 46). However, variation was still extremely frequent (Pellat 2001:241), particularly at a distance from the institutional centers, and even those texts prescribing 'good' or 'correct' usage—which were, particularly early on, both numerous and conflicting—often contained internal variation and contradictions.[59] In this section I explore the use of selected orthographic variants by authors in the Bouligny corpus against the backdrop of prescriptive discussion and usage patterns at the time.

3.1.1 'Standard' orthography and the academies

Although language academies were not the only model for 'correct' usage, both the Académie Française (founded 1634) and the Real Academia Española (RAE, founded 1713 on the model of the French Académie) addressed orthographic issues early on in their dictionaries and treatises on language use. The Académie's first *Dictionnaire*, based on Parisian usage, was published in 1694 (Dubois 2003: 32). This dictionary, however, which took sixty years to make, was already out of date by the time it was published, a problem that also plagued subsequent editions to the 19th century and beyond (Catach 2001: 167-9). Not only was it behind the times, but due to multiple editors and infighting, the text was internally contradictory and disorganized:

[59] The history of debates over orthography is long and complex; for in-depth diachronic discussion see e.g. Catach (2001) for French, Esteve Serrano (1982) for Spanish.

"le désordre qui y règne, les oublis, les contradictions, les inconséquences, les lacunes, si on le compare aux remarquables dictionnaires contemporains que sont ceux de Richelet et Furetière; ce désordre [...] le rend difficilement utilisable" (Catach 2001: 194).

In Spanish, similarly, before 1800 there was no general acceptance of any orthographic system, and official acceptance of academic orthography was as late as 1844 (Esteve Serrano 1982: 14). The Real Academia Española, following in the footsteps of the French half a century later, published a *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726-39), with subsequent editions of the dictionary every 5-15 years beginning in 1780 (González Ollé 2014: 92; Azorin Fernández 2004: 27). Their *Orthographia* had seven editions published between 1741 and 1792, although the first edition at least was hurried and seen as a sort of side project not meant to impose or teach orthography, but only to fix standards for the Academy itself (González Ollé 2014: 133-4).

Table 3.1 details shows some of the proposed orthographic rules and changes in 17th -19th century prescriptive works. These should not be taken as absolute dates for orthographic changes—and, as noted above, may not even be followed in the works that recommend them—but do give us an idea of the major areas of doubt and discussion in the prescriptive literature at the time.

As we can see, many of the features that were under discussion were the same in both languages. For instance, both Spanish and French were dealing with the distinction between *i*/*j* and *u*/*v*, a legacy of the Latin system where the same graph was used to indicate the vowel or consonant. Similarly, the dictionaries addressed the regularization of diacritical marks and what to do with etymological letters, whether Latinate or Greek. However, there are also orthographic issues that are the result of phonological changes in both languages leading to a lack of correspondence between phonology and orthography. In the rest of this section I examine one of these language-specific features for each language: the choice of <oi> or <ai> in French and the Spanish distinction between <b> and <v>.

	French *Dictionnaire* 1694	**French *Dictionnaire* 1740-68**	**French *Dictionnaire* 1835**	**Spanish *Diccionario de autoridades* 1726-39, *Orthographia,* 1741**	**Spanish *Ortografia,* 1763**	**Spanish *Ortografía,* 1815**
DOUBLE LETTERS						
	double *n* and *m*, after loss of nasal vowels, (e.g. *année*)					
		suppression of double *l* and *t* after [i], [e], [ɛ] (e.g. *planet, chevalier*)				
ETYMOLOGICAL LETTERS						
	disappearance of unpronounced etymological letters (b, d, c, l) (e.g. *sujet*)					
				h kept at beginning of words from Latin *h* and initial /h/ in Golden Age Spanish		
				many words of Greek origin had *th*, *ch*, and *ph*	Greek letters abandoned	
				Qu kept for /kw/		*cu* for /kw/
i,y, j, g						
	replacement of *i* by *j* (e.g *je*)					
				/x/ represented by *g* before front vowel, *j* before back vowel		
	replacement of *y* by *i* (e.g. *moi*)			*i* used for [i] except in conjunction *y* and some Greek words, for [j] in diphthongs,		
				y used for [j] when initial or intervocalic		

	French *Dictionnaire* 1694	**French *Dictionnaire* 1740-68**	**French *Dictionnaire* 1835**	**Spanish *Diccionario de autoridades* 1726-39, *Orthographia,* 1741**	**Spanish *Ortografia,* 1763**	**Spanish *Ortografía,* 1815**
u, v, b						
	replacement of word-initial *v* by *u* (e.g. *une*)			*u* for /u/ and *v* for /b/		
				b and *v* according to etymology, where unsure, *b*		
c, z, s, ss, ç						
	replacement of plural and silent *z* by *s* (e.g. *dans, amitiés*)					
		replacement of 2pl verb ending *tes* by *tez* (e.g *chantez*)				
		replacement of long *s* (non word-final) by *s*				
		replacement of *s* by accents (e.g. *escrire*> *écrire*)				
				suppression of *ç*, replaced by *c* or *z* depending on context		
				/θ/ represented by *c* before front vowel, *z* before back vowel		
					distinction between *s* and *ss* abandoned	

	French *Dictionnaire* 1694	**French *Dictionnaire* 1740-68**	**French *Dictionnaire* 1835**	**Spanish *Diccionario de autoridades* 1726-39, *Orthographia,* 1741**	**Spanish *Ortografia,* 1763**	**Spanish *Ortografía,* 1815**
OTHER						
	replacement of *en* by *an* (e.g. *dedans*)					
			replacement of *oi* by *ai* (e.g. *français*)[60]			
		replacement of *ans* by *ant* (e.g. *croyant*)				
ACCENTS						
	extension of acute accent beyond final position	introduction of circumflex and grave accents (ê, è)		Accents to indicate word stress, especially in words of more than 2 syllables, and perhaps to distinguish homynyms (e.g. *à* until 20th century)		

Table 3.1: Selected spelling norms proposed in the 17th-19th centuries in French and Spanish, as found in the French and Spanish language academies' prescriptive works (Dubois 2003: 36; Pountain 2000: 169-70)

[60] Dubois (2003: 36) places this in the 1740-68 dictionary, but although the variant had been present for at least a century, it seems not to have been officially adopted by the Académie until their 1835 dictionary.

3.1.2 French

The 16th- 18th century variation and debate about the pronunciation of <oi> ([ɛ]~[wɛ]~[wa]) led to a split where a few lexical items and the imperfect and conditional verb endings were pronounced [ɛ].[61] The <ai> spelling adopted in the 1835 dictionary can be said to be due to a long campaign on the part of Voltaire—in contrast to the prevalence of <oi> in the works of many 18th-century authors—as well as the populist influence of the Revolution, which led <oi> to be seen as a mark of the aristocracy (Ayres-Bennett 1996: 195; Catach 2001: 306-7).

NAME	GENERATION	AI*	
		%	n
Bizague	3	0	0/33
Bouligny, Juan I	3	0	0/14
d'Auberville, Vincent Guillaume	3	0	0/4
de Jesus, M. Magdelaine	3	0	0/3
de Milleville, Pierre I	3	0	0/5
Seigne, Augustin	3	0	0/40
Bouligny, Francisco I	4	33	1/3
Bouligny, Joseph	4	0	0/1
Bouligny, Lorenzo	4	n/a	
Boutard	4	3	1/38
d'Auberville Bouligny, Marie Louise	4	33	1/6
de Milleville, Pierre II	4	0	0/2
de Vilemont, Luis	4	7	1/14
Galvez, Count	4	n/a	
Galvez, Countess	4	n/a	
Milleville Le Clerc, Mme	4	0	0/2
O'Reilly, Alejandro	4	n/a	
Bouligny, Francisco II	5	100	3/3
Bouligny, Luis II	5	100	2/2
Bouligny de Estefani, Prudencia	6	100	1/1
Bouligny de Herreros, Bruna	6	100	6/6
Herreros, Mariano and Gaspar Javier	7	n/a	

Table 3.2: Percent use of <ai> as compared to <oi> in imperfect and conditional verb endings for authors writing in French
**n/a indicates no data for that feature/author combination*

[61] See Posner (1997: 257-261); Ayres-Bennett (2004: 99-105); Lodge (2004: 131-2) for discussion.

If we look at the use of <ai> rather than <oi> in imperfect and conditional endings in the Bouligny corpus (Table 3.2), we can see that it is between the fourth generation (born 1724-1767) and the fifth that this change occurs in the documents. This squares to some extent with the break noted by Dubois (2003: 42) for Louisiana French speakers, where those born before 1770 still used <oi> at high rates. She found, however, that those born between 1770 and 1815 still used some <oi>, whereas in the Bouligny corpus use of <oi> in verb endings dropped to 0% for this group (100% use of <ai>). Note, however, that in some nouns—especially *connaissance*—the <oi> spelling held on a bit longer, even for authors who use <ai> in the verbs, so overall use of <ai> and <oi> may be closer to that noted by Dubois. Marie Louise, along with her husband Francisco I, appear to be leading the charge. They appear to be more, not less, inclined than their French correspondents to use the new forms, and their son Luis II has no instances of the <oi> spelling. In this, they pattern more closely with the planter or elite class usage noted by Dubois (2003: 53) for this period than the military or merchant class who continue to have high usage of older spelling features. Although Francisco I and his sons are military officers, Marie Louise's Creole family, Francisco I's high rank, and the fact that the Bouligny sons became planters after leaving the army possibly puts them closer to—and perhaps aspiring to—the planter or elite classes. This fact may have led them to adopt usage more in line with that of the upper class than other military officers, a case of change led by the local elites.

Other 'archaic' features often co-occur with the use of <oi>, even features which were represented in the first edition of the *Dictionnaire* almost a century earlier. Juan I's letters from the 1760s and 1770s, for example, show a large number of these features. He uses the vocalic <j> for <i> in, e.g. *il*, and in his letter to his daughter-in-law,[62] the verb *savoir* is spelled with the faux-etymological <c>. He is not the only one to use these features; we also see 'jl' in Pierre I de Milleville's 1748 letters, and Seigne uses the spelling 'scavoir' quite regularly in the 1750s.[63] Juan I's use of <y> for <i> in e.g. 'moy' is also not unusual among the older speakers in the corpus, and even a few of the younger, such as Boutard and Francisco I. He is, however, one of the holdouts, and in later and less formal letters we see a more modern orthography.

3.1.3 Spanish

The phonemic merger of *b* and *v* (resulting in /b/ with allophones [b], [β]), a phenomenon that had started as early as the 15th century, was complete in Spanish by the 17th century, although some argue for an earlier date (Núñez Méndez 2016: 144). Orthographic reform, however, was much slower, and hesitation between <b> and <v> was commonplace during and after this merger, particularly in internal position (Núñez Méndez 2016: 148).The Real Academia Española (RAE) weighed in in the mid-18th century—in both its 1726 *Diccionario de Autoridades* and the 1741 *Orthographia*— advocating for an etymological basis for deciding whether to use <b> or <v>: "Todas las voces, que en Su orígen Se escriben con v, Se deben escribir con la misma v, y las demas con b […] Quando Se duda del orígen, ó no Se le encuentra, Se ha de escribir con b" (RAE, 1741: 133-143).

Although spelling decisions based on etymology cannot have been particularly transparent to the average writer, it appears that by the 19th century, standardization along these lines had spread and much of the variation had been eliminated (Cano Aguilar 2008: 3076).

[62] HNOC MSS 171 F28.
[63] e.g. HNOC MSS 103 F 3; LaRC 600 B 2 F 20.

Forms of the verb *haber*, for example, appear in CORDIAM (documentos particulares, 18th and 19th centuries), with a <b> instead of <v> 58.5% of the time overall, with 53% of 18th century tokens and 75.4% of 19th century tokens containing <b>. This shows a shift towards <b> in this particular lexeme, although there is still variation in the 19th century.[64] The use of *haber* by writers in the Bouligny corpus follows similar trends, in that the use of <b> increases in the letters of those writing in the second half of the 18th century, but with a great deal of individual variation. By the sixth generation, variation appears to have disappeared in favor of <b>.

NAME	GENERATION	B*	
		%	n
Bouligny, Juan I	3	0	0/1
de Mézières, Athanese	3	n/a	
de Sarria, Marqués	3	100	1/1
Bouligny, Elena	4	n/a	
Bouligny, Francisca	4	n/a	
Bouligny, Joseph	4	15.5	15/97
Bouligny, Juan II	4	100	7/7
Bouligny, Lorenzo	4	n/a	
Bouligny, Luis I	4	0	0/2
Bouligny, María Antonia	4	n/a	
Bouligny, Theresa	4	n/a	
d'Auberville Bouligny, Marie Louise	4	0	0/2
O'Reilly, Alejandro	4	0	0/1
Bouligny, Francisco II	5	100	4/4
Bouligny, Juan III	5	0	0/5
Bouligny, Luis II	5	n/a	
Bouligny de Estefani, Prudencia	6	100	2/2
Bouligny y Fonseca, Joaquin	6	100	11/11

Table 3.3: Percent use of <b> as compared to <v> in reflexes of the verb haber for authors writing in Spanish
**n/a indicates no data for that feature/author combination*

Interspeaker variation is fairly widespread for this particular feature, but most speakers are consistent in their choice of <b> or <v>. The exception to this is Joseph, who uses <b> 15.5% of the time. His use is patterned according to verb tense and mood: only the imperfect subjunctive—alternately with the *ra* or *se* ending—takes a <b>, as in (1). Other tenses are spelled invariably with the <v>, meaning that for Joseph there was a split in this verb. This may

[64] *Haber* may be a particular and slightly conservative case; other words (e.g. *caballo*, *estaba*) already appear with <b> much more frequently in the 18th century, with frequencies of <v> remaining fairly stable or even slightly increasing in the 19th century subcorpus of CORDIAM.

have applied only to the imperfect subjunctive as compared to all other tenses, but may also be linked to the preterite form. For strong preterites in Spanish, these two tenses share a root allomorph which also includes a vocalic change. We do not have any tokens of *haber* produced by Joseph in the preterite, so we cannot be sure, but it may be that he interpreted <b> as part of the strong root allomorph with <u>, thus *(h)av~(h)ub*.[65]

(1) si no
ubiesse occurrido ubiera avido sobrantes para la susodha Remesa a Andalousia
Joseph, 1777 (HNOC MSS 103 F 9)

The individual variation may be conditioned by family ties. Juan II diverges in usage from his brothers, using the <b> form as early as 1790[66] while Joseph and Luis I continue to use <v>. This seems odd, considering that Joseph and Juan II were born only two years apart and co-owned the family business, while Luis I is almost 25 years younger than the eldest brother, Joseph. However, Juan II was the only brother to go into the diplomatic service, a career move that distanced him from his family and perhaps brought him into contact with other varieties, including those of the court. Meanwhile, Joseph and Luis I both acted as scribe or copyist for their father Juan I.[67] Joseph's sons Juan III and Francisco II show a similar split, with Juan III, who served as his father's scribe, using <v>—even for tokens in the imperfect subjunctive—as late as 1818. There may have been some influence along father-son lines reinforcing this conservative spelling, especially for those who worked closely together.

Joseph's Spanish spellings show many other older features; he retains the <ss>, for example, and besides his brother Juan II, he is the only author to use <ç>. This does not mean, however, that all other authors, especially those writing before 1800, show a modern—or even consistent—orthographic distribution, especially with the representation of sibilants and the velar phoneme /x/. We can see from the above discussions that while some overall trends for changes in orthography hold across time in the corpus, there is also a great deal of individual variation.[68]

3.2 Contact and orthography

In this section I examine the influence of both pronunciation and contact in the case of a single letter-writer, Lorenzo Bouligny. Like his brothers, Lorenzo was born in Spain but probably grew up speaking French, courtesy of his French parents. He made a career in the Spanish army and was stationed in New Spain for most of that time. It is clear from his careful, regular handwriting, including a signature and paraph, that he had formal instruction in at least the mechanical aspects of composition. His Spanish, shown in (2), conforms for the most part to standard orthography. However, we do see the effects of seseo in his use of <s> in 'conosidos',

[65] Strangely, however, he does not show this split in a verb such as *estar* (which does have a split in the modern language), instead using <v> in both the preterite and imperfect forms.
[66] This letter (HNOC MSS 171 F 63) appears to have been written by a scribe, but <b> also appears in his letters from 1792.
[67] Although the Spanish letter encoded by Juan I uses <v>, Joseph appears to have been his scribe, so we cannot be sure about his own usage.
[68] Other orthographic features showing variation in the corpus include (but are not limited to), for French: <j~i~y>; <u~v>, <s~z>, long S, faux-etymological letters, variation between single and double consonants, variable use of <h>, variation in accentuation and punctuation. For Spanish: <x~j~g>, variation between single and double consonants, <cu~qu>, variable accentuation and punctuation.

indicating that he would have pronounced this word with an /s/, as might be expected in the south of Spain where the Bouligny family lived, whereas elsewhere in Spain it would be /θ/. This seseo is a feature we also see in his sisters' writing. The second non-standard feature is the use of <j> to represent /x/ in 'Sarjentia'; an older spelling of /x/ which again is not uncommon in the corpus despite codification of the modern pattern in the mid- 18th century.

(2) Saludaras de mi parte â Toda la familia,
conosidos, y Conosidas, y Enparticular
Al Baron Carondelet, su Señora y Señorita
y diles si me pueden obtener la Sarjentia
Mayor del Regto ù la Tenenzia Coronela,
que al Instante Ire Gustoso.

Lorenzo, 1793 (HNOC MSS 171 F 73)

While some of Lorenzo's orthography in Spanish is non-standard, this is much more the case in a French letter written ten years later. The following excerpt (3) is from Lorenzo's letter of condolence to his sister-in-law Marie Louise in 1803; the various spellings here show the influence of both pronunciation and the Spanish orthographic system.

(3) Ma chér Seur
je vien de Recevoir Votre Lettre de 2[5],, may 1802,, par la quel je vua La pertes ireparable que vous venes de faire, de les Trois fois que aves ecrit, ze est la Zeul que je viens de Rezevuar, par la quel je vua que Vous ne aves pas rresu Ocune de plu[s] ieur de mes Letres que je vous ay Ecrit. La Subita pertes de mon Frere (quil Suat a la glauré) me há done le doleur que vous debes Cruare de Votre sincere ami et Frere, y bona [L]ua; y an Conziderant, quant profont sera le votre je vousprie, de vous vualúar de Votre Gran prudance, pour resistir Contratan si Sánzible.

Lorenzo, 1803 (HNOC MSS 171 F 113)

Some of the non-standard features in this letter are archaic variants that we also see elsewhere in the corpus. For example, he uses <y> for <i> in 'je vous ay Ecrit' (*ai*), elsewhere he produces 'ylia' and 'ylya' (*il y a*). This may be conditioned by family usage; his father Juan I still uses the vocalic <j> in many places[69] and <y> in word-final position (e.g. 'luy'). Lorenzo differs from his father in his use of the *es* ending in the 2pl form ('venes', 'aves'), although he is not the only one to do so. These older spellings may be the result of using older letters as resources or having learned from his father, or it may be the case that they are the result of hesitations about the correspondence of phonemes to graphs.

Lorenzo also hesitates about which words have a final <s>. For example, he does not mark the plural on 'plu[s]ieur' and shows variation in the first person of the verb *venir*: 'viens' ~ 'vien'. This indicates that for Lorenzo this final consonant was silent, but he was aware of its existence in French orthography, even if he was not always sure of the contexts where it appears. This leads him to produce hypercorrections such as the addition of <s> to the singular *perte* ('pertes'). Similarly, we note non-marking of the feminine for example on 'la quel', 'chér'

[69] HNOC MSS 171 F 30. A copy of this letter was sent later (MSS 103 F 6), but the scribe in the copy is Luis I. He copies his father's vocalic <j> as <y>.

(*laquelle, chère*), but hypercorrection later in the letter with 'Notre Frere ainée'. It seems clear from this that for Lorenzo the final <e> would not have been pronounced, either as a schwa or as a lengthened vowel in examples such as 'ainée'.

The effects of pronunciation are also particularly evident in his representations of vowel sequences, diphthongs, and single phonemes which in the standard are represented by digraphs. We see, for example, phonetic spelling of /o/ in 'Ocune' (*aucune*). In addition, Lorenzo's graphic representation of /wa/ is quite variable; he spells it in the standard manner in 'Trois fois', but more often uses <ua>, as in 'Cruare', 'vua' (*croire, vois*)—and occasionally spells the same word in two different ways, as with *recevoir* (also 'Rezevuar'). The <ua> spelling, however, can occasionally also represent /a/, as in 'vualúar' (*valoir*)—and we also have the reverse, where /wa/ is represented with <a> ('puvar' for *pouvoir*). The nasal vowel /ɑ̃/—either <en> or <an> in the standard—is represented with <an> throughout Lorenzo's letter ('prudance', 'Sánzible' 'an Conziderant' for *prudence, sensible, en considerant*). While it is possible that this is an archaic spelling, it seems more likely that Lorenzo chose one spelling to represent what was for him one sound. The nasal /ɛ̃/ in *ainsi*, on the other hand, is variably 'eynsi' and 'Ynsi', perhaps reflecting the difficulty of representing nasality. This is also true of the rounded mid vowels; /œ/ is represented fairly systematically by <eu>, as in 'plu[s]ieur', 'seur', and 'doleur', but Lorenzo does not use the standard <eu> spelling for /ø/ in 'Neveó'. This suggests that for him there was a difference in pronunciation between the two vowels despite the difference being masked in standard spelling. These examples showcase a writer who was probably not completely schooled in standard French spelling, although the handwriting, register, and style all point to an educated individual. The phonetically influenced spelling, then, is indicative of a lower level of education in French composition than in Spanish.

However, some of the non-standard spellings in this text are attributable less to a lack of knowledge of the French orthographic system and more to Spanish influence, whether orthographic or phonological. For example, Lorenzo shows variable use of contractions and elision. For example, he writes 'de les' instead of *des*, perhaps based on the Spanish *de los*. He also produces 'ne aves' (*n'avez*), but also 'quil' (*qu'il*), which show variable approaches to elision. It is possible that he would have pronounced 'ne aves', as separate words, but more probably he is simply inconsistent in marking elision orthographically. Even in 'quil', where the elision is shown by the use of one rather than two units as well as the elimination of the intervening <e>, he does not mark the elision with an apostrophe as one would in standard French,[70] likely because Spanish does not use apostrophes. Lorenzo's confusion of the orthographic correspondences for sibilants also transfers over from his Spanish, as we see him represent /s/ with <z> in 'ze', 'Zeul', but <s> in 'sincere' and 'Suat'. In this case, one phoneme corresponds to multiple graphemes, and the non-standard choices here are indicative of a lack of familiarity with French orthographic norms.

In contrast, the double <rr> in 'rresu' is not a standard spelling in either Spanish or French, but is perhaps reflective of a stronger pronunciation. In Spanish this rhotic would be pronounced as a trill in word-initial position. There is one other example of a double <rr> spelling in the corpus: 'honrrado', produced in a Spanish letter by Lorenzo's brother Joseph.[71] Only the trill appears in this context, that is, after a heteroysllabic consonant (Hualde 2005: 183), suggesting that Joseph's <rr> indicated a trill pronunciation in this case. In the French of this

[70] This is part of the 'new' orthography still in debate in the 16th century, but adopted by the 18th century (Catach 2001: 151).
[71] HNOC MSS 103 F25.

time the rhotic would likely have been apical, although at least in Parisian varieties the 'r grasseyé' (uvular trill) was an available, if not usual, variant. The latter emerged in the seventeenth century but there were still prescriptive recommendations for apical [r] in 1913.[72] We can interpret the double <rr> as an indication of a strengthened (trill) pronunciation, perhaps a sign of Spanish influence at the phonetic level.

Spanish influence can be seen particularly in cognates. For example, in 'me há done' (*m'a donné*), Lorenzo adds an <h> to the auxiliary. This would not have been pronounced in either language—in fact, we see many of the speakers in this corpus drop the <h>—but the influence of standard Spanish orthography most likely led Lorenzo to add it here. Similarly, in 'doleur' (*douleur*), the choice of <o> for /u/ seems odd, until we consider that the Spanish cognate *dolor* is spelled with an <o>. This leads us to question whether Lorenzo would have pronounced /o/ in French, or whether it was simply his spelling that was influenced by the Spanish. Similarly, in the case of 'debes' for *devez*, the fact that Lorenzo produces <b> here may be due to Spanish influence. This could be simply orthographic influence since the standard cognate form in Spanish is spelled with <b>. He does not, however, show the same influence in 'Rezevuar' (*recevoir*, sp. *recibir*), which he spells with the standard <v>. This may indicate that the influence of Spanish was only on the word 'debes', or it may signal a lack of differentiation in Lorenzo's French between /b/ and /v/, a case of Spanish phonological influence. Like 'debes', many of Lorenzo's words look more like borrowings because he has spelled them in the Spanish manner. With 'Subita' and 'resistir' (*subite, resister*) the question is of course what phonology he would have used to pronounce them, but it seems likely, given the fact that many of Lorenzo's other spellings are reflective of pronunciation, that he would indeed have used Spanish phonology.

The argument for contact influence on the phonological as well as orthographic level in Lorenzo's letter is backed up by the contact influence we can see at other levels of the language. Although a detailed analysis of these features is beyond the scope of this chapter, illustrative examples of influence at the morphosyntactic and lexical levels seen in (3) include the insertion of a Spanish conjunction instead of the French *et* in 'y an Conziderant' and the example of subject pronoun-dropping—which is grammatical in Spanish but not French—in 'les Trois fois que aves ecrit'. There is also the case of the Spanish verb *interceptar* –or perhaps just the French *intercepter* with a Spanish 3pl morpheme—in 'je crayn que lon me les [I]nterzeptén' which appears later in the letter.

It is clear, however, that Lorenzo is influenced at both the orthographic and phonological level when writing in French. We can speculate that he had less exposure to, and practice in, writing in French than some of his siblings, and therefore he is not as adept at producing standard spelling. Educational level in reading and writing is system-specific, and Lorenzo relies on his knowledge of Spanish written norms as well as pronunciation in the production of this text. This is an illustration of the fact that he is not working from separate linguistic systems, but rather a communicative repertoire. It additionally confirms the value of working with texts produced by speakers of varying levels of education and literacy. While those texts produced by the least literate speakers are perhaps the most likely to show oral features (Oesterreicher 1997: 200),[73] texts produced by those with a bit more education may show more hybridity in that they incorporate vernacular and informal elements alongside those that belong to more standard or formal registers. (Martineau 2013: 134).

[72] See Lodge (2004: 189, 216) for discussion.
[73] Note also that he mentions the value of bilingual speakers but only in diglossic situations.

3.3 Self-correction, drafting, and editing[74]

One of the problematic elements of textual data for linguistic research, however necessary such sources may be for the historical linguist, is the composed aspect that distances it from the spontaneity of oral speech, especially for more educated writers (Schneider 2013: 59, Montgomery 1995: 7). One way to address this issue has been the inclusion of more and more diverse sources which may be in some ways less composed (see § 1.1). Another is to examine the clues we have about the composition process itself, including how aware speakers are of their language production and how they modify it in the process of writing. Below I examine the compositional process through metadiscursive commentary and self-corrections. The former gives us insight into how much concern authors showed about whether or not their writing was 'correct'. The number and type of self-corrections may also allow us to infer a speaker's attitude towards the language they initially produced and its perceived 'correctness'. In addition to a general understanding of a speaker's attitude towards their writing, self-corrections show us what the encoder perceived as needing to be changed—that is, situations where the spontaneous language production differs from the finished document. Of course, these changes may be made for any number of reasons, which are not limited to reference to the standard, but they do give us access to the compositional process in a way that may not be possible with other documents where we only see the finished product (Auer 2008: 215).

3.3.1 Metadiscursive commentary

Most of the authors in this corpus do not explicitly comment about their linguistic competence, but we can imagine that many of them may have had the same worries as those who do. Joseph, for example, asks for the addressee's indulgence when he is forced to rely on his son as a scribe during a period of illness. He feels it necessary to add a few words to the bottom of the letter in his own writing (4), but he did not rewrite the letter, either out of material, financial, or time constraints, or because the errors were not so glaring as to prevent him sending the letter to his brother—most likely a forgiving audience.

(4) disimula las faltas de esta
carta cuyo escritor ha sido Pepe, pues esta
es la primera.

Joseph, 1777 (HNOC MSS 171 F 50)

The other encoder who apologizes for any errors in her compositions is Prudencia. She, too, makes mention of extraordinary circumstances affecting her composition to excuse any problems with her writing. While her apologies are rather general, we can understand from both (5) and (6) that her concerns are on the compositional and stylistic level as well as that of grammatical correctness. In both, she contrasts the message she is trying to express with the form in which she expresses it, which is in her view faulty in some way.

[74] Parts of this section were presented as *'b' or 'v'?: Bilingual speakers and drafts of private letters in 19th century Louisiana* at the 26th Conference on Spanish in the United States & 11th Conference on Spanish in Contact with Other Languages, April 6-8, 2017.

(5) Confio me dispensarán V^es^. lo mal escrito y difuso de esta carta en la q^e^. apesar de mi mal estado he querido en lo posible disfrutar del placer de hablar con unos parientes q^e^. deseo vivamente abrazar.

Prudencia, 1866 (HNOC MSS 103 F 20)

(6) Ayant oublié presque tout-à-fait le français je vous prie de ne pas faire attention à la manière dont j'ecris, mais de croire à la sincerété des sentiments douloureux que nous éprouvons à cause de l'irréparable pêrte que vous venez de faire.

Prudencia, 1867 (HNOC MSS 103 F22)

In (6), her comments are specifically related to her (perceived) lack of ability in her second language, French. We know from this comment and from the fact that Prudencia's earlier letter to her second cousin Marie was in Spanish, that French was not her preferred language. However, it seems, from the fact that the first of these letters is accompanied by a translation into French, that Marie did not understand Spanish. From the content of the letters, it seems that the two women had the opportunity to meet in the time between them and while one can only guess at the linguistic negotiations that took place at that time, it seems that Prudencia's switch to French was a gesture towards her addressee's language competence, but that she still felt the need to apologize for any errors. This type of explicit metadiscursive comment is unusual in the corpus, but gets at the linguistic insecurity many of these speakers may have felt, especially when writing in their non-dominant language. Whether this was actual concern or a pragmatic move to highlight an inexpressible depth of feeling, it appears to have been acceptable social practice and a face-saving strategy to ask forgiveness for one's linguistic or compositional errors—but only if accompanied by an excuse which blocks negative assessment and assumes the interlocutor's cooperation (Brown and Levinson 1987: 128).

3.3.2 Self-correction

The other way that we can get at a writer's process is through the changes that he or she makes when composing a letter. Although there are signs of editing even in fair copies—which could be the first and only draft—it is in letter drafts that we see the largest number of self-corrections (Auer 2008: 215). As we see in Luis II's letter draft shown in Figure 3.1, these corrections come in many forms:[75]

(i) crossing out, which can range from a single line through the text to a series of x's or a big ink blot

[75] The writers in this corpus did not, however, use rub-outs, which Fairman (2008: 198) found in his corpus.

(ii) writing over existing text
(iii) additions or insertions in between words, above or below lines in the text, or in the margins
(iv) differences (changes) between drafts or copies of the same letter

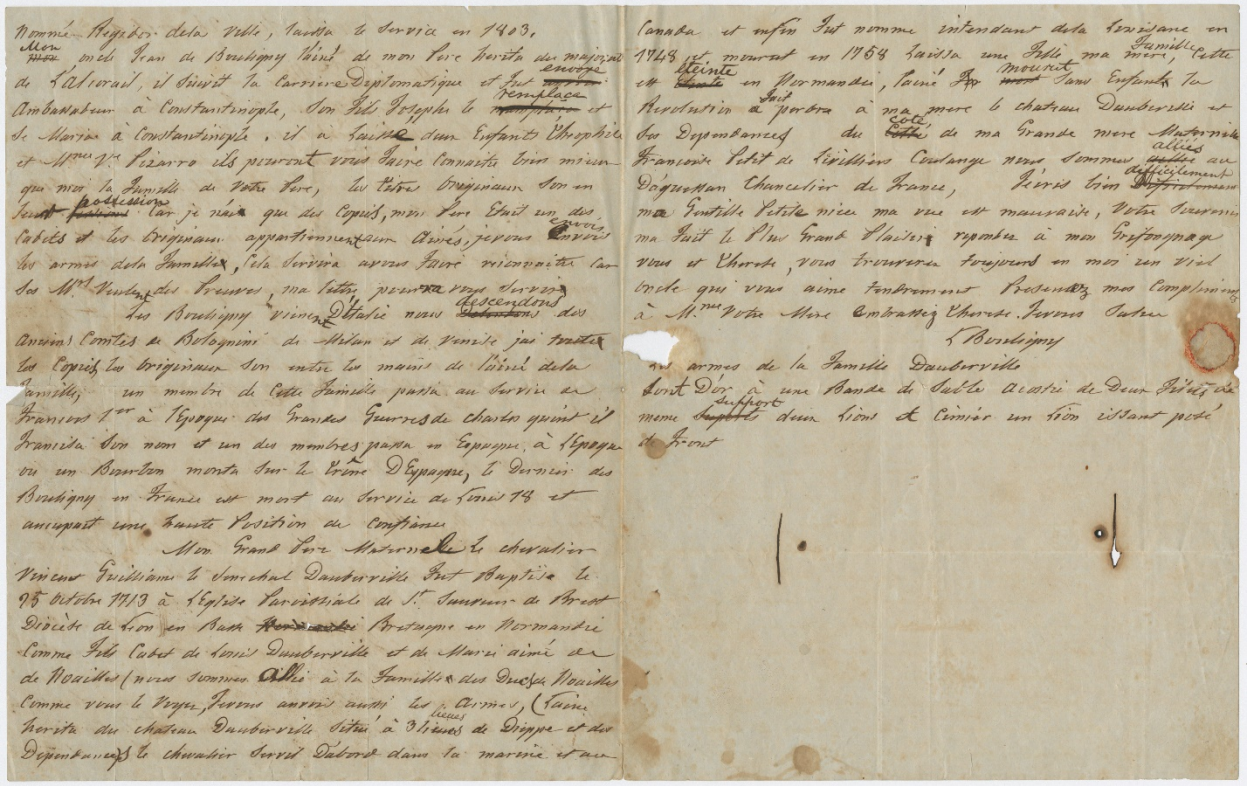


Figure 3.1: Letter (draft) from Luis II Bouligny, 1854 (HNOC MSS 171 F133). Reproduced with permission from the Historic New Orleans Collection (78-92-L, 133)[76]

The more pressing question, however, is what changes writers make and why. Both Auer (2008: 215) and Fairman (2008: 199-208) break down the types of editing writers do into several categories, including orthographic corrections, grammatical corrections, stylistic changes, and several other more minor groups. Although these changes can indeed be classified as 'corrections' in many cases, the term does carry the implication that writers are working in relation to some outside reference point in comparison to which one's writing can be *in*correct. Many writers, especially those who are highly educated—like those represented in this corpus—may indeed be aiming at this sort of standard language, but this cannot be said to be the motivation for all, or perhaps even most, of the changes authors make. We may see cases, for example, where writers replace one 'correct' form with another, as in the case of rewording. Even in cases where an 'incorrect' form is replaced by a 'correct' one, "the fact that her solution is grammatically 'correct' isn't necessarily evidence that this is why she chose it", as Fairman (2008: 204) says of one writer. For this reason, Fairman divides most corrections into 'style' or 'reality' edits—where the former may be changes made according to (what the writer knows of)

[76] See Appendix 3 for transcription.

standard grammar or orthography, but could also be in reference to some other yardstick, such as epistolary convention. 'Reality' edits, on the other hand, are changes made to the meaning rather than the style, which for orthography means the influence of the speaker's pronunciation—without reference to 'correctness' (Fairman 2008: 207). As we consider texts produced by bilingual speakers, we add another dimension. Bilingual speakers are managing multiple systems, including language-specific orthographies. They might, then, produce variants—or make changes—that are as much influenced by a second language as they are by pronunciation or the language-specific standard.

In the following sections, I will examine drafts and copies produced by two bilingual speakers, Marie Louise D'Auberville Bouligny and her son Luis II. Both were born in New Orleans and wrote in both languages, but they likely differed in terms of language proficiency. Marie Louise grew up in New Orleans—with a few years spent in France—before the arrival of the Spanish. Although her husband, Francisco I, was a Spanish army officer, he was also a fluent French speaker and their communication appears to have been primarily in French.[77] All of the correspondence in the corpus addressed to her is also in French, even those from Spanish speakers, perhaps indicating a marked preference for that language. Luis II, however, was probably educated in both French and Spanish (Din 1993: 160) and spent ten years in the Spanish army before transitioning to local politics after the Louisiana Purchase. He sent and received correspondence in both French and Spanish. I examine one French and one Spanish letter from each author. We have multiple drafts or retained copies[78] of Marie Louise's Spanish letter and Luis II's French one (two and three respectively), but only one draft/copy of the others.

3.3.2.1 Marie Louise

Marie Louise's letter drafts and copies are requests for assistance from acquaintances and family members in Europe about matters of property, inheritance, and financial interest. Despite the generic similarity, the documents differ in the amount of editing seen in the copies contained in the archives.

The copy of Marie Louise's 1802 French letter (Figure 3.2) shows almost no evidence of editing. As this is the only copy we have, we cannot know whether there were any edits made on a separate draft or even on the fair copy. It is possible, however, that she did not feel the need to make any changes after composing the letter. What we do see here are a few ink blots and instances where she runs out of space on the right-hand edge of the page and is forced to either break up the word and continue on the next line or add the remaining letters above. For example, in the third line, the <ir> of *recevoir* is placed above the rest of the word. This could be an indication of a less practiced writer who does not anticipate the length of the next word (Fairman 2008: 201). In this case, however, Marie Louise is not an unexperienced writer; these fit issues are more likely attributable to the copying process, where she was perhaps attempting (unsuccessfully) to maintain the same line breaks as in another draft or the fair copy.

[77] For example, he left her a note with instructions in case of emergency during his trip to Europe, written in French (HNOC MSS 171 F 42).
[78] See 2.2 for discussion of document types.

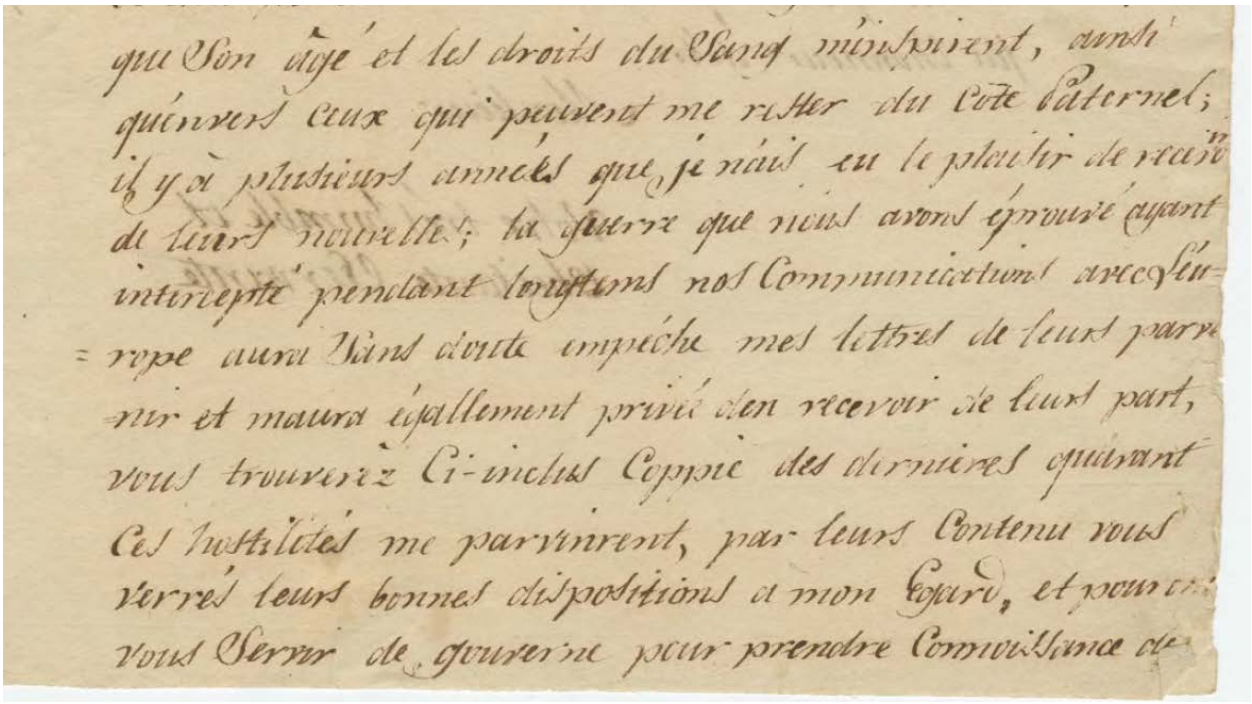


Figure 3.2: Letter (copy) from Marie Louise Bouligny to Boutard, 1802, Rosamonde E. and Emile Kuntz collection, Louisiana Research Collection, Tulane University (LaRC 600 B6 F23). Reproduced with permission[79]

While we cannot read too much into a lack of editing, we can note briefly that some spellings conform to the French standard as described by the *Dictionnaire* (1740-1768). For example, she uses 'ant' rather than 'ans' for participle endings ('Desirant'), but we also see some older spellings. These include double consonants in 'coppie' and 'Egallement', 'és' endings in the 2pl future forms 'verrés' and 'profiterés'—but not in the auxiliary 'avez'—and <oi> in 'connoissance' but not the imperfect endings. There are additionally indications in other passages in the letter that Marie Louise, like her brother-in-law Lorenzo, may have been unsure about the orthographic representation of some phonemes. This is the case, for example, for the /ã/ in 'montion' (*mention*), for which she uses the same orthography as for the final vowel, /ɔ̃/, although she reliably produces <en> in other contexts, such as in 'Egallement'. Additionally, the doubling of the <t> in 'mont tour' (*mon tour*) as well as its absence in 'don' (*dont*) suggests that Marie Louise, also aware of the existence of silent consonants, was not always sure where to place them.

In Spanish, we have two drafts of the same letter written by this author and are thus able to see the changes made between drafts as well as crossings-out and insertions made in the second draft. Many of the non-orthographic changes Marie Louise made are stylistic, including rephrasing of an infinitive phrase, the addition of a 'personal a', or changes in punctuation, although she also has to edit her recipient's name in both drafts. Her orthographic changes, made between drafts, are reflective of both contemporary variation present in monolingual use and her status as a French-dominant bilingual speaker. For instance, we see in (7) and (8) that she

[79] See Appendix 3 for transcription.

hesitated between <v> and <b> as many monolinguals also did, especially intervocalically. In both these examples she changes <v> to <b> between drafts.

(7)

a. el cavallero de Onis
b. el caballero De Onis

Marie Louise, 1818 (HNOC MSS 171 F 119)

(8)

a. Tomo la livertad de acompañarlos adjuntos
b. Tomo la libertad de acompañarlos adjuntos

Marie Louise, 1818 (HNOC MSS 171 F 119)

While these two examples perhaps make it seem that she only used <v> intervocalically in her first draft and subsequently edited it, this is not borne out by other spellings. She produced—and did not edit—intervocalic <b> in words like 'amaba', 'abandonados', 'obediencia' alongside those with <v> such as 'nueva', 'evitar, and 'esclavos', which all match standard usage. However, the examples above are not the only non-standard spellings Marie Louise produced; she also has 'huvieran', 'recivir', and 'govierno', all with <v>, all unchanged in either draft. When we examine these non-standard forms in comparison with the standard spellings and the edited forms above, it is clear that Marie Louise did not produce non-standard <b>; all her 'errors' are in the overuse of <v>. This is perhaps contrary to what we might expect, considering that Blanco (2006: 33) found that for monolinguals from the 12th to 17th centuries, almost all confusions were cases of <b> for <v> (or <u>) rather than the inverse.

We can therefore posit French influence here, since her choice of <b> or <v> patterns with the French cognates, except for 'amaba', where the imperfect ending in French does not use either <b> or <v>, and 'livertad', where the French, like the Spanish, is spelled with a <b> (*liberté*). This pattern is partially obscured by her corrections in the second draft, which indicate that she was aware that some of her <v> spellings did not match the Spanish standard orthography. The reason why she then produced 'livertad' is unclear, although is perhaps a hypercorrection due to her understanding of the partial correspondence between French and Spanish <b> and <v>.

Marie Louise's use of 'avril' in both her drafts follows the same pattern of following French orthographic convention.[80] This case has an interesting parallel, as her husband Francisco I and brother-in law Lorenzo, who were born and educated in Spain, write 'abril' in their French letters.[81] It is clear, however, that the standard's orthographic—but not phonological—distinction between <b> and <v> created difficulties for bilinguals as well as monolinguals. As with the case of 'debes' in Lorenzo's letter (§ 3.2), we cannot say for sure whether these speakers would have shown phonological as well as orthographic variation, but Marie Louise's self-correction (and lack thereof) show both hesitation between the two graphs and probably some awareness of the written standard.

We can also perhaps see French influence in the change made in the second draft in (9):

[80] Nurmi and Pahta (2004: 430-1) find evidence of code-switching in dates in English letters; as there does not appear to be a change with any other month or component of the date, I would not classify the examples here as code-switching (see 5.1.2 for discussion of code-switching).
[81] HNOC MSS 103 F12; MSS 171 F113.

(9)

a. Verificarse hasta nueva resolucion
b. Verificarse hast'a nueva resolucion

Marie Louise, 1818 (HNOC MSS 171 F 119)

Marie Louise adds in some accents (in words like 'francés', 'executó') and punctuation in her second draft, but in this example we see the addition of an apostrophe in the preposition *hasta*. This seems odd when we consider that standard Spanish does not use the apostrophe, but the influence of the French cognate *jusqu'à* may have led her to place an apostrophe here. She is not the only writer to place apostrophes where they do not indicate contractions; Boutard, for example, produces sequences like 'qu'alité' or 'àlaqu'elle' (*à laquelle)*,[82] most likely because of the prevalence of contractions with *que* that begin *qu'*. It is an indication, however, that she is influenced by the orthographic system of French in this case toward overuse of apostrophes, in comparison with her brother-in-law Lorenzo, who does not use them at all.

In (10) and (11), we see that Marie Louise also shows a hesitation between various sibilants; landing on <c> instead of her original <sc> and <s>. Like her brother- and sisters-in-law, Marie Louise hesitates about how to represent /s/ (in some Spanish dialects, but not her husband's, /θ/). This is again a case of multiple graphs for representing a single phoneme, although <sc>, unlike in French, would not represent /s/, but rather /sk/ in Spanish. If indeed Marie Louise pronounced this sequence as /s/, which her corrections seem to indicate, perhaps her spelling was influenced by French here as well.

(10)

a. quien à Tenido la bondad de ofrescernos
b. quien à Tenido la bondad de ofrecernos

Marie Louise, 1818 (HNOC MSS 171 F 119)

(11)

a. nos hallamos presisados
b. nos hallamos precisados

Marie Louise, 1818 (HNOC MSS 171 F 119)

We also see in (10) and (11) variation in the use of <h>: it is absent in 'à Tenido' but does appear in 'hallamos'. Although this was not uncommon in monolingual writing, it is interesting that it happens in the auxiliary *haber*, where the French cognate would not have an <h>. Marie Louise leaves it out in both drafts here—although not with the other reflexes of this verb (*he*, *hemos*)—perhaps because of the French cognate or the homophonous preposition.

3.3.2.2 Luis II

In contrast to his mother Marie Louise, the changes that Luis II makes in his Spanish letter are almost exclusively stylistic. Although we only have a single copy of this letter, there is evidence of editing. This focus on stylistic editing could mean that he felt confident in his

[82] LaRC 600 B7 F16; 600 B 7 F29.

Spanish orthography, although it is possible that this is not the only draft and that he made orthographic changes elsewhere. Again, he does have a few non-standard spellings, including ‘deve’, ‘baron’ (*varón*), showing variation between <b> and <v>, even in initial position. He also, interestingly, produces ‘hiernos’ (*yernos*) and the extremely rare feminine form ‘hiernas’ (*yernas,* more commonly *nueras*); perhaps taking the spelling of this initial yod from the French *hier*.

In his French letters, however, we see a large number of orthographic (as well as stylistic and ‘reality’) changes. Most of the changes are made in and between the first and second drafts; the third, which appears to be a retained copy as it appears on a lighter, larger paper with much less careful script, is the closest to standard grammar and orthography.

Like his uncle Lorenzo, Luis II appears to have a large amount of phonetic influence in his orthography, although in general his later drafts show fairly standard spelling. In (12), we can see that in the first draft Luis II has fairly non-normative spelling, particularly for the ‘silent’ letters. In subsequent drafts he revises the ending of the verb *suivre* from <e> to <t> and adds an <e> onto *carrière*, but his main confusion is with the verb *envoyer*. Like his uncle Lorenzo—who produces a future form of *envoyer* spelled both ‘anvoyeres’ and ‘anvoieres’—he is unsure about how to represent /ɑ̃/, producing <an> in the first draft. Notice also the <r> on the end of the past participle in (12)a.; indicating that for him the distinction between the past participle and the infinitive was simply orthographic.

(12)

a. il suivi[e] la Carrier Diplomatique et <Fut> anvoier Ambassa[blot]r
   a Constantinople,
b. il Suivit la Carriere Diplomatique et Fut ~~anvoir~~ envoyé:
   Ambassadeur à Constantinople
c. et suivit la carrière di-
   plomatique et fut envoyé
   Ambassadeur à Constan
   tinople

Luis II, 1854 (HNOC MSS 103 F24, MSS 171 F 133)

In (13) again we see the hesitation about silent letters indicating person and number in both verbs and nouns. In the second draft, for example, Luis II adds an <nt> to the verb *venir* and the plural <s> for ‘anciens comtes’. Again, we also see hesitation in the representation of /s/—here Luis changes <s> to the standard <sc> in *descendre*—and although his verb endings do not show the same variation between <-es> and <-ez> as we have seen in other authors, he does also produce ‘hazard’ (*hasard*). We also notice in this example the vacillation between double and single consonants in forms of *venir*, also seen in (14) with *chère*. It is interesting that Luis II produces double consonants in both cases and then reduces them to a single consonant in subsequent drafts, resulting in standard as well as non-standard forms. He goes the other way, however in another section when he changes ‘dificilement’ to ‘difficilement’—perhaps initially influenced by the Spanish *difícilmente*.

(13)

a. Les Bouligny vienne Ditalie nous Desendons
des ancien Comte de Bolognini de Milan et de Venise
b. Les Bouligny viene<nt> D'Italie nous ~~Desondons~~ descendons des
Anciens Comtes de Bolognini de Milan et de Venise
c. Les Bouligny vienent
d'Italie_ Nous descen
dons des anciens Comtes
de Bolognini à Milan
et Venise

Luis II, 1854 (HNOC MSS 103 F24, MSS 171 F 133)

(14)

a. Ma cherre Niece
b. Ma ~~cherre~~ <chère> Niece
c. Ma Chère Marie

Luis II, 1854 (HNOC MSS 103 F24, MSS 171 F 133)

While we cannot necessarily point to any clear evidence of influence from Spanish orthography in Luis II's letters, the changes that he makes are moving away from a phonetic spelling and towards a more standard orthography. Like his uncle Lorenzo, Luis II appears to be working from an oral fluency in French but standard orthography does not come naturally to him.

3.3.3 Discussion

We cannot always be sure that the edits or corrections made by these authors are their own work; it seems logical that they might ask for help from those around them, particularly if writing in their second language. For instance, some of the insertions in Marie Louise's draft appear to be made in a different handwriting, indicating that she solicited feedback from someone. Interestingly, the changes made in the second draft are all style and/or 'reality' changes, but the orthographical changes were made in between drafts. This makes it hard to tell which of the corrections we can attribute to Marie Louise and which to her suspected assistant, but the timing and category might indicate that she did one round of revisions on her own and then asked for stylistic feedback for this letter addressing a fairly delicate topic. Luis II's edits, however, appear to be in his own hand.

This leads to the question of what other resources individuals may have consulted in their production of these letters beyond their own educated knowledge. While we cannot say definitively that they did or did not consult any reference works,[83] it does not appear that the Bouligny family had any grammar books in their private library. Upon his death, Francisco I had a large number and variety of books in both French and Spanish in his private library, but none of them appear to be grammar or style guides (Din 1981: 314-15). However, even if the authors did make use of other resources, the very act of correction shows both the initial attempt and the editing impulse; many of the non-standard forms in the corpus were not, in fact corrected.

[83] For a discussion of reference works and letter-writing, see Sairio (2008).

In comparing the drafts from Marie Louise and Luis II, we can say that Marie Louise makes more orthographic changes in her Spanish letter than Luis II does in his, but the situation is reversed for French. This could be a function of the number of extant drafts, if we are simply missing earlier corrections. However, it is also possible that we have fewer drafts for these letters *because* the authors felt less of a need to make corrections. Auer (2008: 230) found that the higher the writer's level of education, the more they concentrated on stylistic edits rather than grammar and spelling; Fairman similarly found that the most educated segment of his corpus "usually spelt 'correctly' the first time" (2008: 208). While this does not explain all that is happening in the letters discussed here, it can perhaps be amended to note that the level of education or experience with writing in a particular language will affect the number of orthographic corrections made. The type of edits made is another question; we saw that both Marie Louise and Luis II were influenced by phonology in their initial spelling and most of the time—although not always—made changes resulting in a standard spelling. Marie Louise, in particular, was also influenced by the phonology and orthography of her second language.

The 'errors' and changes that bilingual writers make, then, can tell us about their mastery of (the written form of) a particular language, but also about the interaction of their orthographic and phonological systems. The existence and number of these drafts also tell us that at least some of these writers were quite concerned about the correctness and style of their final product. This attention to composition and correctness is made possible by a certain level of education for both men and women, as well as the availability of time and physical resources. However, the investment of these resources suggests that these speakers were seeking to present a well-written, contextually appropriate, and perhaps grammatically 'correct' form of their speech, and thus a particular version of themselves as authors. Particularly in contexts where the writer is seeking to present himself as part of a noble family (Luis II, §3.3.2.2) or in a petition for assistance but not charity (Marie Louise, §3.3.2.1), positioning oneself as an educated writer appears to have been important, seen perhaps as adding to one's credibility or worthiness.

3.4 Conclusion

Changes in orthography—and the rest of the language—in the 18th and 19th centuries are sometimes told as a story of increasing adherence to the standard language, as described and defined by linguistic authorities such as the academies. Leaving aside questions of the actual influence or internal coherence of linguistic authorities and their proposals, it is clear that individual variation, both inter- and intraspeaker, was more often the case. While it is true that in this corpus we do see a decrease of 'archaic' and non-standard spellings over time, we also see writers who break this trend, both within and across generations. Orthography is conditioned by the author's age, but also by variables like their location, the formality of the letter, their network, and also their education and control of the language-specific orthographic system.

It would seem logical that bilinguals would not have the same level of comfort and ability in multiple writing systems; we see particularly in the letter from Lorenzo that this is the case. In his case, a lack of knowledge of the French orthographic system often leads to a phonetic spelling, something we also see in early drafts of Luis II's French letter. As with monolingual speakers, the writers must manage both orthographic representations of their pronunciation and norms—if not official standards—of usage. However, it also means we must expand our understanding of levels of education and literacy to include consideration of training in language-specific norms.

In the case of bilinguals, however, there are additional elements involved in orthographic production. The first of these is the influence of phonology; if a bilingual's pronunciation is influenced by contact, this further complicates the orthographic-phonological correspondence. However, there is also the possibility of influence of other orthographic systems, particularly in cases where orthographic distinctions do not map onto phonological reality. It seems to be the case here that most external influence appears at points where there is already internal variation, at least for speakers who have fairly high literacy in the second language. This is true, for example, for the b/v distinction in Spanish, where speakers might import French orthographic patterns. Less literate speakers like Lorenzo may rely more heavily on patterns of phonological and orthographic norms from a second language to fill these gaps. In analyzing orthography, therefore, it is clear that we must take into consideration the fact that a speaker may be drawing from his or her entire linguistic repertoire, as well as the fact that non-standard variants may be erased in the composition and editing process.

CHAPTER 4 : SIMPLE AND COMPLEX PAST TENSES[84]

In this chapter, I examine the evolving distribution of perfect and perfective meaning as expressed by the complex and simple pasts in bilingual production. I focus on these two tenses, leaving aside the plethora of other ways in which speakers express past events—imperfects, pluperfects, the passé surcomposé, the historic or narrative present, past subjunctives, etc.—because it is during this time that the distribution and use of the complex past changed dramatically in French but not in Spanish. This emerging difference in monolingual production between the two languages creates a potential disconnect for bilinguals, and a context where we might expect to see speakers transferring patterns of use from one language to another. In the following sections, therefore, I approach past tense usage in this corpus from both a quantitative and a qualitative perspective to investigate differences in usage between and within groups and the contextual factors associated with or conditioning the choice of tense. In Section 4.1, I discuss the varying readings or 'functions' of the (present) perfect, its evolution in Romance and the contrast between the simple and complex pasts in 18th and 19th century French and Spanish. Section 4.2 compares monolingual usage in the French and Spanish systems with data from the Bouligny corpus and explores whether the Boulignys and their correspondents show evidence of contact in their use of the past tense in terms of form (§ 4.2.1), frequency (§ 4.2.2), or function (§ 4.2.3-4.2.4). I conclude in Section 4.3.

4.1 Simple and complex past tenses in Romance

Romance languages as far back as Latin make use of two or more tenses to express a range of perfect and perfective meanings, but the temporal and aspectual values expressed by these tenses have evolved since that time. For this reason and the fact that this is a comparative study, it is useful in this discussion to separate the language-specific tense names from their semantic readings or functions. I therefore avoid using 'perfect' or 'perfective' to designate a specific tense, instead reserving them for the readings or functions of a given verb form. That is, I use 'perfect' to refer to events with relevance in the present, whereas 'perfective' describes a temporally bounded event (without reference to another time point) (Comrie 1976: 12, 52). As for the tenses, I will for the most part use a morphological classification to distinguish them as follows: the periphrastic Romance past tense (present perfect, French *passé composé*, Spanish *presente perfecto*) is a **complex** past tense because it is formed by combining an auxiliary verb with a past participle; the synthetic, or **simple** past tense (preterit, past historic, French *passé simple*, Spanish *pretérito*) derives from the Latin aorist past.

4.1.1 The present perfect

In cross-linguistic analyses, the Spanish *presente perfecto* and French *passé composé* are grouped together as 'present perfects'. While both are complex pasts and are analogous in form, the semantico-pragmatic meanings of these tenses can be seen to be slightly different from each other and from the universal prototype of a present perfect. Cross-linguistically, the exact classification of the present perfect and the semantic functions it can be understood to encompass is a subject of much debate, but most analyses pull out four or five possible readings, which

[84] Parts of this chapter—based on a partial data set—appear in Thomas (forthcoming).

include both temporal and aspectual components (Bybee et al. 1994: 61-2; Comrie 1976: 56; Dahl 1985: 132; Howe 2013: 23; Schwenter 1994b: 998), listed below. These temporal and aspectual elements are based on the relationship between the time of utterance, the time of the event (or topic covered), and another reference point, which Klein (1992: 533) calls the Time of Situation, understood from other contextual information. The relationship between the event or topic time and the time of utterance is the temporal dimension; here, topic time includes time of utterance. Aspect, on the other hand, is understood as the relationship between the event (topic) time and the Time of Situation: for perfects, the latter precedes the former. The following possible readings then come out of the frequency and distance (from topic time) of the Time of Situation (Klein 1992: 539).[85]

(i) Resultative (perfect of result)
I have written the letters (therefore the letters are here and written).

(ii) Experiential (perfect of experience)
He has visited all the countries in Latin America.

(iii) Continuative/durative (perfect of persistent situation)
She has been sick since yesterday (and is still sick).

(iv) Hot news (perfect of recent past)
Professor X has (just) retired.

(v) Current relevance

Although proposed in many analyses as an additional reading, the concept of current (or present) relevance is often included in the definition of a perfect (Howe 2013: 25), and is implied in the other four perfect readings, so whether it should be a separate category is a matter for debate. Klein's framework is able to include current relevance by talking about topic time rather than event time (1992:539). In general, however, it is extremely difficult to precisely define, as Bertinetto and Squartini (2016: 945) argue: "in principle, any situation might be considered 'relevant' in the speaker's subjective perspective, and this makes this notion hard to falsify." However, as they go on to note, it is this subjectiveness that allows for reanalysis as a perfective rather than perfect meaning, so this aspect of the perfect is crucial to diachronic analysis.[86]

All five readings are possible for some varieties of contemporary Spanish (as they are, for example, in English). The contemporary French *passé composé*, however, is not a prototypical present perfect. One reason for this is that it also functions as a past punctual without necessarily invoking present relevance (Ayres-Bennett et al. 2001: 165). Linguists have offered several conceptualizations of the French *passé composé*, trying to theoretically unite these perfect and perfective readings. Waugh (1987: 18), for example, places the possible meanings on a continuum from perfect to perfective. Vet (1992: 37) instead distinguishes four readings: resultative, experiential, past punctual tied to the present (usually appearing in the context of the present, surrounded by present tenses), and a narrative past (past punctual not in the context of

[85] Klein's analysis builds on Reichenbach's (1947) model, and offers an explanation for the fact that many adverbials are disallowed with the present perfect.
[86] See Schaden (2012:289-90) and Portner (2003) for further discussion of the concept of current relevance.

the present)[87]. These first three are more perfect-like readings of the tense, but the last need not involve any present relevance at all.

Of the five readings of the prototypical present perfect above, the modern *passé composé* is compatible with the first two, but the continuative reading is not possible—it is not grammatical to say, for example, 'ça fait huit mois que Pierre a habité à Paris' (Howe 2013: 28-9, 34). As for the 'hot news' reading, as the complex past has come to be used more and more in narrative—where perfectives are preferred for sequences of discrete events (Bybee et al. 1994: 54)— we see increased use of the periphrasis *venir de* to indicate recency[88] (Ayres-Bennett et al. 2001: 181; Riegel et al. 2009: 453).

4.1.2 Aoristic drift

While the functions discussed above are useful for classifying the degree of 'perfect'-ness of a particular tense synchronically; they can also be placed on a grammaticalization cline towards perfectivity over time. The evolution of the simple and complex past tenses in the Romance family has been schematized by Harris (1982) as a process whereby the complex past takes on more and more prototypically 'perfective' meanings— thereby losing some of its 'perfect'-ness. This has implications for the distribution of the simple past as well; as the complex past allows for more perfective readings, it encroaches on the sphere of usage of the simple past, eventually reaching a stage where the only distinction between the two is that of style and/or medium. This process has been termed 'aoristic drift' by Squartini and Bertinetto (2000: 404), and can be understood as a series of successively broader semantic generalizations, a cross-linguistically robust pattern (Condoravdi and Deo 2008).

The functions of the complex past are laid out with reference to the Romance family by Harris (1982: 49-50)[89] as follows: Stage I: present states resulting from past actions; Stage II: past events with current relevance with durative or repetitive aspect; Stage III: past action with present relevance (the prototypical 'present perfect' value); and Stage IV: the simple past is limited to formal or written registers; elsewhere the complex past can be used in all past contexts. While there are problems with Harris' neat four-stage framework, particularly II and III (Squartini and Bertinetto 2000: 419; Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 946; Amaral and Howe 2010: 388), it gives us a way to understand the grammaticalization process that appears to take place in largely similar ways in various Romance dialects, although there is variation in the pace and extent of these changes.[90] Alarcos Llorach (1947: 136) posits a very similar framework for Spanish which differs from Harris' in that it does not reach the final stage of near-loss of the simple past which, after all, has only occurred in modern French and Northern Italian. Instead, it breaks down Harris's stage III into (3) 'hot news' (punctual actions occurring immediately before the present), and (4) 'extended present' (current relevance).

Schwenter (1994b: 1013) discusses the pragmatic bridges leading to these last two stages, arguing that because the perfect often occurs in a time that is recent to the utterance, it gains an

[87] See also Ritz (2002) and de Swart (2007) for semantic and discourse analysis approaches to reconciling these uses of the *passé composé.*

[88] Harris (1978: 151) sees this as part of a cycle of typological change. Other Romance languages have similar periphrases, such as the Spanish *acabar de*, to express a recently completed event (Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 943).

[89] See also Fleischman (1983).

[90] See Bertinetto and Squartini (2016) for a comparative discussion.

added meaning of 'recency'—i.e. the 'hot news', but is still seen as relevant/continuing to the present moment. He additionally describes how the 'hot news' perfect interpretation could then lead to a simply perfective meaning: the 'recentness' or 'presentness' erodes, leaving a perfective past interpretation available at increasing temporal distance from the present.[91] Schaden (2012: 272) models this meaning shift as a mismatch between a speaker's tendency to overestimate the current relevance of their contribution, which is not compensated for by the hearer. It is this mismatch which leads to the eventual elimination of the simple past, or to the point of contemporary French, where the simple and complex pasts can be used to describe perfective events and are differentiated by constraints of genre and medium rather than by temporal or aspectual considerations. This semantic generalization is accompanied by other grammaticalization processes, namely increase in frequency and reduced syntactic flexibility (Schwenter and Torres-Cacoullos 2008: 33, Company Company 1983: 237-8).[92]

4.1.3 Diverging paths: French and Spanish in the 17th-19th centuries

In Old French it was common to alternate between the simple and complex pasts ('functional multiplicity', as it is termed by Ayres-Bennett et al. (2001: 171)), but with the emergence of prose texts and a focus on chronology and written rather than oral discourse, the distinctions between the complex and simple past became more consistent and predictable. In the 14th-16th centuries (Middle French) the simple past was being used as a past punctual but was in fact already ceding ground to the complex past when relating recent events with a connection to the present (Ayres-Bennett et al 2001: 172). By the 15th century use of the simple past could be as low as 30% (Ranson 2009: 43),[93] and this move towards use of the complex instead of the simple past continued over the next few centuries. In the 17th century the usage of the complex past was numerically superior to that of the simple past (Caron and Liu 1999: 39). Grammarians in the 18th century note that it had fallen out of popular usage (Labeau 2015: 176) and by this time "spoken narrative can be reported exclusively" using the complex past (Posner 1997: 205). In newspapers, McLaughlin (in progress) also finds a sharp decrease in the use of the simple past at the end of the 18th century, with frequencies comparable to those seen today. By this time, then, we see that the simple and complex past can be used interchangeably, or are distinguished according to register or style rather than tense or aspect. Despite the fact that the simple past finds a life in certain written contexts (dramatic dialogue, narration) or geographic areas (the south of France),[94] by the 19th century it had more or less been replaced by the complex past in oral usage (Labeau 2015: 176).[95]

In Spanish, the complex past could be used for continuative contexts as well as resultative meanings beginning in the 13th century. By the end of the 15th century the complex past was more frequent and had also begun to be used to indicate punctual events in the extended

[91] See Schwenter (1994a) for a description of a current instantiation of this process in the dialect of Alicante (coincidentally where the Bouligny family lived).
[92] Copple (2013) and Company Company (1983) discuss the grammaticalization process with reference to verb categories (telicity, transitivity).
[93] As measured in one prose text, *Mémoires de Philippe de Commynes* (1465).
[94] "In, for instance, the letters written by young soldiers to their relatives at home in Auvergne, during the Revolutionary campaigns of 1792-5, there is ample evidence of use of the *passé simple*, as of the past subjunctive (Bouscayrol 1987)." (Posner 1997: 205).
[95] See Ayres-Bennett et al. (2001: 174), Posner (1997: 319) and Labeau (2015: 175) for a discussion of the possible role of morphological complexity in the loss of the *passé simple*.

present (‘presente ampliado’), as in French. This context was expanded slightly in the sixteenth century to include the recent past (Alarcos Llorach 1947: 135). These changes seem to have spread south and west through Spain, though various Latin American varieties did not share in subsequent changes (Westmoreland 1988: 381).[96]. Although Westmoreland argues that the current peninsular norm was established by the 17th century, we will see below that there has in fact been some slight development in the following centuries, though there was nowhere near the same rate of change as in French. In terms of overall frequency, Copple (2013: 64) found that the percent use of the complex past went from 37% in the 17th century to 49% in the 19th century in a corpus of plays.

The comparison of corpora comprised of data from different regions, text types, registers, and even media shows the immense amount of variation within each variety. This variation both provides a more nuanced view of the overall trends in each language and makes direct comparison between corpora difficult. However, these disparate studies do give us a starting point and, taken together, present a larger picture of trends over time. In this case, we see some significant differences between the frequency of use of the past tenses in French and Spanish perhaps already by the 15th century. However, it is the relatively rapid rise of the complex past in French—and concomitant loss of the simple past—from the 17th-19th centuries which has no parallel development in Spanish and has resulted in the differences seen in the modern varieties.

4.2 Bilingual usage

Given the changes detailed above in monolingual usage, the question arises as to whether bilingual language use might show the same patterns as monolinguals or do something completely different. During this time period, bilinguals are dealing with two past tense systems which, while formally analogous, are getting further apart in terms of distribution patterns in both frequency and context of use.

We can hypothesize several ways in which the diverging situation in French and Spanish past tenses might manifest itself in the Bouligny letters, which can be grouped into two categories: i) contact effects on **form** (§ 4.2.1) and ii) contact effects on **usage** (§ 4.2.2-4.2.4). The former encompasses auxiliary use and agreement of the past participle, while the latter deals with changes in both frequency and meaning. To examine these effects, I pulled out all instances of complex and simple past tenses in the corpus: 886 total (423 French, 463 Spanish).[97]

4.2.1 Auxiliary selection and past participle agreement

While mostly analogous, there are a few aspects which differentiate the complex past in French and Spanish and are therefore possible sites of contact influence: auxiliary selection and agreement of the past participle. Modern French uses a *BE*-auxiliary (derived from Latin ESSE) in a fixed set of verbs and pronominal constructions, and the *HAVE*-auxiliary elsewhere (from HABERE). The past participle agrees in gender and number with the subject (*BE*-auxiliary) or (normatively) with a preposed direct object. After heated discussion by grammarians, the prescriptive rules for auxiliary choice and agreement were defined in the 1500s and refined over the next century (Posner 1996: 257-9). Although Old Spanish also shows evidence of a *BE*-

[96] Schwenter and Torres-Cacoullos (2008) and Howe (2013) examine this dialectal variation in modern Spanish.
[97] I count examples with two past participles but only one auxiliary verb as one (e.g. elle n’a rien touché ni demandé).

auxiliary and past participle agreement, the possibility of both ended in about the sixteenth century (Penny 1991: 212; Posner 1996: 257; Company Company 1983: 238-9).

Agreement of the past participle in French was more variable diachronically, especially as the prescriptivist arguments about the exact rules of which participles should show agreement intensified. During the 18th century the simplified version of the so-called *règle de position* (a participle with *avoir* agrees with the preceding direct object) gained widespread acceptance, at least among language authorities (Smith 1993: 101-3). Agreement is also prescribed with the BE- auxiliary, including pronominals. That is, in the French of the 18th century, norms dictate use of a *BE*-auxiliary and past participle agreement in certain situations, whereas Spanish speakers of the same time period would exclusively use a *HAVE*-auxiliary and an invariable past participle.

Bilingual speakers, therefore, could show influence of these differing systems in the following ways:

(i) incorrect auxiliary, i.e. overuse of *HAVE*-auxiliary in French,
(ii) use of the *BE*-auxiliary in Spanish
(iii) lack of—or possibly non-standard—agreement in French ((c)-(e) in §4.2.1.2 below)
(iv) agreement of the past participle in Spanish

While (ii) and (iv) show overapplication of a grammatical rule, from French to Spanish, (i) and (iii) would show an underapplication of the French rule. This latter could be argued to be the result of Spanish influence, but could also be simple underapplication of a rule which is, especially in the case of (iii), largely redundant in terms of meaning since it is marked elsewhere. Its audibility in spoken language is also questionable; the distinction between masculine and feminine participial forms outlived the loss of the schwa and lasted to at least the beginning of the nineteenth century, but likely only as a lengthened final vowel (Smith 1993: 106-7). The increasing lack of correlation between phonology and orthography as well as the redundancy of the information conveyed would lead us to expect a lower rate of agreement marking in monolingual as well as bilingual speakers.

4.2.1.1 Auxiliary selection

The corpus did not show any evidence of Spanish use of *ser* as an auxiliary (including no passives formed with *ser*). In French, there was only one examples of what might appear to be non-standard auxiliary use:

(1) je vous ai Ecrit a tous deux
par un Navire de Bordeaux qui **a partit** dans La fin
d'avril ou au Commencement de May [98]

Augustin Seigne, 1756 (LaRC 600 B2 F20)

In (1), Seigne uses *avoir* with *partir* instead of the expected auxiliary *être*. However, this cannot be attributed to contact with Spanish, as Seigne is monolingual. Instead it must be viewed as the result of internal variation. Martineau (2013: 139) also finds examples of auxiliary variation with

[98] Bolded emphasis throughout is mine.

intransitive verbs in an 18th century diary, and notes that auxiliary choice with intransitive verbs was less fixed at that time; variation was not as atypical as exclusive use of *avoir* would have been.[99] While there are no other cases of *partir* in the *passé composé* in this corpus, Seigne does use *sortir* with the *être* auxiliary.[100]

What is also interesting about this example is the <t> ending on the past participle in *partir* (normatively *parti*), which perhaps shows orthographic conflation of the simple and complex past tense forms. This spelling may be influenced by other past participle forms ending in <t>, such as the form *écrit* which appears earlier in the same sentence and may have a priming effect. It may also point to an equivalency in Seigne's mind between the complex and simple past tenses which leads to a combination of the forms being used rather than one or the other. This is also seen in Luis II's writing (2), where it appears that the first draft he begins with an auxiliary combined with what looks like the synthetic past in (a), subsequently changing it to the complex past it in later drafts. This speaks to the interchangeability of the simple and complex pasts in context, leading perhaps to hesitations in form.

(2)

a. il à Laiss[a] Deux Enfants
b. il à Laiss<é> deux Enfants
c. Il a
   laissé deux enfants

Luis II, 1854 (HNOC MSS 103 F24, MSS 171 F133)

As there are no other examples of non-standard auxiliary use in this corpus, there is no evidence of contact influence on auxiliary choice in either direction.

4.2.1.2 Agreement

Past participle agreement, on the other hand, is much more variable. I am necessarily limited to commenting on feminine and plural agreement markers, since the masculine singular form is indistinguishable from an invariable past participle. In the case of French, the presence of a feminine direct object tends to be marked by the addition of an <e> and the plural with an <s>;[101] if there were agreement in Spanish it would be expected to follow adjectival agreement patterns by the replacement of the invariable <o> with an <a> for feminine gender, and again an <s> for plurals.

For this corpus, I have classified agreement on the past participle according to the combination of what would be expected given these prescriptive 'rules' (E) and what is attested in the corpus (A); the possible combinations are the following, here exemplified with the phrase 'the book (ms)/ the letters (fpl) that they read':

[99] Vaugelas and other language authorities had in fact advocated variable use of auxiliaries with verbs such as *sortir* (Blanche-Benveniste 1997: 21).
[100] LaRC 600 B2 F29.
[101] This is of course a simplified explanation; the rules for agreement marking have been varied and controversial; see Smith (1993) for a diachronic account of prescriptive opinion on agreement with *avoir*; Petitjean (1991) for a discussion of the "gymnastique périlleuse" that goes into agreement in the modern language.

(a) E: none, A: none: *le livre qu'ils ont lu*
These are cases where there is no additional marking on the participle (usually, but not always, masculine singular). As I am focusing on explicit marking, this is not included here.

Standard:

(b) E: agreement, A: agreement : *les lettres qu'ils ont lu**es***
Agreement according to prescriptive rules, which comes into play with both gender and number

Non-standard:

(c) E: agreement, A: none: *les lettres qu'ils ont lu*
A marking of gender and/or number is prescriptively required but does not appear

(d) E: agreement, A: partial: *les lettres qu'ils ont lu**e**/lu**s***
In cases where both gender and number should be marked, there is marking of one but not both

(e) E: none, A: agreement: *le livre qu'ils ont lu**s***
In cases where no agreement marking is required, the author adds an agreement marker, for example when the direct object is singular but the past participle is marked as plural.

In Table 4.1, these categories have been grouped into Standard usage (b) and Non-standard usage, which combines cases (c)-(e). In French, there is a large amount of variation in usage, even within individuals and sometimes with the same object/verb combination. Table 4.1 shows agreement by individual. Overall, the amount of agreement is quite low—for the most part under 50%, with an average standard agreement rate of 26% across the corpus, indicating that although the normative pattern was established in the grammar books by the seventeenth century, it was not fully adhered to in at least this private correspondence by the 18th and 19th centuries.

Branca-Rosoff and Schneider (1994: 54-59) also found low rates of agreement in their corpus of letters from less educated speakers during the French revolutionary period. While these rates were not as low as those shown here, they also found that partial agreement was common. However, they also found that agreement patterns varied geographically, and that feminine marking was much more common than plural marking. They advance the possibility of phonological distinctions (where position within the syntactic group matters) and also influence from Provençal. Smith (1995: 283), however, argues that in a similar contact situation between Catalan and Spanish, the contact explanation for changes in agreement patterns is not viable. In this corpus, while the overall rates are low and there is a great deal of individual variation. Half (4/8) of the monolingual speakers do not show standard agreement, as compared to two-thirds of the bilingual speakers (2/3 French dominant bilinguals and 4/6 Spanish dominant bilinguals). The rates of standard agreement are much lower for Spanish dominant bilinguals than the other two groups, although the numbers for the French dominant group are dominated by one speaker.

WRITER	LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY*	STANDARD	NON-STANDARD	TOTAL	% STANDARD
Bizague	FM	0	2	**2**	**0**
Boutard	FM	6	2	**8**	**75**
de Jesus, M. Magdelaine	FM	0	1	**1**	**0**
de Milleville, Pierre I	FM	0	2	**2**	**0**
de Milleville Le Clerc, Mme	FM	1	2	**3**	**33**
de Vilemont, Luis	FM	1	1	**2**	**50**
Le Sénéchal d'Auberville, Vincent Guillaume	FM	0	1	**1**	**0**
Seigne, Augustin	FM	6	22	**28**	**21**
FM TOTALS		**14**	**33**	**47**	**29**
Galvez, Countess	FD	0	2	**2**	**0**
Juan I	FD	4	8	**12**	**33**
Marie Louise**	FD	0	2	**2**	**0**
FD TOTALS		**4**	**12**	**16**	**25**
Bruna	SD	1	4	**5**	**20**
Francisco I	SD	0	3	**3**	**0**
Francisco II	SD	0	1	**1**	**0**
Joseph (secondary encoder Juan II) [102]	SD	1	0	**1**	**100**
Lorenzo	SD	0	1	**1**	**0**
Luis II***	SD	0	5	**5**	**0**
SD TOTALS		**2**	**14**	**16**	**12.5**
TOTAL		**20**	**59**	**79**	**25**

Table 4.1: Agreement of past participle in gender and number in French,
** FM= French monolingual, FD= French dominant bilingual,*
SD= Spanish dominant bilingual, SM= Spanish monolingual
***copied in Boutard's letters*
****drafts of the same letter show variation*

In addition, when we consider the types of non-standard agreement we see some grouping by language competence. Most of the non-standard agreement of type (e), that is, marking where

[102] This is a curious case, as it appears that Joseph may have actually marked the feminine object twice: "votre obligeante Lettre que nous avons recüee" (HNOC MSS 171 F37), but it may in fact simply be a misspelling of the past participle of *recevoir*, a common variant of which was spelled 'receu'.

there was none expected, is limited to French monolinguals. Augustin Seigne, for example, appears to vacillate between non-agreement and non-standard agreement. In these cases, Seigne's past participles agree with the subject rather than the (possibly non-existent) direct object, either in gender, as in (3), or in number. Luis II is the only bilingual speaker who adds an agreement marker where none is expected as in a. This is corrected in later drafts. For the most part, he shows no agreement at all.

(3) j'ai demandé a ma femme En quoy elle Consistoit, elle **ma dite**
quelle Croyoit quil y avoit 4 ou 6 flambeaux d'argent

Augustin Seigne, 1755 (LaRC 600 B2 F30)

(4)

a. Mon Pere Fran[s]ois **est Née** à Alicante
b. Mon Pere Dominique
François **est né** à Alicante
c. Mon Pere Dominique
François **est né** à Alicante

Luis II, 1854 (HNOC MSS 103 F 24, MSS 171 F 133)

Only two speakers show partial agreement (category (d)): Juan I and Boutard, two speakers who both have otherwise high rates of agreement and who are French dominant or monolingual, respectively. An example can be seen in (5).

(5) celles que je **tay Escrite**

Juan I, 1771 (HNOC MSS 171 F35)

The non-standard agreement produced by Spanish dominant speakers, then, is exclusively (except for Luis II) of type (c), where agreement is expected but none is marked, which means for the most part they are not attempting agreement. These speakers may be unaware of or less attuned to this prescriptive rule because of less training or practice in French composition, and/or they may be transferring Spanish agreement rules to French.

The examples in this section show us that there is a great deal of variability as regards past participle agreement, even within a single speaker's production. For those speakers who do show some agreement, there may be a formality or genre effect. For example, we do see standard past participle agreement in the congratulation letters written to Marie Louise by Joseph as well as Boutard's missives detailing business affairs. Similar letters written by the Spanish dominant writers Francisco I or Lorenzo do not, perhaps because it is not part of their linguistic repertoire at all, whereas for the first pair it is a question of attention to detail or prescriptive rules. Overall, it does appear to be true that bilingual speakers show lower rates of past participle agreement in French than the monolinguals, particularly those whose dominant language is Spanish. As the monolingual speakers also show a large degree of variability in their adherence to the prescriptive norms, this is not overwhelming evidence of contact influence. However, it does show the variability in mastery of a particularly specific and artificial marker of 'correct' language—one which monolinguals seem to adhere to more often than bilinguals.

In Spanish, there is only one example of past participle agreement: In the second draft of her letter, Marie Louis spells the past participle *resuelto* with an <s>, indicating agreement with

the plural subject *nosotros* (6). It is interesting that this happens in the second but not in the first draft, as though it was either intentionally added in a second iteration or mis-copied. It was not, however, subsequently corrected, as much of this draft was, showing that it was either intentional or unremarkable enough that it went unnoticed. This is not a case of agreement of the past participle with the object, as was the standard rule in French, but rather with the subject, as Marie Louise's uncle Seigne also does in French. It is also interesting to note that she does not make any agreement in her French texts, making it less likely that this is a transfer from French.

(6) **hemos resuel-**
tos trasladarnos Todos à la Isla de cuba

Marie Louise, 1818 (HNOC MSS 171 F119)

Although past participle agreement seems as though it might be a prime site for contact influence, because it is a small difference in forms that are otherwise analogous, variability in monolingual usage makes it difficult to make a strong case here, despite small overall tendencies for bilinguals to pattern differently from monolinguals. The interaction with written literacy and genre or register conventions add another layer to any determination of contact influence, but I would argue that it is part of bilingual language competence and should be taken into consideration, especially when we are dealing with written texts.

Taken together, examination of auxiliary use and past participle agreement in this corpus show little conclusive evidence of any effect of contact influence on the form of the complex past. Bilingual competence interacts with language-internal variation and any effects we see appear to be in the form of absence of agreement of the French past participle rather than the addition of agreement in Spanish. This is perhaps as is to be expected not because the non-application of an agreement rule is 'simpler'[103] but because it was seen as in some ways 'artificial' even for monolingual speakers (Smith 1993: 88).

4.2.2 Frequency effects

Leaving aside questions of form of the complex past, we now move to the discussion of frequency and use of the complex and simple pasts in contrast. We saw above (§ 4.1.3) that in the 18th and 19th centuries use of the simple past in French was rapidly dwindling, whereas in Spanish, the simple and complex past are used in about equal amounts. The difference between these two systems could be hypothesized to affect the comparative frequencies of the complex and simple past in the speech of bilinguals in one of two ways: i) frequent use of the simple past in French, as compared to historical decreases in monolingual usage, or ii) more frequent use of the complex past in Spanish, at odds with monolingual usage which shows about equal frequencies of use. The first would reflect a more 'Spanish-like' distribution of tenses where the simple past continues to be used in this informal context of immediacy because the bilingual repertoire includes it as an option for expressing past punctual events. The latter is the reverse situation, where because the complex past is available for the expression of almost every perfect in French, these same uses are extrapolated to Spanish.

[103] See e.g. Heine and Kuteva (2005: 262) on the idea of simplification.

4.2.2.1 By decade

Past tense usage in the corpus over time (by decade) is seen in Figure 4.1. While the average use of the complex past across the corpus is higher in French than in Spanish (it is used 75% of the time as compared to 55%), we see a great deal of variation over time, particularly in French. This is contrary to the trends we have seen above and is likely due to individual differences in the corpus.

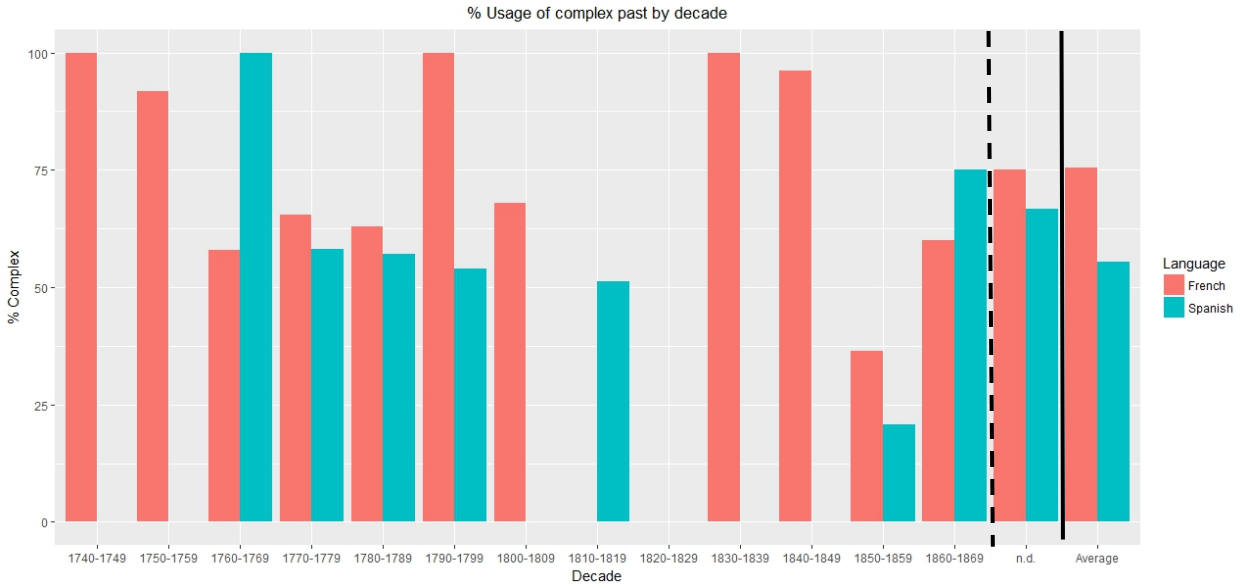


Figure 4.1: Percent use of the complex past by decade (n<10 for 1830-1839, 1860-1869)

Because of the nature of the corpus, the documents are not evenly distributed over time, and individual encoders—especially prolific ones—will have large effects on the decade in which they were the most active. Given that fact, it is clear that there are a few time periods, and thus presumably individuals, whose verb usage runs contrary to the trends observed above: 1760-1789 and 1850-1869 in particular. These decades show relatively low percentages of complex past tense use in French and also some either very high or very low percentages of use of the complex past in Spanish.

4.2.2.2 By individual

The individual use of the complex past (as compared to the simple past) is shown the following tables and figures, broken down by gender (Figure 4.2), generation (Table 4.2, Figure 4.3), and by language proficiency (Figure 4.4). No bar in these figures means no data, except for Theresa (Spanish), whose only past tense example was in the simple past (0% complex past use). n<5 for the following speakers, who I include in my analysis, but mark in this section with an asterisk (*): Joseph (French); Countess Galvez (French); Mariano (French); Juan I (Spanish); Elena (Spanish); Francisca (Spanish); Theresa (Spanish), O'Reilly (Spanish).

Although there is much more available data from the men (796 of the 866 tokens), we note that on the whole female writers use the complex past at a higher rate in French, while the group averages for Spanish are much more similar. In French, men use the complex past on average 73% of the time, whereas the rate for female writers is 88%. In Spanish, the complex past as

compared to the simple past is used on average 55.56% of the time by men, and 54.55% by women. This would seem to indicate that in French, women are at the forefront of the change, although the low token count for women and individual differences especially among the men, as seen in Figure 4.2, do not make for a straightforward conclusion.

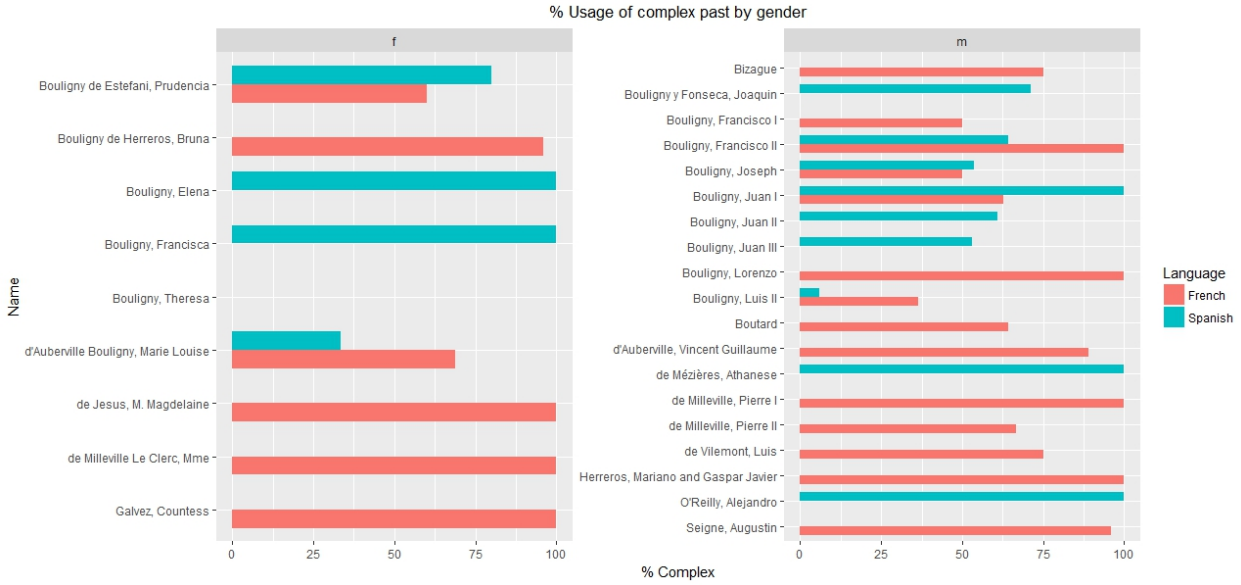


Figure 4.2: Percent use of the complex past by individual, sorted by gender

The generational data seen in Table 4.2 and Figure 4.3 shows a similarly uneven distribution, particularly within generations. The oldest speakers in the corpus (Generation 3), already have fairly high use of the French complex past. This would indicate that the tendency in French to use the complex past at very high frequencies in letters was already quite strong in the oldest speakers in my corpus. The two speakers in this generation who have attested tokens in Spanish, both French-dominant bilinguals (Juan I* and Athanèse de Mézières), use the complex past exclusively. By the 6th and 7th generations, the use of the complex past in French is over 90%, and it is also quite high (72.09%) in 6th generation speakers in Spanish. In the 4th and 5th generations we see lower average use in both languages.

GENERATION	FRENCH		SPANISH	
	% C	n	% C	n
3	86.22	169/196	100	9/9
4	68.49	100/146	54.75	173/316
5	44	22/50	46.32	44/51
6	90	27/30	72.09	31/43
7	100	1/1	n/a	n/a

Table 4.2: Percent use of the complex past (C) by generation

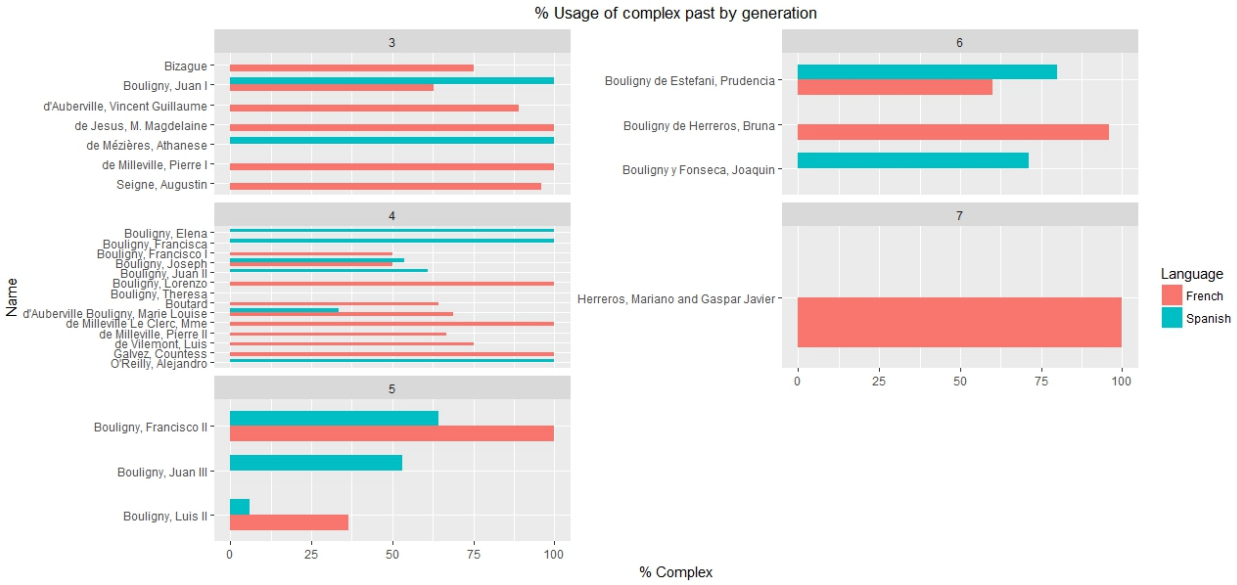


Figure 4.3: Percent use of the complex past by individual, sorted by generation

Table 4.3 and Figure 4.4 show the use of the complex past for monolinguals and bilinguals. Monolingual French speakers in this corpus use the complex past between 65% and 100% of the time, with an overall average of 84.55%. This is much higher than the French-dominant and Spanish-dominant bilingual groups, who use the complex past an average of 66.13% and 60.87% of the time, respectively. These averages, while telling, do obscure a great deal of interspeaker variation: some bilingual speakers pattern with the monolinguals: Countess Galvez*, Marie Louise, Francisco II, Lorenzo, Mariano*, and Bruna, while those speakers with the lowest percentage usage of the complex past in French are also bilingual speakers. Those who use the French complex past less than 65% of the time (that is, the simple past more than 35% of the time), include Juan I (63%), Prudencia (60%), Francisco I (50%), Joseph* (50%), and Luis II (36%), the last four of whom are all classified as Spanish-dominant bilinguals.

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE*	FRENCH		SPANISH	
	% C	n	% C	n
FM	84.55	208/246	n/a	n/a
SM	n/a	n/a	71.79	28/39
Monolinguals	**84.55**	**208/246**	**71.79**	**28/39**
FD	66.13	41/62	61.90	13/21
SD	60.87	70/115	53.60	216/403
Bilinguals	**62.71**	**111/177**	**54.01**	**229/424**

Table 4.3: Percent use of the complex (C) past by language competence
**FM= French Monolingual; FD= French Dominant; SD= Spanish Dominant; SM= Spanish Monolingual*

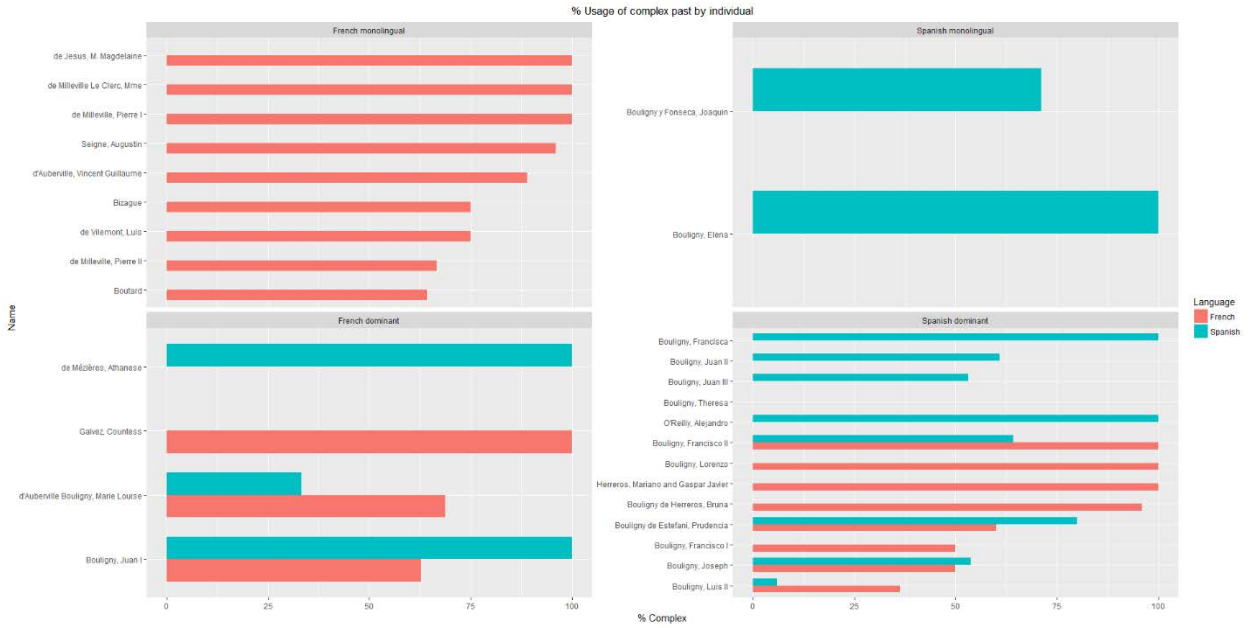


Figure 4.4: Percent use of the complex past by individual, sorted by language proficiency

In Spanish, monolingual speakers in this corpus in fact use the complex past on average 71.79% of the time. For example, Joaquin uses the complex past at a rate of about 71%, while Elena* uses it 100% of the time. In the letters written by bilinguals, however, as in French, we observe much lower frequencies of the complex past: 61.9% for French-dominant speakers, and 53.6% for those who are Spanish-dominant. Overall, this is a rather surprising pattern, as we might expect influence from French to result in an increased frequency of use of the complex past in bilingual speech. Again, there is a great deal of individual variation. Some bilinguals use the complex past more than 70% of the time: de Mézières, Juan I, O'Reilly*, Francisca*, and Prudencia. Juan II, Juan III, Francisco II, and Joseph use the complex past between 50% and 70% of the time, while Marie Louise, Luis II, and Theresa* use it 33%, 6%, and 0% of the time, respectively.

From the overall numbers, we see that monolinguals in both languages use the complex past at higher rates than do bilinguals. In French, monolinguals use the complex past 84.55% of the time, while bilinguals show rates of 62.71%. In Spanish, we see lower overall numbers but a similar split between monolinguals and bilinguals: 71.79% and 54.01%, respectively. The fact that bilinguals, especially those who are dominant in Spanish, use the complex past less often in French than their monolingual counterparts would seem to indicate that they are using a more Spanish-like pattern in their French. The reverse, however, does not appear to be true. In fact, bilinguals are also using the complex past less often in Spanish, and again the lowest rates appear among Spanish-dominant bilinguals. This is perhaps a case of hypercorrection, where speakers avoid what might be seen as a French-like or over-use of the complex past in Spanish.[104]

However, we must consider the fact that not all speakers are patterning in the same way. For those speakers for whom we have data in both languages, there are three patterns. The first

[104] McLaughlin (2011: 51) found a similar 'negative' contact effect for preposed adjective frequencies in French in contact with English, a feature with a high degree of negative popular attention. While we do not know the amount of attention to or stigmatization of the French-like pattern among the Boulignys and their network, negative patterns such as this indicate that perhaps some speakers at least are avoiding it.

group show splits that we might expect given the monolingual data, showing a use of the French complex past at higher rates than in Spanish. This group includes Francisco II, Luis II, and Marie Louise; although the latter two show lower overall use of the complex past—perhaps due to the topic of their letters—the difference between French and Spanish is about the same. The second pattern is exemplified by Joseph*, who uses the complex and simple pasts at about the same rate, although it is hard to tell because of the small number of French tokens we have from him. This is the pattern we might expect if we think of a bilingual generalizing practices over both languages. Then there is the third scenario, where speakers show a pattern whereby their use of the Spanish complex past is higher than in French. Juan I* and Prudencia fit this pattern, which is unexpected given the hypotheses presented above for how contact influence might manifest itself. In the following sections I examine usage more closely to determine the ways in which speakers are managing the distinction between the simple and the complex past.

4.2.3 Correlation with temporal adverbials

While overall frequencies do give us some idea of the distribution of these two past tenses, the next question is *how* they are being used; that is, the rise in frequency of the complex past in the history of Romance is due to an expansion of meaning and context of use. One way to go about determining the semantic sphere of a perfective is its ability to be used with specific past time adverbials.[105] These time adverbials can mark more specifically the temporal reference of the event in relation to the moment of speech and differentiate the moment of the (extended) present—the domain of the present perfect—from that of the past, or, more specifically, "discrete past intervals that do not have the option of overlapping with the moment of utterance" (Howe 2013: 31). The prototypical member of this group is *yesterday*, which marks the line between hodiernal (since yesterday) and prehodiernal contexts. While looking at the *yesterday* context provides perhaps the most clear-cut illustration of the line between present and past, an examination of tense correlation of other time adverbials around this line of demarcation gives us a broader view of the availability of the complex past as a past punctual and the ways speakers are using it.

4.2.3.1 Monolinguals

The difference between prehodiernal and hodiernal usage was frequently discussed in the French prescriptive literature of the 16th and 17th centuries. Termed the '24-hour rule', it advocated the use of the simple past for events occurring more than 24 hours before the moment of speaking, and the use of the complex past for more recent events. It seems unlikely that it was actually followed as such (Labeau 2015: 176; Ayres-Bennett et al. 2001: 172-3), but is easy shorthand for what descriptive theories of the present perfect might term the 'extended present'.

Caron and Liu (1999), in their study of epistolary literature, examine the cooccurrence of specific past time adverbials with the complex and simple past (Table 4.4). They find that it is in fact the *yesterday* context in which the transition from the simple to the complex past was most marked in the 17th-19th centuries. Although the simple past was the tense of choice in the 17th century for events occurring '*hier*', the situation is completely reversed in data from the 19th century: usage of the complex past with the adverb *hier* increases from 1.59% in the 17th century

[105] See Howe (2013: 30-5) and references therein for discussion.

to 97.84% in the 19th, with a particularly abrupt shift in the second half of the 18th century (Caron and Liu 1999: 45).[106] They further show that there is a similar, if weaker, trend with other adverbials in their corpus, with the exception of *ce* +N,[107] which occurred with the complex past most of the time already in the 17th century. The high correlation of the complex past with specific past time adverbials shows that it was by the 19th century used as a past punctual as a matter of course; this correlates unsurprisingly with the loss of the tense's current relevance meaning, which according to Detges and Waltereit (2016: 644) happened by the 18th century. This change is generally thought to be due to the expansion of the 'hot news' reading of the complex past.

ADVERBIAL	17TH		18TH		19TH	
	S (%)	**C (%)**	**S (%)**	**C (%)**	**S (%)**	**C (%)**
hier	98.41	1.59	48.25	51.75	2.16	97.84
le lendemain	92.74	7.26	60	40	40	60
la veille	74.07	25.93	37.5	62.5	33.33	66.67
'jours de la semaine'	81.73	18.27	40.28	59.72	6.90	93.1
ce +N		90.64		94.96		98.54
Le+N		22.46		57.26		80.68

Table 4.4: Use of the simple and complex pasts with temporal adverbials in French epistolary literature (Caron and Liu 1999)

There is a similar distinction in modern Spanish, according to Alarcos Llorach (1947: 117-8), between adverbials that are used with the complex past and those used with the simple past. The adverbs associated with the simple past are those which do not include the present moment:

ayer, anoche, el mes pasado, aquel día, un día, hace años, entonces, cuando, etc.

whereas those associated with the complex past are those which indicate the action happens in a period of time seen to include the present moment (of speaking or writing), that is:

hoy, ahora, estos días, esta semana, esta tarde, esta manaña, este mes, el año en curso, esta temporada, hogaño, todavía no, en mi vida, durante el siglo presente, etc.

Of course, use depends on subjective interpretation of the 'extended present'. Howe (2013: 32) mentions *hoy, en el pasado, ya,* and *nunca* as adverbials which can take either the simple or complex past, and we can certainly imagine instances where *esta mañana*, for example, would not be part of the present moment for a person speaking in the evening, but when contrasting with yesterday, would be included.

For comparison, I have chosen a few of the prototypical prehodiernal adverbs in Spanish which are also the most direct equivalents to those French adverbs looked at by Caron and Liu (1999): *ayer, anoche*. I have also included the *hace* construction, which can indicate a specific point in the past but can also be used with the Spanish complex past with present relevance (Howe 2013: 34).[108] I have additionally included those prototypical hodiernal adverbs *hoy* and *ahora*, as well as two other adverbials which are mentioned by Alarcos Llorach as having the

[106] McLaughlin (in progress) found a slightly later date (mid 18th-century) for this change in her press corpus.
[107] = Le/ce + (jour, semaine, soir, matin, nuit, année).
[108] The French *ça fait...*, however, is incompatible with the complex past and instead must be used with the present (Howe 2013: 24).

possibility of indicating the extended present. I investigated the use of these adverbials with either the complex or simple past tense in a subcorpus of CORDIAM (*Corpus Diacrónico y Diatópico del Español de América*): 18th and 19th century personal documents. The results are presented in Table 4.5. When compared to the French data collected by Caron and Liu (1999) (Table 4.4), we see a difference between French and Spanish monolingual use in contexts with prehodiernal adverbs. That is, unlike 18th and 19th century uses of *hier*, *ayer* and *anoche* take the simple past almost all the time, although there is a slight change from the 18th to the 19th century.

ADVERBIAL	18TH		19TH	
	S	**C**	**S**	**C**
ayer	17	0	10	3
anoche	11*	1	2	1
hace...	2	0	6	0
hoy	1*	3	7	6
(hasta) ahora	1	6	1	4
ahora + time period[109]	3	0	0	0
estos días	0	0	0	2
esta mañana	5	0	1	0

Table 4.5: Use (tokens) of simple and complex pasts with temporal adverbials in Spanish personal documents (letters and others) in the 18th and 19th centuries (CORDIAM).
**1 case of 'anoche y hoy', counted in both categories*

From this data, as expected, *(hasta) ahora* and *estos días* do seem to correlate strongly with the complex past as markers of present relevance in the 18th and 19th century. Some uses of *ahora* (*ahora + time period)*, however, are closer to the *hace* construction, in that they mark a point in the past with its distance from the speaker's 'now', and these are expressed with the simple past. This nuancing of adverbs is common in both complex and simple past usage, but these additional markers used to specify the time period further are still not directly associated with one tense over the other. For example, we find examples of *ayer tarde* with both simple and complex pasts.

It seems that writers in this particular genre are using *esta mañana* as a marker of completed (not presently relevant) time, as they are the prototypical prehodiernal markers *ayer, anoche*. A similar trend appears with *hoy*, which can appear with either the simple or complex past, despite being within the hodiernal context that would seem to be, if not presently relevant, certainly 'hot news'. This is one case, however, where additional temporal information given does seem to correlate to some extent with tense usage; we see *hoy mismo,* emphasizing the recent-ness of the event, with the complex past, and *hoy a las 2 de la Tarde* with the simple past. This is again not set in stone, however, as we also have *hoy recien* with the simple past. It is interesting that one of the verbs used with *hace...* and appearing in the simple past is the *hace...que* 'since' construction, which in the contemporary language takes the complex past due to its continuative reading (Howe 2013: 33-4).

[109] e.g. 'Ahora quatro meses'.

Copple (2013: 82-5) also examines the association of the simple and complex past tenses with prehodiernal or hodiernal contexts. Copple's study looks at a corpus of plays, which is a slightly different genre from both Caron and Liu's (1999) study and my corpus. However, both genres can be considered part of the language of immediacy in Koch and Oesterreicher's (2001) framework, although neither is an unproblematic representation of speech (Schneider 2013: 65). In the absence of epistolary data from Spanish, I compare epistolary data to both Copple's (2013) corpus and the personal documents subcorpus of CORDIAM. Copple does not look at adverbial correlation, instead separating out prehodiernal or hodiernal contexts according to the chronological time of the plays in her corpus, also considering what she calls the 'very recent' past and non-specified temporal contexts, where 'irrelevant' encompasses durative, iterative, and experiential meanings, and those marked 'indeterminate' are completed actions without a specific temporal reference point. Her data for the 17th and 19th century (Table 4.6) shows a similar distribution to that of the CORDIAM data, where hodiernal references (e.g. *hoy*) are evenly split between the simple and complex pasts by the 19th century, but prehodiernal references (e.g. *ayer, anoche*) are resistant to the encroachment of the complex past. This is in stark contrast to the French data collected by Caron and Liu (1999: 45) where there is an abrupt change in the preferred past tense to use with the *yesterday* adverbials. In 19th century French, *hier* appears with the complex past 98% of the time, whereas in Spanish, despite a slow gain in overall frequency—and, Copple (2013: 85) argues, extension to new semantic contexts— the complex past is only triggered in prehodiernal contexts 8% of the time.

TEMPORAL REFERENCE	17TH		19TH	
	S (%)	**C (%)**	**S (%)**	**C (%)**
prehodiernal	98	2	92	8
hodiernal (same day, more than 25 lines before the speech act)	67	33	51	49
'very recent' (last 25 lines)	35	65	31	69
irrelevant	24	76	19	81
indeterminate	49	51	41	59

Table 4.6: Use of simple and complex past tenses in a corpus of Spanish plays (Copple 2013)

4.2.3.2 The Bouligny corpus

Given that these differences between the two languages—a rapid increase in the use of the complex past in French prehodiernal contexts but a continued strong preference for the simple past in the same contexts in Spanish—begin to take shape between the 17th and 19th centuries, this is a context where we might expect bilingual speech to differ from that of monolinguals.

The use of the simple and complex past with temporal adverbials in my corpus is shown in Table 4.7. Firstly, we can note the fact that very few of the temporal adverbials that have arisen in previous studies are used. Compared with the only 11 total tokens coinciding with temporal adverbials in French, the Spanish texts in my corpus make slightly greater use of adverbials (20 tokens), although this number is still low. The overall low numbers could be due

simply to the small number of texts in this corpus as compared to, for example, Caron and Liu's (1999) corpus, which, while not quantified in number of words, includes (sections) of some 30 letter collections. The CORDIAM subcorpus of *cartas y particulares* in the 18th and 19th centuries, meanwhile, on which the data in Table 4.5 is based, includes 483 documents (187,423 words). Although Caron and Liu (1999: 42) found that the epistolary genre was more likely to have incidences of, for example, *hier*, than dramatic works or memoirs from the period, it seems as though temporal adverbs are still not particularly frequent, perhaps due to the narrative character of the text.

		S	**C**
FRENCH	*hier*	0	2
	le lendemain	1	1
	la veille	0	0
	il y a...	1	4
	(Au/ce) jour d'hui	0	1
	Maintenant	0	0
	ces jours (passés)	1	0
	ce matin	0	0
SPANISH	*ayer*	3	0
	anoche	1	0
	hace...	2	4
	hasta hoy	0	2
	ahora	0	3
	estos días	2	3
	esta mañana	0	0

Table 4.7: Use (tokens) of simple and complex past tenses in the Bouligny corpus with temporal adverbials in French and Spanish

The markers that would explicitly indicate present relevance or hodiernal contexts in French (*Au/ce jourd'hui*, *maintenant*, perhaps *ces jours (passés)* and *ce matin*) appear very rarely with either past tense.[110] The preference here is to use the present tense for these 'extended present' references, which shows that for these speakers as well as the monolinguals, the complex past is losing its sense of current relevance. We can see this, for example, in (7), where the present tense is used to discuss the reception of a letter—a fairly common formula in this corpus.[111]

(7) je **recois** cejourdhui jeudi 25 9bre. 1802 par la voie du havre Vos deux Lettres

Boutard, 1802 (LaRC 600 B6 F28)

[110] There are also almost no examples of past tenses with days of the week.
[111] The translation into French of Joaquin's 1866 Spanish letter (HNOC MSS 103 F 21) shows the implication of recency with *aujourd'hui*; 'acabo de saber' is translated as 'aujourd'hui j'apren'.

This is in contrast to the Spanish data, where there are 8 tokens of the complex past used with hodiernal or continuative meanings (*ahora, hasta hoy, estos días*). This is interesting in light of what we saw above, where *hoy*, for example, was used as often with the simple as the complex past. *Hoy* here is marked as a continuative in both cases with the addition of *hasta*, but *ahora* is used as a larger presently relevant context, as for example in (8), where Juan III means 'in your previous letter' when he says *ahora*.

(8) tu puedes siempre escrivirme
como lo **hás hecho** ahora,

Juan III, 1818 (HNOC MSS 171 F122)

While this is an extension of the 'present' beyond the moment of the speech act, it is explicitly tagged with a temporal adverbial that marks it as requiring a current relevance reading. In contrast, Joseph negates the continuative reading of *estos días* in (9) by adding 'pasados' in order to express the punctual event of going to see Miguel Kearney and what the latter said at the time. We note however, that the two verbs indicating Miguel Kearney's speech (*explicar* and *decir*) do not appear in the same tense, which leads us to a present relevance or perhaps a continuative reading with 'a explicado' that does not exist with 'dijo', emphasized by the adverbs 'no' and 'rotundamente' which give an impression of lingering lack of resolution. Joseph uses the verb tenses here, in conjunction with temporal adverbials, to create temporal contrast in his narrative, including a third level of distance from the present expressed with the pluperfect.

(9) no se me **a explicado** rotundamente conmigo estos dias pasados que **fui** a verle, solo
si me **dijo** avia Cumplido con lo que le avias mandado

Joseph, 1777 (HNOC MSS 171 F47)

As regards prehodiernal adverbials, overall the speakers in the Bouligny corpus appear to be patterning with monolinguals: in French the adverbials *hier* and *le lendemain* occur for the most part with the complex past whereas *ayer* and *anoche* in Spanish take the simple past. Note that there are no cases of *hier* with the simple past, in agreement with the change noted by Caron and Liu (1999: 45) that already in the second half of the 18th century use of the simple past in this context was limited. The simple past occurring with *le lendemain* is one in a series of events occurring the year prior to writing, in the second example, shown in (10), it is earlier that month.

(10) m'y voila donc, je **Suis arrivé** Le Lendemain des [r]oys
toute Cette Semaine **Se paSsa** pour ainSy dire Sans rien faire
Le Lundy on **fit** L'jnventaire

Augustin Seigne, 1756 (LaRC 600 B2 F31)

The series of verbs in this narration does not create a temporal distinction; the first event (his arrival) is expressed using the complex past, the next two in the simple past. Ayres-Bennett et al. (2001: 176-9) discuss this type of alternation between the complex and simple pasts, noting that studies of contemporary journalistic texts have found that these combinations serve discourse-pragmatic functions other than that of temporal distinction. Narratives opening with the complex past and continuing with the simple past are "associated with an energetic style and

textual tension, [...] also found in literature" (Ayres-Bennett et al. 2001: 178). Seigne (a French monolingual) can be therefore said to be using tense-switching as a narrative device to indicate the limits of the narration rather than chronology, in contrast to Joseph's Spanish text.

4.2.4 Past reference without temporal adverbials

Since the frequency data discussed above shows that at least some monolinguals are using the complex and simple pasts differently, but the use with adverbials appears to be similar to that of monolingual usage, in this section I will examine a few examples from the bilinguals identified above which do not include temporal adverbs. Contexts where time reference is not marked by an adverbial require speakers to mark temporal distinctions in other ways. This would seem to be one place where the subjective elements of 'current relevance' or 'hot news' come into play (although of course this negotiation can also take place with adverbials) as the temporal context is less explicitly marked.

Luis II's letters contain long recitations of family history, in which he uses the simple past to describe events that happened before his birth. This topic-driven use of the simple past, in which the simple past is the appropriate tense for historical events, perhaps explains his high rates of the simple past in French. As seen in (11) and (12), he uses both the simple and complex forms even in narrative lists, apparently treating them as temporally equivalent. For example, in (12), he uses the complex 'est né' for his father's birth, but goes on to describe the rest of the events in his father's life with the simple past. Perhaps morphological complexity is relevant here, since the simple past tense forms used in these examples are all regular verbs (*monter, entrer, passer*), whereas *mourir* and especially *naître* are conjugated in the simple past. This holds more for the latter than the former; in other places he uses the simple past form of *mourir*. The more likely explanation, however, is that he is using the alternation for narrative effect, as we saw Seigne do above, although the narrative in (11) ends with the complex past, while he begins with it in (12). Note that both the complex past tenses, however, could be said to retain some connection to the speaker and the present day, with the last of the Bouligny family except his own branch (the next paragraph introduces his maternal grandfather), or the birth of his father (with the possessive 'mon Pere').

(11) un des membres **passa** en Espagne, à lEpoque
où un Bourbon **monta** sur le Trône DEspagne, le Dernier des
Bouligny en France **est mort** au service de Louis XVIII
Luis II, 1854 (HNOC MSS 171 F 133, first copy)

(12) Mon Pere Dominique
François **est né** à Alicante Royaume de Valence, Espagne […]
il **entra** Jeune au
Service […] et **passa** en Amerique
Luis II, 1854 (HNOC MSS 171 F 133, first copy)

Luis II also uses the simple past almost exclusively in his Spanish letter, with no temporal distinction between describing receiving the letter from his interlocutor Joaquin and his transition into a description of his correspondence with Joaquin's father. The one complex past he does use

(13) is at the end of a period of narration of family history, from which he transitions into a present tense description of living family members.

(13) De los quatro hijos suyos que **fueron** todos casados, ~~el Mayor **se murio**~~ dos **se murieron** uno ~~él no~~
<de ellos no> **dejo** mas que dos hijas que ultimamente estaban en Paris con Sus madre <(donde **murio** ella)>
y a quienes **ha conocido** D^{n} Theophilo de Bouligny en esta ciudad
Luis II, 1859 (HNOC MSS 171 F135)

While this use of the complex past can be read as present relevance (they still know Don Theophilo), the similarity of structure between this past tense narration and that in (11) is striking. It indicates that while Luis II adheres in many ways to monolingual standard usage in his choice of the simple or complex past, he also may be transferring the rhetorical structure of French into the way he relates family history in Spanish.

Luis II's father Francisco I and uncle Joseph, however, use a different method of structuring their narration. In (14), Francisco I uses the complex and simple past to differentiate two time periods: the complex is used for events six months previously (last April 22nd), whereas for events four years prior (1784) he chooses the simple past forms. Here he is creating a temporal contrast that does not rely on the 24-hour rule and is not a recitation of family history. This shows that for Francisco I, the complex past is available to describe events taking place prior to the previous day. However, it is being used to create a bipartite temporal distinction—or even a sort of mixed tripartite distinction, if you include the very recent past event where his wife received ('vient de recevoir') a letter in March—between now and then, as we saw Joseph do on a smaller scale above.

(14) J'**ay veu** avec plaisir par la Letre que vous **aves eu** La bonte d'ecrire a ma femme en date du 22^{e}. Abril dernier […] En date du 24^{e}: Septembre 1784: J'**eus** l'honneur de recevoir une Letre de Madame votre Soeur Mad^{me}. de Milleville Le Clerc a la quelle Je **fis** reponce par Duplicat inmediatement. Mon Epouse vient de recevoir en date du 1er. Marz dernier de la dite Dame de Milleville reponce de la Letre qu'elle luy **ecrivit** et come nos deux Letres **partirent** ensemble
Francisco I, 1789 (HNOC MSS 103 F12)

In fact, Joseph's writing in French also creates temporal distance using the simple and complex past tenses in much the same way his brother does. In (15), Joseph uses both the complex and simple forms of the same verb (*recevoir*) to create a timeline of receiving the news and then the letter.

(15) Nous **recumes** avec La plus grande satisfac^{on}.
La nouvelle de l'heureux engagement de notre
cher frere avec vous, & vous y metez le comble
par votre obligeante Lettre que nous **avons recüee**. (1771)
Joseph (secondary encoder Juan II), 1771 (HNOC MSS 171 F37)

The use of the simple past in this context could be a nod to the formality of the letter of the congratulation, especially if we read it as a formulaic opening. If we understand the first verb as part of a formulaic opening, the subsequent use of the complex past in this example is then possibly read as a switch away from the formula to the body of the letter. This is not, however a formula that is widespread and invariable throughout the corpus; while there are other instances of the simple past, it is just as common—if not more so—to see the complex past or even the present (see (7) above) in this context. Juan I, for example, uses the complex past in his congratulatory letter to Marie Louise,[112] so although we might have a suspicion that Joseph used his father's congratulation letter as a model for his own—because of the frequency with which Joseph served as his father's scribe as well as the appearance of the phrase *mettre le comble* in both letters—he did not in this case use the same tense. The second verb in the complex past, then, can be read as a temporal distinction, where the complex past is meant to indicate 'hot news' even without a specific temporal reference to mark it as part of the 'extended present'. This is a move that, if the French simple and complex past are indistinguishable except for style or register, should not be available. However, if, as we have seen, other pragmatic-discourse functions for organizing narrative are available for monolinguals in the mixed use of the complex and simple past, it does not seem a far stretch to see that bilinguals would extend the use of a temporal distinction as well.

4.3 Conclusion

In the preceding sections, I have attempted to shed light on the ways that French-Spanish bilinguals might manage a tense system that is diverging in the standard languages but still subject to considerable variation. The situation is complicated by internal variation as well as genre conventions and style. This both creates space for individuals to use the tense distinction for creative expression and makes straightforward identification of contact influences difficult.

In terms of form of the complex past, the differences between French and Spanish appear to be retained by bilinguals, who pattern very similarly to monolinguals in auxiliary choice and, to a lesser degree, agreement of the past participle. Bilingual speakers, particularly Spanish-dominant ones—do mark agreement on the French past participle less frequently overall than monolinguals, but there is a great deal of individual variation. The fact that this is for the most part a writing-specific convention is relevant, however, as it speaks to the ways in which bilingualism and language-specific literacy interact, in that even well-educated bilinguals have less mastery of prescriptive rules which mark an elite standard—and which even monolinguals do not master.

As for frequency, we see bilinguals patterning differently from monolinguals, in both French and Spanish, by using the complex past less frequently overall, perhaps in reaction to a perception of overusing the complex past. However, the fact that overall frequencies are lower for bilinguals obscures the fact that individuals are behaving quite differently from one another: while some are using the complex past more frequently in French than Spanish, we also see the reverse, as well as some individuals whose frequencies are the same in both languages. This suggests that, as bilinguals manage both systems, they are following different strategies. In the first and third cases, these are: maintenance of separate patterns for each language (corresponding roughly to monolingual usage), and neutralization of language-specific patterns

[112] HNOC MSS 171 F28

in favor of a more consistent linguistic system across the languages—that is, convergence. The second pattern, consisting of higher use of the complex past in Spanish than in French, is more complicated. This could be due to hypercorrection for perceived overuse of the complex past, but may be also tied to generic or topic considerations.

The difference between monlinguals and bilinguals does not appear in the context of specific adverbs such as *hier*/*ayer*, where the two groups pattern together. Where the difference between monolingual and bilingual use becomes more apparent is in cases of narrative series, where some bilinguals can be shown to be using the complex and simple past in combinations to create temporal contrast in French, beyond the prehodiernal/hodiernal context. This is a stretched version of the sort of temporal contrast that we see in Spanish usage, where the complex past can be used to describe continuative, iterative, and very recent past events that can be described as occurring in the 'extended present'. In another case, we see a pragmatic-discursive use of tense alternation of the type that occurs in monolingual French—and is made possible by the neutralization of temporal distinction between the simple and complex pasts—in the Spanish production of a bilingual speaker. This contact influence is more easily seen as influence from Spanish to French in that the existence of a similar structure favors the retention of contrast and slows the disappearance of the simple past. It does, however, appear to be happening to some extent in the other direction as well, in that the complex past is being used by some individuals more frequently in Spanish as well as French.

Taken together, these small patterns add up to the fact that bilinguals as a group are acting differently from monolingual speakers in the production of simple and complex past tenses. However, there is a great deal of variation and on the individual level we see that bilinguals are appealing to their entire repertoire to express perfective as well as perfect meanings, sometimes in ways that are unexpected in both languages. Despite the variety of individual patterns and the fact that they sometimes trend in opposite directions, we still see an overall group trend, which in the absence of influence from monolinguals, might result in a lower frequency of use of the complex past in this bilingual community.

CHAPTER 5 : INTERSUBJECTIVITY AND EPISTOLARITY[113]

Whereas previous chapters have been focused on the linguistic effects of bilingualism, in this chapter I take a more pragmatic focus in asking how speakers use the linguistic resources available to them—in both languages—to perform identity and relationships within the constraints of the letter genre. The written letter is often the only communicative link between these interlocutors, particularly if they live across the ocean from one another, and so, as Sairio (2013: 184) notes, "personal letters serve, among other things, to build and maintain social bonds." As speakers take stances, and position themselves in relation to their addressee(s) through their linguistic choices, they are creating identity through interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). However, the epistolary genre is also replete with norms and set formulae which might limit this expression, especially in certain types of letters and with certain interlocutors.[114] These norms and conventions have an effect, but as Bergs (2004: 208) finds, the form of the letter is also shaped by the roles of author and addressee as well as the letter's socio-pragmatic function. I explore in this chapter, then, how writers position themselves and their relationships within linguistic and social convention. Specifically, I investigate how speakers use their two available stystems to relate to their addressees, in the choice of French or Spanish, or code-switching between the two (Section 5.1). I then discuss the encoding of relationships through forms of address and whether speakers do this differently in each language (Section 5.2). Finally, in Section 5.3 I consider affective stance-taking, particularly how speakers mark sincerity, and conclude in Section 5.4.

5.1 Language choice

5.1.1 Which language?

The choice of language for bi- or multi-linguals is a complex one, influenced by such variables as linguistic competence, topic, medium, sociocultural environment, and social status, group membership, or attitude (Fishman 1965: 78, Gal 1978: 4; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 247). While many historical studies of language choice take place in situations of language shift (e.g. Moyna 2009, Martineau 2013), the Bouligny situation, perhaps because of its transatlantic nature, was more of a reflection of multilingual social networks than of language shift[115]. While in this section I will present the choice of code as a rather binary choice between Spanish and French, we must of course acknowledge that this does not take into account the range of linguistic variants actually produced by speakers, as well as the fact that this idea of

[113] Parts of this chapter were presented as *Sincere or heart-felt?: Sincerity, convention, and language competence in French and Spanish letters* at the 15th International Pragmatics Conference, July 16-21, 2017.

[114] See, e.g. Laitinen (2015) on 19th-century English pauper letters; Branca-Rosoff (1990) and Branca-Rosoff and Schneider (1994) on petition letters from the French Revolution; King (2010; 2011) on petitions in early modern and colonial Spanish.

[115] Although the corpus only includes French and Spanish letters, we must note that many of these speakers had other linguistic competences, often conditioned by social and political developments in Louisiana as well as educational standards for the middle and upper classes. Besides the widespread teaching of Latin, we can assume that many of the members of the Bouligny family after the Louisiana Purchase most likely spoke English, since several of them were elected to seats in the US Congress, and the archives contain letters in English from, for example, John Edward's wife Mary Parker, which were not included in this study.

discrete ‘language systems’ is a meta-linguistic abstraction which does not necessarily represent the way that speakers think about their linguistic choices (Matras 2009: 4). If we do understand the choice of a specific language, however, as conditioned by and expressive of a constellation of social practices, the choice of French or Spanish can be seen as one of the ways that speakers perform identity in relation to their addressees.

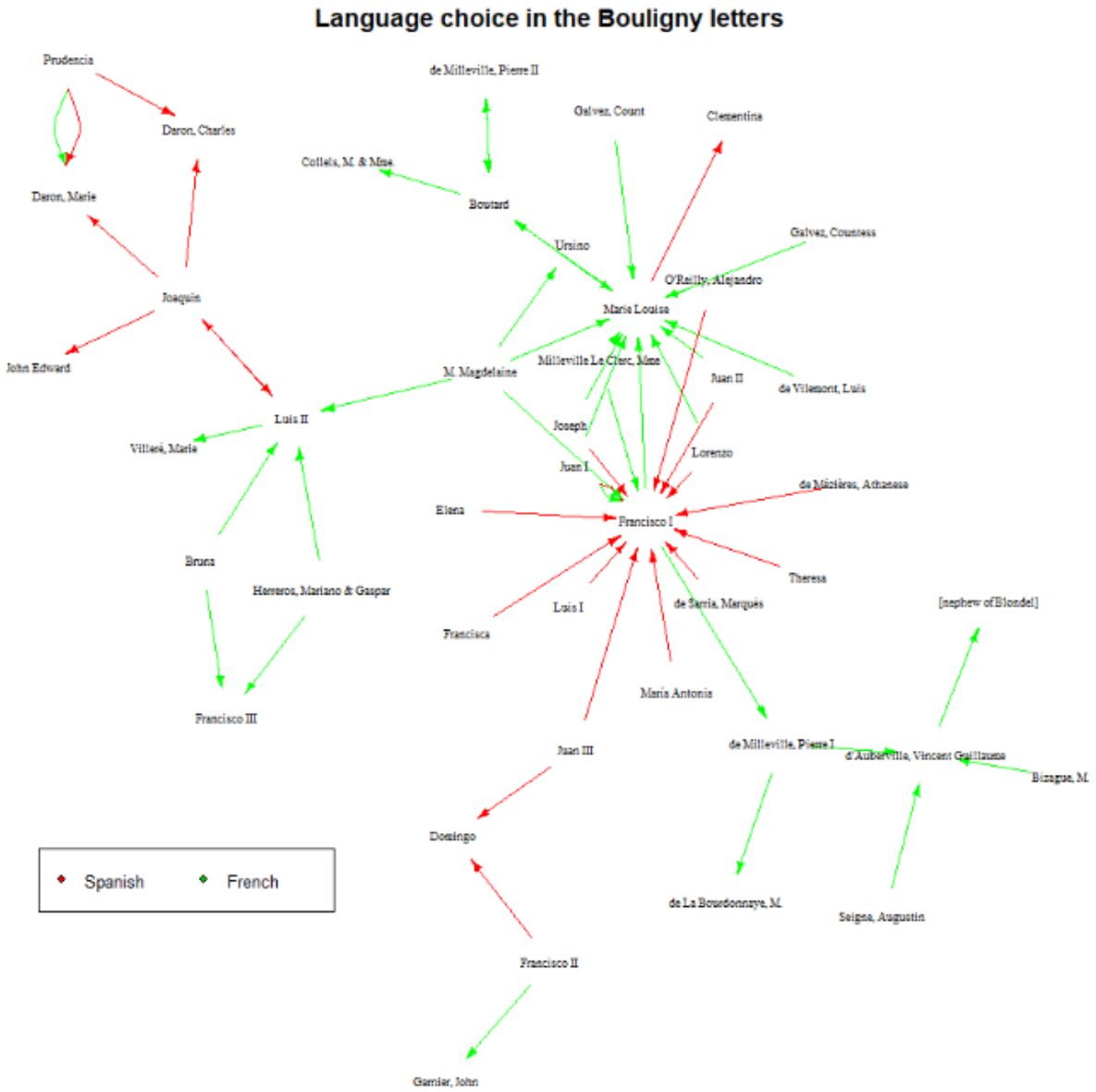


Figure 5.1: Social network diagram of the Bouligny family letters, showing language and direction of correspondence

Speakers in this corpus were navigating a multinational, multilingual environment that had to do with the nature of their family connections as well as the political and cultural transformations taking place in Louisiana (and Europe) at the time (see Chapter 2). While the official language of Louisiana was Spanish for the period of Spanish control, the language of

day-to-day life continued to be French (Clark 2007: 123). This difference between—and juxtaposition of—the private and public languages can be seen in, for example, the Ursuline nun Marie Magdelaine de Jesus's letter to her godson Ursino,[116] where the letter is in French, but the address on the back—the official part of the letter—is written in Spanish in a different hand. Similarly, Francisco I's note to his wife Marie Louise detailing actions to be taken in the event of his death during a trip to Europe, is scribbled in French on the envelope of their Spanish marriage license.[117]

Inside the letter, however, the choice of language is much more determined by personal characteristics and socio-pragmatic considerations. Figure 5.1 maps who uses which language with whom within the corpus, with closer views centered around specific correspondents in (Figure 5.2-Figure 5.3). One important conditioning factor is of course the dominant language of the encoder and their perception of the addressee's competence. There are some speakers who do not appear to be bilingual, such as the French-speaking Marie Magdelaine de Jesus. In this case, there is only one option, even if it means that the interlocutor then experiences some difficulties. This seems to be the case, for example, for Marie Daron, who receives letters from her second cousins Joaquin and Prudencia in Spanish (Figure 5.2), letters which are accompanied in the archive by French translations, indicating perhaps that she was not able to understand the Spanish.[118] This fact is what leads, perhaps, to Prudencia writing her next letter to Marie in French, a particularly salient shift because she also apologizes for her imperfect command of the language.[119] Unfortunately we do not have access to the replies received by Prudencia and cannot tell what initiated this shift. It may have come out of interaction in person; the Darons visited Spain about this time and Prudencia mentions the anticipation of meeting them in her first letter.[120]

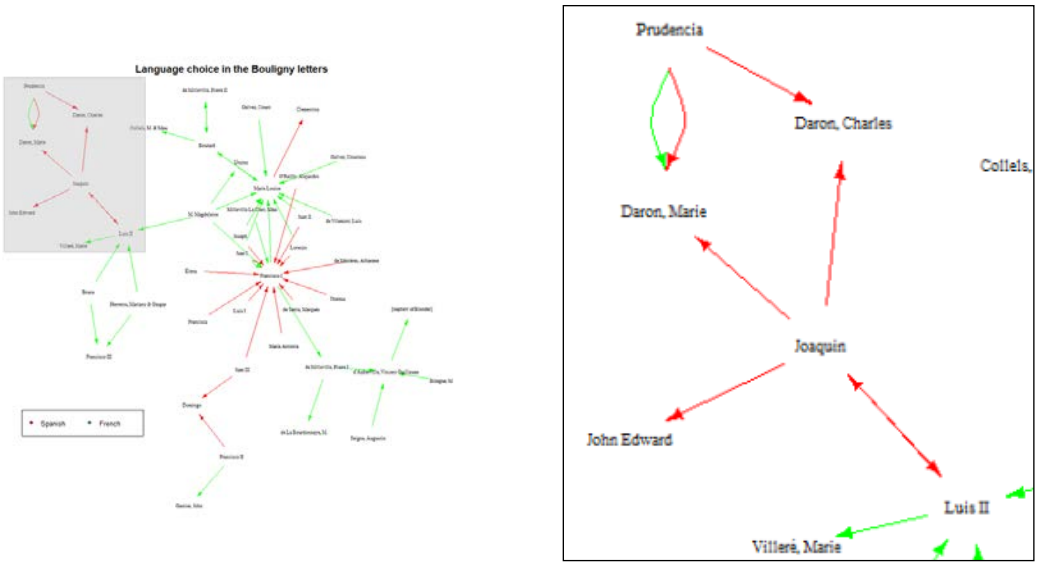


Figure 5.2: Language choice, inset a (centered on the Darons)

[116] HNOC MSS 103 F 15.
[117] HNOC MSS 171 F 42.
[118] HNOC MSS 103 F20 (addressed also to her husband Charles); F21.
[119] HNOC MSS 103 F22.
[120] See discussion in §3.3.1.

Consideration for the addressee's dominant (or only) language is seen also in letters to Marie Louise (Figure 5.3). These letters are all in French, although it seems clear that she was capable of writing in Spanish, since her 1818 letter to her great-niece Clementina is in that language. It is possible that Marie Louise did not learn Spanish until late in her life, given the timing of this letter, and this is why all the letters she receives (dated 1770-1806) are in French. It is also possible that the Spanish-dominant speakers writing to her were unsure of her mastery of Spanish. However, it may also be a case of politeness, deference, or topic: the Spanish-dominant writers are her husband's family and government colleagues writing with congratulations on her marriage or condolences upon the death of her husband. This would seem to indicate that even if the writer was inclined to use Spanish for his/her own comfort—for example, Lorenzo, whose French is greatly influenced by Spanish (see 3.2)—they have turned to French in this case to underscore their deference to the recipient's feelings. Given the highly formulaic nature of letters of congratulation or condolence, the extra effort or consideration taken to write in the addressee's native language is a show of personal attention and respect, or of positive politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987: 110). It can also be read, particularly in the case of congratulations, as a gesture of welcome into a family and professional network which are habitually Spanish-speaking.

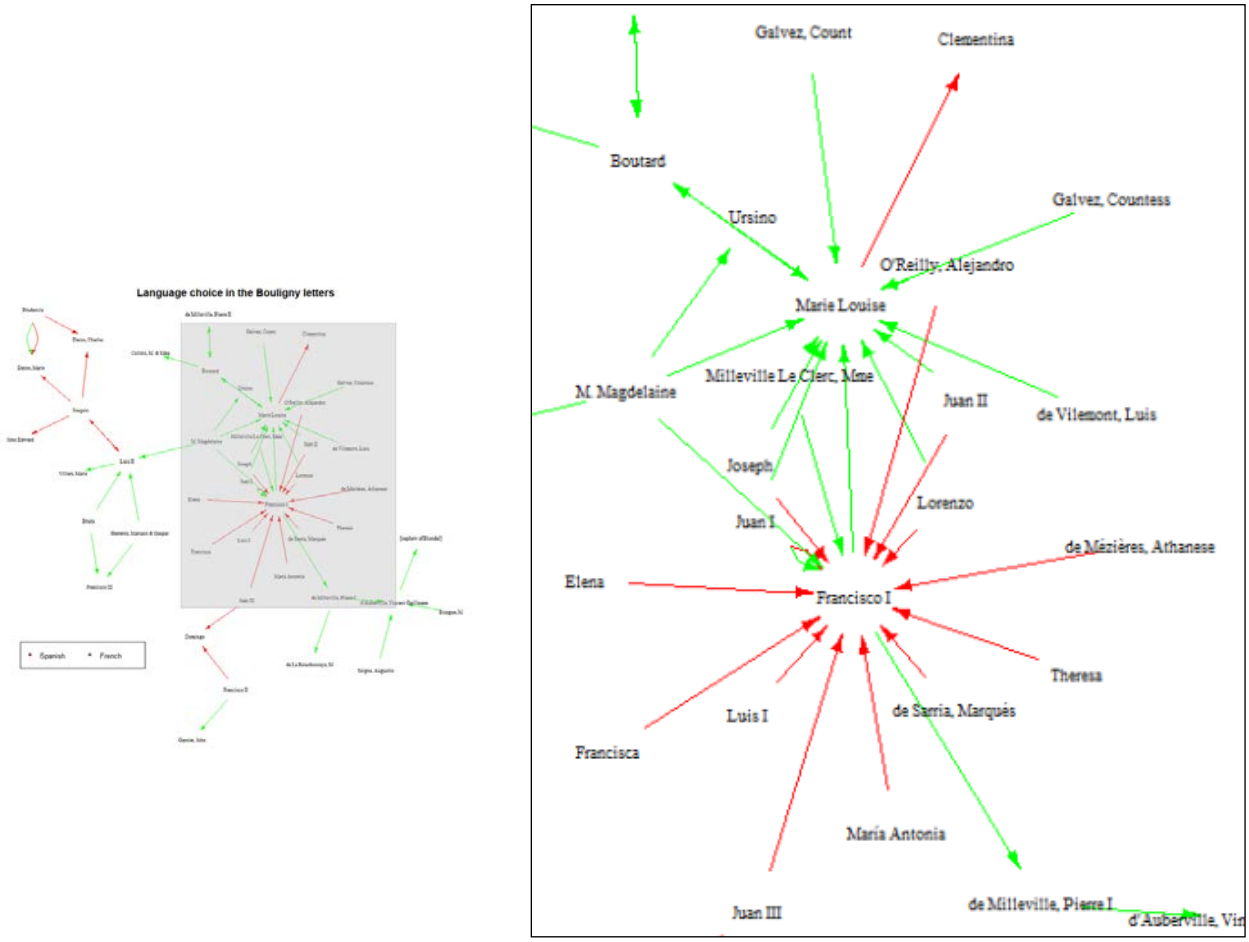


Figure 5.3: Language choice, inset b (centered on Marie Louise and Francisco I)

One exception is the note to Maire Louise from her husband Francisco I which, although it is about practical preparations, otherwise indexes intimacy with the use of *tu* and of the nickname 'Manon'. It seems that their customary language of communication was French—a choice presumably negotiated in person, unlike the correspondence with her in-laws across the ocean. The contrast between the couple's private lives—lived in French—and the official status of their marriage exemplified in their Spanish marriage license, again emphasizes the nature of the French language, for these two at least, as the language of family and private life.

For Francisco I, the use of language is also divided along public/private lines, but in distinct ways (Figure 5.3). In professional or financial matters, language is context-dependent. His correspondence with his wife's extended family in France about her inheritance is in French—and again, it is unlikely these individuals spoke Spanish. Meanwhile, his communications from army and government officials (including the Frenchman Athanèse de Mézières) are in Spanish, since their relationship, and, presumably, habitual communication, is built around the governmental and military structures of Spanish Louisiana.

In the private sphere, his siblings write to him in Spanish, but his father prefers French—even though the former are often postscripts to the latter's letters. This is indicative of familial language shift—Juan I was born in France and his children, including Francisco I, in Spain. It also shows, however, that Francisco I did not have just one language of intimacy in his relationships with his family. Juan I is an interesting case, because he does in fact write one letter to his son in Spanish in 1771.[121] This letter appears to be similar in content to the other letters Juan I wrote his son: concern for his son's health and request that he aid an acquaintance's son in his military career. Perhaps the fact that he opens the letter with a mention of this acquaintance (Doña Manuela Elver, presumably a Spanish-speaker) and the letter she had received from her son triggered the choice of Spanish in Juan's own letter as he relates the information received in this manner. Another possible explanation lies in the fact that the letter is not in Juan I's own hand; instead Joseph appears to have served as his father's scribe. It is unlikely, however, that Joseph felt uncomfortable writing in Spanish, since he also served as his father's scribe in French letters to Marie Louise in 1770 and Francisco I in 1772.[122] Whatever the reason that this lone letter was written in Spanish, Juan I did not communicate exclusively in French with his son. Juan I's preference for French in this case was perhaps based on his own comfort rather than his addressee's—in contrast to the writers discussed above—but also one that was likely begun in Francisco I's childhood. The relationship between Francisco I and his father, while clearly an affectionate one, is still a father-child relationship, and thus the choice of language is made according to Juan I's preference rather than his son's. This is in contrast to the other cases, where considerations of politeness and deference to an addressee with whom the writer is not on intimate terms play a greater part.

5.1.2 Code switching

As seen above, choice of language is influenced by and negotiated as part of the relationship between speaker and addressee. It also plays a part in the identity construction of both parties as a *speaker of French* or a *speaker of Spanish* (Sebba 2012: 16). However, we must also consider texts which include use of both languages, a means of constructing a *bilingual*

[121] HNOC MSS 171 F 33.
[122] HNOC MSS 171 F28, F38.

identity for both reader and speaker. This can also happen at a level larger than the individual text; I consider this community biligual because of the corpus of texts taken as a whole. In the following section I will examine texts in the corpus which include language-mixing, or code-switching. In its broadest conception, code-switching is "the use of more than one language in a specific communicative event" (Schendl 2012: 523). The issue at stake here is determining the bounds of a communicative event. In oral discourse, this could perhaps be understood as turns in a conversation or the conversation as a whole (Sebba 2012: 9). While I have discussed the interactional component of letter-writing which is in some ways akin to a conversation (§ 1.1), in this case I will take the bounds of a letter, defined as the same writer(s) to the same addressee(s), as the communicative event. This means that I count documents containing letters from different recipients to the same interlocutor, of the sort discussed in Section 2.2, as multiple communicative events. Similarly, unlike Nurmi and Pahta (2004:437), I do not count the address on the outside of a letter as part of the same communicative event because the intended audience is not the addressee, but rather the postal service or letter carrier. This means that examples discussed above, where the address and the letter are produced in different languages, are not counted here as code-switching. Similar issues arise in the conceptualization of code-switching as compared to other contact phenomena, such as borrowings (Poplack et al. 1988), and identification of code-switching is particularly tricky in cases such as this of related languages, where cognates may only be differentiated by a single letter. I have discussed some of these examples in Sections 3.2 and 3.3, but in what follows I will focus on code-switched elements which are more clearly identifiable and often marked as foreign by the authors themselves.

There is an abundance of scholarly interest in phenomena of code-switching—historical and contemporary, written and spoken,[123] and it has been shown to be not infrequent in historical documents. For example, Nurmi and Pahta (2004: 428) found that, in the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC), from 1410-1550, 17% of correspondents (mostly men) code-switched, and personal correspondence had a low to medium frequency of code-switching compared to other genres. Despite increases in education, the eighteenth-century data appears to not have a marked increase in frequency of code-switching, but this frequency corresponds less to social status than individual preference in the 18th compared to 15th and 16th centuries (Nurmi and Pahta 2010: 151-2).They find that code-switching practice is dependent on the relationship between the interlocutors, in particular their language ability and level of intimacy, but also serves as a resource for the speaker to perform different roles and to organize his or her discourse (Pahta and Nurmi 2009: 39-42; Nurmi and Pahta 2010: 139, 156).

It is perhaps surprising, then, that we find very little code-switching in the Bouligny letters, given the fact that most of the letters are between family members who have some bilingual ability. The fact that most speakers use only one language may be an indication of their awareness of two different codes; Moyna and Coll (2015: 124) found that, for their corpus, "the degree of mixing is inversely proportional to the writers' awareness of it". It may also have to do with their views of bilingualism and group identity; the men in Nurmi and Pahta's studies were not members of bilingual or multi-ethnic communities, but rather used French, Latin, Italian, and Greek in their English writings because of their membership in a particular social and intellectual circle. In the Bouligny's case, while multilingualism was a professional benefit, part of the education of those belonging to a particular class,[124] and a reality of daily life in a place like

[123] For an overview of code-switching in historical sociolinguistics, see Schendl (2012).

[124] Bruna, for example, mentions her children's progress in French and Latin as well as Spanish, math, geography, Christian doctrine, drawing, and dancing (HNOC MSS 171 F 131).

Louisiana, they may not have seen the ability to switch between languages as a particular in-group family feature. Instead, they appear to appeal to their relationship with their addressees through the choice of one language over another.

The two speakers who do show some code-switching between French and Spanish are Juan I and Bruna Bouligny de Herreros, who both lived in Spain but wrote letters in French. Juan I was born in France, but Bruna's dominant language was Spanish. The switches into Spanish sometimes occur when somewhat specialized official, cultural, or medical terminology arises, as in (1) and (2).[125] Bruna may not know a French equivalent for the government offices she references, or she may feel that it is culturally specific. The same may be said for the term 'cesante', which, while it could be translated by a term meaning unemployed, referred to a category of civil employees who were out of work, often due to changes in the political atmosphere. They drew pensions and could be rehired, meaning they had a cultural and legal determination particular to 19th century Spain (Albuera Guirnaldos 1990: 45-6). Similarly, Juan I references an illness ('Tersianas') with its Spanish name. Despite being a native French speaker, Juan I may not have been familiar with this medical term in French—or thought his addressee Francisco I would not be. [126]

(1) Mme Vve. Cabanes a un enfant
qui est employé á la Secretaria de la Gobernacion: leur frère Theo_
file est très riche, il est cesante.

Bruna, 1846 (HNOC MSS 171 F131)

(2)

a. ton frere L[torn -a]uren quil
est au Mexique premier Cadet au Regiment de Flandres
b. ton frere Louis quil se trouve Soublieuten^{t}.
dans le regiment [blot]Destremadure fijò a Badajoz
ou despuis quil y est se trouve Incomodé delas
Tersianas.

Juan I, 1769 (HNOC MSS 171 F 27)

As for Spanish toponyms, however, Juan I mostly uses the French versions, as in (2): 'Mexique', 'Estremadure', in addition to the invariable 'Badajoz'. He also chooses to use French names for ranks in the Spanish army: 'Cadet', 'Soublieutent'. In contrast, in (b), he moves from a French toponym to the Spanish 'fijò' in explaining where the regiment is stationed. This was part of a set phrase—'regimiento fijo' which denotes a particular type of Spanish regiment, but Juan I has broken it up, perhaps because he did not have a good equivalent in French, perhaps partly because here it is treated as a separate adjectival phrase.

From Bruna we also see code-switching with set phrases: 'hombre de bien' (3) is a phrase she clearly felt she could not reproduce in French, especially with the subtle distinction between *de bien*, with its references to honor and family, and *bueno*. The example in (4), however, is an

[125] Underlining in these examples is in the original document.

[126] Most likely Tertian fever, a cyclical fever resulting from malaria; the RAE's DLE (*Diccionario de la Lengua Española; 23rd edition, 2014*) defines *terciana* as: "Calentura intermitente que repite cada tercer día". The French translation of this might be the cognate *fièvre tierce.*

odd case—unlike the previous examples, there does not seem to be any lexically driven reason to code-switch, that is, there are no proper names or idiomatic phrases. This type of intrasentential code-switching does not occur elsewhere in Bruna's correspondence or in the rest of the corpus. It could be read as emphasis or an outpouring of frustration at the lack of career opportunities in Spain. It is particularly interesting that she repeated the negation in Spanish, ('il **n**'y a **pas ninguna'**), following Spanish syntactic rules which require double negation, or simply emphasizing the negative.

(3) la confiance qu'on a fait en vous prouve que vous
êtes <u>hombre de bien</u>: c'est la meilleure, la véritable noblesse.

Bruna, 1846 (HNOC MSS 171 F130)

(4) Je ne voudrez pas qu'ils
fuissent Militaires et je ne sais pas qu'est ce que j'en ferai d'eux car
il n'y a pas <u>ninguna Carrera que [blot above] ofrezca ventajas</u> les bons
tems <se> sont déjà passé

Bruna, 1846 (HNOC MSS 171 F131)

Both Juan I and Bruna almost always mark their code-switching by underlining the Spanish phrase, which would seem to confirm the idea that code-switching was a marked act for them. Elsewhere in the corpus, underlining does appear, if infrequently, as a marker of emphasis in monolingual passages. Joseph and Juan III use it when discussing topics they are passionate about,[127] where in other cases it appears to be meant to draw attention to a particular word, such as the name given to Juan III's newborn son, Bizague's cost calculations or Joseph's inventory lists.[128] The fact that the same typographical element might be used for emphasis or to highlight a change in code may also lead to an emphatic reading of the latter case (Callahan 2004: 103). In any case, underlining the text both distances and highlights a word or phrase : "un mot entre guillemets (ou souligné, ou en italiques) est un mot qu'on attribue aux autres, que l'on ne prend pas à charge, un mot extérieur au discours, étranger, ou nouveau, ou vulgaire, bref un mot marqué" (Catach 1980: 24-5).[129] This visual 'flagging' (Callahan 2004: 9) of a change in code, which in contemporary print often takes the form of italics, calls the reader's attention to the foreign nature of these words in comparison to the surrounding discourse. These examples would seem to differ from the examples in Lorenzo's letter (§ 3.2), or the word 'fijo' in (2)b in not being marked by the author as code-switching and thus, perhaps, not at the same level of awareness.

There is one more case of code-switching in the corpus, which includes Latin. Although many of the speakers in this corpus certainly learned some Latin at school, it does not come up frequently in their correspondence.[130] Joseph's use of Latin is confined to this single phrase (*ex*

[127] HNOC MSS 171 F 46; F 126.
[128] HNOC MSS 171 F 122; LaRC 600 B 2 F 28; HNOC MSS 103 F25.
[129] Reported speech and passages copied from other documents are also fairly rare in the corpus; these are either introduced explicitly and then copied wholesale without typographical marking (HNOC MSS 171 F 126) or with "guillemets, mis 'au long' dans la marge" (Catach 1980: 21) (LaRC 600 B7 F 16).
[130] Although Athanèse de Mézières' letter (LaRC 600 B 3 F 37) includes a separate sheet of paper with a Latin inscription for the church in New Orleans. Interestingly, this is indicated by a marginal note in the same hand in French, while the letter itself is in Spanish—indicating perhaps a three-way divide between the personal (French) the official (Spanish) and the religious (Latin).

corde), which appears in his closing formulae up to about 1780, from which time he switches to a Spanish version.

(5) creheme tuyo ex corde tu mas afecto Her^{o}

Joseph, 1777 (HNOC MSS 171 F 50)

The use of Latin might in many contexts come across as distant since Latin was a mark of education in early and late modern Europe (Nurmi and Pahta 2004: 448; Fairman 2008: 194) and not really the language of intimate conversation. Here, it certainly could be a bit of a pretentious move or simply a term in fashion at the time, especially given that it is disappears over time (cf. Pahta and Nurmi 2009: 46). However, given the fact that Joseph is the only writer to use it, and it does not appear in more formal documents or to other addressees, such as in the letter of congratulation to Marie Louise, this appears to be a private joke or expression between Joseph and his brother Francisco I. Additionally, the fact that it appears with phrases such as *tu mas afecto Hermano* underlines the affective nature of a language which would normally index intellectualism. This switch to Latin could be shorthand for all of the things that standard closing formulae—even in one's native language—cannot access: shared history, trust.

Overall, it seems clear that for most of these speakers, French and Spanish existed in separate spheres, at least in written form. They had a clear idea of which language framework was appropriate for which situation, in most cases not including code-switching, even to addressees they knew were bilingual. Similarly, we see very few examples of either two letters to the same addressee being written in different languages or of encoder-addressee pairs using different languages with each other. Instead, we see writers choosing—and continuing to use—one language according to the characteristics of their interlocutor or their relationship. Prudencia is the exception to this rule, presumably because of a mistaken understanding of the linguistic competence of her addressee. Again, this likely speaks of a social, cultural, and linguistic awareness of French and Spanish as separate codes.

This is seen particularly clearly in the proper names in the corpus: place, writer, addressee. Almost without exception, these are language-specific when possible. Juan I, for instance, uses 'Jean' in signing his French letters, which are addressed to his son 'François' (Francisco I). Within the French text, he also uses the French versions of his sons' names: 'Lauren[t]' and 'Louis' (Lorenzo and Luis I). This happens even with the younger generations represented in the corpus (Prudencia/Prudence), although one indication perhaps of lessening bilingualism in at least one branch of the family is the fact that Bruna and her brother Joaquin have invariable names.[131] The same occurs when referencing titles, e.g. 'Comte de Galvez', 'Conde de ÓReilly', and with place names, with the code-switched examples above being few and far between. Examples include the Bouligny's town in Spain, 'Alicant/Alicante' or the choice between 'Nouvelle Orleans' or 'Nueva Orleans'—which again may differ even between the outside address of the letter and its contents. The choice of language, then, applies to both inhabited and written spaces and personal identities, which are separated linguistically as well as culturally. The occasional counter-example, as in (6), where the Spanish name 'Francisco' is

[131] Din (1993: 233, 235) argues that for Francisco I's sons, the public choice of name was linked to the language of administration during the Spanish colonial period, but that they began to use the French versions of their names at the beginning of the 19th century.

used in a French letter, speaks perhaps to the difficulty in dividing one's identity as well as one's linguistic codes.[132]

(6) Mon tres aymé fils Fran^{co}.

Juan I, 1769 (HNOC MSS 171 F 23)

This differs from findings for other times and places; Pahta and Nurmi (2009: 50) find that code-switching is part of a style shift to more intimate correspondents in a corpus of 18th century English correspondence. For these bilingual correspondents, however, with the possible exception of Joseph's use of Latin, linguistic spaces are quite clearly defined, and although multilingualism may be a professional or personal necessity or benefit, it only comes into play in letter-writing in the choice of (one) appropriate code for a particular addressee. When code-switching does occur, it is often in a context where translation is difficult due to cultural or terminological specificity, and is often flagged typographically. This suggests a desire in these authors to downplay, rather than highlight, a multilingual identity, even in intimate correspondence. We can speculate that this might be a function of educational or social practices or as a marker of ethnic or national belonging, but more work is necessary to determine whether this is unique to this social network or common to this language pair and time period.[133]

5.2 Forms of address

5.2.1 Pronominal forms (T/V)

Modern French and Spanish each have two available second person singular address forms: *tu* or *vous; tú* or *usted/vuestra merced*, respectively—hereafter T or V. The choice between these address forms is conditioned by how speakers view the relationship with their interlocutor, initially understood in the theoretical literature as a marker of power or solidarity (Brown and Gilman 1960). More recent theories, however, have come to understand the choice of T or V at a particular conversational moment as contextualized within a much larger constellation of identity and discourse features and as a part of communicative style and identity construction (Morford 1997; Gardner-Chloros 2007; Serrano 2017). In this section I will accordingly look at the use of T or V address forms in the Bouligny corpus—set against historical monolingual usage—as one of the ways in which speakers situate themselves in relation to their addressees. I will focus on the singular forms as there are only a few letters with second person plural reference.

5.2.1.1 Historical development

The use of the V form in Romance to mark a 2nd person singular dates to at least the fourth century, when it was used as a marker of deference to the Roman emperor. By the 12th to 14th centuries it was a feature of many European languages and developed along roughly similar lines (Brown and Gilman 1960 [1972: 254-256]).

[132] See also discussion in §3.3.2.1 of language-specific spellings of 'abril/avril'.
[133] See Nurmi and Pahta's (2004: 419) discussion of the choice to code-switch or not.

In 16th century French, *tu* was used for close relationships of the same social class or with an inferior, whereas *vous* was for equals and social superiors. In the 17th century, however, there is a rise in the use of *vous*, fueled by the court. Although the lower classes appear to have continued to use the previous paradigm, the upper and middle classes use *vous* much more frequently within their class, regardless of intimacy. It was common to use *vous* even with spouses and children, although *tu* could be used for an intimate relationship or as a way to express emotion (Maley 1972: 1000-2; Peeters 2004: 5). As switches to the *tu* form and non-reciprocal address also took place in non-emotional contexts, however, variation within both class groups may actually have been more common than the historical generalizations lead us to believe—and the two forms were perhaps even in free variation at some point (Maley 1972: 1002).

The egalitarian ideologies of the 18th century and the French Revolution led to a brief period of reciprocal *tutoiement* for all (1793-1795) –at least officially (Wolff 1990: 90).[134] A survey of the letters from soldiers during this period of the Revolution collected by Bouscayrol (1987) shows that *vous* was still very much alive: it is used exclusively with parents, grand-parents, god-parents, and cousins—even when combined with Revolutionary terminology such as 'citoyen'—but *tu* was used with brothers, sisters, and wives. The fall of Robespierre and later the Empire and Bourbon restoration meant an official return to previous norms, but a gradual increase of the use of *tu* can be dated to at least the middle of the nineteenth century, when we see *tu* beginning to be used between close family members and friends, especially of the same sex (Maley 1972:1002-3; Peeters 2004: 5). This is even the case among the elites, who began to say *tu* to their children and spouses by the end of the 19th century—although it was not uncommon even into the 20th century for these pairs to use *vous* in public. Some speakers, especially from 'traditional' families or those signaling membership in the middle-upper class, still use *vous* to address older family members or in-laws, despite a general trend towards symmetrical—and perhaps more informal—address forms (Morford 1997: 9-12).

In late Latin and early Old Spanish, *vos* was used as both the plural second person pronoun and as a deferential or formal second person singular pronoun. By the 15th century, however, the respectful sense of *vos* had weakened as it spread throughout the social classes and by the 17th century was available as a reciprocal address form among social equals (Lapesa 2000[135]: 317). At the same time there arose various deferential constructions to fill this gap, with *vuestra merced* (>*usted*)—first attested in 1620—as the eventual winner [136]. This meant that for a time in the 16th and 17th centuries there was a tripartite system, with *vos* occupying the middle ground between the formal *vuestra merced* and the informal *tú*, although it was in much closer competition with the latter, as both could be used for inferiors as well as with equals 'de mucha confianza' (Lapesa 2000: 322). As *vos* was used less to mark emotional intimacy and came to indicate only the power dynamic of inferiority, the system eventually resolved by the 18th century in favor of *tú* and *usted* in most dialects, although *vos* did remain available slightly longer to mark disrespect or as an archaic artifact in historical literature (Penny 1991: 124; Lapesa 2000: 319-20; 322-5).[137]

---

[134] See Domergue's *Journal de la langue françoise, soit exacte soit ornée* from April 20th, 1795 (p.73-83) for a debate about universal *tutoiement.*

[135] Chapter 13 ("Personas gramaticales y tratamientos en español") originally printed in *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid,* XIX (1970), *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, IV, págs. 167-193.

[136] On the development of *usted*, see also e.g. Tuten (2008).

[137] Although the development in many areas of Latin America was very different; see e.g. Fontanella de Weinberg (1977) for a discussion.

The tripartite distinction playing out in Medieval and Golden Age Spanish means scholars have focused on that time period, including in letters. García Mouton (1999), Bentivoglio (2003), and King (2006)[138], for example, all examine subcorpora of letters drawn from Otte's (1993) collection of 750 letters from the Indies (1540-1616). They find, in contrast with the conclusions of contemporary grammarians and linguists that *vos* had fallen out of use, that *vos* was the unmarked pronoun in the Golden Age (King 2006: 264-5, Bentivoglio 2003:187-8), and was used when writing to spouses and sometimes older children (García Mouton 1999: 274; King 2006: 241, 248). *Tú*, although more commonly used by women reciprocally and with children, was for men limited to use with servants or in some cases the immediate family. The choice of *vuestra merced* instead of *vos* was a gesture of respect or for use with strangers as well as for parents, nephews/nieces, and cousins, especially if unknown (García Mouton 1999: 274; King 2006: 265-6). Choice of address for siblings was much more variable; García Mouton (1999: 274) and King (2006: 236) found that *vuestra merced* was preferred to *vos*, while Bentivoglio (2003: 182) found the opposite. Moreover, many of the correspondents switch between forms of address within a single letter, sometimes as a function of topic, social distance, and emotion, with *vos* for more intimate situations and *vuestra merced* for more formal ones, (Bentivoglio 2003: 183-4; King 2006: 245).

In letters from the 18th century, however, the *vos* form has disappeared. Bravo García (2004: 261-2), in her study of letters from the Indies, found that *tú* was the most common address form between spouses, and cousins, as well as to children, nephews and nieces, but that *vuestra merced* was a marker of trust between spouses as well (and combined with the *tú* pronoun). *Vuestra merced* also appeared as a marker of respect, addressed to aunts, uncles, parents and occasionally used in more formal letters. For siblings, both forms were used and were again most likely a function of relative age. It seems, then, that many of the functions served by *vos* in the Golden Age were taken over in the 18th century by *tú*, for example in the reciprocal relations between spouses and even cousins. However, *vuestra merced/usted* was available as an indication of respect and esteem in those relationships, especially with older family members, and at the turn of the 19th century *usted* was still the form of choice for almost all social relationships (Calderón Campos 2008: 1714). This system survived through the 20th century in some zones of Spain, with the use of the respectful *usted* for parents and even older siblings, despite a general increase in the use of reciprocal *tú* (García Mouton 1999: 267).

It seems that in both languages we would expect 18th- and 19th-century writers to use the formal/respectful V form with strangers and older family members, including parents—although we might see a change in French during the Revolutionary period. With more intimate familial relationships, however, such as spouses, children, siblings, and even cousins, the tendencies in usage are less clear. In Spanish, *tú* appears by the 18th century to have been the pronoun of choice for spouses, siblings, and sometimes cousins—although *vuestra merced* is also used, depending on age. In French, before and even after the Revolutionary period, it was common to use *vous* for these relationships, especially for the middle and upper classes, although *tu* was available as a marker of intimacy or emotion.

[138] King (2006) also looks at a large body of literature for comparison.

5.2.1.2 The Bouligny corpus

The use of T or V in the corpus is for the most part fairly consistent with what we might expect, as it patterns with the relationship between the interlocutors in much the same way described above. The correlation between relationship and pronoun choice can be seen in Table 5.1. However, for a few categories of relationship, the choice of T or V is not consistent across the corpus, and in some cases run contrary to what we might expect given the above discussion. There is no use of *vos* in the corpus and no switching between the T and V forms—except where a more permanent change is explicitly negotiated, as discussed below. We also see the transition from *vuestra merced* to *usted* in Spanish.

RELATIONSHIP	FRENCH (number of documents)		SPANISH (number of documents)		PRONOUN CHOICE (T/V)
	T	**V**	**T**	**V**	
Spouse	1	0	0	0	T
Parent → Child	9	0	1	0	T
Siblings	0	1	29	2	Predominantly T
Acquaintances/ Colleagues	0	20	0	4	V
Older Relatives (e.g. Nephew→ Uncle)	0	4	0	5	V
Godparent → Godchild	0	3	0	0	V
Younger Relatives (e.g. Aunt → Niece)	0	6	0	3	Predominantly V[139]
In-laws	0	9	1	0	Predominantly V
Cousins	0	4	8	4	T or V
TOTAL	**10**	**47**	**39**	**18**	

Table 5.1: Choice of T or V according to relationship (excluding plurals)

Figure 5.4 is a map of the correspondence network which shows each individual's choice of T or V with each addressee. Closer examinations of this network, centered on specific individuals and their correspondents, are shown in Figure 5.5-Figure 5.10. Overall, we see the widespread use of the V form (shown in green) but also some writers who use the T form, particularly those writing to Francisco I.

[139] I have not listed this as categorical because of the negotiation discussed in (7) below.

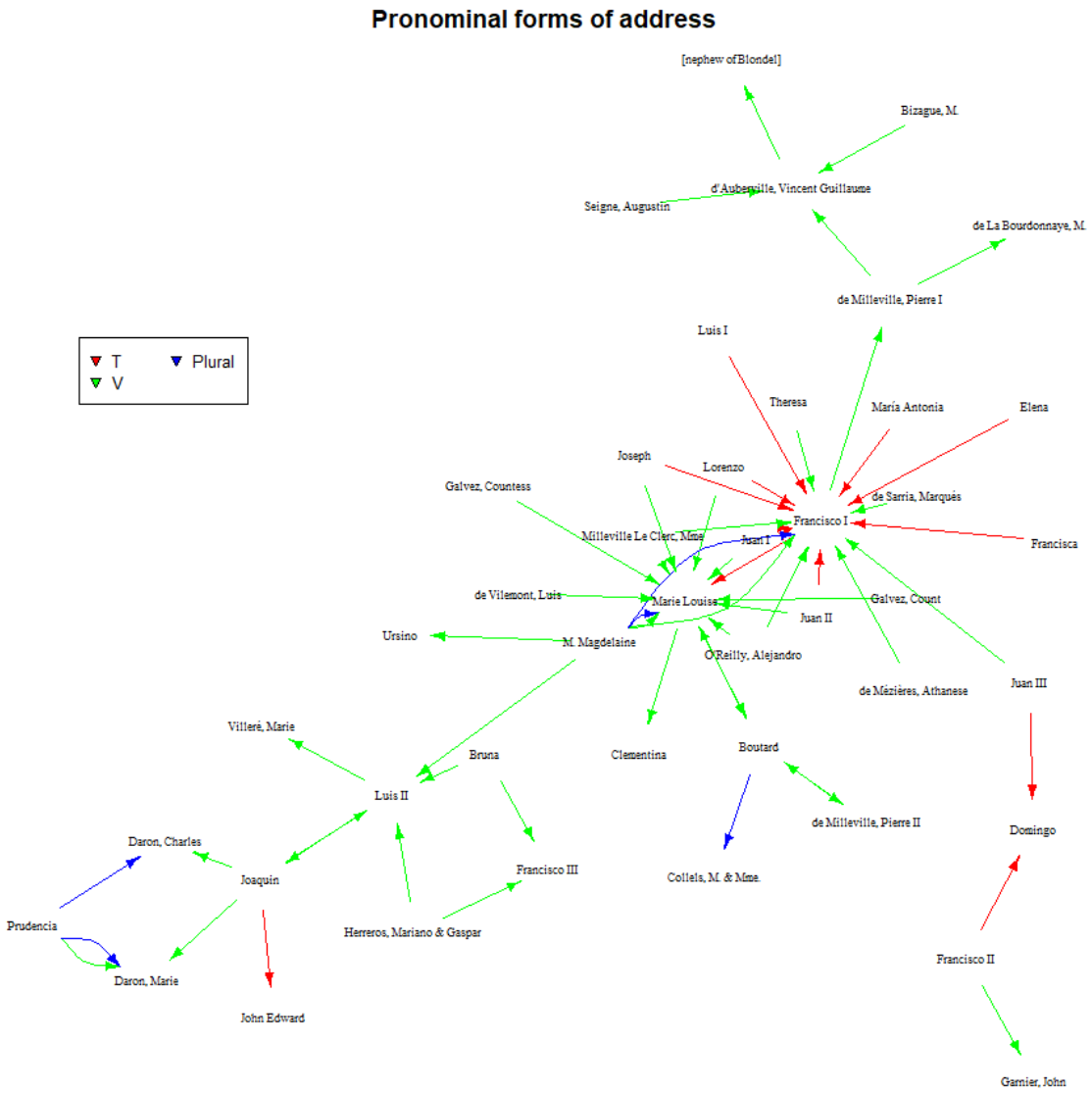


Figure 5.4: Social network diagram of the Bouligny family letters, showing choice of address form (T, V, or plural)

In letters with unrelated acquaintances, the V form is used in both Spanish and French. This includes, for example, letters to and from Boutard as he acts as an intermediary between Marie Louise and Pierre II de Milleville regarding a matter of inheritance (Figure 5.5). This is particularly interesting considering Boutard uses the Revolutionary calendar for dating some of his letters, perhaps indicating some sympathy for the Revolution—but not, apparently, for universal *tutoiement*. In fact, the universal *tutoiement* proposed by the revolutionaries appears not to have affected the authors in this corpus, as there are no examples of the T form in French in the corpus after 1789.[140]

[140] In general, the Boulignys do not seem to have been particularly sympathetic to the Revolution; Joseph, for example, bemoans in 1793 "la fatal tragedia acaecida en Paris con la lamentable muerte de Luis XVI" (HNOC MSS

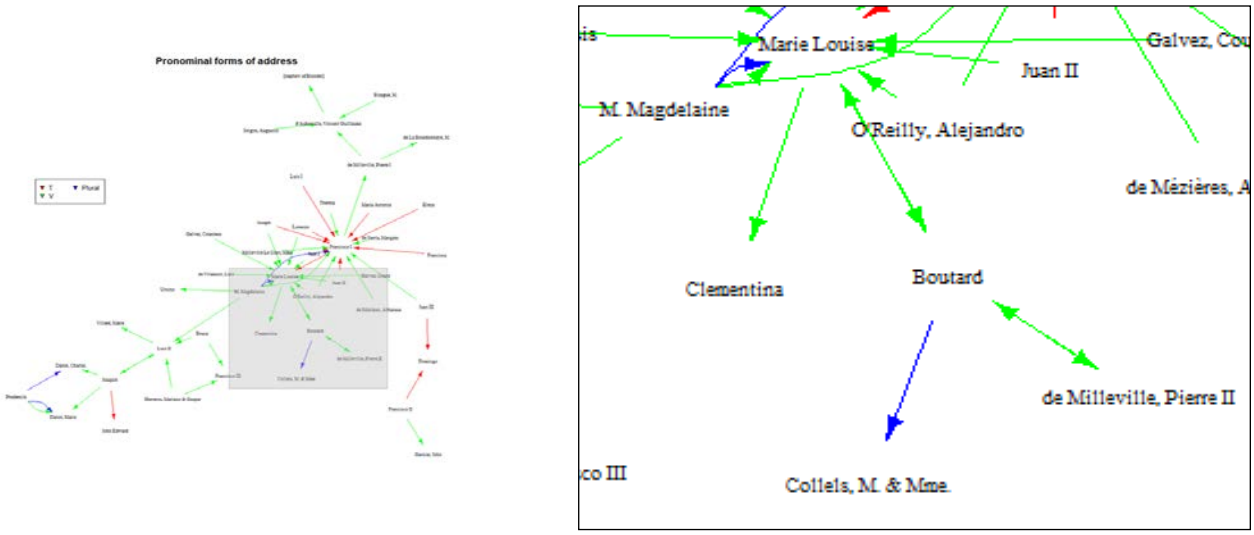


Figure 5.5: Pronominal forms of address, inset a (centered on Boutard)

The category of acquaintances who use the V form also includes the group of Francisco I's civil and military colleagues, both his superiors and inferiors, who write to him and to his wife on both professional and personal topics (e.g. congratulatory notes) (Figure 5.6). The nun Marie Magdelaine, writing to her godson Ursino, his brother Luis II, and his parents, consistently uses the *vous* form (Figure 5.7), perhaps as an indication of their relative social positions, the humbleness associated with the sisterhood, or the fact that their relationship was circumscribed by the formality of religion.

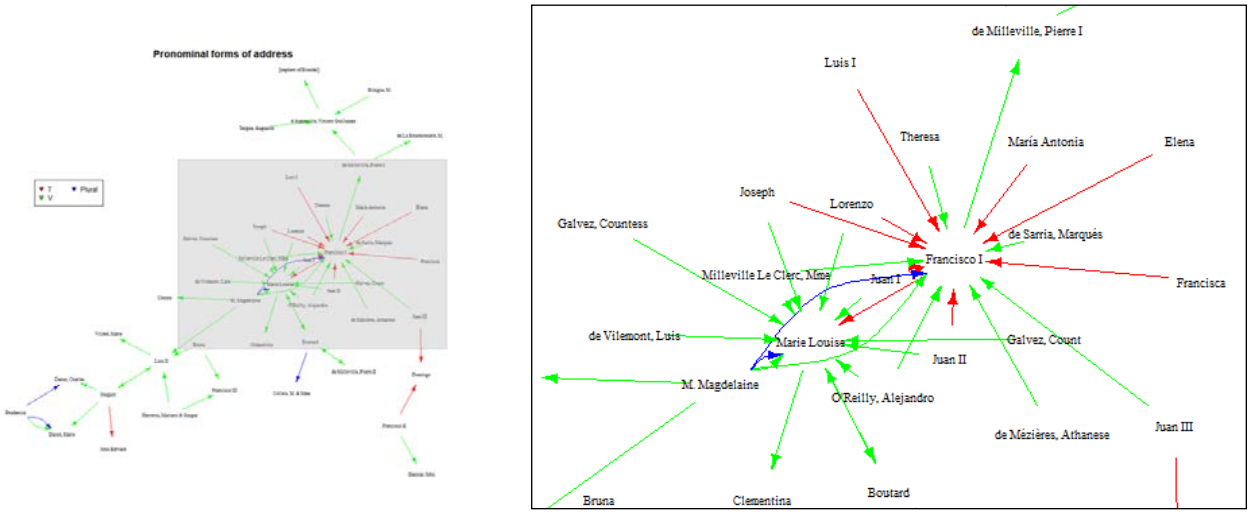


Figure 5.6: Pronominal forms of address, inset b (centered on Francisco I and Marie Louise)

171 F73). There are additionally no letters in this corpus written from France during the official period of reciprocal *tutoiement* (1793-1795).

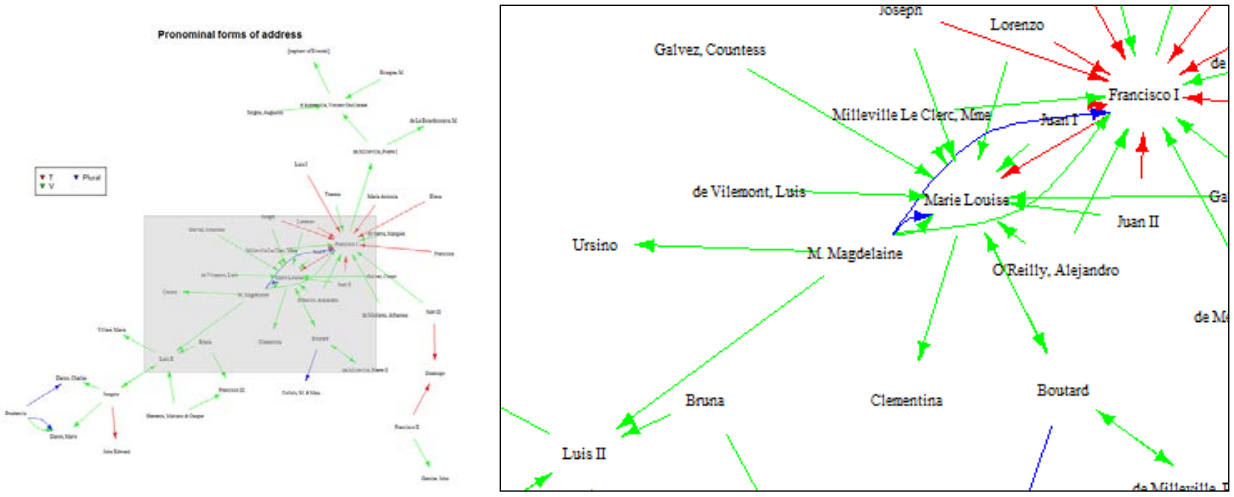


Figure 5.7: Pronominal forms of address, inset c (centered on Marie Magdelaine)

On the other end of the spectrum, the *T* form is used by Juan I in letters to his son Francisco I and by the latter to his wife Marie Louise (both in French), and almost always in the letters to Francisco I from his siblings, written in Spanish (Figure 5.6). This would seem to indicate that in both languages the T form was used by the Bouligny family to indicate the close and intimate relationship of the immediate family. The exception to this is Francisco I's sister Theresa, who addresses him as *vuestra merced*. One explanation for this difference is that Theresa's choice of a more distant or respectful address form is due to a difference in age and/or gender, since she is eight years younger than her brother and the youngest of Francisco I's sisters represented in the corpus. However, this explanation is complicated by the fact that Francisco I's other younger sisters as well as the youngest sibling, Luis I, address Francisco I with *tú*. Additionally, Theresa is 25 years old at the time of writing, so the age difference between the siblings may be said to be somewhat neutralized by this point. While it is plausible that it is the combination of age and gender that motivated the use of *vuestra merced*, perhaps there is something else about their relationship or the act of letter-writing that is different for Theresa and leads her to avoid *tú*. Regardless, this shows that *tú* was not the only available form for immediate family.

For the relationships in between these two poles, however, the data gets a bit murkier. Marie Louise's younger half-brother Luis de Vilemont, for example, addresses her as *vous*, as do her father- and brothers-in-law (Figure 5.6). Similarly, Augustin Seigne's letters to his brother-in-law Vincent Guillaume d'Auberville also use *vous* (Figure 5.8). Francisco I's sister-in-law Elena, however, uses the informal *tú* with him (Figure 5.6). This difference could be attributable to many factors, including gender, language, topic, or nature of the relationship. Elena is the only female in-law represented in the corpus, so it could be that women were more likely to use the T form, although that seems unlikely given the behavior of other women in the corpus. It is possible however, that the type of letter, topic of discourse, or level of the relationship may be the determining factor. Seigne and Luis de Vilemont's letters deal with financial and inheritance details, and Marie Louise's in-laws—whom she has never met—write to her in order to congratulate her on her marriage and to offer condolences on her widowhood. In contrast, Elena's note is a short and personal postscript to Francisco I, whom she presumably knows fairly

well. Finally, it could be that the T form was more acceptable for use with in-laws (and siblings) in Spanish than in French, reflecting the distinction noted above that the T form was more readily used in Spanish for immediate and even extended family during this time.

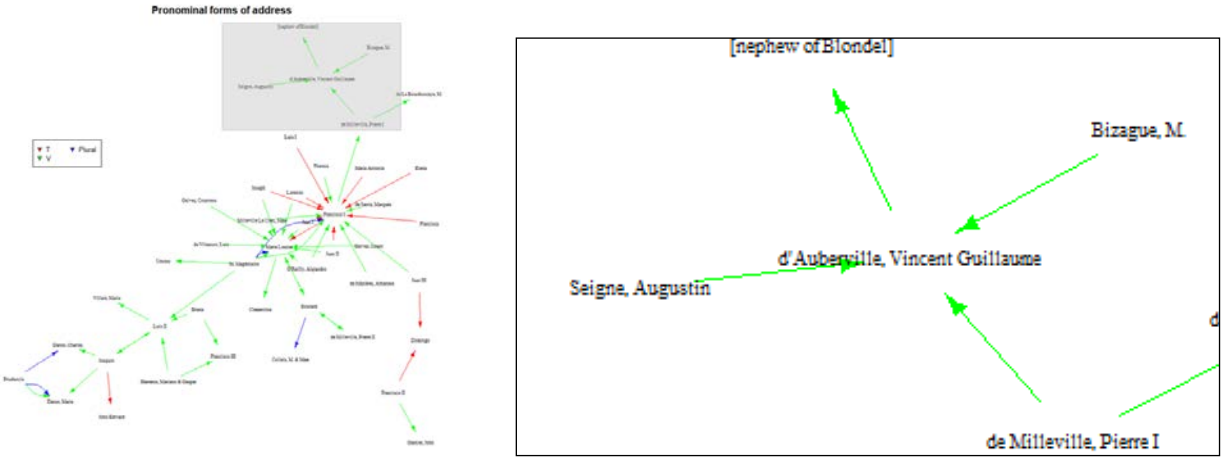


Figure 5.8: Pronominal forms of address, inset d (centered on Vincent Guillaume d'Auberville)

In addressing older relatives, such as an uncle, speakers use the V form in both languages. This is also the case for many speakers when corresponding with younger members of the extended family, even if they claim kinship and intimacy in other ways. For example, in letters from Marie Louise to her great-niece Clementina (Figure 5.6) and from Luis II to his niece Marie, both writers use the V form (Figure 5.9). While Luis II's letter is a relation of family history, Marie Louise's combines family news with a formal request for assistance—perhaps leading her to emphasize the power relationship inherent in that act by choosing the V form.

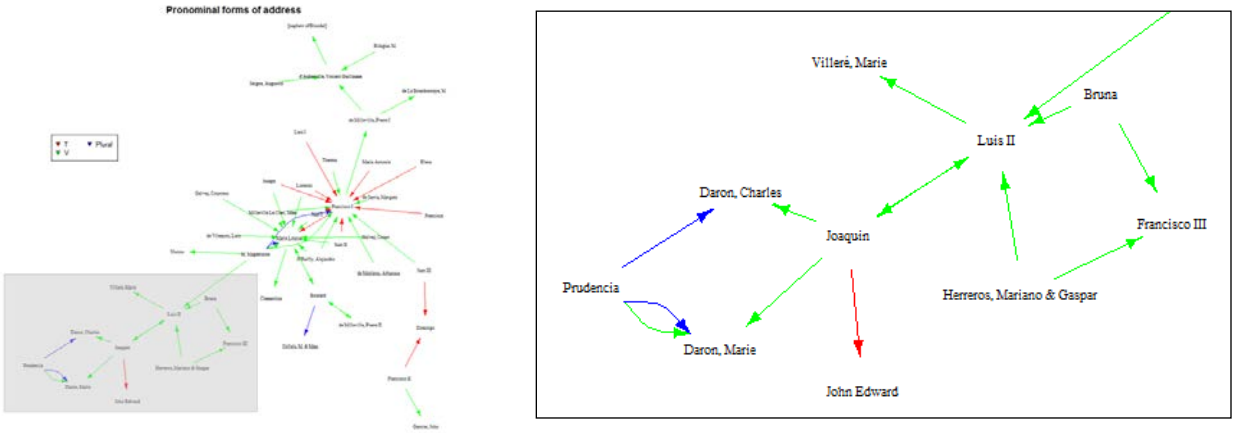


Figure 5.9: Pronominal forms of address, inset e (centered on Joaquin and Luis II)

In correspondence between family members of the same generation, however, we see both forms being used. Prudencia and Joaquin, for example, use the V form when writing to their

second cousins Marie and Charles Daron in both French and Spanish (Figure 5.9), as does Francisco II when writing to his cousin's son-in-law John Garnier in French (Figure 5.10). However, we see a few men bucking this trend towards the V form with extended family. Although they still use the V form with some correspondents, Juan III and Francisco II use *tú* in their 1818 letters to their cousin Domingo (Figure 5.10), as does Joaquin when writing to his second cousin John Edward in 1860 and 1861 (Figure 5.9). This is perhaps an indication of an incremental change taking place in the 19th century, which allows for the claiming of a more informal relationship with a male relative of about the same age. Although Calderón Campos (2008: 1706-8) notes that in the Spanish of the end of the 19th century it was becoming more common to use *tú* with one's cousins and brother- or sisters-in-law, he found that the likelihood of the *tuteo* was very high between women. It seems from the data in this corpus, that in fact men were using the reciprocal T form, although I unfortunately do not have any examples of correspondence between women of the same generation in Spanish for comparison.[141]

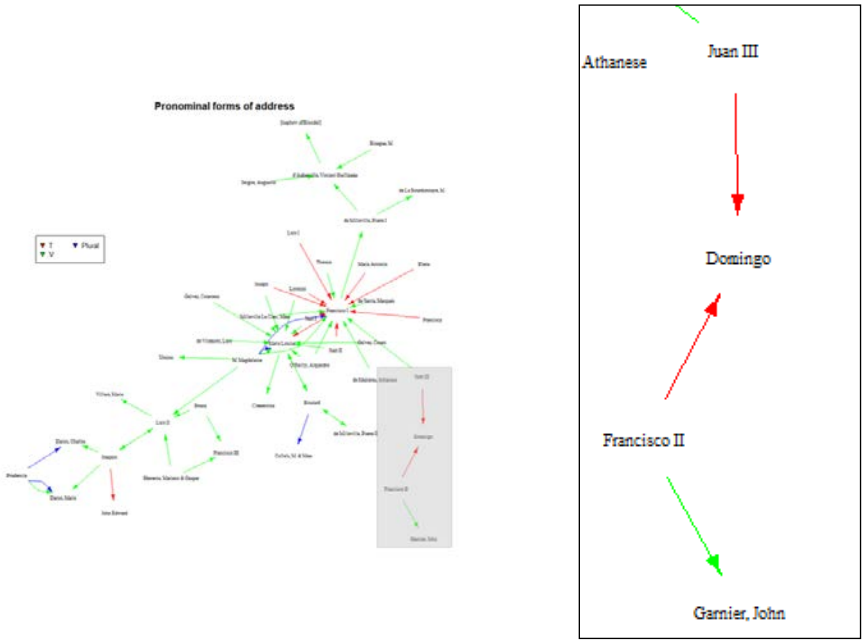


Figure 5.10: Pronominal forms of address, inset f (centered on Francisco II)

This presents the interesting question, however, of why Francisco II and Joaquin use the V form with other male relatives (John Garnier and Charles Daron, respectively). The difference here may be associated with the language, although there are other complicating factors. The *tuteo* mentioned above took place in Spanish, whereas Francisco II's letter to John Garnier, using the V form, was in French. Although Joaquin's letter to Charles Daron is in Spanish, it is likely that the explanation for the use of *usted* is due to age: Charles Daron was more than 15 years his elder—and had also married into the Bouligny family. This linguistic difference may be why Prudencia and Bruna both use the V form with Marie Daron (even though it seems likely that she had met at least Prudencia in person), since they were writing in French (Figure 5.9).

[141] Prudencia's Spanish letter is to both Marie and Charles Daron, so she uses the plural address form.

There appears to be a slight language-specific difference for relationships with extended family members and in-laws, and it is at this point of flexibility that pronoun choice becomes available for expressions of solidarity or social or familial intimacy. Joaquin, in particular, is navigating this relationship more or less explicitly. We can see in (7) that he disassociates the use of *usted* with the type of close family relationship at hand and exhorts his great-uncle to use the more informal—and to his mind, appropriate—*tú*. Note, however, that he continues to use *usted* in his own treatment of his great-uncle in this letter, perhaps in deference to the great age difference between them.

(7) Si U^{d} me honra de nuevo,
como espero, con su contestacion,
recuerde U^{d} que soy su sobrino
para no tratarme de <u>usted</u>

Joaquin, 1860 (HNOC MSS 171 F 136)

This shift to an informal familial relationship is also explicitly performed with his second cousin John Edward Bouligny in (8). Here Joaquin makes the move towards the T form with an acknowledgement of the act and the fact that it depends on the interlocutor's consent. Again, he uses the context of the familial relationship as well as the adjective 'querido' accompanied by an intensifier and a possessive to justify his use of *tú*. In contrast, in his letters to Charles Daron, he uses the pronoun *usted*.

(8) Mi mui querido primo: si me
es permitido tratarte con la con-
fianza de tal,

Joaquin, 1860 (HNOC MSS 171 F 137)

We see, then, that although speakers may adhere to a fairly rigid pattern in the choice of the T or V form of address—with a bit of room in certain relationships in Spanish—this is also combined with nominal forms of address, using titles or forms of the addressee's name. Calderón Campos (2008: 1710) notes this tendency for 19th-20th century Spanish—that with the prevalence of *usted*, the work of indicating power hierarchies and intimacy often falls instead on nominal constructions. In cases (particularly in French) where the use of the T or V is regulated by fairly rigid convention, speakers turn to other methods to index endearment, solidarity, polite respect, or distance, particularly in opening formulae.

5.2.2 Nominal constructions in opening formulae

Those speakers addressing their interlocutor with the V form commonly open their letters with the title and optionally the surname of the addressee, e.g. 'a M^{r}. et Mme. De Bouligny'[142]. This is found, for example, in Boutard's correspondence between himself, Marie Louise, and Pierre II de Milleville; in Soeur Marie Magdelaine's letters to Marie Louise and Francisco I; and in the letters written to Marie Louise from Francisco I's military and government colleagues. These same colleagues and subordinates, however, address Francisco I as 'Mui S^{or}. mio,'

[142] HNOC MSS 103 F 23.

(O'Reilly, de Sarria)[143] or 'Mi mas estimado y amado dueño' (de Mézières).[144] The former signals respect and a certain distant equality, while the latter is a respectful but more emotive letter from a subordinate. This takes a similar tone to the formal greetings exchanged between men (and sometimes from women to men), especially when writing to an uncle or cousin: Juan III, for example, when writing to his uncle Francisco, begins with 'My Amado Tio y Señor'[145]; Prudencia's opening to Marie and Charles Daron is 'Muy S^{res}. mios y apreciables primos'.[146] Note here, though, in contrast to those with professional relationships, there is an added element of explicit mention of the relationship, occasionally with an affective adjective such as 'amado'. While still using a V form, the explicit mention of the relationship and adjectival modification allow for the claiming of a slightly more intimate footing.

Although other letters still use the V form, the associated nominal address forms vary from the more respectful or formal examples above to 'Ma tres chere fille' or 'Ma Chère Marie'[147] from Juan I to Marie Louise and Luis II to his great-niece Marie Villeré, respectively. They include almost all of the same elements that we will see appear in letters using the T form: a possessive, adjective indicating emotional attachment, intensifier 'tres', and a relationship term and/or first name. These men, in addressing a daughter-in-law and great-niece, respectively, maintain a gentlemanly respect (and avoid implications of inferiority which can come with the use of *tu*) while also indexing intimacy and emotional attachment. Similarly, Soeur Marie Magdelaine de Jesus addresses her godson as 'Mon cher petit ami dont Usin'[148] or variations thereof which combine references to his social status ('dont' *don* or 'Monsieur' and the use of *vous*) with godmotherly affection.

In letters where the pronoun used is T, we see openings that are almost identical to some of those using V. Compare, for example, Juan I's addressing his son as 'Mon tres Cher fils'[149] to his address of Marie Louise above. The professed relationship is almost identical, except for the choice of pronoun, which contrasts a respectful in-law distance with the intimacy of a father-son relationship. Similarly, in Theresa's correspondence with her brother Francisco I—the only of his sisters to use *vuestra merced*—she opens with 'Querido h^{no}. frasquito', again showing this pattern of adjective + relationship + (nick)name. This use of nicknames and diminutives, which we see in parent-child, sibling, and spousal relationships but nowhere else, is an expression of intense closeness, and seems at odds with Theresa's choice of the V form. This seems as though Theresa, with her choice of *vuestra merced*, is indicating a sort of respect based on the age or gender dynamic between them. It is also possible, however, that she is using it in a joking manner, as she reprimands him in her first letter for not mentioning her, then commenting that he doesn't need to marry, that she will take care of him instead. The second letter, written after news of his marriage has reached his family, picks up this same thread, noting that she is actually very happy for him and congratulates him on his choice. The fact that she uses the V form throughout both letters[150] perhaps lessens the likelihood that this is a momentary switch for discursive effect, but her choice of address shows that there is some amount of brother-sister intimacy.

---

[143] HNOC MSS 171 F34, F43; LaRC 600 B 2 F 40.
[144] LaRC 600 B3 F 37.
[145] HNOC MSS 171 F66.
[146] HNOC MSS 103 F20.
[147] HNOC MSS 171 F 28, F 133 (2nd copy; in the other copies 'Marie' is 'niece').
[148] HNOC MSS 103 F15. Note additionally the unfamiliarity of Marie Magdelaine with the Spanish spelling *don*.
[149] e.g. HNOC MSS 171 F 36.
[150] HNOC MSS 171 F 27, MSS 103 F6.

Although they are usually fairly consistent across writer-addressee pairs, these forms are less static than the choice of T or V. As we saw in the previous section, Joaquin was negotiating his relationships with his father's cousin Luis II and his second cousin John Edward in terms of the pronoun to be used. We see a similar transition taking place in terms of the nominal address forms he uses in letters to Luis II (9) and Charles Daron (10). In the two years that separate each of these sets of letters, Joaquin—although still using the V form—moves from a nominal address that is more indicative of social distance and perhaps an age or power hierarchy to using the adjective 'querido' and an explicit relationship claim—and in the case of Daron, of friendship. In the case of Luis II, he is still respectful, but in a more intimate way, positioning himself as a family member rather than a distant acquaintance.

(9)

a. Mui S^{or} mio

Joaquin, 1859 (HNOC MSS 171 F134)

b. Mi mui querido y respetable tio

Joaquin, 1861 (HNOC MSS 171 F139)

(10)

a. Mi mui estimado Primo y Señor mio

Joaquin, 1861 (HNOC MSS 171 F139)

b. Mi mui querido primo y amigo

Joaquin, 1863 (HNOC MSS 171 F139)

It is perhaps less drastic—or risky—a move to evolve the relationship in the opening formula while keeping the address form the same. Although Joaquin arrives at almost identical address forms here to Carlos Daron as he does to his other second cousins John Edward (seen above in (8) and Marie Daron, he only uses *tú* with John Edward. Joaquin's sister Prudencia and cousin Bruna act similarly in their French correspondence, using, for example 'Bien chere couisine' or 'Mon très cher oncle'[151] combined with the V form. Even Mariano and Gaspar Herreros address Luis II as 'Cher oncle',[152] a far cry from the more formal address forms seen above. This may indicate a loosening of formality which is in progress towards the end of my corpus in both languages, although it is slower to affect T/V choice than these performative expressions.

While there is a fairly small set of lexical items and formulae available for speakers to index their relationship with their addressee, the various combinations allow for a slightly more nuanced expression of the intertwined variables of power, age, gender, and intimacy which are implicated in the binary choice of T or V pronouns. This is particularly relevant for the V forms, as this appears to be the unmarked choice, where the use of an adjective and relationship term, for instance, can indicate a closer social relationship while not being impertinent or pretentious. It does not appear to be language-specific, although it is in some cases more relevant for French, where as we have seen the V form is used in contexts where in Spanish there is an option to switch to T.

[151] HNOC MSS 103 F 22, MSS 171 F 131.
[152] HNOC MSS 171 F 132.

5.3 Sincerity

We have seen in Sections 5.1 and 5.2 that the choice of language and address form allow the speaker to position his or herself in relation to the addressee by working within the social conventions associated with the linguistic code, form of address, and epistolary opening formulae. In this section I examine how writers in both languages position themselves as authentic and engaged interlocutors—that is, sincere ones—within those same social and generic conventions which, as they are codified in epistolary and linguistic practice, come to indicate politeness rather than sincerity.

Sincerity, as we will see below, is defined in many different ways, but most definitions include ideas of frankness, honesty, and authenticity. Williams (2002: 76), for instance, asserts that "sincerity at the most basic level is simply openness, a lack of inhibition." On one hand, this openness and lack of concealment can be interpreted as guilelessness, or spontaneity and a willingness to express what one believes without concealment or artifice (Williams 2002: 45). It means that there is no filter or deliberation between belief or feeling and expression—that is, sincerity can be understood as "the identification of feeling with its avowal" (Fitzmaurice 2016: 175).

Because there is no separation between what one thinks or feels and what one expresses, nothing is hidden, but neither is anything that is expressed untrue. A sincere speaker, then, both says what she believes and believes what she says. Sincerity is therefore tied to truthfulness and honesty—although of course the question of objective truth is another matter. In the 18th century, because of these implications of honesty and openness, sincerity also became tied in Western society to the notion of personal authenticity and the revelation of one's real self, even if that self is not socially acceptable or advantageous (Williams 2002: 172). A sincere speaker, then, is trustworthy, as he is both honest and unguarded when expressing thoughts and emotions. An insincere speaker, meanwhile, merely pretends to believe in the truth of his assertion (Williams 2002: 71-3).

Demonstrations or expressions of sincerity, however are complicated by two somewhat contradictory factors. On the one hand, sincerity, or at least truthfulness, is assumed as a basic part of cooperative communication (Grice 1975: 46). If this is the case for written as well as oral communicative acts, it should not be necessary to explicitly affirm one's truthfulness or sincerity since it is already assumed. However, in many ways insincerity is undetectable from the interlocutor's perspective, as in many ways an insincere speaker "does exactly what someone does who is doing the real thing: for instance, he utters the same sentence, in the same manner, as one who was expressing that belief" (Williams 2002: 73). In this case it might seem advantageous to insist on one's sincerity, perhaps with explicit mention of it. By stating that 'I am sincere,' a speaker conveys the fact that she is explicitly not violating Grice's truthfulness maxim (Aznárez Mauleón and González Ruiz 2006: 313).

These explicit mentions are not without their own pitfalls, however. Given the fact that we do not declare when we are being *in*sincere, the assertion of sincerity can be seen as an unnecessary affirmation of what was already assumed as a tenet of cooperative communication. Moreover, this very declaration leads to the implication that the discursive context is one where truthfulness should not be assumed, which is the opposite of the speaker's intent (Aznárez Mauleón and González Ruiz 2006: 313; Gezundhajt 2000: 264). Indeed, there are contexts where it is particularly expedient to *appear* to be sincere, whatever the speaker's real feelings. The tension in late modern Western society between civility and authenticity or sincerity —that is,

not offending one's interlocutor but also voicing one's true feelings—leads to a possible dual interpretation of forms of politeness such as 'sincerely' as either insincere flattery or the product of sincere feeling (Fitzmaurice 2016: 180-1). This can be resolved through a speaker's understanding of the meaning of sincerity: "as speakers [come to] understand sincerity as "genuineness of feeling" rather than as "honesty", it becomes easier to construe and adopt a politeness that is considerateness without having to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of being honest" (Fitzmaurice 2016: 198). The fact remains, however, that these forms which explicitly mention a speaker's sincerity can paradoxically be interpreted as mere insincere civilities which do not index honesty and are not revelatory of a speaker's true feelings.

In the letter genre, we could hypothesize that the assumption of insincerity might be slightly higher than in other communicative contexts. Certain elements of communicative distance inherent in this type of corpus, such as spatio-temporal distance or interlocutors who the speaker has perhaps never met in person (Koch and Oesterreicher 2001: 586) and the often formulaic nature of epistolary opening and closing formulae might lead to expressions of sincerity which seem civil but not sincere. However, in the pursuit of maintaining and strengthening social bonds with family members, letter-writers would appear to have a strong interest in demonstrating sincerity and avoiding being perceived as untruthful or inauthentic. I will therefore explore in this section how speakers manage the tension in both languages between being sincere and expressing said sincerity without being seen as merely polite, either by explicit mentions of 'sincerity' or by appealing to the associated values of honesty, openness, and genuineness of feeling.

5.3.1 Definitions of sincérité and sinceridad

Both the French *sincère* and Spanish *sincero/a* are derivations of the Latin SINCĒRUS, defined as "clean, pure, sound, not spoiled, uninjured, whole, entire, real, natural, genuine, sincere"; the adverb SINCĒRĒ adds meanings of honesty, truthfulness, and lack of artifice (Lewis and Short 1879). These ideas carry through into 17th- and 18th-century dictionaries in both languages. The definitions offered by Furetière, in his 1690 *Dictionnaire universel*, for *sincère* and *sincèrement* are given in (11).

(11)

a. **sincére [...]** Qui est franc, qui parle à coeur ouvert, sans feinte ni dissimulation.
b. Parler **sincerement**, c'est parler du fonds du coeur, le coeur sur les levres. Agir **sincerement**, c'est agir de bonne foy.

The idea of candid, honest communication which somehow expresses good intent or open emotions was an available meaning from at least this time. The Académie Française (1799) and Laveaux (1820), only vary from this definition in not including discussion of the heart in their dictionary entries, focusing instead on truth, candor, and the lack of artifice. Girard's (1740) thesaurus is perhaps more elucidating in terms of the sphere of meaning; he links *sincerité* with *franchise* "frankness", *naïveté* "naïveté", and *ingenuité* "ingenuousness" and goes on to describe the fine nuances separating them, including the specifications for *sincerité* seen in (12). Again, we see the discussion of honesty, a lack of intent to deceive, although extending only to the speaker's thoughts, without reference to external truth. Finally, we note that the idea of sincerity

is again tied to emotion and 'business of the heart', as an asset in personal and romantic relationships.

(12) La **sincérité** empeche de parler autremement qu'on ne pense [...]Un homme **sincere** ne veut point tromper[...] La **sincerité** fait le plus grand mérite dans le commerce du coeur.

The Spanish definitions of *sincero* continue the idea of purity and lack of guise or guile. Although the word was rare in the Middle Ages, from the 17th century on there are an increasing number of examples (Corominas 1980). The definition in the Real Academia Española's *Diccionario de Autoridades* (1726-1739)—and later adopted wholesale into the 1780 first edition of the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*[153]— for *sincero* is as follows in (13).

(13) puro, sencillo, y sin dobléz

Like the French definitions, the Spanish dictionaries focus on the idea of transparency without deception, but initially they do not explicitly mention truth, emotion (the heart), or faith. The idea of truth is not added until the 10th edition (1852) ('veracidad'/'veraz'). Interestingly, Olive's (1896) *Diccionario de sinónimos de la lengua Castellana* contains a word-for-word translation of the synonyms discussed by Girard (1740)—also lifted wholesale, but credited to Girard, by Laveaux (1826)—interpreting "le plus grand mérite dans le commerce du coeur" as "el grande resorte del corazon" "the great resource of the heart".[154]

5.3.2 Sincerity in the Bouligny corpus

In the corpus, explicit mentions of 'sincere' and 'sincerity' (*sincère(s), sincérité, sincero/a(s), sinceridad,* hereafter grouped together unless explicitly mentioned) are limited to 21 tokens, including one which was only inserted in a second draft (see below), from 11 authors. As can be seen in Table 5.2, almost all of the tokens are in French, with only 3 tokens in Spanish.

[153] The first Spanish monolingual dictionary, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Covarrubias Horozco 1611) does not include this word, perhaps reflecting its rarity before the 17th century.

[154] This is not the only entry that seems to have been borrowed from Girard, although some entries are unique. A brief search reveals that *fatal/funesto* 'fatal/disastrous' is a word-for-word translation of *fatal/funeste*, but *familia/casa* 'family/house' is very different from *famille/maison*. Olive died after finishing the letter 'e' of the dictionary; the rest was written by Santos Lopez Pelegrin, who in an author's note mentions having read the works of other Europeans, but not specifically Girard. This does not affect the point here, since Olive also occasionally borrowed from Girard. For example, parts of the entry *Apoyo/sostenimiento/columna* 'help/support' are translations of *apui/soutien/suport.* The dictionary was published in Paris by Garnier, so it is not far-fetched to posit French influence on the Spanish dictionary.

WORD	TOKENS
sincérité (F)	6
sincère(s) (F)	12
sincero/a(s) (S)	3
sinceridad (S)	0
TOTAL	**21**

Table 5.2: Tokens of 'sincere' and 'sincerity' in French (F) and Spanish (S)

We must first note the very small number of tokens for a corpus of this size (117 texts, roughly 47,000 words). For comparison, a search of CORDE (*Corpus diacrónico del español*) returned 1135 tokens of *sincero/a* in 335 documents between 1750 and 1850; for FRANTEXT (French) in the same period (894 documents, almost 60,000,000 words), there were 3048 examples of *sincère*. While these multigenre corpora are much (10 times) larger than the one studied here, these numbers do tell us that these words were not at all uncommon. They also appear in the example letters in letter-writing manuals from the time period, such as *Le nouveau secrétaire de la cour et du cabinet* (18??) and Begas' 1808 edition of the *Nuevo estilo y formulario de escribir cartas misivas*, but with a fairly low frequency.[155]

This low frequency is especially notable given the fact that more than one-third (8) of the tokens come from a single speaker (See Table 5.3). This speaker, Marie Madelaine de Jesus, was an Ursuline nun in New Orleans writing to her godson Ursino Bouligny and occasionally to his parents Marie Louise and Francisco I, and her use of *sincère/sincérité* appear to be for the most part minor variations on the same formula (see below).

AUTHOR	LANGUAGE DOMINANCE*	TOKENS	
		FRENCH	SPANISH
Bruna	SD	2	
Count Galvez	SD	1	
Joseph (with Juan II)	SD	3	
Juan III	SD		1
Lorenzo	SD	1	
Prudencia	SD	1	1
Marie Louise	FD		1 (inserted)
Countess Galvez	FD	1	
M. Magdelaine	FM	8	
Seigne	FM	1	
TOTAL		**18**	**3**

*Table 5.3: Tokens of sincerity by author. *FM= French Monolingual; SM= Spanish Monolingual; FD= French-dominant; SB= Spanish-dominant*

It is not only French-dominant or monolingual speakers, however, who are explicitly mentioning sincerity. In fact, of the 10 speakers with tokens of 'sincere/sincerity', six are Spanish-dominant (Table 5.3). In addition, almost all the tokens are in French, meaning that

[155] Seven examples of *sincère*(s) and nine of *sincérité* in approximately 200 short model letters; five examples of *sinceridad* and 13 of sincero/a(s) in approximately 23500 words.

speakers are choosing to use *sincère(s)/sincérité*, but often not their Spanish counterparts *sincero/a(s)/sinceridad.* Although as we saw above, the word *sinceridad* or *sincero/a* was not infrequent in general usage, there are no instances of Spanish monolinguals using the word at all in this corpus. That is, only those speakers who have some knowledge of French explicitly mention sincerity, and extremely infrequently when writing in Spanish. It appears to be a French-specific pattern that Spanish speakers have picked up on and used in their own French letters, and occasionally transferred to their Spanish.[156]

Explanations for these patterns appear to rely on differences in topic and tone of the letters, as well as individual differences and linguistic competence. It is possible that certain letter writers did not feel it necessary to mention their or others' sincerity, because it could be safely assumed in the context of the relationship, or even because they did not care if their addressees perceived them as sincere. Another possibility is that writers, instead of relying on this particular lexeme, convey their sincerity (truthfulness, openness, genuineness of emotion), in other ways. If the use of 'sincerity' seems to these speakers to be an empty expression of politeness rather than genuineness, it seems likely that speakers would seek out other strategies, but these strategies might be less available to certain (non-dominant) speakers. These possibilities will be explored below, but I first examine the ways these few explicit tokens are being used.

5.3.2.1 Attachment and friendship

As we will see below, many of these tokens come in the context of congratulations or condolence, often in the closing paragraph and very often written to an addressee whom the author has not personally met. It follows logically from this last point that these tokens of 'sincere' occur almost exclusively with a formal pronoun (*vous, usted*), with only one exception. In this formal context and from a writer who is personally unknown to the recipient, it seems easy to misinterpret an expression of congratulation or condolence as a polite and trite formulae rather than sincere feeling. Because the assumption of insincerity—or at the very least, politeness without genuineness—is possible, speakers may go out of their way to emphasize or otherwise authenticate their sincerity.

This becomes clearer as we look at some specific examples. The most common usage of markers of sincerity is in association with friendship (9 tokens), as in (14). In fact, the frequency of variants of 'please believe in my sincere friendship' marks it as a formula available for minor tweaking, especially for this particular author. Of course, as these combinations become more and more common formulae, the strength of feeling conveyed may be lessened. In this example, it has been combined with another frequent expression, that of attachment or affection (4 tokens). The appeal to emotion or a friendly relationship emphasizes those meanings already expressed with 'sincere' as a business of the heart and not simply the polite discourse of civil society.

(14) Permettez que Madame votre chere Epouse reçoive ici les
Assurence du plus respectueux et Sincere attachement et
amitiée pour elle

Soeur Marie Madelaine, 1792 (HNOC MSS 171 F 70)

[156] The three tokens that appear in my corpus are all from the second half of the time period covered, 1818 (2) and 1866, so it may be that the use of 'sincerity' is becoming more frequent or acceptable in Spanish usage in the 19th century, but the fact remains that it is very infrequent and only used by bilinguals.

Even when not directly modified by ‘sincere’, affection plays a large part in conveying one’s compliments/respects/wishes (3 tokens), as seen in (15). In this case, *sinceros respetos* and *afectuosos recuerdos* can be taken as synonyms, perhaps with varying levels of formality due to the recipient (the recipient’s mother and wife, respectively).

(15) Ofrece mis since-
ros respetos a la tia, con afectuosos recuerdos a tu mujer
y muchos cariños a los niños.

Juan III, 1818 (HNOC MSS 171 F 123)

The appeal to authenticity of emotion appears also in the description of feelings as sincere (2 tokens), as in (16), where Prudencia wishes to express the depth of her condolences, including in the same phrase such adjectives as *douloureux* and *irréparable*.

(16) je vous prie de ne pas faire
attention à la manière dont j’ecris,
mais de croire à la sincerété des sen-
timents douloureux que nous éprouvons
à cause de l’irréparable pêrte que
vous venez de faire.

Prudencia, 1867 (HNOC MSS 103 F22)

One example that does not expressly mention affection or feelings is shown in (108); however, the author again is countering any presumed indifference by expressing how honestly grateful she is.

(17) On ne peut être plus Sencible que je la suis a toutes les
^ Marques de ^ bontés que vous avez pour moy, Soyez persuadé de ma
Parfaite et sincere reconnoissance

Soeur Marie Madelaine, 1792 (HNOC MSS 171 F 70)

The fact that ‘sincere’ does not usually stand on its own is perhaps an indication that it is not in itself expressive or believable enough. Thus, some authors, as mentioned above, feel the need to amplify and perhaps overstate their sincerity to combat perceived insincerity or indifference. This can also take the form of the addition of an intensifier such as *plus* “(the) most” or *très* “very” (7 tokens, e.g. (14), (17)) or an adjective like ‘perfect’ or ‘respectful’ (4 tokens, again in (14) and (17)) or even ‘affectionate’ (1 token). These expressions of wishes or friendship are offered with a hope that the recipient will not only accept them but trust in their honesty; associated words are *ne douter* “to not doubt” (1 token), *sure* “sure” (1 token), *assurance* “assurance” (2 tokens, as in (14)), *témoignages* “evidence” (1 token), *être persuadé(e)* “to be persuaded” (3 tokens, as in (14), (17)), and of course *croire* “to believe” (5 tokens, as in (16)).

One example from the corpus allows us to speculate on the thought process that goes into expressing sincerity. In (18), Marie Louise is writing to her husband’s great-niece Clementina to ask for help negotiating the bureaucracy of liquidating assets, justifying and softening this

request by opening and closing the letter with family news and expression of a wish that the branches of the family could be closer. Two drafts of this letter are included in the corpus, with editing and insertions in the second draft (see § 3.3.2). Here, the adjective *sincera* has been inserted into the second draft.

(18) siento en sumo grado de que la
larga distancia en que nos hallamos nos tenga privados de cultivàr y estrechar
personalmente la amistad ^ sincera^ que os profesarà siempre su apacionada
amiga y Servidora

Marie Louise, 1818 (HNOC MSS 171 F 119)

The insertion of *sincera* shows the perceived need for increased emphasis on the authenticity of expressed emotion. Especially in a context of a business request, it underscores the importance of maintaining the idea—perhaps the polite fiction—that the closeness of the family ties mitigate the gaucheness of requesting financial assistance. It could also simply result from an idea that 'friendship' should not appear without the 'sincere' modifier. As a French-dominant speaker, Marie Louise may be using a formula from French which pairs 'sincere' with 'friendship', as we have seen other authors do above, particularly in more formal contexts. Although monolingual Spanish speakers in this corpus do not use this formula, it does appear to be available in the Spanish of bilinguals.

The difference between French and Spanish is highlighted with the following example; a letter from Joaquin to his cousin is paired with an unsigned but most likely contemporaneous translation into French (19):

(19)

a. procuraré
ir á presentar à U^{d} personalmen
te la seguridad de mi cariño,
y entre tanto ruego à U^{d} que
acepte los mas afectuosos recuerdos
de mi familia, y que ofreciendo
los à su esposo é hijos me con-
sidere siempre su mas afecto primo
y amigo Q.B.S.M.

Joaquin, 1866 (HNOC MSS 103 F21)

b. j'irais vous presenter mes plus
sinceres amities
En attendent recevez les souvenirs Les plus
affectueux de ma famille, comme aussi a votre
Mari et Enfans et croyes mois le plus
sincere ami et Cousin.

Unknown translator (HNOC MSS 103 F21)

Note that in the original Spanish, Joaquin does not include the word 'sincere'. The translator, however, uses it twice[157]; equating *sincère* with *seguridad* "certainty" and *afecto* "fond", pointing to the increased frequency or conventionality of the word in French to express honesty, trustworthiness, and emotion. In the case of the last, we have seen that *sincère* in French does not only point to authenticity of emotion, but can be used as a synonym for affection.

The fact that the word 'sincere' almost never appears alone, but instead cooccurs with intensifiers as well as other expressions which index openness of emotion or honesty is a sign that the expression of sincere feelings, as they become conventionalized as markers of civility and good manners, are less and less expressions of one's true emotions, to the point of being polite falsehoods. The availability of 'sincere' as a marker of politeness introduces a potential context of insincerity which the speaker must counteract.

It does not appear to be a coincidence that those speakers who are writing in their non-dominant language, as well as Marie Madelaine, who seems to have been less educated and less comfortable writing even in her native language than many of the other authors, are also the authors who resort to explicit use of 'sincere'. While 'sincere' is an available—and perhaps expected—formula in some contexts, such as formal expressions of condolence, it may be that monolingual or French-dominant speakers are using other strategies to index sincerity. Those speakers writing in their non-dominant language or with less facility in letter-writing may rely more on these straightforward—if formulaic—expressions of sincerity.

5.3.2.2 Avoiding 'sincerity'

The very infrequency of 'sincere' or 'sincerity', particularly in the Spanish texts of the corpus—even where speakers writing in French might be inclined to use it—indicates that authors might be finding other ways to show their truthfulness, openness, honesty, and authenticity. The strategies of the speakers in this corpus run the gamut from repeated appeals to the truth to the relation of news in minute detail. In this section, I explore some of the more prominent ways that authors evoke sincerity without explicit mention of it: by discussion of the emotion and particularly the heart, appeal to the relationship, and appeal to religion

As we have seen above, one of the ways to emphasize sincerity, particularly of emotion, is in combination with reference to specific emotions or feelings; the common association of feelings with the heart is also seen in the French dictionary definitions of sincerity. In modern Spanish, discourse modalizers relating to sincerity often contain the lexeme *corazón* "heart" (González Ruiz 2005: 211).

Although the heart is not mentioned in the Spanish dictionary definitions of sincerity, the Bouligny family relies heavily on expressions of affection, particularly in their opening and closing lines. In openings, this might take the form of addressing the recipient as *cher* "dear" or *amado* "loved", as we saw above, as in (20) or mention of the heart, as in (21). Note the additional mention of truth in the latter example, as Theresa combines honesty and emotional openness. Although the examples here are from the Spanish, mentions of the heart are also present in the French texts, especially from Francisco I's father Juan I. It is also particularly frequent from Joseph, who, as we saw above, uses the 'heart' reference in both Latin and Spanish.

[157] These two tokens are not included in the quantitative analysis above.

(20) Amado Hermano mio fran^{co}

Joseph, 1792 (HNOC MSS 103 F16)

(21) quedo de to-
das veras su hermana de Corazon

Theresa, 1770 (HNOC MSS 103 F 6)

The authors rely on explicit relationship claims (as discussed above), but also position themselves in other ways as interested family members. In (22), for example, Joseph lays claim to a relationship with his brother Frasquito by taking an intense, paternal interest in his younger brother and gives him advice as a father would, referencing not only his own authority but that of the King, the philosopher Epictetus, and even God. His sincere interest in his brother is shown by the choice of exclamation points, the interjection *o*, and the length of his advice, which continues for several paragraphs. It is as though he is carried away by his emotion, evincing that spontaneity and openness of heart that is sincere in its lack of concealment.

(22) ¡O, amado frasq^{to}. de quantos afanes te libertaras si
asi lo ejecutas! Esto no es decir, que si esmerandote en el servicio
y en el Cumplimiento de tu obligacion, La Piedad del Rey, te
da otro ascenço lo rehuzes; no lo entiendas asi, si que des punto
por tu parte a nuevas solicitudes, y que esperes lo que Dios te
depare […] portandote en todo
como lo aconseja Epitecto en su Doctrina N°. XVIII. ala que te
remito.

Joseph, 1791 (HNOC MSS 171 F 64)

As seen above, it is very common in the corpus for ‘sincere’ to appear with doxastic verbs, asking the reader to believe in or be persuaded by the writer’s sincerity; that is, asking for faith on the part of the reader. It seems unsurprising, then, that speakers would also turn to religious discourse to explain that they are acting in good faith, that is, sincerely. Religion played a large role in daily life in late modern Spain in particular, and this was reflected in the texts produced during this time. For instance, it was very common to place a cross on the outside and inside of a letter, at the top of the page. Other ways of invoking religion included the use of terms such as *Dios guarde muchos años* “God keep many years”, again both in the text and when addressing the letter (García Sánchez 2014: 439). Francisco I’s father Juan I appears to have been a very pious man, including crosses at the top of the page and again in the text. He closes his letters in both Spanish and French with references to God, but also many words of emotion and a blessing from the depths of his heart, seen in (23).

(23) Conservetoy mon bien ayme fils dans la Crainte de Dieu et Recois par Cellecy
ma Benedition + que jete donne du fon de mon Coeur puisque je te Suis
Ton Cher Pere

Juan I, 1769 (HNOC MSS 171 F 23)

The appeal to religion by placing both the author and the reader under a cross is again a shorthand for a common set of moral standards that value openness, truthfulness, and authenticity of intention, also seen by use of words with religious implications such as *profesar* "to profess" and *prier* "to pray". Although it may be a simple and common ritual to place a cross at the top of the page, the extent of religious language in this closing combined with the emotion expressed marks his sincere connection with and wishes for the health and success of his son.

The very act of insisting on one's sincerity can paradoxically cause the reader to suppose the opposite; that the speaker is in fact dishonest, concealing something, or feeling something different to what he professes. It is so impossible to express one's authentic emotions and not come across as simply being courteous that sometimes the only recourse is to refuse to say anything, as in (24).

(24) Si, mi
Querido Domingo, tu noble conducta queda gravada en mi co-
razon de un modo indeleble, q^{e}. no pretendo expresar teme-
roso de debilitar en esta pintura los sentimientos q^{e} . has
sabido inspirarme, y ofender tu modestía. Sea p^{s} mi silen-
cio el interprete mas cierto de mi eterno agradecimiento

Juan III, 1818 (MSS 171 F 123)

This is perhaps the reasoning behind the paucity of explicit mentions of sincerity in this corpus of private letters. If the *expression* of sincerity somehow weakens the idea; it is logical to look for other ways to express or emphasize it. In the French letters, explicit mention of sincerity appears to have been formalized for use with unknown interlocutors and in scripted contexts such as letters of congratulation or thanks in the 18th and 19th centuries. This is shown by the fact that even the non-native French speakers use the word in this context. In fact, non-dominant French speakers in the corpus explicitly mention their sincerity more often than most monolingual and French-dominant speakers. It does not seem to be the case that they are relying on Spanish patterns since this association does not seem to have been present in Spanish at this time period, and instead openness and honesty are conveyed by alternate means. Rather, bilingual and less letterate speakers perhaps rely on conventionalized formulae to a greater extent.

Aznárez Mauleón and González Ruiz (2006: 316) argue that sincerity is more about the way a speaker says something than what she is saying; and thus the act of affirming one's sincerity is really the desire to convey something about oneself. In the context of long-distance personal letters to people who the speaker has either not seen in a long time, or whom he has never met, the letters serve to build and maintain bonds that exist outside of the physical space. Stances of emotional engagement and intimacy via, for example, references to relationships or the heart, allow the speaker to construct a sincere and authentic personal identity, but also, by relying on larger social constructions such as religion or family ties, validates the authenticity of a relationship that exists only on paper.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I move beyond the question of how individual structural elements are used in bilingual speech—and how that might lead to contact-influenced change—to consider instead

how bilingual speakers use their entire linguistic repertoire to construct and maintain interpersonal relationships. It seems that speakers in this corpus are quite aware of which linguistic 'system' they are choosing to use with which addressee. They also are moving within the conventions of the time—both generic and social—in their choices of pronouns and forms of address, combining certain elements to create a much more nuanced expression of their relationship with the addressee. Other strategies for defining and performing the relationship between the writer and the addressee include reference to outside authorities, such as religion, or societally defined familial relationships—as an appeal perhaps to an objective truth—or to personal feelings. Many of these strategies are cross-linguistic, but others, such as the use of the word *sincere*, are somewhat language-specific, although in some cases they are transferred across languages by bilingual speakers. The Boulignys and their acquaintances have a great deal of education and training in writing—in multiple languages—and they are acutely aware of appropriate contexts of use of linguistic systems and forms. This does not mean, however, that they are tied to formulaic usages, and in fact are able to use their knowledge in both languages to construct and maintain relationships which in many cases stretch across the Atlantic.

CHAPTER 6 : CONCLUSION

This dissertation opened with the question of how studying bilingual communities can help us understand historical language use and the ways in which contact influence might be seen at the individual and community level. In this study of a collection of family letters written in French and Spanish, we have seen a great deal of individual variability as well as some emerging themes and patterns among groups of speakers. One of the more interesting and perhaps surprising results arising from this investigation is the fact that speakers in the Bouligny corpus appear to be taking great care to separate their uses of French and Spanish. This is clear from the fact that writers choose which language to use with which recipient, and continue to use only one language, even with bilingual speakers. Additionally, code-switching was found to be fairly rare in the corpus, and when present, was explictly highlighted (§ 5.1), suggesting an awareness of and attention to appropriateness of context of use of each language. Although many members of the family are bilingual and multicultural, they choose for the most part to use only one language in a particular interaction. That is, they position themselves for the most part as Spanish *or* French speakers in a particular context rather than as Spanish *and* French speakers. One clear example of this is choice of name: a writer's choice to sign a letter as 'Juan' in Spanish and 'Jean' in French is a division of his experience and of his identity into separate spheres. Whether this is unique to the Bouligny family or a function of the place, time, or language combination is a question for further research.

Despite long-term community bilingualism, a condition which would favor increased structural influence, this consciousness of separate language systems on a social level might lead us to expect fewer contact features in the individual language systems. In fact, although there are some features which pattern largely according to language-specific norms, we do see contact influence in language production. This suggests that speakers may be understood to possess a repertoire of linguistic structures rather than separate systems (Matras 2009: 4). Contact influence is seen at various linguistic levels, from phonological/orthographic to pragmatic. For example, I find that speakers utilize features from a second language to address knowledge gaps or uncertainties in orthography (§ 3.2, 3.3), particularly for features where there is monolingual variation or where graphs do not correspond exactly to phonemes. This is the case, for instance, for orthographic variation between <b> and <v> in Spanish, where a French-dominant speaker might appeal to the spelling (and pronunciation) of the French cognate to decide between them (§ 3.3.2.1). At the morphosyntactic and pragmatic levels, bilinguals in this corpus appear to be adopting semantico-pragmatic meanings available in one language for use with formally similar structures in the other (§ 4.2.4). This can be seen in the use of complex and simple pasts, where some speakers may be using the French simple past more frequently than monolinguals because they are using it for narrative organization, including temporal distinctions common in Spanish. When expressing sincerity (§ 5.3), some Spanish-dominant bilinguals pattern with less literate French speakers in their use of formulaic mentions of sincerity in French. Moreover, bilinguals also transfer this formula to their Spanish, where a cognate word is available but not used by monolinguals in this same context.

Given these results, typological similarity or genetic relationship does appear to have an effect on which structures will be more likely to be a site for contact influence. That is, structures with superficial or formal similarity, such as a system of formally analogous past tenses, are found in this study to be places where bilingual authors draw on their bilingual repertoire, in this case by the transfer of semantic or pragmatic meaning. However, this cannot be

straightforwardly analyzed as a move towards reduction of contrast (simplification) in the bilingual repertoire. Although the ultimate effect may be that the two structures converge, these examples should instead be read as individual exploitations of resources available to the speaker for expressive purposes, resources which may be more readily available in cases of formal similarity.[158]

Through this individual use of resources for constructing meaning and relationships on a micro level, bilingual speakers are the source of contact-influenced variants and agents of change. Van Coetsem (1988: 3, 87) argues that bilingual agents can introduce contact variants into their dominant language, which he calls *borrowing* (*rl agentivity*) or they can *impose* them on their non-dominant language (*sl agentivity*), adding that the higher the degree of bilingualism, the more likely it is that transfer is going both ways. In the data examined in the previous chapters, these two cases are not nearly so clearly delineated. In the use of the complex past, for example (§ 4.2), although Spanish-dominant speakers had the lowest rate of use in both French and Spanish, the numbers for French-dominant bilinguals patterned much more closely with other bilinguals than with French monolinguals. Although the pattern is stronger for those with Spanish as a dominant language, contact features are present for both bilingual groups. The use of pragmatic formulae (§ 5.3.2) by Spanish speakers is perhaps a clearer case of borrowing, in that Spanish-dominant speakers were responsible for almost all uses of the word *sincere* in the Spanish letters. It is interesting that in both these cases speakers do not seem to be simply copying monolingual use, at least from a frequency standpoint. For instance, bilinguals use the complex past *less* often, and mention sincerity *more* often, than monolinguals in either language. It therefore does not appear to be the case that bilinguals are simply imposing the monolingual pattern on their second language, but instead are seizing on available features for their own purposes. This highlights the need for pragmatic analysis as part of our study of contact features.

Some individual speaker behaviors are visible as larger trends among subsets of the corpus. For instance, some of the same spelling variants occur in father-son pairs or among French-dominant bilinguals, but the general pattern can also be seen to change across successive generations (§ 3.1). However, we do not necessarily see contact-influenced (or other) features spreading throughout the network and appearing in the speech of monolinguals in the corpus. If indeed these features are not spreading, it seems that the check on contact-influenced change in this context occurs at the level of diffusion, particularly from bilinguals to monolinguals. It is at this point that speakers are presumably affected by the consciousness of separate systems as well as various other social factors including the rise of the (monolingual) standard, increased literacy and education, contact with monolingual speakers, or even the transatlantic nature of the corpus which perhaps reduces the intensity of contact (Matras 2009: 312). As we have seen, one of these limiting factors is the composition process itself (§ 3.3.2); where speakers have the means, knowledge, and time to correct perceived errors (which may include contact features). This does not mean that contact (or other) variants will not spread through the written medium—we see contact and non-standard features in the fair copies of all types of speakers—but it does highlight the role of the medium as well as speakers' attention to their writing and knowledge of 'correct' language.

Diffusion may also be limited by the fact that individual usage is in fact extremely variable and at times moving in conflicting directions. Only through examination of individual choices in the context of larger group- and community- level trends can we trace the emergence

[158] We are reminded that simplification is a tricky concept; convergence or leveling of this type might in fact introduce complexity into one language or other linguistic levels (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 262).

of variants and their fate in the speech community. While this study has provided insight into these behaviors at the level of the individual and small family groupings, future research would further our understanding of macro-level patterns. Larger community-level studies are particularly lacking for Spanish Louisiana, a situation which has the potential to contribute to our understanding of Spanish in the Americas, Spanish in contact, and contact between related languages in general. The situation is similar for French; although Louisiana French has been the subject of a fair amount of scholarly interest, contact discussions are usually limited to cases of contact with English. The present project provides a window into this colonial context and its transatlantic connections, but further research is needed, particularly at the macro-level, for comparability and a clearer picture of language practices in colonial Louisiana and the ways they differ from the European context. For example, given the high degree of female literacy in colonial Louisiana as compared to Europe, one fruitful area for further research might focus on women's language.

Networks of personal letters are valuable sources for analysis combining both micro- and macro-level analysis, and markedly so for studies of the ways in which individual speakers and their linguistic behavior fits within the larger community picture. For bilingual communities, this is a particularly useful line of inquiry as it allows us to consider bilingualism at a more global level rather than simply within a specific text. The fact that these communities often exist at a distance from the political or cultural centers of power also contributes to the geographical diversity of available linguistic data.[159] However, personal letters are not the only valuable source of data. Given the linguistic situation in Spanish Louisiana, with the coexistence of Spanish as the official administrative language, the various native and heritage languages of the diverse immigrant and slave groups, and the enduring cultural primacy of French, examining official correspondence and public documents in conjunction with this personal correspondence would provide insight into the interaction between public and private language in this type of multilingual community. In fact, I have only considered two languages in this study, but the overall linguistic situation is much more complex. Several of the speakers in the corpus spoke additional languages, such as English, and further research seeking to consider communities in their entire linguistic context should address this as well as the existence of regional dialects, literary standards, and a whole system of genres. As we have seen, the introduction of additional languages as well as genre and compositional considerations into a study of language use makes for a complex interaction of factors, but one which more accurately captures the lived experience of historical speakers.

[159] See Martineau (2009) for a discussion of the importance of broader geographic representation.

REFERENCES

CORPUS

Bouligny-Baldwin Family Papers, MSS 171, Williams Research Center, The Historic New Orleans Collection (HNOC).

Bouligny-Genin Family Papers, MSS 361, Williams Research Center, The Historic New Orleans Collection.

Dauberville-Bouligny Family Papers, MSS 103, Williams Research Center, The Historic New Orleans Collection.

Rosemonde E. & Emile Kuntz collection: French colonial period, 1655-1768, Manuscripts Collection 600A, Louisiana Research Collection (LaRC).

Rosemonde E. & Emile Kuntz collection: Spanish colonial period, 1769-1803, Manuscripts Collection 600B, Louisiana Research Collection.

OTHER CORPORA CONSULTED

Academia Mexicana de la Lengua, Corpus Diacrónico y Diatópico del Español de América (CORDIAM). www.cordiam.org.

Base textuelle FRANTEXT, ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine. Revised December 2016: http://www.frantext.fr.

Real Academia Española: Banco de datos (CORDE) [online]. *Corpus diacrónico del español.* Accessed May 22, 2017. http://www.rae.es.

DICTIONARIES

Académie française. 1694. *Le dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise.* Paris: Vve J. B. Coignard et J. B. Coignard. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k503971.

Académie française. 1740. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise*. 3e édition. Paris: J.-B. Coignard. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k50401f.

Académie française. 1799. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise*. 5e édition. Paris: J. J. Smits. http://archive.org/details/dictionnairedel02acad.

Académie française. 1835. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*. 6th ed. Paris: Firmin-Didot frères. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k50407h.

Covarrubias Horozco, Sebastián de. 1611. *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española*. Madrid: Luis Sanchez.

Furetière, Antoine. 1690. *Dictionaire universel, contenant generalement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, et les termes de toutes les sciences & des arts.* http://archive.org/details/bub_gb_1InorWz9N1IC.

Girard, Gabriel. 1740. *Synonymes françois, leurs significations et le choix qu'il en faut faire pour parler avec justesse*. Paris: Veuve d'Houry. https://books.google.fr/books?id=gWYTAAAAQAAJ.

Laveaux, Jean-Charles. 1820. *Nouveau dictionnaire de la langue française*. Paris: Fain. https://archive.org/details/nouveaudictionna02laveuoft.

Laveaux, Jean Charles. 1826. *Dictionnaire synonymique de la langue française*. Paris: Cosson. https://books.google.fr/books?id=4XsRAAAAIAAJ.

Lewis, Charlton T., & Charles Short. 1879. *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary, Revised, Enlarged, and in Great Part Rewritten by Charlton T. Lewis, Ph.D. and Charles Short, LL.D.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Olive, Pedro María de. 1891. *Diccionario de Sinónimos de La Lengua Castellana*. Paris: Garnier. https://archive.org/details/diccionariodesin00olivuoft.

Real Academia Española. 1726. *Diccionario de Autoridades*. http://web.frl.es/DA.html.

Real Academia Española. 1741. *Orthographia Española*. Real Academia Española. http://www.rae.es/sites/default/files/Ortografia_RAE_1741_reducida.pdf.

Real Academia Española. 1763. *Ortografía de la lengua castellana*. 3ª edición. Madrid: Antonio Perez de Soto. https://books.google.com/books?id=Wns--sK0UrgC&.

Real Academia Española. 1815. *Ortografía de la lengua castellana*. 8ª edición. Madrid: Imprenta real. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/006788999.

Real Academia Española. 1780. *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*. Madrid: Joaquin Ibarra. https://books.google.com/books?id=_HhaAAAAYAAJ.

Real Academia Española. 2014. *Diccionario de la Lengua Española*. 23ª edición. dle.rae.es.

LETTER-WRITING GUIDES

Begas, J. Antonio D. y. 1808. *Nuevo estilo y formulario de escribir cartas misivas y responder a ellas.* Barcelona: Consortes de Sierra y Martí. https://books.google.com/books?id=XXcWbiyVA0sC.

Le nouveau secrétaire de la cour et du cabinet, ou La manière d'écrire selon l'usage du temps, et dans la pureté de la langue française. 18??. Toulouse: A. Hénault. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6307609w.

TOOLS

Bird, Steven, Edward Loper & Ewan Klein. 2009. *Natural language processing with Python*. O'Reilly Media Inc.

R Core Team. 2013. R: A language and environment for statistical computing. R Foundation for Statistical Computing, Vienna, Austria. http://www.R-project.org/.

SECONDARY

Adams, J. N. 2003. *Bilingualism and the Latin language*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Alarcos Llorach, E. 1947. Perfecto simple y compuesto en español. *Revista de Filología Española* 31. 108–139.

Albuera Guirnaldos, Antonio. 1990. El cesante: análisis de un "tipo" social del siglo XIX. *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea* (12). 45–66.

Amaral, Patrícia & Ana Maria Carvalho (eds.). 2014. *Portuguese-Spanish interfaces: Diachrony, synchrony, and contact*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Amaral, Patrícia & Chad Howe. 2010. Detours along the perfect path. In Sonia Colina, Antxon Olarrea & Ana Maria Carvalho (eds.), *Romance linguistics 2009: Selected papers from the 39th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL), Tucson, Arizona, March 2009*, 387–404. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Auer, Anita. 2008. "The letter ~~wihch~~ that I wrote": Self-corrections in Late Modern English letters. In Marina Dossena & Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade (eds.), *Studies in Late Modern English correspondence: Methodology and data*, 213–234. Bern: Peter Lang.

Auer, Anita. 2015. Stylistic variation. In Anita Auer, Daniel Schreier & Richard J. Watts (eds.), *Letter writing and language change*, 133–155. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Auer, Anita & Tony Fairman. 2013. Letters of artisans and the labouring poor (England, c. 1750-1835). In Paul Bennett, Martin Durrell, Silke Scheible & Richard J. Whitt (eds.), *New methods in historical corpora*. Tübingen: Narr.

Auer, Anita, Daniel Schreier & Richard J. Watts (eds.). 2015. *Letter writing and language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ayres-Bennett, Wendy. 1996. *A history of the French language through texts*. London: Routledge.

Ayres-Bennett, Wendy. 2004. *Sociolinguistic variation in seventeenth-century France: Methodology and case studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ayres-Bennett, Wendy & Janice Carruthers with R. A. M. Temple. 2001. *Problems and perspectives: Studies in the modern French language*. Harlow, England: Longman.

Azevedo, Milton M. 2002. Considerations on literary dialect in Spanish and Portuguese. *Hispania* 85(3). 505-514.

Aznárez-Mauleón, Mónica & Ramón González Ruiz. 2006. Francamente, el rojo te sienta fatal: Semantics and pragmatics of some expressions of sincerity in present-day Spanish. In Bert Peeters (ed.), *Semantic Primes and Universal Grammar: Empirical evidence from the Romance languages*, 307–330. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Azorin Fernández, Dolores. 2004. *Los diccionarios del español en su perspectiva histórica*. San Vicente del Raspeig: Universidad de Alicante.

Bell, Allan. 1984. Language style as audience design. *Language in Society* 13(2). 145–204.

Bell, Allan. 2001. Back in style: Reworking audience design. In Penelope Eckert & John R. Rickford (eds.), *Style and sociolinguistic variation*, 139–169. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bell, Allan. 2013. *The guidebook to sociolinguistics*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Bentivoglio, Paola. 2003. Spanish forms of address in the sixteenth century. In Irma Taavitsainen & Andreas H. Jucker (eds.), *Diachronic perspectives on address term systems*, 177–191. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Bergs, Alexander. 2004. Letters: A new approach to text typology. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 5(2). 207–227.

Bergs, Alexander. 2005. *Social networks and historical sociolinguistics: Studies in morphosyntactic variation in the Paston letters (1421-1503)*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bergs, Alexander. 2012. The Uniformitarian Principle and the risk of anachronisms in language and social history. In Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy & Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The handbook of historical sociolinguistics*, 80–98. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Bergs, Alexander. 2015. Linguistic fingerprints of authors and scribes. In Anita Auer, Daniel Schreier, and Richard J. Watts (eds.), *Letter writing and language change*, 114–32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bertinetto, Pier Marco & Mario Squartini. 2016. Tense and aspect. In Adam Ledgeway & Martin Maiden (eds.), *The Oxford guide to the Romance languages*, 939–953. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Besters-Dilger, Juliane, Cynthia Dermarkar, Stefan Pfänder & Achim Rabus. 2014. Introduction. In Juliane Besters-Dilger, Cynthia Dermarkar, Stefan Pfänder & Achim Rabus (eds.), *Congruence in contact-induced language change: Language families, typological resemblance, and perceived similarity*, 1–12. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Besters-Dilger, Juliane, Cynthia Dermarkar, Stefan Pfänder & Achim Rabus (eds.). 2014. *Congruence in contact-induced language change: Language families, typological resemblance, and perceived similarity*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Bjork, David K. 1925. Documents relating to the establishment of schools in Louisiana, 1771. *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 11(4). 561–569.

Blanche-Benveniste, Claire. 1997. La notion de variation syntaxique dans la langue parlée. *Langue Française* (115). 19–29.

Blanche-Benveniste, Claire, Christine Rouget, & Frédéric Sabio (eds). 2002. *Choix de textes de français parlé : 36 extraits*. Paris : Champion.

Blanco, Marta. 2006. *Aproximación a la cronología de las transformaciones funcionales de labiales y sibilantes del español*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Servizo de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico.

Bouscayrol, René (ed.). 1987. *Cent lettres de soldats de l'an II: "Unité de la Patrie, Indivibilité de la République."* Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres.

Branca-Rosoff, Sonia. 1990. Conventions d'écriture dans la correspondance des soldats. *Mots* 24(1). 21–36.

Branca-Rosoff, Sonia & Nathalie Schneider. 1994. *L'écriture des citoyens: une analyse linguistique de l'écriture des peu-lettrés pendant la période révolutionnaire*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Brasseaux, Carl A. 1988. Plus ça change: Acte second the Aubry-Foucault clash and the New Orleans rebellion of 1768. *Proceedings of the Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society* 12. 27–34.

Bravo García, Eva. 2004. Tratamientos y cortesía en la correspondencia familiar indiana del siglo XVIII. *Archivo de Filología Aragonesa, 59-60 (1), 249-264*.

Brown, Penelope & Stephen C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, Roger & Albert Gilman. 1960. The pronouns of power and solidarity. In Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.), *Style in language*, 253–76. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bucholtz, Mary & Kira Hall. 2005. Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies* 7(4–5). 585–614.

Bybee, Joan L., Revere Perkins &William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Calderón Campos, Miguel. 2008. El tuteo durante la Restauración borbónica (1875-1931). In Concepción Company Company & José G. Moreno de Alba (eds.), *Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española: Mérida (Yucatán), 4-8 de septiembre de 2006*, vol. 2, 1705–1716. Madrid: Arco Libros : Asociación de Historia de la Lengua Española.

Callahan, Laura. 2004. *Spanish/English codeswitching in a written corpus*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Cano Aguilar, Rafael. 1996. *Lenguaje "espontáneo" y retórica epistolar en cartas de emigrantes españoles a Indias*. Madrid: Iberoamericana /Vervuert.

Cano Aguilar, Rafael. 2008. Historia interna del español: fonología y sistema gráfico. In Gerhard Ernst, Martin-Dietrich Gleßgen, Christian Schmitt & Wolfgang Schweickard (eds.), *Romanische Sprachgeschichte/Histoire linguistique de la Romania*, vol. 3, 3062–3078. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Caron, Philippe & Yu-Chang Liu. 1999. Nouvelles données sur la concurrence du passé simple et du passé composé dans la littérature épistolaire. *L'information grammaticale* 82(1). 38–50.

Carvalho, Ana Maria. 2003. Variation and diffusion of Uruguayan Portuguese in a bilingual border town. In Carmen Cabeza Pereiro, Anxo Lorenzo Suárez & Xoán Paulo Rodríguez Yáñez (eds.), *Comunidades e individuos bilingües. Actas do I Simposio Internacional sobre o Bilingüismo*, 642–651. Vigo: Universidade de Vigo.

Catach, Nina. 1980. La ponctuation. *Langue Française* (45). 16–27.

Catach, Nina. 2001. *Histoire de l'orthographe française: Edition posthume*. (Ed.) Renée Honvault & Irène Rosier-Catach. Paris: Champion.

Chipman, Donald E. & Harriett Denise Joseph. 2010. *Spanish Texas, 1519-1821*. Rev. ed. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Clark, Emily. 2007. *Masterless mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the development of a new world society, 1727-1834*. Williamsburg, Va.: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture; University of North Carolina Press.

Company Company, Concepción. 1983. Sintaxis y valores de los tiempos compuestos en el español medieval. *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 32(2). 235–257.

Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect: An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Conde-Silvestre, Juan Camilo, & Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy. 2012. Introduction. In Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy & Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The Handbook of historical sociolinguistics*, 1–8. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Condoravdi, Cleo, & Ashwini Deo. 2008. Aspect shifts in Indo-Aryan. In *Proceedings of the 18th International Congress of Linguists (CIL 18)*. Seoul: University of Korea.

Copple, Mary. 2013. Following the path: An emerging perfect(ive) viewed through temporal reference. In Emmanuelle Labeau & Jacques Bres (eds.), *Evolution in Romance verbal systems*, 55–89. Bern: Peter Lang.

Corominas, Joan, with José A. Pascual. 1980. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico*. Madrid: Editorial Gredos.

Cukor-Avila, Patricia & Guy Bailey. 2013. Real time and apparent time. In J. K. Chambers & Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*, 239–262. 2nd edition. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.

Dahl, Östen. 1985. *Tense and aspect systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Dauphin, Cécile. 2000. *Prête-moi ta plume--: les manuels épistolaires au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Kimé.

Detges, Ulrich & Richard Waltereit. 2016. Grammaticalization and pragmaticalization. In Susann Fischer & Christoph Gabriel (eds.), *Manual of grammatical interfaces in Romance*, 635–657. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Din, Gilbert C. 1981. The death and succession of Francisco Bouligny. *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 22(3). 307–315.

Din, Gilbert C. 1993. *Francisco Bouligny: A Bourbon soldier in Spanish Louisiana*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Din, Gilbert C. 2014. *Populating the barrera: Spanish immigration efforts in colonial Louisiana*. Lafayette: University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press.

de Swart, Henriëtte. 2007. A cross-linguistic discourse analysis of the Perfect. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39(12). 2273–2307.

Domergue, Urbain, 1795. *Journal de la langue françoise, soit exacte, soit ornée*. Lyon, Domergue.

Dossena, Marina. 2012. The study of correspondence: Theoretical and methodological issues. In Marina Dossena and Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti (eds.), *Letter writing in Late Modern Europe*, 13-30. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dossena, Marina & Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti (eds.). 2012. *Letter writing in Late Modern Europe*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dossena, Marina & Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade (eds.). 2008. *Studies in Late Modern English correspondence: Methodology and data*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Dubois, Sylvie. 2003. Letter-writing in French Louisiana: Interpreting variable spelling conventions, 1685–1840. *Written Language & Literacy* 6(1). 31–70.

Dubois, Sylvie (ed.). 2011. *Une histoire épistolaire de la Louisiane*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Eckert, Penelope. 2012. Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41(1). 87–100.

Elizaincín, Adolfo. 1976. The emergence of bilingual dialects on the Brazilian-Uruguayan Border. *Linguistics* 14(177). 123–134.

Elspaß, Stephan. 2012a. Between linguistic creativity and formulaic restriction. In Marina Dossena & Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti (eds.), *Letter writing in Late Modern Europe*, 45–64. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Elspaß, Stephan. 2012b. The use of private letters and diaries in sociolinguistic investigation. In Juannuel Hernández-Campoy & Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The handbook of historical sociolinguistics*, 156–169. Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Enrique-Arias, Andrés. 2014. Lengua y escritura en la Mallorca del siglo XVIII: el archivo epistolar de Cecilia Zaforteza. In Antonio Castillo Gómez & Verónica Sierra Blas (eds.), *Cinco siglos de cartas: historia y prácticas epistolares en las épocas moderna y contemporánea*, 359–374. Huelva: Universidad de Huelva.

Epps, Patience, John Huehnergard & Na'ama Pat-El. 2013. Introduction: Contact among genetically related languages. *Journal of Language Contact* 6(2). 209–219.

Esteve Serrano, Abraham. 1982. *Estudios de teoría ortográfica del español*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia.

Fairman, Tony. 2008. Strike-throughs: What textual alterations can tell us about writers and their scripts, 1795-1835. In Marina Dossena & Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade (eds.), *Studies in Late Modern English correspondence: Methodology and data*, 193–212. Bern: Peter Lang.

Fairman, Tony. 2012. Letters in mechanically-schooled language: Theories and ideologies. In Marina Dossena & Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti (eds.), *Letter writing in Late Modern Europe*, 205–227. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Fairman, Tony. 2015. Language in print and handwriting. In Anita Auer, Daniel Schreier & Richard J. Watts (eds.), *Letter writing and language change*, 53–71. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fernández Alcaide, Marta. 2009. *Cartas de particulares en Indias del siglo XVI: edición y estudio discursivo*. Madrid : Iberoamericana/Vervuert.

Fishman, Joshua A. 1965. Who speaks what language to whom and when? *La Linguistique* 1(2). 67–88.

Fitzmaurice, Susan M. 2002. *The familiar letter in Early Modern English. A pragmatic approach.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Fitzmaurice, Susan. 2016. Sincerity and the moral reanalysis of politeness in Late Modern English: Semantic change and contingent polysemy. In Don Chapman, Colette Moore & Miranda Wilcox (eds.), *Studies in the History of the English Language VII*, 173–202. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Fleischman, Suzanne. 1983. From pragmatics to grammar. *Lingua* 60(2). 183–214.

Fontanella de Weinberg, María Beatriz. 1977. La constitución del paradigma pronominal de voseo. *Thesaurus: Boletín del Instituto Caro y Cuervo* 32(2). 227–241.

Gal, Susan. 1978. Peasant men can't get wives: Language change and sex roles in a bilingual community. *Language in Society* 7(1). 1–16.

García Mouton, Pilar. 1999. Tratamientos en las cartas de Indias. In Amparo Morales, Julia Cardona, Humberto López Morales & Eduardo Forastieri (eds*.), Estudios de lingüística hispánica: homenaje a María Vaquero,* 263–276. San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.

García Sánchez, Jesús. 2014. Cartas para tiempos de cambios, 1700-1815. In Antonio Castillo Gómez & Verónica Sierra Blas (eds.), *Cinco siglos de cartas: historia y prácticas epistolares en las épocas moderna y contemporánea*, 435–453. Huelva: Universidad de Huelva.

Gardner-Chloros, Penelope. 2007. Tu/vous choices: An "act of identity"? In Wendy Ayres-Bennett & Mari C. Jones (eds.), *The French language and questions of identity*, 106–115. London: Legenda.

Gezundhajt, Henriette. 2000. *Adverbes en -ment et opérations énonciatives: analyse linguistique et discursive*. Bern: Peter Lang.

González Ollé, Fernando. 2014. *La Real Academia Española en su primer siglo*. Madrid: Arco/Libros.

González Ruiz, Ramón. 2005. Modalizadores de sinceridad, cooperación y estrategias comunicativas. *Anuario de lingüística hispánica* 21–22. 199–228.

Grice, H.P. 1975. Logic and Conversation. In Peter Cole, Jerry Morgan & John P Kimball (eds.), *Syntax and semantics III: Speech Acts*, 41–58. New York: Academic Press.

Handbook of Texas Online, Chipman, Donald E. 2010. Mezieres, Athanese De, accessed August 14, 2017, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fme69.

Harris, Martin. 1978. *The evolution of French syntax: A comparative approach*. London: Longman.

Harris, Martin. 1982. The "past simple" and the "present perfect" in Romance. *Studies in the Romance verb*. 42–70.

Heaney, Jane Frances. 1993. *A century of pioneering: A history of the Ursuline nuns in New Orleans, 1727-1827*. New Orleans: Ursuline Sisters of New Orleans, Louisiana.

Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hernández-Campoy, Juan Manuel & Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre. 2015. Accessing variability and change in early English letters. In Anita Auer, Daniel Schreier & Richard J. Watts (eds.), *Letter writing and language change*, 14–34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hernández Sau, Pablo. 2015. Juan de Bouligny's embassy to Constantinople (1779 – 1793): Spanish dipomacy in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the eighteenth century. In Birgit Tremml-Werner & Eberhard Crailsheim (eds.), *Audienzen und Allianzen: Inkterkulturelle Diplomatie in Asien un Europa vom 8. bis zum 18 Jahrhundert*. Vienna.: Mandelbaum.

Hickey, Raymond (ed). 2010. *The handbook of language contact*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Holloway, Charles E. 1997. *Dialect death: the case of Brule Spanish*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Houston, R. A. 2002. *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and education 1500-1800*, 2nd edition. Harlow: Longman.

Howe, Chad. 2013. *The Spanish perfects: Pathways of emergent meaning*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hualde, José Ignacio. 2005. *The sounds of Spanish*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

King, Jeremy. 2006. Formality and politeness in the Golden Age: A study of direct address patterns in sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain. Santa Barbara: UCSB dissertation.

King, Jeremy. 2010. Pleas from the New World: The structure of directive head acts in Colonial Spanish familiar letters. *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 11(2). 250–276.

King, Jeremy. 2011. Power and indirectness in business correspondence: Petitions in Colonial Louisiana Spanish. *Journal of Politeness Research. Language, Behaviour, Culture* 7(2). 259–283.

Klein, Wolfgang. 1992. The present perfect puzzle. *Language* 68(3). 525–552.

Koch, Peter & Wulf Oesterreicher. 2001. Langage parlé et langage écrit. In Günter Holtus, Michael Metzeltin & Christian Schmitt (eds.), *Lexikon der Romanistischen Linguistik*, vol. 1, 584–627. Berlin: Max Niemeyer Verlag.

Labeau, Emmanuelle. 2015. Il était une fois le passé simple. . . *Journal of French Language Studies* 25(2). 165–187.

Laitinen, Mikko. 2015. Early nineteenth-century pauper letters. In Anita Auer, Daniel Schreier & Richard J. Watts (eds.), *Letter writing and language change*, 185–201. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lapesa, Rafael. 2000. *Estudios de morfosintaxis histórica del español*. (Ed.) Rafael Cano Aguilar & María Teresa Echenique Elizondo. Madrid: Gredos.

Larrosa Martínez, Faustino. 1993. *Política educativa en Alicante en el siglo XVIII*. Alicante: Instituto de Cultura "Juan Gil-Albert", Diputación de Alicante.

Le Page, Robert Brock & Andrée Tabouret-Keller. 1985. *Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lipski, John M. 1987. Language contact phenomena in Louisiana isleño Spanish. *American Speech*. 320–331.

Lipski, John. 1988. Sabine River Spanish: Vestigial 18th century Mexican Spanish in Texas and Louisiana. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 8. 5–24.

Lipski, John M. 1990. *The language of the isleños: Vestigial Spanish in Louisiana*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Lipski, John M. 2009. Searching for the origins of Uruguayan Fronterizo dialects: Radical code-mixing as "fluent dysfluency." *Journal of Portuguese Linguistics* 8. 3–44.

Lodge, R. Anthony. 2004. *A sociolinguistic history of Parisian French*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lodge, R. Anthony. 2013. A lady-in-waiting's begging letter to her former employer (Paris, mid-sixteenth century). In Marijke. J. van der Wal & Gijsbert Johan Rutten (eds.), *Touching the past: Studies in the historical sociolinguistics of ego-documents*, 19–43. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

MacCurdy, Raymond R. 1950. *The Spanish dialect in St. Bernard Parish, Louisiana*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Maley, Catherine A. 1972. Historically speaking, tu or vous? *The French Review* 45(5). 999–1006.

Martin, Fontaine. 1990. *A history of the Bouligny family and allied families*. Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana.

Martineau, France. 2007. Variation in Canadian French usage from the 18th to the 19th century. *Multilingua* 26(2–3). 203–227.

Martineau, France. 2009. À distance de Paris: usages linguistiques en France et en Nouvelle-France à l'époque classique. In Dorothée Aquino-Weber, Sara Cotelli & Andres Kristol (eds.), *Sociolinguistique historique du domaine gallo-roman: enjeux et méthodologies*, 221–242. Bern: Peter Lang.

Martineau, France. 2013. Written documents: What they tell us about linguistic usage. In Marijke J. van der Wal & Gijsbert Johan Rutten (eds.), *Touching the past: Studies in the historical sociolinguistics of ego-documents*, 129–147. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Matras, Yaron. 2009. *Language contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Matras, Yaron. 2010. Contact, convergence, and typology. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 66–85. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

McLaughlin, Mairi. 2011. *Syntactic borrowing in contemporary French: A linguistic analysis of news translation*. London: Legenda.

McLaughlin, Mairi. 2013. News translation as a source of syntactic borrowing in Italian. *The Italianist* 33(3). 443–463.

McLaughlin, Mairi. 2016. La traduction et l'innovation dans la presse d'information sous l'Ancien Régime. In Patricia M. Phillips-Batoma and Flornce Xiangyn Zhang (eds.), *Translation as innovation: Bridging the sciences and the humanities*, 203-221. Victoria, TX: Dalkey Archive Press.

McLaughlin, Mairi. In progress. Le développement et l'évolution du français journalistique : histoire d'un genre et l'histoire de la langue.

Milroy, James & Lesley Milroy. 1985. Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation. *Journal of Linguistics* 21(2). 339–384.

Montgomery, Michael. 1995. The linguistic value of Ulster emigrant letters. *Ulster Folklife* 41. 26–41.

Morford, Janet. 1997. Social indexicality in French pronominal address. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 7(1). 3–37.

Moyna, María Irene. 2009. Back at the rancho: Language maintenance and shift among Spanish speakers in Post-Annexation California (1848-1900). *Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana* 7(2 (14)). 165–184.

Moyna, María Irene & Magdalena Coll. 2015. A tale of two borders: 19th century language contact in southern California and northern Uruguay. *Studies in Hispanic and Lusophone Linguistics* 1(1). 105–138.

Nevalainen, Terttu. 2015. What are historical sociolinguistics? *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics* 1(2). 243–269.

Nevalainen, Terttu & Helena Raumolin-Brunberg. 2012. Historical sociolinguistics: Origins, motivations, and paradigms. In Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy & Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The handbook of historical sociolinguistics*, 22–40. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Nobels, Judith, & Marijke van der Wal. 2011. Linking words to writers: Building a reliable corpus for historical sociolinguistic research. In Nils Langer, Steffan Davies, and Wim Vandenbussche (eds.), *Language and history, linguistics and historiography: Interdisciplinary approaches*, 344–361. Oxford: Peter Lang.

Núñez Méndez, Eva. 2016. A diachronic approach to the confusion of b with v in Spanish. In Eva Núñez Méndez (ed.), *Diachronic applications in Hispanic linguistics*, 126–166. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

Nurmi, Arja & Päivi Pahta. 2004. Social stratification and patterns of code-switching in Early English letters. *Multilingua* 23(4). 417–456.

Nurmi, Arja & Päivi Pahta. 2010. Preacher, scholar, brother, friend: Social roles and code-switching in the writings of Thomas Twining. In Päivi Pahta, Minna Nevala, Arja Nurmi & Minna Palander-Collin (eds.), *Social roles and language practices in Late Modern English*, 135–162. John Benjamins.

Nurmi, Arja & Päivi Pahta. 2012. Multilingual practices in women's English correspondence. In Mark Sebba, Shahrzad Mahootian & Carla Jonsson (eds.), *Language mixing and code-switching in writing: Approaches to mixed-language written discourse*, 44–67. Routledge.

Oesterreicher, Wulf. 1997. Types of orality in text. In Egbert Bakker & Ahuvia Kahane (eds.), *Written voices, spoken signs: Tradition, performance, and the Epic Text*, 190–214. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Oronoz, María Luján. 2009. Presencia histórica de la lengua portuguesa en documentos del siglo XIX en la frontera Artigas-Quaraí. *Revista Digital Estudios Historicos* (2).

Otte, Enrique. 1993. *Cartas privadas de emigrantes a Indias, 1540-1616*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Pahta, Päivi & Arja Nurmi. 2009. Negotiating interpersonal identities in writing: Code-switching practices in Charles Burney's correspondence. In Arja Nurmi, Minna Nevala & Minna Palander-Collin (eds.), *The language of daily life in England (1400-1800)*, 27–52. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Pahta, Päivi, Janne Skaffari & Laura Wright. Forthcoming. *Multilingual practices in language history: New perspectives*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Palander-Collin, Minna, Minna Nevala & Arja Nurmi. 2009. The language of daily life in the history of English: Studying how macro meets micro. In Arja Nurmi, Minna Nevala & Minna Palander-Collin (eds.), *The language of daily life in England (1400-1800)*, 1–23. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Peeters, Bert. 2004. Tu ou vous ? *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 114(1). 1–17.

Pellat, Jean-Christophe. 2001. Repères pour l'histoire de l'orthographe française: le XVIIe siècle. In Claude Gruaz & Renée Honvault (eds.), *Variations sur l'orthographe et les systèmes d'écriture: Mélanges en hommage à Nina Catach*, 241–256. Paris: Honoré Champion.

Penny, Ralph J. 1991. *A history of the Spanish language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Petitjean, Luce. 1991. Un vieux casse-tête : l'accord du participe passé. *Mots* 28(1). 70–85.

Poplack, Shana, David Sankoff & Christopher Miller. 1988. The social correlates and linguistic processes of lexical borrowing and assimilation. *Linguistics* 26(1).

Portner, Paul. 2003. The (temporal) semantics and (modal) pragmatics of the perfect. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26(4). 459–510.

Posner, Rebecca. 1996. *The Romance languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Posner, Rebecca. 1997. *Linguistic change in French*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Posner, Rebecca and John N. Green (eds.) 1993. *Bilingualism and linguistic conflict in Romance*. Trends in Romance Linguistics and Philology 5. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.

Pountain, Christopher J. 2000. *A history of the Spanish language through texts*. London: Routledge.

Ranson, Diana L. 2009. Variable subject expression in Old and Middle French prose texts: The role of verbal ambiguity. *Romance Quarterly* 56(1). 33–45.

Raumolin-Brunberg, Helena & Terttu Nevalainen. 2007. Historical sociolinguistics: The Corpus of Early English Correspondence. In Joan C. Beal, Karen P. Corrigan & Hermann L.

Moisl (eds.), *Creating and digitizing language corpora, Volume 2: Diachronic databases,* 148- 171. Houndsmills: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Reichenbach, Hans. 1947. *Elements of symbolic logic*. New York: The Free Press.

Riegel, Martin, Jean-Christophe Pellat, & René Rioul. 2009. *Grammaire méthodique du français*. 4th edition. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Ritz, Marie-Eve. 2002. The semantics of the passé composé in contemporary French: Towards an unified representation. In Emmanuelle Labeau & Pierre Larrivée (eds.), *Les temps du passé français et leur enseignement*, vol. 9, 31–50. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1982. *Socio-historical linguistics: Its status and methodology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sairio, Anni. 2008. Bluestocking letters and the influence of eighteenth-century grammars. In Marina Dossena & Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade (eds.), *Studies in Late Modern English correspondence: Methodology and data*, 137–162. Bern: Peter Lang.

Sairio, Anni. 2013. Cordials and sharp satyrs: Stance and self-fashioning in eighteenth-century letters. In Marijke J. van der Wal & Gijsbert Johan Rutten (eds.), *Touching the past: Studies in the historical sociolinguistics of ego-documents*, 183–200. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sala, Marius. 2013. Contact and borrowing. In Martin Maiden, John Charles Smith & Adam Ledgeway (eds.), *The Cambridge history of the Romance languages. Volume 2: Contexts*, 187–236. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Salmon, Carole. 2011. La genèse du corpus *Francophone Heritage of Louisiana* (FHL) et du corpus *Lettres de Louisiane* (LL). In Sylvie Dubois & Albert Camp (eds.), *Une histoire épistolaire de La Louisiane,* 15-26. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Schaden, Gerhard. 2012. Modelling the “aoristic drift of the present perfect” as inflation: An essay in historical pragmatics. *International Review of Pragmatics* 4(2). 261–292.

Schendl, Herbert. 2012. Multilingualism, code-switching, and language contact in historical sociolinguistics. In Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy & Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The handbook of historical sociolinguistics*, 520–533. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Schneider, Edgar W. 2013. Investigating variation and change in written documents: New perspectives. In J. K. Chambers & Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The handbook of language variation and change*, 67-96. 2nd edition. Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell.

Schulte, Kim. 2012. Daco-and Ibero-Romance in contact: On the origin of structural similarities between related languages. *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 57(4). 331–354.

Schwenter, Scott A. 1994a. The Grammaticalization of an anterior in progress: Evidence from a peninsular Spanish dialect. *Studies in Language* 18(1). 71–111.

Schwenter, Scott A. 1994b. "Hot news" and the grammaticalization of perfects. *Linguistics* 32(6). 995–1028.

Schwenter, Scott A. & Rena Torres Cacoullos. 2008. Defaults and indeterminacy in temporal grammaticalization: The "perfect" road to perfective. *Language Variation and Change* 20(1).

Sebba, Mark. 2012. Researching and theorising multilingual texts. In Mark Sebba, Shahrzad Mahootian & Carla Jonsson (eds.), *Language mixing and code-switching in writing: Approaches to mixed-language written discourse*, 1–26. New York: Routledge.

Sebba, Mark, Shahrzad Mahootian & Carla Jonsson (eds.). 2012. *Language mixing and code-switching in writing: Approaches to mixed-language written discourse*. New York: Routledge.

Serrano, María José. 2017. Going beyond address forms: Variation and style in the use of the second-person pronouns *tú* and *usted*. *Pragmatics* 27(1). 87–114.

Silva-Corvalán, Carmen. 1994. *Language contact and change: Spanish in Los Angeles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Silva-Corvalán, Carmen. 2008. The Limits of convergence in language contact. *Journal of Language Contact* 2(1). 213–224.

Smit, Jinna. 2011. The death of the palaeographer?: Experiences with the Groningen Intelligent Writer Identification System (GIWIS). *Archiv für Diplomatik: Schriftgeschichte Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 57. 413–25.

Smith, John Charles. 1993. The agreement of the past participle conjugated with avoir and a preceding direct object: A brief history of prescriptive attitudes. In Rodney Sampson (ed.), *Authority and the French language. Papers from a conference at the University of Bristol*, 87–125. Münster: Nodus Publikationen.

Smith, John Charles. 1995. Agreement between past participle and direct object in Catalan: The hypothesis of Castilian influence revisited. In Jacek Fisiak (ed.), *Linguistic change under contact conditions*, 271–289. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Squartini, Mario & Pier Marco Bertinetto. 2000. The simple and compound past in Romance languages. In Östen Dahl (ed.), *Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe*, 403–439. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Thomas, Jenelle. Forthcoming. Past tenses in contact in 18th and 19th century French and Spanish. *Proceedings of the Forty-Third Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society (BLS 43)*. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

Thomason, Sarah Grey. 2001. *Language contact: An introduction*. Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press.

Thomason, Sarah Grey. 2008. Social and linguistic factors as predictors of contact-induced change. *Journal of Language Contact* 2(1). 42–56.

Thomason, Sarah Grey & Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Trudgill, Peter. 2010. Contact and sociolinguistic typology. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *The handbook of language contact*, 299–319. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Tuten, Donald. 2008. Factores socioculturales en el desarrollo de vuestra merced/usted. In Concepción Company Company & José G. Moreno de Alba (eds.), *Actas del VII Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española: Mérida (Yucatán), 4-8 de septiembre de 2006*, 2189–2199. Madrid: Arco Libros: Asociación de Historia de la Lengua Española.

van Coetsem, Frans. 1988. *Loan phonology and the two transfer types in language contact*. Dordrecht: Foris.

van der Wal, Marijke. J. & Gijsbert Johan Rutten. 2013. Ego-documents in a historical-sociolinguistic perspective. In Marijke J. van der Wal & Gijsbert Johan Rutten (eds.), *Touching the past: Studies in the historical sociolinguistics of ego-documents*, 1–17. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

van der Wal, Marijke, Gijsbert Rutten & Tanja Simons. 2012. Letters as Loot: Confiscated letters filling major gaps in the history of Dutch. In Marina Dossena & Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti (eds.), *Letter writing in Late Modern Europe*, 139–161. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Vet, Co. 1992. Le passé composé: contextes d'emploi et interprétation. *Cahiers de praxématique* 19. 37–59.

Watts, Richard J. 2015. Setting the scene: Letters, standards and historical sociolinguistics. In Anita Auer, Daniel Schreier & Richard J. Watts (eds.), *Letter writing and language change*, 1–13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Waugh, L.R. 1987. Marking time with the *passé composé*: Toward a theory of the perfect. *Lingvisticae Investigationes* 11(1). 1–47.

Weinreich, Uriel. 1974 [1953]. *Languages in contact. Findings and problems*. 8th print. The Hague: Mouton.

Weinreich, Uriel, William Labov & Marvin Herzog. 1968. Empirical foundations for a theory of language change. In W.P. Lehman & Yakov Malkiel (eds.), *Directions for historical linguistics*, 95-195. Austin: UT Press.

Westmoreland, Maurice. 1988. The distribution and the use of the present perfect and the past perfect forms in American Spanish. *Hispania* 71(2). 379–384.

Williams, Bernard Arthur Owen. 2002. *Truth & truthfulness: An essay in genealogy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Winford, Donald. 2003. *An introduction to contact linguistics*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Winford, Donald. 2005. Contact-induced changes: Classification and processes. *Diachronica* 22(2). 373–427.

Wolff, Philippe. 1990. Le tu révolutionnaire. *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* (279). 89–94.

APPENDIX 1: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

This appendix lists the encoders, scribes, and addressees represented in the corpus with brief biographical notes. It begins with the two central figures: Francisco I and Marie Louise Bouligny, then groups his family and their descendants, her family, and unrelated correspondents. For histories of Francisco I and his family, see Din (1993) and Martin (1990). See also the Bouligny family tree (Appendix 2).

Bouligny, Francisco I (1736-1800) (*Frasquito, François*)

Francisco I Bouligny was from an established merchant family with ties to nobility—but which was itself not part of the small governing elite. He was one of thirteen children (the third son) and Din (1993:13) notes that his family probably went to large effort both financially and in calling in favors to gain him entry in his profession.

He was stationed in Madrid, then Havana, Cuba, and entered Louisiana in 1769 as part of a military effort to reclaim New Orleans after the French Creole rebellion (Din 1993:29). There he remained, briefly serving as military governor of the colony (Din 1993:213) and reaching the rank of brigadier, although he did not live to receive the announcement (Din 1993:223).

He married a French Creole woman, Marie Louise Le Sénéchal D'Auberville, and together they had six children, of which four lived to adulthood.

Din (1993:31) describes Francisco I as proud, even arrogant, but also as a well-educated, intelligent man who was fluent in French and Spanish and also spoke good English (Din 1993:145). He was well-read for a man of his time (Din 1993:228) and penned the *Memoria*, a treatise on life in Louisiana which guided Spanish policy in the colony (Din 1993:65).

Bouligny (née Le Sénéchal D'Auberville), Marie Louise (1750-1834)

Wife of Francisco I Bouligny.

Marie Louise was born in New Orleans, but lived in France and Spain after her father's death (1757-1764), returning when her stepfather (Jean Pierre Robert Gérard, chevalier de Vilemont) was appointed second military chief in Louisiana.

She married Francisco Bouligny in 1770, possibly at the urging of her mother, after the death of her first fiancé Juan José de Loyola (Din 1993: 45-49). She remained in New Orleans after her husband's death, despite considering a move to Cuba with her family (Din 1993: 231).

THE BOULIGNY FAMILY

Bouligny, (Carlos José) Domingo (1773-1833)

Francisco I's son. Followed in his father's footsteps as an army officer, entering the service in 1786. He was educated in the regimental cadet school and gained his first officer rank (sublieutenant) in 1787 (Din 1993:159-60).

He remained in the army until 1803. That year, he married Anne Arthemise Le Blanc, with whom he had fifteen children. After leaving the army, he acquired land and embarked on a political career, serving in the territorial government and militia and Orleans Parish Police Jury. He finished the U.S Senate term of Henry Johnson in Washington after the latter was elected governor. He started using the French version of his name around the time of the American takeover (Din 1993:233-4).

Bouligny (née Marconié), Elena (1735-?)
Juan II's wife.

Bouligny, Francisca (1732-ca. 1790)
Francisco I's sister[160] married Lorenzo Mabilli, a Greek diplomat (Din 1993:4)

Bouligny, Francisco II (?-1848) (*Frasquito*)
Joseph's third son. Married Inés de la Torre Saavedra, with whom he had one daughter.

Bouligny, Francisco III (1819-1857) (*François*)
Like his father, Luis II, he was politically active, serving as mayor of the then-city Lafayette (later incorporated into New Orleans). Never married (Martin 199: 295-6).

Bouligny (y Fonseca), Joaquin (1818-1873)
Juan III's son. Married Josefa Pérez de Paz, had three children.

Bouligny, John Edward (1824-1864) (*Juan Eduardo*)
Luis II's son. Studied law, was admitted to the bar, and began a political career after his brother Francisco III's death (he was then the oldest surviving son). He belonged to the American (Know-Nothing) party, a conservative, anti-immigrant successor to the Whig party. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1859. He was the only representative from Louisiana to refuse to secede from the Union in 1861, but was unable to attain a government post after the Civil War began.
John Edward married, about 1861, Mary E. Parker from Washington, D.C., with whom he had two children. (Martin 1990: 297-303)

Bouligny, José (Pepico) (?-by 1846)
Joseph's second son.

Bouligny, Joseph (1724-1802) (*Pepe*)
Francisco I's brother, the eldest of Juan I and Marie's children. He was the only son not to enter into army or government service. He and his brother Juan II took over their father's business. After its failure, he lived as a gentleman on his family's estate, Alcoraya (outside of Alicante), which he had inherited (Din 1993:4-5). Din (1993: 175) portrays Joseph as more stoic, less ambitious, and also less worldly than Francisco I, since he had spent his whole life in and around Alicante.

Bouligny, Juan I (1696-1772) (*Jean*)
Father of Francisco I. Juan I's father had moved to Alicante for the business opportunities after the ascension of Felipe V (Din 1993: 3), although Juan I was born in Marseilles (Martin 1990: 337). Juan I married a Frenchwoman, Marie Paret, in Marseilles, but shortly thereafter returned to Spain, where they had thirteen children (Din 1993: 4).

[160] There is very little information available about Francisco's sisters beyond their marriages (Din 1993: 4).

Bouligny, Juan II (1726-1798)

Francisco I's brother Juan II went into service to the government after the failure of the family business. After several years in the royal court in Madrid, he was appointed extraordinary plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Empire, where he remained from 1779-1782 and negotiated a delicate peace treaty (Din 1993: 5; Hernández Sau 2015: 170). Hernández Sau (2015: 170) characterizes him as an extremely able diplomat and says "his descriptions show a remarkable capacity of understanding and a strong effort to render unknown things commensurable."

Bouligny, Juan III (1758-1835) (*Juanito*)

Joseph's son. Although a brigadier general in the Spanish army, he joined the French in the War of Spanish Independence (Peninsular war) after being captured, became a field marshal, and fled when the French were defeated (Din 1993: 5).

Married María Fonseca, with whom he had three children.

Bouligny, Lorenzo (1750-after 1817) (*Laurent*)

Francisco I's brother. Never married. Served in the Flanders infantry regiment, was in New Spain from about 1769-1783. Retired with rank of captain (Din 1993: 5) after an incident that forced him to resign. He seems to have spent the rest of his life in Alicante (Martin 1990: 117-118). Lorenzo was the only family member to visit Francisco in New Orleans. His visit in 1783 lasted about six months (Din 1993: 158).

Bouligny, Luis I (about 1750-1793) (*Louis*)

Francisco I's brother. Never married. Was in the Estremadura Infantry Regiment, advanced slowly in rank but was the most widely travelled. He died on active duty as a captain. (Din 1993: 5-6)

Bouligny, Luis (Mauricio) II: (1782 -1862)[161] (*Louis*)

Francisco I's son. Like his brothers, became a cadet at twelve (1793) (Din 1993: 160), although never rising above the rank of sublieutenant. He retired from the army in 1804 and served as an alderman in New Orleans. He joined his brother Ursino as a planter in 1811. He continued to be politically active, serving in the state legislature.

Bouligny, María Antonia (1739-?)

Francisco I's sister. Married Francisco Longua (Din 1993: 4). They had two daughters.

Bouligny, T(h)eresa (1744-?)

Francisco I's sister, married Francisco Carguet (Din 1993: 4).

Bouligny, (Francisco José) Ursino (1778-1842)[162] (*Ursin*)

Francisco I's son. Entered regiment as cadet at age twelve (1790) (Din 1993: 160) and remained in the army until 1811-2. He bought a sugar plantation and although he never married, he had a relationship with Annette Fazende, a free woman of color, with whom he had two sons (Din 1993: 235-6).

[161] (Din 1993: 157), although he notes (p. 237) that he was 81 at time of death. Martin (1990: 340) says 1781.
[162] (Din 1993: 80), Martin (1990: 340) says 1779.

Daron (née Bouligny), Marie Louise (1816- after 1867)
Oldest child of Luis II. She married Charles Daron, with whom she had no surviving children. (Martin 199: 293)

Daron, Charles Joseph (ca. 1801-1867)
Luis II's son-in-law. Born in the British colony of Jamaica, resident of New Orleans beginning in 1830. Married Luis II's daughter Marie Louise in 1848. A devoted Catholic, he served as churchwarden and New Orleans consul for the Papal States. (Martin 1990: 293-4).

Estefani (née Bouligny), Prudencia (1813-?)
Juan III's daughter.

Garnier, John (?)
Son-in-law to Francisco I's daughter Josephine, married to her daughter Cécile.

Herreros (née Bouligny), Bruna (?)
Francisco II's daughter. Married General Herreros, had two children.

Herreros, Gaspar Javier (1836-?)
Bruna's son.

Herreros, Mariano (1831-?)[163]
Bruna's son.

Pizarro (née Bouligny), Clementina [164](?)
Daughter of Juan II's son José Heliodoro. Married José García de Leon y Pizarro. The couple had two children.

Villeré (née Bouligny), Marie (1839-1875)
Daughter of Domingo's son Ursin Jr. Married Edouard Forstall Villeré.

THE D'AUBERVILLE FAMILY

Harley de Milleville, Pierre I (?-1759)
Marie Louise's father's cousin.

Harley de Milleville, Pierre II (Louis) (1730?-1813)
Marie Louise's second cousin, father's side.

[163] Martin (1990: 338) says he died ca. 1834 but there are letters signed Mariano from 1846 and 1849
[164] Clemencia in Martin (1990: 339) but Clementina elsewhere

Le Sénéchal, sieur d'Auberville, Vincent Guillaume (1713-1757)

Marie Louise's father was born in Brest, embarked on a naval administrative career at fifteen and subsequently held several posts with the title of *écrivain*—an administrative officer in charge of keeping muster rolls, records, and last wills (Martin 1990: 64). He accepted a post (*commissaire-ordonnateur* in charge of finances and supplies) in Louisiana, arriving in 1748 (Din 1993: 46). There he married Marie Françoise Petit de Coulange, a young widow born in New Orleans. Vincent Guillaume was Marie Françoise's second husband.

LeClerc (née de Milleville), (unknown first name) (?)

Marie Louise's second cousin, father's side, daughter of Pierre I.

Seigne, Augustin (?)

Marie Louise's uncle, brother-in-law to her father. Merchant (export/import) in Nantes.

Vilemont, Louis Joseph Gérard (1767-?)

Marie Louise's half-brother, son of her mother. Born in New Orleans (Din 1993: 48-9), he studied and later became a cavalry officer in France, residing with his aunt Mlle. de Vilemont in Seigneure d'Ully near Sedan, France (Din 1993: 157). Francisco I Bouligny sent money to support him during this time (Din 1993: 99). In 1790 Vilemont was heading back to France, ignorant of the excesses of the French Revolution. He was given power of attorney to collect his half-sister Marie Louise's inheritance amidst Francisco I's financial woes (Din 1993: 166).

UNRELATED CORRESPONDENTS

Boutard (?)

Lawyer who aided with the D'Auberville succession.

Bizague (?)

Unknown.

Collels, Francisco ()

Served in the Louisiana regiment with Francisco I. Boutard contacts Collels and his wife to offer his services in the D'Auberville succession

Count Gálvez, Bernardo (?)

Bernardo de Gálvez was appointed governor of Louisiana by his uncle José, Minister of the Indies, in 1776 (Din 1993: 65). Bouligny was at the same time appointed lieutenant governor of the colony. He and Gálvez had several disagreements and the resultant power struggle lasted until Gálvez left Louisiana in 1781. Gálvez thereafter continued to rise in the ranks, serving as captain general of Louisiana and later Cuba, then viceroy of Mexico (Din 1993: 122).

Countess Gálvez (née St. Maxent), Felicité (?)

Daughter of a 'wealthy and ambitious' New Orleans merchant, Gilbert Antoine de St. Maxent. She and Gálvez were married secretly and without obtaining royal permission (Din

1993: 89). After her husband's death, she lived at large expense in Madrid. In 1788 a large sum of money destined for Louisiana was instead diverted for her private use (Din 1993: 168).

Marqués de Sarria (?)

A Spanish noble title handed down through the family; it is unclear who held the title at this time.

de Mézières, Athanèse (1719-1779)

Born in Paris to French nobility, sent by his mother to boarding school and then to Louisiana in 1738. He spent years among the Native Americans and learned to speak several indigenous languages before he enlisted in the French army in 1742. He joined the Spanish army after the Spanish takeover of Louisiana and was appointed as lieutenant governor of Natchitoches in 1769. He spent the next years leading expeditions to the Red River and negotiating treaties with local tribes (Kichais, Tawaknois, Taovayas, by proxy the Tonkawas). Knew Latin as well as French, Spanish, and several Native American languages (Chipman and Joseph 2010: 186-7; *Handbook of Texas Online* 2010).[165]

O'Reilly, Alejandro (1722-1794)

Irishman, Spanish military officer. As a Colonel, taught Austrian and French military tactics to the Spanish Royal Guards (1760) (Din 1993: 14). He had wartime experience in Italy and Portugal. As Field Marshal/subinspector general, he was in charge of reorganizing the Spanish army in Cuba (1763?) (Din 1993: 20). In 1769, as lieutenant general/inspector general of infantry, was in charge of recovering New Orleans and punishing those responsible for the French Creole rebellion (Din 1993: 29).

He took an interest in Francisco Bouligny (Din 1993: 20), was lenient on him when some issues came up with Francisco's record-keeping and behavior toward a superior officer (Din 1993: 45).

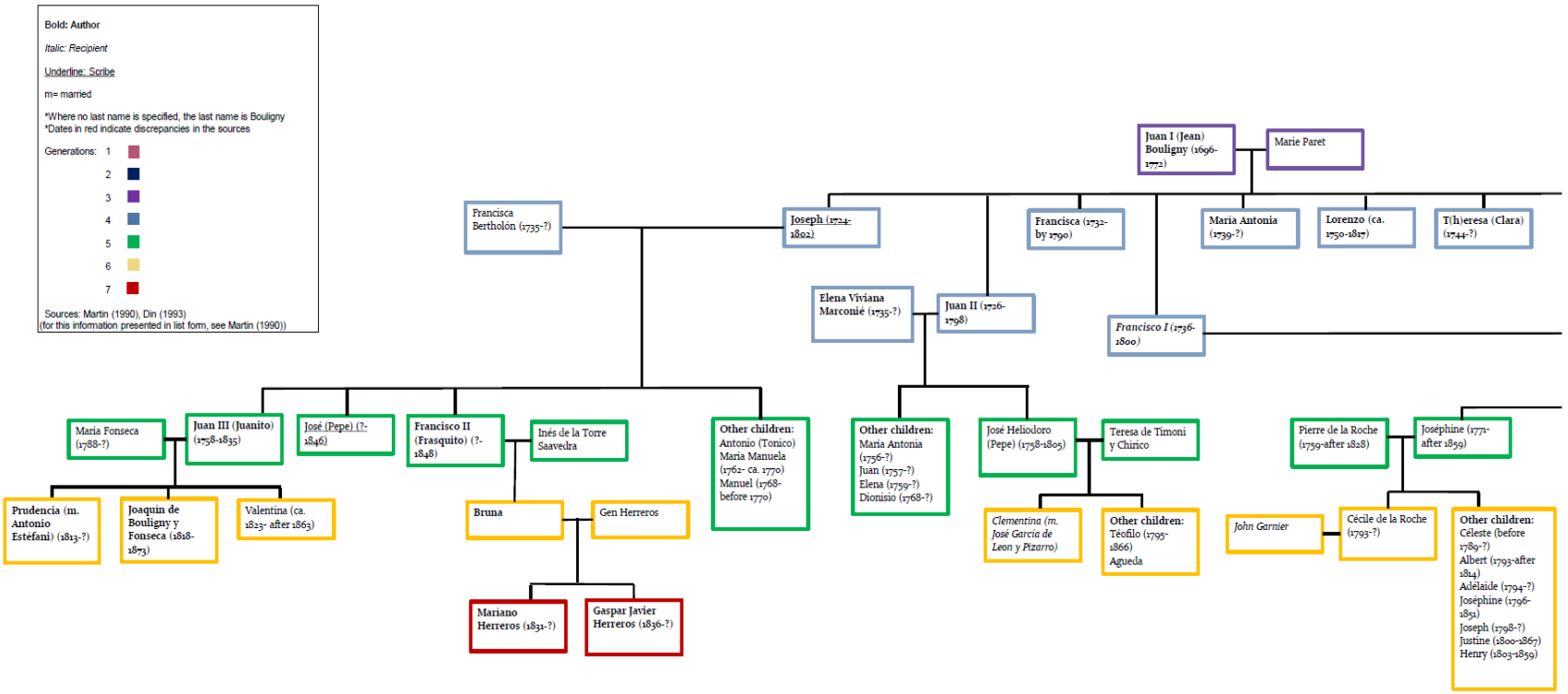
Soeur Marie Ma(g)del(a)ine de Jesus (de Bel(l)air(e), Marguerite Antoinette) (1701-1792)[166]

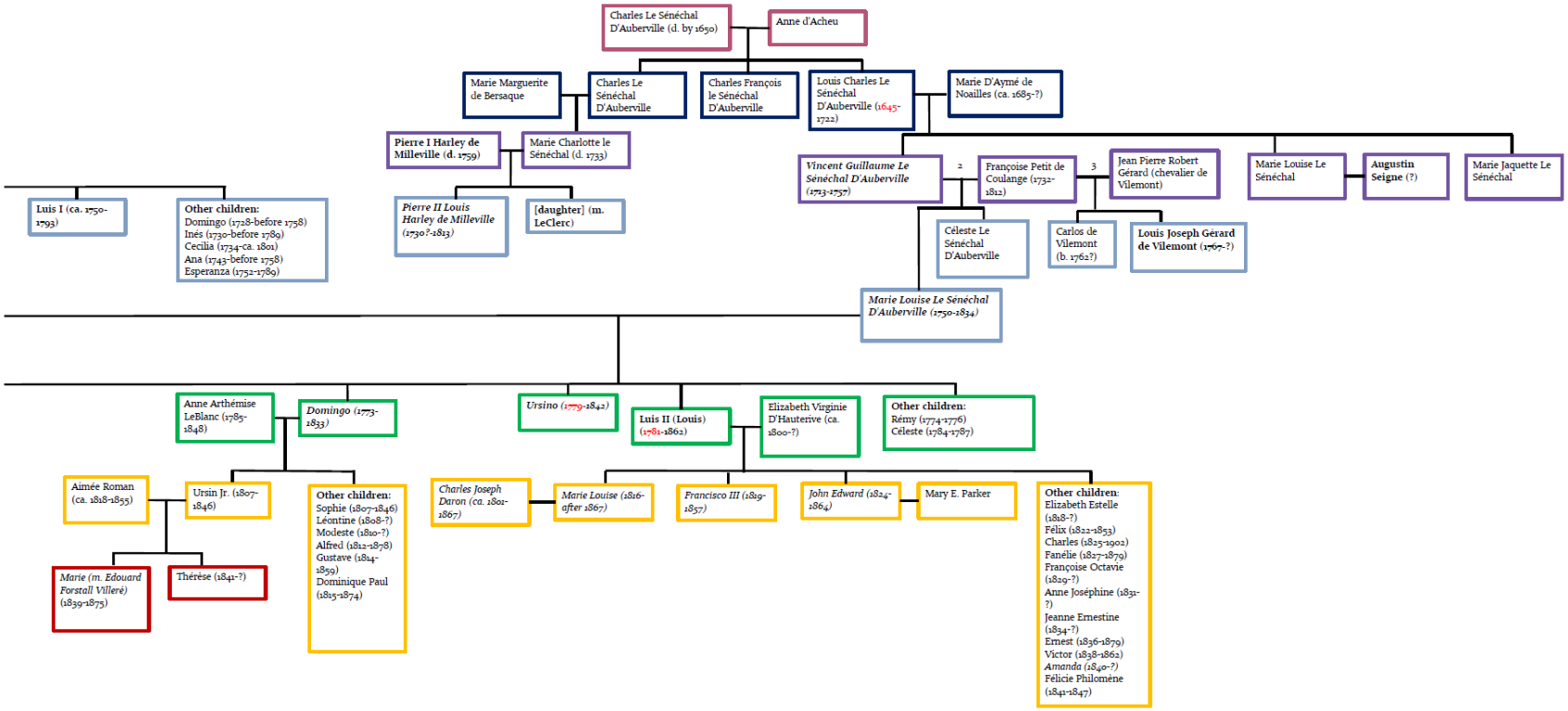
An Ursuline nun. Marguerite Antoinette Bigeaud de Bel(l)air(e) joined the convent in Landerneau, France as Sister Ste. Madel(e)ine, expressing a wish to join the Louisiana mission. On February 12, 1742, she arrived in New Orleans with two other nuns, including her younger sister. She lived and worked at the Ursuline convent for fifty years until her death. In New Orleans, she was an active member in the community and most likely the Royal Hospital, despite going deaf and blind in her later years (Heaney 1993: 120-122; Clark 2007: 106-7, 266).

[165] See Bolton (1914) for an edited volume of de Mézieres' documents.

[166] Heaney (1993: 121) says she died at the age of 95 in 1792, Clark (2007: 266) puts her age at 41 when she entered the convent in 1742 and 91 when she died in 1792.

APPENDIX 2: THE BOULIGNY FAMILY TREE




Charles Le Sénéchal D'Auberville (d. by 1650)
Anne d'Acheu
Marie Marguerite de Bersaque
Charles Le Sénéchal D'Auberville
Charles François le Sénéchal D'Auberville
Louis Charles Le Sénéchal D'Auberville (1645-1722)
Marie D'Aymé de Noailles (ca. 1685-?)
Pierre I Harley de Milleville (d. 1759)
Marie Charlotte le Sénéchal (d. 1733)
Vincent Guillaume Le Sénéchal D'Auberville (1713-1757)
2
Françoise Petit de Coulange (1732-1812)
3
Jean Pierre Robert Gérard (chevalier de Vilemont)
Marie Louise Le Sénéchal
Augustin Seigne (?)
Marie Jaquette Le Sénéchal
Luis I (ca. 1750-1793)
Other children:
Domingo (1728-before 1758)
Inés (1730-before 1789)
Cecilia (1734-ca. 1801)
Ana (1743-before 1758)
Esperanza (1752-1789)
Pierre II Louis Harley de Milleville (1730?-1813)
[daughter] (m. LeClerc)
Céleste Le Sénéchal D'Auberville
Carlos de Vilemont (b. 1762?)
Louis Joseph Gérard de Vilemont (1767-?)
Marie Louise Le Sénéchal D'Auberville (1750-1834)
Anne Arthémise LeBlanc (1785-1848)
Domingo (1773-1833)
Ursino (1779-1842)
Luis II (Louis) (1781-1862)
Elizabeth Virginie D'Hauterive (ca. 1800-?)
Other children:
Rémy (1774-1776)
Céleste (1784-1787)
Aimée Roman (ca. 1818-1855)
Ursin Jr. (1807-1846)
Other children:
Sophie (1807-1846)
Léontine (1808-?)
Modeste (1810-?)
Alfred (1812-1878)
Gustave (1814-1859)
Dominique Paul (1815-1874)
Marie (m. Edouard Forstall Villeré) (1839-1875)
Thérèse (1841-?)
Charles Joseph Daron (ca. 1802-1867)
Marie Louise (1816-after 1867)
Francisco III (1819-1857)
John Edward (1824-1864)
Mary E. Parker
Other children:
Elizabeth Estelle (1818-?)
Félix (1822-1853)
Charles (1825-1902)
Fanélie (1827-1879)
Françoise Octavie (1829-?)
Anne Joséphine (1831-?)
Jeanne Ernestine (1834-?)
Ernest (1836-1879)
Victor (1838-1862)
Amanda (1840-?)
Félicie Philomène (1841-1847)

APPENDIX 3: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF DOCUMENT IMAGES

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS:

[ ]	enclose unclear letters or words, symbols, transcriber comments, material notes such as superscript letters, overwritten or added text, etc.
super n	<n> in superscript, e.g. D^n was transcribed D[super n]
tilde	used to indicate the diacritic over the preceding letter, e.g. nr̃o was transcribed as nr[tilde]o

CHAPTER 2: CORPUS AND METHODOLOGY

Figure 2.2, page 19: Letter from Joseph Bouligny to Francisco I Bouligny, 1777 (HNOC MSS 171 F 50)

[page 3]
y grave enfermedad.
Recibe saludes de mi
frasq[super ta] y chicos particularmente de-
Pepe y saludaras de parte detodos noso-
tros atu amada Consorte y prole[infinity sign]
encuya compañia ruego â Dios guar_
de y prospere tuvida los m[super s] a[super s] que deseo
[in different hand:]
frasq[super to]. mio: disimula las faltas de esta
carta cuyo escritor ha sido Pepe, pues esta
es la primera. encomiendame à Dios , y-
creheme tuyo ex corde tu mas afecto Her[super o]
Joseph Bouligny

Figure 2.3, page 23: Letter from Juan I Bouligny to Francisco I Bouligny, 1770 (HNOC MSS 171 F 30)

et bonne Union et quil Vous Consede ce quil vous Conviendra Et de m[a] part
donne luy Une embrassa de ne pouvant le faire personelement par leloignem[super t]
ou nous Sommes Recois la Benediction + de Ton Pere
Jean Bouligny
Ton frere Louis se trouve a Badajos avec L'Employe
de Sous Lieutenant, Ilny Joüit poin de Santé_
despuis quil si trouve, de fasson que Sapaye ne suffit pas pour Se medisiner', Sil
Testoit facille delefaire passér ala Nouvelle Orlean Avec Augmentation d'Employe
et par Conséquant dapp[ointement] Employetoy Eficasem[ant] pour L'obtenir pour le

Figure 2.4, page 23: Letter from Juan I Bouligny to Marie Louise d'Auberville Bouligny, 1770
(HNOC MSS 171 F28)

Le Ciel à voulu enfin me l'accorder; puisse-t-il vous rendre heureux
& vous Benir ainsi que je le Fais de nouveau, vous assurant de
ma tendresse Paternelle avec la quelle je vous suis de tout mon
coeur

Ma tres chere fille — Votre àffectionné Pere
Jean Bouligny

[these last two lines on the right in a different hand]

Figure 2.5, page 24: Letter from Joseph Bouligny to Francisco I Bouligny, 1770
(HNOC MSS 171 F 31)

Quedo con anzia esperando Cartas tuyas que nos Saquen de
La perplexidad en que estamos: Dios te g[super de]. y preserve de todo daño los m[super o]
años que dessea tu Hermano ex Corde Joseph Bouligny

CHAPTER 3: ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONOLOGY

Figure 3.1, page 48: Letter (draft) from Luis II Bouligny to Marie Villeré, 1854
(HNOC MSS 171 F133)

[page 2]
nommé Regid[or] dela Ville, laissa le Service en 1803.
~~mon~~ Mon oncle Jean de Bouligny l'ainé de mon Pere herita d[u] major[a]t
de L'Alcorail, il Suivit la Carriere Diplomatique et Fut [~~anvoir~~] envoyé:
Ambassadeur à Constantinople, Son Fils Joseph le [~~ramplaça~~]remplaça et
Se Maria à Constantinople. il à Laissé[added] deux Enfants Theophile
et M[super me]. V[super e]. Pizarro ils pouront vous Faire Connaitre bien mieux
que moi la Famille de Votre Pere, les titre Originau[x] son en
leu[rs written over]r [illegible- ~~posesions~~?] possession. Car je n'ai~~s~~ que des Copies, mon Pere
Etait un des
Cadets et les Originaux appartiennent[last two added] aux Ainés, jevous e[large, written over
a]nvois [above, envois]
les armes dela Famille[~~s~~], Cela Servira avous Faire re[c]onnaitre [car]
Ses M[super rs]. Veule[added nt] des Preuves, ma lettre pour[? written over by ra] vous Servir[~~e~~]
Les Bouligny viene[added nt] D'Italie nous ~~Desondons~~ descendons des
Anciens Comtes de Bolognini de Milan et de Venise jai toute[~~s~~]
les Copies, les Originaux son entre les mains de l'ainé dela
Famille, un membre de Cette Famille passa au Servi[c]e d[e]
Francois 1[super er] à lEpoque des Grandes Guerres de cha[r]tes quint il

Francisa son nom et un des membres passa en Espagne, à LEpoque
ou un Bourbon monta sur le Trône DEspagne, le Dernier des
Bouligny en France est mort au Service de Louis 18 et
a[u]cupait une haute Position de confian[c]e
Mon Grand Pere Materne[written over lle]l Le chevalier
Vincent Guilliame le Senechal Dauberville Fut Baptise le
[2]5 Octobre 1713 à LEglise Paroissiale de S[super t]. Sauveur de Brest
Diocèse de Léon en Basse ~~Normandie~~ Bretagne en Normandie
Comme Fils Cadet de Louis Dauberville et de Marie aimé [de]
de Noailles (nous sommes [written over aill?] allie à la Famille [something scratched out -s?]des
Duc[s added] de Noailles
Comme vous le Voyez, Jevous anvoi[s] aussi les [Ar]mes, (Laine
herit[e] du chateau Dauberville situé à 3 lieues [above lieues] de Dieppe et des
Dependance)S [added] le chevalier Servit D'abord dans la marine et au

[page 3]
Canada et enfin Fut nomme indendant dela Louisane en
1748 ,et mourut en 1758 Laissa une Fille ma mere, [inserted Famille], Cette
est ~~Etinte~~ éteinte en Normandie, l'ainé ~~F[ur]~~ ~~mort~~ mourut Sans Enfant[~~s~~] la
Revolution a[written over something] [inserted Fait] perdre à ma mere le chateau Dauberv[ille]
et
Ses Dependance[s added], du ~~Cotté~~ cote de ma Grande mere Maternille
Francoise Petit de L[e]villiers Coulange nous sommes ~~aillie~~ alliés au
Dáguessan Chancelier de France, Jécris bien ~~Dificilement~~ difficilement
ma[written over es?] Gentille Petite nice ma vue est mauvaise, Votre Souvenir
ma Fait le Plus Grand Plaisir[e] repondez à mon Grifongnage
Vous et Therese, vous trouverez toujours en moi un viel
oncle qui vous aime tendrement Present[ez added] mes Compliments
à M[super me]. Votre Mère e[written over a]mbrassez Therese. Jevous Salue
L Bouligny
Les armes de la Famille Dauberville
Sont D'or à une Bande de Sable aco[s]t[u]de Deux [Filets] de
meme ~~Suports~~ support deux Lions et Cimier un Lion issant p[e]sé
de Front

Figure 3.2, page 50: Letter (copy) from Marie Louise Bouligny to Boutard, 1802 (LaRC 600 B6 F23)

que Son âgé et les droits du Sang m'inspirent, ainsi
qu'envers ceux qui peuvent me reSter du Côte Paternel;
il y à plusieurs années que je n'ais eu le plaisir de recevo[added above ir]
de leurs nouvelles; la guerre que nous avons éprouvé ayant
intercepté pendant longtems nos Communications avec L'eu=
=rope aura Sans doute empéche mes lettres de leurs parve
=nir et maura égallement privée den recevoir de leurs part,

vous trouverez Ci-inclus Coppie des dernieres qu[av]ant
Ces hostilités me parvinrent, par leurs Contenu vous
verrés leurs bonnes dispositions a mon Egard, et pour[ont]
vous Servir de g[ouv]erne pour prendre Connoissance de