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Abstract

In this paper I explore changes in varieties of North American French resulting from a) loss in productivity of the *re-* prefix in French; and b) availability of the English particle *back* in contact varieties. We see that addition of *back* to speakers' repertoires is dependent upon social factors while its integration into the grammar of vernacular varieties may involve both semantic and syntactic reanalysis of the English lexical item. Under the right social conditions, *back* becomes a French aspectual adverb.

Back to *Back*: The Trajectory of an Old Borrowing

Ruth King*

1 Introduction

This article is concerned with the use of the English-origin particle *back* in combination with, or as a replacement for, the French prefix *re-* in varieties of North American French. Since *back* is attested in French discourse as early as the late 19th century, and is found in a large number of varieties, we are able to study its trajectory across time and space, along with the stages of its linguistic integration. We see that the emergence and integration of English-origin *back* in French is linked to the decline in productivity of the *re-* prefix, and that “advanced” *back* usage involves both semantic and syntactic reanalysis in the host variety. More generally, we find support for the idea that syntactic change is a well-motivated result of other kinds of change, as argued by Longobardi (2001) for non-contact-induced syntactic change. Thus we suggest that varieties which emerge in language contact situations are interpretable within the same grammatical models as other natural languages.

2 *Back* in North American French

2.1 Early Attestations

Back is attested in written North American French as early as the late 19th/early 20th century. Example (1) is taken from a personal letter written in 1890 by an Acadian woman living in Moncton, in southeastern New Brunswick.

- (1) *Elle veu sa job back pui ell na pas eu de misère.* (Martineau, *Corpus du français familier ancien*)
‘She wants her job back and she didn’t have any trouble.’

Back is also found, spelt as *baque*, in a 1932 *Dictionary of Louisiana French*, which was based on a 1901 manuscript.

- (2) *baque* : *reculer* ; *aller back* (Ditchy 1901/1932)
‘to move back, reverse’; ‘to go back’

Geneviève Massignon’s landmark *Les parlers français d’Acadie*, a (principally) lexical study published in 1962 but based on fieldwork conducted in the mid-1940s, points to the following examples of English-origin *back*: *il est venu back* ‘he came back’ and *vous me le donnerez back* ‘you will give it back to me’ (p. 751). Such usage, Massignon suggests, is found in the speech of “les gens les plus humbles” of the Acadian regions of Canada’s three Maritime Provinces (i.e., New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island), which we may take to mean poor and uneducated people, since traditional class distinctions are not particularly relevant in this context. Massignon’s brief discussion comes from a short section of the work entitled *Les anglicismes*; interestingly, these are the only examples given which don’t involve the straightforward borrowing of nouns (e.g. *le boss*) or verbs (e.g. *watcher*). Given the tendency for work in traditional dialectology to focus on what Chambers (1995) has referred to as NORMS (non-mobile, older rural males), it is clear that *back* usage dates back at least to the turn of the 20th century in a number of

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French varieties. *Back* is also attested fairly early on in Ontario French (3), in work based on fieldwork conducted at around the same period as Massignon's.

- (3) *J'ai jeté mes roches back.* (Hull 1955)
'I threw my rocks back.'

2.2 Back in Ontario French

Canale, Mougeon, Bélanger and Main (1977) provide the following data for the speech of informants living in the town of Rayside, Ontario, a community part of present-day Sudbury, where there was intensive English-French contact:

- (4) *J'ai l'intention de revenir back à Miami.*
'I plan to come back to Miami.'
(5) *I' m'ont donné mon argent back.*
'They gave me my money back.'
(6) *Là, je mettais la roue back ensemble.*
'There, I put the wheel back together.'

In all of these examples, *back* has the same meaning as it does in English and occupies the same syntactic position as it does in the English glosses. As Massignon noted for Acadian French, *back* takes on the locative role of the French prefix *re-* with verbs such as *revenir* 'to come back'. In the Rayside corpus, it is also used in calques such as *back ensemble* 'back together'. In their 1977 study, Canale et al. found *back* to be used to mean 'return to a former state or place' in the speech of working-class and lower-middle-class speakers, albeit with relatively low frequency in their corpus. They also found regional variation explicable in terms of degree of contact with English. For instance, no instances of *back* were found in the French of Hawkesbury, the Franco-Ontario community investigated by this research team which had the least contact with English.

Mougeon, Brent-Palmer, Bélanger and Cicocki (1980) link the emergence of *back* in varieties of French in contact with English such as Rayside to the gradual loss in meaning of the French prefix *re-*, a process taking place over the course of several centuries. They note that while in Old French *re-* had several meanings (e.g. the *re-* of *regarder* 'to look at' was originally an intensifier), there remain only two productive meanings in modern French, these being 'return to a former state or place' and 'repeat an action or process'. Verbs which have *re-* with the first meaning include *revenir* 'to come back', *remettre* 'to put back', *rentrer* 'to return home' and *retourner* 'to return'; verbs which have *re-* with the second meaning include *refaire* 'to do again', *recommencer* 'to begin again', *redire* 'to say again' and *relire* 'to reread'. Mougeon and his colleagues suggest that *re-* continues to undergo this loss in productivity in present-day French, noting the use of *rentrer* (Standard French 'to return home') for *entrer* 'to enter' and *rouvrir* (Standard French 'to reopen') for *ouvrir* 'to open' in colloquial French. Further, in colloquial European French, *retourner* and *revenir* may be 'propped up' by the addition of *en arrière* 'back', as in *retourner en arrière* (Raymond Mougeon, pers. comm.).¹ The emergence of *revenir back*, *retourner back*, etc. in contact varieties of French can thus be viewed as a consequence of loss of meaning of the *re-* prefix. Canale et al. (1977) note that for the meaning 'repeat an action or process' *re-* co-occurs with or is replaced by French adverbs such as *encore* 'again'.

In the urban context of Ottawa-Hull, which is located on the Ontario/Quebec border, we also find limited use of *back*: an examination of the Ottawa-Hull French corpus collected in 1982 under the direction of Shana Poplack reveals *back* use in the speech of 21 of 120 informants, with most of the 39 tokens coming from the three Ottawa neighborhoods sampled, i.e., from neighborhoods with relatively high proportions of English residents. Only two tokens came from residents of Hull, located in Quebec, and these came from Vieux-Hull, a working-class neighborhood.² *Back* is used as it is in Rayside: it means 'return to a former place or state' and it occurs immediately following

¹Note though that such propping up is lexically restricted. For instance, **mettre en arrière* 'to put back' and **donner en arrière* 'to give back' are impossible.

²I thank Shana Poplack for granting me access to this corpus.

the verb or immediately following the verb and direct object. A clue as to its status in Ottawa-Hull French is given by one consultant who cites *back* usage as an example of anglicized French:

- (7) *C'est un patois, par exemple. Il y en a qui disaient "je reviens back". Tu sais? Je riais, je riais toutes les fois qu'ils disaient ça. A place de dire m-a revenir dans une minute-là, je reviens back.*³ (Inft 034, Ottawa-Hull)

2.3 *Back* in Majority Francophone Communities

A comparison of Canadian varieties of French shows that a certain threshold of contact with English is necessary for *back* to be borrowed. There are no instances at all of *back* in the large computerized corpora for Estrie (the Eastern Townships of Quebec) constructed by Normand Beauchemin and his colleagues in the 1970s and early 1980s (published as Beauchemin 1983), nor is it found in Raymond Mougeon's Quebec City corpus from the same period (Raymond Mougeon, pers. comm.). *Back* usage is marginal in the majority francophone Ontario community of Hawkesbury, near the Quebec border, in Mougeon's 1978 corpus and remains so in his 2005 corpus for the same community (Raymond Mougeon, pers. comm.). Likewise, for Acadian French, when we look at northeast New Brunswick, near the Quebec border, where the majority of the population are unilingual francophones, there are just 4 tokens in the early 1990s 100-hour Beaulieu corpus, all of which are garden-variety, locative *back*. This is also the case for Hawkesbury. We may conclude, then, that a certain threshold of contact with English is necessary for *back* to penetrate the French grammatical system.

2.4 *Back* in Minority Francophone Communities

In sociolinguistic corpora for minority francophone communities, *back* usage is much more frequent than in the corpora for majority communities noted above. Still, in some of these communities, such as L'Anse-à-Canards, Newfoundland, only locative *back* is attested, as in (8), while re-meaning 'repeating an action or process' is supplemented by adverbs like *encore* (9).

- (8) *J'avons monté back à la messe à 10 heures.*
'We went back up to the mass at 10 o'clock.'
(9) *J'avons été obligé de retourner encore.*
'We were obliged to return again.'

Such (relative) conservatism is understandable, since more than sporadic contact with English is of relatively short duration in this community (King and Butler 2005). The data above were purposely chosen from my oldest corpus for this community, dating from 1978. In comparison, Roy (1979, based on 1976 fieldwork) records both locative (10) and iterative (11) *back* in her Moncton corpus from the same period, a community in which contact with English has been longer and more intense (King 2008).

- (10) *I est accoutumé à ... t'amener là pis t'amener back à la maison.*
'He is used to bringing you there and bringing you back to the house.'
(11) *I dit : «Je vous dirai pas back.»*
'He says, "I won't tell you again."'

In other communities where there is intensive contact with English, both locative and iterative *back* have been attested. (12) and (13) give examples of iterative usage for southeastern New Brunswick and Louisiana respectively.⁴

³It's a patois, for example. There are some who say [je reviens back]. You know, I used to laugh every time they said that. Instead of saying [revenir] in a minute, [je reviens back]. (my translation)

⁴Note that Péronnet's 1989 corpus comprised data for older southeast New Brunswick Acadian speakers only. However, Starets (1982) records use of iterative *back* in Nova Scotia Acadian child speech. Interestingly, Jones (2001:121) gives an example of *again* used as a loanword in Jersey French: *Tchi maison est à vendre again?* "Which house is for sale again?" There is no mention of *back* use in Jones' study.

- (12) *La vieille, a relisait back.* (Péronnet 1989/98)
 ‘The old woman, she read (it) again.’
 (13) *J’ai commencé à refumer back.* (Rottet 2000)
 ‘I started to smoke again.’

Rottet (2000:120) has quantified the extent to which the *re-* prefix is retained in his Louisiana corpus. He found that “[a]mong traditional (and therefore older) speakers the verbal prefix *re-* is quite common and the adverb *back* is a frequent though apparently optional way to reinforce the prefix. Younger speakers, however, appear increasingly inclined to rely on the adverb *back* and to leave off the *re-* prefix altogether.” The optionality of *re-* is clear in all of the documentation yet mentioned which includes verbs which take *re-* in the standard variety: thus we may take this variability to mark the first stage in the evolution of *back* use. On the basis of the data presented in (11–13), we may take semantic reanalysis, specifically the taking on of an iterative meaning, to mark the second stage in *back*’s evolution.

Along with providing evidence of semantic reanalysis of English-origin *back*, most of what I will term high-contact French varieties also display syntactic reanalysis, as illustrated in the data in (14) and (15) for Prince Edward Island French.

- (14) *Je l’ai jamais back fait.*
 ‘I never did it again.’
 (15) *Veux-tu back me conter ça?*
 ‘Do you want to tell me that again?’

In (14) *back* precedes the past participle *fait* while in (15) *back* precedes the infinitival form of the verb *conter*, syntactic slots unavailable to *back* in English and in French varieties where contact with English has been marginal. In the following sections, we will consider *back* usage in one of these varieties in more detail by looking at the full envelope of variation. I will then offer an analysis of the status of *back* in French grammars which display “advanced” usage whereby *back* has become a French aspectual adverb. Finally, I will argue for at least four, if not five, stages in the integration of *back*.

3 Explaining the Changes

3.1 *Back* in Prince Edward Island French

Before proceeding further with analyzing the stages in the integration of *back*, it is worthwhile to examine the envelope of variation in one of the high-contact varieties, specifically Prince Edward Island French.⁵ Tables 1 and 2 present quantitative data for the distribution of *back* (versus all other variants) in a large sociolinguistic corpus for two French villages, Abram-Village and Saint-Louis.

Verb+ <i>back</i> (<i>venir back</i>) 121	Verb (<i>venir</i>) 15	<i>re-</i> +Verb (<i>revenir</i>) 13	<i>re-</i> +Verb+ <i>back</i> (<i>revenir back</i>) 2	
Verb+ <i>back</i> (<i>faire back</i>) 31	Verb+ <i>de nouveau</i> (<i>faire de nouveau</i>) 11	Verb+ <i>encore</i> (<i>faire encore</i>) 5	<i>re-</i> +Verb (<i>refaire</i>) 3	<i>re-</i> +Verb+ <i>de nouveau</i> (<i>refaire de nouveau</i>) 1

Table 1: Frequency of *back* versus other variants in the Abram-Village corpus. The first row presents locative and the second iterative usage.

In both communities, *back* variants are far and away the most common way of rendering both

⁵The data here were first published in King (2000). See this work for discussion of the history of the French presence in Prince Edward Island and for details on the 1987-88 construction of the corpus.

the locative and iterative meanings associated with the *re-* morpheme: indeed, in the community in most intense contact with English, Saint-Louis, *re-* is entirely absent. In Abram-Village, this aspect of the change is still in progress but in Saint-Louis it has gone to completion.⁶

Verb+ <i>back</i> (<i>venir back</i>) 123	Verb (<i>venir</i>) 1
Verb+ <i>back</i> (<i>faire back</i>) 32	Verb+ <i>encore</i> (<i>faire encore</i>) 5

Table 2: Frequency of *back* versus other variants in the Saint-Louis corpus. The first row presents locative and the second iterative usage.

3.2 The Syntactic Reanalysis of *Back*

As we saw above in (14) and (15), the Prince Edward Island corpus includes data which show that *back* is not limited to its canonical English position in this variety. Since the original Prince Edward Island study (King 1991, 2000), similar, “non-English” usage has been recorded for other Acadian regions, such as southeastern New Brunswick and Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia.

- (17) *Je vais back watcher ces funny movies.* (Young 2002)
‘I’m going to watch these funny movies again.’
- (18) *La fournaise a back démarré à leaker à six heures du soir.* (Comeau 2007)
‘The furnace started to leak again at six o’clock in the evening.’

In the generative literature dating back to Emonds 1972, English particles such as *back* (as in *I put the book back*/**I put the book back the shelf*), *on* (as in *She turned on the lights*/*She turned the lights on*) and *into* (*He threw the leftovers into the garbage*/**He threw the leftovers into*) have been analyzed as prepositions. They differ in terms of whether or not they are always transitive (*into*), always intransitive (*back*) or either (*on*). Following this tradition, I classify English *back* as an intransitive preposition. The borrowing of English prepositions is fairly common in varieties of Acadian French spoken in close contact with English, as in Prince Edward Island, southeast New Brunswick (Chevalier and Long 2005, Long 2008, Perrot 1995) and Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia (Comeau 2007). Example (19) is taken from the Prince Edward Island corpus.

- (19) *Quoi ce-qu’ils parlont about?*
‘What are they talking about?’

However, in varieties like these, it is not possible to retain the preposition label for *back*, as the Prince Edward Island data in (20) and (21) suggest.

- (20) *Je l’ai jamais back fait./Je l’ai jamais encore fait.*
‘I never did it again.’
- (21) *Veux-tu back me conter ça?/Veux-tu encore me conter ça?*
‘Do you want to tell me that again?’

Here we see that *back* occupies the same syntactic slot as French adverbs such as *encore* ‘again’ (and indeed other aspectual adverbials such as *souvent* ‘often’) in that it intervenes between the auxiliary and the finite verb and may proceed or follow the infinitival verb.

Since Emonds 1978 and Pollock 1989, it is generally agreed that finite verbs undergo movement, with French verbs raising to a higher structural position than English verbs. The surface distribution of many French adverbs is thus related to how high verbs move. To take but one of Pollock’s examples, the grammaticality of *Jean embrasse souvent Marie* (lit. ‘John kisses often

⁶Note that large sociolinguistic corpora are needed to uncover the distribution of particular lexical variants: the Prince Edward Island corpus comprises 640,000 words.

Mary') follows from the main verb undergoing movement in French out of VP and through IP*-internal inflectional positions. The ungrammaticality of its English counterpart, **John kisses often Mary*, is due to the fact that English main verbs do not raise as high in the structure.⁷ As Cinque (1999) observes, most French lexical infinitival verbs optionally raise to the left of several French adverbs, including *bien* 'well', *beaucoup* 'lots', *guère* 'hardly', *jamais* '(n)ever' and *toujours* 'always' (such movement is obligatory with the adverb *tôt* 'early', e.g., **tôt partir/partir tôt* 'to leave early'). Thus I categorize the *back* of (14–20) not as an intransitive preposition but as an adverb.⁸

Data suggestive of syntactic reanalysis have been attested by Perrot (1995) and Young (2002) in studies which investigate the language use of young consultants in southeast New Brunswick. Note that such usage is not mentioned by either Roy (1979) or Péronnet (1998), whose studies of the same variety are based on the speech of much older consultants than those in Young's and Perrot's studies. Comparison of older and more recent studies (and with older and younger consultants) suggests, then, that syntactic reanalysis is fairly recent.

3.3 The Louisiana French Puzzle

Recall that *back* was a very early borrowing in Louisiana French, first attested in a 1901 manuscript. In a preliminary study of borrowings in Cajun French, Dubois & Sankoff (1996) note that the (re)Verb + *back* construction is widely used in this variety. In the examples given, *back* usage resembles that attested in Ontario, i.e. its usage is not as advanced semantically as it is in present-day Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. However, as we saw above, in a study of phrasal verbs in both Louisiana Creole and Louisiana Cajun French, Rottet (2000) gives examples not only of verbs (re)VERB + *back* usage with the meaning of 'return to a former place or state', as in *revenir back*, *retourner back* and *tomber back*, but also examples with the meaning 'repeat an action or process'.

Rottet does not, however, give data like (14–20) nor is such usage attested in the *Dictionary of Louisiana French* (Valdman, Rottet et al. 2010). Rottet (p.c.) confirms that *back* has undergone semantic but not syntactic reanalysis in Louisiana French. At first glance, it would appear that semantic reanalysis alone has taken place, paralleling the usage of Moncton, New Brunswick speakers recorded by Roy (1979) and Péronnet (1998). Such a difference from several present-day Acadian varieties discussed above is puzzling, however, since the Louisiana language contact situation is easily as intense, and indeed language shift is actually ongoing (cf. Dubois and Horvath 1999, Rottet 2001). In fact, there is strong evidence to suggest that the absence of syntactic reanalysis in the Louisiana context has an independent motivation. French-origin aspectual adverbs such as *souvent* 'often' do not in fact occur before the past participle or the infinitive in Louisiana French (Valdman, Rottet et al. 2010, Rottet p.c.). Thus *back* most likely does not occur in these environments because similar French-origin aspectual adverbs cannot occur there either.⁹

3.4 How Many Stages?

I have argued, then, that in varieties of French in which the social conditions are right, *back* has been reanalyzed as an adverb. Note that this reanalysis would also apply to *back* with the meaning 'return to a former place or state,' as the Prince Edward Island French data in (22) and (23) suggest:

- (22) *Il faut back venir.*
* 'It is necessary back to come.'

⁷I update the technical details here from those originally proposed by Pollock to a Minimalist model of clause structure. In French, but not in English, finite verbs bear strong uninterpretable agreement features, requiring overt raising in order that these features may be checked.

⁸Chomsky's original (1970) feature breakdown distinguished nouns, verbs, adjectives and prepositions on the basis of two features [+/-N] and [+/-V], with prepositions bearing the features [-N, -V]. As Vincent and Börjars (1996), among others, note, just how to specify the features of adverbs (versus adjectives) is a matter of some debate. More generally, there has been considerable debate as to whether or not adjectives and constitute one or two major lexical categories (see Payne, Huddleston and Pullum (2010) for discussion).

⁹A full treatment of available adverb positions in Louisiana Cajun French is beyond the scope of this paper.

- (23) *Il faut venir back.*
 ‘It is necessary to come back.’

Tremblay (2005:266) rightly calls attention to such examples, found in King 2000, noting that French locative adverbs cannot occur in this position, e.g. **Puis je voulais pas dehors/derrière/en arrière aller*; *Puis je voulais pas aller dehors/derrière/en arrière* (‘And I didn’t want to go outside/behind/back.’). Her own proposal is that, far from being an innovation, use of *back* is actually an archaism. Specifically, she suggests that *back* is actually *arrière* relexicalized. In Old and Middle French *arrière* (like *sus* ‘on’, *avant* ‘before’, *devant* ‘in front of’, etc.) could be used in combination with the *re-* prefix, preceding the past participle. Further, *arrière* had two interpretations in Old French, a locative interpretation and an iterative interpretation, paralleling present-day French *back* (and, I would add, French *re-*).

While Tremblay’s proposal would give a straightforward account of preverbal, locative *back* in addition to iterative *back*, it suffers from at least one major weakness: if *back* is indeed relexicalized *arrière*, we have no explanation for its use in those varieties where it only appears syntactically in the same position as it does in English.¹⁰ Specifically, relexification provides no explanation for the behavior of *back* in the conservative Acadian variety spoken in western Newfoundland, where it follows the verb and only means ‘return to a former place or state’.¹¹ This is a variety for which the traditional morphology of the verb (e.g. *je parlons*, *ils parlont*) approaches categoriality (King 1994, 2005) and where discourse markers moribund or nonexistent in most other varieties of French are used productively (Butler and King 2008). If, on the other hand, *back* usage is an innovation, the first stage of which involves usage like that found in English, the Newfoundland French facts have a ready explanation, as do the Ontario and northeast New Brunswick ones.

One last type of *back* usage thus remains to be explained, specifically syntactically reanalyzed *back* in cases where it means ‘return to a former state or place’. One might hypothesize that iterative *back* was the first to be used preverbally, following the model of French-origin aspectual and temporal adverbs, and that, by analogy, locative *back* followed. Evidence in support of such an analysis would have to come from a corpus sizeable enough to supply a sufficiently large number of *back* tokens for quantitative analysis, one in which there was variable preverbal/postverbal usage. The Baie Sainte-Marie, Nova Scotia corpus does not provide enough *back* data to do this, as there are a total of 123 *back* tokens found in 236,000 words of text, of which the vast majority do not provide the right syntactic environment as they involve the present tense, the imperfect, the conditional or the inflected future. The larger Prince Edward Island corpus is more useful as there are a total of 347 *back* tokens, of which 127 provide the right syntactic environment, i.e. the *passé composé* and related tenses along with finite verb + infinitive constructions. However, caution must be used in both quantifying and interpreting these data since there are not enough tokens to tease out the potential conditioning effect of lexical verb choice (i.e., this latter stage in the change may be diffusing through the relevant part of the lexicon). An examination of the relevant tokens reveals no obvious difference in patterning by community and speaker age does not appear to have an effect. Two speakers each had a total of 12 relevant *back* tokens. Following standard sociolinguistic methodology, the first five tokens only were selected for these speakers. A total of 34 consultants contributed *back* tokens in the right syntactic environment. The data provide some support for the hypothesis that syntactically innovative *back* usage began with *back* meaning ‘repeat an action or process’: 86% of such tokens (N = 22) occur before the past participle or before the infinitival form of the verb whereas 62% of locative *back* tokens (N = 91) did so. It may well be, then, that Stage 3 in Table 3 below actually entails two stages: an earlier stage involving syntactic reanalysis for iterative *back* and a later one involving the same process for locative *back*.¹²

4 Conclusions

¹⁰An additional problem would be why *back* alone would have been relexicalized.

¹¹No occurrence of iterative *back* (or use of *back* as a French adverb) is found in the Butler/King Newfoundland French corpora, totally in excess of one million words, nor is it documented in the Brasseur (2000) dictionary for the variety.

¹²Unfortunately, the southeast New Brunswick corpora are much smaller than the Prince Edward Island corpus so it is unlikely that confirmation of this hypothesis could be found there.

When we look across varieties of North American French, we see variation in the use of English-origin *back*, ranging from contexts in which it simply does not occur (as far as we can determine from existing corpora, e.g. Quebec City), to ones in which its use is infrequent (e.g. northeast New Brunswick, Ottawa-Hull), to ones in which the *re-* morpheme is variably lost and *back* takes on its locative function (e.g. Ontario, Newfoundland), to ones in which *back* takes on *re-*'s iterative function as well (southeast New Brunswick, early studies; Louisiana), to ones in which reanalysis as a French adverb has also taken place (Prince Edward Island; Nova Scotia; southeast New Brunswick). The range of possibilities is presented in Table 3.

Stage	Morphology	Semantics	Syntax	Variety
1	(<i>re-</i>) variably present			ON, NL
2	(<i>re-</i>) variably present	reanalysis		Southeast NB
3	(<i>re-</i>) variably present	reanalysis	reanalysis	Southeast NB (later studies), Abram-Village, PEI
4	(<i>re-</i>) absent	reanalysis	reanalysis	Saint-Louis, PEI

Table 3: Stages in the integration of *back* in several French varieties.

Generally, we see that the rise of *back* is linked to the loss in productivity of the *re-* morpheme in French and that it is fully integrated in French varieties with intense, long-term contact with English and low normative pressure. However, it is not fully integrated in communities undergoing language shift where there is concomitant morphosyntactic erosion, as in the Louisiana case. Finally, there is substantial evidence that semantic reanalysis of *back* precedes and triggers syntactic reanalysis.

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