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**Planning language practices and representations of identity**

**within the Gallo community in Brittany:**

**A case of language maintenance**

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**Planning language practices and representations of identity  
within the Gallo community in Brittany:  
A case of language maintenance**

by

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**Planning language practices and representations of identity**  
**within the Gallo community in Brittany:**  
**A case of language maintenance**

Cécile Hélène Christiane Rey, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2010

Supervisor: Jean-Pierre Montreuil

This study focuses on the representations of the Gallo language spoken in the Eastern part of Brittany among elder native speakers (group 1) and students of Gallo (group 2). Jones & Singh (2005) and Williams (2000) both stress the importance of an asserted community identity for language transmission and the active involvement of community members in the revitalization process. In light of these two studies and the revitalization models proposed by Grenoble & Whaley (2005), the present research establishes that, in order to obtain a more appropriate and possibly successful revitalization program, it is necessary to consult and probe the approval of native speakers of Gallo. Informants from both groups show little involvement in language planning activities; in contrast, revitalization efforts in the last decades have increased within associative and militant groups.

Based on the findings of Jones & Singh (2005) and Williams (2000) on Jersey Norman French and Welsh respectively, this study provides evidence that Gallo is on the verge of achieving a different status. The framework used for the fieldwork was adapted from Boas TGPD project on Texas German (2001). Most of the interviews were conducted in a

private setting. Two groups of individuals were involved in this study: older, native speakers (41) and students (17), and half of the respondents participated in a follow-up interview (1-2 hours). The results of field research on language attitudes show a positive Gallo identity: 50% of the native speakers answered that Gallo was part of their identity as much as French and 78.6% of the students selected the same statement. Only 20% of group 1 and 21.4% of group 2 declared that Gallo was not an important part of their identity. In the same set of questions on identity and representations, 90% of group 1 and 85.7% of group 2 expressed positive linguistic attitudes when asked whether or not speaking and/or understanding Gallo was valuable. Overall, above 80% of the informants think that the knowledge of Gallo is an advantage. This research demonstrates that the speech community expresses a more positive Gallo identity than expected, one of the main factors necessary to secure language maintenance.

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# **Chapter 1**

## **General background**

### **Obsolescence and Revitalization in the dialects of *Oïl***

This dissertation focuses on the representations of the Gallo language and identity in the Eastern part of Brittany among older speakers (group 1) and Gallo learners or young adults (group 2). Most papers analyze language identity separately from language planning issues leaving aside the core members (native speakers) of the speech community in the language revitalization process.

In this dissertation, I answer the following questions:

- (1) How do members of the community use Gallo? Is there a Gallo identity? Are language and identity intertwined?
- (2) How do both groups (group 1 – older speakers vs. group 2 – students) perceive language preservation efforts?

Although a sense of belonging to the Gallo community definitely exists, speakers clearly dissociate language from identity. I found very little exchange and involvement between and from the two groups interviewed to participate into the maintenance of Gallo language. In her work on Jersey Norman French, Jones (2001) declares that the language cannot be saved without firm community foundations for transmission along with positive expressions of group identity. From the data collected during the summer 2009,

there appears to be a general desire from most informants to maintain Gallo and indifferent or passive reactions from members of group 1. Older speakers express a clear denial of responsibility to struggle for the language and participate in its preservation. For this research, I draw my framework from Jones' work on Jèrriais and refer to other models such as Dorian's research on Welsh (1989), for language planning, and Nolan's surveys (2008) for data analysis on Gallo identity.

## 1.0 Introduction

The first chapter introduces the main concepts and theories related to the field of language decay. In section 1.1 I chose to discuss three models, Campbell & Muntzel (1989), Wurm (1990) and Fishman (1991) to give a complete background on the phenomenon of language loss illustrating the terminology I will be using throughout the discussion before presenting the case of the Gallo language. I point out the distinction between the terms dialect and *patois* referring to different stances in the literature and present dialectal variations of Gallo in section 1.2 I also include a discussion on the standardization of French recapturing the framework developed by Lodge (1993) in section 1.2.2.2: selection of norms, codification, acceptance of the norm, and maintenance of the standard. To define the concept of regional French, I select two studies: the first one focuses on a Northern regional variety known as *Chitimi* (Pooley, 1996 & Hornsby, 2006) and the second one is a report written by Philippe Blanchet in 2002 on perceptions of Gallo from elementary and middle school students in the area of Brittany where the Romance variety is still spoken. Finally, in section 1.3, I explore France's language policy and discuss recent governmental changes referring to official texts (*Loi Deixonne*, 1951 and *Charte européenne des langues régionales et minoritaires*, 1992) and their effect on today's linguistic policies.

## **1.1 Language death and dialect death**

### **1.1.1 Definitions**

Little attention has been paid to dialect death compared to language death or language shift (for example, Dorian 1981, Campbell & Muntzel 1989) which has become an important area in linguistic research leading to general and well-established frameworks (or paradigms) of language loss (Dorian 1989, Wurm 1990, Wolfram 2003). In the case of Gallo, linguists talk about dialect death rather than language death because Gallo was and still is subject to convergence with the dominant language, French. Nonetheless, a clear definition of ‘dialect death’ and ‘language death’ remains difficult to provide as in many cases there is no strict distinction between ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ (for instance with Chinese and African ‘dialects’ and also with European languages like Italian). The following definition of language death is now broadly accepted by the majority of linguistic scholars: ‘The loss of a language is due to a gradual shift to the dominant language in language contact situation’ (Campbell & Muntzel, 1989: 185).

This progression in language or dialect decay appears to correspond to what we find in the Gallo community, namely a close-knit network of language varieties leading to abandoning one variety in favor of a more prestigious one.

### **1.1.2 Frameworks**

#### **1.1.2.1 Campbell & Muntzel (1989)**

It may be helpful to first introduce authoritative theoretical frameworks of language death before mentioning more specifically the situation of the convergent dialects of French. In

the *Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, Wolfram starts out his chapter on 'Language Death and Dying' by presenting four types of language death (Campbell & Muntzel, 1989). The first two identified, *sudden* death and *radical* death occur in the case of an abrupt disappearance of the speakers and of the language minority respectively. In the second scenario, language varieties are lost due to a rapid shift to another language instead of the complete disappearance (massacre or abrupt death) of the speakers as it was the case with Native American Indians. The third type of language death introduced by Campbell & Muntzel is often seen as the most common consequence of language contact situation and the most important case for the observation of language variation: *gradual* language death stands for 'the gradual shift to the dominant language' (Wolfram, 766). The last type of language death, called *bottom-to-top* language death, corresponds to the progressive disappearance of a language variety from 'everyday conversation and casual settings while the language is retained in more formal, ritualistic contexts' (Wolfram, 766).

The obsolescence of Gallo corresponds to this third case proposed in this framework (convergence with the dominant variety and influence by the presence of Breton). The phenomenon of language death is intertwined mostly with a shift in (or loss) language loyalty and sometimes with a lack of close-tie group identity. Generally, the factors are none-linguistic factors and they fall into two categories: micro-level factors having a direct impact on the speech community and macro-level factors affecting speakers in various contexts. Here is a list of causes of language loss which can easily be related to the case of Gallo:



- (1) discrimination;
- (2) linguistic repression;
- (3) stigmatization;
- (4) low prestige of the dying variety;
- (5) lack of economic opportunities;
- (6) industrialization;
- (7) communication with outside regions (influence of Breton language);
- (8) literacy;
- (9) compulsory education;
- (10) official language policies;
- (11) symbolism of the dominant language;
- (12) military service;
- (13) war;
- (14) marriage patterns;
- (15) migration (these two factors just mentioned are consequences of the First World War) ;
- (16) lack of social cohesion (may be changing now);
- (17) lack of physical proximity among speakers (from other Gallo varieties).

Most importantly, ideological and cultural factors have a radical impact on language use and language maintenance in the way that they include underlying values (often negative for *patois* or dialects) about language, how it is used and its corresponding identity. They have to be analyzed along with the other contact factors mentioned above. If those

elements are lacking, they pave the way towards a decreasing use of the language and eventually to language endangerment. The situation of language loss we find in Gallo is a typical example of ‘gradual language death’ due on the one hand to contact with the official language of the state, French, and on the other with Celtic language spoken in the Western part of Bretagne, Breton. In such a context, the dying language starts losing some of its structural and stylistic specificities and undergoes increasing variability.

Along those lines, different models of language loss have been developed in the literature (Campbell & Muntzel, 1989). First, the *dissipation model* in which dialectal structures and functions are reduced and corresponds to what linguists refer to as ‘regional varieties’. We notice that no distinction is made between the different Gallo varieties and as some linguistic features blend into the French language, the dialect appears more ‘uniform’. Even the speakers themselves use other terms to talk about their speech, for instance ‘Regional French’ which is a more neutral term, ‘bad French’ – *le mauvais français*, ‘and deformed French’ – *le français déformé* (Gautier, 1993, Blanchet, 2002). Gautier, in his *Grammaire du Poitevin-Saintongeais*, quotes the way speakers describe their own speech variety:

Le français déformé, ‘ne s’écrit pas’, ‘n’a pas de grammaire’... Les Poitevins-Saintongeais eux-mêmes n’ont pas toujours bonne opinion de leur langue régionale (Gautier: 5) – Deformed French is not a written language, it does not have a grammar...*Poitevins-Saintongeais* speakers themselves don’t always have a good opinion of their regional language.

More specifically, structural levels of language gradually affected by language death undergo specific patterns of change. In the lexicon, two phenomena commonly occur simultaneously, a reduction of lexical elements because they cease to be used and

massive lexical loans from the dominant language. All French dialects at large follow the same trend and speakers are not sure whether the words being used belong to their dialectal variety or to the dominant language. Phonological, morphological and syntactical features go through a process of reduction and leave space for more variability in the forms. The reduction of phonological inventory (loss of marked elements) increases variability, reduction in the number of morphological forms, and contraction of syntactic devices (ex. case system, simplification of clauses) constitute patterns commonly found at the structural levels of a dying dialect. Generally, language use tends to be limited to particular domains therefore its functions become limited. Gallo speakers associate their dialect to specific situations such as family, friend gatherings, storytelling, songs, and sayings (mainly used in informal situations) and rarely use it outside those domains, the main issue being that the language does not have the necessary tools to be used equally for every domain or function (such technology, media, internet...) since French performs usually some of these functions.

Other language loss models have been proposed such as the *concentration model* in which structural distinctiveness is intensified among a reduced number of speakers. For instance, marked features are ‘overused’ to be identified as a member of a specific group. It would be hard to conceive the application of this model to Gallo since it would require the assertion of a positive group identity, which is not a widespread feeling among the speech community. The *pidginization model* is identified when there is a consistent reduction (e.g. East Sutherland Gaelic in Dorian) - is similar to the first model - *dissipation model*, in that it reflects patterns of reduction in the grammar of the language

and in its use. This model differs from the first one as it serves different functions. I mentioned earlier that Gallo is used most of the time in informal contexts among a close-ties network, whereas pidgins fulfill different functions as interacting in formal situations and for strictly instrumental-based communication (business, trade). The *deacquisition model* of language loss is viewed as a mirror image of language acquisition following the order of language development. The *matrix language turnover model* (Myers-Scotton, 1998) represents a shift from one matrix to another or from one dominant language to another. Myers-Scotton distinguishes ‘content morphemes’ (with thematic roles) from ‘system morphemes’ (e.g. morphemes) in the way they resist language decay. To understand the process of language attrition in Gallo, these last two models may not be of any particular help in the data analysis of the questionnaire. But they explain from a different perspective the phenomenon of variability which emerges in dialect obsolescence, variability in use and in form.

#### 1.1.2.2 Wurm (1990) & Fishman (1991)

Among the most common paradigms offered for the analysis of language or dialect decay, Wurm (1990) and Fishman (1991) proposed several levels of language endangerment or language loss (GIDS, graded intergenerational disruption scale) determined by the age of speakers and the domains in which the language or dialect is still used. Fishman distinguishes eight stages, number eight being the closest to language disappearance when only a few speakers are left and no written standard exists. Stages eight through five create the minimal context necessary to revive natural languages. Stage

seven is not much of an improvement: only adults speak the language whereas in stage six the language has an intergenerational use at home and can possibly be transmitted. In stage five, the language is more alive and it includes minority language literacy at home, in the local community and in school, but it has no official recognition. An important separation appears between stages five and four to which Fishman refers as a ‘crucial move’ and when language use is extended to the workplace and government. In stage four, the language progressively gains some official recognition or support and appears to have a more important role in formal education. Stage three represents an improvement in terms of domain as the language variety is heard among employees in lower work spheres and in stage two it enters the sphere of governmental offices as well as the mass media. Reaching higher levels of government in stage one, the language is spoken in higher spheres of education, media and professional life. A minority language reaching the last stage does not ensure the completeness of the language reversal process or the abandonment of language planning strategies.

We observe that stage seven seems to be the closest description to what is truly happening in the Gallo community. Intergenerational exchanges are not in use anymore and have been ‘banned’ from family circles. Interestingly, we notice features originating from other stages (5 and 4). For instance, Gallo is taught in a few schools within the area of Rennes and like other *Oïl* languages, the speech community is trying to gain official recognition from the state introducing the local language in formal domains (media, newspapers, road signs, formal education, etc...).

Wurm (1990) focuses on the type of speakers who use the local variety rather than on the domains in which the language is used. He considers the language to be potentially endangered when the dominant language is preferred by children and the minority language is learned imperfectly (1); it is endangered when the youngest speakers are young adults (very few child speakers) (2); seriously endangered when the youngest speakers are middle-aged or past (3); terminally endangered (moribund) when there are only a few elderly speakers (4), finally the language disappears when no speakers are left (5). These two frameworks may present a certain advantage to measure the stage of decay at which Gallo is situated when investigating the usage (or absence of usage) of the dialect. Considering the type of speakers instead of the domains for which the language is used would be a more efficient way to render the obsolescence of Gallo since the number of areas in which it is spoken remains fairly limited and confined to the locality.

On Wurm's scale (1-5) of language endangerment, we can situate Gallo on the third level given the following characteristics: it is no longer a native language and is no longer learned at home. Furthermore, the youngest speakers are past 40-50 years old with the exception of a small number of students who take a few hours of Gallo each week from elementary school up to high school level.

## 1.2 Gallo: member of the *Oil* varieties

The term *langue d'oïl* refers to the reciprocally intelligible linguistic variants of *romana lingua* spoken since the ninth century in territories now occupied by northern France and part of Belgium (Wallonia). The *Oil languages* are the modern-day descendants evolved in their own way separately from the varieties of the ancient *langue d'oïl*. Five different zones of *Oil* languages have been proposed: Frankish zone; Picard, Walloon, Lorrain, Norman, eastern Champenois; Burgundian zone with Burgundian, Franc-Comtois; Francien zone including varieties of the Île-de-france, Orléanais, Tourain, western Champenois, Berrichon, Bourbonnais; Armorican zone, Gallo, Norman (south of the ligne Joret) and Poitevin-Saintongeais zone after the former provinces of Poitou and Saintonge. Below I include a map from Corbeil's work on *L'Embarras des Langues: Origines, conception et évolution de la politique linguistique québécoise*<sup>1</sup> (2007: 54) for a clear view of the division of regional languages in France in 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

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<sup>1</sup> The Choice of languages: Origins, conception and evolution of the linguistic policy of Québec. Map 1.1 – Corbeil (2007: 54)

Map 1.1 – Corbeil (2007)

## Langues et parlers régionaux



The following section places the obsolescing situation of Gallo within the broader family of *Oïl* varieties (Picard, Norman) and illustrates why and how convergent dialects of French are about to disappear. It is useful at this point to clarify some of the technical terms which frequently appear in this project. The first distinction to be made lies between the French term *dialecte* and its English equivalent ‘dialect’. The first one is strongly linked to the notion of pronunciation. It is unthinkable for a French speaker to use Standard French while speaking with a heavy regional accent, i.e. *accent du midi / sud* (Provençal accent) or Northern accent (for example, *Chtimi*). Standard French inevitably embraces standard pronunciation, a pronunciation with no particular accent. In



contrast, in English, ‘standardness’ does not necessarily involve the way people sound when they speak. For French people, accent is a regional and dialectal marker, when it represents a social marker in English (Pooley, 1996 and Judge, 2007).

### 1.2.1 Dialect vs. *patois*

A second challenge emerges we differentiate between *dialecte* and *patois*. The former is often associated with regional varieties of speech characterized by its own phonological, syntactic and lexical properties. The term *patois* describes a form of speech that is considered non-standard and pejorative. Definitions are numerous and not commonly defined in linguistics.

The ambiguity of the term *patois* might be better understood when considering the relationship between *parler local* (local variety), *dialecte*, *langue régionale*. Hornsby indicates that ‘the dialect brings together the tendencies of individual varieties or patois’ (2006: 23). I show that Gallo, often thought to be a *patois* by many (even within the community), may also be named with terms such as ‘dialect’ or ‘language’:

le gallo parlé en Haute-Bretagne, à l’est d’une ligne St-Brieuc/Vannes a souvent été considéré comme un patois. Il en a résulté que les personnes utilisant le gallo ont souvent intériorisé une image négative de leur langue (Leray, 1996:86) – Gallo spoken in *Haute-Bretagne*, east of the line St-Brieuc/Vannes has often been considered a *patois*. As a result, people speaking Gallo have often internalized a negative image of their language.

Similarly to its Celtic neighbor Breton, the term Gallo is a cover term referring to more than one variety (Chauveau, 1984) and presents an active cultural and literary movement as well as a written tradition (I further discuss this aspect in chapter 2).

The term *dialecte* carries two significations. The original sense refers to local forms of Vulgar Latin (*la langue*), which were spoken in Gaul during the late fifth century and broke down into several varieties of Gallo-Romance: Picard, Champenois, Gascon, Normand, Morvandiau, Poitevin-Saintongeais (see map on p.13). In this case, it takes on the meaning of a supra-norm. The other sense in contrast with the traditional one defines *dialecte* as a variant (often bad) or deviation of Standard French, the accepted norm.

A better understanding of *patois* is possible if one relates this linguistic form to other categories of linguistic varieties. Dialectal French and *patois* are closely related as shown by Pooley with examples from Picard and *Chtimi* (1996) because their grammars share a certain number of features that are not present in Regional French due to the fact that the latter shares common morphology with Standard French. We could say that a *patois* (or *parler local*) describes a highly localized variety of a particular dialect generally spoken by a restricted group of people in a small geographical area, such as a village. Similarly to Picard, Gallo stands for a more general term including several varieties (*parlers locaux/patois*) of the dialect.

As I clarify later in this section, Gallo speakers often refer to their language as a *patois* or ‘bad French’ – *le mauvais français*. Once those terms are defined, the focus can be switched to more general issues regarding the reasons of dialect death in the *Oïl* family

(Pooley 1996, Blanchet 1999, Manzano 2005, Hornsby 2006). In chapter 3, I present the sociolinguistics of the Gallo language and its current status as a regional variety.

### 1.2.2 Dialectal variations in Gallo

The *Pays gallo* is composed of three areas: North, Center and South (which is South of the Loire River). For each region, I give a brief description of locations along with their main morpho-phonological features.

**Map 1.2 – Pays Gallo**



<http://gastropetit.centerblog.net>

On the map above, the numbers correspond to the French *départements* which form the region of Brittany: (1) Côtes d'Armor, (2) Finistère, (3) Ille-et-Vilaine, and (4) Morbihan.

The Northern area includes the following locations: *Pays de Rennes* (North of the city of Rennes), *Dol*, and *Saint-Malo* are situated in Ille-et-Vilaine. *Saint-Brieuc* is the main city in Morbihan and the *Trégor gallo* is also part of the same *département*, on the Western half of Morbihan and close to the linguistic boundary with Breton. The *Cornouaille gallaise* is in Lower-Brittany.

The central part of Gallo Brittany includes the *Vannetais gallo*, south of the Côtes d'Armor, *Pays de Guérand* and *Brière* are located in the *département* of Loire-Atlantique West of Saint-Nazaire. *Pays de la Mée* is South-East of Rennes in Loire-Atlantique, including the city of Châteaubriant.

Finally, the *Pays de Retz and Vignoble* are situated in the southern half of Loire-Atlantique, south of the river Loire. The Gallo variety spoken in the region is influenced by another *Oïl* language, Poitevin-Saintongeais.

#### 1.2.2.1 Northern varieties: Pays de Rennes, Dol, Saint-Malo, Saint-Brieuc, Trégor gallo, Cornouaille gallaise

- Reduction of [è] in the diphthong **èu** in final position  
ex. *chastèu* (*château*, castle)
- reduction of [a] in the diphthong **au** in final position  
ex. *jórnaù* (*journal*, newspaper)
- reduction of [a:] in **alh** in final position, part of masculine nouns  
ex. *travalh* (*travail*, job)

- singular / plural variation

ex. un chapèu, dez chapéaus (*chapeau(x)*, hat, hats)

#### 1.2.2.2 Central varieties: Vannetais gallo, Pays de Guérande, Brière, Pays de la Mée

- [d] instead of [t]

ex. ósdiu / óstiu (*outil*, tool), pidié / pitié, poudr / poutr (*pitié*, pity ; *poutre*, beam)

- [u] instead of [o]

ex. grós / gros, chózz / chozz (*gros*, big / fat; *chose*, thing)

- no singular / plural variation

ex. un chapèu, dez chapèus (*chapeau(x)*, hat, hats)

#### 1.2.2.3 Southern varieties: Pays de Retz, Vignoble

- past participle in [ay]

ex. maunjaé prononcé / mājāy / (*mangé*, eaten)

- use of a vowel instead of a diphthong

ex. pómaér (*pommier*, apple tree)

- [z] instead of [s]

ex. pouzz / poucز (*pouce*, thumb)

- voiced final consonants

ex. nóq / nóç (*auget* / *chêneau*, runnel / gutter)

- [oe] instead of [u] in final position [nom d'agent]  
ex. chauntoer / chauntór (*chanteur*, singer)
- sound [y] for morpheme [ly]  
ex. lievr pronounced [yëv], liaen pronounced [yě] (*lièvre*, hare; *attaché / corde*, link / rope).

We notice from the features given above that several geographical and linguistic variations remain within Gallo. Also, Gallo varies from neighboring varieties such as Norman, Poitevin, Angevin (even though we can find a large number of common features between these dialects). Some instances taken from the *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de la Bretagne romane, de l'Anjou et du Maine*<sup>2</sup> (Chauveau & Guillaume, 1975) are given in (1) - (9) :

- (1) Carte #2 blé / forment => furmā, furmā (wheat)
- (2) Carte #92 engreneur => âgèrnu, âgèrnœr (remove the seeds from...)
- (3) Carte #164 débroussailler => déburàsé (to clear of brushwood)
- (4) Carte #224 bruyère => beryèr, berwèr (heather)
- (5) Carte #276 écosser => égréné < égèrné (to shell)
- (6) Carte #529 ça **bruine** => bèrwin, bèrwé (to rain, light rain)
- (7) Carte #537 la fraîcheur du **soir** => sèrê (evening)
- (8) Carte #579 la bergerie (la maison aux **brebis**) => là mezzo é bèrbi (ewe)
- (9) Carte # 584 grenier => gèrnyé, gèrnyè (attic)

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<sup>2</sup> Linguistic and ethnographic atlas of Romance Brittany, Anjou and Maine.

These items taken from Chauveau & Guillaume (1975) illustrate the linguistic features of Gallo presented above in section 1.2.1.1

### 1.2.3 Standardization of French

Once again, the core of the problem lies in the particularity of French linguistic unification and the history of French language when discussing regional and dialectal French varieties. I believe that to understand and explain why dialect death is inevitable within France and what causes the disappearance of dialects like Gallo, we need to mention the process of standardization of the French language as a part of the ideology of the national norm, two notions which are still strongly supported by French institutions as well as by French people and show no sign of weakening. Unlike its neighboring countries, France based the selection and standardization of its language on political reasons. Later on, I refer in more depth to the evolution of French as a standard and how it acquired legitimacy following Ferguson's model in 1959 (selection of norms, elaboration of function, codification and acceptance of the norm).

#### 1.2.3.1 Origins

Blanchet, Breton & Schiffman (1999) summarize two issues which give a general idea of what the *particularité française*<sup>3</sup> really means. The French state has the most centrist language policy compared to other countries in Europe. All the decisions are made at the center, where French language is located, which in turns affect the periphery (regional,

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<sup>3</sup> The French distinctiveness is its centrist policies which apply to administrations, institutions, and public services as well as linguistics.

dialectal, local varieties, *patois*). It is important to understand that issues and controversies emerge when this centrist perspective, usually applied to banks, post offices, taxes, and administration services, also affects linguistic matters. The uniqueness of French language policy involves the idea that language can be controlled by central decision-making. The attitude of the state towards regional and dialectal varieties of France can be qualified by the terms *centriste* and *dirigiste* (controlling). The creation of the *Académie française* (1635) and the adoption of the *Ordonnance de Villiers-Cotterêts* in 1539 contributed to a general movement towards centralization. Controlling the language from the center succeeded in reducing the use of dialects, but did not completely eradicate the presence of regional languages and traditions in France. People calling for purism defend values such as centrism and standardization to ‘save French from the corruption and perturbations’ (Schiffman, 1999: 7), English and regional languages being part of them.

Historically, the formation of French from the *Francien*<sup>4</sup> variety emerged from political decisions and not from linguistic matters. Unlike the linguistic evolution found in other European countries where Romance languages are spoken (e.g. Spain, Italy, Portugal and Romania) France’s highest authorities and institutions picked one dialectal variety and raised it to the rank of official language of the kingdom elaborating a series of norms and codification processes. *Francien* was preferred to all the other *Oil* languages, Norman and Picard being the most competing ones at the time, as it was already the language of the administration in the region.

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<sup>4</sup> Term used for a specific *langue d’oil* spoken in the Ile-de-France region before the establishment of French as a standard language.



Salhi (2002) details the process of linguistic unification through the centralization of the French State and the progression of linguistic hegemony, of which the *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts* is an earlier stage:

The *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts* is just one of the elements of a whole series of laws and actions that were part of a project begun at the end of the Middle Ages that organized the kingdom around a sole, centralized power (Salhi, 2002: 141).

Quickly, language became an instrument of discrimination nurtured by strong feelings of nationalism. Other measures accelerated the achievement of the project among which are the Abbé Grégoire's report entitled *Sur la nécessité et les moyens d'éradiquer les patois et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue française* - a survey on the necessity and the means to eradicate *patois* and universalize the use of French language (1790-1794), the implementation of compulsory education (public and free) standing against the introduction of regional languages in the national education system and the gradual sentiment of shame and inferiority on the side of *patoisants*<sup>5</sup>.

Later on in section 1.3.3.1, I give an overview of the limits of France's linguistic policy and the position of regional languages after the Jacobin's politics officially started with Grégoire's report. As Salhi observes, it is necessary to adopt a different perspective regarding political decisions on language planning: 'Linguistic policy is an area in which France can no longer function without taking account of views that differ from the traditional attitude, a situation that represents a very new departure' (Salhi, 2002: 35).

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<sup>5</sup> Speakers of a minority language, *patois*.

### 1.2.3.2 Lodge (1993)

In the light of Haugen's (1966) framework of language standardization, I present how this process progressively led to the current situation of dialectal decay in France.

#### 1.2.3.2.1 Selection of norms

Soon after the eighth century, a diglossic situation had emerged in Gaul with the development of many different oral vernaculars and the limited use of Latin to higher and more prestigious functions. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the North<sup>6</sup> the *langues d'oïl* had acquired a certain prestige as they were used in literary manuscripts (e.g. Chrétien de Troyes) and official documents. The other facilitating factor for the selection of a variety was the growing economic and social influence of Paris slowly gaining greater status and respect. Among the northern French vernaculars, one variety (*Francien* spoken in Ile-de- France) was accorded more prestige and started being used in written documents such as the *Oaths of Strasbourg* (842) and literary works, the *Chanson de Roland* (1100), several lives of Saints, *Vie de saint Léger* (10<sup>th</sup> century) and *Vie de Saint Alexis* (11<sup>th</sup> century).

In Southern parts, the *langue d'oc* varieties (Limousin, Auvergnat, Vivaro-Alpin, Languedocien, Gascon, Provençal and Catalan) were also used extensively in both literary and administrative texts around the same period, eleventh and twelfth centuries:

Les troubadours dès le début avaient adopté une sorte de langue commune; de même la langue administrative et juridique des XIIe et XIIIe siècles se caractérise par une grande unité (Huchon, 2002: 69) – very early on, troubadours had adopted a kind of common language; similarly the

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<sup>6</sup> Area in the north West which includes Brittany, Normandy , Picardie,, North of the Loire Region

administrative and juridical language used during the 12th and 13th centuries is characterized by a great unity.

The language of the *troubadours* largely influenced the literature of vernaculars but at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century many poets moved to Italy and Spain and the *langue d'oc* progressively lost its cultural prestige.

During the nineteenth century, *Mireille/Mirèio* by Frédéric Mistral became the most famous work written and published in a regional language (*Provençal*). However, among the northern French vernaculars, one variety (*Francien* spoken in Ile-de- France) was accorded more prestige and started being used in written documents.

#### 1.2.3.2.2 Codification: prescriptive rules

There exists a distinction between *norme* (a norm) and *sur-norme* (the norm), a parallel between *loi* (law) and *règle* (rule) in which the *norme* stands for the implicit compromise allowing mutual intelligibility while the *sur-norme* represents explicit instructions as to which particular items to select (already admitted by the *norme*) (Lodge, 1993: 154-155).

The codification of the linguistic norm is linked to written language and the level of literacy reached by the speech community. Milroy & Milroy (1985) refer to an 'ideology of the standard' as a set of beliefs including uniformity and the validity of a language when the variety has an elaborate writing system and acknowledged literature.

Language codification is a two-sided process with a technical side (unified pronunciation and spelling systems, grammar books and dictionaries) and a social side (identification of members who belong to an elite defending and protecting the most prestigious form of language). Lodge summarizes the work of codification in France in the following words:

crystallisation of the norms of the French standard language which reached its culmination in the eighteenth century no doubt began in the Middle Ages as an informal, unconscious process among the literate members of the community (Lodge, 1993: 157).

To understand the definition of ‘best French’ norm as the result of codification, we need to be aware of the strong desire for uniformity and communication which emerged in the sixteenth century. This movement extended intensively throughout the seventeenth century with constant efforts to enforce a correct usage of the language among native French speakers. Two elements articulate the concept of speaking the purest variety of French. At first, the best form of French was spoken by the ‘best people’ that is the ruling elite and the educated members of the clergy. Later it became the language of reason and clarity and whoever wanted to be understood and taken seriously had to speak the language the proper way. To summarize, the ideology of the standard includes three major factors:

- (1) the belief that only one variety of the language can serve as the standard
- (2) the supremacy of the written language over oral speech
- (3) the legitimacy of this form of language due to its structural superiority over other varieties (clarity, logic, precision, and universality) – I will go back to the notion of legitimacy when referring to the *Charte européenne des langues régionales et minoritaires*.

The ‘real French language’ (Lodge, 1993: 182) is still viewed by many as the formal and written language, a central feature of standard ideology in French. Speakers construe social and cultural conceptions regarding the way their language should be used: status,

quality, value, norms, functions, ownership which guide the users' language behavior and forms of usage. Thus, a written language like French is highly valued and respected for its literature in comparison to a dialect like Gallo, an oral vernacular with very little literature (short stories, anecdotes, songs).

For many users, the standard is the language of modernity and of wider communication whereas the vernacular variety carries strong past and emotional expressions, and therefore does not have the necessary linguistic tools or structures to express ideas in certain domains of modern life. Language ideologies set a stratified system including the 'best languages' associated with power and authority and the 'less adequate' varieties. The main consequence is that language policy and language planning follow linguistic ideologies only aiming at forms of language usage which have been approved by the users. We see that language decline and language loss occur in multilingual contexts in which a language with greater prestige, political and social power take over the domains and functions of a minority language. The language shift phenomenon involves three major steps:

- (1) progressive influence on the minority language through compulsory learning via education and use of the dominant language in public areas
- (2) decreasing number of minority-language speakers
- (3) in the final step, the replacement of the minority language.

Besides the past and current unifying attitude of the state towards linguistic reforms another issue comes into play, which constitutes a direct consequence of the ideology of French norm (in favor of purism and unity but against the recognition of linguistic

variety) enforced by the state. The Jacobin<sup>7</sup> ideology is discussed in the following section.

#### 1.2.3.2.3 The acceptance of the norm and maintenance of the standard

Accepting a code necessarily involves that standardization may be achievable in a written language, but definitely not through a spoken form. The diffusion of the standard language can be either spatial going from the capital to the periphery or functional when the diffusion spreads into different domains of use. In the *langue d'Oïl* area, a gradual convergence took place between the norm of the capital and some of the surviving *patois* and regional varieties were spoken in peripheral areas. The question of causation needs to be taken into consideration when discussing the decay of French dialects. The main factor remains political centralization where all the power is concentrated in one place. Those in favor of this centralist movement claim that every respected nation has to have one unifying language, a fully developed tool of communication. The origin of this way of thinking goes back to the *Ancien Régime* when the goal was to maintain ideological cohesion in the country to avoid social conflicts and linguistically assimilate any potential threats:

le fédéralisme et la superstition parlent bas-breton; l'émigration et la haine de la République parlent allemand; la contre révolution parle italien et le fanatisme parle basque' (Lodge, 1993: 214) - Those in favor of federalism and superstition speak Breton; emigrants and those against the Republic speak German; counter revolutionaries speak Italian and fanatics speak Basque.

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<sup>7</sup> Terms refers to the Jacobin movement which described revolutionary opinions under the Revolution. Its modern meaning refers to the concept of a centralized power concentrated in the national government, at the expense of local or regional governments.

In nineteenth century France, the tendency toward the centralization of political power increased. As a consequence, French is the only language in the nation with an official status, the minority languages are now 'tolerated' after having been proscribed for a century and half due to the Jacobin perspective which popularized the ideology linking language and national identity.

The spread of the *écoles communales* or the education of the masses was a major step towards the progressive standardization (democratization of the language) when Ferry instituted the 'enseignement gratuit, obligatoire et laïc' (free, compulsory and secular schooling). Briefly, other factors contributed to the loss of French dialects such as the shift of population from the country to towns which engendered a language shift from the localized *patois* to normalized speech close to Parisian norms; the spreading of literacy particularly among the middle classes as a major tool to enforce the use of the national norm and the increasing central role of Paris in all societal domains. All these 'unifying efforts' led to the current status of Standard French as a powerful symbol of national identity but also to the eradication of *patois* and minority languages, a sacrifice to be paid to reach linguistic unity.

How does the French state succeed in maintaining the standard norm in a multilingual and multicultural society? Social pressures play a crucial role in cementing - often through permanent tension - linguistic norms or slowing down the maintenance of standardization: pressures promoting the maintenance of the standard as opposed to pressures inhibiting the progress of the standard such as differences in language attitude between men and women, between different social groups and age groups. As I intend to

show in the following chapters, speakers' attitudes towards particular language varieties may lead to the preservation (positive language attitudes) or disappearance (negative language attitudes) of dialectal variations.

Contextual pressures allow speakers to play with different language styles according to the social context. The speaker is aware of which appropriate language to use and that is part of what Hymes terms the 'communicative competence' (Lodge, 1993: 251). Overall, the fundamental principle of the 'ideology of the standard' secures the position of the French norm as a symbol of identity and national unity. Not only the standard was successfully maintained, but the rigid codification of the language and institutional pressures promoting this ideology drastically increased the crystallization of the standard from and simultaneously accelerated the death of dialects.

The building of the ideology of the standard as one of the main tools to 'eradicate' French minorities constitutes another major flaw for the survival of the dialectal variety and a further stage toward linguistic unification. It is therefore a strong linguistic policy towards dialectal obsolescence.

#### 1.2.4 Regional French

##### 1.2.4.1 A tentative definition

Wolf (1972) defines French regional varieties according to their relationship and their status related to the norm. Regional French can be defined based on its *régionalité*<sup>8</sup> and its sociolinguistic subordination to the standard (Wolf uses the term 'koiné' to refer to the dialect of *Francien* which became the norm). Despite the process of 'francisation' in

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<sup>8</sup> Regional importance and impact on the members of that same region.



cities and the constant improvement of the purity of the national language, traces of local dialects are still present in Regional French.

Dauzat (1967) describes the main types of regional French by introducing the characteristics by which they can be identified and differentiated from *patois*. As I illustrate below, the author gives a general and a rather derogatory description of regional varieties:

On appelle ‘français régional’ le français parlé dans une région donnée, plus spécialement par les éléments peu cultivés (Dauzat, 1967: 265) - We call regional French the form of French spoken in a given region, more specifically by individuals with little education.

I briefly summarize the characteristics of regional varieties listed by Dauzat in *Tableau de la langue française: origine, évolution, structure actuelle*<sup>9</sup>. Regional French is spoken around main cities as it spread from centers such as Paris or Lyon and was propagated in the countryside where dialectal varieties were used. This modified form of Standard French is linguistically less distinguishable and independent than dialects. Another feature of regional French is its heterogeneity as regional varieties now tend to get closer to Parisian French:

le français régional n’est plus individualisé que dans les campagnes (il n’y a plus de différence sensible entre le français parlé par la bourgeoisie de Poitiers, Rennes, Caen, Chartres, Bourges, Nevers, Dijon, Epinal, etc.)’ (Dauzat, 1967: 266) - Regional French is individualized only in the countryside (there are no longer clear differences between spoken French used by the *bourgeois* class in Poitiers, Rennes, Caen, Chartres, Bourges, Nevers, Dijon, Epinal, etc.).

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<sup>9</sup> Table of the French language: origin, evolution, current structure.

Pronunciation is one of the most characteristic features of regional French and it has kept a few dialectal features which underwent modifications in contact with French as well as archaisms which are no longer present in standard French. Dauzat claims that regional varieties of French are not socially and culturally as prestigious as the French spoken in the capital: ‘Le français provincial est en retard, plus ou moins, sur le français de Paris’ (Dauzat, 1967: 266) - French from the *province*<sup>10</sup> is more or less behind compared to French language used in Paris. This last remark illustrates very well the negative and simplistic image French people have of linguistic minorities spoken in France. They tend to not differentiate regional French from local varieties and ignore their lexical and cultural richness that was passed on to the language which became the national norm.

In the following section, I present one case of regional French spoken in the northern part of the country, the way it formed and evolved from dialectal varieties.

#### 1.2.4.2 Pooley’s study on *Chtimi* (1996)

Regional French emerged from a contact situation between local varieties and the dominant language: ‘French has become established primarily in urban centers and among the wealthy classes: modified by environmental influences, it constitutes what I shall call Regional French’ (Hornsby, 2006: 3).

Regional French, like the Northern dialects of French, is described in negative terms and speakers of local varieties often suffer from linguistic insecurity related to a stigmatized identity. Hornsby’s work on *Redefining Regional French* (2006) presents more thoroughly the process of dialect death in the Oil family along the lines of Pooley’s

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<sup>10</sup> Area outside of Paris, the rest of France.

*Chtimi, the urban vernaculars of Northern France* (1996). It is interesting to think about Regional French as the result of dialect leveling and koinéization as the result of contact between varieties of the same language, a process through which dialectal differences decrease such as pronunciation and grammatical features (Chambers, Trudgill and Schilling-Estes, 2002). Dialects such as Gallo, Picard or Norman being affected by this phenomenon, it has been asserted that their sub-varieties (or *patois*) are no longer distinct linguistic codes. Therefore, following the example of Chtimi, the hybrid variety of Northern Picard, I later discuss in this section the way Gallo follows a similar path being more and more contaminated by French on one side and pressured by Breton on the other (Chauveau, 1984).

The boundaries between the different categories of linguistic forms are not always easy to identify therefore I opt for Pooley's argument as for the existence of a historical continuity or a continuum between regional French, dialectal French and *patois*:

Standard French -----Regional French ----- Dialectal French ----- *Patois*

Regional French could very well be thought as a dialect and it is perceived as such based on the notion of pronunciation or 'accent':

c'est ce français marqué de régionalismes mais assez facilement décodable par tous, que l'on appelle français régional (Pooley, 1996: 56) - It is this French marked by regionalisms, however easily understandable by all that we call Regional French.

Dialectal French includes a greater number of features of the local variety than regional French. The issue here is to determine when to use the word *patois* to define a dialectal variety since *patois* is a rural variety. The ambiguity lies in the way dialectal forms and

*patois* are construed since we find a clear divergence in perceptions between linguists and the speakers. Finally, the remaining and most affected variety by standardization represents ‘no more than a few isolated pockets of *patoisants*<sup>11</sup> still surviving, and they are without exception bilingual (or bidialectal)’ (Pooley, 1996: 62).

Pooley distinguishes two sets of vernacular norms: *patois* and vernacular French. The use of regional French marks a shift in register and is employed for informal registers whereas standard French is reserved for formal registers. As the limits for the categories within the continuum are not clear-cut, we find also different levels among the use of regionalisms. Here is a list of criteria proposed by Pooley (1996: 58) to differentiate regionalisms:

- (1) regional forms are so widespread that they are not longer felt to be so
- (2) regionalisms which are significantly more frequent than standard French equivalent
- (3) regionalisms which are frequently used but have no standard French equivalent
- (4) regionalisms with no standard French equivalent but are more part of folk memory than everyday usage
- (5) expressions felt by some to be ‘incorrect’ but they are used even by educated speakers
- (6) archaic regionalisms often used jocularly
- (7) old-fashioned expressions that seem to be surviving better in the *Nord-Pas-de-Calais* Region than elsewhere in France

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<sup>11</sup> Speakers of a local variety.

At the individual level, Regional French is ‘what remains of the dialect when the dialect has disappeared’ (Hornsby, 2006: 111). The ideology of the standard is what emerged from the process and led to linguistic insecurity in the North. Similarly to the case of *Chtimi*, Gallo slowly converges with French (not only at the structural level but also at the cultural and identity level). The absence of linguistic identity in regional terms is accentuated by the lack of official recognition of regional varieties by the French State.

In this first chapter, I analyze a recent claim regarding the emergence of Regional French in the case of Gallo as a sign of language obsolescence (Chauveau, 1993 & Walter, 1993). I explore more in depth the reasons why French language policy and language planning differ so radically from other systems. Influenced by the national norm, the *francisisation* of Northern varieties is a sign of convergence and dialect mixing: a process whereby languages mutually borrow morphological and syntactic features in contact induced change and gives birth to regional variety (such as *Chtimi*) often looked down upon by both speakers of Standard French and true *patoisants*. I interpret the emergence of Regional French in the case of Gallo as a sign of language obsolescence and intend to expose in the last section the reasons why French language policy and language planning differ so radically from other European systems. Most importantly is the lack of distinction between the *Oïl* varieties and regional French varieties in people’s minds. The former group constitutes a network of autonomous linguistic systems while the latter represent a mix of local (oral) substrates and French. This confusion is actually justified in the sense that in some cases the languages of *Oïl* became regional French varieties (D’Hervé, 2005 & Pooley, 2006) and the current work done by scholars and

members of the community (teachers, artists, writers...) on a standard orthographic form for Gallo gives evidence that Gallo varieties are no longer distinguishable.

In the second survey published by CREDILIF<sup>12</sup> (*dossier #2*), Blanchet and Walter give a brief overview of the sociolinguistic situation of *Haute-Bretagne* and include a last section on Gallo in contact with French. The research assesses that even though local varieties of Gallo are disappearing, strong evidence of the regional form is actively present in everyday interactions. However, this form of speech influenced by Gallo dialects (lexicon, pronunciation and certain grammatical forms) is constituted for the most part by French elements:

Le ‘français régional’ est alors plutôt, chez ces locuteurs, du mélange tendant fortement vers le pôle français (Blanchet & Walter, 1999: 4) - For these speakers, regional French is rather a mixing which is strongly evolving towards the Standard French side.

The survey also revealed that the expression ‘français régional’ was not used at all and often mistakenly identified as a variant of the dialect or as a *patois*. Therefore, regional French combining obsolescent forms of local dialects and standard French corresponds to a ‘new’ form of speech. To some extent, it marks a certain degree of lexical and syntactic leveling and reduction (retaining only the main features of the dialect) as well as the death of dialectal diversity. This is how Blanchet & Walter defines the concept of regional French:

Au fond, les pratiques linguistiques ne sont jamais du ‘pur’ français ou du ‘pur’ gallo, mais un entre-deux mouvant, tendant parfois vers un pôle, parfois vers l’autre, selon le taux et la visibilité des éléments employés, au

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<sup>12</sup> Centre de Recherche sur la Diversité Linguistique de la Francophonie : it was created in 1996.

gré des situations de communication, comme cela a été analysés pour le poitevin et le picard (Blanchet & Walter, 1999: 4) - In reality linguistic practices are never 'pure' French or 'pure' Gallo, but it is an in-between movement sometimes evolving towards one side sometimes towards the other, following the rate and visibility of used elements, depending on communicative situations as it has been analyzed for *poitevin* and *picard*.

As we saw the notion of regional French is referred to as a 'hybrid' or intermediate form of speech which evolves between local dialects and standard French. It has been noticed that its characteristics can be strongly influenced by the dominant variety making it harder to identify. The pronunciation or the 'accent' of the dialect is usually kept in regional French variants. The next study (Blanchet, 2002) offers an investigation of the perceptions of young speakers on their linguistic practices and how much they are misinformed or for some of them ignore the existence of regional influence in their speech.

#### 1.2.4.3 Blanchet's report (2002)

To discuss this issue from a different angle and a perspective more closely related to Gallo, I refer to Blanchet's study on *Pratiques linguistiques régionales d'élèves du primaire et de collège en zones suburbaines de Bretagne gallo*<sup>13</sup> (2002). The case study was conducted in primary and junior high schools in *Haute-Bretagne* among students living in two towns outside of the suburbs surrounding Rennes, Cesson-Sévigné and Cruz. In addition to the linguistic attitudes of the informants, Blanchet took into account sociolinguistic and communicative parameters to analyze the use of regional or local

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<sup>13</sup> Regional linguistic practices by students in elementary and middle schools in suburban areas of High Brittany.

French. Blanchet demonstrates that children at school are not aware of the existence of the Gallo dialect or that they ignore the word for it even though their speech appears to be influenced by regional and dialectal features.

Most of them are conscious that their speech is different from standard French and sometimes refer to the regional pronunciation/accent or expressions as a slang variety or the language variety spoken in the *banlieue*<sup>14</sup> (Blanchet, 2002).

#### 1.2.4.3.1 The method

The linguist observed the children in two distinct contexts, in the classroom and on the playground. His research aimed for written and oral production:

*Préparez et jouez une saynète, par groupe de trois. La scène se passe au marché de la ville où se situe l'école, avec un marchand (ou agriculteur) et deux clients (un postier et un médecin)* (Blanchet, 2002: 6) – ‘prepare and perform a short scene in groups of three. This conversation occurs at the market in town (where the school is) between a merchant (or farmer) and two customers (a mailman and a doctor)’.

- *Imaginez et écrivez un dialogue entre un personnage qui utilise un langage soutenu et un autre personnage qui utilise un langage local* (Blanchet, 2002: 6) – ‘imagine and write a dialogue between a person who uses formal language and another speaker who uses a local language’.

At the end of the study, Blanchet proposed a questionnaire to evaluate the students’ linguistic competence in the regional variety. They were asked to link an expression (known as being regional or local) to the correct explanation. Interviews were made with

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<sup>14</sup> Poor suburbs outside of main French cities.



some students in order to develop or check what had been discovered earlier about their linguistic proficiency. It is worth noticing that some fieldworkers introduced themselves as students and others as linguists.

#### 1.2.4.3.2 Results

Students associate regional expressions (part of the questionnaire) to different registers of French. The vast majority is not aware of the existence of the Gallo language, although they do know that their speech is not standard French: ‘on parle français à notre façon; ...mal français’ (Blanchet, 2002: 9) – we speak French our way; bad French.

The productions, especially the *saynète* they were asked to act out, clearly show that the students associate the Gallo regional variety to specific phonological traits (for example, back vowels /a/ and /o/ pronounced further back than in standard French) and semantic forms. They use local expressions such as *dame bon diou!* (a common expression used for swearing), *l’paysan* (the peasant), and change their pronunciation to make it sound more ‘local’ for instance adding the alveolar trill (rolled ‘r’). This speech is often related to *le paysan* or *fermier*, *agriculteur* (farmer, agriculturist), never to *le fonctionnaire*, *l’huissier*, *le médecin* (civil servant, bailiff, doctor). Finally, students have a tendency to mix up what is known as the ‘langue des jeunes’ (language of young people) and the regional variety. For instance, *j’me la joue* (to express a feeling of pride); *trop d’la balle* (slang expression for appreciation) were classified as forms taken from the local variety and not as expressions used by young people in the *cit  * (term equivalent to *banlieue*). The questionnaire is based on two main questions: the first question deals with the type of

language which is spoken in the region, and the second one investigates whether the informant shows a passive or an active linguistic competence of the dialect.

As stated above, 60% of the students cannot identify the language used in their region, and call it ‘français à notre façon’ (the French our way): ‘Le terme gallo n’est, du reste, quasiment jamais cité, mais plutôt ‘patois’, et cela chez les élèves de Bruz uniquement’ (Blanchet, 2002: 9) - The term Gallo is actually hardly ever used, but ‘patois’ is, and this occurs only with students from Bruz.

The informants relate the term Gallo to the notion of *langue régionale*. Idiomatic forms such as *il braille* (‘pleurer, se plaindre’ - he complains); *bouiner* (‘ne rien faire d’important’ – to do nothing important); *il a de la goule* are interpreted in their local meaning. As for the linguistic competence, none of the students have an active competence of Gallo: they repeat expressions that are commonly used among their friends or family. The linguistic competence is obviously passive among these speakers.

In section 5.2.3 of chapter five, I detail the questions from Blanchet’s report and analyze the informants’ expressions of linguistic insecurity in relationship with the notion of Gallo identity.

#### 1.2.4.3.3 Conclusion

Regional linguistic forms occur during informal interactions, mainly outside of class (on the playground or outside of school with friends), and students are not always aware of this usage. Blanchet noticed a difference between Cesson-Sévigné and Cruz in the use of the regional variety. Bruz is where he found a wider usage of Gallo expressions. One of

the reasons appears to be the location of the town further away from the major city, Rennes, and closer to the countryside.

Linguistic insecurity appears to be another factor. Children coming from a more ‘rural’ background have more difficulties to adapt themselves and choose the right variety to interact with their classmates inside the classroom. Often their speech is stigmatized and ridiculed. In general, Blanchet’s report emphasizes contact phenomena between regional varieties and normative linguistic practices at school (*primaire* - elementary school, lycée - high school), and opens up the discussion about which teaching methodology should be used in this linguistic environment.

### 1.3 Language Policy in France: recent measures

#### 1.3.1 A selected language promotion

Recently, on July 21<sup>st</sup> 2008 the French government voted in favor of institutional reforms in the Constitution. Among those was the proposition to add an amendment in favor of the recognition of regional languages by the state: *Les langues régionales appartiennent au patrimoine*<sup>15</sup> *de la Nation* – Regional languages belong to French heritage. After numerous debates and rejections, this amendment finally was voted and approved in May 2008 by representatives. This latest decision is not the first attempt to ‘protect’ or acknowledge the existence of regional languages. Previous reforms or laws were adopted among them the Deixonne law in 1951 which allowed regional languages into the classroom and the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages marked attempts to legislatively promote languages such as Breton, Basque, Alsatian, Corsican, while keeping in mind that similar efforts failed for dialects. The Deixonne Law authorizes the usage (teaching and learning) of local languages and dialects from elementary school up to college in relation with regional or local art, culture and folklore. As mentioned earlier, all these attempts are often ignored and their implementation rejected due to ‘French centralism’. Articles 1 and 2 of the French Constitution stipulate that French is the only official language in the nation:

‘La langue de la république est le français’ (article 2) – The language of the Republic is French; ‘La France est une république indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale’ - (article 1 of 1958 Constitution) - France is an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic.

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<sup>2</sup> French cultural and historical heritage.

France does not recognize the existence of minorities (ethnic, religious or linguistic) on its territory. Allowing the recognition of minority and regional languages would contradict the linguistic status of French language and maybe for some purists it would threaten its legitimacy. The Parliament has not yet ratified the *Charte européenne des langues régionales et minoritaires* which was signed in 1999 by France.

### 1.3.2 Limits of France's linguistic policy

Laws and official reforms alone are often insufficient without regular and sincere efforts at the community level (Dorian, 1987) and Salhi (2002) brings the debate a step further when writing: 'The inevitable failure of the current policy might be the only chance for the French language to survive' (Salhi, 2002: 165).

To the concept of French centralism, we should mention France's indifference to different forms of minority on its territory (religious, linguistic, cultural), as it contradicts the State's effort to implement integration, unity and equality. Diversity in linguistic and cultural identity need to be put aside to facilitate the blending and harmonizing of cultures and the language functions as a 'cement' to build the French society. When the preservation of regional and minority speech groups is at play, identity stands out as the crucial factor for the success of linguistic planning measures.

In chapter four regarding identity and revitalization, I offer several options to maintain and maybe preserve Gallo via the promotion of the linguistic variety as part of the culture but also through fostering language transmission within the family, encouraging bilingual education, and most importantly promoting positive linguistic attitudes among speakers

by associating language planning with identity planning (Pool 1979, Jones & Singh 2005, Grenoble & Whaley 2006, Judge 2007).

*La Charte européenne des langues régionales et minoritaires* proposed by the Council of Europe<sup>16</sup> in 1992 in Strasbourg and the Poignant's Report on regional languages and cultures of France (1998) constitute two main texts whose goal is to protect regional languages as a part of the European heritage. I summarize the mission of the *Charte* and that of the report (in section 1.3.3.2) respectively before discussing their weaknesses. The *Charte*'s preamble exposes four major points or objectives. First, it aims for the protection of regional languages or linguistic minorities which are obsolescing varieties and are threatened to disappear so that the maintenance and preservation of European traditions and cultures can be saved. The *Charte* declares the right to practice freely a regional or minority language in private and public life. We understand now how this last point stands in contradiction with France's linguistic policy on linguistic practices issues. Intercultural and multilingual values should not be developed at the expense of the official language(s) and the necessity to learn it/them. Overall, the protection and the promotion of these linguistic varieties participate in the construction of the European Union, a union based on democratic principles and cultural diversity. In section 1.3.3, I present critical reactions regarding the mission of the *Charte* and the protection of minority languages.

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<sup>16</sup> Conseil de l'Europe – the oldest international organization. It was founded in 1949 and has a particular emphasis on legal standards, human rights, democratic development, the rule of law and cultural co-operation.

### 1.3.3 Debate about the *Charte*

#### 1.3.3.1 Presentation

Seventeen countries signed the document which was adopted in November 1992 and it took effect in March 1998 when Switzerland became the fifth member of the Council of Europe to ratify it. The *Charte européenne des langues régionales et minoritaires* defends and facilitates the acceptance and the use of regional and minority languages in different domains of public life (education, administration and justice). The position of France has been unclear from the beginning. The French State first refused to sign the document as it appeared to be incompatible with the second article of the French Constitution stating that French language is the only language of the Republic. The *Charte*, a potential threat to the identity of France, was never ratified.

The structure of the *Charte* (Salhi, 2002: 82) is divided into three parts

- (1) part I gives a definition of the term ‘regional or minority languages’
- (2) part II develops the principles and aims in respect of the acceptance of all regional languages spoken within the state
- (3) part III elaborates the measures needed to promote certain regional or minority languages.

According to the definition given in Article 1 of the *Charte*, ‘languages that are traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State and different from the official language(s) of that State’ (Salhi, 2002: 84) fall under part II and benefit from the protection of the *Charte*, i.e. equal status in all domains.

The framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (1994) is composed of 32 articles and was signed by all member countries except France, Belgium and Greece. It recognizes the right to freedom of expression in a minority language by national minorities, freedom of use in private and public spheres, orally and in writing, and the right to learn and be taught in the minority language. France's approach to linguistic minorities consists in the constant effort to maintain the supremacy of French with the implementation of prescriptive rules. Abbé Grégoire's survey entitled *Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'éradiquer les patois et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue française* is a clear illustration of the French linguistic policy: a survey on the necessity and the means to eradicate *patois* and universalize the use of French language. The following laws and actions constitute a more favorable progress towards the protection of regional and minority varieties. I summarize the main ones:

(1) *Loi Deixonne* (1951) introduced local languages and regional minorities in school at the elementary level and applied only to four languages at first (Breton, Basque, Catalan and Occitan) and Gallo was added 1988 along with Alsatian.

(2) *Loi Haby* (1975) offered an optional teaching of regional languages at all levels, but did not include Gallo and the other *oïl* languages.

(3) *Circulaire Bayrou* aims at the transmission of regional languages and culture to preserve France's heritage; whereas the *Loi Toubon* (1994) defends French usage and protects it from the intrusion of English. Along with the *Loi Bas-Lauriol* (1975), the latter only aims for the defense of French language.



The signing and ratification of the *Charte* by France seems to be a symbolic step for the state contradicting the very fundamentals of the republic. In the past, divergence emerged among the political classes. In 1996, President Jacques Chirac approved France signing the document in favor of regional and minority languages. However, his Prime Minister, Alain Juppé at the time, declared the incompatibility between the Constitution and the *Charte*. Chronologically, in 1998, the Prime Minister Lionel Jospin introduced the Poignant Report, which was in favor of an official recognition by the state of France's regional languages and their conservation. In 1999, Bernard Cerquiglini published a report entitled *Les langues de France*, on the 75 languages spoken within French territory including the DOM-TOM<sup>17</sup>. Unfortunately, very few have been officially recognized as part of French culture and historical heritage. Gallo appears in the report and the author justifies his choice recalling the gap separating French and the languages of *Oïl* in section 4 entitled 'Les dialectes de la langue officielle'<sup>18</sup>:

Il en découle également que l'écart n'a cessé de se creuser entre le français et les variétés de la langue d'oïl, que l'on ne saurait considérer aujourd'hui comme des "dialectes du français"; franc-comtois, wallon, picard, normand, gallo, poitevin-saintongeais, bourguignon-morvandiau, lorrain doivent être retenus parmi les langues régionales de France; on les qualifiera dès lors de 'langues d'oïl', en les rangeant dans la liste (Cerquiglini, 1999: 6) - As a result, a gap between French and *Oïl* varieties has continuously increased so that it is impossible now to think about them as 'dialects of French'; Franc-Comtois, Wallon, Picard, Normand, Gallo, Poitevin-Saintongeais, Bourguignon-Morvandiau, Lorrain must remain

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<sup>17</sup> Départements et territoires d'Outre-Mer – French overseas territories

<sup>18</sup> Dialects of the official language.

among the regional languages of France; they will be referred to as 'langues d'oïl' and included in that list'.

The final decision made by the *Conseil Constitutionnel* in June 1999 claimed that a certain number of articles from the *Charte* were incompatible with the constitution. Some political figures such as Chevènement and Debray, who were ministers under President Jacques Chirac, started using the expression *balkanisation* of France referring to a form of separatism and fueling again the debate on the necessity to enforcing the use of French in all aspects of society.

For a better understanding of the arguments approving or disapproving of the *Charte*, we need to mention the concepts underlying the opposition between two political groups, the *Jacobins* and the *Girondins* born during the French Revolution. The distinction lies in two radically different conceptions of governmental power: on one side, the idea of a centralized state (Jacobinism) and on the other a less fixed and rigid, decentralized government (Girondism). Slowly, France became unified and evolved into a more secular state. Under Napoleon, the state acquired a unified legal and administrative system.

The unification process leading to linguistic unification was one of the main factors preventing the ratification of the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 1999. Opponents of the *Charte* reject the traditional Jacobin ideas of the French Republic, against globalization (*la pensée unique*) and the disintegration of the French State what some referred to as the *balkanisation* of France. Standing against the *Charte* does not necessarily imply adopting a negative attitude towards regional languages; however most political parties refuse to endanger the fundamental principles of the Nation (for instance, President Chirac). Being in favor of the *Charte* implies two outcomes in the ratification

of the document. First, the official recognition of the existence of regional languages within France and second the adoption of a new legislation urging for the translation of official documents (e.g. health and safety notices) so that they are available in regional languages. In reality, neither of these positions is right since the French State has not ratified articles (9, 10 and 13) related to judicial and administrative authorities, public services, and economic and social life. Other issues have been debated including the status of language varieties such as Dialectal Arabic, Berber spoken in France and languages of the *DOM-TOM* questioning the possibility that they would fall under the protection of the *Charte*. I intend to present the Poignant's report and conclude this chapter by giving an overview of today's language policies and aftermath of the debate.

#### 1.3.3.2 Poche (2000)

The measures proposed in the *Charte* seem to be difficult to apply as they focused a lot more on acquiring the language (mainly at school) than on the promotion of the culture, which would correspond to everyday practices. Unlike the *Charte*, Poignant's text does hold the teaching of the language as a major issue. It adopts a different perspective by stressing out the importance of cultural practices to preserve the speech variety:

nos langues et cultures régionales sont aussi notre patrimoine commun, une partie du patrimoine de l'humanité (Poche, 2000: 132) - Our regional languages and cultures are also part of a common heritage, one part of the world's heritage.

Its pessimistic view regarding the future of *Oïl* languages is another distinction from the *Charte*. The report insists on the fact that these varieties have disappeared, and what remains of them is largely influenced by French:

Tout en notant un réveil culturel de ces langues au niveau universitaire, le rapport considère les langues d'oïl comme étant intimement liées à l'enseignement du français (D'Hervé, 2005: 265) - While noticing a cultural awakening of those languages at the college level, the report shows the close relationship between the *Oïl* languages and the teaching of French language.

In a sense, the protection of historical monuments by the French government and the attention brought to our linguistic heritage should not prevent us from rethinking and accepting French cultural diversity. The other point made in the report is a clear call for the signature and ratification of the *Charte*.

#### 1.3.3.3 Bollmann (2001)

Bollmann's very critical view of the *Charte* sheds a different light on the issues underlying the application of the text. The author reminds us that the French State denies the existence of ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities inside the territory and presents itself as an indivisible, secular, democratic and social Republic. The recent recognition of existing regional languages in France by governmental representatives does not assure an equal treatment for each. It has been pointed out that there exist several incompatibilities between the measures presented in the *Charte* and French linguistic policies (Bollmann, 2001). Language and legitimacy forms a relationship which, in the case of French, has become so internalized by French natives that it is now natural and self-evident.

Little room is left for the recognition of other varieties spoken in the country. As explained earlier, the prestige status of French assures its legitimacy in every domain of private and public life and prevents regional or dialectal varieties from gaining a positive image among the community.

Other factors are necessary to help in the process of language revival. First of all, speakers need to gain or regain confidence in their own language and their cultural heritage. The transmission of the language via educational institutions has to be assured. A radical change in the perception of the dialectal or regional identity (positive asset, bilingualism, richness) is necessary to increase the motivation and attractiveness to learn the language. The recognition of linguistic independence motivated by cultural or emotional factors helps enforcing linguistic security, especially among younger generations. For a long time, minority language users have been lacking linguistic confidence in their language and cultural heritage, tacitly agreeing on the acceptance of the depreciation of their own speech by others. At the same time, the development and diffusion of printed works (dictionaries, textbooks, books for children) is inevitable in the process of language planning (corpus planning) and standardization of the language (normalization of spelling, grammar, orthography). There remain several issues regarding the *Charte européenne des langues régionales et minoritaires* concerning the meaning of the term ‘linguistic territory’ and the notion of ownership of the language.

#### 1.3.4 Today's policies: after the debate

There appears to be an increasing awareness of and positive value attributed to minority languages in France. For instance, the promotion of the concept of *Francophonie*<sup>19</sup> with the introduction of foreign languages at school (two minimum are acquired) and the use of technology to acquire other languages show the necessity to increase the size of the French network. Efforts to defend the value of regional languages starting with the development of teaching programs for regional varieties would show that French is not in decline. Jack Lang, previous Minister of Education, supported regional languages and their presence (teaching) at school going as far as wishing the implementation of the *Charte*. At a non-state level, we observe real progress in favor of linguistic minorities (e.g. the creation of the Breton Language Bureau or *Office de la langue bretonne* in the Spring 1999) and strong signs of change in linguistic police-making in Brittany (*Diwan* schools, positive identity values). Most of those measures and efforts originate from local or regional associations or schools, even though separate funds are sometimes provided for regional languages by the regional authorities.

Schools which offer courses on regional languages are secular and democratic which constitute a positive perspective for the insertion of linguistic minorities in the educational system. Regional cultural movement helps promote the ratification of the *Charte* and the majority of political figures in Brittany (Poignant, Le Drian, and Cozan) are in favor of the promotion of minority and regional languages. It is important to mention that not all supporters of the *Charte* are regionalist, it is possible to be Breton and French at the same time and multiculturalism can coexist with the idea of a unified

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<sup>19</sup> French-speaking communities.

nation without being seen as a threat or interfering with the main culture. We notice how politicians from different parties or political movements insist on cultural diversity and liberty when supporting regional languages; which represents a great compromise when facing the values of national unity. Unfortunately, this does not guarantee the disappearance of the Jacobin way of thinking (*l'esprit jacobin*), but it definitely shows its decline. Recently, there has been a growing awareness of the importance of minority languages in France as part of the French heritage.

Finally, the French State adopted a favorable position towards the conservation and official recognition of the existence of those languages as a part of the national heritage. However, the government refuses to participate into the promotion of linguistic minorities, which is an improvement proposed by the *Charte*. Those in favor think that the debate on conservation symbolizes a progression towards the preservation of minority language. But a revitalization process is unthinkable as it would contradict the fundamental principles of the French Republic. Salhi (2002) uses the word *dérapiage* (a mistake) to describe 'the break-up of a country built on the principle of equality rather than freedom' (Salhi, 2002: 72). The French state adopted a contradictory position by rejecting the ratification of the *Charte* while engaging in the recognition of its regional and minority languages.

## 1.4 Conclusion

After defining the major notions related to language death and presenting four different authoritative models in the field of language obsolescence in section 1.1, I moved to a more specific discussion on Gallo language to illustrate its dialectal variations within the *Oïl* family and the way they are categorized as dialects or *patois*. I first clarified the difference between the French term *dialecte* and its English equivalent by using Hornsby's study on Picard regional variety (2006) and Pooley (1996). The other terminological difficulty is to provide a clear definition of the term *patois* which often carries a pejorative meaning and express a negative perception of the speech community. In section 1.2, I exposed the stages of standardization of French presented by Lodge (1993): selection of norms, codification, acceptance of the norm, and maintenance of the standard (1.2.2) and in section 1.2.3, I referred to two studies by Pooley (1996) on *Chtimi, the urban vernaculars of Northern France* and by Blanchet (2002) on Gallo, *Pratiques linguistiques régionales d'élèves du primaire et de collège en zones suburbaines de Bretagne gallo*<sup>20</sup>. Both studies assess that regional languages result from dialectal leveling. The findings from Blanchet's report show that students do not make the distinction between regional expressions and accents related to the different registers of French. Some informants from a more 'rural' background avoid using words, expressions and even pronunciations they are familiar with to interact with and be accepted by their classmates.

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<sup>20</sup> 'Regional linguistic practices of students in elementary and middle schools in suburban areas of High Brittany'.



In section 1.3, I insisted on recent measures taken by the French government to improve language policy looking at two sources to discuss the debate on the *La Charte européenne des langues régionales et minoritaires*. Poche (2000) and Bollman (2001) criticize the *Charte* and demonstrate its incompatibility with the French Constitution. In the sub-section 1.3.4, today's policies on the linguistic landscape of France progressively recognize the existence of regional traditions and cultures. In the following chapter, I center the discussion on the Gallo language, its varieties, its characteristics and its current place in the educational system.

## Chapter 2

### Gallo: Descriptive Summary

#### 2.0 Introduction

In chapter one, I have recaptured some of the main concepts of language death to understand the present status of the Gallo variety in France. I showed that standardization of French and the decline of regional dialects evolved simultaneously strongly helped by the imposing role of the French state on that matter. Until recently, linguistic policy was clearly against the recognition of regional varieties spoken in France.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 2.1 briefly presents the region of *Bretagne*. Section 2.2 provides an overview of the origins of the Gallo language. Section 2.3 gives the background of France's unique language policy, which I mentioned in chapter one, section 1.3. Section 2.4 and 2.5 focuses on the Gallo language specifically and highlights the more influential orthographic attempts to preserve the language in order to make it accessible to all learners. Section 2.5 discusses the place of Gallo in French educational system, the way it is taught and the limits of its teaching in public schools. In section 2.6 I review two case studies conducted on the elaboration of language programs for classroom environment, one in the *Basse-Bretagne* territory where Breton is still active and the other one in Normandy (*Nord-Cotentin*) where the local variety, Norman, has been the focus of the school system in that region. Section 2.7 concludes with a summary.

## 2.1 Geography of *Bretagne*

Historically, Brittany (*la Bretagne*) constituted a vast cultural area that is still very much alive today and corresponds roughly to five *départements*<sup>21</sup> which are part of two contemporary administrative regions: Finistère, Morbihan, Côtes d'Armor, Ille-et-Vilaine (Bretagne), and Loire-Atlantique (Pays-de-la Loire). This latter was integrated into the administrative region of Loire later. In this study, I will distinguish *Haute-Bretagne* (High Brittany) from *Basse-Bretagne* (Lower Brittany) to differentiate the Gallo-speaking area from the Breton-speaking area. What linguists refer to as *Haute-Bretagne* covers the *départements* of Ille-et-Vilaine and Loire Atlantique as well as the eastern parts of Morbihan and Côtes d'Armor (the West side being *bretonnant*<sup>22</sup>).

The two maps below show respectively the Briton settlements in the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. and a closer view of the Roman geographical area of Armorica (the Seine and Loire rivers are marked in red in map 2.2).

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<sup>21</sup> Each region is divided in several areas corresponding to administrative territories (*circonscription*)

<sup>22</sup> Breton-speaking area.

## Map 2.1 – Breton settlements



[http://wwwcrdp.ac-rennes.fr/crdp\\_dossiers/dossiers/gallo/langue/accueil.htm](http://wwwcrdp.ac-rennes.fr/crdp_dossiers/dossiers/gallo/langue/accueil.htm)

## Map 2.2 – Breton Peninsula



[http://wwwcrdp.ac-rennes.fr/crdp\\_dossiers/dossiers/gallo/langue/accueil.htm](http://wwwcrdp.ac-rennes.fr/crdp_dossiers/dossiers/gallo/langue/accueil.htm)

## 2.2 Emergence of Gallo

The Gallo-Romance variety emerged from Latin (VulgarLatin) and includes French or *langue d'oïl*, Occitan or *langue d'oc* and Francoprovençal<sup>23</sup>. Here is a presentation of the Gallo-roman subgroups:

- (1) Northern Gallo-romance variety which includes French and dialects of *Oïl*, Francoprovençal ou Arpitan.
- (2) Southern Gallo-romance group which includes the Ibéro-Romance variety spoken in Spain, Portugal and Andorra.
- (3) Middle Occitan: Languedocien, Provençal
- (4) Northern Occitan (Limousin, Auvergnat), gascon, catalan
- (5) Rhéto-Romance group which includes Romanche, Ladin, Frioulan, Northern Italian and the Piedmont variety.

The term *langue d'oïl* was first used in the 12th century, referring to the Old French linguistic grouping noted above. In the 14th century, the Italian poet Dante<sup>24</sup> mentioned the distinction between three classes of Romance languages: 'nam alii oc, alii si, alii vero dicunt oïl' (some say 'oc', others say 'si', others say 'oïl'), the *Oc languages* (in southern France), *Si languages* (in Italy and Iberia) and *Oïl languages* (in northern France). In the singular form the term *langue d'oïl* is the equivalent of 'French language' which implies that the varieties of *Oïl* are dialects derived from French. This definition remains imprecise and is often the source of confusion and misunderstanding. The plural form of

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<sup>23</sup> Variety spoken in the Eastern part of France (Savoie, Lyonnais, Dauphiné), Italy (Piedmont, Aosta Valley) and Switzerland.

<sup>24</sup> *De vulgari eloquentia*.

the term *langues d'oïl* refers to the distinct languages part of that linguistic domain: Berrichon, Bourguignon-morvandiau, Champenois, Franc-comtois, French, Gallo, Lorrain, Mayennais, Norman, Picard, Poitevin-saintongeais. In this context, a *langue d'oïl* in the singular form designates one of the languages from that linguistic group. This second position has been recently adopted and competes with the former one.

The Northern branch of the Gallo-Romance family retained a more important Celtic substratum than the Southern branch due to a wider and intensive Romanisation in the Mediterranean area for economic and geographic reasons. Gallo-roman varieties pushed back the presence of Breton<sup>25</sup> to the West coast where it had been used since the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D (Chauveau & Gabriel, 1975). The Breton population that settled in *Armorique*<sup>26</sup> since the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Petrella, 1978) was slowly pushed further West by Gallo-Roman-speaking communities. The Gallo variety among other *Oïl* varieties was actively present and widely used as it was the native tongue of the eastern half of the Breton peninsula, including the Duchy's main population centers and the capital cities of Nantes and Rennes. Meic (1976) describes the linguistic situation of Brittany as follows:

The language (*brezhoneg*) is spoken, for the most part, to the west of a line from Plouha on the northern coast through Pontivy to Vannes (*Gwened*) on the southern coast, over a region known as *Basse-Bretagne* or Lower Brittany (*Breizh Izel*) which includes Finistère (*Penn ar Bed*) and the western parts of Côtes-du-Nord (*Aodau an Hanternoz*) and Morbihan,

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<sup>25</sup> Breton is one of the languages of the Brythonic branch which also includes Welsh, Cornish and Cumbric.

<sup>26</sup> Armorica or Aremorica is the ancient Gaulish name given to the part of Gaul that includes the peninsula of Brittany, 'place by the Sea'.

some 6000 communes in all. To the east of the line, in *Haute-Bretagne* or Upper Brittany (*Breizh Uhel*), the language spoken is French and the Gallo dialects; since the ninth century the Breton language has lost about half of its territory, the linguistic border continuously moving west (Meic, 1976: 362).

The following map indicates the linguistic frontier between Western Brittany and Eastern Brittany.

**Map 2.3 – Basse Bretagne and Haute Bretagne<sup>27</sup>**



[http://www.crdp.ac-rennes.fr/crdp\\_dossiers/dossiers/gallo/langue/accueil.htm](http://www.crdp.ac-rennes.fr/crdp_dossiers/dossiers/gallo/langue/accueil.htm)

The other interesting dimension when studying Gallo is the role that Breton language and culture played in this geographical area (Falc'hun, 1963 & Fleuriot, 1980), and the way these two communities have coexisted since the Middle-Ages. During the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in 1358, we find assessment of the existence of a '*Bretaigne guallou*' in the correspondence between the Duke of Brittany, Charles de Blois, and Georges Gicquel (Bourel, 2001: 5). At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century a second assessment regarding the geographic and linguistic distinction of Brittany is given by Jean IV, Duke of Brittany, to his

<sup>27</sup> West Brittany and East Brittany.

ambassadors under the expressions ‘*Bretaigne gualou*’ and ‘*Bretagne bretonnante*’ (Bourel: 6). In 1430, a similar distinction is made by Jean Mauléon, paymaster general of Brittany. This time the form ‘*gualou*’ is replaced by the modern one ‘*gallo*’.

Fleuriot’s work on *Les origines de la Bretagne* (1980) focuses on the status of Breton in *Armorique*<sup>28</sup> after the collapse of the Roman Empire and its relationship first with Latin and later with Gallo-Romance varieties. He analyzes primarily the lexicon and phonological features of the Breton language and the way it modified in different contact situations. Fleuriot gives a very descriptive and detailed picture of emigration waves between the third and fifth centuries of Celtic communities to Brittany. Falc’hun (1963) presents a wider study of the history of Breton language relying on what he calls linguistic geography. The regional atlas allows him to date and interpret the ‘colonization’ of Brittany. In the third, fourth, and fifth sections of his work Falc’hun lists the phonetic, morphological and lexical characteristics of the language.

A third source on the Breton community (Meic, 1976) provides very detailed background information on the origins of the Breton people and the history of the territory. I summarize below some of the main points that Stephen Meic explored in his work *Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe*. The history of the Breton people began in Britain and up to the 5<sup>th</sup> century the area of Brittany or Armorica (*Armorique*) was occupied by Gaulish tribes. In the middle of 9<sup>th</sup> century the independence of Brittany was proclaimed and for six centuries the territory remained independent. As for the language, there was also a linguistic unity during that period:

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<sup>28</sup> Term refers to the territory of Brittany (*Bretagne historique*) as it were until the French Revolution.



the Breton language, however, was never spoken to the east of what is now known as ‘the Loth line’ (after the eminent scholar Joseph Loth of the nineteenth century) which ran from the estuary of the river Couesnon, where Mont St Michel stands, to Pornic on the southern coast near the mouth of the river Loire; for this reason the towns of Rennes and Mantes have never been Breton-speaking (Meic, 1976: 365).

During the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, linguistic changes occurred due to English influence in Brittany and the Norman-speaking aristocracy. As a result Breton was pushed further west: ‘Never again was Breton to be the language of the country’s governing elite’ (Meic: 366) and in 1488 was the end of Brittany’s independence. About three hundred years later the revolution was accepted readily and during the nineteenth century several cultural and regionalist organizations appeared such as the *Association Bretonne* founded in 1843, the *Union Régionaliste Bretonne* (1898) to preserve the unity of Brittany: ‘All who demanded some kind of political autonomy for Brittany were supporters of the language’ (Meic, 1976: 374).

During World War II, Breton movements were accused of fascism and collaboration with Nazi Germany. The French State decided to take actions and arrested active members of the PNB<sup>29</sup> ‘for making propaganda likely to endanger the unity of France’ (Meic, 1976: 377). In the 1970’s different political figures publicly recognized the importance of regional diversity. For instance, Georges Marchais, general secretary of the French Communist Party, declared in Rennes in 1974 that ‘the regional languages must live where they correspond to historical and social reality’ (Meic, 1976: 390). Along

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<sup>29</sup> *Parti National Breton* came together in 1919 and soon started favoring the idea of a federal Europe, designed to secure autonomy for minorities.

those lines François Mitterrand<sup>30</sup> assessed in similar fashion that ‘the presence of diverse cultures on French territory is an asset and that their uniformisation must be combated’ (Meic, 1976: 391). Valéry Giscard D’Estaing<sup>31</sup> who actually declared being in favor of regional languages had a somewhat vaguer stance when he added that ‘their promotion must never threaten national unity’ (Meic, 1976: 391). In 1972, President Pompidou announced that ‘there is no room for regional languages in a France destined to mark Europe with its seal!’ (Meic, 1976: 391) breaking at the same time previous election promises expressed to preserve regional traditions and cultures.

The socio-economic situation today in Brittany is based on tourism mainly which brings income during the summer months. The other financial sources in the region are agriculture and industry which progressively weaken in central Brittany like in the *Côtes d’Armor* and *Morbihan* as they are threatened by governmental policies.

Chevalier (2007), Manzano (2003), and Dorian (1989) emphasize the difficult situation of Gallo speakers, stigmatized on the one hand by the state for not speaking ‘proper’ French (the norm) and by the Breton population on the other hand for lacking true Breton identity. We find very little information regarding the evolution of the dialect and literary productions written in Gallo in comparison to its Celtic counterpart. It seems that there is a gap between the formation of Romance languages and recent increasing interest for the Gallo community in general and language planning efforts to maintain its language in particular.

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<sup>30</sup> President of France from 1981 to 1995.

<sup>31</sup> President of France from 1974 to 1981.

## 2.3 Language policy during the *Ancien Régime*<sup>32</sup>

### 2.3.1 Linguistic policy under the Revolution

Broudic (1998) distinguishes three periods. The first period saw the birth of systematic translations of all the revolutionary decrees, this process started in 1790 but the King vetoed this decision in January. At first, the Convention follows the Girondin side, a position which accelerates the various translations of official documents in vernacular varieties. In 1792, Grégoire developed his questionnaire to scope the usage of *patois* in the countryside and in urban areas. Simultaneously, priests were sent to those language communities, which were only using a vernacular variety, to teach French (ex. *bas-breton*). The second period lasted six months in 1793 and was soon known as the ‘terror’ (*la Terreur*)<sup>33</sup> due to growing riots and rebellion in the country. It became a necessity to form a united nation through the eradication of vernaculars and systematic education of the masses. In July 1794, the Terror and its linguistic policies ended and translations were abandoned. Finally, during the third period citizens were included in political life and an organized and unifying language policy was adopted.

The linguistic policy of the revolutionary period can be summarized by the three following points: (a) The Revolution itself did not eliminate the *patois*, but it extended the use of French; (b) the policy was neither constant nor uniform as it shows a double change from the *Ancien Régime* era with a stage of translations and a more ideological and Jacobin step afterwards; (c) the concept of language as an essential piece of the

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<sup>32</sup> Monarchist period preceding the French Revolution

<sup>33</sup> Period of violence and conflict between rival political factions marked by mass executions of ‘enemies of the revolution’

formation of the nation appears during the Terror and is a result of six months of the Jacobin power.

Before looking any further into Grégoire's views and the way they affected France's linguistic policies, I now briefly present two groups of Frenchmen clearly distinguishable before the Revolution: the obscure local antiquaries isolated from the Enlightenment and still treasuring the surviving literature of their native dialects and the Catholic clergy which was more numerous and more important. The latter would either teach the 'peasants' standard French or learn to communicate with the masses in their own native tongues. The Clergy adopted the second strategy and the priests became intermediates between the people and God.

### 2.3.2 Grégoire's influence on France's *centralisme*

Abbé Grégoire perceived a great linguistic heterogeneity in the country at the eve of French Revolution. His perception of diversity differs from the Jacobin struggle against social and cultural heterogeneity. Like the Protestant Clergy, Grégoire opted for the first alternative: teaching the peasantry the language of the prince and of the leading reformers. Why did he choose the Protestant solution to the problem of multilingualism? Firstly, Grégoire (originally from Lorraine) was highly influenced by Protestant views on the subject through contact with an important intellectual circle of the heavily Lutheran province of Alsace. Second, he believed in teaching all citizens the language of the elite. Another issue is raised when one considers the role of Grégoire in French language policies: why did Grégoire's views gain widespread support? The main reason of his

‘success’ is that Grégoire’s ideas were (and still are) integral elements of the French republican vision of the nation. He justified his ‘war’ against the vernaculars before the Convention’s committee by pointing out the necessity for the people to understand the written laws to sanction and obey them.

### 2.3.3 More background on France’s language policy: Ayres-Bennett & Jones (2007)

The seventeenth century marked a change in the adoption of a norm and the increase of subjectivity (idealization). Innovation and conservation were soon replaced by language normalization. The goal was to provide prescriptive structures to describe and use the standard correctly. Vaugelas’ *Remarques sur la langue françoise* (1634) developed a descriptive norm independently from the usage presenting the right way (and only way) of using the French language. However, the massive diffusion of the standard began later. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, a large number of grammars and dictionaries were published among which *La Grammaire de Port-Royal*<sup>34</sup> was the most authoritative work and was applied to the French language as the descriptive methodology of Latin. Linguistic reforms led to the idealization of the standard shaping the language into an authentic object of purism and *bon usage* (proper usage). The idea of a common language was imposed on the people through the phenomenon of linguistic absolutism accompanied by reduction in forms following the guidelines proposed by the *Académie française* with the first edition of its dictionary (*Dictionnaire de l’Académie française*, 1694). At the end of the seventeenth and beginning of eighteenth century, the mission of

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<sup>34</sup> Pedagogical approach based on description and reasoning.

the *Académie* was described as not normative but it was rather presented as an institutionalized effort to protect literary works (Merlin in Ayres-Bennett&Jones).

## 2.4 The language

### 2.4.1 Structures: general linguistic traits of Gallo

In this section, I introduce the phonetics of the Gallo language along with some of its morpho-syntactic and lexical particularities before introducing the various orthographies proposed for the Gallo language.

**Table 2.1 - Consonants**

<i>IPA</i>	Examples in French and in other languages	Examples in Gallo
b	bois (wood)	boam
ʃ	choix (choice)	chante (piece, chunk of bread)
d	donc (so)	dam (sure, of course)
f	fou (crazy)	fouée (fire)
g	galette (pancake)	goull (mouth, face)
ŋ	gai (happy)	ghibèt (mosquito)
h	hard	haot (high)
ž	joie (joy)	jalouz (jealous, possessive)
k	car	qatorzz (fourteen)
c	qui (who)	qhètt (thigh, leg)
l	loin (far)	lorieûz (arrogant, vain)
[l]	bottle	i subll, i souflra (he whistles, he will whistle).
λ	figlio It (child), lluvia sp (rain)	qlyôz (field)
m	mou (soft)	mâri (upset, depressed, disappointed)
n	nuit (night)	naij (snow)
ɲ	bagne (labor camp)	châtèngn (chestnut)
p	pont (bridge)	paivr (pepper)
r	pero (sp) (but)	rôz (reed)
R	rien (nothing)	rôz (reed)
ɾ	Brno (Czech)	grnouy, ùnn ruètt, groue, prie (frog, a back alley, frost,
ʀ	r grasseyé syllabique	grnouy, ùnn ruètt, groue, prie
s	soie (silk)	sia (absolutely)
t	toit (roof)	otou (also, with)
v	voie (way)	vnèll (path)
z	zut (damn)	zieû (eye)

### (1) Consonant clusters

Double ‘l’ can be found in initial position as in the following clusters: bll, cll, fl, gll, pll.

Note that the ‘l’ is doubled after a consonant and palatalized in [j]. For instance, bllanc (blanc, white); cller (clair, bright/clear); gllisser (glisser, slip/slide); pllaine (plaine, plain); fllanme (flamme, flame). Here are other instances of palatalization: blleu (bleu, blue), cllé (clé, key), plley (pluie, rain), flour (fleur, flower).

In the middle of a word, we find anm [ã̃m], enm [ẽ̃m], inm [ĩ̃m] where the process of denasalization didn’t take place in Gallo like it occurred in French as in *fllanme* (flamme, flame); *dinmanche* (dimanche, Sunday). Before the nasal consonant, the vowel becomes nasalized more easily flámma [flámma] > [flã̃mə] as it is more lax. At the beginning of 12<sup>th</sup> century, the phenomenon of denasalization weakens the nasal consonant and sometimes leads to its disappearance (it stops being pronounced). At the same time, the vowel becomes denasalized. When the nasal consonant is in an intervocalic position, it is still pronounced but the vowel becomes denasalized: [flã̃mə] > [flâmə], *flame*. As a result, we find [ã̃m] in Gallo and [am] in French. Affricate sounds are more common in Gallo. For example, we find the affricates such as [dʒ] gheter (chercher, search) and [tʃ] qhuter (cacher, hide).



**Table 2.2 - Vowels**

<i>IPA</i>	Examples in French and in other languages	Examples in Gallo
a	patte (paw)	bras (arm)
ɑ	pâte (pasta)	grâs (greasy, fatty)
ã	grand (tall)	lonten (for a long time)
e	dé (dice)	la mézon the house)
ɛ	serre (greenhouse)	du lèt (milk)
ə	se	la bonte (kindness)
ẽ	main (hand)	rèn (nothing)
i	mi (mid)	itou (also, with, as well)
ɔ	sol (ground)	qott (skirt, dress)
o	drôle, saule	dôs (back)
õ	son (sound)	onbrin (belly button)
œ	soeur (sister)	beu (beef)
ø	eux (them)	beû (plural for ‘beef’)
œ̃	un (a/one)	brûn (brown, dark)
y	bu (drunk)	umèn (human)
u	bout (end)	boull (ball, marble)
:	long vowel	la prêe, grând, du fein (meadow)

**(2) Group of vowels**

Presence of oral diphthongs: ao [aw], iao [jaw], ieûs [jø] or [jœw], ôs pronounced [o], [ow] or [ɔw]. Ex. chevaos (chevaux, horses) ; caoser (parler, speak), pourciaos (cochons, pigs), faire (foire), ferzéry (chouette), courtieûs (jardin). Certain nasal vowels can also be found in Gallo, but not in French such [ẽj], [ẽɲ] written –aen or –ein. For instance, the word *lein* (loin, far) or *fein* (foin, hay) are pronounced with a nasal vowel which is no longer present in standard French. In the area of Dinan (North) or Redon (South of Rennes), -aim and –ain can also be pronounced [ẽj] as in the word *main* (hand) or in final position in the plural form, andains (Andeans). Finally, nasal diphthongs are still present in Gallo [ãw] and [ẽw] as noted in the words like champ (field) and avant (before).

**Table 2.3 - Glides**

<i>IPA</i>	Examples in French and in other languages	Examples in Gallo
w	oui (yes)	wètt, ouèss (cotton, joint)
ɥ	huile (oil)	üètt, uill (uvula, oil)
j	yoga	yandra, iao, fiy (acorn, water, daughter)

From Chubri, *Noms de lieudits et de personnes à Rennes (35)*<sup>35</sup>.

As I explain later in the discussion on graphic systems, several vocalic features are common to Gallo and other western varieties, particularly the *Poitevin-Saintongeais* vernacular. For instance, *frut* (vs *fruit*) – fruit; *cha-au* (vs *chaud*) – hot/warm; *ale*, *échale* (vs *aile*, *échelle*) – ladder. Chauveau (1984) noticed the use of the central rounded vowel [ẽ] characteristic of Gallo and still present in the speech of older speakers as in the following example: *o chantë* (elle chantait, she was singing). The distinction between [ẽ] (*fume*, *fumer*, *fumait*) – smoke/smoked, closed *é* (*fume*), open *è* (*fumais*, *fumaient*), *eu* (*fumeux*) is based on tone different from what is found in the East of Brittany where length is more important.

Also, we note that ‘k’ and ‘x’ appear only in foreign words, there is no double consonant inside a word except with compound words, for example: *annaschae* ‘mettre à l’attache’ – to attach – composed of an- (en) different from compounds in a-).

(1) Similarly to other western varieties, a strong palatalization of [k] and [g] occurs in Gallo in the words such as *qhurë* (curé, priest) and *ghépe* (guêpe, wasp). Also, the pronunciation of [h] in initial position as in *haot* (haut, high) particularly in the between Rennes and Saint-Malo (North) is noticeable. I mentioned earlier the palatalization

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<sup>35</sup> Names of places and people in Rennes

phenomenon which appeared in Gallo via the Poitevin dialect, a characteristic of the Vannetais region. If we refer to Dottin-Langouret's study *Le Parler de Pléchatel*, 1901, and compare the data with contemporary Gallo, we notice a spread of palatalization. We find more instances of [tʃi / tʃi].

(2) Final 't' is usually not heard in the dialect except in some parts of Ille-et-Vilaine.

(3) Deletion of mute /e/ in final position: the process was already achieved by the 14th century. We already have some instances of this change in the *Chanson d'Aiquin*, dating from the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

(4) Metathesis in the form of inversion of the consonant /r/ with mid-vowels /e/ or /o/ (ALBRAM, 1975: 334, 253), (ALBRAM, 1975: 282, 530) and /u/ (ALBRAM, 1975: 224, 528). For instance, *pressoer* becomes *persoér* (pressoir, wine-press) and *fromin* becomes *formin* (fourmi, ant). The vowel *ë* can appear after the consonant /r/ when it is followed by 2 vowels or when the group consonant + /r/ or /l/ in final position such as in *i groe / gerouë* (il gèle/gelé, it is freezing) and *subller / i subële* (il souffle, he whistles).

(5) Evolution of /s/. In Britto-roman, initial /s/ becomes a laryngeal /h/ in initial position. It also undergoes the same transformation when it appears in an intervocalic position: s > h / V – V or s > h / # [ \_\_\_\_

In intervocalic position, the phoneme weakens and gives a hiatus. Thus, it is easier to tell the origins and the evolution of topological names. For instance, the word *Izernac* in Gallo, was *Isernâkon* in Old Celtic language, and gave *Hoiarnoc* in Old Breton. *Houarneg* is now the modern word in Breton.

(6) Evolution of initial /w/. While we find the word *werna* in Breton for ‘marais’ (swamp), Gallo speakers use *gwern* or *guer*, depending on the location. However, it is hard to date the evolution from labio-velar /w/ to velar /g/:  $w > gw > g$

We know that in primitive stages of Britto-Roman (BRF, *Britto-roman primitif*) sounds /gw/ and /kw/ were common, and we still have traces of them in Breton. For instance, *gwerhl* ‘inflammation’ and *kwaill* ‘caille’ - quail. Words with /gw/ at the initial position had preserved the phoneme from Breton or had received this feature from Latin. Only a small number of words kept the initial /gw/ in Latin, knowing that the labio-velar /w/ would usually evolve into a labio-dental /v/.

Furthermore, the initial phonemes /gw/ and /v/ coexisted in the western part of Brittany long enough so that we now have instances of this phenomenon in the topology. One common example is the *Garenne* and *Varenne* variation found in the same region or *département*.

### (3) Verbal aspects

To express destination or intention, Gallo uses the structure *étr pour*. For instance, *o n'est pas pour li servi de chamberiere* (elle n'a pas vocation à être sa servante – she is not meant to be his maid). The causative aspect is expressed by using the following structure *metr à*. For instance, *I va le mètr à brèr, il va la faire pleurer* (he is going to make her cry). We notice that where standard French uses the causative ‘faire’, Gallo uses the verb ‘mettre’. Reflexive and reciprocal verbs have the following structure: ‘I se caosent’ or ‘I s'entecaosent’ (ils se parlent, they talk to each other) when there is an exchange. For action and state, the same verb can be used with both auxiliaries *avair* (avoir, have) or

*étr* (être, be): Il a cheu / il est cheu (il est tombé – he fell). The construction *o coure à veni, elle vient en courant* (she comes running) is commonly found to express two actions happening at the same time. We note that in standard French the gerund is formed by placing ‘en’ before the verb in the present participle.

#### (4) Verbal forms: a few remarks

Conjugation of the auxiliaries *étr* (être, be) and *aveir* (avoir, have):

##### Present indicative

J’ae	j’ai (I have)	je soe, sé	je suis (I am)
T’as	tu as (you have)	t’es	tu es (you are)
Il, ol a	il, elle a (he, she has)	il, ol est	il, elle est (he, she is)
J’avon	nous avons (we have)	je son, som	nous sommes (we are)
Vóz, v’avéztz, éztz	vous avez (you have)	v’éstt	vous êtes (you are)
Il, ol on, avan	ils, elles ont (they have)	il, ol son	ils, elles sont (they are)

##### Simple past

J’ogus / oyus / avis / eüs	j’eus (I had)	je fus / sus	je fus (I was)
T’ogus / oyus / avis / eüs	tu eus (you had)	tu fus / sus	tu fus (you were)
Il, ol ogut / oyut / avit / eüt	il, elle eut (he, she had)	il, ol fut / sut	il, elle fut (he, she were)
J’ogum / oyum / avim / eüm	nous eûmes (we had)	je fum / sum	nous fûmes (we were)
Vóz ogutt / oyutt / avitt / eütt	vous eûtes (you had)	vóz futt / sutt	vous fûtes (you were)

Il, ol ogurr / oyurr / avirr / eürr ils, elles eurent (they had) il, ol furan / suran ils, elles  
furent (they were)

#### Subjunctive present

Qe j'aej	que j'aie	qe je soej	que je sois
Qe t'aej	que tu aies	qe tu soej	que tu sois
Q'il, ol aej	qu'il, elle ait	q'il, ol soej	qu'il, elle soit
Qe j'aejion	que nous ayons	qe je soejion	que nous soyons
Qe vóz aejiétz	que vous ayez	qe vóz soejiétz	que vous soyez
Q'il, ol aej / aejan	qu'ils, elles aient	q'il, ol soej / soejan	qu'ils, elles soient

Example of a first-group verb paradigm<sup>36</sup>: chauntae (chanter, sing)

#### Present indicative

Je chauntt	je chante (I sing)
Tu chauntt	tu chantes (you sing)
Il, ol chauntt	il, elle chante (he, she sings)
Je chauntton	nous chantons (we sing)
Vóz chauntétz	vous chantez (you sing)
Il, ol chauntt / chauntan	ils, elles chantent (they sing)

#### Simple past

Je chauntis	je chantai (I sang)
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<sup>36</sup> The infinitive of all the verbs in this group end in -er. The vast majority of French verbs fall into this group.

Tu chauntis	tu chantas (you sang)
Il, ol chauntit	il, elle chanta (he, she sang)
Je chauntim	nous chantâmes (we sang)
Vóz chauntitt	vous chantâtes (you sang)
Il, ol chauntirr	ils, elles chantèrent (they sang)

The vowel 'i' often marks the simple past which can be used either in its written or oral form. Ex. I courit inf. coure, il courut (he ran), I choumit inf. chomer, il construisit (he built).

#### Subjunctive present

Qe je chauntej	que je chante
Qe tu chauntej	que tu chantes
Q'il, ol chauntej	qu'il, elle chante
Qe je chauntejion	que nous chantions
Qe vóz chauntejiétz	que vous chantiez
Q'il, ol chauntej / chauntejan	qu'ils, elles chantent

Note that for past participles, the auxiliary *avoir* (avoir, have) is generally preferred over *être* (être, be) and they can be interchangeable as in the sentence il a cheu / il est cheu (il est tombé, he fell).

#### (5) Morphology

- Interrogative forms

The interrogative segment ‘ti’ or ‘tiy’ is placed after the verb. This interrogative can also be found in other *Oïl* languages such as Norman or Picard.

Ex. J’on ti le dreit d’alae veir? Nous avons le droit d’aller voir ? (Are we allowed to go see?)

The interrogative pronoun “qe” precedes the subject. This pronoun is present in interrogative structures in standard French under the form ‘qu’est-ce **que** / est-ce **que**’ indicating the distinction between the subject and the object.

Ex. Dan qei qe tu sonj? A quoi est-ce que tu penses ? (What are you thinking about?)

Qei q’ol dit? Qu’est-ce qu’elle dit ? (What is she saying?)

Eyó qe tu vaès? Où est-ce que tu vas ? (Where are you going?)

- Demonstrative pronouns and adjectives

#### Demonstrative adjectives

Masc.	ste (st’ devant voyelle)	ce, cet	(this)
Fem.	cètt, ste	cette	(this)
Plur.	çoez	ces	(these)

Ex. Qi q’il dit ste gartz-la? Qu’est-ce qu’elle dit cette enfant ? (What is this child saying ?); I-ara pas de pom st’anaéy. Il n’y aura pas de pommes cette année. (There won’t be any apple this year).

Similarly to Gallo, the masculine demonstrative adjective exhibits two different forms: ‘cet’ in standard French and ‘st’ in Gallo are used before a word staring with a vowel or



an ‘h’ (cet immeuble, cet hôtel)<sup>37</sup>. Some contractions also occur in Gallo but in standard French. For instance, *esst seir* becomes *ésèy* (ce soir, this evening) or *estt noet* contracts into *ètnō* (cette nuit, tonight).

- Demonstrative pronouns

Masc.	cesti-ci (or sti-ci / stu-ci)	cesti-la	celui-ci, celui-là (this one, that one)
Fem.	cèstt-ci (or èstt-ci)	cèstt-la	celle-ci, celle-là (this one, that one)
Plur	çoez-ci	çoez-la	ceux-ci, ceux-là (these ones, those ones)
Neutral	ce-ci	ce-la	ceci, cela (this, that)

Ex. V’étz q’a prandr cesti-la vous n’avez qu’à prendre celle-ci (you just have to take this one).

- Object pronouns

The order of pronouns differs from that of Standard French. When two objects pronouns (direct and indirect) are used in the same sentence, the indirect object pronoun appears first after the subject.

Ex1. Je li le dónis Je le lui donnai (I gave it to him, her)

Ex2. Dónn me le Donne-le moi (Give it to me)<sup>38</sup>

Ex3. Dónn lór la Donne-la leur (Give it to them)<sup>39</sup>

- Plural of nouns

Words ending in –a in the singular become –aos are pronounced [aw]. In the southern part of Brittany, the words already end in –ao in the singular, for instance un animao (un animal, an animal). The same rule applies to words ending in –âil, pronounced [aj] and

<sup>37</sup> This building, this hotel.

<sup>38</sup> In examples, 1 and 2, the direct pronoun ‘le’ is in the masculine form.

<sup>39</sup> The direct pronoun ‘la’ is in the feminine form.

words ending in -al pronounced [al].

Ex. un cheva des chevaos (un cheval, a horse ; des chevaux, horses).

Ex. un travail des travaos (un travail, a job; des travaux, jobs)

Ex. un signal des signaos (un signal, a signal ; des signaux, signals)

Note that certain words in -al have a plural in -als such as un portal des portals (un portail, a gate ; des portails, gates). Words ending in -è in the singular are pronounced [ɛ] or [e] and have their plural in -iaos pronounced [jaw]. Ex. un chapè des chapiaos (un chapeau, a hat; des chapeaux, hats).

Words ending in -ë in the singular form are pronounced [ə] or [e] and have their plural in -ës. In the Côtes d'Armor, West of Rennes, the plural form is -ieûs pronounced [jø] or [jœw]:

Ex. un prë des prës (un pré, a field; des prés, fields)

Ex. un ôtë des ôtieûs (une maison, a house; des maisons, houses).

Words ending in -er in the singular are pronounced [ə] or [e] have their plural in -érs pronounced [e], [ej] or [ɛj]. For instance, un pomier des pomiérs (un pommier, an apple tree ; des pommiers, apple trees).

Words ending in -eu in the singular form are pronounced [œ] or [ø] and have their plural in -eûs pronounced [ø], [øw] or [øj]. Ex. un beu des beûs (un bœuf, an ox ; des bœufs, oxen)

Words ending in -i in the singular have their plural in -ieûs are pronounced [jø] or [jœw] as in un courti des courtieûs (un potager, a kitchen garden; des potagers, kitchen gardens).

Words ending in –o are pronounced [ɔ] or [o] and have their plural in –ôs pronounced [o], [ow] or [ɔw]. Ex. un bro, des brôs (une épine, a thorn ; des épines, thorns). Words ending in - ou in the singular form have their plural in - oués. For instance, un jenou, des jenoués (un genou, knee; des genoux, knees).

- Feminine forms

Words ending in ‘e’, ‘l’ after a consonant, ‘r’ after a consonant, ‘sm’ or ‘st’ do not take an ‘e’ in the feminine form.

Ex. drét (droit, droite; right) ; royal royale (royal) ; asm (asthmatique, asthmatic).

Words in –a or –al, –ai, –anc, –ao, –i or –if have a feminine form very similar to the forms found in standard French:

Ex. vrai vrae (vrai, vraie; true); bllanc bllanche (blanc, blanche ; white) ; bao belle (beau, belle ; beautiful) ; vi vive (vif, vive ; active/bright/vivid).

Words in –ou have a feminine form in –ouere. Note that the feminine form –ouze can also occur: Ex. un chantou une chantouere (un chanteur, a singer ; des chanteurs, singers). Words in –û have a feminine form in –ûe, –ûsse, –ûze: Ex. reçû reçûe, reçûsse, reçûze (reçu, received; reçue, received). Words in –un have a feminine form in –une or –eune: Ex. aoqhun aoqhune, aoqheune (aucun, any; aucune, any).

The following section presents a brief descriptive summary of the influence of Breton on Gallo language. Still nowadays, it is spoken in the Eastern part of *Bretagne*, east of the isogloss called *Plouha-Presqu’île de Rhuys*. The language shows many common features with other varieties of the *Oil* family, Picard, Normand, Poitevin-Saintongeais, and Wallon; linguistic phenomena that I mentioned earlier in the first

chapter such as palatalization, deletion of mute /e/ in final position, metathesis (inversion or simple co-articulation of consonant /r/ with mid-vowels /e/ /o/ and sometimes /u/) like in *pressoer* => *persoér* (*pressoir* – wine-press); *fromin* => *formin* (*fourmi* - ant). At the same time, it also displays very distinctive features of its own.

As a Romance language, Gallo vocabulary and syntax are strongly influenced by Latin. The dialect also preserved a few words derived from ancient Gaulish languages, has borrowed a number of Frankish and Scandinavian Germanic words from Old French and Norman, and as we mentioned earlier, Gallo and Breton are in a close linguistic contact situation. Although a limited number of words from Breton have filtered through into western Gallo dialects, most of the borrowings have been made from Gallo into Breton (Blanchet, 1999 and Manzano, 2005).

#### 2.4.2 Other *Oïl* varieties

This last phonological feature mentioned above, metathesis, is not specific to the Gallo dialect. It can be found in other *langues d'oïl* varieties. Let us have a look at a few other forms found in other Northern forms. Note that the last two tables include lexical forms from Celtic varieties.

**Table 2.4 - Examples of phonological variants in Gallo, Norman and French**

<b>Gallo</b>		<b>Norman</b>		<b>French</b>
ch	chapèu	k	capé	chapeau (hat)
s	muczae	ch	muchì	cache (hide)
j	jardrein	g	gardin	jardin (garden)
g, dj	gésp	v	vêpre	guêpe (wasp)
yě	pomier	i	poumi	pommier (apple tree)
(i)y	fiylh	(i)l	file	fille (girl)
<b>Gallo</b>		<b>Angevin</b>		<b>French</b>
u	brut	ui	bruit	bruit (noise)
ö, é	noet, nét	ui	nuit	nuit (night)
<b>Gallo</b>		<b>Poitevin</b>		<b>French</b>
è, è <sup>w</sup>	chapèu	ya	chapea	chapeau (hat)
yě	pomier	é	poumàe	pommier (apple tree)

The lexicon mainly comes from Latin, but some words originate from Celtic languages (continental or insular) or from Germanic dialects.

**Table 2.5 - Examples of lexicons in different Romance languages**

<i>Latin</i>			
<b>Latin</b>	<b>Gallo</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>Other languages</b>
disturbare	destórbae	déranger	disturbare (Italian) to disturb (English)
gallina	jaeleinn	poule	gallina (Castilian) galinha (Portuguese) gaina (Romanian) gelina (Arpitan) jheline (Poitevin-stg) hen (English)
*libellum [lat. pop.]	livèu	niveau	live (Breton) level (English)
linteolum	leinczoelh	drap	lenzuolo (Italian) llençol (Catalan) lénçàu (Poitevin-stg) sheet (English)
*muciare [lat. pop.]	muczae	catcher	muchi (Norman) muchî (Wallon) muçàe (Poitevin-stg) hide (English)
ovicula	oèylh, ovèylh	brebis	oveja (Castilian) ovelha (Portuguese) oelha (Occitan) oelle (Poitevin-stg) ewe (English)
*saccare [lat. pop.]	sacae, sachae	tirer (vers soi)	sachañ (Breton) saetchî (Wallon) to pull (English)
sibilare	sublae, siblae	siffler	silbar (Castilian) assobiar (Portuguese) sibilare (Italian) siblar (Occitan) subllàe (Poitevin-stg) whistle (English)

**Table 2.6 - Examples of lexical items including the Celtic continental variety**

<i>Celtic continental</i>			
<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Breton</b>	<b>French</b>	<b>Other languages</b>
buaéy, bugaéy	bugad	lessive (laundry)	bugada ( <i>Occitan</i> )
belocz	polos(enn)	prunelle (pupil)	biloke ( <i>Wallon</i> )
bran	brenn	son (bran loaf)	brann, brenn ( <i>Piemontais</i> )

**Table 2.7 - Examples of lexical items including the Island Celtic variety**

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Breton</b>	<b>French</b>
naschae	naskañ	attacher (to attach)
bugein	buzhug(enn)	ver de terre (earthworm)
loé	leue (= veau)	taureau (bull)

(Source: website maezoe - [www.maezoe.com](http://www.maezoe.com))

#### 2.4.3 Graphic systems

If we now consider the literature of Romance languages, we notice that most of the old texts written in *Oïl* dialects originate from Touraine, Normandie, Poitou/Saintonge, Champagne, which have a strong tradition of ancient written literature. Gallo remains an exception since it does not have such a historical background. The only text that scholars recognize as being from *Haute-Bretagne* is entitled *Livre des Manières* written by Estienne de Fougères at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The gap in the production and publication of written documents between the text mentioned above and modern literature spans seven centuries, which renders difficult any attempt of orthographic standardization due to the absence of a literature in Gallo.

During the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the *gallèsants* took the initiative to create a written support (as part of the collecting process) for the oral tradition of their language

as a way to preserve it. As is the case in other varieties, the question regarding which writing system to use is very active and still unanswered.

In 1899, Georges Dottin conducted the first survey on Gallo orthography. He sent out a questionnaire via the *académie*<sup>40</sup> to teachers of elementary schools (*instituteurs*). They were asked to follow Dottin's orthographic instructions, translate 239 French words to Gallo and give explanations about the feminine and plural forms of certain words along with verb conjugations and 50 sentences taken from everyday conversations. Dottin received 200 answers but never fully used them for his study. Since 1977 different orthographies have been proposed for the Gallo language; all of them present distinguishable characteristics and translate different motivations. I now briefly summarize the more commonly accepted ones including a more detailed presentation of the latest orthographic proposition known as *Moga* (2007).

#### 2.4.3.1 *Les Amis du Parler Gallo* orthography: the first graphic attempt

The first proposition emerged from the association *Amis du parler gallo* (Plémet), which became later *Bretagne Gallèse* and then *Bertaèyn Galeizz*. This model includes at the same time some of the principles of French orthography and additional features. For instance, the grapheme <ë> was used for the central vowel and <lh> for the *l mouillé* or a lateral palatal sound. This last grapheme has been contested because the pronunciation of this consonant is that of a lateral apical sound [l] + [j] or simply [j] in French. This attempt at graphic standardization did not receive a large popular approval as opposed to other Gallo writing systems which I present below. We can hypothesize that a system

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<sup>40</sup> Regional institutions linked to the *Education nationale*.



which is graphically too similar to French orthography would not be easily accepted by some local speakers. One of the informants explains that this writing system is still used by the association and it appears in some subway station in Rennes (N 8, M, 23:57, Montfort sur Meu, 06/23/09)<sup>41</sup>. Another informant argues about the different systems proposed for the unification of the Gallo language and criticizes the approach adopted by two main associations in Rennes: ‘certaines associations se retrouvent comme interlocutrices privilégiées’ – certain associations find themselves to be in the position of privileged interlocutors (N 17, M, 5:13, Sérent, 07/02/09).

According to him, *Bertaeyn Galeizz* and *Chubri* do not use Gallo with their respective association: ‘ils ne parlent pas gallo...ils ne réactualisent pas les mots collectés’ – they don’t speak Gallo...they don’t update the data collected (N 17, M, 6:30, Sérent, 07/02/09). This is a recurrent issue which was discussed during the interviews, i.e the main actors part of the language planning process don’t practice the language as often as they should (thus not showing the example to Gallo speakers).

#### 2.4.3.2 *Vantyé*<sup>42</sup>

*Vantyé* is the name of the second proposition named after the association in Guéméné-Penfao, *Loire-Atlantique*. Yann Mickaël who developed this orthography opted for a stronger Celtic influence and added features from Breton. Therefore, this Gallo orthography stands further away from French and traditional Romance graphemes. It is

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<sup>41</sup> I chose the following format to quote informants: (N, sex, time, place, date M/D/Y)

<sup>42</sup> Meaning maybe (*peut-être*)

common to find [k] where we would expect [c] as in *ëkrir* (*écrire* - write) and [w] instead of [ou], *wézyaw* (*oiseau* - bird).

Characteristically, this graphic system is phonetic-based, but different from what is used in linguistics (IPA). The goal of *Vantyé* is to simplify the memorization and use of orthography. The learner needs to understand the rules to master the associations between graphemes and phonemes. This system presents a few problems due to the ‘phonetic’ system. Implicit or non-pronounced consonants, which appeared in derivational forms or in conjugations, are not realized. For example, we write *i par* (he is leaving) and *i partira* (he will leave) or *ron* (round) and *rondi* (to get round). Therefore, it becomes impossible to transfer certain forms to other dialectal variations without relying on ‘implicit’ consonants and difficult to choose the graphemes needed. Most of the features proposed are limited to the speech of the *Pays Mitaw*<sup>43</sup>, thus the speaker is not exposed to all the codes found across the Gallo variants of *Haute Bretagne*.

The nasal vowels appearing before nasal consonants are realized by writing the same vowel twice, a phenomenon normally restricted to indicate long vowels, as in *kooman* (comment - how); *la boon foom* (la femme – woman); *jameen* (jamais – never); *Veen* (Vannes).

Finally the use of <k> and <kh> for [k] and [c], and use of <w> is not traditionally associated with Romance orthography. Learners may find these graphemes ‘inappropriate’ and hard to memorize or due to their graphic resemblance with Breton graphemes. These two systems (2.4.3.1 and 2.4.3.2) are providing tools to facilitate the

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<sup>43</sup> Area around the city of Redon (South-West of Rennes) where speakers use a specific orthography called Mitaw.

writing of texts by Gallo users, but they are not meant for an accurate transcription of each word of the language in unified form. In short, their function is less ‘unifying’ than the following systems in the sense that they were created for non-technical interactions to accelerate the learning process and avoid the mixing of several Gallo varieties (this is what I meant by ‘unifying’). During the interviews, very few comments were made about the *Vantyé* writing system. Only one informant mentioned it (N 5, M, 35:00, Loudéac, 06/29/09) and described its objective as ideological. This system is used to communicate at the local level and tries to bring Gallo closer to Breton via the orthography.

#### 2.4.3.3 ELG (Ecrire le gallo)

It is in 1978 that Alan Raude presented a new graphic system, ELG – *Ecrire le gallo*<sup>44</sup>, with the help of associations such as *Maezoe* and *Bertaeyn Galeizz*. The divergence with the preceding propositions is the unique form proposed for each Gallo word respecting an ancient form of writing without systematically relying on the standard orthographic system. Here are a few characteristics of the ELG: the final mute [e] is never marked, final consonants which are not pronounced are kept for derivational forms. For example, we write *haut* (*haut* - high) and *blaunc* (*blanc* - white) in the masculine form, but *hautt* to indicate that the consonant is realized and *blaunch* in the feminine form. Finally, to mark the distinction between Gallo and French, Raude preserved some archaic forms such as [tz] which is mute in final position (ex. *bratz* – *bras* - arm) and [cz] pronounced [s] in intervocalic position like in the Gallo word *braczae* (*brasser* – to move). There remain a few issues associated with the application of the ELG system.

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<sup>44</sup> Write in Gallo from Raude’s work *Ecrire le gallo, précis d’orthographe britto-romane*.

Certain graphic traditions found in toponymy were kept, meaning that mute consonants like <s> found inside lexical items (ex. *Saint-Cast* and *Malestroit*) are used in ELG to justify the realization of the preceding vowel. But the association between conventions and Gallo pronunciation is not always known by the older *patoisants*. As I mentioned earlier, Gallo speakers have been educated in French therefore the correspondence between [a] and <â> remains less obvious than the association between <a+s> before a consonant. In addition, ELG relies a lot more on etymological restitutions than other writing systems. For instance, the orthography of the pronoun *mei* (moi – me) is thus justified by the old diphthong *ei*. The most used form being ‘ma’, the learner may have trouble associating *mei* and [ma].

It has also been noted that an incomplete restitution of elements of Gallo results in the lack of distinction between the different phonemes used in Gallo, this is the case with [c] and [k]. We also note the use of different graphemes for the same vowel as in the words *naéz*, *praéy* and *ploey* in which we find three graphemes for a single pronunciation. Such a method does not facilitate the memorization of the graphic system. Due to a strong reliance on the etymological approach, ELG does not provide a large autonomy for learners when using this graphic system. It seems also difficult to easily acquire the writing methodology of ELG in terms of deciphering which grapheme is needed for which phoneme as we saw earlier with [k], [c] and [e:].

As a last note, a slight preference has been given to the ELG, *l'orthographe normalisée* – the normalized orthography, by the *Bretagne gallèse* association for the publication of their journal *Le Liaun*. But I think it is important to indicate that this system is not used as

a ‘standard’, nor is it used more widely than the other versions by Gallo users and learners. To this date, there is no official common orthography for the Gallo language. Unlike *Vantyé*, ELG was the object of longer debates and harsh criticism during the interviews. However, the president of the association *Bertaèyn Galeizz*, declared that ‘le seul travail inter-associatif et sérieux c’est l’ELG’ - the only serious project done between associations is the ELG (N 4, M, 32:22, Rennes, 06/11/09).

To justify his position, the informant puts forward two factors: (1) ELG’s approach is similar to the work on Occitan language. Simon used the ELG system in the *Liaun* (1995) whereas Ôbrée abandoned ELG when he was still a member of *Bertaèyn Galeizz* (N 4, M, 20:10, Rennes, 06/11/09) and (2) ELG is based on local and romance traditions. At school, there is absolutely no obligation to follow one particular school or method, but the general ‘model’ is the one which has been proposed by Le Coq / Auffray (ABC, a system closer to French spelling). For instance, the informant (N 24, F) a full-time Gallo teacher in the region of Bain-de-Bretagne, decided not to use it with her students as she considers ELG to be too complex.

Here is an example of the distinction between the ELG system and the teacher’s choice:

Ex. chantóu (Raude – ELG) ~ chantou (Trochu).

The informant is in favor of a simplified and minimalist system (N 24, F, 15:55, Orgères, 07/13/09) in which extra letters should not appear if they are not pronounced (N 24, F, 56:52, Orgères, 07/13/09). Similarly, another informant considers this system to be too ‘opaque’ for students and for Gallo users in general (N 5, M, 43:32, Loudéac, 06/29/09).

Informant (N 8, M) agrees with the two previous informants and thinks it is necessary to pronounce the words out loud to be able to read correctly: ‘il faut l’entendre pour le lire’ - one needs to hear it to be able to read it (N 8, M, 25:18, Montfort sur Meu, 06/23/09)

Finally, informant (N 17, M) goes even further in the criticism and is convinced that the ELG system is ridiculous (more than the other systems) and is a complete failure.

The complex graphemes proposed are not justified since they would not be used by the majority of Gallo speakers: ‘le pequenaud du coin, qu’est-ce qu’il en a à foutre ?’ - what would the country guy care about that ? (N 17, M, 8:38, Sérent, 07/02/09)

#### 2.4.3.4 *Aneit* / *Anéi*<sup>45</sup>

*Aneit*, also known as ‘the unified orthography’, appeared in 1980 and was elaborated by three *gallèsants*, Thierry Magot, Laurent Motrot and Jean-Yves Bauge whose goal was to provide an orthographic system that could be used by teachers and writers. *Aneit*, similarly to ELG, relies on etymological conventions and has a close relationship with French graphic habits. The authors tried to generate an easier access to the Gallo language, but technical problems remain when it comes to typing symbols such as <ú>, <ó> and <r> + ~ to indicate a syllabic ‘r’ on a computer keyboard. However, another issue related to dialectal variations remains. Unlike the last graphic proposition, *Aneit* does not provide enough tools to transcribe dialectal forms and it was clearly not what its authors had in mind while elaborating this orthography:

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<sup>45</sup> Meaning today, now (*aujourd’hui, maintenant*)

dans la mesure du possible la trame d'un mot est unique, la prononciation variant suivant la localisation - as much as it is possible, the framework of a word is unique and its pronunciation varies accordingly to the location... se voulant représentative de tous les parlers de la Bretagne gallèse elle ne cherche pas à rendre compte de la prononciation de chaque parler, en cela elle est générale -representing [Aneit] all the vernaculars of the *Bretagne gallèse*, its transcription is not faithful to the pronunciation of each speech, this approach is a more general one (Bauge, Magot & Motrot, 1984)

We understand now why French remains the main graphic influence for proposition (4) as it transcribes the general form of Gallo instead of providing different graphic tools for the transcription of all the dialectal variants. Similarly to the first two systems the authors completed the system with graphemes borrowed from different Romance languages.

I provide the three following examples: [gh] for velar /g/ before [e] or [i] like in *lenghe* – (*langue* – language); [nh] instead of [gn] as in the word *gaenher* (*gagner* – to win) and [lh] instead of –ill as in *aegulhe* (*aiguille* – needle). The three scholars tried to take into account Dottin's survey and another study conducted between 1980 and 1984 by the journal *Le Liaun*. This approach differs from Raude's who adopted a more traditional one keeping in mind the traditions of toponymy and old charters.

Walter (1993) briefly explores the possibility of a model based on phonology (which was lacking at the time) to elaborate a system that would bring more flexibility to the users. The idea is to provide a common graphic base (sub-phonological orthography) from which each user can add dialectal distinctions according to his/her own variety of Gallo. The system would of course take into account the orthographic habits already acquired by the speakers that is the common knowledge of French.

Very few insights were given about *Anéi*. One informant briefly commented on the fact that this system was used at the *Bertaèyn Galeizz* association at some point and that it shares similar characteristics with ELG such as flexibility (N 4, M, 32:40, Rennes, 06/11/09).

#### 2.4.3.5 *Moga*<sup>46</sup>

*Moga* was developed by Bertràn Ôbrée in 2007. It is the latest proposition as for *Des conventions d'écriture qui pourraient être partagées par l'ensemble des locuteurs* (Ôbrée, 2007: 7) – Of some writing conventions that could be shared by all the users.

The presentation of the *Moga* is composed of 3 parts: obligations, objectives and characteristics of the system. Below, I summarize each section before discussing the issues and limits generated by this writing system.

##### (1) Obligations

Bertràn Ôbrée opted for the restitution of structured elements of the language and coherence between the rules announced via the restitution of users' dialectal diversities. For instance, he distinguishes between [k] and [c], a graphic choice which has been criticized by proponents of more unified transcriptions.

However, the adoption of dominant forms is not completely rejected, but it is restricted to unification matters what Ôbrée named *graphie unifiante* (as I explain in the following section Gautier used the same distinction for his grammar of Poitevin-Saintongeais). Technical issues related to computer keyboard can be ignored and, as I mentioned above

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<sup>46</sup> Meaning reed (*roseau*).



when presenting the *Aneit* system, it can sometimes be problematic for Gallo learners to type the symbols provided by certain orthographic traditions.

## (2) Objectives

Bertràn Ôbrée elaborated a list of 6 objectives. The first goal is to maximize the use of orthographic knowledge already acquired from French. Briefly, French orthographic codes are ‘recycled’ for two reasons: to indicate similar features and to distinguish graphic symbols. For instance [ɲ] is written <gn> instead of <nh> or <ny>, but <ao> is retained for [aw] rather than <au> or <aù> to avoid ambiguities with the French <au> pronounced [o].

The second objective is a compromise between previous graphic systems and Ôbrée’s new approach. The grapheme <gh> proposed by *Aneit* is kept as it represents a palatal sound different from the consonant [g]. Therefore, <g> and <gu> were rejected to simplify the reading phase and prevent interferences from French graphic codes.

Along those lines, it seems essential that the *Moga* system follow graphic traditions of Romance languages as a third objective and refer back to graphic standardization in other *Oïl* languages. Ôbrée cites the work done for the Poitevin-Saintongeais variety by Gautier (1993) in his *Grammaire du Poitevin-Saintongeais. Parlers de Vendée, Deux-Sèvres, Vienne et Charente, Charente-Maritime*. Both Gautier and Ôbrée make the distinction between a ‘standard’ written form of the vernacular and its local graphic variants under a different terminology. Gautier talks about *la graphie localisée* (local orthography) vs *la graphie normalisée* (normalized/unifying orthography) and Ôbrée uses the terms *graphie univoque* for local forms and *graphie unifiante* to refer to a more unifying system

combining features from local varieties. Gautier defines the notions of ‘graphie localisée’ (localized orthography) and ‘graphie normalisée’ (normalized orthography) respectively as follows:

La graphie localisée s’efforce de noter les principales variantes locales d’un même mot ou d’une même forme, en utilisant la même lettre ou le même groupe de lettres pour un son donné (Gautier, 1993: 17) - the local orthography attempts to write the main local variants of the same word or same form using the same letter or the same group of the letters for a given sound.

La graphie normalisée utilise des lettres ou des groupes de lettres susceptibles de plusieurs réalisations ou variantes phonétiques locales. Elle admet certaines variantes quand elles ne sont pas considérées comme intégrales à une graphie commune, en raison d’un écart trop grand (Gautier, 1993: 17) - the unifying orthography uses letters or groups of letters that can have several realizations or local phonetic variants. The system allows certain variations when they are not part of a common orthography as a consequence of an important deviation.

The last three objectives present the project in terms of autonomy and economy. *Moga* increases the autonomy (or the choice in variants) of the users while ensuring the economy of graphemes to reduce difficulties the user might encounter when typing on computer keyboard for instance and a limited number of rules to avoid exceptions and favor regular patterns. Overall, it is clear that there is a massive avoidance of references to French graphemes and to etymological criteria in order to reduce contradictions as much as possible.

The fact that all Gallo users are first French speakers cannot be ignored. The diachronic approach enhances the understanding of phonetic evolution and the analysis of Gallo

varieties. Ôbrée selects three steps to construct this new writing tool: the analysis of the speech varieties, the elaboration of rules to improve writing and reading skills, and application of the system by taking into consideration recommendations and suggestions from learners.

### (3) Characteristics

The fundamental principle of *Moga* relies on the concept of *plurigraphie* or multi-orthographic approach which combines both the needs for unification and dialectal varieties. We find parallelism and similarities with Gautier's *Grammaire du Poitevin-Saintongeais* (1993: 25).

**Table 2.8 – Gautier**

GN <sup>47</sup>	GL <sup>48</sup>	FR	E
bea	bèa / bia / bè	beau	beautiful
çhau	quio / çho / tcho / tio	ce	this / that
anghit	anguit / andjit/ anyit	alla	went
abelle / abolle	abelle / abolle	abeille	bee

Ôbrée sees no need for a unified writing system which would offer only one orthographic option for each word as it was proposed earlier by ELG and *Aneit*. He developed two complementary movements; one is the diffusion of a standard that is composed of simple codes to facilitate the learners' task and the use of linguistic planning to help developing unified transcriptions. Are these two objectives really complementary? It seems that these

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<sup>47</sup> *Graphie normalisée* – unifying orthography

<sup>48</sup> *Graphie localisée* – local orthography

two systems are in fact different: the creation of a new writing system represents a clear decision to improve preceding attempts. However, trying to simultaneously satisfy the dialectal needs of the community and choose a unified approach is not compatible on a practical level. I think it would simplify the learning process to elaborate a unified writing system (selecting the most common features across the different Gallo varieties) instead of leaving the learner struggle with a large orthographic choice and consequently a more complex system. Such an approach could slow down the user in his/her learning and even discourage him/her. Ôbrée introduces the emotional dimension of the Gallo user to justify the use of variations in written Gallo:

un protocole offrant une liberté personnelle pour écrire dans son propre parler évitera les écueils d'un système qui serait vu aisément comme monolithique, trop rigide (Ôbrée, 2007 : 18) - a protocol which offers a personal freedom to write in one's own speech will avoid the pitfalls of a system that would easily be seen as monolithic and too rigid.

What is the part of this 'emotional perspective' that Ôbrée is referring to in a learning system primarily based on efficiency and simplicity (economy of the rules)? How do we measure it?

#### (4) Issues and limits

I notice a contradiction between the notion of simplicity (in global language acquisition processes) the *Moga* is aiming for and the search for personal freedom in one's own written Gallo variety. The obligations (1) and objectives (2) stated above represent linguistic choices which are difficult to realize for the same orthography and even stand in contradiction with each other. It would seem more reasonable to have two separate orthographic systems: one devoted to the learning of Gallo in the school environment

with unified and normalized forms and the other system would be adapted to the users' dialectal variation and differences. To reach a unified writing system (*graphie unifiante*)<sup>49</sup> accessible to all users (students, old learners already familiar with Gallo, learners from outside the community), the researcher needs to focus more on the adoption of a dominant form, reduce technological problems (such as typing for instance) and bring coherence to the announced rules. In this perspective the writing system would combine the orthographic knowledge of French and the preceding unifying (and successful) orthographic attempts while observing the rule of economy for writing and reading skills.

In a system that would leave room for dialectal divergence (*graphie univoque*)<sup>50</sup>, one of the first missions of the researcher would be to reconstitute the diversity of usages to increase the learner's autonomy. Indeed, any etymological criterion and reference to French should be avoided. It seems obvious that this kind of approach would not meet a large success in a classroom environment due to the high number of forms slowing down the acquisition process (memorization of orthographic devices). The other issue is that learners using a writing system which is flexible enough to allow for a variety of usages cannot fully master it without a prior knowledge of phonetic codification. Because all Gallo speakers and learners receive their education in French, it is necessary to take into account certain orthographic features already acquired. At a larger scale, does this orthographic 'flexibility' or freedom correspond to the learner's or the speaker's state of mind (and Gallo identity)? Finally, the use of this particular learning system (to develop

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<sup>49</sup> Unifying orthography

<sup>50</sup> Univocal orthography

reading and writing competence in Gallo) can only be successful if informants express their motivation or needs to assert their Gallo identity (*l'identité gallèse*).

Other issues are related to 'decentralization' and geographical boundaries between regions where language becomes a social marker and loses its primary function as a communication tool. Thinking about language planning, the relationship between regional economic interests and the awareness of cultural specificity is not natural. It is rare to promote the culture or the identity of a speech community without encountering financial difficulties. What is the relationship between linguistic practices and the need for 'norm' or a standard version of the language?

Theoretically, a normalized system like *Moga*, which attempts to include several Gallo variants and provide the necessary graphic tools to all the learners to express themselves in their own vernacular (or their family's vernacular), can be a positive asset for spreading a more complete spectrum of the language. But reasons justifying the social usage remains indecisive. This is exactly what I plan on illustrating with the questionnaire on language attitudes and speakers' perception on their speech. In the following section, I conclude this discussion on Gallo orthographic systems with overview of all the models proposed so far. The recent development of *Moga* by Ôbrée received mixed reactions. Informant (N 4, M) acknowledges the tremendous work done to structure this system and appreciates the idea that the *Moga* system is not restricted to only one particular Gallo form (he used the term 'dialect'). Ôbrée's system is an interdialectal orthography:

Bertràn essaie de faire des mots nouveaux...il retrouve des formes anciennes - Bertràn tries to create new words...he finds old forms (N 4, M, 26:25, Rennes, 06/11/09)

Bertran n'écrit pas que le gallo de son dialecte – Bertran doesn't only write the Gallo of his dialect' (N 4, M, 49:55, Rennes, 06/11/09)

The major criticism expressed by the informants towards the unified orthography concerns the symbols which do not correspond to any specific pronunciation (N 4, M, 50:17). It must be a coherent system: 'une écriture en tant que telle ne marche pas, c'est tout ce qu'on met autour' – a writing system in itself doesn't work, but it does with everything which is added around it (N 4, M, 59:44, Rennes, 06/11/09)

When asked whether *Moga* is / could be used at school, the informants are largely against this idea. For instance, informant (N 5, M) suggests that Ôbrée's system can be proposed to the students, however things can be simplified a bit more (N 5, M, 37:31, Loudéac, 06/29/09). He openly regrets that Ôbrée changed system as it complicated the situation and created divisions among scholars and associations: 's'il était resté sur le système Ôbrée, le système Motier, le problème serait réglé aujourd'hui' – if he had kept the Ôbrée system, the Motier system, the problem would be solved today (N 5, M, 37:35, Loudéac, 06/29/09).

#### 2.4.3.6 Other propositions and summary

If we refer to Tréhel-Tas's work on *Parlons Gallo – Langue et culture* (2007) and the online source *Maezoe* ([www.maezoe.com](http://www.maezoe.com)), we find up to twelve different orthographies for Gallo, some of which are reviewed versions or variants of previous propositions. Below are the graphic systems listed in *Maezoe*:

(1) Normalized orthography (ELG)

*Il a preinz l'orczoelh pór raqoedr le saun du pórcèu.*

*Faut qe j'auj le veir anoet.*

*La gésp m'a piqaéy le dei dan un cloz.*

*Il cauzz e chauntt lu ben galo e berton.*

*La Bertaèyn.*

(2) Aneit

*Il a prîns l'orçuelh pór racuedre le sâh du pórçeù.*

*Faùt qe j'aùje le vair aneit.*

*La ghespe m'a piqéy le dai den un cllos.*

*Il caùse et châte lu ben galo et bŕeton.*

*La Bŕetaenhe.*

(3) Deriano

*Il a prinz l'orceulh pour raqheudr le sâh du pourcèu.*

*Faùt qe j'aùje le vair aneit.*

*La gheype m'a piqhény le dai dan un clloz.*

*Il caùze et châte lu ben galo e berton.*

*La Bertaenhe.*

(4) Ôbrée 1 (Motier)

*Il a prinz l'orceû pour raqheudr le sang du pourcéo.*

*Fao qe j'aoje le vaer anæt.*

*La ghépe m'a piqhée le dae den un cllos.*

*Il caose et chante lu bén galo et brton.*

*La Brtégne.*

(5) Ôbrée 2 (Alment d'if)

*Il a prinz l'orseû pour raqheudr le sang du poursèo.*

*Fao qe j'aoje le vaer anæt.*



*La ghépe m'a piquée le dae den én clloz.*

*Il caoze e chante lu bén galo e brton.*

*La Brtégn.*

(6) Ôbrée 3 (*Venté sou léz saodd*)

*Il a prinz l'orseû pourr raqheudr le sang du poursèl.*

*Fao qe j'aoj le vaer anet.*

*La ghép m'a piqué le dae den én qlhoz.*

*Il qaozz e chantt lu bén galo e b<sup>o</sup>rton.*

*La B<sup>o</sup>rtégn.*

(7) Trimer graphic system

*Il a preh l'orsö pur raköd l'saoñ dü purse.*

*Faw kë j'awj lë vey anë.*

*La gep m'a pikey l'dey dañ eñ kio.*

*I kawz ë çaoñt lü beñ galo ë bërtoñ.*

*La Bërtenh.*

(8) Praud graphic system

*Il a priñy l'orseu pour rakcheud l' sañw du poursè.*

*Faw ke j'awj le vèy ane.*

*La gjép m'a pikchéy l' dèy dañ iñ kyo.*

*I kawz e chawnt lu biñ galo e bertoñ.*

*La Bertègn.*

(9) Vantyé (Yann Mikael)

*Il a preh l'orseu pour rakheud l' sanw du poursè.*

*Faw kë j'awj le vèy anë.*

*La ghép m'a pikhéy l' dèy dan en kyo.*

*I kawz ë chanwt lu ben galo ë bërton.*

*La Bèrtènh.*

(10) Jouin graphic system

*Il a preey l'orseu pour rakheud l' saaw du poursè.*

*Faw ke j'awj le vèy ane.*

*La ghép m'a pikhéy l' dèy daa ee kyo.*

*I kawz e chaawt lu bee galo e bertoo.*

*La Bertènh.*

(11) Fleury graphic system

*Il a prîn l'orseu pour raqheud l' sân du poursè.*

*Fao qe j'aoj le vèy ane.*

*La ghép m'a piqhéy l' dèy dan in qyo.*

*I caoz e chânt lu bin galo e berton.*

*Le Bertégn.*

(12) Mitaw (region of Redon)

*Il a pren l'orsë pou rekejïr lë senw du poursè.*

*Il fô kê j'ày (j'va) lë vwar anë.*

*La ghêp ma pikhé lë dwa denw lë chenw.*

*Il kâawz é chant galo é berton.*

*Bërteegn.*

Translation

*Il a pris le récipient pour recueillir le sang du porc.*

He took a container to get the blood of the pig.

*Il faut que j'aille le voir aujourd'hui.*

I have to go see him today.

*La guêpe m'a piquée le doigt dans un champ.*

I was stung by a bee in the field.

*Il parle et chante bien gallo et breton.*

He talks and sings well in Gallo and Breton.

*La Bretagne. Brittany.*

*Maezoe* developed its own writing system about 30 years ago influenced by the Romance model, however it is never succeeded in establishing itself according to several informants. Informant (N 5, M) described it as less archaic and less centered on the development of old writing systems: ‘A leur place, je me poserais des questions’ – if I were them, I would ask myself questions (N 5, M, 36:36, Loudéac, 06/29/09).

In the second part of her book on the *Description de la langue*<sup>51</sup>, Nathalie Tréhel-Tas (2007) listed seven orthographies and describes each of them as a specific tool available to the writer or the learner to express his / her vision of the variety and the way it should transcribes Gallo culture. We find below the same orthographies as the ones presented in *Maezoe* expect for the variants on accents from Ôbrée and *Vantyé*.

(1) ELG

*Il faut qe j'auj le veir anoet.*

(2) Aneit

*Il faùt qe j'àùje le vair aneit.*

(3) Deriano

*Faùt qe j'àùje le vair aneit.*

(4) Obrée

*Il fao qe j'aoje le vaer anoet.*

(5) Fleury graphic system

*I fao qe j'aoj le vèy ane.*

(6) Praud graphic system

*I faw ke j'awj le vèy ane.*

(7) Vantyé

*I faw ke j'awj le vèy ane.*

Translation

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<sup>51</sup> Description of the language

*Il faut que j'aille le voir aujourd'hui.*

I have to go see him today.

Multiplicity in writing systems demonstrates disagreements among Gallo users, linguists and teachers, which weaken the probabilities of reaching a general orthography that speakers and learners would adopt. The ongoing discussion relies on two opposite perspectives; increasing the choice of graphic tools so *gallèsants* are able to express themselves in their own variety or opt for a more global orthography which would be a compromise of all the variants of the language. I already mentioned the criticism often expressed towards both approaches. The process of changing or unifying written Gallo falls under language planning measures as we know. However discussions and agreements will be difficult to engage and finalize if the community is not actively involved in the project. We know from previous cases (I will come back to this part in section 3.2.1.2 on Welsh) that imposing a standardized form of a language variety is often a failure due to the lack of consultation on the researchers' and language planners' part and the general indifference of the speech community.

Finally, I refer to one of the latest works published on 'Writing in Gallo' by Crisstof Simon (2007). In the last few decades, Gallo language has been subject to numerous orthographic attempts which often led (and still do) to controversial debates. One cannot ignore the consequences of the transition to a written form of an oral language. The written language is often opposed to the *oralité* (oral / spoken form) and the two expressions remain clearly separate in the case of regional languages:

La plupart du temps mise en opposition à la langue orale, l'écriture apparaît souvent comme un second moment de la vie d'une langue

(Simon, 2007: 184) - Most of the time, writing often appears as a second moment in the life of a language when opposed to the oral language.

What Simon calls '*le passage à l'écrit*' (switching to writing) of a linguistic variety based on oral tradition presents several issues among which the rejection of any writing system because it slows down or even prevents the variety from evolving. According to Chauveau (1984 cited in Simon, 2007), the process of writing shapes the language in a fixed state:

La langue écrite semble pour lui incompatible proprement avec la variation de la langue qui ne peut apparaître finalement qu'à l'oral (Simon, 2007: 188) - The written language seems to him strictly incompatible with the variation of the language which actually appears only orally.

Simon presents the different aspects which should get incorporated into the written form of the language to render it more acceptable and valid. The writing system adopted for an oral language must include aspects of its social perception/place (autonomy and homogeneity), and history to be able to explain the present geography of the language. It is important to use a system corresponding to the social environment of the Gallo reader as Ôbrée tried to do with the *Moga* system by offering different ways to write dialectal variations and express social differences. However, objections and criticisms are numerous as I already mentioned because the act of writing a language increases its social existence. In the next few years, the challenge for the Gallo language will consist in refining the technicalities of the existing orthographic systems and providing appropriate tools (dictionaries, textbooks, databases, exhibitions, etc...) to strengthen the transmission and acquisition of the language.

#### 2.4.4 Informants' reactions

I conclude this section on the Gallo writing systems by some general comments regarding the standardization of Gallo collected during the interviews. Fifteen different writing systems inevitably raise issues (N 4, M, 46:06, Rennes, 06/11/09) and naturally the major subject discussed concerns the lack of agreement between the different associations. The informant refers to several attempts to come to an agreement and that have been unsuccessful so far: 'aujourd'hui, pas du tout de convergence' – today there's no convergence at all (N 4, M, 31:54, Rennes, 06/11/09).

One Gallo teacher deplores the lack of unity to come to an agreement as the state of endangerment of Gallo is increasing and a solution needs to be reached:

ça fait 20 ans qu'on se réunit pour l'orthographe – we've been meeting for 20 years to discuss orthography' (N 24, F, 14:53, Orgères, 07/13/09).

chacun défend sa chapelle – each one defends his business  
(N 24, F, 20:34, Orgères, 07/13/09).

il faut faire vite et être efficace – we need to act fast and be efficient  
(N 24, F, 21:05, Orgères, 07/13/09).

She promotes simplicity and efficiency when it comes to writing Gallo. The objective is to teach the language in a minimalist way and reach an agreement between the different models as soon as possible to preserve it (and therefore transmit it). The language needs to be practiced, written, and published. Informant (N 8, M) summarizes the situation very well by explaining that the systems are too different rendering any agreement almost impossible: 'en ce moment, on a deux pôles irréconciliables' – at the moment, there are two irreconcilable poles (N 8, M, 20:36, Montfort sur Meu, 06/23/09).

These two models are *Bertaèyn Galeizz* (ABC) and *Chubri*, and the informant declares that one or the other has to be eliminate (N 8, M, 21:03, Montfort sur Meu, 06/23/09).

Two informants (N 24, F, N 17, M, Orgères, 07/13/09) expressed strong regrets and criticism while describing the situation as being ridicule. They agree on the unnecessary multiplication of the models instead of finding a common system (which would mean leaving out some propositions):

donc il y a 50 gallos, chacun fait un petit peu le gallo à sa façon...c'est ridicule, quelle langue fonctionne de cette façon? - so, there are 50 Gallos, everyone does Gallo his own way...it's ridiculous, what language works that way ? (N 17, M, 15:05, Sérent, 07/02/09).

je connais pas d'autres langue où il y a des trucs comme ça - I don't know any other languages where stuff like that happens (N 24, F, 19:34, Orgères, 07/13/09).

Some informants reveal their hesitation and expose a more paradoxical point of view. Informant (N 24, F) appreciates the freedom students have in writing Gallo, for instance for the *baccalauréat*<sup>52</sup> they are advised to write it the way they want to pronounce it (N 24, F, 13:30, Orgères, 07/13/09). However, she recognizes the usefulness of a linguistic code to standardize the language so that learners have coherent markers: 'c'est gênant de ne pas avoir un code' – it is problematic to not have a code (N 24, F, 16:37, Orgères, 07/13/09). Complexity and dispersion are issues which are often encountered by Gallo teachers. It is important to be able to practice the language as often as possible. According to several informants, (N 24, F, N 17, M, N 5, M), speaking the language is the key to its preservation. One of them declares: 'une langue, il faut qu'elle soit parlée,

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<sup>52</sup> Series of examinations at the end of the last year of high school to enter College.

qu'elle soit normée' – a language is meant to be spoken, it needs a norm (N 17, M, 22:55, Sérent, 07/02/09).

The codes developed are complex and are against the 'natural' use of the language. The objective is to remain practical and efficient (N 24, F, 20:34, Orgères, 07/13/09): 'un mot, ça doit être le miroir de toutes les prononciations possibles' – a word should be the reflection of all the possible pronunciations (N 24, F, 17:31, Orgères, 07/13/09).

The informant gives the example of the word /kjet/ *cuisse* (thigh).

The last main topic discussed during the interviews concerns the courses offered by the association Stumdi during the Fall 2009 (after the interviews were conducted). The people interviewed were generally skeptical of the structure and choices (orthography) made by the association. One language planner mentions the 'uncoordinated effort for the training offered by Stumdi' (N 4, M, 44:22, Rennes, 06/11/09). As for informant (N 17, M), he disagrees with the methodology and believes that school plays the main role in the preservation of regional languages: 'le jour où une école en gallo, bilingue, existe et ben tout le monde devra s'adapter' – the day when a bilingual school in Gallo exists, well everybody will have to adapt (N 17, M, 56:16, Sérent, 07/02/09).

He illustrates his argument by quoting the case of Breton whose unification was the result of a struggle in which 'le plus fort a gagné' – the strongest won (N 17, M, 55:18, Sérent, 07/02/09). Eventually, Gallo will have to go through the same process and language planners may have to make certain sacrifices (regarding their writing choices) to preserve the language.



In the following section, I introduce the reactions expressed by older speakers (non-teachers or members of associations) concerning the standardization of Gallo. Two themes came out of the discussions: (1) issues and disagreements with some of the writing systems proposed, and (2) efforts or solutions needed to preserve the language as well as the culture. The informants view school as one of the fastest means to help preserving the language, but most of them do not agree with the writing systems chosen for Gallo classes and openly criticize the orthography which appears on certain signs in town (for instance, in the subway of Rennes). Three informants (N 24, F, N 20, M, N10, M) referred to it as '*du yougoslave*' (Yugoslavian) especially the use of 'cz', 'ë', 'aj', 'ou'. One of them clearly criticizes the approach of the associations:

ces petits jeunes qui arrivent sur le marché et qui...ils ont qu'à demander aux gens qui connaissent rien comment ils veulent - these young people who arrive on the market and who...they should ask people who don't know anything how they want things done (N 20, M, 42:48, Redon, 07/11/09).

He argues that the *Mitaw* writing system (mainly used in the region of Redon, south of Rennes) is more 'attractive' since it looks further away from French.

ça fait la difference avec le français, ça flatte – it makes the difference with French, it is flattering (N 20, M, 27:00, Redon, 07/11/09);

si tu donnes une graphie différente du français, ça devient une langue – if you give a writing which is different from that of French, it becomes a language (N 20, M, 28:56, Redon, 07/11/09).

He draws similarities with the process of acquiring a foreign language and thinks it could be easier for children who already learn English. The goal is to make the language interesting and worth learning. The informant thinks in terms of 'attractiveness' and

believes that the aesthetic prevails: ‘ça les ‘w’, ça les intéresse parce que c’est une autre langue, c’est plus loin du français’ – the ‘w’, it interests them because it’s another language, it is further away from French (N 20, M, 27:10, Redon, 07/11/09).

Although some informants are in favor of the unification of Gallo, they differentiate this process from the standardization process in the following terms:

c’est quand même bon pour l’unification - it’s ok to unify

(N 28, M, 1:41, Tinténia, 06/15/09) ;

quand ça va à l’uniformisation, c’est plus embêtant - when it goes to standardization, it’s more worrying (N 28, M, 1 :44, Tinténia, 06/15/09).

He makes the distinction between having a common way of writing Gallo elaborated by all the actors of language planning (including older speakers) and imposing a model.

He writes Gallo sometimes in local revues / magazines (for instance, *le journal des Iffs*), books for grandchildren (*Au fil des rotes* – along the paths) and plays.

Although the idea of elaborating a written version of Gallo can lead to heated debates during the interviews, the respondents attempt to find solutions to render language planning measures more effective, one of them being the practice of the language in every possible situation. For instance, *l’atelier gallo*<sup>53</sup> created by the informant (N 10, M) is an association focusing on the cultural aspect and conversations. The choice of the writing is free and there is no model. The main observation is that even though no agreement has been reached so far, the debate over the standardization of Gallo raises curiosity and gradually making it more visible in Brittany’s politico-linguistic landscape.

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<sup>53</sup> 10 people (2008-2009), 19 sessions (2 hours each). There is an emphasis on practicing Gallo through casual conversations and listening comprehension (radio programs, recorded texts).

‘C’est bien...au moins on en parle’ – it’s a good thing...at least people speak about it (N 30, M, 57:00, Saint-Maur, 06/24/09).

At the same time, speakers could benefit a lot from interacting in Gallo: ‘plus de plaisir à échanger, à produire, à s’exprimer’ – more pleasure exchanging, producing, expressing oneself (N 30, M, 56:10, Saint-Maur, 06/24/09). The general feeling (regret) that the language has changed into an elitist system was brought up by older speakers: ‘c’est dommage parce que c’est pas vécu par le bas’ – it’s too bad because it does not come from the core (N 20, M, 4:55, Redon, 07/11/09).

Unfortunately, due to the normalization of the structure of the standard language (French), there is less space and interest for Gallo and other regional languages.

I presented a detailed overview of the Gallo language including its various writing systems. Teaching Gallo at school involves making decisions on the teacher’s part as to which system to use. In the following section, I describe the place of Gallo within French educational system (its origin, teachers’ training, courses and material).

## 2.5 The educational system: Learning Gallo at school

In the literature, little has been said about Gallo identity (*l'identité gallèse*) and useful language planning measures. However, we do find a few studies on the place of Gallo in the teaching system, and on issues encountered by both teachers and speakers (D'Hervé, 2005), i.e. the way the dialect is perceived by students of elementary schools and Junior High (Blanchet, 2002). The particular linguistic case and identity 'crisis' of *Bretagne* characterized by one Celtic variety and one variety part of the *Oïl* family by two close-knit communities has been studied by Chevalier, 2007 and Manzano, 2005. More recently, Gallo became a subject of study at the Université de Rennes 2 where a group of scholars is actively working on language planning, corpus planning and data collecting related to oral traditions.

### 2.5.1 History and evolution

As we saw earlier in chapter 1 (section 1.3.3), various *lois* et *circulaires* and bills have been enforced by different ministers of the French educational system at different periods. There emerges a general picture of what it means to teach a regional language in school, or a dialect, along with the powerful and 'unique' standard. In 1977, the *Charte* authorized teachers and instructors to use and teach Gallo language and culture in elementary and secondary schools. Starting in 1979, the *Association des Amis du Parler Gallo* and its President, Gilles Morin, strongly recommended providing a continuous education in Gallo from kindergarten up to university level. The language was in fact introduced as an optional subject that students could take as an elective course.

The debate around introducing Gallo at school started in the 1940's based on the initiative of the association *Les Compagnons de Merlin* and soon influenced by two different approaches on the acquisition of the language in the school environment. The first conception proposed by Le Coq (2007) in his study on teaching Gallo describes the language as a useful tool, 'le plus utile auxiliaire à l'apprentissage du français' (Le Coq, 2007: 225) – the most useful auxiliary to learn French - whereas the second one condemned the risk of normalization.

In the 1970's, it was argued that the acquisition of Gallo would increase the general awareness of children from lower-income homes living in rural areas who were doing poorly or failing at school. A few years later, Leray (1976) brings an innovative approach to pedagogical methods on Gallo. Teachers were asked to develop writing and speaking skills in class trying to observe the Freinet pedagogy.

The main principles of this method can be summarized as follows: in the classroom, teamwork in learning processes is a key concept. The teacher takes on the minimal role of, for instance, a guide or a mediator, and authority is identified as a form of violence. The assumption is that if the project is well organized, it fascinates the students and there is no need for discipline and authority. Therefore, children are allowed to express themselves freely via the creation of texts, drawings, letters, and newspapers. The Freinet pedagogy developed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century is still used nowadays by many schools and insists more on oral activities and discussions.

In 1982, this time with a cooperation between Morin, Leray and Rollin the focus is clearly on strategies to combat failure at school (*l'échec scolaire*) and schools were given

one or two hours for teaching Gallo to 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> graders. Optional courses were offered in high school with the possibility for students to be tested on Gallo language and culture for the *baccalauréat*. But the response from the *Education Nationale* (*Rectorat*<sup>54</sup> in Rennes) was not positive at first:

Dans la mesure où le Breton, langue régionale, figure déjà dans la liste des langues possibles offertes au baccalauréat (...) le baccalauréat est un examen très lourd à gérer, les épreuves n'ayant cessé de se multiplier. Il convient d'éviter dans la mesure du possible de l'alourdir encore davantage (Leray, 1982: 227) - Since the regional language, Breton, already appears in the list of possible languages offered for the *baccalauréat* (...) the *baccalauréat* is a very heavy test to administrate due to the increasing number of tests. It is agreed to avoid as far as possible to make it even more difficult.

Finally, a positive response was given in 1984 to the initiative of the High School in Loudéac and Gallo was incorporated to the *baccalauréat* as an optional test.

In 1994, Gallo is also offered as the IUFM<sup>55</sup> as an optional field for future teachers. The Regional Council of Brittany (*Le Conseil Régional de la Bretagne*) urged for the protection of Gallo and adopted a project on linguistic policy in 2004:

Le gallo est la langue romane spécifique à la Bretagne et fait partie au même titre que le breton de son patrimoine culturel...[il] souffre néanmoins d'un manque de visibilité dans la société bretonne moderne. Les collectivités territoriales et l'Etat se doivent de protéger le patrimoine culturel que constitue le gallo et d'en favoriser l'étude scientifique et l'usage (D'Hervé, 2005: 269) - Gallo is a Romance language specific to

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<sup>54</sup> *Le rectorat* is a state administration in charge of the recruitment and management of teachers, people working in administrative services, technicians, direction and inspection people.

<sup>55</sup> *Instituts Universitaires de Formation des Maîtres* which provide a year-training for future teachers for any level of education.

Brittany and like Breton it belongs to its cultural heritage...nevertheless it suffers from a lack of visibility in the modern Breton society. Territorial organizations and the State must protect the cultural heritage of Gallo and favor its scientific study and usage.

In 1997-1998, the measures sent out by the *Rectorat* of Rennes focused mainly on the culture and history of Brittany. Therefore, textbooks were published and new methods elaborated to cover different fields such as sciences, music, history, geography, literature. Clearly the goal was to expand the students' knowledge of the regional culture to increase their interest (and their surrounding's) in the language.

At college level, in the DEUG<sup>56</sup> program of the University of Rennes 2, a course on '*langue et civilization gallèses*'<sup>57</sup> was created and added to the curriculum of the Celtic department in 1982. Among professors working on the linguistic variety of *Haute-Bretagne*, Henriette Walter started a Gallo curriculum in the department of General Linguistics and studied phonology with her students until 1993. The collaborative work between Leray, Blanchet and Manzano aiming for a more scientific approach on the regional variety, *Langue et culture régionale de Bretagne: le gallo*, led to the opening of two official university programs in Rennes 2 and finally the elaboration of a researcher group under CREDILIF (Centre de Recherche sur la Diversité Linguistique de la Francophonie) directed by Philippe Blanchet. These programs publish annually *Les Cahiers de sociolinguistique* and make public numerous ongoing projects on Gallo community.

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<sup>56</sup> *Diplôme d'Etudes Universitaires Générales*, equivalent of the first two years of college. This degree no longer exists.

<sup>57</sup> Language and history of Gallo

Territorial collectivities<sup>58</sup> and the State must protect the cultural heritage of Gallo and improve its scientific study and usage. In 2002, it became no longer possible for students in DEUG and future teachers to study Gallo at the university level and in subsequent training programs, when an official document cancelled teaching programs in Gallo at all educational levels. It is important to remember here that Gallo is still not officially recognized as a regional language by the French state. A similar scenario affected all the languages of the *Oïl* family due to financial budget cuts. It was feared they would ‘contaminate’ French with regionalisms.

#### 2.5.2 Teachers and students

Teachers of Gallo compare and share pedagogical experiences through *L’Association des Enseignants de Gallo*. The association remains under the supervision of the *Education Nationale*. Today, there are 12 instructors of Gallo (compared to 30 in the 1990’s) which represents two full-teaching positions and 4 half-time positions in elementary and secondary education. Most of them originally grew up in a rural environment (farming essentially) hearing and/or speaking the language regularly and volunteered to share their knowledge of Gallo language and culture. More specifically, they all are teachers in different fields (history, foreign languages, French, etc...) and stress the importance of what Gallo can bring to the students. For the most part, they are ‘pioneers’ and have struggled for the acceptance of their language at school, but the new teachers’ generation does not seem to have the same interest and enthusiasm. As for the students, motivations vary depending on the age and the place of Gallo culture within the family. This last

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<sup>58</sup> General name for all sub-national entities which have an elected local government and a certain freedom of administration.



factor can play a positive role on the final decision to take Gallo in High School for instance. Few cases of students who are not natives of *Haute-Bretagne* express curiosity for the language variety of the region to justify their choice. In College, those taking Gallo courses often wish to improve the language skills they acquired earlier. Table 2.5 summarizes the number of students enrolled in the Gallo program from 1998 to 2002 in *Haute-Bretagne*.

**Table 2.9 - Number of students in *Haute Bretagne***

	Junior High	High School	Elementary	Total
1999-2000	421	288	1200	1909
2000-2001	300	178	1300	1778
2001-2002	392	211	1750	2745
2002-2003	345	156	1300	1801
2004-2005	326	248	1300	1874
2005-2006	297	306	1300	1903

From Le Coq (2007: 230)

We notice a slow decrease in the number of students enrolled even though the academic year 2001-2002 shows a general increase due to the opening of a new full-time teaching position in Redon and in Saint-Malo. Undoubtedly, there is a clear demand on the side of the learners to access more classes and improve their education in Gallo.

I already mentioned the different levels at which the learner can take Gallo classes but to be more specific I will use the figures given by D'Hervé (2005): 9 high schools, 13 junior high and 28 elementary schools (*Premier degré* – first degree) offered Gallo courses in 2001-2002 across the *départements* of *Ille-et-Vilaine*, *Côtes d'Armor* and *Morbihan* (with two schools only). In 2000-2001, 4 high schools, 9 junior high and 11 elementary schools

provided classes in Gallo. In one year, 23 schools adopted optional courses on Gallo in the *département* of Ille-et-Vilaine, 3 in the Côtes d'Armor and 2 in the Morbihan.

The exception is the *département* of *Loire Atlantique* where Gallo language is totally absent from schools for two reasons mainly. The first reason is ideological: the introduction of the regional language at school is strongly linked to active support from local associations and individuals in other areas of *Haute-Bretagne*. This movement does not seem to be as popular in *Loire Atlantique*. Second, administratively, the *Loire Atlantique* is separated from the rest of the *Bretagne historique*. This *department* included in the Region of *Pays de Loire* (and not in *Bretagne* like the other four) does not fall under the same laws when it comes to the enforcement of the regional language in the schools. To illustrate in more detail this section on teachers and students, I give below recent figures about schools which offered Gallo during the academic year 2005-2006 with number of hours per *collège* or *lycée* and where they are situated; followed by the number of students taking Gallo in 2008-2009 for the same schools:

Mû, <i>collège</i> , 7h	Loudéac, <i>lycée</i> , 3h
Loudéac, <i>collège</i> , 2h	Lamballe, <i>lycée</i> , 3h
Merdrignac, <i>collège</i> , 1h	Bain, <i>lycée</i> , 3h
Bain, <i>collège</i> , 4h	Montfort-sur-Meu, <i>lycée</i> , 3h
Plénée-Jugnon, <i>collège</i> , 4h	St Malo, <i>lycée</i> , 2h
Broons, <i>collège</i> , 4h	Guer, <i>lycée</i> , 2h
Romillé, <i>collège</i> , 1h	Dinan, <i>lycée</i> , 2h
St Brice-en-Coglès, <i>collège</i> , 2h	

Rennes, *collège*, 1h

Mauron, *collège*, 1h

Plémet, *collège*, 1h

**Table 2.10 - Teaching Gallo in public schools and number of students during the academic year 2008-2009**

	Names	Number of students
Elementary school	Autour de Maure	
Middle School	Broons	30
	Loudéac	20
	Merdrignac	10
	Plémet	20
	Plénée	80
	Bain	70
	Romillé	5
	Mauron	5
High School	Dinan	60
	Lamballe	30
	Loudéac	50
	Bain	40
	Montfort	30
	St-Malo	30
	Guer	20
Private high school	Dinan	Unknown number

Information sent via email by Régis Auffray (March 2009).

Other forms of teaching developed by Gallo associations provide evening classes. Two methods were designed at the beginning of the year 2000, *la méthode Simon*<sup>59</sup> and *la méthode Lecuyer*<sup>60</sup>. Simon proposed 7 basic lessons based on non-authentic texts or written dialogues. Each chapter presents a similar structure including 7 different sections:

<sup>59</sup> Cristoff Simon is currently the president of the association Bertaeyn Galeizz.

<sup>60</sup> Fabien Lecuyer is the creator of Teinzou dou Galo and is also an active member of the association A-demorr.

pronunciation, practice (*travallh*), answer questions (*responézt*), vocabulary (*parolyaer*), the study of sounds (*estudd dez son*), grammar (*graumaèrr*), write and complete tasks (*anazerj*). This approach follows the traditional method of drills, repetition, filling the blanks and translation exercises.

The second method developed by Lecuyer is composed of six parts in each chapter (11 chapters total): vocabulary (*parolyaer*), repeat (*repeissae*), dialogue (*devizaèy*), practice (*s'anczerjae*), translate (*tórnae an galo / tórnae en fraunczeiz*). In Lecuyer's approach, the acquisition of the language is contextualized in the learner's environment. This learning method was inspired by a previous method called 'De Nicolas Davalan' which was adapted to *Brezhoneg* (Cello-Breton). Originally, the method used to acquire Hebrew also known as the *Oulpan/Ulpan*<sup>61</sup> method inspired the pedagogical school for Breton later applied to Gallo.

### 2.5.3 Courses and materials

Emphasis on oral skills exploring stories, songs, and dancing constitutes the base of teaching methodologies at the first levels of learning (*école primaire*). The learners are asked to act and play with the language by collecting words, sentences and in the end create their own stories. While moving further in the acquisition of Gallo, the focus shifts towards language more specifically and culture. No textbooks are used in second degree learning as the students have a direct contact with the language (data collecting, interviews with older speakers, and creation of texts).

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<sup>61</sup> The purpose of this method is to teach adult immigrants to Israel basic language skills in order to integrate them as quickly and as easily as possible into the social, cultural and economic life of their new country.

When reaching the *terminale*<sup>62</sup>, students are asked to study a corpus of texts in the regional language for the *baccalauréat* examination. At the second level, namely in College and at the IUFM, the study of Gallo is divided into two main sections. During the first semester, the learners explore domains such as vocabulary, grammar, pronunciation and different subdialects. The study of literature comes next during the second half of the academic year. In the fall 2008, a program in Gallo language and culture was created at the Université Rennes 2 (*filiale langue et culture gallèses*), but this field may be threatened to disappear, due to the lack of financial support from the regional council and the State.

I now detail the Gallo curriculum which exists from kindergarten level up to the year of the *baccalauréat* (Dihun Breizh, *Découvrir le gallo à l'école*<sup>63</sup>). Dihun Breizh's objectives favor the diversity of local languages, understand and pass on the linguistic and cultural heritage, create or re-create intergenerational interactions, learn about the rich oral tradition of *Haute-Bretagne*. The pedagogical method used is called *la méthode Artigal* named after José Maria Artigal, a teacher and researcher in language acquisition (L2 and L3 particularly) and psycholinguistic, originally from Catalonia.

This pedagogical method was first developed for the acquisition of English by very young learners in a natural environment. Later, it was applied to several other languages in Europe including Gallo for which it has been translated and tested during the last three years:

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<sup>62</sup> Last year of High School when students take the 'baccalauréat', equivalent of US SAT.

<sup>63</sup> Discover Gallo at school is a program created in 2005 by the teachers' association *Dihun Breizh*, *Association pour l'enseignement du et en Breton et gallo* (association for teaching about and in Breton and Gallo).

La méthode Artigal est construite de façon à placer l'enfant dans les contextes proches de ceux qui étaient les siens pour apprendre sa première langue. Ce sont ces contextes qui permettront à l'enfant de donner rapidement un sens au 'texte', au dit et à la parole (www.dihun.org) – the Artigal method is meant to place the child in similar contexts to the ones in which he acquired his first language. These contexts will quickly allow the child to give a meaning to a text, a conversation and to the *parole*.

Artigal claims three basic principles to successfully explore this immersion and early acquisition of L2/L3 (3-4 years old) training and emphasizes that learning a language is not just repeating sounds or words (*la langue n'est pas dans le bla-bla*)<sup>64</sup>. It has become common knowledge that children below the age of seven strongly rely on context to build a meaning (meaning of words and of the speech).

- (1) The mother tongue (*la langue maternelle*): the baby learns and memorizes words and expressions because they are almost always pronounced in the same situations and places.
- (2) The spatial-temporal structure (*la structure spatio-temporelle*): the natural environment built while acquiring the first language needs to be re-created for other types of language learning (L2, L3). So, the learner is involved in the task (rather than repetition, memorization of lists of words outside of context).
- (3) Artigal's pedagogy (*la pédagogie d'Artigal*): the teacher establishes this structure for the students to situate and understand new words and expressions using skits or short plays.

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<sup>64</sup> Language is not just hot air.

In the first cycle, learners are given an initiation to the language and culture in ten sessions, each one is 30-minute long with a main focus on games, dances, describing people (body parts). In the second cycle, each session lasts 45 minutes and they are planned once a week. Gallo is introduced in various forms and activities. For instance, children are exposed to the oral tradition (songs, riddles, games, expressions, stories, and tales) as well as to the written literature (poetry, comics, and tales). Finally when the learners reach the third cycle, they continue exploring Gallo literature, perform in shows or plays and start interacting with older speakers. At this level, students are asked to discuss the linguistics as well as the culture and the emphasis is on communication. The objective of this Gallo optional class in high school (and even earlier on) is to reveal different or new aspects of the language:

Cette heure de langue et culture gallèse est aussi l'occasion de se rendre compte que le gallo peut-être vu autrement que comme du patois (Le Coq, 2007: 231) - This hour devoted to Gallo language and culture is also an opportunity to realize that Gallo can be viewed differently from just a *patois*.

The majority of the families show a strong interest for the language and culture of the region due to their relationship with Gallo traditions and values they have been sharing for several generations. In the first stages of acquisition, intergenerational exchanges are decisive.

Besides work in Gallo, literature (novels, short stories, tales, songs, poems, sayings, etc...), dictionaries and grammars along with CDs and other audio materials have been published and developed in the 1990's. While no official textbook is used in class as a methodological support, *Le Motier de galo* (Aubrée, 1995) and *Grammaire du Gallo*



(Deriano, 2005) represent major works in the field. Associations also offer evening classes in Gallo, bringing together speakers of different ages with different linguistic competences: ‘La langue fait l’objet d’un apprentissage à partir de documents élaborés lors d’ateliers de formation continue’ (Le Coq, 2007: 231) - The language is part of a learning process using documents put together during workshops.

The association *Bertaèyn Galeizz* (Nantes, Rennes, Dinan) provides a certain dynamism and innovative approach in its teaching by associating the language with playful activities which is something lacking in the mainstream approach of the *Education Nationale*. Their pedagogical approach includes the use of CDs created by *Bertaèyn Galeizz* called ‘Le galo ez escoll’ (le gallo à l’école – Gallo at school). After a period of expansion and hope, a change in governmental policy and the number of teaching positions soon led to a decrease after 2002. I will now present issues and limits pertaining to teaching Gallo in school which occurred recently (last year in 2008).

#### 2.5.4 Limits and specific issues

In section 2.4.3, I presented various graphic systems and discussed the difficulties emerging from the lack of a common orthography. Along those lines, the standardization of dialects brings up passionate debates among the French population at large. Agreeing on and adopting a common orthography (graphic normalization) differs from the process of language standardization often considered as a linguistic impoverishment of the variety. In order to facilitate the teacher’s tasks, it would be preferable to accept a more global graphic system including the different dialects of Gallo. How to represent the

‘standard’ form of a variety is a difficult matter, which generates discussions about the place and the status of the language in the sociolinguistic context of *Haute-Bretagne*.

The first mission of schools is to increase public awareness (young students and their parents) on their surrounding linguistic environment to eventually open the mentalities toward a positive image of the speech variety they are learning (which is not the standard). In practice, teachers in the classroom encounter various problems and drawbacks. The first issue is the serious need for new pedagogical material which is lacking for instructors willing to teach Gallo. Also, the language is not fully represented and spoken in classroom environment due to difficulties the teachers encounter. For instance, they have to put up with insufficient financial aid and the general negative mentality towards the regional variety because the acquisition of the local variety is viewed as unnecessary. The absence of orthography that would be used by all teachers and learners across the different schools in the region slows down the progress of Gallo at school. Finally, unlike in other *départements*, initiatives to teach Gallo in public institutions are completely absent from the *Loire Atlantique* area as I explained earlier.

Today, thanks to the militants and teachers (*enseignants-militants*) who progressively managed to introduce Gallo in the national education system, the community can view its language in more positive terms and hopefully this will change the stigmatized image that the variety often carries. Tenacity and motivations from teachers and learners influence the transmission process of language and culture within the region of *Haute-Bretagne*. Even though Gallo has the most developed teaching system of all *Oïl* languages inside the *Education Nationale*, it is far behind what regional

councils have achieved for the other regional varieties using bilingual curricula and various pedagogical structures. For instance, the region of *Basse-Bretagne* (Celtic area) created public bilingual schools (*Div Yezh*)<sup>65</sup>, private bilingual schools (*Dihun*) and immersive programs (*Diwan*) from kindergarten up to the university level.

This constitutes a first step toward the reassertion of the Gallo identity through the language itself and the harmonization of its teaching across the region. This task would definitely be successful only if the speakers expressed their willingness to preserve and maybe transmit their language.

In January 2008, the closure in 14 schools of Gallo/Breton language and culture programs was announced by the *Rectorat*<sup>66</sup> of Rennes within the *départements* of Côtes d'Armor (2), Ille-et-Vilaine (4), Morbihan (3) and Finistère (4) - only for Breton. The main issue seems to be the drop in the number of courses available in Breton and Gallo between elementary schools and middle schools. It has been shown that almost one in two student drops Gallo classes due to financial restrictions from the region and the state. The future of the regional language is clearly threatened and its acquisition has dramatically reduced among young learners, not because of a lack of motivation but rather because of strong efforts from the French state to maintain the status quo, as Gallo teaching, a non-priority project for the region.

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<sup>65</sup> Association of parents in favor of Breton in public school system.

<sup>66</sup> Board of education of Rennes.

### 2.5.5 Recent research in the field

The study on *School and extended family in the transmission and revitalization of Gallo in Upper-Brittany* published by Nolan (2008a) highlights a sharp decline in the transmission of Gallo, even though the transmission has not ceased completely. The methodology used for the study along with complementary results are discussed in further detail in chapter 6, section 6.2.

Nolan introduces a preliminary observation on Gallo transmission and use and claims that approximately 28,300<sup>67</sup> speakers of Gallo remain in the region, even though the generation leap - the fact that grand-parents are the main source of Gallo transmission (Dorian's 'grand-mother factor' concept)<sup>68</sup> - has slowed down the preservation of the language. Therefore, very few younger people learn Gallo at home.

Two questions constitute the basis of the data analysis of transmission patterns of Gallo: (1) is Gallo learned as a first language in the home today? and (2) how has Gallo been learned?

To the first question, 86 informants answered French and 2 answered Gallo and French.

For the second question, 21.3% of the children hear it spoken, 36.8% learn the language with their parents and 92.1% learn it at school. Nolan also observed a change in the acquisition pattern, parents learned Gallo with mothers or grand-parents and now students learn it with fathers more.

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<sup>67</sup> This number is taken from Le Boetté (2003). Blanchet & Le Coq (2006) estimated the number of Gallo speakers to be around 40,710 and the association Bertaeyn Galeizz provided a higher number, approximately 200,000 speakers, in 2007. They clearly use a different definition of what constitutes a 'speaker'.

<sup>68</sup> As the result of a strong attachment to some kinsperson other than the parents, the last two or three children among a large of children emerge as semi-speakers.

The results demonstrate that there is a severe fall in transmission and Gallo has a primarily affective role (symbolic and cultural value of small languages) and its usage is extremely limited outside of immediate family circles. It seems difficult to apply Fishman's GIDS strictly to the Gallo case since revitalization efforts for Gallo are located on the 'weak side', namely from stages 5 through 8. Stage eight is the closest to language disappearance when only a few speakers are left and no written standard exists. Stage seven is not much of an improvement: only adults speak the language and in stage six the language has an intergenerational use at home and can possibly be transmitted. The endangerment progression observed in Gallo shares characteristics with stage five and six. For instance, the language is overwhelmingly spoken by young adults between the age of 20 and 35 and older speakers (65 and older). The intergenerational transmission can be observed in the context of home mainly as it is described in stage six, however it is more common between the grandparents and their grandchildren than between the parents and their children.

The second study on *The Role of Gallo in the identity of Upper-Brittany school pupils of the language variety and their parents* (Nolan, 2008b). The research questions examine the relationship between language and identity and the concept of 'associated language' (historical or heritage language without necessarily speaking it). I have presented earlier the sociolinguistic context of High-Brittany and the difficulty for Gallo members to find a place in Breton identity, what Marcellesi (1981) called 'satellisation' or double-negative identity (Morin, 1987); see chapter 3, section 3.2

Nolan's study offers predictable results. 569 informants from middle-school and high-school students were contacted between 2003 and 2004, 10 interviews were conducted and 136 questionnaires were returned during that year. The largest respondent age-group was that of 15-19 year-olds. Nolan formulated two hypotheses, (1) there seems to be an intergenerational difference in opinion towards the idea of a Gallo identity and (2) a lack of overt activist motivation to study Gallo at school.

**Table 2.11 - Does Gallo identity exist for respondents?**

Students	Y 32.6%	N 46.1%
Parents	Y 34%	N 53.2%

Informants associate Gallo identity with rural quality, tradition, mythology, origin, and differentiation from French. Both positive and negative sentiments were expressed and a variety of expressions and words were collected such as 'real identity', heritage, belonging, also peasantry, and poverty<sup>69</sup> for negative standpoints. The main idea is that people can feel *gallésant*<sup>70</sup> without speaking or understanding the language fluently:

This certainly does not negate the role of Gallo in Upper-Brittany identity, it means that Gallo is perceived as being an element of Upper-Breton identity consciousness, but does not have to be spoken (Nolan, 2008b: 149).

Nolan concludes that children are more favorable towards Gallo and that the language of *Haute-Bretagne* may have gained some ground on Breton, even though Gallo is more localized and Breton is associated to the whole region. Gallo is perceived as an element of High-Brittany and the feeling of belonging to that community does not necessarily mean 'speaking the language'. It is a different way of relating to the group by sharing

<sup>69</sup> *La paysannerie, la pauvreté.*

<sup>70</sup> Member of the Gallo community, it does not include the notion of 'speaking' the language.

traditions, regional knowledge or common roots, for instance a shared knowledge of the surrounding environment (nature) and *savoir-faire* (recipes) creates a sense of belonging to that group.

## 2.6 Case studies

### 2.6.1 *Diwan* schools in Brittany

I refer to the model of *Diwan* schools described in McDonald (1989) and their successful impact in Brittany (Breton side) as a way to compare this phenomenon with the Gallo situation and its complex relationship with the *Education nationale*<sup>71</sup>. The creation of *Diwan* schools allowed members of the Breton community to take “the future of Breton into their own hands, and at least offered them the education they want, in their own language” (McDonald, 1989: 175). It is important to clarify the context in which these schools were created and to determine whether their function was strictly pedagogical and / or political.

#### 2.6.1.1 Origins and foundation

The project of *Diwan* schools, founded in 1977, is a project of independent, Breton-medium education that was already discussed in Quimper and previously named *Skol an Emsav*:

*Diwan* (usually pronounced /'di: wãn/) is a Breton term meaning ‘seed’ or ‘germination...It is also the name of a militant organization founded in 1977 with the aim of providing Breton-medium education. Membership of *Diwan* overlaps considerably with that of other militant groups, but *Diwan* members see themselves as the movement’s daring and practical pioneers (McDonald, 1989: 175).

Inspired by two modern minority cases, the Welsh model and the system established by Basque militants (McDonald, 1989: 179-180), the *Diwan* educational system belongs to

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<sup>71</sup> French National Education System



the post-‘68 period and showed no relationship with the wartime movement and clericalism. The number of children enrolled in these institutions increased in the years 1980-1981 and represented 0.1 per cent of the regional nursery schools population.

#### 2.6.1.2 Finance and structure

Several options helped funding this type of schools among which public subsidies, fund-raising events at the local level (football games, dominoes, races, other contests...). The main events were music concerts or *festoù-noz* organized by many schools. From then on, it became clear that the community could not live on Breton culture any longer as the Secretary of the organization declared in 1979:

We come from an idealist, Celtic society but can we live in a realist world on idealist means? While some responded cheerily that it was inevitable and no bad thing that ‘Celts’ and the ‘capitalist system’ were incompatible, a few spoke out, as ‘realists’, arguing that ‘like it or no, we are in the system, and have to live from it (McDonald, 1989: 182).

In the early 1980’s, federations and militancy (*militantisme*) could not be supported anymore due to their financial deficit and increasing debts. Soon, *Diwan* schools complained of a loss of ‘community feeling’ and of ‘the Breton spirit’. At that time many people thought that *Diwan* should be self-financed, however it largely benefited from the active support of the UDB movement (*Union Démocratique bretonne*<sup>72</sup>). *Diwan* institutions are private schools which provide several courses in Breton (geography, history, mathematics, music...). Their creation in 1970’s received the wide approval of

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<sup>72</sup> Political party in favor of the autonomy of Brittany

the Breton community; but the French state (which supports mainly public schools) did not participate in the development of these Breton language programs.

#### 2.6.2 Teaching Norman in the *Nord-Cotentin*: linguistic practices and attitudes

In her article on *L'enseignement du Normand dans le Nord-Cotentin: Etude des pratiques et des attitudes linguistiques* (2007), Christine Pic-Gillard summarizes the struggle to maintain Norman at school in these words:

Dans un contexte de recherche identitaire, le normand, depuis des siècles invisible, tente de survivre: dernier soupir ou nouveau souffle ? (Pic-Gillard, 2001: 193) - In the context of search for identity, Norman, for centuries, has been trying to survive: last breath or new departure?

This research highlights the difficulties encountered by associations and language promoters to spread the diffusion of Norman in schools, even though the demand on the learners' side is growing as the language is gaining a more positive status.

##### 2.6.2.1 Situation of the language

Like Gallo, Norman represents one of the main languages of the *Oïl* family. People living in the cities of Rouen and Cherbourg still spoke this Northern variety before the Second World War. Nowadays, the Norman language encounters difficulties facing the overwhelming presence of the standard combined with the idea of a lack of socio-economic prestige among its users. It is now used to transmit the local culture and identity and is no longer a mother tongue. Interestingly enough, *Bas-normand*, the variety spoken in the Cotentin region is registered as being in a bilingual situation along the coast

from Barfleur to Carentan and from Carentan to Saint-Hilaire-du-Harcouët according to a study conducted by Henriette Walter between 1974 and 1978. Recently, the problem has been linked to the status and the psycholinguistic perception of the vernacular. Speakers need to be aware that their speech variety is not a variant of French as it is commonly thought but an instrument of communication used to analyze human experience.

#### 2.6.2.2 Linguistic market<sup>73</sup>

In France, the linguistic market is based on two main official texts: the *Constitution nationale* of 1958, which claims the unity of one people in France, the French people, without mentioning its language and the *Charte européenne des langues minoritaires* of 1992, which was not signed in totality by the French government. We can observe progressive changes in mentalities starting with political classes:

une langue, quel que soit son nombre de locuteurs, est un trésor humain et sa disparition ampute le patrimoine de l’humanité (Jospin’s declaration in 1997 at the summit of the European Council) – a language, whatever is the number of its speakers, represents a human treasure and its disappearance amputes world’s heritage.

In the case of Gallo, it can be argued that this position remains wishful thinking as no clear action has been taken from governmental authorities to recognize and preserve the language.

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<sup>73</sup> Term taken from Bourdieu in *Ce que parler veut dire* to refer to the symbolic value and meaning of discourse.

### 2.6.2.3 Teaching Norman in *Nord-Cotentin* in 2001

Three objectives are being focused on in pedagogical approaches which value the learners' culture, make them aware of the importance of their regional culture and facilitate the access to linguistic practices based on learners' competence. The goal here is to enforce the use of local structures as being part of a 'real' language so that Norman is no longer considered a poor derivation of French.

Pedagogical methods were based on cultural practices such as learning songs, translating texts from Norman to French and vice versa, and memorizing local stories or tales. Both institutions, Collège<sup>74</sup> des Pieux in a *classe de cinquième*<sup>75</sup> and Collège de Beaumont-Hague in a *classe de sixième*<sup>76</sup> offer one hour of Norman each week. Various tasks were proposed to the students to learn Norman or improve their knowledge of the vernacular: study of a text first read by the instructor before being analyzed (vocabulary, comprehensive questions); preparation of a play with repetitive exercises performed individually and translation exercises using a dictionary. 41 Norman learners, 3 ex-learners of Norman and 38 none-learners participated in the study.

In the second school (Collège des Pieux), the pedagogical approach differs slightly from the more traditional method used in the first school. This one relies on music and creation of songs. The students are asked to explain the text, translate it, identify some grammatical forms (interrogatives), repeat the text without the melody and finally add the musical part. In order to analyze learners' linguistic attitudes, five perspectives were chosen for the questionnaires: (1) knowledge of Norman language, (2) language

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<sup>74</sup> Equivalent of Junior High Schools

<sup>75</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> grade

<sup>76</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> grade

behavior, (3) psycholinguistic attitudes, (4) knowledge of other regional languages, (5) expectations.

The results of this study assess the language attitudes and perceptions on Norman among learners of the variety. The answers show similarities between the two schools regarding a more positive judgment towards their language and a greater sensibility to the maintenance of the language as well as a higher knowledge of other regional languages. The exposure to the local variety increases the chance of its transmission while focusing on language planning efforts to value the image of the language.

Norman is still a language which transmits the regional culture and is taught by non-linguists: ‘la langue n’est pas qu’un sujet de recherches universitaires: elle exprime une culture vivante’ (Jones & Bulot, 2009: 99) – the language is not only a topic of academic research: it stands for a culture which is still alive.

The demand to acquire and preserve the variety remains high among younger students and older generations. However, political and social authorities (cultural and educative state organizations) do not support and recognize Norman language and culture.

Similarly to Gallo or any other regional variety of *Oïl*, it is obvious that a different image of the language needs to be created through the promotion of its language and culture. I think it is necessary to show the relationship between English lexicon and Norman lexicon to highlight the authenticity of the Norman language. Gallo and Norman cultures share a multicultural space in which the state ignores the expression of their reality. Nevertheless, young learners carry the hope of viewing the future of regional languages differently as they play with the idea that their environment can include several cultural

spheres. Accepting diversity and differences is the key to recognize the 'invisible' intercultural realities that coexist with the dominant culture.

## 2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I showed the origins of the Gallo language and situated the speech community in section 2.1 and 2.2. In section 2.3, I discussed the history and evolution of France's language policy to explain the concept of centralism, a concept deeply rooted in the linguistic values of the *Ancien Régime* and to which Grégoire contributed forcefully. I also evaluated in section 2.4 different orthographies proposed by teachers, linguists or community members for writing and teaching Gallo. I pointed out in section 2.5 the efforts pursued in the educational system to develop the local variety as an active, useful and modern communicative tool. To do so, I chose to discuss two cases studies related to the teaching of a regional language at school (Breton and Norman) to compare the evolution of Gallo language planning with that of neighboring speech communities.

## Chapter 3

### Sociolinguistics of the Gallo language

#### 3.0 Introduction

In chapter 2, I provided an overview of the Gallo language, situated it within the region of *Bretagne* and gave a description of the emergence of the language. I highlighted the main orthographic propositions created to preserve the language followed by a section on the place of Gallo in the French educational system and issues related to its teaching in public schools. I complemented this section with two case studies conducted on the elaboration of language programs for classroom environment, one in the *Basse-Bretagne* and the other one in Normandy (*Nord-Cotentin*) where Norman, the local variety, is still spoken.

The third chapter discusses the sociolinguistic status of Gallo within *Bretagne* (in contact with Breton and French) and within *Haute-Bretagne* more specifically (in contact with French and other varieties of Gallo) and is composed of five parts. Section 3.1 introduces the concept of diglossia along with other types of language contact models such as bilingualism and code-switching. After defining and analyzing the theoretical aspects underlying the main language contact cases (section 3.1.3), I demonstrate that Gallo does not correspond to any of these approaches.

Section 3.2 is a description the complex sociolinguistic context of Gallo in relation with both French and Breton in which I discuss Le Coq & Blanchet's study (2007) on linguistic practices to illustrate language and cultural representations in East Brittany. Section 3.3



presents a wider view of the linguistic situation in the region of *Bretagne* looking at the rivalry with Breton and how both regional varieties (Gallo and Breton) survived and are being preserved today. This section prepares for the following discussion on language contact (section 3.4) in which I choose to refer to Francis Manzano's work on diglossia, language contacts and conflicts (2003) along with Dominique Caubet's answer to the same article comparing the case of Gallo to that of Arabic spoken in Maghreb. Chapter three concludes with a summary on the sociolinguistics of Gallo in section 3.5

### 3.1 Introduction of different models of language contact

#### 3.1.1 Diglossia and/or bilingualism

The notion of diglossia was first introduced by Ferguson in 1959 as a phenomenon which emerges in certain language contact situations with a dominant variety (H variety) and a linguistic minority (L variety) carrying out different functions corresponding to distinct domains of interaction. Prestige is one of the key concepts in diglossic situation as H variety is viewed as superior to L. It is difficult to define in a very precise way what ‘prestige’ is, most of the time this notion is related to socio-cultural perceptions from inside and outside of the community. But let us first look at a definition from Ferguson’s *Diglossia* (1959):

diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety (Ferguson, 1959: 336)

What basically Ferguson is referring to is two varieties of a language spoken in the same speech community (for instance, Arabic, German, French / Creole). Ferguson detailed the concept of diglossia in nine categories:

- (1) Function: when, where, and with whom H and L varieties are spoken,
- (2) Prestige: ‘the belief of the superiority of H is sometimes so strong that the existence of L is denied’ (Wiggers, 2006: 68),
- (3) Literary heritage: H develops a large amount of literature, like standard French, whereas the L variety, i.e. Gallo language, possesses folk literature, poem, songs, but very few are published,

(4) Standardization: the H languages chosen by Ferguson to illustrate the idea of diglossia are all highly standardized and codified by a global language institution such as the *Académie française* (French German, Standard or Classical Greek, and Standard or Classical Arabic). L varieties like Gallo and other regional languages often present multiple orthographic systems (section 2.4),

(5) During the acquisition process, the dominant language is the one which provides larger social and economic opportunities to the speakers. In a ‘true diglossia’ (as opposed to Fishman’s approach which I briefly refer to in section 3.3.2), H variety is learned at school in a formal setting and L is the language used at home. Standard French is now fulfilling domains which were exclusively those of Gallo and the norm is the first language of interaction at home,

(6) Stability: tensions and competition contribute to unstable linguistic situations, but it is not rare to observe diglossic cases over several centuries. This was probably true for Gallo and French until the First World War until a change within the distribution of H and L in the language community occurred (Wiggers, 2006: 71),

(7) Grammar: the impression of grammatical ‘simplicity’ is not always accurate. For instance, Gallo language has a very similar grammar to that of French since both languages are typologically related.

(8) Lexicon: Gallo lexicon is also close to that of French even though it retained more forms from Latin. Certain fixed expressions and words appear in very restricted contexts in Standard French. Interestingly, we might find a wider lexicon in Gallo for topics related to farming, home, countryside, animals, and local traditions.

(9) Phonology: this last category might present some divergences from the normalized, H variety (chap.2)

### 3.1.2 Extensions to the diglossic model

The main criticism expressed towards Ferguson's definition of diglossia is that it presents similarities with that of bilingualism. A more detailed explanation regarding the ways it differs from bilingualism may be helpful to see 'if the term 'diglossia' is not to degenerate into just a somewhat fancy synonym for bilingualism' (Wiggers, 2006: 76). The main novelty offered by Fishman is the extension of the concept of diglossia to 'genetically unrelated languages functioning as H and L' (Wiggers, 2006: 81).

Originally, the structural relatedness between H and L was a prerequisite for diglossia in Ferguson's model.

Kloss contribution (1966) in Wiggers (2006) participated into the extension of diglossia and proposed two additional concepts. 'In-diglossia' situations emerge when two related languages are spoken as H and L which is the case for Gallo and French or French and Creole in the DOM-TOMs. 'Out-diglossia' phenomena can be observed when two unrelated languages are spoken as H and L: for instance, linguistic contact environment with Spanish and Quechua in Peru and Ecuador. Clearly, the contact between French and Gallo is not a case of bilingualism and it does not fit either into the diglossic model. Therefore, it cannot be classified in one of the four categories presented by Fishman.

In the case of unrelated varieties, their respective functional roles are probably very unbalanced to the point where one variety gets weaker or 'less prestigious' and H finally

displaces L. It would be more accurate to describe the linguistic situation of *Haute-Bretagne* as a case of typological related languages coexisting in the same speech community part of a non-diglossic context. Manzano (2005), in an article untitled *Les langues régionales de France sont-elles égales dans le recul?*<sup>77</sup>, summarizes the linguistic situation of the region in the following terms:

le français et le gallo ne jouent pas dans la même cour, leurs vocabulaires et leurs rôles ne sont pas les mêmes, et de cela les locuteurs semblent conscients. Car les deux idiomes ne sont pas ou très peu concurrents ; au français tout ce qui relève du centre, au gallo tout ce qui est la périphérie, la marge rurale et bocagère (Manzano, 2005: 142) - French and Gallo don't play in the same playground, their lexicon and their status are not the same and speakers are aware of it. The two varieties are not in competition or very little; anything central belongs to French language, and anything peripheral, related to the rural and farming world belongs to Gallo.

We observe tensions between the two movements that try to preserve the language in the region. While language planners (researchers, graduate students, and teachers) focus on the normalization of the language variety, older speakers accept the unstable contact situation between French (state, centralized power, culture, education) and Gallo (language of the rural and local space with no writing system).

### 3.1.3 Current research on diglossia and criticism

Based on the theory of diglossia, three propositions have been developed: pure diglossia (Ferguson's model), societal diglossia (Fishman's model), and pseudo-diglossia. The latter scenario occurs when L varieties have lost ground against their respective H

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<sup>77</sup> Are all French regional languages weakening at the same pace?

varieties, namely in the case of displacement of codes and language shift (ex. Frisian, Provençal, Catalán and Gallo). As I just mentioned above in section 3.3.2 Gallo-French contact is not a ‘true’ instance of the classic or extended diglossia models and would rather correspond to the definition of ‘pseudo-diglossia’:

The H variety is invading former L domains to such a degree that in some cases, for example Frisian, L is neither acquired as a mother tongue anymore nor does it serve its purpose as everyone’s native language in the speech community (Wiggers, 2006: 99).

High competition between H and L varieties with no functional separation can lead to the type of diglossia described above. Disagreements have been expressed by some members of the research group CREDILIF (Caubet and Manzano to name a few).

Before discussing the two opposite stances on the question of diglossia in Gallo, I now present the reactions expressed towards some of the theoretical aspects (definitions/terminology) of diglossia.

Four major issues remain central to the debate on diglossia / bilingualism and more specifically on recent extensions brought to the field. First, Fishman uses unequally Ferguson’s original nine rubrics and favors the functional distribution of H and L. He also establishes a rigid compartmentalization between H and L. We can think of situations in which a linguistic speech variety is used for domains corresponding to an intermediate level (or intermediate levels) between H and L. It seems too limited of a process to envision only some categories and completely neglect others. After the field of diglossia was extended to typologically unrelated varieties, some denounced the lack of ‘rigor’ and two fundamental issues were raised: (1) diglossia can be applied to almost any

language situation and (2) to what extent the distance between H and L varieties is important: ‘Fishman’s theory, by imposing no limit on the structural relationship of diglossic codes, permits practically every language community to be called diglossic’ (Wiggers, 2006 from Britto, 1986).

In the following section, I refer to recent work conducted on the complex sociolinguistics of Gallo. Manzano, Blanchet and Walter offer detailed descriptions of the current situation of the speech community.

### 3.2 Current status of Gallo in relation to the two other varieties of Brittany

In a study on *Le Gallo dans l'enseignement, l'enseignement dans le gallo* (2005)<sup>78</sup>,

D'Hervé explains how he decided to select the term *langue* (language) to refer to Gallo:

Tout au long de ce travail, le terme *langue* sera employé pour désigner le gallo. Considérant la langue comme étant un fait social, c'est dans une perspective sociolinguistique que j'ai écarté les termes *parler*, *patois* et *dialecte*, trop polémiques et aux connotations parfois négatives. D'un point de vue romaniste le terme *dialecte* est sans doute pertinent mais, dans son usage commun, il équivaut à *patois*, terme nettement dépréciatif qui sous-tend une impossibilité d'enseignement (le terme *parler* n'étant quant à lui qu'une atténuation du terme *patois*) (D'Hervé, 2005: 262)

Throughout this work the term *langue* (language) will be used to designate Gallo. Treating language as a social fact and adopting a sociolinguistic perspective, I deliberately put aside the terms *parler*, *patois* and *dialecte* too polemical and sometimes carrying negative connotations. From a Romance point of view, the term *dialecte* is probably relevant but in its common usage it is the equivalent of *patois*, a term which is clearly derogatory and underlies the impossibility to teach that language (the term *parler* is nothing but an extenuation of the term *patois*).

D'Hervé notices three major factors which accelerate the decline of the Gallo language.

It has an inferior status to that of Breton, the 'official' and rightful language of Brittany:

La langue d'oïl parlée en Haute-Bretagne a été reléguée au rang de dialecte périphérique de la langue dominante, le français (D'Hervé, 2005: 263) - The language of *Oïl* spoken in *Haute-Bretagne* has been pushed down to the rank of peripheral dialect of the dominant language, French.

The second factor of disappearance of Gallo is the way the language is perceived by the majority of people ('bad French' - *du mauvais français*):

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<sup>78</sup> D'Hervé's article focuses on the place of Gallo in the educational system and the way it is taught.



Le gallo étant considéré comme une déformation du français, il va sans dire que ses rapports avec l'Education nationale n'ont pas été des plus faciles (D'Hervé, 2005: 263) - Gallo being seen as a deformation of French, it goes without saying that its relationships with the *Education nationale* were not easy at all.

According to Gilles Morin (1987)<sup>79</sup>, Gallo is often associated with a double negative identity (*une double satellisation*): it is dominated by the official language and it suffers from the growing popularity of its Celtic neighbor, Breton. Speaking and understanding Breton become the mark of a true *bretonnité*<sup>80</sup>:

la langue bretonne occidentale qui est vécue par la majorité des gallésants comme étant le gage d'une 'bretonnité incontestable (D'Hervé, 2005: 264)

The western Breton language perceived by the majority of *gallésants* as the very symbol of an undisputable *bretonnité*.

Finally, the lack of language transmission slowly leads to the loss of the variety caused by France's fierce language policy against the survival of regional languages. The use of Gallo and other northern vernaculars was forbidden to favor the diffusion of the linguistic norm. Gallo speakers up to the 1950's originated from the rural world for the most part and mastering standard French soon became synonym of social promotion and intellectual improvement: 'le gallo a été vécu par ses locuteurs comme une tare dont il fallait se débarrasser' (D'Hervé, 2005: 264) - Gallo was thought to be a flaw one had to replace by the 'proper form'.

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<sup>79</sup> Morin refers to the concept of *satellisation* described by Jean-Baptiste Marcellesi (1981:9): "Phénomène par lequel l'idéologie dominante tend à rattacher un système linguistique à un autre auquel on le compare et dont on affirme qu'il est une déformation ou une forme subordonnée" – phenomenon by which the dominant ideology tends to relate and compare two linguistic systems claiming that one is a distortion or a subordinate form of the other.

<sup>80</sup> Concept of a true Breton identity.

The variety is still present in certain areas of Brittany especially in the *département* of Ille-et-Vilaine around the city of Rennes. But the identity associated with it tends to be lowered when compared to that of Breton. For instance, young people from a Gallo background prefer to acquire Breton for its valued and respected identity leaving aside (even trying to forget) their origins to construct new ones.

CREDILIF (Centre de Recherche sur la Diversité Linguistique de la Francophonie) was founded in 1996 and its actions are focused around the following principles: the study of sociolinguistics, interactions, diglossia, languages of France and of the Francophone world, linguistic policies, teaching languages at school, and learning French as a second or foreign language. This group of researchers succeeds in combining the preservation and the diffusion of minority languages with the maintenance of French in Francophone areas.

### 3.2.1 Sociolinguistic situation of *Haute-Bretagne*

Philippe Blanchet and Henriette Walter (1999) describe in a brief report the current sociolinguistic situation of Gallo by first distinguishing the two main areas of Brittany, *Haute-Bretagne* and *Basse-Bretagne*. Brittany is composed of two main regions, *Haute-Bretagne* (*Bretagne romane*, *Bretagne gallo*) and *Basse-Bretagne* (*Bretagne bretonnante*). The distinction is a linguistic one since it reflects the linguistic separation between the two geographical areas. More specifically, *Basse-Bretagne* corresponds to the Breton area (*brezhoneg* in the Celtic language) and *Haute-Bretagne* is the region where Gallo varieties are still used. As I mentioned earlier in chapter 2 (section 2.2), a

massive immigration movement from England to Brittany (*Armorique*) occurred around 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. At the time, Breton people inhabited a large area including the east part of *Bretagne*. They were pushed back West at two different times, once in the Middle Ages (about 100 kms<sup>81</sup>) and a second time (about 30 kms<sup>82</sup>) following a period of bilingualism between the Middle Ages and 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is important to clarify the meaning of the terms *Haute-Bretagne* and *Basse-Bretagne* and explain why they are preferred to others:

Il faut peut-être rappeler que la Haute-Bretagne ne doit en rien son nom à l'altitude (les quelques monts Bretons se trouvant au contraire en Basse-Bretagne), mais on sait que dans les régions de l'Ouest, *Haut* signifie 'à l'est' (cf. Haut-Maine, Haute-Normandie) (Blanchet & Walter, 1999: 2) - It seems probably necessary to remember that the name of *Haute-Bretagne* has nothing to do with altitude (the few mountains are actually located in *Basse-Bretagne*), but we know that in Western regions *haut* means 'east' (e.g. *Haut-Maine*, *Haute-Normandie*).

The sociolinguistic situation of Gallo is a unique one in the sense that it faces the influence of two languages in contact (in his interview with the Journal *Le Liaun* Manzano details that particular situation). Breton succeeded in acquiring the social status of *langue* even though its use has decreased after the diffusion of French in the region. There seems to be different degrees of *bretonnité* whether one speaks Breton and can claim a Breton heritage or one uses Gallo which carries a less prestigious identity function. Several studies conducted by Blanchet (2002, 2005) revealed that the regional variety is almost unknown to Gallo members while paradoxically southern regional forms

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<sup>81</sup> About 62 miles

<sup>82</sup> About 18.5 miles

enjoy a more positive image and linguistic status (speakers are not ashamed of using them).

Nos enquêtes montrent du reste que cette expression de ‘français régional’ est massivement inconnue et incomprise en Haute-Bretagne, alors que dans d’autres régions, par exemple en Provence, elle correspond à des pratiques bien identifiées par les locuteurs eux-mêmes (Blanchet & Walter, 1999: 4) - Our surveys show that the expression ‘*français régional*’ is massively unknown and not understood in *Haute-Bretagne*, while in other regions in *Provence* for instance it corresponds to practices which are well identified by the speakers.

This phenomenon originates from the status of the dialect itself, so if a local vernacular is well accepted and benefits from the support of the whole community (no expressions of shame, pride of speaking the language, and strong feeling of belonging to the group), then the regional language is considered a social asset that reinforces the linguistic identity of the individual. Of course, this scenario does not exactly reflect what has been observed in the Gallo country:

Pour la plupart des gens, et en particulier à l’école, l’usage du gallo est vécu comme une faute. L’expression ‘*retourner à la faute*’ pour ‘se mettre à parler gallo’ le démontre. Beaucoup de ses locuteurs le vivent de façon paradoxale, à la fois très complexés, honteux de ce qu’on leur a fait juger comme une ‘tare’ langagière, et très attachés au caractère intime, convivial, humain, de cette langue traditionnelle de la région (Blanchet & Walter, 1999: 3-4)

For most people, particularly at school, the use of Gallo is viewed as a mistake. It is demonstrated by the expression ‘to go back to the mistake’ or ‘to make mistakes’ for ‘speaking Gallo’. Many speakers see the use of Gallo as paradoxical; on the one hand it is a very complex and shameful

feeling as they were forced to treat their language as an imperfection and on the other hand they remain very much attached to the intimate, convivial and humane character of this traditional language of the region. Section 3.2.2 explores in more detail the sociolinguistic situation of Gallo referring to an interview by Manzano in 2005.

### 3.2.2 Situation of Gallo from an interview of Francis Manzano by the Journal *Le Liaun* in 2005<sup>83</sup>

This exchange highlights the main issues concerning Gallo in Eastern Brittany. First Manzano reassesses the difficulties to maintain Gallo in the rural world that do not pertain only to the Gallo language. The strong relationship between *patois* and the rural world has now become an obstacle to the survival of dialects in France and reinforces the image of backwardness usually associated with linguistic minorities, a phenomenon that Manzano summarizes as follows:

Nous, nous sommes l'élite, nous avons le français, la propreté, le bon goût, les bonnes mœurs, vous vous êtes les ruraux, contentez-vous de travailler vos champs avec votre gallo, avec vos vaches...ou avec votre occitan, votre basque... (Manzano, 2005: 1) - We are the elite, we have the French language, cleanliness, good tastes, good manners, and you are the rural. Make do with your lands, your Gallo, your cows...or your Occitan, your Basque...

The power of centralization has developed a general reluctance to local dialects and traditions. The second topic is related to the transmission of the language to younger generations within the family. Manzano points out that language transmission skips one

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<sup>83</sup> Dossier #6 in CREDILIF.

generation, grand-parents share their knowledge of the language with their grand-children more easily than with their children. Often parents work in the same area and let their children stay with the grand-parents who speak Gallo or a local form of French at home and with friends. A study conducted in 1992-1993 (*Ethnotextes, variations et pratiques dialectales*) revealed that the acquisition was passive for most children, but some of the structures could be reactivated later at school. Gallo identity is stigmatized and caught between the *francité* and the authentic *bretonnité* due to the history of *Bretagne* itself.

The last point discussed by Manzano in his interview focuses on the status of Gallo at school and the ‘education’ of learners to build a stronger sense of community identity. He proposes to include in the curriculum a course exclusively devoted to the history of Brittany and of the neighboring countries to inform the learners of their past and present traditions. According to Manzano, four strategic elements are necessary for a successful promotion of Gallo:

- (1) The language planning movement needs to provide a clear and valuable description of the language so that Gallo can recover a more important moral authority,
- (2) It has to be made obvious that Gallo is closely related to French, but it cannot be restricted to the world of farming and described as a ‘backward’ language,
- (3) Publications of recent dictionaries and glossaries could more easily introduce Gallo in the fields of journalism, edition, and computer science,
- (4) A change in the attitude of the state and French population at large towards regional languages would help promoting these varieties.

The following study published by the research group of CREDILIF is a survey on practices and representations of the language and culture in *Haute-Brittany*.

### 3.2.3 Practices and representations of the language and regional culture in *Haute Bretagne*<sup>84</sup>

Le Coq and Blanchet (2007) chose a large area of investigation covering the *départements* of Ille-et-Vilaine (60 informants), Côtes d'Armor (60 informants), Morbihan (12 informants), and Loire-Atlantique (3 informants). The researchers first expose problems encountered and their methodology. Practices and linguistic representations evolve on a continuum between the local speech (local evolution of Vulgar Latin) and the French norm which underwent various modifications in contact with the regional variety. The authors justify their reluctance to choose specific terms to refer to Gallo:

dans ce rapport synthétique, pour la commodité, on emploie selon le contexte *parler local, langue régionale, gallo* (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2007: 12) - In this synthetic survey, because it is more convenient, we use *parler local, langue régionale, gallo* according to the context.

Regarding the method, a biographical and sociolinguistic questionnaire composed of 8 parts was used for the study: background information about the informant; parts 2 and 3 cover questions about local practices and the categorization of the language (*catégorisation et pratiques*); the fourth section deals with attitudes and representations; part 5, 6, and 7 respectively investigate transmission, languages in contact and identity.

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<sup>84</sup> Dossier #19 in CREDILIF

The last part provides five sentences in French that the informant is asked to translate in ‘Gallo’ (or other denominations).

The survey revealed that the term ‘gallo’ was mainly used by younger informants (13-19) who study the language at school unlike other informants (of the same age range) who preferred the term *patois*. Overall older informants (25-49 and 51-73) use the word *patois* more often. To summarize, *patois* carries a derogatory definition but in some cases the term gives an emotional or affective dimension to the language. The word ‘gallo’ either takes on the characteristics of the term *patois* or is viewed as a language (*une langue*). The latter has a more positive and historical connotation since it refers to the region as a whole instead of the rural world only. The speaker consciously chooses which term to use according to the functions of the language he is familiar with:

La démarche de choisir l’appellation et l’opposer au patois, relève souvent d’un choix stratégique, d’une initiative militante et une revendication identitaire (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2007: 13) - Choosing the designation ‘gallo’ versus *patois* often deals with a strategic decision, an active initiative, and a strong claim for identity.

According to the answers given by the informants about the way they relate their language to places where it is spoken, five locations were selected to associate the local variety with geographical denominations: ‘la commune, le département, le pays, la région et la campagne’ (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2007: 13-14). Most commonly the designations ‘pays’, ‘region’ and ‘department’ were preferred by the informants to talk about places where Gallo is still active.

The usage of the language is mentioned in Le Coq & Blanchet’s study and they obtained the following results: 20% grand-parents, 3-8% parents and less than 5% of the children



can express themselves in Gallo. As for contexts of appropriation of the language, 50% of the informants mentioned the familial environment as the most natural context for the acquisition of Gallo. Older informants said to have acquired the local language with family members (parents or grand-parents), but younger speakers usually learn the language at school:

j'pense que c'est dans la famille qu'on apprend le dialecte en premier, heu pour ceux qui l'ont appris y a longtemps, maintenant les jeunes c'est à l'école (femme de 41 ans) (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2007: 7) - I think it is within the family that one first learns the dialect, for those who learned it a long time ago, now young people learn it at school.

Gallo started being taught at school in 1980's and is still offered in elementary schools, middle schools, high schools and at the University of Rennes 2 in the region of *Haute-Bretagne*. Le Coq & Blanchet took into account a new category of informants in their survey, younger speakers between the age of 13 and 20 who all follow a program on Gallo language and culture at school. From different socio-economic background, they all live in the countryside. Most importantly, the younger the informants are, the more positive responses are recorded when asked whether Gallo is taught at school or not:

De ce point de vue, une motivation fréquente du choix du gallo à l'école répond à un besoin de reprise et de développement d'une pratique déjà là (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2007: 18) - From this perspective, a frequent motivation to choose Gallo at school corresponds to the need of repeating and developing a practice which is already known.

Therefore school is viewed as a complementary or continuity of a past acquisition of the language with family members. The study also provides some insights on the way younger generations perceive Gallo and how they relate to it. Two main topics were

selected for further input on this issue: collecting reactions about speaking a dying language and identifying the functions and social representations of Gallo. The results indicated that 50% of the younger informants did not express a particular feeling when asked: ‘quand vous parlez le gallo, que ressentez-vous?’ - how do you feel when you speak Gallo? (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2007: 19).

The indifferent reaction to the question is probably due to the lack of clarity in the way it is formulated. More guidance should be provided to help the informants answering the section on *Attitudes et représentations* – Attitudes and representations:

- (1) ‘Autour de vous le gallo est-il utilisé comme avant, plus ou moins?’ - Is Gallo used around you, more or less like it used to?
- (2) “A votre avis pourquoi?” - why is that?
- (3) "Que pensez-vous de ce qui est fait pour défendre le gallo?" - What do you think about what is done to maintain/save Gallo ?
- (4) ‘Observez-vous une différence dans son utilisation entre les hommes et les femmes ?’ - Do you notice a difference in use between men and women ?

Overall 50% of the younger informants are in favor of the efforts developed by the community on language maintenance and acknowledge the need for more measures to improve that field. It was more common to see older speakers expressing negative comments towards the promotion of Gallo.

Finally, the survey shows that Gallo users often associate the region of *Bretagne* with Breton (31%) whereas a fewer percent (11%) perceive the *Bretagne gallèse* as a geographical area corresponding to the local characteristics of Gallo. In general, they

view themselves as ‘bretons’ compared to the rest of the country but ‘moins bretons’ (less Breton) compared to people living in the département of *Finistère*. Gallo remains the traditional language of Brittany for 10% of the people living in urban areas and 25% of the people living in rural areas. It is interesting to note that between 5% and 10% of the population speak Gallo and about twice more can understand it. Le Coq & Blanchet’s study is the first one of this kind in its attempt to provide an accurate and scientific overview of practices and perceptions of the variety of *Haute-Bretagne*.

However, the sociolinguistic interview lacks in detail and guidance, regardless of the fact that some of the questions might be difficult to answer ‘on the spot’ and may require reflection. I believe it would be easier for the informants to answer a questionnaire which is more precise followed by an interview to extend and corroborate some of the answers, particularly discussions related to attitudes and identity.

Manzano focuses on a series of interesting issues in the final section of his study on *Dix ans d’étude du gallo aux Cahiers de sociolinguistique, De la langue patrimoniale à l’affirmation sociolinguistique* from the ‘Cahiers de sociolinguistique’ published in 2007 entitled *Autour du gallo*. He explores the typological classification of Gallo and discusses its autonomy from French by considering a few options which are not sufficient enough (and often overestimated) to establish the separate status of the variety with lexical and semantic differences for instance:

on en vient presque automatiquement à survaloriser quelques traits phonétiques, voire quelques traits morphosyntaxiques dans l’espoir d’affirmer effectivement une autonomie du gallo (Manzano, 2007: 45)

Almost automatically one ends up overestimating certain phonetic traits, even certain morpho-syntactic features hoping in fact to assert the autonomy of Gallo.

Clearly, in linguistics the assertion of lexical and semantic gaps with the norm does not necessarily confirm the status of ‘language’ (langue) of the linguistic speech. Two other solutions are available, the first one uses the internal and typological perspective to claim the autonomy of varieties spoken in Western Brittany (Raude’s approach) and the second option opts for language attitudes and identity to demonstrate the unique characteristics of the regional language (Blanchet’s approach).

The second issue Manzano refers to is the search for a common language and the recognition of the existence of an important dialectal variation as a factor of evident risks which would eventually force the way to a centralized form of Gallo:

Ainsi les dialectes catalans périphériques, très vivants au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, prennent-ils de plein fouet la centralisation catalane et peuvent-ils disparaître, alors même que l’avenir global du catalan n’est toujours pas assuré (Manzano, 2007: 46) - So the peripheral Catalan dialects that were very much alive in 20<sup>th</sup> century are facing the Catalan centralization and start disappearing even though the general future of the language is still not stable.

Some think that the consequence of a centralized form may reduce the richness and variety of its multiple dialectal representations. This debate is still strongly active among the Gallo community especially among scholars, linguists and teachers. The main issue for the survival and maintenance of Gallo relies in its capacity to adapt itself to modern society and this process can only be achieved through the creation and acceptance of a well-adapted writing system:

on comprend en même temps qu'une langue régionale ou locale soit contrainte de passer par l'écrit et la production de normes explicites si on veut l'enseigner, du moins dans un cadre symbolique et scolaire français (Manzano, 2007: 47) - At the same time one understands that a regional or local language must have a written form and explicit norms to be taught, at least it is the procedure in the French symbolic and scholarly educational framework.

It is interesting to notice how Gallo language has been resisting the influence of French and Breton, probably enforced by the strong socio-economic resistance of the region. It has been observed that linguistic activism is often linked to ecological activism. The notion of eco-linguistic in the field of endangered languages reflects a choice of society and identity we think correspond to the variety. In the situation of *Haute-Bretagne* and its regional language, similarly to what is found in the global approach to food industry (ex. farming harming rural traditions), centralized linguistic practices represent a risk for the survival of the language.

On comprend mieux aussi le danger que lui font courir en même temps les normalisations langagières centralisantes et les projets agro-productivistes englobants (Manzano, 2007: 47) - One also understands better the threats of centralized language normalization and global food industry measures.

Therefore, the maintenance of the language depends on the objectives planned. On one side stand those in favor of an 'ecological' approach by staying faithful to the diversity of the culture, and on the opposite side activists who use a more offensive method using norms to legitimate the language at school for instance. The issue is to know whether the solution for its survival lies in the centralization perspective or on the 'ecological' side. I believe that the future of Gallo is dependable on the involvement of the speakers and

individuals working on eco-linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of the language to find answers for issues such as survival, adaptation, and reproduction. A compromise seems difficult to reach between those who are in favor of a common form of the language and those who call for a linguistic awareness and view the maintenance of the *culture gallèse* exclusively through the preservation of its varieties.

The relationship between Gallo and Breton - Gallo and French is tightly linked to the language sociolinguistic and linguistic situation in Brittany. Section 3.3 analyzes the dynamic shared between Breton and French.

### 3.3 Gallo in competition with Breton

#### 3.3.1 Breton versus French

According to Kuter's study (1989) on *Breton vs. French: Language and the opposition of political, economic, social, and cultural values*, there were about 240,000 Bretons who used Breton every day in 1987 compared to the estimation of 1,300,000 native speakers given by Sébillot in 1886. The discrepancy between the two languages originates from major oppositions. Political symbolism corresponds to the gap built between French as the national language and Breton as the regional language. In 1532, the Edict of Union between France and Brittany marked the end of Brittany's independence and paved the way to the unification of the language to achieve egalitarianism and insure equal citizenship: 'Speaking French meant full citizenship in the French nation' (Kuter, 1989: 77).

In early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the fear of regional languages was still persistent and Breton was viewed as a threat, clearly expressed in 1927 by the Minister of Education, A. de Monzie in these terms: 'Pour l'unité linguistique de la France, la langue bretonne doit disparaître' (Kuter, 1989: 78) For the linguistic unity of France, the Breton language must disappear. In 1985 Jean-Pierre Chevènement, then Minister of National Education, declared that "one does no favor to youth in teaching them languages which offer no prospects" (Kuter, 1989: 82), whereas Mitterrand viewed regional languages as a protection against the influence of American mass culture. Unfortunately, no measure was taken to promote and preserve French regional varieties which reinforced the ideal of the France nation, as one and indivisible.

From a socio-economic perspective, the opposition between French, the language of civilization, progress and culture and Breton, the language of the past and backwardness is of particular interest. The development of transportation and communication lines from the capital to the *province* increased the gap between rural Brittany perceived as a backward area and cities which were centers for industrial development. The formation of a negative socio-economic Breton identity was very clear in the rejection of Breton and Gallo languages: 'Bretons have learned that their culture, and language especially, are considered inferior and backward, and ridicule has served to reinforce feelings of shame in being Breton' (Kuter, 1989: 80).

In 1860/1870's, Weber's report focused on how civilization was introduced to children of rural France in a school environment. People living in the countryside with farming background were described as being 'uncivilized', 'unintegrated' and 'unassimilated' to the national society: 'poor, backward, ignorant, savage, barbarous, wild, living like beasts with their beasts. They had to be taught manners, morals, literacy, a knowledge of French, and of France' (Kuter, 1989: 80).

A few factors accelerated the non-transmission of the Breton language such as army experience which increased the formation of a negative Breton identity where WWI acted as a turning point in the use of Breton, and the awareness that social advancement and power were linked to mastery of French. Progressively, learning French became synonym with social and moral advancement, and 'usefulness' and 'practicality' have become key concepts. Interestingly, Breton escaped to a new identity and "their highest ambition was



to be taken for Parisians”: ‘The Breton people had been so alienated that they had come to despise their own past, their own culture, their own language’ (Kuter, 1989: 82).

For a long time, French has been considered the international and urban language opposed to the local and rural identity symbolized by Breton. Today, Breton identity is viewed as a positive identity by young Bretons, but older speakers remain skeptical: ‘older native speakers, who have had a negative experience as Breton speakers, are surprised by the positive attitudes of young people, and also flattered by their new prestige as masters of ‘authentic’ Breton’ (Kuter, 1989: 86).

Transmission of the language is not high among children whose parents are Breton speakers. It is natural to learn the Breton language (not Gallo) and its different varieties (Leon - Léonais, Kernev - Cornouaillais, Treger - Trégorrois, and Gwened – Vannetais) are no longer viewed as markers of backwardness. Indeed the new generation shows a real pride to be Breton and its cultural exclusivity makes it attractive. Today, community members believe in Breton positive identity and claim that the language is an irreplaceable element of that identity.

We notice efforts to maintain Breton as an everyday language despite the conflictual relationship between Breton and French (big versus little languages). The idea that the Breton language is lacking the necessary tools to express modern ideas such as technological or scientific knowledge has now been widely accepted by many Breton speakers. Also, regions remain culturally distinctive and viewed as potential threats to the unity of France. These two generalizations are also applied to other regional varieties part of the *Oïl* family and to Gallo more specifically.

The work of Romain Ricaud and Fabien Lecuyer contribute to the change in perceptions towards Gallo among its speakers. Both use technological tools (websites, blogs, and online chat) to extend the vocabulary of Gallo and make it fit for modern situations. Romain Ricaud created a glossary of Gallo covering a 100 themes, *Mon canepin de Galo* (100 thèmes pour tout dire en gallo) – my notebook of Gallo (100 themes to say everything in Gallo).

Here are of few thematic examples: ‘la maniànsse’ – *l’autorité parentale* (parenthood) ; ‘le mal joli’ – *l’accouchement* (childbirth) ; ‘l’ecolojie’ – *l’écologie* (ecology) ; ‘l’architècture’ – *l’architecture* (architecture) ; *l’administration, l’état, l’actualité* (administration, state, news) ; ‘l’z elijes, le coumersse’ – *l’argent, le commerce* (money, trade) ; ‘la gralhrie d’astoure’ – *l’équipement moderne* ; ‘l’ordrinerie’ – *l’informatique* ; ‘le veyaije’ – *le voyage* ; ‘la justisse’ – *la justice* (law) ; ‘l’esper’ – *le sport* (sports).

Lecuyer works on similar aspects of the language (lexicon) and created a website called *Teinzou dou Galo*<sup>85</sup>. It is an online glossary which provides a large lexicon covering a broad amount of themes and situations. A few distinctions can be noticed from Ricaud’s glossary. For instance, Lecuyer provides the distinctions in pronunciation that can be heard in different parts of High Brittany and examples are found with each word (notes related to local variations in the usage of certain words have been added progressively as the glossary is being modified). Section 3.3.2 states the ‘competition’ between Gallo and Breton languages.

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<sup>85</sup> Le Trésor de la langue gallèse – Treasure of the Gallo language.

### 3.3.2 Gallo versus Breton

The first most complete analysis of the Gallo situation was given by Pierre Corbel in 1984 in his dissertation on *La figure du gallo*<sup>86</sup>. The first part defines the Breton movement and the role of militants.

(1) The Breton movement is political as well as cultural and the Gallo movement is historical and based on ambitions.

(2) The militants share different reactions to the idea of a Celtic Brittany as being the ‘true’ Brittany with multiple and complex characteristics. Overwhelmingly, they disapprove of government’s plan to divide Brittany and thus threaten the language.

In the second part of his work, Corbel makes the following comment: ‘Vu de la Bretagne bretonnante, le gallo c’est déjà la France’ (Corbel, 1984: 279) - From the Breton side of Brittany, Gallo is already French territory.

The goal of the study is to clarify the relationship between these two movements, Gallo and Breton. Corbel asked for the participation of professors, teachers, and militants providing them with questions on the feeling of identity and collecting their reactions towards definitions, perceptions of the militant movement. The results showed that there were no real oppositions or competition as 86% of Gallo militants were in favor of a relationship between the two militant worlds, 72% of Gallo informants answered positively and 43% of Breton informants answered similarly. Corbel introduced definitions on language, dialect, *patois*, *parler*, and Gallo referring to the definitions found in dictionaries as the one given by the dictionary *Le Robert*.

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<sup>86</sup> Image of Gallo.

Here are a few definitions:

*Patois* : ‘Parler local employé par une population généralement peu nombreuse, souvent rurale et dont la culture, le niveau de civilisation sont généralement jugés inférieurs à ceux du milieu environnant (qui emploie la langue commune)’.

Local speech used by a generally small population, often rural and whose culture and level of civilization are seen as inferior to the surrounding one (that uses the standard).

*Dialecte* : ‘Variété régionale d'une langue possédant assez de caractères spécifiques pour être considérée comme un système linguistique en soi (une langue fonctionnelle) — ce qui distingue le dialecte de l'usage d'une langue (le français québécois n'est pas un dialecte)’<sup>87</sup> - Regional variety of a language which has enough specific characteristics to be considered as a linguistic system (a functional language), what distinguishes the use of a dialect from that of a language (Quebec French is not a dialect).

According to militants, the objective is to accept Gallo as a language, legitimize its promotion. However, Gallo is not considered a language by all the militants. In part four, Corbel included the following quote to illustrate the tense relationship between Gallo and Breton: ‘Le Breton, c’est la culture; le gallo, c’est l’inculture’ - Breton is culture, Gallo is the lack of education. Corbel cited from *Le Monde*<sup>88</sup> 08/15/1982 the following statements:

- (1) Linguistic Breton identity: definition of the concept of identity; what identities for Brittany; utopia and realities,
- (2) Breton is a strong marker of identity of Brittany,

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<sup>87</sup> From Le Grand Robert de la langue française.

<sup>88</sup> French national newspaper.

(3) Role of Gallo in this identity: does living in High Brittany prevent a conscience of being fully Breton?

The Gallo case can be summarized in these terms: Gallo's legitimacy is accepted, but it cannot apply to the demand of an identity of Brittany. The concept of *double satellisation* was developed by Marcellesi in his article on *Bilinguisme, diglossie, hégémonie: problèmes et tâches*<sup>89</sup> (Marcellesi, 1981):

le phénomène par lequel l'idéologie dominante tend à rattacher un système linguistique à un autre auquel on le compare et dont on affirme qu'il est une déformation ou une forme subordonnée (Marcellesi, 1981: 9) – The phenomenon by which the dominant ideology tends to relate one linguistic system to another one it is compared to and claimed to be a distortion or a subordinate form deriving from it

He defines the relationship between regional French (Gallo) and the norm as a 'phénomène de minorisation' and as a 'processus d'hégémonie (Marcellesi, 1981: 9) - dominant linguistic denominations. Two positions appear to be more dominant regarding the acceptance or the rejection of regional varieties. Countries like Switzerland, England and in some ways the United-States opted for the recognition of dialectal varieties and developed programs to teach them in schools, but in other places such as France non-standard varieties are stigmatized and described as 'educational problems' hindering a natural communication between speakers from different linguistic areas. Most importantly, the relation between linguistic communities and identity has been pointed out in the process of language planning and claimed to be more successful when linguistic practices along with language attitudes are taken into account. Clear evidence is

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<sup>89</sup> 'Bilingualism, diglossia, hegemony: problems and tasks.

lacking as far as ‘les politiques linguistiques motivées par l’identité seront efficaces’ (Marcellesi, 1981: 10) - linguistic policies motivated by identity will be efficient and linguistic planning based on identity or language attitudes varies drastically from one region to another, one speech community to another. It is this specific phenomenon that I intend to investigate and analyze among Gallo speakers: can improvements on regional or local identity have a favorable impact on the preservation of Gallo language?

In the case of Gallo, two influences play a major role in the socio-cultural depreciation of the variety which involve French as the dominant linguistic model and Breton which regained a cultural prestige over the past few decades. This sociolinguistic situation entails negative language attitudes at two different levels, a phenomenon called *une double identité négative* (a double negative identity):

Mauvais francophone et non bretonnant, le gallésant n’a même pas pu trouver une consolation dans les pratiques culturelles car jusqu’à ces dernières années, seuls les costumes, danses, musiques, chants et danses de Basse-Bretagne se trouvaient revalorisés (Morin, 1987b: 20) - Nor a good Francophone speaker neither a Breton speaker, the *gallésant* could not even find a consolation in cultural practices because up to the last few years only costumes, dances, music, songs and dances from *Basse-Bretagne* were revalued.

Gallo speakers believe that the knowledge of Breton is a major component of the linguistic identity:

nous on parle mal...notre patois change de commune à commune alors que le breton tient une surface...le breton ça s’écrit et on l’enseigne, c’est une vraie langue, c’est pas comme nous (Morin, 1987b: 20-21) - We don’t speak well...our *patois* changes from one place to another, but Breton has

some sort of unity...Breton language can be written and it is taught, it is a real language, not like ours.

Very few groups or bands from Brittany (and recognized in the rest of the country) write and sing in Gallo such as Tri Yann, who uses Gallo language to affirm their identity and relationship to the Breton land. In their songs, they describe the act of looking down upon Gallo culture and the attitude of French state towards regional languages in general.

As a consequence of this linguistic policy an increasing academic decline and failure has been noticed. Unable to use their language at school due to stigmatization, Gallo speakers started being more passive, ashamed of using the local variety in class and embarrassed to speak French - a speech they did not fully master for some of them. More recently, researchers and language-planners have been dealing with the non-transmission of the local varieties due to past linguistic policies. Morin gives a list of schools officially categorized as Z.E.P. (*Zones d'Education Prioritaire*)<sup>90</sup> in *Basse-Bretagne* and in *Haute-Bretagne* and highlights the locations, for instance urban as opposed to rural areas. The majority of Z.E.P. schools are located in the urban areas of *Basse-Bretagne* and only one is in rural area. As for *Haute-Bretagne*, out of six schools, four are in an urban location and two are situated in Rennes. Earlier, I mentioned that some students fail at school due to the suppression of the expression of their linguistic variety and because they became reluctant to express themselves in the regional language (using expressions or words they hear at home) as a result of standardized educational system – whose goal for a long time was to eradicate the presence of regional forms at school).

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<sup>90</sup> Schools with special programs and additional financial aid from the state help students with difficulties or failing students.

The feeling of worthlessness and embarrassment among older speakers is the final issue discussed in this section. Their speech is rich with dialectal expressions, but often ridiculed when they use the local variety in public, usually with family members. As Morin explains in the following quote:

La hantise du handicap causé par la parole des anciens est désormais bien ancrée et on peut ainsi apprendre le jour d'une fête...que telle grand-mère se voit reprocher les mauvais résultats de son petit-fils à l'école (Morin, 1987b: 37-38) - The obsessive fear caused by the speech of elders is now very well established and during a gathering one can find out that this or that grand-mother is being criticized for her grand-child's poor performance in school.

Often criticized for using their *patois* in front of their grand-children and frustrated not being able to transmit the language to the younger generation, they are left aside and ignored. They are told not to use the local language as it may have disastrous consequences on the speech of the other family members, in particular that of the younger ones:

Bien des anciens sont ainsi culpabilisés au moment où ils sont le plus disponibles pour transmettre...on ne les regarde plus tout à fait comme autrefois (Morin, 1987b: 38) - Many old speakers feel guilty at a time when they are the most available to transmit the language... no one looks at them the same way people used to.

Their speech is viewed as a threat for young children who are in the process of acquiring the standard norm dictated by the educational system. Not only the use of the language gets forbidden at home or in other private domains, but the cultural values and *savoir-*



*faire*<sup>91</sup> related to the lexicon remains inferior to the French language. In similar ways, Breton language went through periods of rejections and threats (section 3.3.3) before gaining an official recognition and respect from non-members. In section 3.4.2, I extend the discussion on Z.E.P. institutions in relation to the notion of code-switching at school. What is of interest is the changing status of Gallo sociolinguistics in its contact situation with French and Breton communities. I choose to devote a brief part of the following section more specifically to the Breton (*bretonnant*) group favoring a more complete description of the Breton cultural group.

### 3.3.3 Language preservation and language death in Brittany

In 1944, public use of Breton became tabooed as the language got associated with collaborative actions with the Germans, therefore the use of the Celtic variety decreased dramatically. Parents were extremely reluctant to transmit their linguistic variety. In 1960's new nationalist movements appeared. Theoretically, status role as it is defined by Dressler & Wodak- Leodolter (1977) is the role of 'nationality' for minorities. There is pressure from the state to deny status role of membership to minority members as we can see by observing the treatment of regional languages in France. To reach more important social positions and a respected status, members of linguistic minorities often present themselves as members of the national majority: 'All this results in a status role conflict and in an identity crisis conflict between the status role as independent minority and the status role of the dominating nation' (Dressler & Wodak- Leodolter, 1977: 36).

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<sup>91</sup> Traditional heritage

As for the linguistic conditions in Brittany, there exists a close connection with French in all societal domains (school, number of new professions, public administration/authority) along with systematic variation in speech and style dependent on contexts and social roles. Generally, women speakers are more speech conscious than men and more inclined to speak Breton even though they seem to have a greater awareness of their inferior 'status role' when in contact with the dominant language. Dressler & Wodak- Leodolter developed three hypotheses on the status of Breton language. Firstly, Breton is used only in a few situations which young Bretons share with old speakers. Secondly, the 'French way of life' influences public life behavior but also emotions and private life. Finally Breton becomes more restricted to one type of speech situation, e.g. traditional functions (songs, proverbs, jokes, stories), and shows a tendency toward monostylism.

Questionnaires were used in four types of situations based on a pre-test composed of 19 questions. I included the different categories below:

- (1) situations which should differentiate between old and young people (private sphere),
- (2) rare situations where both old and young people are inclined to speak Breton (comprehension of diverging dialects and interregional standards has rapidly declined),
- (3) situations where both old and young people use French (public life),
- (4) the hypothesis that women speak more Breton than men.

Finally, the strong decay in the use of Breton is attributed to conflict of status roles with primary socialization in Breton and secondary socialization in French as we notice a

growing Breton nationalism. Increasing the primary socialization in French leads to a monostylistic usage of Breton that the two authors relate to the process of pidginization:

Language death therefore can be looked at as a sort of pidginization: obligatory rules change to variable ones, the polystylism of a normal language (to which creole languages belong as well) moves to monostylism, of a sort we can observe in the case of many young Bretons whose Breton vocabulary is also highly restricted (Dressler & Wodak-Leodolter, 1977: 37).

Later on in chapter 3, I detail the questionnaire implemented by Dressler & Wodak-Leodolter (1977) and introduce previous methodologies used for studies on dialectal and regional linguistic attitudes.

The first factor which contributes to the negative image of the languages of *Oïl* is the proximity with French and the lack of ‘myth’. This concept is introduced by Manzano (2005) in his article, *Les Langues régionales de France sont-elles égales dans le recul?* I intend to discuss this aspect in section 3.4 on the linguistic contact situation of *Haute-Bretagne*:

Comment constituer valablement un mythe porteur quand tant de traits vous rapprochent de la langue dominante? (Manzano, 2005: 141) - How is it possible to validly constitute a myth when so many features are similar to those of the dominant language?

The phenomenon of ‘remythification’ occurred to the Breton speech community who progressively recovered a prestigious status through its tighter relationship with Celtic varieties from England. Similarly to what was mentioned earlier in chapter 1 (section 1.2.4.2) regarding Picard and the hybrid variety ‘Chtimi’, the preservation of Gallo resulted also in a more global form which includes features from its original dialects. The

phenomenon of reduction (reduction in the number of lexical and structural forms) seems to be a natural compromise when the local variety is related to the standard form, and then leads to two forms: a variety of localized / Regional French (a complementary form) or a similar form to that of *patois* which according to Manzano corresponds to the situation of Gallo. These two forms are difficult to identify separately:

En réalité ces deux manifestations sont extrêmement difficiles à démêler, au point qu'on peut raisonnablement se demander s'il est vraiment légitime de tenter de les démêler, compte tenu justement de la proximité ou identité typologique (Manzano, 2005: 143) - In fact these two phenomena are difficult to distinguish to the point where one can reasonably ask whether it is really legitimate to try to distinguish them due to the proximity and typological identity.

We observe two tendencies from speech communities in the context of the language family of *Oïl* in general and of Gallo in particular. The first movement consists in increasing the distance between the variety and French, which often has a negative impact on the preservation of the language. Influenced by the Breton movement, field workers doing research in Gallo strongly favors a writing system clearly separated from the standard form. This effort does not always provide the results expected as it is artificial to force a separation between two typologically related languages. In the second chapter, I exposed the reasons why using a system which is graphically different to the typology of the language (borrowed features) are subject to criticism and reluctance in their usage. Attempts to prove the autonomy or the authenticity of Gallo (typological, historical, sociolinguistic levels) by comparing it to Breton may not always have a

positive impact on the status of the Gallo language and culture as both varieties evolve in an unbalanced relationship:

cette décision est de retirer la langue régionale en question du cadre typologique fermant de la langue d'oïl en prouvant l'autonomie typologique, historique et sociolinguistique du gallo, et tout en le rapprochant de sa cible symbolique : le breton (Manzano, 2005: 147) - This decision removes the regional language from the typological frame of the *Oïl* language by proving the typological, historical and sociolinguistic autonomy of Gallo while bringing it closer to its symbolic target: Breton.

The second tendency emphasizes the linguistic proximity between French and Gallo in which the issue of finding authenticity is a questionable task. Researchers contribute to the development of the functional status and domains for which it can be used more easily and appropriately than French:

Ce qui caractérise une langue comme le gallo est donc sa capacité fonctionnelle à occuper un statut et un ensemble de rôles légitimes en ce qui concerne l'organisation et la transmission de l'espace rural (Manzano, 2005: 148) - What characterizes a language like Gallo is its functional capacity to fill in a status and a set of legitimate roles regarding the organization and transmission of the rural environment).

Manzano claims the remarkable vitality of Gallo as an oral variety and takes a strong position against the 'artificial' separation of Gallo from French through the creation of a standard writing system. Forcing the elaboration of a written form (or written forms as it is the case today) weakens the vitality of the variety and increases its chance to disappear even faster. Over centuries, Gallo has been established as an oral linguistic variety which cannot be dissociated from rural domains of the region and the global culture of *Haute-Bretagne*. Manzano claims the importance of keeping Gallo close to French and that

people (researchers, scholars, and members of associations for the preservation of the language) should not try to separate the two forms as:

un vieux couple que l'on veut séparer artificiellement, en distendant le rapport, en voulant amener le gallo au terrain écrit et institutionnel, en l'écrivant, en le publiant' (Manzano, 2005: 149) - an old couple which one wants to separate artificially by setting a distance in the relationship, wanting to place Gallo in the field of writing and institutions by writing it and publishing it.

This idea of language preservation and vitality supported by linguistic relatedness gives a new perspective on the *Oïl* varieties that are classified in an advanced stage of obsolescence.

Finally Manzano presents a few arguments to prove that regional languages do not equally undergo the decaying process. The main factor, the one Manzano stands against, deals with measures of standardization to which he answers by introducing the notion of eco-linguistic 'niches'. He asserts that Gallo remains an interesting illustration of how regional languages would have looked like without the overwhelming language policies of the state. Its vitality and oral richness is undeniable and the language can still provide modes of expression in specific domains where French cannot compete:

Le gallo donne par ailleurs une assez bonne idée de ce qu'auraient pu être les langues régionales de France sans intervention...le gallo piège le français dès lors qu'il se montre capable (du fait même de sa proximité) d'aménager un espace écologiquement adapté où le français ne joue et ne peut jouer par définition qu'un rôle très faible, n'étant pas à sa place (Manzano, 2005: 151) - Gallo actually gives a rather good idea of what would have been the regional languages of France without any intervention...Gallo traps French when it shows its capacity (due to its

proximity) to build an ecologically adapted space where French by definition can play only a very minor role as it is not in a good position. These spaces or domains are what Manzano calls *niches*<sup>92</sup>, for instance lexicon related to farming, land, animals, nature, traditions or *savoir-faire* (cooking, story-telling...). Two more factors are worth mentioning to complete this discussion. Both the place and function of the lexicon as well as the way the language is transmitted play an active role in the pace at which the variety will disappear. The first noticeable changes can be perceived in the lexicon in contact situation, meaning the first linguistic features which get ‘contaminated’ and disappear. Interestingly, typologically related languages like Gallo and French or Norman and French are not as strongly affected as unrelated varieties usually are due to common linguistic roots. The last factor which has received various criticisms in the past 10 years is the creation of language programs or courses in Gallo helping with the acquisition of the local variety at school. Manzano is strongly in favor of a more natural environment of the language and denounces the normalizing and schematizing role of school:

la scolarisation en langue régionale est en panne ou ne donne pas de résultats suffisants à l’échelle du problème global de la survie (Manzano, 2005: 153) - Schooling in the regional language does not work and does not give sufficient results for the global issue of language survival.

Pure forms of *patois* are now impossible to find since Gallo is no longer a mother tongue, but we can observe the emergence of a new category of speakers among different age and geographical groups. Manzano uses the term ‘gallésité’ to refer to a more eclectic form of the local variety.

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<sup>92</sup> Notion developed in ecology to describe an area or space which belongs to a specific species determined by a network of optimal conditions necessary for its evolution.

In the next section, I introduce the concept of diglossia and discuss previous propositions on tentative applications to the Gallo language. This discussion is followed by a presentation on more recent research and critical reviews in the field.

Observing language contact and more specifically contact in the region of *Haute-Bretagne* provides a general idea of the application of certain frameworks to this particular linguistic situation. The phenomenon of diglossia in Brittany has been noticed and researched on between Breton and French.



### 3.4 How do we define the linguistic contact situation of *Haute-Bretagne*?

#### 3.4.1 Introductory studies

When picturing the linguistic landscape of Brittany and its contact situation, one automatically pictures the interaction between French and Breton as a situation of language contact which involves both bilingualism and/or diglossia. We notice three levels in bilingualism in *Basse-Bretagne*: under 10% of the population living in West Brittany know only Breton (people aged 70 or more); most all speakers of Breton are also speakers of French; and the younger generation does not acquire Breton through family members even though since the mid-1980's efforts to introduce Breton language at school have increased. It seems that the third generation has been a lot more affected by the State language policies of depreciation and repression: 'the latter *volte-face* in language choice was due sometimes to the efforts of parents determined that their children should not suffer the 'handicap' of speaking Breton' (Timm, 1980: 30).

Cases of bilingualism could still be found in the 60's and 70's however this linguistic situation lost ground and has slowly been replaced by diglossia (complex diglossia).

We can use Ferguson's dichotomic model to distinguish the two varieties with French being H variety and Breton serving as L variety. Within Breton varieties, there is a further diglossic split between H and L, it is what we can refer to as 'complex diglossia'.

For example, the Breton of *Léon* (northwest part of the peninsula) is viewed by *bretonnants* as the H variety: it is taught at school, at university level and used for media (radio and TV programs). The *léonais* is associated with written Breton and receives higher marks of prestige (written form, used in literature...). In domains such as

(1) family, (2) agricultural work, (3) senior citizens' clubs (*clubs des gens du 3e âge*)<sup>93</sup>

Breton is expected to be heard more than in other domains depending on the age range (speakers under age 40 may use both languages almost equally and children are usually French monolinguals). But even among older members in (3), French is predominantly heard. Breton is a rural language with a heavy rural heritage and remains more present than French in the fields:

As such it is spoken more by rural men than women, not only because the men are more involved in outdoor agricultural work than the women but also because Breton *paysannes* have for decades been consciously rejecting the ethnic language as the very symbol of their rurality and backwardness (Timm, 1980: 36).

As for domains such as (4) community festivities and (5) *cercles celtiques*, one would expect the local variety to be actively spoken as these manifestations encourage and promote the maintenance of Breton during *festoù-noz* (fêtes-de-nuit)<sup>94</sup> and other festivals. The reality is actually quite different and it has been observed that even the defense of *bretonnité* is expressed in French: 'Breton is heard in traditional songs, which are often sung by native *bretonnants*. Yet French otherwise prevails at these festivities and is even used to introduce the Breton entertainers' (Timm, 1980: 37).

For (8) neighborhood, (7) streets, (8) markets and shops, (9) cafés and bars, and (10) other workplaces, they are predominantly French-speaking areas. Finally (11) the *mairie*<sup>95</sup> and (12) schools represent exclusive domains of the norm where official paperwork and education are provided. Note that some documents for (11) may be

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<sup>93</sup> Organizations for people above the age of 60.

<sup>94</sup> Events held at night.

<sup>95</sup> The city hall.

translated into Breton and for (12) students can enroll in Breton classes and take their exams in Breton for credit (baccalauréat option). It seems that (13) oral media is one of the few fields where the variety is more apparent and has been granted a wider space: radio programs started in 1969 and television programs began in 1971, for both the H variety of Breton has been chosen. Yet, not all *bretonnant* speakers are able to understand this variety which causes mixed reactions from those who cannot identify with H.

Recent notions related to the field of diglossia appear in Bulot (2007) under the expression ‘cryptoglossia’, which he uses to describe the type of diglossic environment in the area of Rennes. The author employs this concept first introduced by Claudine Bavoux<sup>96</sup> (1997) in the literature to define Gallo’s relationship with other varieties and devotes a section to *Le gallo, une langue urbaine cryptoglossique?* He claims that the Romance variety belongs to the urban area of Rennes, but this fact is not always obvious:

une variété de langue dont on peut se demander si elle est consciemment perçue et explicitement reconnue par ses locuteurs eux-mêmes (Bulot, 2007: 63) - a language variety for which one can ask if it is perceived consciously and explicitly recognized by the speakers themselves.

It appears that the local variety is listed by the informants among the languages spoken around Rennes, however its presence is not officially recognized by the majority of community members. The rest of Bavoux’s definition describes a possible change in status of the language variety and explains that it can become a:

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<sup>96</sup> ‘Constitution et Traitement d’un corpus ‘cryptoglossique’: Quels fondements théoriques’ (in Frey & Latin).

variété occultée, cachée, éventuellement en latence, ce qui suppose que son statut peut changer et qu'elle peut dans l'avenir apparaître au grand jour, c'est-à-dire donner lieu à des discours explicites et à des comportements de légitimation, être non plus seulement parlée, mais dite (Bavoux, 1997: 97) - a secret, hidden and possibly a latent variety which means that its status may change and in the future the variety can appear as official. Therefore it can be the center of explicit discussions and efforts of legitimization instead of being only a spoken variety but a real language.

Bulot does not explore his argument as far as claiming that Gallo will one day be viewed at the same level as the standard - which would be ambitious to prove - but he employs Bavoux's definition to refer to the hidden or secret part of the local variety.

Gallo is part of the urban varieties of Rennes and symbolizes a factor of identity for some speakers but in general when we look at the whole speech community this argument may be difficult to defend. The regional variety is undoubtedly subject to different denominations and debates while its status remains unofficial and its existence ignored by an important part of the population.

In the following section, I look more closely at recent studies conducted on the contact situation in *Haute-Bretagne* between Gallo and French. The research group CREDILIF which I mentioned earlier published in 2007 an issue of the *Cahiers de Sociolinguistique* (7) devoted to language contact in Brittany. I first discuss Leray's article on *L'alternance des langues en Haute-Bretagne* before presenting Manzano's concepts of *vénérabilité* (venerability) and *magasin dialectale* (dialectal storage) to describe Gallo language interaction with the norm in that part of the country.

### 3.4.2 Code-switching in *Haute-Bretagne*

The main argument of *mélange* (mixing) between the two varieties as social function is a recurrent theme in Leray's study. Family context has been favored by the researcher to collect instances of code-switching between Gallo and French. What speakers are doing is constructing meaning through code-switching in order to put in context a story or an activity. For some informants, the act of telling a joke or a funny story heard from an older family member triggers the switch to Gallo. Here is an example of intra-sentential code-switching by an informant when he uses lexicon related to nature:

Ces gamins m'ont volé des **guernazelles** l'an dernier. Dam, j'en ai parlé aux parents **mins astour c'est-ti point les pirotons tchi mënë les ouées es cllos** (Leray, 2002: 124) - Ces gamins m'ont volé des groseilles l'an dernier. Dam, j'en ai parlé aux parents, mais aujourd'hui ce sont les oisons qui conduisent les oies aux champs (Those kids stole redcurrant from me last year. I told their parents but today the kids rule in the house).

Code-switching provides a discursive way to talk about the local culture and farming traditions through story-telling, songs, proverbs, and jokes. In the example above, the informant uses a Gallo expression 'mins astour c'est-ti point les pirotons tchi mënë les ouées es cllos' which he explains later in French to say that nowadays parents no longer have authority at home. This phenomenon of alternation between the two linguistic codes creates a socio-cultural bond between interlocutors of the speech community. Here is an example where Gallo is used by one informant who decides to describe the work in the fields:

*J'allons vous caùsè des batteries d'autfaï, le battage du blé quoi! Que de garçailles y avë! Tan ben des coueffes que des bonhoumes. Je vais vous parler du battage du blé. Il y avait beaucoup de personnes! Aussi bien des femmes que des hommes (Leray, 2002: 125) - I am going to tell you about threshing. There were a lot of people! There were women as well as men).*

The rest of the story is told in Gallo with no switching to French. Code-switching can also be viewed as a marker of identity depending on the context and the evolution of the interaction, namely divergence as opposed to convergence between speakers. Sometimes informants try to explain why they code-switch and how they feel about it while describing their Gallo identity. In the following examples, the factor which triggers code-switching is the telling of an event or a scene which has been lived in the past:

*Quand je raconte en gallo la grande lessive, je revis la scène telle que je l'ai vraiment vécue, c'est comme si j'y étais encore (Leray, 2002: 127) - When I tell the laundry washing process in Gallo, I relive the scene as I really lived it. It is as if I was going through the whole thing again.*

The second example taken from Leray's article shows more specifically the distinction made by the speaker between French and Gallo and the way the local variety provides different linguistic tools (lexicon) to describe the regional heritage:

*Dam, sûr que pour moi le gallo est différent du français: quand j'utilise un mot comme **ercaùpi**, ce n'est ni guéri, ni retapé, ni ragaillardi, c'est en même temps tout ça et quelque chose de plus... (Leray, 2002: 127) - Of course Gallo is different from French: when I use a word like *ercaùpi*, it is neither *guéri*, nor *retapé*, nor *ragaillardi*<sup>97</sup>. It includes all this at the same time and it is also something else...*

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<sup>97</sup> All these words refer to a state of recuperation or curing after a disease for instance.

Note that in the previous example, the language chosen by the speaker to talk about the differences between Gallo and French, the language of school. Other contexts such as repetitions and quotes may also be more favorable to the use of Gallo, but it seems that narration gives more opportunities to the speaker to code-switch or to use only Gallo:

On constate que l'énonciation narrative est favorable au gallo et lorsqu'elle narre un conte ou une légende, elle utilise toujours le gallo. Par contre l'énonciation métalinguistique est favorable au français, langue de l'apprentissage scolaire dans laquelle elle nous fait part de ses réflexions grammaticales sur le gallo (Leray, 2002: 128) - We notice that narrative enunciation favors Gallo and when she [the informant] tells a story or a legend, she always uses Gallo. However meta-linguistic narrative favors French, the language of school in which she shares with us her grammatical comments on Gallo.

As a concluding remark, language choice stands for a marker of a socio-cultural position which is strategically revealed by the use of code-switching. Leray decided not to implement a series of questionnaires or other similar tasks to research on Gallo-French code-switching, but opted for a methodology based on story-telling which he called *histoires de vie* to be able to gather more 'natural' instances of switching by avoiding to ask directly the informant about Gallo words or expressions that he or she might know.

We can said that code-switching has diverging or converging effects whether the speaker uses it to get closer to his/her interlocutors or to distance himself / herself from the other speakers:

Parler est une activité sociale au cours de laquelle le locuteur agit et est agi dans et par le discours, le sien et celui de l'autre (Leray, 2002: 82) -

Speaking is a social activity during which the speaker acts and is acted in and by the discourse, his own and that of others.

A study entitled *Articuler les recherches en sociolinguistique et en éducation* on the use of Gallo and French in a Z.E.P. was conducted by Leray in 1996 near Tremblay in rural environment. The researcher chose to observe the differences in social linguistic practices among the students interviewed and their judgments towards those who speak the variety or use Gallo expressions. Harsh remarks and bitter comments are commonly expressed when one uses *patois*, for instance the sentence ‘toi tu ne sais pas dire!’ (you don’t know how to say it) marks a change in status for the child who is looked down upon because of his speech. It is interesting to notice that 65% of rural children are raised by their grandmothers which represent a favorable factor for the transmission of the local variety:

La garde des enfants par la grand-mère est fréquente [...] de nombreux parents se refusant à payer une garde alors que les grands-parents ne sont pas loin (Leray, 1996: 85) - Babysitting is frequently done by the grandmother [...] many parents refuse to pay for a babysitter as the grandparents live not far away.

According to Blanchet in an earlier study, Gallo is still often heard among families living in the countryside:

En Bretagne romane, je l’ai vérifié moi-même, le parler local d’oïl reste usuel dans les familles rurales, même pour une partie des enfants, et même si les locuteurs prétendent souvent le contraire (Leray, 1996: 86) - In Romance Brittany, and I have myself noticed it, the local variety of *oïl* is still used in rural families, even for some children and even if speakers often claim the opposite.

Since French is the only norm accepted at school, what is the status and function of Gallo in relation to French? As I mentioned earlier, changing codes or languages in the same



conversation or in the same sentence indicates a different relationship with the language and with the other interlocutors:

les enfants qui alternant le gallo et le français sont en majorité des enfants d'agriculteurs qui entendent parler gallo par leurs parents ou par leurs grands-parents (Leray, 1996: 88) - Children who alternate between Gallo and French are for the most part children of farmers who hear speak Gallo from their parents or from their grand-parents.

Code-switching it is not a deviation rather a sociolinguistic competence and verbal ability which often appears as a lack of education and incomplete knowledge of either code (the vernacular and the standard). Leray notices that what is said in Gallo are usually conjunctions in coordinated sentences. For instance, the conjunction *mins* (*mais* – but) is realized in the local variety which triggers a change in the choice of the linguistic code: 'Nous la cherchions pour aller à l'école min sol tē cutē es courtil' (Leray, 1996: 89) - We were looking for her to go to school but she was hiding in the garden.

Socially, the switch to Gallo in the restricted context of school (outside of class) can be analyzed as a way for the speaker to connect with other Gallo members. In that case, code-switching carries a positive function that is unfortunately ignored or not approved of by the teacher as Leray explains:

Les enseignants qui se plaignent du mutisme de certains enfants bilingues se rendent-ils toujours bien compte que certaines expressions s'imposent à leur esprit d'abord dans leur langue ? (Leray, 1996: 89) - Do teachers who complain about the silence of some bilingual children always realize that certain expressions first come to their minds in their language?

Therefore, teachers have to be prepared and trained so that they can comprehend the culturally different ways of expressions used inside the classroom by children who think

and express themselves both in Gallo and French for distinct conversational tasks and sociolinguistic rules. In the following section I present recent concepts related to the sociolinguistic of the Gallo language followed by a response to Manzano's article (2003) formulated by Caubet on issues related to diglossic instances between the two linguistic codes.

### 3.4.3 The contact situation in *Haute-Bretagne*

On admet qu'un français régional peut émerger dès que le français entre en contact avec une langue différente de lui (Manzano, 2003: 134) - It has been widely accepted that a variety of regional French can emerge as soon as French comes into contact with another language.

We obtain the following scenario:  $A + B = A'$  but not  $A + B = AB$ . Other factors come into play to define the concept of *français régional* such as different strengths and status of linguistic practices, the degree of consciousness of the speaker using the regional variety and its diffusion. Can we go as far as saying as that a diglossic situation emerged from this particular contact environment? The question is clearly stated as follows:

Dans quelle mesure le schéma de la 'diglossie' et du 'conflit des langues' sont-ils adaptés à la Bretagne et aux régions avoisinantes? (Manzano, 2003: 136) - To what extent can the model of diglossia and language in conflict be applied to Brittany and neighboring regions?

It is necessary to be cautious when the model of 'classic' or 'pure' diglossia is applied to the linguistic context of Regional French. Manzano points out a few issues which may be problematic. This more radical version of diglossia takes only into account more general and quantifiable cases or instances and does not deal with the psychological and political

complexity of individuals. Also, it is a very linear and global approach of diglossia and language death prevision which does not totally capture the complexity of the Gallo-French linguistic situation. The typological relatedness between the two varieties represents a major factor challenging the strict application of diglossia and results in a more complex sociolinguistic relationship between the speech communities (not mentioning the Breton factor which modifies the whole dynamic). Interestingly, the pronunciation and lexicon constitute linguistic markers of an identity detachment from French even though they have common origins. Therefore, this type of linguistic contact does not strictly fall either under Fishman's model (diglossia extended to unrelated languages):

Les lexies, les mots, peuvent jouer un rôle semblable. Mais là, on touche un rituel du français régional, qui se démarque fréquemment du français « central » ou « standard » par son lexique, un lexique approprié aux réalités régionales, un lexique qui fonctionne aussi bien souvent comme un verrou identitaire (Manzano, 2003: 140) - The lexicon, words, can play a similar role. But here, we touch to a ritual of regional French which often distinguishes itself from central or standard French with its lexicon. It is a lexicon which corresponds to regional life and which can as well function as an identity lock.

The notion of Regional French as an intermediate linguistic form renders the application of the diglossic model almost impossible or at least problematic. In the case of *Haute-Bretagne*, contact between the dominant variety (H – French) and the linguistic minority (L – Gallo) is part of a continuum in which all the dialectal forms of Gallo, regional French influenced by the local language and standard French come into contact. Again,

we cannot use the stable and restricted model of diglossia for this type of linguistic situation. I believe the Gallo-French relationship is a good example of language contact / conflict (competition) situation rather than a diglossic case. Manzano's main argument is that linguistic proximity preserved or maintained the vitality of Gallo variety. In other words, Gallo's closeness to French represents a positive asset for its survival. In fact this contact is generally restricted to a few linguistic areas such as phonetics, lexical features and prosody (pronunciation).

Two concepts have been introduced to demonstrate the common origins of dialectal and sociolinguistic identity of Gallo and French. The first one (1) *vénérabilité* (ancient status) of the language consists in proving the stability and roots of Gallo with considerable amount of lexical data. This concept has now become a strong argument for the promotion of Gallo among activists to demonstrate the strength of the local variety resisting the switch to the norm. The etymological analysis of the language gives authenticity to Gallo and allows the reader to understand that

le gallo n'est pas « définitivement », « structurellement », une langue de paysans et d'attardés, puisque ces mêmes « attardés » utilisent encore des mots ou structures qu'utilisaient Ronsard, Boileau voire même Voltaire (Manzano, 2003: 162) - Gallo is definitely and structurally not the language of peasants and backward people as the same backward people use words and structures which Ronsard, Boileau or even Voltaire were using.

The second notion (recurrent in Manzano's discussion) is the (2) *magasin dialectal* in relation with contact proposed by Manzano to cover and avoid using other terms which may be problematic for this particular linguistic 'couple'. The concept of *magasin*

*dialectal* diverges in two different ways from diglossia. It includes the typological relatedness of linguistic varieties:

les situations de « contact », « conflit », « diglossie » présument des langues (A) et (B) plus ou moins différentes typologiquement et (ou) sociolinguistiquement mais tendant à préserver leur identité propre au cours du contact (Manzano, 2003: 162) - Situations of contact, conflict and diglossia presume that languages (A) and (B) are more or less typologically and (or) sociolinguistically different but tend to preserve their own identity during contact.

Also this notion retains the historical common ground shared by both varieties and does not present the linguistic contact as being conflicting as Manzano explains in the following sentences:

Dans le cas de la Haute-Bretagne, ceci est en somme porté à l'extrême, car en évoquant une *diglossie français* vs. *Gallo* on réussit à gommer les intersections historiques et à présenter ce « contact » comme un *conflit*, ce qui, on le voit bien [...] n'est pas vraiment la réalité (Manzano, 2003: 162) In the case of *Haute-Bretagne* this is brought to an extreme level because by mentioning a French vs. Gallo diglossia one succeeds in erasing historical intersections and present this "contact" as a "conflict" which as we can see is not really the truth.

The notion of *magasin dialectal* associated with lexical, phonetic, morpho-syntactic fields captures the complexity of the contact environment in the region which may not be possible to achieve with models such as 'classic' diglossia or extended versions of Ferguson's model. Manzano shows that the main issue is not really the separation between Vulgar Latin and Romance languages but rather the systematic and extreme standardization of the language which is now far away from its original linguistic roots.

Furthermore, these features are still present in Gallo varieties and actively appear in traditions stories or *histoires de vie*:

Et quand le français entre en contact avec ce magasin, n'est-ce pas tout simplement avec sa propre mémoire cachée, profonde, qu'il entre en contact? (Manzano, 2003: 170) - When French comes into contact with this *magasin*, isn't it simply with its own hidden and deep memory that it comes into contact with?

This concept of *magasin dialectal* presented by Manzano is tightly related to regional identity and the assertion of regional culture and values in interaction with the mainstream culture through story-telling. The act of performing (stories, songs, poems) these 'histoires de vie' is a way of accepting one's local identity and to present it as a positive language practice. In certain contexts, it can create a distance between the speaker and the audience (for example when members of the audience are not members of the local or regional speech community). Although this notion mainly refers to the lexical and structural relatedness between French and Gallo, it also underlies two identity features:

Le langage oral, le « dire » de son récit de vie devant un groupe est un très puissant facteur de reconnaissance de soi parce que les autres sont là, qui vous écoutent et signifient ainsi que vous valez quelque chose, que vous valez au moins la peine d'être écouté (Lainé, 1999 : 77) - Oral language, the act of 'saying' one's life's story before a group is a very powerful factor of self-recognition because the others are present, they listen, which means that the speaker is worth something and worth listening to.

This is what I meant by 'act of performing': a way to 'validate' one's speech, in other words a way to confirm one's local identity in front of an audience. The speaker asserts

himself/herself as the subject of the discourse by telling stories about his/her life. Recounting oral tradition of Gallo can be viewed as a communicative act of recognition that is more immediate than written language (official recognition via orthographic standardization).

#### 3.4.4 Manzano's approach (2003)

Manzano's article on *Diglossie, contacts et conflits de langues...à l'épreuve de trois domaines géo-linguistiques: Haute-Bretagne, Sud Occitano-Roman, Maghreb* (2003) compares three different contexts. The objective is to relate the model of diglossia with these three linguistic environments. I will be looking closely at the section dealing with *Haute-Bretagne* and Gallo. According to Manzano, a terminological distinction needs to be made between *situation linguistique* and *paysage linguistique* since the former is more restrictive and does not fully reconstitute the complexity of French – Gallo sociolinguistics:

Le choix de « situation » simplifie en effet des rapports complexes, que l'appellation « paysage » vise au contraire à restituer, ainsi qu'on le verra au point suivant (Manzano, 2003 : 53) - In fact choosing the word 'situation' simplifies complex relationships which the term 'paysage' is actually trying to restore as we will see later.

As I mentioned above Manzano claims that Gallo has been preserved due to its linguistic proximity with French although the opposite argumentation was developed in the 1970's and 1980's for Occitan, Catalan, Corsican, and Basque. To summarize, the further apart (typologically) dialectal varieties are from the standard and the better chance they have to survive. For instance we notice that the Breton-speaking area has lost ground in the last 50 or 60 years, however Gallo area has not been reduced. The linguistic continuum and

closely related language practices in the region became factors of maintenance of the regional variety. Actually, the dichotomic view of the French-Gallo couple (e.g. diglossia) provides a restricted perspective of the complex matters involved in this relationship:

il est extrêmement difficile de dire où commence exactement le gallo, s'il commence exactement quelque part (car on peut repérer ses traces, pour menues quelles soient, y compris dans le français le plus urbain de l'élite rennaise) (Manzano, 2003: 56) - It is extremely difficult to say where exactly Gallo starts, if it starts exactly somewhere (because we can see its marks, as little as they can be, even in the most urban French variety spoken by the elite of Rennes.

In his argumentation based on linguistic proximity, Manzano develops the concept of *magasin dialectal* which refers to the idea of a continuum between French and Gallo mentioned earlier. He expresses some reluctance towards the binary approach of diglossia or language contact as it only renders a limited and linear analysis of the complex linguistic environment. As a conclusion, Manzano summarizes the situation in these terms:

Mais si l'on décide d'aborder l'ensemble du paysage linguistique de Bretagne, il faut vite abandonner ce regard binaire qui ne permet plus de tout comprendre (Manzano, 2003: 57) - But if we decide to approach the linguistic landscape as a whole, we must leave out this binary perspective which does not allow us to understand everything.

Similarly to Arabic varieties spoken in Maghreb, Gallo is rooted in a 'tri-polar' system in relation with both French and Breton. This is why the intralingual (classical Arabic vs dialectal Arabic) or exolingual (French vs Breton, French vs Alsatian) diglossic model



can neither be applied to the dialectal area of *Oïl* nor to the region of *Haute-Bretagne* since a clear dichotomy between the varieties is not obvious in *Haute-Bretagne*:

Le gallo s'inscrit bien mieux dans un système au moins tripolaire où il est en rapport triangulaire avec le français et le breton d'une part [...] mais aussi en rapport avec des segments d'oïl trop proches de lui (normand, parlers du Maine etc.) (Manzano, 2003: 57) - Gallo fits better in a system which is at least tripolar where it is in a triangular relationship with French and Breton on one side [...] but also in contact with *Oïl* segments that are too close (Norman, varieties of Maine etc.).

In the last section, I refer to Caubet's reaction to Manzano's comparative study on diglossia and language contact between French and Gallo (1) and Arabic varieties in Maghreb.

#### 3.4.5 Caubet's response in *Réponse au texte de Francis Manzano: "diglossie", distu?*<sup>98</sup>

The first point made by Dominique Caubet is to recall the original definition of the term 'diglossia' as being a particular case of ranked bilingualism (*bilinguisme hiérarchisé*) characterized by an unequal status between the two languages. Caubet clarifies the fact that she does not refer to the sociolinguistic meaning of the term (as Manzano does) but rather to the more negative connotation initially added to the term 'diglossia' to describe stigmatized linguistic cases (68). Caubet explores a parallel between Gallo and Arabic from Maghreb and comments on Manzano's argument regarding language maintenance and preservation through proximity:

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<sup>98</sup> Response to Francis Manzano's article: "diglossia", you say?

c'est l'idée paradoxale et inédite que la proximité linguistique protégerait la transmission de la langue (Manzano, 2003: 71) - It is a new and paradoxical idea according to which linguistic proximity may preserve the transmission of the language.

In section 3.4.3, I formulated the following question: can we actually talk about diglossia in the case of Gallo and French? According to Manzano and Caubet, using either Ferguson's or Fishman's approach to diglossia does not allow us to fully appreciate the complex contact situation in which the Gallo speech community is involved. Although we find some common features with the model (H and L varieties fulfilling different functions and used in different domains), it would be too restrictive to pursue the analysis of the sociolinguistics of Gallo only through a diglossic perspective. Not only French is in contact with Gallo varieties but also Breton which maintains a close contact with the speech community. Therefore, Gallo interacts with its Celtic neighbor to the West and both can be viewed as L varieties compared to French.

At last, when we consider the contact between French and Gallo the linguistic proximity is rather striking (what Manzano refers to as *le magasin dialectal*) and this linguistic case does not correspond to any scenario presented in the different diglossic models.

### 3.5 Conclusion

In section 3.1, I introduced the diglossic model by Ferguson (1959) along with Fishman's extension (1967) and discussed the terminological difficulty to provide a clear definition of the concept and the various criticisms expressed towards the models. Recent research in the field shows the overlap often made between certain diglossic environments, code-switching and bilingualism contexts which do not seem to correspond to the Gallo-French interaction.

After describing the current status of Gallo in its contact with French and Breton in section 3.2, I explored the sociolinguistic situation as well as practices and representations of the language and regional culture of *Haute-Bretagne*. In section 3.3 my goal was to demonstrate the struggle to preserve the language varieties of Brittany before identifying the type of linguistic contact situation that has been observed: Gallo in contact with French, Breton in contact with French, and Gallo in contact with Breton on the West side of *Haute-Bretagne*. This description paved the way to the discussion on the linguistic complexity and uniqueness of the contact situation of the region. Furthermore, we now understand that the sociolinguistic status of Gallo does not facilitate the strict application of language contact theories mentioned in section 3.1.

Later I attempted to provide an answer to the question 'how do we define the linguistic contact situation of *Haute-Bretagne*?' in section 3.4 and I insisted on the linguistic proximity and the notion of *magasin dialectal* (Manzano, 2003) shared between Gallo and French as a necessary continuum to help understand and analyze the regional language variety and its interaction with other varieties.

In chapter four, I emphasize the discussion on the issues of identity and language planning referring back to successful and less successful cases of language maintenance: Welsh (Williams, 2000), Jersey Norman French (Jones&Singh, 2005), and East Sutherland Gaelic (1981, 1989). This discussion leads to a general overview of language revitalization processes developed by Lindsay & Whaley (2005) and the final section of the chapter presents the main concepts regarding language identity and representations.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Language Planning and Identity**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

The fourth chapter provides theoretical perspectives on language loss illustrated by the case of Welsh and Norman French varieties spoken on the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. I choose to refer to Grenoble & Whaley's work (2006) to present an overview of language revitalization models before discussing the concepts of language identity and representations.

#### **4.1 Language Revitalization Process: models (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006)**

##### **4.1.1 General issues in language revitalization**

Two categories are discussed in the second chapter of Grenoble & Whaley's work on evaluation of endangered languages: 1) macro-level issues refer to laws and policies at the national level external to the linguistic community and 2) micro-level issues involve demographics, attitudes, cultural practices of local speech community.

At the extra-national level stand the globalization of the language (English) and economy where language is used as a *lingua franca* (English, Spanish, and Mandarin Chinese): 'Thus the "globalization of English" is actually the result of economic integration' (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 23). Local languages are influenced by the international languages at various levels, therefore linguistic policies implemented by one nation can influence decisions made by another nation (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 25).

The national level is where language policies operate and 'language policies shape patterns of language used in a variety of social spheres' (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 26) with a direct impact on the revitalization and maintenance of local languages. In the continuum of language policies, some revitalization measures can outlaw the use of local and indigenous languages leading to their extinction while others strongly support their use as it was the case for the promotion of French in Canada.

It is clear that reluctant or supportive language policies are shaped by negative or positive attitudes: 'A language policy that is positively disposed towards the use of local language does not in and of itself guarantee positive results for local languages' (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 28). The process has to be approved by the community, enforced and

accompanied by positive attitudes, so that ‘a community must be aware of the kinds of policies it lives with’ (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 29).

In the implementation of language policies, the danger is the presence of mixed language attitudes which usually leads to the sentiment that multilingualism creates inequalities and divisions. For instance, the French and American governments installed unity through a common and more dominant language leaving aside local and indigenous languages:

The existence of the English Only Movement in the United-States is symptomatic of the pervasive fear of multilingualism in that country [...] Such attitudes do much to contribute to language endangerment in the first place, and are difficult for local communities to combat, both externally and internally (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 30).

Education policies are shaped by language policies and language attitudes. For example, the recent No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 regarding the testing of English proficiency defined the role of government in education and consequently contradicts the Native American Languages Act which promotes education and the right to use Native American languages. Language policy is entangled in culture policy at large which is itself related to political decisions. Therefore, it would be unexpected to see any kind of change taking place in governmental politics towards the language of an ethnic group after its eradication by the same authorities.

At the regional level, policies need to be addressed first before implementing larger scale language policies. In some cases, regional autonomy is treated as a national level variable as in the case of Switzerland. Federal support for language revitalization programs is sometimes lacking resources and limits the options a community may have:

The regional level, therefore, adds a layer of complexity to the language situation. Decisions will be required about how the balance among languages can be altered in order to extend the domain of the local language. Indeed, it may be that most imminent threat to a local language is a regional language rather than a national one (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 36).

This is true, for example, in Brittany with Gallo and Breton. As mentioned earlier, regional languages have limited domains regionally and functionally ‘the local language is on one tier, a regionally prevalent language on another, the national language on a third, and, in some cases, a language of international access on a fourth’ (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 35).

At the local level, language attitudes play a critical role as well as at the national level. Human resources (people, language planners, community members) can help in a language revitalization program. The required elements for a successful revitalization project include the honest assessment of human resources, native or near-native speakers to teach the language, and energetic and committed people to implement the program. This general effort needs to originate from within the community itself. However, little or inexistent financial resources greatly hinder the language revitalization process.

#### 4.1.2 Models for language revitalization

It has been agreed on by most linguists that total-immersion programs appear to be the best teaching method to revitalize a language. A few requirements must be met for immersion programs to be successful, among which the participation of the remaining speakers to facilitate the development of this specific language program. The main cause



of failure is the overt disapproval from a large or influential group within the speech community. Success or failure of language revitalization is also mainly dependent upon financial resources either coming from the government or from local and regional associations as we have seen with Breton and Welsh. On a further note, the ‘language nest’<sup>99</sup> represents a specific type of total-immersion program which was experimented with Māori and Hawaiian languages. This language instruction program relies on the acquisition of the language at a very early age and ‘start educating the youngest children in a total-immersion setting, and build a progressive system by following the lead class, developing the program as they move through it’ (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 54-55). This approach represents the ideal language-learning methodology to secure the maintenance of a minority language. It requires the participation of native speakers and trained instructors. But most importantly, it is essential that the transmission is ensured in the homes. In the case of Gallo, this would require a tremendous amount of work on the part of the teachers and parents. The teachers would have to be trained appropriately for this specific program and the families would have to relay at home what is done at school so that the children could be exposed to Gallo outside of the classroom environment. This teaching language approach demands a strong and long-term financial commitment from the governmental body which is something that appears to be extremely complex to organize for Gallo. Efforts should first aim for intermediate steps such as spreading initiation programs to other schools in East Brittany and developing bilingual programs to strengthen the status of the language.

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<sup>99</sup> This program was developed in the late 1970’s and early 1980’s for language revitalization purposes in which Māori was the primary language of instruction. *Kōhanga reo*, the Māori term for ‘language nest’, officially started in 1982. The program was implemented in kindergarten and later in elementary school.

Partial-immersion or bilingual programs can be conducted in the local language and sometimes in the language of wider communication. The local language is taught as a foreign or second language. For example, the Gallo community ‘is unable or not truly willing to commit to the time, effort, and cost necessary to make the local language a primary language of communication’ (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 55).

Treating the local language as a second or as a ‘foreign’ language is a pedagogical choice that was adopted for Gallo when it was first taught in schools in the early 80’s. It is now taught as a ‘foreign’ language. There are two different, complementary, approaches in teaching the language. The first one allows adult learners to acquire the language by relying on the knowledge of the elders to provide content, and the second approach starts with the youngest speakers in order to create a new generation of speakers.

This language-teaching method seems better fit for the Gallo case than the previous approach, except that one of the two criteria required for the implementation of this methodology is missing in today’s Gallo pedagogy. Adults are not included into the language acquisition process and if they are, there is no continuity with what is learned in schools by younger learners. Teaching Gallo as a foreign language is a reality: this method is easier to set-up (less stress and materials on instructors’ side). However, the results may be not as conclusive as the ones obtained through an immersion program regarding language proficiency.

Other language programs have been proposed to support endangered languages. The community-based program with informal learning styles or natural learning differs from previous approaches which are more centered on classroom setting: ‘this kind of learning

style comes into conflict with revitalization programs designed around institutionalized education' (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006: 59). The concentration is on the different functions of language rather than on the instruction *per se*.

The master-apprentice program appeared in 1992 in California to save indigenous languages and was funded by donations from several foundations. Learners interact with "master" speakers (elder speakers) to form a language-learning team. There are five principles to the method: (1) no use of English is allowed, (2) the learner should be a full participant in the content of the program and should only use of target language, (3) the oral use of language is fully part of the learning process, (4) no classroom setting, language acquisition via real-life situations and activities and (5) comprehension develops through activity and nonverbal communication. The objective is to recreate the natural language-learning of children and commit to a strictly oral communication. Stumdi training relies on these principles and emphasizes speaking the language and providing the necessary tools to the learners who are seeking fluency in their professional environment. As a follow-up research, it could be interesting to investigate how the learners use the language after the three-month training: who they interact with, if they use the language for professional purposes or if they speak it with family members and friends.

The last model presented by Grenoble & Whaley is the language reclamation model which corresponds to the scenario of 'resuscitation' of a language. In this case, there is no native speakers left, which renders language reclamation (or revival) necessarily different from language revitalization. Hebrew and Cornish have been recorded as the only

successful examples of language revival. We can list a few different conditions for a possible success in language revitalization: gathering all available materials regardless of their intactness, using related languages to reconstruct the pronunciation and document the lexicon and syntax. Documentation is not a model for language revival, but it represents a critical part of revitalization efforts.

Cornish belongs to the branch of Brythonic languages like Breton and part of the Celtic languages. Its revival started at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the publication of Jenner's *Handbook of the Cornish Language*. Similarly to Gallo, the number of speakers varies according to the criteria involved in 'speaking the language' (estimate number of 2,000 fluent speakers). The main difference with Gallo stands in the role played by the government in preserving the language. Since 2002, Cornish has been officially recognized as a historical regional and minority language and appears in the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages.

Four orthographies exist in Cornish. The development of Unified Cornish appeared in 1929 with the collaboration of Jenner and Nance. In the 1980s, Modern Cornish or Revived Cornish was proposed by Gendall whose objective was to achieve a standardized spelling. Common Cornish is a revised orthography based on the precedent system (1986), which was adopted by most Cornish speakers including teachers because it related spelling to pronunciation. Finally, Unified Cornish Revised dated from 1995 reconciles a regular spelling with graphic practices from the medieval period.

Other language planning efforts have reinforced the revival of the language including the publication of periodicals and books<sup>100</sup> in Cornish, regularly broadcasting Cornish on local radio stations, and organizing cultural events and music works around Cornish traditions.

Cornish is taught in a few schools up to University level and the first Cornish crèche opened in 2010 to ensure the transmission of the language. The language shares similar aspects with Gallo: it is taught at school and appears in written publications. The divergence between the two languages is the main reason for the success of Cornish revitalization. Besides an official recognition as a minority language, Cornish benefits from financial support from the government (2005). In other words, the government shows an active engagement in the language planning process. The ultimate decision which secured the revival of the language was the vote for a standard written form of Cornish by the Cornish Language Partnership in the presence of all four language groups in May 2008 after two decades of discussion: 'In order to end this ceaseless in-fighting and polemics that many feel have hindered the Cornish language's revival, it was decided to aim for a Standard Written Form (SWF) once and for all. The fourth and final Standard Written Form draft was generated on 30 May 2008' (Languages of Europe: 18). Interestingly, the fact that Cornish presents characteristics of a moribund language with an extremely low number of fluent speakers and an almost none existent transmission at home did not dishearten the community. Cornish language groups obtained its recognition by Europe as an endangered language and collected substantial government funding. The Gallo community has not yet reached this step which would undoubtedly be

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<sup>100</sup> In 2002, the New Testament was published in Cornish by Spyrus a Gernow based on the Greek text.

a force to use pressure on regional and national authorities and obtain financial aid for the promotion of the language. The following section treats the specific case of Breton within the framework of language preservation via the standard form.

#### 4.1.3 Case of Modern Breton

##### 4.1.3.1 Jones, *At what price language maintenance?: Standardization in Modern Breton*

In 1925, the Minister of Public Education de Monzie declared that ‘pour l’unité linguistique de la France, il faut que la langue bretonne disparaisse’ (Jones, 1995: 424) - For the sake of the linguistic unity of France, the Breton language has to disappear. In the last decade, it has been estimated that 500 000 individuals still speak Breton although many scholars had anticipated a more rapid disappearance of the language. The number of people using Breton in their everyday life might be lower. Jones discusses the standardization process of the Breton language which underwent the adoption of a writing system via the selection of one dialect as a prestige variety along with the expansion of the *Diwan* movement after the creation of the first schools in 1977. The spoken language remains stigmatized and gives ‘the impression that it was not a language good enough to be educated in’ (Jones. 1995: 427).

Four orthographies were developed for Breton in the last 40 years, namely the KLT orthography, the *orthographe unifiée* (ZH), the *orthographe universitaire* (OU), and the *orthographe interdialectale*. The *Diwan* movement declared that: ‘Le choix d’une orthographe n’est pas un problème linguistique, c’est un problème politique’ (Jones,

1995: 432) - The choice of the orthography is not a linguistic problem, it is a political problem. This statement from Jones shows that in Breton and similarly in Gallo there is little attempt to incorporate native speakers into the language planning process. Language planners and teachers are most of the time second-language learners of Gallo and do not have native fluency. For instance, two representatives of the main Gallo associations who actively participated into the improvement of graphic systems show near native competences in Gallo. They did not grow up speaking the language at home and decided to acquire or improve the language at school.

The three types of Breton (dialectal Breton, standardized Breton and the variety spoken) spoken by the *Néo-bretonnants* stand for different ways of describing the culture and communicating with other *bretonnants*. Hoare (2000) in her work on Gallo draws a parallel with Breton speakers and defines *Néo-bretonnants* as native speakers of French who have learned the language through the educational system as a second language: ‘they don’t understand our Breton, we’re taught a literary Breton’ (Hoare, 2000: 332).

The main issue in most cases of language maintenance / revitalization is to predict whether or not standardization will be successful. According to Jones, the attempt of normalization was not beneficial to the Breton language due to the following reason: ‘it was a relatively sudden, conscious decision to create homogeneity of speech by devising a synthetic norm’ (Jones, 1995: 435).

This new norm (Standardized Breton) has not been popular among native speakers, but more frequently used within the *Néo-bretonnants* group. The different Bretons correspond to different ways of life, mentalities as described in the statement below:

The militant world and the popular world have different ‘Bretons’. They are not talking the ‘same’ Breton; they are not talking about the same thing in commentary upon Breton; they do not have the same social value of Breton; they do not share the same level of education or the same linguistic and social sensibilities and competences. They are not, we might say, speaking the same ‘language (Jones, 1995: 437).

Traditional Breton is disappearing and the emergent *Néo-Breton* is replacing the old varieties. This emerging form is only used by intellectuals, teachers and learners of Breton. In chapter 6, I mention the distinction between traditional Gallo and the variety of Gallo spoken by the younger generations, in particular the one which is learned at school and in several associations. I discuss informants’ reactions towards these two different Gallo varieties. The word ‘néo-gallo’ never appeared during the interviews to describe this new form of Gallo and the concept is not applied to Gallo in the literature either. I think that the reason is mainly due to the fact that Gallo and Breton communities are not at the same stage of transmission and maintenance. Breton is an officially recognized language with an established standardized form.

#### 4.1.3.2 Three studies by Hoare on linguistic competence, language attitudes and regional identity in Brittany in comparison with the Gallo situation

The first study (2000a) addresses issues on attitudes, identity and the future of Breton, *Linguistic Competence and Regional Identity in Brittany: Attitudes and Perceptions of Identity*. Hoare presents the relationship between language and identity, young people’s perceptions of Breton speakers, the learning and teaching process of Breton and she also discusses the future of Breton in this first study. I selected five



statements from Hoare's study and compare the results with the current study. I look at reactions to the following statements: (1) to be a true Breton it is necessary to speak Breton; (2) Breton is a language for old people; (3) it is important for children to learn to speak French and Breton; (4) teaching Breton should be obligatory in all educational establishments in Brittany and (5) it is important to preserve the Breton language.

The informants' reactions were rated from (1) strongly agree (SA) to (5) strongly disagree (SD) for the following statements<sup>101</sup>:

(1) To be a true Breton it is necessary to speak Breton

Hoare: 23 SA (23%) 20 agree (20%) 8 indiff.<sup>102</sup> (8%) 22 disagree (22%) 27 SD<sup>103</sup> (27%)

Rey: Is it necessary to speak / understand Gallo to be a member of the Gallo community?' 26.7% Y 73.3% N (group 1)<sup>104</sup> vs 50% Y/N (group 2)<sup>105</sup>

(2) Breton is a language for old people

Hoare: 9 SA (9%) 8 agree (8%) 8 indiff. (8%) 13 disagree (13%) 62 SD (62%)

Rey: 43.3% (Gallo is not modern) vs 64.3% (same)

(3) It is important for children to learn to speak French and Breton

Hoare: 14 SA (14%) 16 agree (16%) 23 indiff. (23%) 20 disagree (20%) 27 SD (27%)

Rey: It is important to teach Gallo to younger generations

76.7% Y - 10% N (gp1) vs 85.7% Y - 14.3% indiff. (gp2)

<sup>101</sup> I chose to incorporate my results along with Hoare's for two reasons: it facilitates the comparison and the two sets of questions from both studies are similar.

<sup>102</sup> Indifferent.

<sup>103</sup> Total of 100 informants interviewed in Hoare's survey.

<sup>104</sup> Group1, older speakers of Gallo, acquisition of Gallo mostly at home with family members

<sup>105</sup> Group 2, younger speakers / students, acquisition of Gallo at school.

(4) The teaching of Breton should be obligatory in all educational establishments in Brittany

Hoare: 10 SA (10%) 13 agree (13%) 15 indiff. (15%) 21 disagree (21%) 41 SD(41%)

Rey: optional in elementary school 66.7% / optional for the rest 80% (gp1) vs  
optional 92.9% (gp2)

(5) It is important to preserve the Breton language

Hoare: 55 SA (55%) 19 agree(19%)15 indiff. (15%) 4 disagree (4%) 7 SD(7%)

Rey: 93.3% Y - 3.3% N (gp1) vs 92.9% Y - 7.1% indiff. (gp2)

There are significant differences in methodology between the two studies. Hoare chose a gradual rating from (1) to (5) for each of her question composed of the following options: ‘strongly agree’ (SD), ‘agree’, ‘indifferent’, ‘disagree’, and ‘strongly disagree’ (SD). Regarding the Gallo study, the options were limited to ‘yes’ (Y), ‘no’ (N) and ‘indifferent’ since the objective is to provide a clear comparative study between older speakers and students. Also, due to the lower number of informants in the Gallo study, it is easier to show contrasts between the two groups by keeping a limited number of possible answers.

Question (1) investigates how informants feel about the relationship between language and identity. Like Breton informants, Gallo respondents indicate that speaking and / or understanding the local language is not a necessary component to be viewed as a member of the speech community (Breton: 27; Gallo: 73.3%).

Question (2) illustrates the way the language can be perceived. 62 Breton speakers out of 100 strongly disagree with the statement ‘Breton is a language for old people’ and 43.3%

of group 1 and 64.3% of group 2 think that Gallo is less spoken today is because it is not modern and does not have all the linguistic tools to describe concepts of contemporary life. Breton enjoys a more prestigious status than Gallo as it is shown in the second question. It conveys a positive image as a communicative tool.

Questions (3), (4) and (5) deal with language preservation and present interesting contrasts between the two studies. When asked whether it is important for children to acquire both French and Breton, 27 informants expressed strong disagreement and 23 remained indifferent whereas Gallo informants appear to be more in favor of teaching Gallo at a young age. Similar results were found in both groups with 76.7% of positive answers in group 1 and 85.7% in group 2. A similar contrast can be observed for question (4) regarding mandatory Breton courses in Brittany: 41 Breton informants strongly disagreed with the idea of creating mandatory Breton classes. Gallo respondents think that Gallo courses should remain optional, 80% for the first group and 92.9% for the second one. Interestingly, those who are taking Gallo in the schooling system overwhelmingly selected this option and expressed no desire to be required to take Gallo. The last question on preservation includes the notion of the future of the language. In both studies, positive answers are high as 93.3% of group 1 and 92.9% of group 2 (55 informants in Hoare's study) strongly agreed on the importance of preserving the regional language.

It is important to add that in the research on language use and identity, like the one on Irish mentioned in Hoare's research, it has been shown that these two notions influence each other and that 'language planning is having an effect on language identity' (Hoare,

2000a: 328). The data analysis consisted of 470 questionnaires (returned), and the researcher noticed under-reported abilities due to the common phenomenon of denial when ‘speakers of ‘patois’ tend to deny that they know the ‘patois at all’ (from Blanchet, 1994).

Hoare demonstrates that usually the two reasons to learn Breton are (1) the necessity to provide cross-generational communication in Breton and (2) the reinforcement of the Breton identity. At school, a different variety of Breton is taught, which indicates a similarity with the Gallo situation. The results show a major shift in language use between ages 16 and 17, also the male informants tend to have a stronger sense of Breton identity. Informants express the desire to improve their competences in Breton as it is closely related to Breton identity. Oppositions have grown towards initiatives which would encourage its revitalization. This paradoxical situation is also true for Gallo:

the contrast between attitudes toward preservation of the language and action take to secure this outcome was even more striking due to the minimal interest shown in learning Breton amongst the questionnaire respondents (Hoare, 2000a: 343).

A general sense of frustration is shared among younger speakers of Breton as they acquire a different variety from the one spoken by the older speakers and the two varieties of Breton are not necessarily mutually intelligible: ‘we’re taught a literary Breton rather than the Breton that they speak – it’s not the same thing at all’ (Hoare, 2000a: 332).

Hoare distinguishes between active and passive attitudes and the way most people express positive attitudes towards the Breton language without participating in the

realization of projects. The general reaction is to agree with the necessity of language planning projects while delegating the tasks to others: ‘if the language dies out a whole culture is lost and I don’t think that’s a good idea, I think that it should be definitely continued. But it’s not up to me to do it – there are always others who will’ (Hoare, 2000a: 344). These last three statements could easily be applied to the case of Gallo as informants are generally not involved in preserving the language and the main reason being that language and identity stay apart and have no influence on each other. This phenomenon will be discussed in chapter 7.

The second research conducted by Hoare (2001) on *An integrative approach to language attitudes and identity in Brittany* consisted in exploring the attitudes of young people in Brittany towards Breton and French and the contribution to the methodology of research on language attitudes and identity.

The methodology includes a questionnaire with two sections, one pertains to language use, language attitudes and identity and the second one is divided into 10 statements on Breton language and identity. Hoare combined the questionnaire with the Matched Guise Theory (MGT) to investigate reactions to various speech styles, accents, dialects and languages: ‘a method of investigation where attitudes are *indirectly* assessed through the elicitation of listeners’ subjective reactions to different speech varieties’ (Hoare, 2001: 76). The results from self-reports on informants’ competence in Breton proved that there is a difference between language usage of male and female speakers. It has also been confirmed that the ability to speak Breton is not a necessary component of Breton identity

and that most of the informants ‘deny responsibility to struggle for the language’ (Hoare, 2001: 79).

In the case of Gallo, similarly to what has been observed in Breton, the regional and individual identities are distinct, meaning that one can feel part of the community without speaking or understanding the language. The Gallo language does not constitute the main marker of Gallo identity as I demonstrate later on in chapter 6 and 7 when analyzing the questionnaires and follow-up interviews (although the sentiment of Gallo identity is increasing among younger speakers). Finally, Hoare shows that Breton-accented French is considered a symbol of Breton identity similarly to the Welsh accent (Hoare, 2001: 80) which serves ‘as a marker of ethnic identity’. Breton has a ‘covert prestige’ and non standard forms are prestigious in local social networks. There are two distinct speech communities which have only marginal contact, speakers of Breton as L1 (first language) *néo-bretonnants* who speak a more ‘academic’ type of Breton as a non-native language (second language). Hoare’s goal was to find out how speakers define their identity including the way they express themselves and the culture they are in contact with.

Hoare (2000b) suggests and demonstrates that Breton-accented French is the main element of linguistic marking of identity among young people in Brittany. It is a symbol of solidarity and loyalty in her article *The Linguistic Marking of Identity among Young People in Brittany*. In this third study, Hoare presents various topics including the attitudes of young people towards three varieties: Breton, Breton-accented French, Standard-accented French. The method used is a combination of questionnaire and MGT, and individual interviews on the articulation of language attitudes and perceptions of

identity in discourse. Sixty-two informants from Basse-Bretagne were interviewed and asked the following question: ‘How Breton do you feel?’

Hoare found markers of ‘Bretonness’<sup>106</sup> in speech which confirmed the relationship between language and identity in the interviews due to the ‘overwhelming consensus that the Breton accent is a strong marker of Breton identity’ (Hoare, 2000b: 108). To the following statement, ‘Breton is a language for old people’ (Hoare, 2000b: 109), 75% of the informants strongly disagreed. The pair-discussions (Hoare, 2000b: 110-116) showed the perceptions of the speaker’s identity and the continuum which exists in language identity in Breton.

The study demonstrated the different markers of identity based on attitudes towards the linguistic situation in Brittany and the expression of positive attitudes towards Breton. Breton identity is therefore conveyed by Breton-accented French and represents a more accessible symbol of regional identity for young people in Brittany today’ (Hoare, 2000b: 117).

Recent technological tools such as the internet and radio-television contribute to the preservation of the languages of Brittany. One informant (N 56) from the *Dizale* association exposed several arguments in favor of the use of the media to save minority and regional languages at the Nantes Conference in June 2009. The reasons why technology is certainly useful to the preservation of endangered languages are listed as follows:

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<sup>106</sup> In French, ‘Bretonnitude’, a recent concept describing the feeling of being Breton.

- (1) Many native speakers have no knowledge of the written norm(s)
- (2) Bilingual children (Breton-French) at school do not use the written norm and it turns out to be quite inefficient
- (3) Gallo and Breton must be transmitted in an attractive and modern way:

Les enseignants-formateurs doivent donc jouer ce rôle d'entremetteurs entre les générations. Ce rôle de “**pont générationnel**” ne peut se faire qu’avec des outils utilisables par tous donc oraux et-ou audiovisuels (113)  
Actes 2009 - Instructors must act as mediators between generations. This role of ‘*pont-générationnel*’ can only work with tools that everyone can use, it can be orally and-or audio-visually.

Furthermore, modern tools (television, radio, and the internet) offer an easy access to the language and culture. The translation and adaptation of works part of the cultural heritage of Brittany (*doublage* - dubbing) are now available along with the translation and adaptation of more general works from the global culture for a larger audience. Thus, these developments via the media on traditional culture and the publication of works in Breton and Gallo actively participate into the preservation process. Although, technological resources and access to internet in particular reduces the chances for the older generation to really exploit these modern tools. Written publications and translations are a necessary stage in language maintenance and it is essential to use a wide range of tools in the maintenance process to reach out the different groups of speakers within the community.

The association *Chubri* has recently initiated a workshop on Gallo and the media, ‘Du galo à la télé et à la radio’<sup>107</sup> in October 2009. The workshop presented previous

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<sup>107</sup> Gallo on TV and on the radio.



experiences done in the Gallo and Breton languages: weather forecast in Gallo on TV Rennes, programs on Plum FM, and dubbing and subtitles in Breton with the participation of the association *Dizale*. The second half of the workshop was devoted to a series of presentations on how to develop and organize the diffusion of programs in Gallo based on the Breton model. Below is the list of presentations given during the workshop

*Du Gallo dans l'audiovisuel:*

**Table 4.1 – Program of the workshop 2010**

9H30	Ouverture des portes et accueil	Opening and reception
10h-10h30	Introduction · Accueil par Jean-Pierre Thomin, président de la commission Culture du Conseil régional de Bretagne, et Marc Clérivet, président de Chubri · Le gallo dans l’audiovisuel, un état des lieux, par Bèrtran Ôbrée, directeur de Chubri.	Introduction · Introduction by Jean-Pierre Thomin, president of the cultural committee of the regional council of Brittany and Marc Clérivet, president of <i>Chubri</i> · Gallo in the media, a report by Bèrtran Ôbrée, director of <i>Chubri</i> .
10h30-12h	Des expériences déjà menées · De la météo en gallo sur TV Rennes 35, par Dominique Hannedouch, directeur d’antenne, et Philippe Delacotte, rédacteur en chef · Des programmes en gallo sur Plum’FM par Anthony Sérazin, directeur, et Matao Rollo, animateur · Du doublage, du sous-titrage et de la production en breton avec Dizale, par Samuel Julien, directeur	Past experiences · Weather forecast in Gallo on TV Rennes 35 by Dominique Hannedouch, channel director and Philippe Delacotte, general manager · Programs in Gallo on Plum’FM by Anthony Sérazin, director and Matao Rollo, coordinator · Dubbing, creating subtitles and production in Breton with <i>Dizale</i> by Samuel Julien, director.
12-14h	Pause repas	Lunch break
14h-15h30	Ateliers Développer la production et la diffusion de programmes en gallo : oui... mais comment ? · Atelier « télévision » · Atelier « radio » NB : Pendant les ateliers, les institutionnels sont invités à se réunir en parallèle pour échanger sur leurs politiques en faveur du gallo.	Workshops Develop the production and diffusion of programs in Gallo: Yes...how? · Television workshop · Radio workshop NB: During the workshops, the institutional representatives are invited to exchange on their policies in favor of Gallo.
15h30-15h45	Pause	Break
15h45-16h30	Clôture · Restitution des ateliers · Clôture	Closing · End of workshops · Conclusion

## 4.2 Theoretical perspectives

### 4.2.1 The Welsh case

Before summarizing Williams' central work on *Language revitalization: policy and planning in Wales* (2000), two other scholars have been studying linguistic practices and identity for similar cases. Dorian (1981, 1989) and Wiggers (2006) respectively explored the cases of East Sutherland Gaelic and Low German (Platt community), and described the multiple identities within the two communities (positive and negative).

During his fieldwork on Welsh, Williams investigated the way positive language attitudes can influence language revitalization. Welsh (*Cymraeg*) is spoken in the south-eastern part of Great Britain and like Breton is derived from the Celtic branch. In 1283, the Act of Union enforced English as the language of administration and jurisdiction. It later became the sole language spoken in the government and used for the Law under Henry VIII in 16<sup>th</sup> century. The result of these linguistic measures brought a progressive decrease in the use of Welsh and by the mid-twentieth century the language was in 'serious danger of complete erosion' (Wiggers, 2006: 204).

Actions taken by the Welsh poet and language activist Saunders Lewis made public some of the issues about the Welsh language in a radio speech *Tynged yr Iaith* (The fate of the language) in 1961. The effect on the community evolved into a progressive awareness followed by a series of political actions conducted by the Welsh people to maintain their language such as the formation of a civil rights movement in Wales. The parents' initiative to send their children to Welsh-medium schools led to a rapid success and reestablished Welsh in the education. In 1988, the Education Reform Act made Welsh

mandatory in elementary and secondary schools and between 1981 and 1991, the number of Welsh speakers did not increase but the language was healthier than in the previous century, a phenomenon due partly to the development of *Diwan* schools and the implementation of immersion language programs. The case of Welsh revival shows how positive attitudes can reverse language extinction. Positive attitudes and initiatives shown by L-speakers (Welsh, Gallo) combined with appropriate efforts to preserve the language can slow down and sometimes reverse the advance toward language death. This initiative cannot succeed without the acknowledgment of the community members and the full awareness that language attitudes are socially closely related to culture and tradition:

Welsh is much stronger in 2000 than it was in 1900. Institutionally it is more robust, and [...] its public status is high, its use in daily life – on official forms, public notices, place-names – is extensive, and it figures prominently in education, the media, law and local government. Its own people no longer regard it as a stumbling block, [...] and only a minority [...] continue to disparage or patronize it (Jenkins & Williams, 2000: 23, cited in Wiggers, 2006: 207).

The second quote taken from Aitchinson & Carter (2000) demonstrates the radical position adopted as to the nature of the relationship between a language and its culture. It is a necessary condition to have some knowledge or exposure to the language in order to understand Welsh culture:

We cannot support the view that the culture and the ways of life in Wales have no relationship to the language, or that it is quite possible for the non-Welsh-speaking child to partake of the tradition, and of the culture of

Wales, without a knowledge of the language. There is a close relationship between our language and our culture, the one cannot fully or even adequately be understood without the knowledge of the other (Aitchinson & Carter, 2000: 44 cited in Wiggers, 2006: 208).

Regarding the education in the local language, the main element for a successful bilingual education was the adoption of Welsh as the main medium of instruction both in elementary and secondary schools in order to provide a pedagogical continuity in bilingual education. Williams cites the example of the Welsh language spoken in Gwynedd as being in a much stronger position now than it was twenty years ago. The community reached the attainment of Gwynedd primary school children in Welsh. As a result, the number of fluent speakers increased between 1975 and 1987 from 6% up to 40.9% (Williams, 2000: 588).

In the media, Griffith-Jones and Rowlands contributed to the role of broadcasting in a bilingual nation by promoting the idea that BBC should reflect the needs of English speakers in Wales and as a matter of fact the Welsh language should not become the only regional medium of broadcasting. The BBC claimed that there was insufficient interest in either Welsh-language programs or programs related to Wales to merit the creation of separate service (Williams, 2000: 313).

Simultaneously, a debate grew about the influence of the radio and inadequate services provided to the listeners due to the limited number of hours devoted to Welsh programs broadcasted at inconvenient times. In 1980, the government was forced to provide a separate Welsh fourth channel to satisfy diverging needs and tastes, and active steps 'to address cultural needs' in particular in Welsh drama. BBC broadcast adaptations of

literary classics and lighter drama. Two developments in Welsh-language broadcasting occurred (1939): a new impetus appeared in the development of a standard form of Welsh understood by people in different places and a tremendous progress was made to resolve the lack of equivalents for many technical and modern terms. For instance, the contribution of the sport services to create equivalents in Welsh and improve the quality and quantity of Welsh programs. The growth of technical innovations in broadcasting helped challenging traditional programs and brought changes in the nature and contents of TV programs. The challenge of Welsh broadcasting is an increasingly powerful and global broadcasting culture. It strengthened the unity of the nation and showed the need to meet the requirements of Welsh speakers by increasing for instance the amount of time devoted to individual localities.

At the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, one could find very little use of Welsh in public administration. In 1941, the Welsh Parliamentary Party (WPP) gave the following proposals:

- (1) Both Welsh and English can be used in the courts,
- (2) All formal court documents should be provided in Welsh and English,
- (3) Cases conducted in court in Welsh if asked,
- (4) Costs of interpreting be borne by the state,
- (5) New enactments should be translated into Welsh.

However, difficulties to overcome the assumptions, values and practices of people and the reluctance of many officials and local politicians to the Act were deliberately

obstructive to the implementation of a language policy based on equal validity (Williams, 2000: 243).

Based on the study of Welsh, Williams summarized the five foci of social pressure for language revitalization. Idealism is the construction of a vision of a fully rehabilitated threatened language which seeks to make language and nation coterminous (Williams, 2000: 658). Protest is the second element through non-violent direct actions involving both non-cooperation (strikes, boycotts, closing-down) and civil disobedience (publicly announced refusal to abide by laws). The legitimacy of the status of Welsh in society and the place of bilingualism are essential factors to facilitate the promotion of the endangered language. Institutionalization and normalization of the language are vital elements within the national language policy so that the language can be present in the education domain and public administration. At last, economic policies and regional development initiatives work for the promotion and defense of the Welsh language and culture. Unlike what has been observed for the revitalization of Breton with the development of *néo-Breton*, revitalized Welsh does not bear the label ‘néo-Wesh’ which could be a sign of an effort to reconcile with the linguistic origins of the Welsh language.

#### 4.2.2 Jersey Norman French model: Jones (2001), Jones & Singh (2005)

##### 4.2.2.1 Profile of the speech community

The methodology consisted of a three-part interview with one set of informants (50 adults) who were asked to answer a sociolinguistic questionnaire and a lexical questionnaire. A tape-recorded conversation was carried out later on. Given her status of

outsider, Jones used the ‘friend-of-a friend’ technique<sup>108</sup> to be able to approach different networks of speakers. The main obstacle encountered was that ‘Jèrriais is not considered by speakers as a variety to be used with strangers’ (Jones, 2001: 47).

The procedure for the study on Norman French presented a few problems regarding the self-reported answers of informants which were not always reliable and the questionnaires elicited stereotyped responses. The questionnaire, designed by Fanch Broudic for a survey on linguistic practices (Jones, 2001: 49), was tested for previous studies. The investigation applied to the ability to use Jèrriais in everyday life and the contexts in which Jèrriais was spoken. To the question ‘How often do you speak Jèrriais?’ 66% of the informants answered that they spoke the language as often as English. The variables used such as age and socioeconomic status correlated with the daily use of Jèrriais (by parish). 70% could read the language fluently and female informants could read it more easily than male informants. As for the writing proficiency, 1/5 was able to read the language without difficulty as all speakers of Jèrriais are bilingual, they potentially have a choice of language every time they speak (Jones, 2001: 55).

In the sociolinguistic questionnaire, the following questions were asked:

(1) To whom do you speak Jèrriais? with grandparents (100%), mother (98%), father (98%), friends (86%)

(2) Where do you speak Jèrriais? with people from other parishes (94%), leisure (88%), the family is a setting that encourages the use of Jèrriais, but in places like supermarkets and banks Jèrriais is not used much (less than 10%).

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<sup>108</sup> This technique has a certain degree of randomness due to the choice of people the researcher meets.



(3) When you started school, which language(s) could you speak?

Even though school and parents remain the primary sources for the acquisition of Jèrriais, the Anglicization of the speech community weakens the impact of school on the Jèrriais population. In chapter seven, using a similar questionnaire, I analyze the answers provided by the informants on their identity and representation of Gallo, their practices and how they feel about the development of Gallo courses at school. Jones & Singh (2005) explored attitudes towards Jèrriais within the community and oriented their questions towards language preservation and language planning. Moreover, I include and compare their findings with the current study on Gallo. Also, it can be noted that for each question, I show the results in bold for the second group of informants (group 2 – students / young adults).

(1) Do you think that Jèrriais should be preserved? Y 90% DN 10%<sup>109</sup>

Do you think that Gallo should be preserved? Y 93.3% N 3.3%

**Y 92.9% DN 7.1%**

We notice that the results between Jèrriais and Gallo groups are similar, even for group 2.

(2) Do you think that Jèrriais will be preserved? Y 18% N 50% DN 32%

Do you think that Gallo will be preserved? Y 43.3% N 36.7%

**Y 50% N 14.3% DN 35.7%**

Generally, we find more positive answers for Gallo preservation than for that of Jèrriais.

However, students are less optimistic (compared to question (1) regarding the

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<sup>109</sup> Y = yes, N = no, DN = I don't know, Op = optional

maintenance of Gallo or it could also represent a feeling of indifference towards the future of the language.

(3) Should Jèrriais be included on the primary school curriculum? Y 64% DN 20%

Is it important to teach Gallo in elementary school?

Y 66.7% N 26.7%

**Y 42.9% N 21.4% DN 35.7%**

There is no difference between Jèrriais informants and Gallo informants from group 1 as they both agree that their language should be taught in elementary school. Students appear to be less concerned by the issue as 42.9% of them think it is important to maintain Gallo in elementary school.

(4) Should the study of Jèrriais be compulsory at school? Y 30% Op. 34% DN 36%

In elementary school, learning Gallo should be?

Mandatory 20% Optional 66.7% DN 17.4%

**Mandatory 0% Optional 92.9% DN 7.1%**

None of the students approves of having compulsory Gallo courses in elementary school. In group 1, the majority of the informants think that Gallo should be mandatory. For the Jèrriais study, the results are equally spread and therefore less clear, which may indicate that the speakers feel less engaged in the process of preservation.

(5) Should there be regular television programs in Jèrriais? Y 82% DN 10%

Do you think there should be more television programs in Gallo?

Y 66.7% DN 30%

**Y 35.7% N 14.3% DN 50%**

(6) Should Jèrriais feature on all the Island's road signs? Y 48% N 40% DN 12%

Should Gallo appear on all the regional road signs? Y 43.3% N 36.7% DN 20%

**Y 35.7% N 42.9% DN 21.4%**

We find the same patterns for questions (2), (3), (5) and (6). Informants from Jones & Singh's study (2005) express common positive ideas or feelings concerning the promotion of their language: they are in favor of TV programs and road signs in the local language. Students do not express any strong feelings towards language promotion and are either indifferent (50%) or against (42.9%) the idea of TV programs and road signs in Jèrriais / Gallo.

These results revealed an abstract expression of support for the dialect in 4.11 (Jones, 2001: 64) and confirmed the widespread approval from the community for further actions, the willingness to support inclusion of Jèrriais as part of the school curriculum (introduced in 1999 in elementary schools) and the use of bilingual road signs as an important part of the revitalization campaign

It is vital that the dialect's profile in the community should be raised' for Jèrriais to survive (Jones, 2001: 68) and 'positive attitudes towards a minority language on the part of the speakers of the dominant variety can help its revitalization (Jones, 2001: 62).

We observe that positive identity and language planning need to be combined and used equally in the revitalization process: All the positive attitudes in the world cannot compensate for a lack of linguistic infrastructure (Jones, 2001: 69). Similarly to the Cornish and Manx cases, language planning for the Gallo language occurs after the positive revitalization of Breton despite a far worse starting point. From Jones'

description of Jèrriais' speech community, goodwill and positive attitudes that are expressed towards the dialect 'must be converted in to affirmative actions' (Jones, 2001: 69).

#### 4.2.2.2 Language planning and revitalization in Jèrriais as a framework for Gallo

##### (1) Introduction on language planning

As mentioned earlier, status planning helps developing the 'nature' of the language itself (for instance, low vs. high status) and corpus planning includes changes in the language itself (written system, extension of the lexicon, etc...).

##### (2) Agencies of language planning

The three associations for Jèrriais such as *L'Assemblée d'Jèrriais* (1951) organize social events and meetings (minutes taken and recorded in the dialect), *La Société Jersiaise – La Section de la Langue Jèrriaise* (1873) works with other organizations and its members focus on literature and lexicon related to environment, biology and traditions as 'devising ways to raise the public awareness and learning about local customs' (Jones, 2001: 74). Finally, *The Don Balleine Trust* took part into status planning and standardization with the publication of its main work, the *Dictionnaire Jersiais-Français* in 1966.

Three organizations are currently working for the maintenance of the Gallo language: *Bertaeyn Galeizz* (1976), *Chubri* and *Dastum*. All three devote most of their time collecting recordings of songs, readings of texts, stories, legends, and toponymy. *Chubri* is involved in creating and providing a new graphic system in Gallo. *Bertaeyn Galeizz*

and *Dastum* function as databases for researchers, teachers and scholars who are working on the language.

(3) Will language planning be successful?

Jones identifies three factors of success in language planning. The role of school is crucial to revitalize a dying minority variety and sometimes helps slow down language shift, but most of the time children or students who learn Gallo or Jèrriais through the educational system cannot practice the language outside of class and therefore quickly forget it. It is also true that the school cannot operate alone to provide a ‘quick fix’ for obsolescent variety (Jones, 2001: 85).

Standardization is necessary if one decides to include minority languages within the school system. The other reason is that instructors of the language (and it is the case for Gallo) are not native speakers and might not always speak the language fully. It seems unavoidable to create a standard form for the teaching of Gallo or Jèrriais to ease language acquisition and reach agreements before starting the process. The most important element that governs the success of language revitalization is the approval from the speech community. That is, the measures taken need to be approved by ‘native’ or fluent speakers and these speakers must engage in the process of language planning. Jones explains in those terms that ‘the approval of the indigenous speech community is extremely important in the domain of corpus planning’ (Jones, 2001: 88).

(4) Is revitalization possible?

In the case of Jèrriais, education, media and religion are the domains in which the language has been reinforced, even re-included. In the case of Gallo, education plays an

important part in the maintenance of the language, but Gallo is not used in religion and is very rarely present in the media. Increasing the use of Gallo outside of the classroom and creating opportunities to speak it, is the key to successful revitalization. But what type of Gallo are we talking about? How do we choose one variety over the others?

The creation and implementation of a standard can be problematic as the militant world and the popular world use different 'Bretons'. They are not talking the 'same' Breton; they are not talking about the same thing in commentary upon Breton; they do not have the same social value of Breton and they do not share the same level of education or the same linguistic and social sensibilities and competences. We could say that they are not the same 'language' (Jones, 2001: 90).

Jones notes that certain parallels exist between the situation of Jersey and that of other countries such as Eire and Wales, where more support is forthcoming from the state (Jones, 2001: 95) through language planning, agencies of status planning, the methodology choice of corpus planning and factors determining success or failure of the revitalization campaign. Unlike Gallo, Jersey has gained a certain amount of political independence which allows positive feelings and perceptions. As a result, the community expresses a strong desire to partake into the maintenance of Jersey, a phenomenon that can be used as a force towards legislation and institutionalization.

Finally, revitalization is possible but the assessment of its success will depend on how its goals are perceived by the community. Developing efforts is not a vain goal as they help promoting the history and culture of Gallo inside and outside the community. The revitalization movement relies almost always on actively engaged volunteers such as

associations, teachers, and individuals who have interest or curiosity for the Gallo culture. It is almost impossible to conduct language planning measures if speakers themselves are not fully solicited and involved in the process: corpus planners often fail to recognize that merely inventing or introducing a word is not enough to ensure that it will be used (Jones & Singh, 2005: 122). Language promoters should check acceptance for these measures with native speakers:

a shrinking language minority cannot be saved by the actions of well-wishers who do not belong to the minority in question...It can be saved only by itself; and then only if its members acquire the will to stop it shrinking, acquire the institutions and financial means to take appropriate measures, and take them (Jones & Singh, 2005: 122).

We now understand the reasons why the approval of the speech community and the implementation of appropriate language planning measures (including identity planning) are essential components to a balanced revitalization program.

#### 4.2.2.3 The case of Guernsey Norman French

According to Omoniyi & White (2006), the concept of identity constitutes a frame of reference within which our recognition of an identity takes place. They present three major changes in identity research: (1) occurrence of multi-theoretical and multidisciplinary characteristics, (2) the traditional essentialist categories switched to individual performers, and (3) the identification is a multilayered process and a hierarchy of identities model.

In part 3, issues related to Guernsey French identity and language endangerment are explored. It is important to recall that the languages of the islands are not subject to

European laws such as the Charter and that Guernsey is self-governing in internal matters. Omoniyi & White comment on the current sociolinguistic situation showing that 14% of the population has some understanding of Guernsey. The data was collected through written surveys and follow-up interviews. Forty residents of Guernsey were interviewed in 2001-2002 after a postal questionnaire was sent. The method adopted to find informants relied on the 'friend of a friend' technique and explored the contexts in which Guernsey French is spoken today.

The results on language and identity among the majority of language speakers show that 70% of the informants think 'Guernsey should maintain a unique identity of its own' and 25% strongly agreed on the fact that 'speaking Guernsey French is an important part of Guernsey identity'. Comments from informants regarding island heritage, independence, calmer pace of life, increasing concern for loss of Guernsey and growing Anglicization were also analyzed. Omoniyi & White (2006) recorded reactions from older speakers towards Guernsey French at school and the results revealed that they are more in favor of French or another language (English) than the local language.

In sociolinguistics, the link between language and identity is often assumed and treated as a given. The concepts of culture and identity are interdependent and one cannot exist without the other. Language loyalty and culture shape the sentiment of identity. Thus, when a language dies out, a unique way of looking at the world disappears. Identity in Guernsey remains closely linked to language loyalty to the British language and the island's loyalty to the Crown. Variations remain between parishes:

chaque village a son propre parler picard; en apprenant le patois d'un autre village, on ne retrouvera pas ses racines (Omoniyi & White, 2006: 145



cited in Pooley, 1998: 48) - Each village has its own variety of Picard; if you learn the dialect of another village, you won't find your roots.

Language and emotions convey ambivalent attitudes, for instance nostalgia, anger, or resentment. Older speakers have an emotional attachment to Guernsey French and express lukewarm attitudes towards minority language. A similar behavior can be found among older speakers of the Gallo community. In the case of Guernsey French, language is progressively seen as a positive identity marker, but can we go as far as talking about vitality or linguistic pride?

It is well known fact that language revitalization is not successful everywhere. Two observations have been confirmed in the case of Guernsey French (1) children have not accepted the language as a language of primary identity (the language is not used at home) and (2) there is a lack of confidence in language proficiency and a lack of confidence in vitality / usefulness of a low-status variety. According to Omoniyi & White (2006), the development of a drastic scheme similar to the master-apprentice program for Native American languages could help the process of revitalization of Guernsey French and maintain links with community's roots identity.

Jones in Jones & Bulot (2009) examines the current situation of Guernsey and the improvements reached towards language maintenance by the speech community. I briefly summarize her research from 2008. Recently, the acknowledgement of the importance of the role of Norman on Guernsey identity has been clarified by the state:

une volonté des Etats de Guernesey de valoriser et souligner l'importance culturelle du normand de Guernesey et le rôle qu'il joue quant à l'identité guernesiaise (Jones & Bulot, 2009 : 75) – the willingness of the States of

Guernsey to value and highlight the cultural importance of Norman and the role it plays in regards to the Guernsey identity.

A vote was taken in 2007 by the States of Guernsey to value the language and emphasize its culture as a priority followed by the creation of the position of ‘Officier pour l’dgernésiais<sup>110</sup>’. Three missions are associated with this function: the promotion and teaching of the language, the elaboration of its standardization and the evaluation of linguistic resources, research and recordings of older speakers. Most importantly, a popular willingness to save the language and develop its transmission has emerged and the States have recently recognized the existence of the language of the island:

Les Etats en créant le poste « d’*Officier pour l’dgernésiais* » ont reconnu l’existence de la langue indigène (Jones & Bulot, 2009 : 82) – By creating the position of *Officier pour l’dgernésiais*, the States recognized the existence of the indigenous language.

For the first time, the Guernsey language disposes of a linguistic strategy which underlines certain priorities regarding the most urgent actions to be taken.

The influence of English and its usage in public and private domains (including among friends and family members) has played a dramatic role in the decline of the Guernsey language. Guernsey is now rarely spoken outside of home:

la transmission inter-générationnelle du *dgernésiais* n’existe plus ; on doit donc trouver d’autres moyens pour le transmettre (Jones & Bulot, 2009 : 77) – the inter-generational transmission of Guernsey no longer exists ; therefore we must find other means to transmit it.

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<sup>110</sup> Officer of the Guernsey language.

In order to slow down the decline of the language, optional courses of *dgernésiais*<sup>111</sup> have been offered since 2005 in elementary school based on the schools' initiative and volunteers. Symbolically, the presence of *dgernésiais* in the classroom gives the language a certain prestige / legitimacy. As Jones explains, a further step would be to include the language in the normal educative program and to develop a program for adult learners. These changes necessarily involve the standardization of the language. Similarly to the situation observed within the Gallo community, linguistic diversity is often problematic for language planners:

Cette diversité linguistique présente des problèmes complexes pour les promoteurs de la langue et elle évoque nécessairement la question des normes et de la pluralité (Jones & Bulot, 2009 : 80) – This linguistic diversity presents complex problems for language promoters and it necessarily raises the question of norms and plurality.

The writing systems reflect different tendencies and some actors are in favor of reproducing a system which takes into account dialectal variations and even sub-dialectal forms (for instance *Chubri*) while others opt for a system closer to the French graphic conventions (for instance ELG and *Bertaèyn Galeizz*). The third group claims that the orthography of Guernsey should be faithful to its pronunciation and distinct from that of French (*Mitaw*) to facilitate the acquisition of the language for learners who speak English as their mother tongue:

tout élève désirant lire le *dgernésiais* devra apprendre les conventions orthographiques françaises [...] Cependant, il y a des acteurs qui pensent que l'on doit se distinguer nettement du français et écrire soit d'une façon qui représente plus fidèlement la prononciation soit à partir d'un système

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<sup>111</sup> About 80 children receive 30 minutes of instruction in the Guernsey language each week.

inspiré par l'anglais (Jones & Bulot, 81-82) – any student willing to read in Guernsey will have to learn the French orthographic conventions [...] Nevertheless, some actors think that a distinction from French must be made and that we must write either in a manner that represents more faithfully the pronunciation or using a system inspired from English.

Besides the role of school in the transmission of the language, learners need to fully understand the necessity to use the language everyday so that it progressively becomes a 'normal' language. It is urgent to make the language more visible on the island using road signs; although this method is not efficient enough by itself to revitalize the language. Media should be used more often to broadcast Guernsey on TV and internet and take advantage of the recent popular support to partake into the revitalization of *dgernésiais*.

### 4.3 Language identity and its representations

#### 4.3.1 Introductory concepts

##### 4.3.1.1 Pool (1979)

Pool presents three types of relationships between language and identity being interrelated: language effects identity, identity affects language, and the study of the effects of planned linguistic change on identity. Pool raises a few issues regarding language and identity: (1) is the native language more important for speaker's identity? (2) Does identity change as a person's language perspective changes? 'It appears that native language competence is more important for identity than is second-language competence in Wales (Pool, 1979: 14).

Identity is linked to the main language spoken and to the level of competence the speaker reaches in another language. The relationship between language and identity varies from one group to another. It is more difficult to teach the language of a few to many than to teach the language of many to a few, but the effect of the former on identity would be greater.

##### 4.3.1.2 Ager, *Identity, insecurity and image: France and Language* (1999)

In chapter six of her study, Ager (1999) looks at the concept of identity and suggests that the French political community was one of the main reasons for the promotion of French as the language of the Republic. She highlights the crucial role played by the *Académie Française* to enforce the use of French in official and specific domains. Besides for historical reasons (secular state, the role of the state), the unity of France was mainly

based on the necessity to develop a common way of communication. Diversity remains obvious in France:

The reality of diversity still lies behind the strength of regionalisms and the cautious, defensive approaches to France as nation, and to Europe as supra-nation, that many members of the political community adopt today (Ager, 1999: 117).

Interestingly, Ager notices that ‘the religious nation, associated with the ethnic and the regional, still opposes yet works with the secular one, associated with the national and the universal’ (Ager, 1999: 122). This quote brings us to another important factor part of identity which is the concept of *France profonde*<sup>112</sup> defined as the strength of continuing conservatism and the rural nature of France. This expression is still frequently used to refer to regional cultures and languages. For instance, as I mentioned earlier, the Gallo language is considered a ‘rural’ variation of French and people from outside of community as well as the speakers of the language associate it with lack of culture and sophistication<sup>113</sup>.

Language policy regulates and sometimes manipulates people’s perception of language usage. For instance in 1975, the Bas-Lauriol Act enlarged the range of domains in which French was used such as commerce, the workplace and advertising, and became compulsory. In 1994, the Toubon Act introduces status planning solutions rather than corpus planning measures as it underlined the idea that French is ‘the language of teaching, work, commerce and public service, and is the special link for the Francophone community’ (Ager, 1999: 132).

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<sup>112</sup> The essential spirit of France

<sup>113</sup> The term *ruralité* is used in French to summarize these two notions.

This Act remained ‘famous’ for its radical stance and did not receive a warm approval from French citizens as ‘it marked the limits of interference by the political community on the speech patterns of the speech community’ (Ager, 1999: 135).

In the last section, I describe the notion of ‘semi-speaker’ first introduced by Dorian (1977) in her work on East Sutherland Gaelic. This concept is not directly linked to the study, but it is essential that the role of semi-speakers in minority languages is explored in future research.

#### 4.3.1.3 Dorian’s ESG<sup>114</sup> and the semi-speaker’s identity (in Ayres-Bennett & Jones, 2007)

Dorian introduces a definition of advanced states of language attrition and strong loyalty to the threatened variety:

These ‘semi-speakers’, as I have called them, persist in speaking a language which has low prestige and limited currency despite the fact that they speak it imperfectly and in some cases haltingly. This would seem to be a perverse stance, since all are fully proficient in English, have no contact with purely monolingual speakers of the disfavored language, and thus have no compelling communicative need for the language they control less well (Dorian, 1980: 86-87 cited in Ayres-Bennett & Jones, 2007: 76)

East Sutherland Gaelic semi-speakers use compensatory mechanisms such as silence, omission of difficult or complex terms, reliance on high-frequency items, jokes. They have an excellent passive competence, but persist in speaking a language which has low prestige. According to Dorian in her work on semi-speakers, *The problem of the semi-*

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<sup>114</sup> East Sutherland Gaelic

*speaker in language death* (1981) in the East Sutherland Gaelic community, identifying a semi-speaker is the main issue. For the investigator, it is important to evaluate the intactness of the language from the last few speakers and to show whether the reduced use of language parallels the reduction in form. One way of doing it is to test the more proficient members and see if they are aware of the onset of that reduction.

I think that any practices as limited or as imperfect as they might appear should be considered as an attempt to maintain and communicate the language and should not be looked down upon. This is the same reason why languages die. In the Gallo community, members are afraid to speak the language and try to avoid mockery by not using it. Undoubtedly, using words or expressions in the language to describe a recipe or talk about a story is crucial to remember those acts and the way they were performed. The imperfectness of language practice should not be a factor to stop speaking the language, but rather, this effort should be encouraged.

Later on, Hornsby (2006) explored the concept of semi-speaker within the *Chtimi*<sup>115</sup> speech community. His definition differs from Dorian's approach as he claims that this group of speakers is not easily visible within the community and fluent speakers may not be aware of their existence. Other speakers have no awareness of the semi-speaker concept:

I shall argue below that dialect semi-speakers can indeed be identified, but that they differ from semi-speakers in Dorian's sense in that they are far less visible within the speech community, skillfully deploying a limited range of markers in such a way that fluent speakers may not even be aware of their limitations (Ayres-Bennett & Jones, 2007: 76).

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<sup>115</sup> A minority language spoken in two northern French regions: Nord-Pas-de-Calais and Picardy.



Certain characteristics are closely related to language and identity in obsolescence dialect communities. Among those features, I retained a few main ones. The community under study is usually a traditional working class community with dense and multiplex social networks (closely-knit groups of friends) within which communal sociability has a ritualistic quality. Furthermore, its semi-speakers have the ability to signal dialect loyalty through the periodical use of high-frequency markers. Dorian declares that semi-speaker's status is a bridge between traditional proletarian working classes community and Northern Regional French.

A language in process of extinction suffers reduction and loss. For example, the dialect of Scottish Gaelic shows evidence of structural reduction accompanied by reduction in usage. A reliance on semi-speakers becomes more common within the speech community when stereotypical linguistic features and recognition of distortion emerge. Dialect semi-speakers reveal patterns of behavior which echo those described by Dorian in that the presence of semi-speakers within a speech community symbolizes an advanced stage of language extinction. Is it possible to determine and identify performance of semi-speakers and intermediate speakers? This question has not been raised for Gallo and yet it would be an interesting study to pursue within the framework of language maintenance and preservation. The universality of the semi-speaker phenomenon and the types of reductions that emerge from their speech need to be further established.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

The body of research on language planning and identity (Dorian, 1989 Jones & Singh, 2005) has established that the two concepts are closely interrelated in a complex relationship. Language revitalization could not function without taking into account the notion of identity and its perceptions. The principles explored in this chapter are applied to the case of Gallo in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 focuses particularly on the situation of Gallo and the actions taken so far to promote Gallo identity. In the following chapter, I introduce recent studies conducted by scholars from the University of Rennes 2 and associations on the language variety of High-Brittany (Tréhel-Tas, 2007, Manzano, 2005, Tréhel-Tas & Blanchet, 2002, Dierkes, 2003 and Le Coq & Blanchet, 2004).

## **Chapter 5**

### **Gallo identity and practices**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

The first section of the fifth chapter deals with an overview of the work carried out by the associations working on the promotion of Gallo. Manzano remains one of the main researchers who investigated the existence of a regional identity. Blanchet and Tréhel-Tas along with Le Coq have been the first scholars to work on the relationship between language and identity within the Gallo community. To conclude, I refer to Walter's work on the vitality and practices of Gallo, discuss the questionnaire used as an introduction to research and provide explanations for fieldwork methods for the study of regional languages that will be further discussed in chapter 7.

## 5.1 Gallo associations and their mission

### 5.1.1 Tréhel-Tas, *Parlons gallo* (2007)<sup>116</sup>

Tréhel-Tas (2007) discusses linguistic identities and the promotion of the Gallo language and culture. She defines identity as the certitude to belong to a certain social group. It relies on the concept of what is identical and permanent. Currently, identity refers to the unique character of an individual or a group:

L'identité, c'est la conviction chez un individu d'appartenir à un groupe social. Cela repose sur un sentiment d'être lié les uns aux autres par le partage d'idées, de concepts, et d'actions (Tréhel-Tas, 2007: 33) - Identity is the conviction that one belongs to a social group. It relies on the sentiment of being linked to one another by sharing ideas, concepts and actions.

Tréhel-Tas refers to Favereau (2000) and Corbel (1984) for a more precise explanation of the regional identity in Brittany. The term *bretonnitude*<sup>117</sup> captures the essence of a claimed regional identity that was suppressed and denied until recently. Corbel defines Gallo identity in those terms: 'une construction qui n'a aucun caractère naturel, transcendant ou méta-social' (Tréhel-Tas, 2007: 35) - a concept that has no natural, transcendent or meta-social character.

Tréhel-Tas offers a different approach concerning Gallo identity and poses the issue of using the term *langue* (language) for Gallo: 'peut-on parler de langue pour le Gallo?' (Tréhel-Tas, 2007: 30) – can one talk about language when it comes to Gallo?

The Gallo language is used as a communication tool by several thousands of speakers even though some variations might stand out depending on whom is being addressed

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<sup>116</sup> Let's speak Gallo

<sup>117</sup> *Bretonnitude* describes a feeling of belonging to the Breton community.

(market vs. doctor's office). It is essential to go beyond the idea that speaking Gallo or *patois* is pejoratively connoted in the promotion and recognition of the language:

Ce qui est important de retenir c'est la richesse culturelle dont participe la langue gallèse. Ce n'est pas un dérivé du français, ce n'est pas la langue de ceux qui ont déserté les bancs des écoles, ni exclusivement celle des ruraux, des agriculteurs, des anciens, mais par cette langue, c'est une identité forte qui existe, et qui fait que les gens d'un même village se reconnaissent comme appartenant à une même communauté, partageant une même histoire locale (Tréhel-Tas, 2007: 31)

What we should remember is the cultural richness which Gallo is part of. It is not a by-product of French, neither the language of those who abandoned school, nor exclusively the language of rural people, farmers, and old people. But through this language a strong identity exists which allows people from the same village to acknowledge the fact that they are members of the same community and share a common local history.

We notice two different attitudes towards the concept of Gallo identity. It is either assimilated to the Breton movement (*faux-bretons*) or idealized by the Gallo movement. It is confronted to a strong movement of 'francization' and to a weakening of its domains of usage. Gallo identity is defined by its linguistic and cultural duality and the Gallo language and culture must have the tools to show its richness within a multicultural and multilingual Brittany. People living in the Eastern part of Brittany view themselves as Breton before claiming their Gallo identity. Showing features of a Gallo accent when using local words or expressions in regional French may be sufficient to reveal or communicate Gallo identity. As I demonstrate later in chapter 6, language and identity are two separate concepts for Gallo informants, meaning that regional identity is

independent from linguistic identity. Some speakers identify themselves as members of the Gallo community stating that they do not speak or understand the language fluently.

Historically, the promotion movement started with Sébillot's work in 19<sup>th</sup> century. Later in 1939, the foundation of *Les Compagnons de Merlin*, which was the Gallo branch of the regional federation of Brittany was founded. In 1950, in a text published by Le Gallo (Jean Quatreboeufs) we can find first the definition of Gallo, 'celte armoricain latinisé de la langue romane' – Armorican Celtic language from the Romance language. The creation of *Les Amis du parler gallo* in 1975 and other organizations later on extended the research on pedagogical methods. Finally in 1990's, CREDILIF<sup>118</sup> was created under the supervision of the *Université de Haute-Bretagne*, Rennes 2. Its mission is to promote the linguistic varieties that are in contact within Brittany, linguistic practices, and cultural identity (objectives of language planning). Researchers also explore contexts of diglossia within local varieties of French in close contact. On a different level, the ongoing mission of the CREDIFIL is the study of the language through different writing systems which were created in the past 30 years, for instance ELG, *Aneit*, *Deriano*, *Ôbrée*, *Fleury*, *Praud*, and *Vantyé* to name a few.

#### 5.1.2 Simon, *Le gallo: un patois ou une langue?* (2003)<sup>119</sup>

According to Simon (2003), the main problem is the lack of clear definitions of the terms. He proposed several solutions to bring changes in perceiving Gallo, especially from

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<sup>118</sup> Centre de Recherche sur la Diversité linguistique et littéraire de la Francophonie (Research Center of literature and linguistic diversity of French-speaking communities) is directed by Philippe Blanchet and its members (professors and scholars) work on dialectal variations and practices.

<sup>119</sup> Gallo, a patois or a language? An unpublished article written by Christophe Simon.

members of the community. The elaboration of a written standard which includes unity and local characteristics should be provided to the learners as well as a form of formal literature. This objective goes along with moving away from sentiments of shame and contempt often associated with the Gallo language to obtain the official recognition of the language from French institutions.

Adapting the language to the modern world (new technological concepts such as internet, TV, etc...) and moving away from an obsolete image linked to the past can be achieved through the development of linguistic planning measures. Nevertheless, these objectives are included in a collective project for a choice of society for regional languages to help raise public awareness towards the language and its history. The language planning measures listed above were mentioned in chapter 4 about the discussion on the Welsh and Jerriais cases.

## 5.2 Investigating Gallo identity and practices

### 5.2.1 Manzano (1997, Cahiers 1)

Does regional identity exist? (Manzano, 2005)<sup>120</sup>. This question is related to the types of judgments Gallo speakers make about their language

Qu'on les interroge ou non sur leurs opinions, les informateurs émettent de nombreux jugements, soit directs (type: « le gallo, c'est pas une langue »), soit indirects, par exemple quand ils s'excusent de 'parler mal (Manzano, 1997: 25) - Whether one asks them about their opinions or not, informants express numerous judgments, either direct (for instance: 'Gallo is not a language'), or indirect, when they apologize for not speaking correctly.

Manzano found that speakers between the ages of 50 and 60 speak more Gallo than speakers from other class ranges. Across all age categories, we find signs of negative attitudes and dissimulation due to embarrassment and shame:

un sentiment de gêne à parler patois, soit en présence d'inconnus, soit encore dans la plupart des situations impliquant retenue et civilité (Manzano, 1997: 27) - A feeling of discomfort when they speak Gallo either in the presence of strangers or in most situations that involve restraint and politeness.

Manzano revealed that there is both a sentiment of nostalgia and pride from informants who left their region for professional reasons and came back later. This group is generally in favor of promoting and protecting the language. The problematic issue of the functionality of regional languages is also raised by Manzano. The majority of people think Gallo has no real function in everyday interactions except with neighbors or friends one meets at the marketplace and / or in appropriate but restricted contexts (jokes, stories,

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<sup>120</sup> 'Les langues régionales de France sont-elles égales dans le recul ?' – Are French regional languages equal in their decline ?



songs). The end of the traditional farming world generated the eradication of the language followed by the general social and economic reasoning of globalization. Gallo's death is accelerated by the mono-linguist choice of the French school system. Most of the informants view Gallo as a dying language 'si l'on s'en tient à ce type de propos, le gallo appartiendrait déjà au passé de la Haute-Bretagne' (Manzano, 1997 : 31) - If we believe this kind of statements, Gallo would already be part of Eastern Brittany's past.

Naming and defining Gallo is not an easy task. The term *patois* carries a derogatory meaning and refers to a nonstandard form of communication employed by people with little education. *Patois* is not viewed as a real language, but rather as 'bad French' due to its lack of unified writing system. I will explain in further detail the reasons why Gallo does not possess a unified writing system. Officially, there are several main orthographic styles (chapter 2), however despite all the efforts and emerging proposals no unification has reached yet. The positive considerations on Gallo are most of the time not commonly expected from the interviewer:

La plupart de ces jugements sont négatifs pour le gallo, mais ils sont parfois compensés par des propos mélioratifs et (Manzano, 1997 : 25) - Most of these judgments towards Gallo are negative, but they are sometimes compensated by positive and nostalgic comments.

Here are a few comments which cultivate a negative image of Gallo.

On oppose régulièrement le gallo, langue sans rigueur, sans grammaire, sans vocabulaire épuré, au français (Manzano, 1997: 32) - Gallo, a language without any rigor, without a grammar, without a refined lexicon, is often compared to French.

A few positive comments were expressed among which several references to Old French (Manzano, 1997: 33). We can think of the following continuum to summarize the thought of most of the informants: *gallo* = *patois* = *ruralité* = *retard culturel* (Gallo = patois = from the country = cultural backwardness). The way the respondents name their language (or regional languages in general) has a lot to do with how they view it in its relationship with other minority languages and with the standard. Walter posited the issue of the denomination of Gallo in a short survey I described below.

#### 5.2.2 Walter's survey on the vitality of Gallo – *Nommer sa langue en Haute-Bretagne*<sup>121</sup> (1991)

According to the definition given by the *Petit Robert* dictionary, *patois* is:

un parler, idiome local employé par une population, généralement peu nombreuse, souvent rurale, et dont la culture, le niveau de civilisation sont inférieurs à ceux du milieu environnant (qui emploie la langue commune) (Walter, 1991: 533) - A variety, an idiom used by a population that is generally small, often from a rural background, and whose culture and civilization are inferior to that of the surrounding population (who speaks the standard language).

Walter investigated the naming of the Romance *patois* of Eastern Brittany via a survey conducted in 1986 on the vitality of the Gallo language. 166 informants were interviewed (87 women and 79 men) across different geographical areas including Morbihan (55 informants), Ille-et-Vilaine (54 informants), Côtes-du-Nord (49 informants), and Loire-Atlantique (8 informants).

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<sup>121</sup> Naming one's language in East-Brittany.

The majority of the people interviewed used the term *patois* in French or in Gallo. Other terms were recorded, for instance ‘patouè’, patoé, patoaille, patois (118 / 166), Gallo (38 / 166 and only 7 of them have always used it). Walter also found the following terms to name the Gallo language: *patois paysan* (patois of the farmers), *jargon régional* (regional jargon), *vieux français* (Old French), *mauvais français* (bad French). She noted that in the Côtes-du-Nord (now Côtes d’Armor), the term *patois* was preferred to the term ‘Gallo’ as it appears to be less negatively charged. Walter pointed out recent use of the term ‘Gallo’ due to linguistic awareness on the part of a few informants: ‘Je l’appelais patois avant une prise de conscience de sa valeur’ (Walter, 1991: 535) - I used to call it patois until I realized its value.

### 5.2.3 Tréhel & Blanchet, *Pratiques linguistiques régionales d’élèves du primaire et de collège en zone suburbaines de Bretagne gallo*<sup>122</sup> (2002)

This study on linguistic and regional practices of elementary and middle school’s children in suburban area in Gallo Brittany established different goals. One of the main objectives was to describe the spoken and written varieties of French used by children in elementary and middle schools in suburban<sup>123</sup> areas. The next step consisted in identifying regional and local features of these forms of French in particular the ones which are in direct contact with Gallo and determining sociolinguistic and communicative parameters which favor or reject local features in linguistic practices.

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<sup>122</sup> Regional linguistic practices of elementary and middle school children in suburban areas in *Bretagne gallo*.

<sup>123</sup> The term includes the notion of *banlieues* and residential areas around big cities, but also smaller cities that more ‘rural’ due to their proximity to the countryside. It constitutes an area between the city and the countryside.

The observation of the sociolinguistic representations of children towards these different linguistic varieties revealed a continuum in these representations that includes two poles: (1) ‘gallo francisé’ (Frenchified Gallo) and (2) ‘français gallésé’ (French influenced by Gallo). The sociolinguistic status of the Gallo language has been compared to a diglossic case (Manzano, 2005) in which Gallo would correspond to the L variety of French and characterized by a negative identity at the regional level.

Five locations were chosen: Bruz (South of Rennes, 35), Cesson-Sévigné (East of Rennes, 35), Dol de Bretagne (middle-size town North of Rennes, 35), Loudéac (22), Ploërmel (56)<sup>124</sup>. The last two are interesting due to their proximity with the linguistic frontier with Breton. The data was collected in four schools, one elementary school (Cesson-Sévigné) and three middle schools. The fieldwork consisted of two tasks performed by the students:

(1) Prepare and performance of a sketch:

préparez et jouez une saynète, par groupe de trois. La scène se passe au marché de la ville où se situe l’école, avec un marchand (qui peut être un agriculteur) et deux clients (un postier et un médecin) (Tréhel & Blanchet, 2002 : 6) - Prepare and perform a sketch in groups of three. The scene takes place at a marketplace in town where the school is located between a merchant (maybe a farmer) and two customers (a mailman and a doctor).

(2) Create a dialog between two characters in which one is using a standard language and the other speaks the local language:

Imaginez et écrivez un dialogue entre un personnage qui utilise un langage soutenu et autre personnage qui utilise un langage local (Tréhel &

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<sup>124</sup> Loudéac located in the Côtes d’Armor and Ploërmel located in the Morbihan are small-size towns near the Breton side.

Blanchet, 2002 : 6) - Imagine and write a dialogue between two characters, one uses the standard and the other character uses a local language.

A questionnaire was submitted to the students and a shorter one for younger children and a longer version for children older than 12 years old. The results confirmed that linguistic practices were in contact with regional forms and borrowed from both the local variety and the norm. Here are a few examples of regional linguistic lexical forms heard in class:

*le gars, rin, ça s'est décrouli* (le garçon, rien, ça s'est écroulé) - 'the boy, nothing, it collapsed'; *clancher* (fermer une porte) - 'to close a door'; *i va fermer sa goule, bon diou, j'ai un éclis dans le doigt* (Il va fermer sa bouche, bon dieu, j'ai une écharde dans le doigt) – he's gonna shut up, I have a splinter in my finger. (Tréhel & Blanchet, 2002: 11).

Exclamations such as *dame!* are extremely frequent in the North West and seen as popular or even *patoisant*<sup>125</sup>. Moreover, Gallo morpho-syntactic constructions were noted as well during in-class conversation. The lack of subjunctive forms in French is a strong linguistic characteristic of Gallo, so is the ante-position of adjectives.

*il faut que je vais ici moi, faut que je fais* (il faut que j'aille ici moi, faut que je fasse) – 'I have to go there, I have to do that'  
*faire une géante piste* (faire une géante piste) – 'to do a giant track / trail'  
(Tréhel & Blanchet, 2002 : 11).

Two other features were recorded, the particular usage of the reflexive and pronominal system, and the common occurrence of simple past forms deriving from Latin: '*elle s'est cassé le talon avec une jambe* (~~et~~ une jambe) – 'she broke her heel and her leg'; *tu vas étouffer* (tu vas t'étouffer) – 'you are going to suffocate'; *i tombit à terre* (il tomba à terre) – 'he fell on the ground' (Tréhel & Blanchet, 2002: 11).

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<sup>125</sup> From the *patois*

Finally, the most characteristic phonetic traits in Gallo is the presence of a low back [ɑ] sound at the end of utterances: *c'est mieux ou pās, c'est quoi çā*<sup>126</sup> (Tréhel & Blanchet: 11) – 'it is better or not, what is that' (Tréhel & Blanchet, 2002: 11).

Here is one of the questions asked in the questionnaire: 'qu'est-ce qu'on parle dans la région?' (what is spoken in the region?), 80% answered Standard French and 60% of the people in Cesson said: *français à notre façon* (French our own way). The term 'gallo' is almost never used. In Bruz, people are more aware that French is influenced by dialectal forms. Tréhel & Blanchet concluded that regional practices are not always clearly identified and there is no clear knowledge of the term Gallo by the informants:

ils ne connaissent pas le terme 'gallo' et par contre assimilent 'langue régionale' et 'breton' sans réelle capacité à définir ce qu'est une langue régionale et tout en 'admettant qu'en Haute-Bretagne on ne parle pas la langue celtique (Tréhel & Blanchet, 2002 : 11) - They don't know the term 'gallo' but they contrue 'regional language' and 'Breton' without any real capacity to define what is a regional language and admit at the same time that in High Brittany one doesn't speak only the Celtic language.

This quote translates the linguistic insecurity of students who are from a rural background and are stuck between the norm they have to acquire and negative appreciations of their language practices.

The last part of the research is devoted to the contact between regional varieties and normative practices at school. Written questions along with a follow-up interview was the format chosen for this study. Below, I include a list of instances from the questionnaire and interviews:

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<sup>126</sup> C'est mieux ou pas, c'est quoi ça.

*Qu'est-ce qu'on parle dans la région?* (what is spoken in the region ?)

*Est-ce que tu connais ces mots et ces phrases?* (Do you know the following words and sentences?)

*Comment dirais-tu autrement ?* (How would you say differently... ?)

What language is spoken around here?

Are there different ways of speaking? How do we call them?

What does 'Gallo' mean? *Patois*? Regional French?

Do you know people who speak Gallo, *patois*,...?

Who are they (age, geographical location...)?

How do people perceive these ways of speaking?

Do people change the way they speak depending on where they are, who they speak to?

Do people from town and people from the countryside speak the same way?

Is it different between women and men, young people and older people?

What do you think of regional languages at school? Would you like learning these languages?

Generally the informants were not familiar with the term 'Gallo' and regional French (*français régional*). Most of them used terms such as '*mauvais français*' (bad French), *patois*, *vieux français* (Old French) to refer to Gallo. Moreover, they all agreed that these ways of speaking were not positively perceived and that they were mainly used by old people (their grand-parents). I briefly mention Tréhel's work on the *patois* of Dol in 1999 for her DEA degree<sup>127</sup>. This comparative study between Duine (1897) and Tréhel's fieldwork conducted in 1998 describes the frequency of use of Gallo within three categories of informants corresponding to three different age ranges (20-30 years old, 40-

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<sup>127</sup> DEA stands for Diplôme d'Etudes Approfondies – PhD qualifying year.

50 years old and 60-older). The method was similar to the one used for the current study, a questionnaire was provided along with a series of questions which led to a discussion with some of the informants. Tréhel's study showed that informants declared they were speaking Gallo or *patois*. The latter denomination was more frequently used among older speakers.

#### 5.2.4 Dierkes, *Attitudes linguistiques des gallésants*<sup>128</sup> (2003)

The objectives were to collect the linguistic attitudes and representations of Gallo speakers regarding the three varieties that are in contact in the region. The following questions were used during the interviews:

- (1) How do the *gallésants* and *néo-gallésants*<sup>129</sup> from the militant movement and the rural, non-militant speakers perceive the regional linguistic situation and the way they speak?
- (2) How does each group view the others' linguistic practices?
- (3) How do informants perceive the past situation and what are the reasons which contributed to a possible linguistic change in the present?
- (4) Do they use the local idiom as a factor of regional identity?

The informants' age ranged between 14 and 81 years old, both *gallésants de naissance*<sup>130</sup> and *néo-gallésants* were interviewed: 50 interviews, 72 informants, 32 women and 40 men. The relationship with the interviewer was of the following nature: 'mon statut

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<sup>128</sup> Linguistic attitudes of Gallo speakers.

<sup>129</sup> New generation of Gallo speakers who learned Gallo at school (copied from *néo-bretonnants*).

<sup>130</sup> Native speakers of Gallo.



d'étrangère', 'quelqu'un de passage qu'ils ne reverraient plus' (Dierkes, 2003: 93) - a foreigner, somebody who is passing, who they will never see again.

'Rural' informants were generally surprised to see that a foreigner would be interested in their *patois* or 'français déformé' (Dierkes, 2003: 94) shows how stigmatized Gallo language is within the community. The topic of Gallo is generally perceived as taboo ('un sujet généralement perçu comme tabou', Dierkes, 2003: 94). French was the language spoken during the interviews and three informants (story-tellers) asked the researcher whether she preferred the interview to be conducted in French or Gallo.

The first half of the research describes the linguistic situation and the naming of the language. Informants clearly distinguished between two linguistic systems with different functions while some informants asserted being able to switch progressively from one language to the other. The concept of linguistic insecurity was evoked when the speakers felt unable to completely master the official idiom. The distinction between the terms 'patois' and 'français écorché' (butchered French) was another topic discussed during Dierkes' interviews: 'le patois ce n'est pas une langue, c'est une tradition de campagne' (Dierkes, 2003: 97) - *patois* is not a language, it is a rural tradition.

According to several informants it is better to speak *patois* – a pure Gallo - than 'bad French' (*un français déformé*):

on disait qu'on parle patois. Il existait quand même le terme gallo. Quand on parlait de la langue, on disait qu'ils parlent patois, mais par contre quand on parlait des gens, c'étaient les Bretons ou les Gallos. Le terme existait, c'étaient les Gallos, mais les Gallos parlaient patois, si vous voulez (Dierkes, 2003 : 98)- The term *Gallo* also existed. When we would talk about the language, we said that they spoke patois, but when we talked about people, it

was the Bretons or the Gallos. The term existed, it was the Gallos but the Gallos talked *patois* if you want.

The second half of Dierkes' study describes the practices of the local idiom, investigates the progressive disappearance of Gallo as it is profoundly taken for granted by most of the informants. Dierkes confirmed that the use of Gallo was related to age, the way of life, and to the geographical location the informants lived in:

l'emploi de l'idiome local semble restreint aux personnes menant une vie isolée dans les campagnes reculées de Haute-Bretagne (Dierkes, 2003: 100) - The use of the local idiom seems limited to people who live out in the remote countryside in High Brittany.

Some of the young people still use it in the area around the Mont Saint-Michel and older speakers are not always in favor of it as they relate the language to a different life style that younger speakers never experienced.

Dierkes found two types of informants (1) speakers who are 60 or older and use Gallo spontaneously for everyday interactions as their 'mother tongue' and (2) speakers who are under 60 years old and who distinguish more easily the local idiom from the official one. Younger informants (under 40 years old) declared not using Gallo for serious conversations, but more often to make jokes or to tell stories. Dierkes claims that it was more of an advantage to be a foreigner in this project as it probably reduced the effect of fieldwork process on informants.

5.2.5 Le Coq & Blanchet, *Pratiques et représentations de la langue et de la culture régionales en Haute Bretagne*<sup>131</sup> (2005)

The aim of the study was to represent the range of representations expressed by Gallo members on their language and culture. For this study, 138 responses were used for the analysis out of 152 collected via semi-directive interviews and questionnaires. The areas of investigation represent the four main locations where Gallo is still spoken: Ille-et-Vilaine and Côtes d'Armor (60), Morbihan (12), and Loire Atlantique (3).

The researchers decided to collect the informants' denominations of the language which generally corresponded to the definition of Gallo, local variety, and *patois*. The nouns and definitions given by the informants mostly covered the terms Gallo and *patois*. The latter was the most common term used (25 – 49 years old and 51 – 73 years old). The term 'Gallo' was used by informants between 13 and 19 years old, however variations according to geographical locations were noted. Informants living in Côtes d'Armor prefer the term 'Gallo' and people living in Ille-et-Vilaine prefer the term *patois*. In Morbihan, both terms are used and in Loire Atlantique only the term *patois* is heard. However, other terms appeared during the interviews to designate Gallo. The words *région* (region) and *pays* (country) were more frequently uttered by informants between the ages of 25 and 49 years old and the terms *pays* and *département* (department) were employed by older interviewees between the ages of 51 and 73 years old. Le Coq & Blanchet (2005) noted that in Ille-et-Vilaine, the term *commune*<sup>132</sup> can be used to describe the geographical spaces where Gallo is spoken.

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<sup>131</sup> Practices and representations of the regional language and culture in East-Brittany.

<sup>132</sup> Equivalent of a village. The term 'commune' can also include several villages.

When questioned on practices and transmissions, the informants claimed not to be able to understand the language as well as their parents or grand-parents, and the younger informants answered they understand the least well: ‘le parler de Haute Bretagne apparaît nettement moins compris et moins utilisé au fil des générations’ (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2005: 3) – the language of Easter Brittany seems definitely less understood and less used throughout generations. The results showed that there is a significant decrease in language practices and the informants now tend to under-estimate their ability to speak the language (switch from French to Gallo) or to overestimate their listening competence and ability to understand a conversation in Gallo. Le Coq & Blanchet (2005) point out that, on the one hand, a new generation of Gallo learners is emerging, which gives hope to language planning actors and associations. On the other hand, Gallo is still a stigmatized language as revealed by the results found in the study: speakers prefer to ‘lie’ about their language competence than admit that they can speak the language. The authors explain why informants underestimate their speaking skills, however they don’t provide a clear reason as for why informants overestimate their comprehension skills. We can argue that it is less stigmatized to understand a minority language than to actually speak it, hence the gap between the informants’ responses and their performance (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2005: 3-4).

Regarding the contexts of appropriation of the language, almost 50% of the informants mentioned home / family (*‘cadre intime’*) as the main context for the acquisition of Gallo. Other situations were cited for instance with friends, farmers or during storytelling for 15% of the informants. Although younger people hear the language at home

and produce it with some family members, school remains the main context of acquisition:

Aujourd'hui les générations plus jeunes l'entendent dans leur famille et l'utilisent avec leur proche, mais, à l'heure actuelle, l'apprentissage familial se trouve être principalement et ponctuellement relayé par un apprentissage scolaire (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2005: 6-7)

Today, younger generations hear it [Gallo] in their family and use it with close relatives, but now acquisition within the family is mainly and punctually relayed by learning at school.

As for writing competences, 38% said they could read texts in Gallo and 23% declared they could write it. More positive answers were found among group of 13 – 19 years old since they take Gallo classes. The writing attempts did not receive a lot of success among the larger audience:

Les tentatives de graphies systématisées de la langue régionale, très diverses et débattues, récoltent généralement peu de succès auprès du public, comme le montrent nos études sur la réception de l'affichage bilingue français/gallo très mal identifié par la population dans une station du métro rennais, notamment à cause du choix d'une graphie trop distanciée du français (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2005: 7).

Attempts of systematic written forms of the regional language which are very diverse and argued, generally receive little approval from the public, as it was shown in our studies on bilingual signs French/Gallo in one subway station of Rennes. It was not clearly identified by the population due to a choice of spelling that was too far from that of French.

When the topic on school was discussed, 59% of the informants said that Gallo was taught at school and at the time of the study, Gallo was taught in 8 high schools, 9 middle

schools and one elementary school around Rennes. Among the 138 informants, 31 were learning Gallo through the educational system:

Ces jeunes, qui suivent un enseignement de “la langue gallèse”, ont aussi hérité d’une certaine pratique familiale. Il fait partie de leur environnement, il est « ancré » dans leur sphère privée (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2005: 8) - These young people who take Gallo language classes have also inherited from a certain familial practice. It is part of their environment; it is ‘anchored’ within their private sphere.

During my fieldwork during the summer 2009, I met students from one of the high schools around the city of Rennes. Most of them declared learning Gallo due to the ‘special’ relationship they had with the language or/and with the culture. The teacher who let me run the questionnaires in her classes confirmed this finding by Le Coq & Blanchet. Only a handful of students takes Gallo out of curiosity and the rest has already been exposed to it (at home, with grand-parents or other relatives).

In the media, different stations became popular within the larger audience, for instance France Bleu Armorique, Plum’Fm and Radio Bro Gwened (Pontivy) where Gallo can be heard. 41% of the informants answered positively to the question ‘Entendez-vous parler le X<sup>133</sup> à la radio?’ – Do you hear X on the radio? The Gallo broadcasted on the radio is generally well-known by all the informants of different age ranges including individuals who do not speak the language.

Regarding the perceptions of the younger generation towards Gallo, Le Coq & Blanchet report that fifty percent of the informants who study Gallo did not express any particular feeling towards the language. Some informants express positive feelings of belonging and

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<sup>133</sup> Le Coq & Blanchet chose the most neutral designation for Gallo in order to not influence the informants.

pride while others mention experiencing embarrassment because Gallo is often considered a *patois* and not a real language. Younger informants use linguistic factors to explain the disappearance of the language. For instance, the lack of certain terms to describe technological devices is one recurrent argument. Fifty percent of the young informants approve the actions conducted to maintain the language and they also express regrets regarding insufficient initiatives in this domain. Older informants are generally more pessimistic.

Le Coq & Blanchet (2005) investigated the relationship between the social representations of the Breton identity and linguistic markers. Their findings revealed that 38% of the informants refer to Lower-Brittany and the way people from *Finistère* speak. 31% associates the entire region of Brittany with the Breton language and only 11% mentions *Bretagne gallèse* as a distinct geographical unity based on linguistic markers. Therefore, regional identity is in between ‘being Breton’ compared to the rest of France and ‘less Breton’ compared to people living in the Western part of Brittany. This situation reflects the position of Gallo culture in contact with the standard and the influential Breton culture. The Gallo language is still associated with Brittany for 10% of the people living in the city and 25% living in rural areas. Le Coq & Blanchet (2005) used matched-guise tests which revealed that the informants perceived the varieties they heard in corresponding ways to the researchers’ intuition. They were able to identify an intermediate form between Gallo and French and a more traditional and rural variety of Gallo:

Ces pratiques linguistiques, souvent perçues comme une forme locale et rurale du français dans lequel elles tendent à se fondre, font l’objet de

représentations mitigées, stigmatisées comme « fautives », valorisées comme marqueurs d'une connivence locale, mais sans véritable fonction identitaire régionale (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2005 : 10) – These linguistic practices, often perceived as a local and rural form of French in which they tend to blend are subject to mixed and stigmatized representations as at fault and valued as markers of a local connivance without any significant function of regional identity.

The authors open the discussion to further areas of research to investigate where those intermediate practices of regional French stand in the Gallo country and the way we can include them in the school system.

In his dissertation on *Reevaluating diglossia: data from Low German*, Wiggers (2006) mentions Lambert's work on 'matched-guise technique' (MGT). This technique consists of evaluators listening to a speaker reading a tape-recorded text in different accents and/or dialects. Usually, the evaluators are not aware that there is only one speaker:

Lambert's technique became a common tool for evaluating language attitudes, not only in researching attitudes toward non-related languages (e.g. English and French), but also for research with regards to language attitudes toward language varieties. In other words, the matched-guise technique served as an equally adequate tool to investigate language attitudes in diglossic speech communities (Wiggers, 2006: 191).

The political nature of language attitudes becomes more obvious when one investigates linguistic situation of West African languages, for instance, or of regional languages of Europe. To conclude on Le Coq & Blanchet's survey, 5 % - 10% of the population speaks Gallo and twice as much can understand it. These numbers represent an important



drop in the practice and transmission of the language. Linguistic practices of Gallo are viewed as local and rural forms derived from French:

elles tendent à se fondre, font l'objet de représentations mitigées, stigmatisées comme «fautives», valorisées comme marqueurs d'une connivence locale, mais sans véritable fonction identitaire régionale (Le Coq & Blanchet, 2005: 10) - They tend to merge, are the center of uncertain and stigmatized representations (like mistakes), and are valorized as markers of a local connivance but without having a real regional identity.

A few questions were raised during the study: the social issues of Gallo, Gallo's status in national and regional linguistic planning, status of Gallo at school, the intermediate practices of regional French in High Brittany, and the cultural practices and initiatives taken by the associations to maintain Gallo.

#### 5.2.6 Bulot, *Autour du gallo*<sup>134</sup> (2007)

Gallo is part of the sociolinguistic reality of High Brittany and the goal of Bulot's study is to describe its status in the urban area of Rennes. Is Gallo an urban language?

Two elements are necessary to consider Gallo an urban language. First, Gallo is not only limited to rural areas and the second element is the notion of identification and differentiation to urban entities:

c'est à dire qu'il soit nommé par les citadins et qu'il soit pour le moins déclaré être pratiqué ; mais encore qu'il procède d'une mémoire urbaine (Bulot, 2007 : 52) - It is either called that way by people living in urban areas or at least it is said to be used; originally from the urban memory.

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<sup>134</sup> Around Gallo.

The fieldwork conducted in 2000-2001 and in 2004-2005 revealed unconscious practices of regional languages among a group of middle school students in Rennes area. In suburban areas, we can find regional French that is associated with the notion of urbanity and where the local language is marked by the *ruralité*<sup>135</sup>. Three reasons were evoked for conducting this survey (1) even though Gallo is said to be less used by informants, it does not show the real and unconscious practice of the language. The informants' reactions reflect a significant decrease in the language social value; (2) informants who learned Gallo through the educational system are more willing to describe themselves as 'Gallo speakers' and (3) it was expected to find very little or no representations of Gallo practices among the informants who live in Rennes since they are only in contact with the standard.

Bulot emphasized the existing hierarchy of the linguistic varieties of Rennes and the distribution of different linguistic spaces (French, Gallo and Breton) in the area. The geographical spaces where Gallo can be heard are often away from the center of Rennes (periphery, working-class areas) which is a predominantly French-speaking zone:

le gallo, déjà minoré dans son rapport au français dans la mesure où il est souvent identifié à la variété basse de la langue nationale, se trouve tendanciellement écarté des espaces de référence de la norme (Bulot, 2007 : 55) - Gallo is already undervalued in its relationship with French as it is often identified as the lower variety of the national language. It is rejected from the reference domains of the norm.

In 2006, a questionnaire was designed to differentiate attitudes scales in relationship with the use of Breton and Gallo by young people living in Rennes. The results for the Gallo

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<sup>135</sup> The rural traditions

language indicate a *minoration sociolinguistique du gallo* (sociolinguistic underestimation) of Gallo, meaning that the term ‘Gallo’ is never used by the informants and the only element related to the regional languages of Brittany is Breton:

La première langue nommée par les personnes interrogées est l’arabe ou tout du moins, c’est la dénomination qui apparaît, et, cela quel que soit le quartier d’habitat desdites personnes. Le seul item relatif aux langues régionales de Bretagne est « breton » [...] Il n’est pas question ici de détailler les réponses concernant toutes les langues mais de remarquer l’absence totale du terme « gallo » pour rendre compte, dans un contexte attitudinal, de l’identité urbaine rennaise (Bulot, 2007 : 57) -

The first language named by the informants was Arabic or at least, it is the denomination which appears no matter which housing district they live in. The only item related to the regional languages of Brittany is ‘Breton’ [...] The point here is not to detail the answers concerning all the languages but to notice the complete absence of the term ‘Gallo’ to render of the urban identity of Rennes in an attitudinal context.

Following the definition developed by Bavoux (1997), Bulot concluded that Gallo is a cryptoglossic urban language:

une variété de langue dont on peut se demander si elle est perçue et explicitement reconnue par ses locuteurs eux-mêmes (Bavoux, 1997 :71 cited in Bulot, 2007: 62) - A variety of language about which we can ask whether it is perceived and explicitly recognized by its speakers themselves.

One informant declared that she preferred the term Gallo when she understood it was a language and that *patois* corresponded to a variety of bad French (Gallo = a language vs. *patois* = bad French). Although Gallo is not explicitly acknowledged as being an urban

language, the term ‘Gallo’ is becoming more frequently used by the majority of speakers, revealing a change of perception towards the language and culture of Eastern Brittany.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I discussed the relevance of the main studies on Gallo and presented the methodologies which have been used in previous investigations and analyses (questionnaires, interviews, results, etc...). The results found by Nolan (2005) on the representations of Gallo identity among students of Gallo and their parents constitute a major point of comparison. His studies provide a transition to the results gathered in this dissertation on different population groups. Chapter 6 provides the necessary theoretical background to introduce and analyze the findings from the current study.

## Chapter 6

### Research methodology and questionnaires

#### 6.0 Introduction

The sixth chapter is composed of three main parts. Section 6.1 presents four studies along with their questionnaires. From Sauzet & Pic (2009), I refer to the discussion on Breton and Gallo to give a descriptive perspective of Brittany's linguistic situation. Dressler & Wodak's study (1977) focuses on language preservation and language death in Brittany. Their claim regarding the decaying use of Breton is very similar to what has been proposed for Gallo, a conflict in status role between Breton and French reducing Breton to very few speech situations. It is one of the earliest surveys on the practices of Gallo.

Walter's survey provides a different type of questionnaire for which the informants were asked to answer five questions related to naming their language (2), their ability to understand it (1), and their speaking skills in Gallo (2).

Finally, as a comparison with another *Oïl* language, I discuss Pic-Gillard's study (2007) on the acquisition of Norman in school. Before introducing the methodology adopted for this study in section 6.3, I review the latest survey on Gallo practices and identity by Nolan (2008) and compare his data with the results found for the current study. In section 6.3, I introduce the methodology adopted for the survey based on Hans Boas (2001) model for Texas German Dialect Project and justify this choice by comparing it with

other models: Sauzet & Pic (2009), Dressler & Wodak (1977), Pic-Gillard (2007) and Walter (1991) in section 6.1, and Nolan (2008) in section 6.2

## 6.1 Previous questionnaires

6.1.1 Sauzet & Pic, *Politique linguistique et enseignement des 'Langues de France'*<sup>136</sup> (2009)

The unification and standardization for mutual intelligibility between different Breton varieties remain an important issue in the teaching methodologies chosen by the schools. Instructors and teachers follow a set of common rules to uniform pronunciation, i.e. detachment from French influence reaches a familiarization with the linguistic environment, and to develop pedagogical methods. Sauzet & Pic (2009) refer to Favereau who describes the status of variation and teaching in Breton<sup>137</sup> and raises the issue of the role of school in the standardization process of the Breton language. The goals to be reached are the harmonization of the language at school (reforms of orthographic systems) and linguistic unification. Favereau includes helpful numbers to get a more accurate representation of Breton: 30000 learners, 12000 bilingual speakers, 10000 students take Breton LV2-LV3<sup>138</sup>, and 8000 adult-learners.

The other study mentioned, by Moal, explains the characteristics of the bilingual teaching system Breton-French<sup>139</sup> in the second half of the Sauzet & Pic's article. As the language loss increases, a higher demand for immersion programs occurs from the parents and progressively led to the appearance of a generation of *bretonnants* / *gallésants* learners who acquired the regional language at school. Moal presents several successful characteristics of the educational system in Brittany.

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<sup>136</sup> Linguistic Policy and teaching the languages of France.

<sup>137</sup> *Variation et enseignement: le cas du Breton* (Variation and teaching: the Breton case)

<sup>138</sup> LV2 = *langue vivante 2* (second foreign language), LV3 = *langue vivante 3* (third foreign language).

<sup>139</sup> *Enseignement bilingue français-breton: quelles sont les motivations des parents?* (Bilingual teaching French-Breton : what are the parents' motivations ?)



In 1860, 60% of the population of *Haute-Bretagne* was analphabet versus 73% in *Basse-Bretagne*. There were about a million speakers of Breton before 1914 and 300 000 in 1999. Breton was integrated at school in 19<sup>th</sup> century via the support of Catholic institutions and in 1977 *Diwan* teaching was introduced in the school system. In 2000, 82% were in favor of the Charter. In Brittany today, three types of institutions offer classes in the regional language: *Diwan*, public schools and religious institutions.

As a result of the survey conducted in several schools in the *département* of Morbihan in 2003, Moal reported that parents have different motivations for registering their child in a bilingual language program. It was first noticed that the *Diwan* school system reflected a possible socio-professional diversification since parents from the agricultural world and CEO's tend to choose private and / or religious institutions for their children. Regarding the parents' motivations to choose a bilingual program Breton-French (*Diwan* or *Dihun*) over the regular school curriculum, various reasons were brought up: the advantages of bilingualism, a way to protect the Breton identity, the awareness of being a member of the cultural community, cultural and philosophical motivations, intellectual development through early bilingualism, and the skill to learn other languages. Moal retained four criteria shared among *Diwan* parents for selecting this language program: first, the benefits of bilingualism, the attachment to the culture of Brittany, the importance of identity, and the advantages of an immersive pedagogy.

The results revealed that there is a possible increase of bilingual and immersive teaching and 92% of Bretons thinks that the language must be preserved. An alternative must be reached between 'saving a language' and 'educate a child':

Il faut certes bien se garder de confondre défense de la langue et intérêt des enfants, mais agir de sorte que les uns trouvent de l'intérêt à cultiver l'autre (Sauzet & Pic, 2009: 163) - Certainly one must not confuse between protecting the language and the interest of the children, but rather act in such a way so that one finds interest in cultivating the other.

Comparatively, both groups of Gallo speakers interviewed for this research express positive reactions towards the preservation of their language. 93.3% in group 1 and 92.9% in group 2 answered that Gallo 'should be preserved' (I will discuss informants' representation of Gallo preservation in chapter 7). This article by Sauzet & Pic (2009) describes the recent efforts achieved by language educators and schools (*Diwan* and *Dihun*) regarding the implementation of bilingual and immersive programs. The research also raises the importance of the relationship between Breton speakers and their regional identity. All these elements play an active part in the success of the preservation of Breton and these methods are now used by language planners within the Gallo community. Undoubtedly, reconstructing Gallo identity through the re-appropriation of culture and language by the community constitutes the main criterion for the success of Gallo maintenance. As I show in chapter 7 and 8, there is a sense of Gallo identity shared by younger speakers and a positive feeling of belonging to the same community.

In the next section, I raise methodological issues related to the structure of questionnaires and discuss the formulation of certain questions given to the informants in Dressler & Wodak's survey (1977).

6.1.2 Dressler & Wodak, *Language Preservation and Language Death in Brittany* (1977)

Theoretical implications involve personal attribute ascribed to the person and social values which are assigned to a status role. Therefore, every social individual can be characterized by his / her status (a combination of roles related to age, sex, race, social class, religion, education, etc...). Variations in style depend on the situation and social rules and switching between Standard French and Regional French or *patois* obeys specific situational rules.

In this study conducted by Dressler & Wodak on the preservation of Breton, the pre-test questionnaire was composed of 18 questions and included four types of speech situation which covered the distinction between old and young speakers. The investigators explored contexts related to the private sphere such as interactions with a doctor, with old friends, at church, on radio broadcast. Interactions where both old and young people are inclined to speak Breton and others where both old and young people use French were also taken into account.

Dressler & Wodak (1977) claim that the disappearance of Breton is due to a conflict in status role with the socialization in Breton and socialization in French, while the impact of French civilization reduced Breton to very few speech situations and mono-stylistic usages: ‘the French central authorities, aided by French national sentiment which despised Breton as a ‘patois’, have worked to roll back the use of the Breton language’ (Dressler & Wodak, 1977: 33). After WWII, Breton was banned from the public space and parents started using exclusively French with their children: ‘the use of Breton was

increasingly restricted, therefore, to private usage in the family and among close neighbors and colleagues (especially among peasants and fishermen), even within the older generations' (Dressler & Wodak: 1977: 34).

Below I include a few questions from the Dressler & Wodak's questionnaire:

(1) What languages do you speak? FB<sup>140</sup> BF F B Other

(2) What language do you normally use when you speak with a relative?

(3) Who in your family do you talk to in a different language?

Grand-parents father mother spouse sister son daughter grandchildren

(4) What language do you speak when you address a stranger (well-dressed) in the streets of Lannion? And when you address a stranger dressed casually?

(5) Do you listen to and understand radio or TV shows?

Toujours (always) fréquemment (frequently) rarement (rarely) jamais (never) (très) bien (very well) mal (badly)

(6) If you play cards (dominos) at a café?

(7) If you are talking to your doctor?

(8) If you are talking to your deputed?

(9) Do you sing in Breton at church? t f r j<sup>141</sup>

(10) If you discuss prices (butter, milk)?

(11) If you are joking with an old friend? t f r j

(12) With your colleagues?

(a) you borrow money from them

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<sup>140</sup> FB = French & Breton; BF = Breton French; F = French; B = Breton

<sup>141</sup> t = toujours (always); f = fréquemment (frequently); r = rarement (rarely); j = jamais (never)

- (b) you tell them something very personal
- (13) If you give a phone call?
- (14) If you are talking to your employer?
- (15) If you are talking to one of your employees?
- (16) If you meet a Breton speaker from Guinguamp? Quimper?
- (17) Do you view yourself as being rather Breton or French?

Questions (6) through (16) should be presented as ‘which language do you speak when / if...?’, thus referring to the different situations in which Breton may be used. Some of the questions remain vague and should be more detailed so that both the context and the person addressed are clearly stated:

(10) ‘if you discuss prices (butter, milk)?’, (13) ‘if you give a phone call?’ and in (16) ‘if you meet a Breton speaker from Guinguamp? Quimper?’

The informants need more guidance for questions (10) and (13). I think there should be several options the informant can choose from (with other customer, with a merchant, with someone you know, a neighbor, a family member, a friend, etc...). For question (16), the context of the conversation is unclear. It is not certain whether meeting ‘a Breton speaker from Guinguamp or Quimper’ occurs in a formal environment (e.g. at work, at a professional meeting where the speakers are interacting for the first time) or in a casual environment (e.g. at a party or a friend gathering, at the market, in a *café*), which would probably change the informant’s answer. Therefore, providing as much information as possible facilitates the informants’ task and gives a precise representation of their language practices.

To illustrate these arguments on methodology, I selected questions on the use of Gallo in different social situations. Below are a few examples taken from part 2 of the questionnaire on practices from my survey:

(2.26) Do you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French (c) N/A with your parents; grandparents; spouse; children; friends; siblings; neighbors; colleagues; strangers?

(2.27) Now do you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French (c) N/A at home; at work; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other?

(2.28) Are you a member of a local club/association (sport, music, art...)? Yes      No

(2.29) If so, which one(s)?

(2.30) What language is used there? Gallo                  French                  Both                  Other

(2.31) Today do you use Gallo in other domains or activities?

(2.32) If so, which one(s)?

Most of these questions were discussed during the follow-up interview so that the informants could extend, modify or clarify their answers. Although Dressler & Wodack's study does not reflect the current situation of Breton regarding preservation and language promotion, the survey on language practices (questions 2 through 16) gives a clear representation of the different types of situations or contexts the investigator can use in order to collect representative answers on speakers' language practices. Question (5) 'Do you listen to and understand radio or TV shows?' could be separated into two different questions, so that the researcher can distinguish between the frequency of the informants' exposure to the language and their level of aural proficiencies. Question (17) 'Do you view yourself as being rather Breton or French?' is the only question related to identity.

‘Both’ as a third option should appear in the question and it would be interesting to ask the respondents to specify which language/culture has more importance to them and in which contexts. This last question could be discussed in more depth for instance in a follow-up interview.

The next study gives an overview of linguistic attitudes in a different *Oïl* variety. Norman has to face issues related to standardization, language preservation and transmission.

#### 6.1.3 Pic-Gillard, *L’Enseignement du Normand dans le Nord-Cotentin*<sup>142</sup> (2007)

From 4<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century, the evolution of Latin in contact with Celtic and Germanic tribes gave birth to regional dialects. Norman is one of the four Gallo-Romance languages from the *Oïl* family along with *Francien*, *Picard*, and *Bourguignon*: ‘Le normand n’est pas dérivé du français, c’est une langue de contact avec le français’ (Pic-Gillard, 2007: 196-197) - Norman is not derived from French, it is a language in contact with French.

In her survey on *L’enseignement du Normand dans le Nord-Cotentin: Etude des pratiques et attitudes linguistiques*, Pic-Gillard (2007) explored the linguistic attitudes of learners of Norman using questionnaires (including biographical questions) , one for student learners of Norman and another one for student none-learners.

Two main objectives are valued in the relationship between the geography and the level of language competence: the knowledge of the child and the growing awareness that the regional culture is what is around and not what is shown on television. The learner should be able to identify Norman structures and distinguish them from that of Standard French:

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<sup>142</sup> Teaching Norman in the Nord-Cotentin: A study of practices and linguistic attitudes.

L'enfant, lorsqu'il emploie des structures propres au normand, doit les distinguer en tant que langue à part entière, et non comme une déformation du français, et s'en servir de manière contrastive (Pic-Gillard, 2007: 200) - When a child employs Norman structures, he / she must distinguish them as being part of the language, not as a distortion of French, and use them in a contrasting manner.

The means to teach the Norman language in the school environment are limited and the children practice only one hour per week in *sixième*<sup>143</sup> and *cinquième*<sup>144</sup>. Among several tasks, they are asked to repeat and explain vocabulary words from a text previously read by the teacher, translation tasks are also focused on and all the students are involved in a project, e.g. work on a play as a group. In 6<sup>th</sup> grade, the students discover the language through songs to practice repetition, translation and grammatical analysis. Linguistic attitudes were collected via a short survey the children from two classes had to respond to. The children were asked six questions about their practices (e.g. why they learn Norman) and whether they feel Norman or not. The results of two *collèges* (middle school) were released for this study using the following questions:

(1) Do you think Norman is still spoken?    Y       N<sup>145</sup>

(2) Do you know someone who speaks it outside of school?

Y       N       a friend       a neighbor       the family

(3) Have you heard it before?       Y       N

(4) Why did you choose to learn Norman?

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<sup>143</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> grade

<sup>144</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> grade

<sup>145</sup> Y = yes. N = no.



It's a nice language; I can speak it with my family; it's my background; just for fun;  
other: fear to lose the language.

(5) Would like to have TV in Norman?      Y      N

(6) Do you feel (rank from 1, the strongest, to 3, the weakest) *haguais*<sup>146</sup>, *normand*,  
*français*?

Regarding the methodology, question (1) should come with a list of contexts or circumstances. For instance: 'where do you think Norman is still spoken today?' in family reunion, among friends, at work, at school, in stores, etc... Question (3) should also be more detailed using a list of places (public places vs home/offices) and offering several options as to who was speaking the language (young vs old people and relatives vs friends/strangers. Finally, for question (6) on identity there should be a distinction between 'haguais' and 'norman' by adding a complementary question to the ranking and ask the informants to 'give a few characteristics to illustrate what it means to be 'haguais', 'normand' or 'français'?

The answers collected for the two grades were similar except for questions regarding the feeling of belonging and identity. A high demand for education in Norman language increased, but no help originated from the government and only volunteered teachers are now in charge of teaching the language. The lack of political involvement from the state and from social actors to preserve Norman remains remarkably evident. Similarly to what has been observed for Gallo, it is necessary to change the image of the Norman language and value its culture. Students should partake into the learning of the language which would show them that Norman is still used as a tool of communication:

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<sup>146</sup> La Hague is located in the north west of the Cotentin Peninsula.

le sentiment que la langue régionale est utile sinon rentable, en ce qu'elle permet d'estimer leur culture et d'avoir une meilleure compréhension des difficultés rencontrées en lecture et écriture en langue-cible (Pic-Gillard, 2007: 209) - The feeling that the regional language is useful or else profitable as it allows to estimate their culture and to have a better understanding of the difficulties they encounter in reading and writing in the target language.

This study demonstrates the essential role of school to preserve regional languages (Gallo, Norman, Picard, etc...) and as a way to actively acquire it (vs. passive acquisition):

L'enquête montre que lorsque l'école offre la possibilité d'avoir accès à leur culture les élèves sont prêts à s'investir, car dans un monde globalisé, il est naturel d'avoir envie de plonger ses racines profondément pour résister au souffle extérieur (Pic-Gillard, 2007: 209) - The survey shows that when school offers the opportunity to access their culture children are ready to invest themselves, for in a globalized world, it is natural to feel the need to go deeper in one's roots to resist the outside spirit.

Norman resists the pressure from the standard and remains the language of the regional culture and is still used in publications. However, the number of speakers has dropped over the years even though the generation of 35 year-old speakers continues to speak it.

#### 6.1.4 Walter's questionnaire on naming Gallo in High-Brittany<sup>147</sup> (1991)

Walter's study, already mentioned in section 5.2.2, is composed of a one-page survey in which some of the questions are related to biographical information and family

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<sup>147</sup> *Nommer sa langue en Haute-Bretagne* (chapter 5, 5.2.2)

background. The questionnaire was distributed to 166 informants (87 women and 79 men) and includes of five questions which I copied below:

(1) ‘Comment appelez-vous la langue que l’on parle dans la région, en dehors du français?’ – How do you call the language which is spoken in the region, a part from French? (Walter, 1991: 537)

(2) ‘L’avez toujours appelée ainsi? - Have you always named it that way? (Walter, 1991: 537)

(3) ‘Comprenez-vous le gallo sans le parler?’ – Can you understand Gallo without speaking it? (Walter, 1991: 537)

(4) ‘Parlez-vous gallo?’ – Do you speak Gallo? (Walter, 1991: 537)

(5) ‘Dans quelles circonstances?’ – In which circumstances?

For the final question of the survey, the informant is asked to write a sentence in Gallo and to translate it (*Ecrivez une phrase en gallo et donnez-en la traduction*).

This succinct questionnaire approaches both linguistic practices in Gallo - three questions (3), (4), and (5) - and the denomination of the language - two questions (1) and (2). Elaborating a short survey presents some advantages such as the possibility to reach a large number of speakers over a short period of time. However, the more general and open-ended the questions are the less precise the analysis becomes. As it is often the case for minority (and stigmatized) languages, users usually understand the variety better than they can speak it. Therefore, it would not be surprising to find overwhelmingly positive reactions to question (3). Questions on oral comprehension and speaking proficiency in Gallo should come with a set of settings the informant can choose from rather than

presenting it separately as in question (5). In other words, for questions (3) and (4) the informants could be provided with different situations or ratings on comprehension and speaking proficiency. For instance, we could rephrase question (3) the following way: ‘you understand Gallo better than you can speak it’ along with a list of options, strongly agree; agree; don’t agree, strongly disagree; don’t know, that way the answers obtained could be more focused and the results could provide insights regarding the relationship between understanding and speaking the language. It is a good thing to present questions on ‘speaking’ and ‘understanding’ the language separately and it would be more effective to present different degrees of language proficiency as well for (4): fluently, very well, well, not bad, not very well, not at all. Finally, question (1) on naming the language can be interpreted in several ways by the informant since the ‘language spoken in the region’ can be Breton or Gallo. Not providing a set of choices forces the informant to answer more ‘naturally’; nevertheless using the term ‘langue’ in the singular form may unconsciously lead the informant in choosing Breton as it is the main regional variety after French.

In section 6.2, I introduce the questionnaire developed by Nolan in 2004-2005 for his fieldwork within the Gallo community.

## **6.2 Nolan's questionnaire (2008): comparing results**

In 2004 and 2005, Nolan investigated language practices and representations among Gallo speakers from two different groups, students (N = 89) and their parents (N = 47). I choose to look more specifically at Nolan's results since his study constitutes the latest work on language practices and representations in Gallo. Similar results were found on practices between Nolan (2008) and the current study, also more positive attitudes and representations towards Gallo language and culture emerged in the current research.

To the first general question (1) 'Is Gallo learned as a first language in the home today?' (Nolan, 2008: 221), 86 informants answered French as a first language and two answered Gallo and French. The participants had to answer the following question: 'what was the first language that you learned at home?' (Nolan, 2008: 222). They were given the choice between Gallo, French, Breton and another (clarify) and French was the first choice for 90.6% of the students and 80.9% of the parents. It is interesting to note that 10.6% of the parents reported that Gallo was learned as a first language and 6.4% reported that Gallo and French were acquired simultaneously at home.

Along with Nolan's findings, I discuss the results and comments collected in the current study concerning the first language acquired at home (speaking and comprehension), Gallo identity and its representations, and the place of Gallo within the Breton culture. Although, the current research includes findings on the informants' linguistic practices, I postpone their analysis until later on in chapter 7 as Nolan's study does not focus on this topic.

### 6.2.1 First language(s) at home

**Table 6.1 - First language used for understanding (conversation)**

<b>Older speakers</b>	<b>Students</b>
Both 31%	Both 14.3%
French 55.2%	French 85.7%

**Table 6.2 - First language spoken at home**

<b>Older speakers</b>	<b>Students</b>
Gallo 14.3%	Gallo 7.1%
French 38.1%	French 78.6%
Both 47.6%	Both 14.3%

The second general question in Nolan's survey, (2) 'how has Gallo been learned?' gives more details about the circumstances on the acquisition of Gallo. Informants were presented with several options that I include in this section:

- in your family: with your parents (mother, father); with your grand-parents (maternal, paternal);
- with others (clarify);
- through education: at school, specify the numbers of hours per week);
- elsewhere (clarify);
- hearing it spoken (clarify where).

**Table 6.3 - Presentation of the results on practices for the current study**

<b>Older speakers (group 1)</b>	<b>Students (group 2)</b>
With whom would you talk Gallo?	With whom would you talk Gallo?
76.7% with grand-parents	46.7% with grand-parents
Where would you hear Gallo more often?	Where would you hear Gallo more often?
77.4% family reunions / 64.5% home	40% at family reunions / 50% other at grand-parents'
Where would you hear French more often?	Where would you hear French more often?
100% at school / 83.3% at church	100% at school / 93.3% at home
Today, where do you hear Gallo more often?	Today, where do you hear Gallo more often?
47.6% other (market place)	40% family reunions

To summarize the data collected about the first language acquired at home, we can say that the grandparents play an important role in the contemporary transmission of Gallo and that there is a considerable drop in Gallo transmission between the grandparents, parents and the students. The parent generation is representative of a rupture with a greater and more stable use of Gallo in the past. These results may indicate another changing pattern in Gallo transmission as described by Nolan:

Parents indicated that they learned Gallo in higher percentages from their maternal parents and grandparents. On the other hand, students reported a greater percentage for learning Gallo with their fathers rather than their mothers (Nolan, 2008: 226).

In the current study, the past and present use of Gallo is limited to home environment (family reunions), and for both groups, its acquisition is strongly linked to the informants' relationships with their grandparents more than with any other relatives (parents, children, friends, colleagues, siblings, etc...). The majority of students in

Nolan's research and informants from group 2 in this study selected French as the main language heard and spoken at home. Few informants from group 2 answered that both Gallo and French were spoken at home (28.6%). When assessing their own performance, group 2 can understand Gallo better than they can speak it (71.4%), more than 90% can read it fairly well and 50% can write it fairly well.

#### 6.2.2 Gallo identity and its representations

For question (3) of Nolan's survey, 'Does Gallo identity exist for respondents?', both groups of informants (students vs. parents) had to answer by 'yes' (Y) or 'no' (N). 29 students answered 'yes' and 41 answered 'no'; 16 positive answers were collected vs. 25 negative answers among the parents' group. Informants were interviewed on the general idea of a Gallo identity and they were not asked about the representations of their own Gallo identity which explains the different sets of results obtained for question (3) as Nolan obtained a higher number of negative answers for that specific question. As shown in table 6.4, I used a similar question to investigate identity among the informants: none of the students chose Gallo to define their primary identity, 64.3% of them defined themselves as French and 35.7% selected Breton.

**Table 6.4 - How would you define yourself?**

<b>Older speakers</b>	<b>Students</b>
French 56.7%	French 64.3%
Gallo 13.3%	Gallo 0%
Breton 30%	Breton 35.7%



The fourth question in Nolan's survey is an extension of question (3): 'How is such an existence perceived and why did respondents reject or accept it (the Gallo identity)?' The concept of Gallo identity is linked to culture, to the region of Brittany and its language, and to the stereotypes Gallo is often subject to. I summarize the discussions related to these topics by quoting the reactions of two groups of informants: older speakers / users of Gallo and teachers / members of associations. Four main topics came out of the interviews: (1) Gallo is a dialect; (2) the feeling of shame and other perceptions on the language; (3) Gallo identity and (4) what needs to be changed. The majority of people interviewed consider Gallo a 'dialect' or a 'bad variety' of French. In any case, Gallo is not seen as a language:

c'est un dialecte, c'est pas une langue – it's a dialect, it's not a language (N 11, M, 36:08, La Chapelle-Chaussée, 06/08/09) ; 'le gallo en fait, c'est du français déformé c'est tout' – Gallo is actually distorted French, that's it (N 11, M, 37:54, La Chapelle-Chaussée, 06/08/09).

Considered less elaborated than French, the usage of Gallo or the choice to use Gallo is therefore considerable inferior:

on parlait pas gallo tout le temps non plus, on a tout appris en même temps – we would not speak Gallo all the time, we learned everything at the same time (N 11, M, 7:00, La Chapelle-Chaussée, 06/08/09); mais le gallo, c'est beaucoup plus diffus et moins élaboré – But Gallo is more vague and less elaborated (N 9, M, 6:49, Saint-Julien s/ Vilaine, 06/12/09).

As one informant suggests, Gallo is part of the regional folklore and is used only to joke about something or someone: 'pour amuser la gallerie' – to entertain the audience. Informants associate Gallo culture with the past and the language stands for a none sophisticated way of interacting, 'une façon de parler, l'accent un peu lourd – a way of

talking, heavy accent (N 28, M, 33:20, Tinténia, 06/15/09). Thus, speakers were looked down upon and ridiculed, ‘longtemps considérés comme arriérés’ – for a long time, they were considered backward people (N 20, M, 33:22, Redon, 07/11/09).

Consequently, informants mention the feeling of shame at school and the fact that their parents were sometimes speaking *patois* at home. Informants express a pessimistic opinion about Gallo arguing that most people are ashamed of speaking it and got ridiculed in school when they were young (N 2, M, 10:43, Trans la Forêt, 06/22/09). One informant describes a common reaction among older Gallo speakers when they hear the language. He tries to use Gallo with friends and people from the association of *boules bretonnes*<sup>148</sup> he is part of, but they refuse to speak the language: ‘ils veulent pas rveni a conteu patois ce que ma j’re regret profondément’<sup>149</sup> – they don’t want to go back speaking patois which is what I regret (N 2, M, 16:42, Trans la Forêt, 06/22/09).

One Gallo teacher clearly states the issue of shame within the Gallo community:

‘on ne parle jamais en public du gallo’ – one never talks in public about Gallo (N 24, F, 54:00, Orgères, 07/13/09).

This feeling still lingers due to the traumatizing mission of school (until the 70’s) which banned regional languages. Older speakers are aware that using Gallo is not accepted by everyone and is not appropriate in all contexts. The following anecdote illustrates how strong that feeling is among this particular group of speakers:

maintenant elle me dit des mots de gallo mais des fois elle regarde à côté pour voir si y a personne qui l’entend – now she tells me words of Gallo but sometimes she looks around to see if nobody hears her

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<sup>148</sup> Outdoor game played in Brittany.

<sup>149</sup> Ils (ne) veulent pas recommencer à parler patois ce que je regrette profondément.

(N 17, M, 23:20, Sérent, 07/02/09).

Other perceptions and representations of Gallo can still be heard today:

c'était presque péjoratif de parler gallo...c'était arriéré' – it was almost pejorative to speak Gallo, it was backward; 'faut reconnaître qu'aujourd'hui ça fait [c'est vrai c'est pas très gentil] ça fait un peu arriéré quand on l'entend – one has to admit that today it sounds [it's true, it's not very nice] it sounds a little backward when we hear it (N 50, F, 15:39, Josselin, 06/25/09).

For younger generations, the Gallo language is still very much related to the countryside and an old-fashioned way of living: 'parce que dans l'esprit, à mon avis, c'est encore un truc de vieux, de campagnard aussi – because in their minds, I think, it is still something that old folks use and farmers too (N 20, M, 37:23, Redon, 07/11/09).

The negative image of Gallo and the lack of seriousness is one of the main criticisms among certain teachers and association activists who deplore that members of the community are 'enfermés dans cette image lourde' – stuck in this heavy image (N 17, M, 10:30, Sérent, 07/02/09). However, it is important to note that several informants suggested a few solutions to change the situation. Cultural recognition is one step towards the process of the preservation of the language. One informant compares the claim for the Breton identity to cases such as Corsica or the Basque country:

la reconnaissance culturelle, à mon avis, elle viendra en France comme ailleurs, elle viendra pas par la France, elle viendra par Bruxelles - cultural recognition, I think, will come in France like anywhere else, it won't come from France, it will come from Brussels (N 20, M, 56:55, Redon, 07/11/09).

The preceding generation has a rather negative representation of Gallo. Only the cultural and heritage aspects have a positive image (N 9, M, 57:09, Saint-Julien s/ Vilaine, 06/12/09). There are no longer bad feelings towards Gallo among 40 45- year-old speakers since Gallo is considered a dead language. This is where the second step in language planning begins, namely modifying the perceptions of Gallo by changing the way it is presented to the public. Ridicule and caricature should be abandoned to leave space for a rightful description of Gallo, starting at school:

il faudrait un changement de regard sur la langue’ – a change of perception towards the language is necessary (N 9, M, 58:00, Saint-Julien s/ Vilaine, 06/12/09) ; il faut éviter la moquerie et la dévalorisation de la langue...faire intégrer le fait que le gallo n’est pas un truc affreux’ – we have to avoid mockery and depreciation of the language...need to understand that Gallo is not a awful thing (N 17, M, 23:55, Sérent, 07/02/09).

The idea of a Gallo identity (a positive one) must also be promoted via school. During the interview, the main issue discussed was whether or not Gallo identity exists. Most of the informants (older speakers in particular) answered in a similar fashion summarized in the quote below

véritablement je pense pas... nous par exemple en Ille-et-Vilaine on peut pas dire qu’on est...on n’est pas bretons, même si Rennes est la capitale de la Bretagne, on n’est pas bretons à Rennes, en Ille-et-Vilaine on ne parle pas breton – Truly, I don’t think so...for example in Ille-et-Vilaine we can’t say that we are...we’re not Bretons, even though Rennes is the capital of Brittany, we are not Bretons in Rennes, in Ille-et-Vilaine we don’t speak Breton (N 9, M, 0:12, Saint-Julien s/ Vilaine, 06/12/09).

Gallo identity doesn't really exist and 'la culture gallèse est très secondaire' – Gallo culture is placed in a secondary level (N 28, M, 56:41, Tinténia, 06/15/09). However, we can encounter speakers who are convinced that there is an identity specific to the Gallo community or to High-Brittany. Individuals relate to one another through language and Gallo provides 'plus de plaisir à échanger, à produire...à s'exprimer' – more pleasure to exchange, produce...to express oneself (N 30, M, 56:10, Saint-Maur, 06/24/09).

I show that generally informants do not embrace the term 'Breton' to 'label' their identity. One informant explains that the word 'Breton' does not express her Gallo consciousness and she would rather use the term 'Gallo':

gênée par le mot berton – embarrassed by the word *berton*<sup>150</sup>  
(N 24, F, 32:10, Orgères, 07/13/09); maintenant, je dirais plus que je suis  
gallo – now I would rather say that I'm Gallo (N 24, F, 31:54, Orgères,  
07/13/09).

As a concluding remark, I refer to a more positive description of the Gallo identity, a feeling of pride and communion with the regional culture:

mais ça fait partie de moi, de ma connaissance, c'est en prise directe avec  
mon territoire, mon terroir – but it is part of me, of my knowledge, it is  
directly in contact with my territory, my heritage (N 30, M, 54:04, Saint-  
Maur, 06/24/09).

Following the topics related to the acquisition of Gallo and Gallo identity, I now analyze the last two questions used in Nolan's questionnaires along with their results.

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<sup>150</sup> *Berton* is the Gallo word for Breton.

### 6.2.3 Is Gallo part of the Breton culture?

The last two questions from Nolan's survey compare the relationship between Gallo and Breton: (5) 'Gallo's value in relation to Breton for Breton identity' and (6) 'is it necessary to speak Gallo to be Breton?'

**Table 6.5 - Gallo's value in relation to Breton for Breton identity**

For Breton identity	Children	Parents
(A) Gallo is as important as Breton	48.3%	38.3%
(B) Gallo is more important than Breton	2.2%	0%
(C) Gallo is less important than Breton	43.8%	40.4%
(D) Gallo is not important at all	1.1%	12.8%

Here are my results for the question on Gallo identity for which the informants had to choose between three options: (1) Gallo is part of my identity like French, (2) Gallo is an important part, (3) Gallo is not important as they appear in the table below.

**Table 6.6 – Which of the following situation would you apply to yourself?**

	Older speakers	Students
Gallo is part of my identity like French	50%	78.6%
Gallo is an important part	30%	0%
Gallo is not important	20%	21.4%

**Table 6.7 - Is it necessary to speak Gallo to be Breton?**

For you, being Breton is to speak	Children	Parents
(A) Only Gallo	0%	0%
(B) Only Breton	3.4%	2.1%
(C) Gallo and Breton together	19.1%	23.4%
(D) It's not necessary to speak either	69.7%	68.1%
(C) + (D)	4.5%	2.1%

Informants from the current study were asked a related question to the one in table 6.7

**Table 6.8 - Is it necessary to speak / understand Gallo to be part of the Gallo community?**

Older speakers	Students
Y 26.7%	Y 50%
N 73.3%	N 50%

Generally, students tend to accept their Gallo identity more easily than their parents as they are in the process of learning the language and exposed to the regional culture. In Nolan's study, 43 children reported that Gallo is as important as Breton (18 informants in the parents group answered similarly). In the current study, 78.6% of the students reported that Gallo is part of their identity like French. Similar results were found in both studies for the question on the necessity to speak Gallo to be considered Breton. The informants answered as a majority that it is not necessary to speak Gallo to feel Breton.

During the interviews, about 10 informants developed an extended answer regarding their Gallo identity. When asked about the relationship between the Gallo language and the region of Brittany, one informant said that this phenomenon is not specific to Brittany:

Dans toutes les régions de France, il doit y avoir un gallo, je suppose, ou une langue, un genre de gallo – in each region of France, there must be a Gallo, I assume, or a language, a type of Gallo (N 11, M, 43:53, La Chapelle-Chaussée, 06/08/09).

It must be clarified that the informant uses the term ‘Gallo’ to mean regional language or dialect. More specifically, High-Brittany was described as being an ‘intermediate’ area, situated between Brittany (*Bretagne bretonnante*) and France.

c’est un pays intermédiaire, moins net, moins direct que la partie qui a toujours été bretonne – it is an intermediate country, less clear, less direct than the part that has always been Breton (N 28, M, 6:13, Tinténia, 06/15/09).

High-Brittany is ‘un pays de marches en contact avec la France’ – it’s country that is in the middle, in contact with France. Thus, the language itself has an inferior status to that of Breton. Several informants claimed that learning Breton was more popular, thus more ‘attractive’ than learning Gallo:

les gallos préfèrent apprendre le breton – Gallo people prefer to learn Breton (N 20, M, 32 :03, Redon, 07/11/09) ; le breton est considéré comme une langue tandis que le gallo est considéré comme du faux-français – Breton is considered a language whereas Gallo is considered as a type of fake French (N 20, M, 32 :15, Redon, 07/11/09).

Brittany is a region which proclaims its culture, its heritage and its language with the help of a minority group of activists: ‘une minorité agissante de bretons qui le font’ – an active minority of Bretons are involved (N 20, M, 55 :17).



One informant mentioned the existence of two Brittanies and the general feeling that the Western half of Brittany is more successful and more interesting culturally. Later, when discussing the relationship between Gallo and Breton, she refers to the idea of ‘colonization’ of the Gallo country as a metaphor of the colonization of the language: ‘le sentiment que la Bretagne bretonnant est plus intéressante – feeling that the Breton Brittany is more interesting (N 24, F, 38: 00, Orgères, 07/13/09). She describes the effect of Breton on Gallo as a ‘colonisation de l’intérieur’ – colonization from the inside arguing that ‘il influence les plus jeunes, on n’est pas assez virulents’ - it influences the youngest, we are not virulent enough (N 24, F, 42:50, Orgères, 07/13/09).

A perfect illustration of that are the road signs (names of villages and towns) and subway signs in one of the stations in Rennes. The notion of Breton representing the ‘true’ Brittany is clearly stated by most informants as described in the following comment: ‘pas une véritable langue, la Bretagne est bretonne’ – not a real language, Brittany is Breton (N 2, M, 30:42, Trans la Forêt, 06/22/09). Another informant also gives insights on perceptions on Gallo community from Breton speakers in the following terms: ‘pour eux, on est pas des vrais bretons’ – for them we’re not true Bretons (N 54, M, 16:24, Langan, 07/07/09).

He agrees with the approach adopted by language planners to preserve Breton and the way to teach and practice the language. He refers to it as being very determined method. Three informants (N 8, N 17, N 4) who are actively involved in the preservation of Gallo appear to be in favor of using the model developed for Breton and apply it to Gallo. They exposed the main factors which led to the successful preservation of Breton. Both the

unity of the language and its increasing use as a communicative tool helped Breton to become an economic asset: ‘ce que le breton a réussi à faire’ - what Breton succeeded in achieving (N 54, M, 54:10, Langan, 07/07/09).

They believe that a switch from the rural language to a language of communication and exchange for work helps assessing the place and value of Gallo in its relationship with Breton and French ‘repositionnement du Gallo par rapport au breton, au français’ – repositioning of Gallo in relation to Breton (N 4, M, 12:44, Rennes, 06/11/09). The other main factor is the attitude of the Gallo community towards its language. In the next quote, it is described as self-destructive: ‘une attitude dans le monde du gallo qui est suicidaire’, le Breton est plus fort, plus parlé dans le monde du travail’ – the attitude in the Gallo world is suicidal, Breton is stronger, more spoken at work (N 17, M, 27:10, Sérent, 07/02/09).

On a side note, the informant refers to the association Stumdi as ‘une machine à faire des bretons’ – a machine to make Breton speakers (N 17, M, 46:23, Sérent, 07/02/09), which shows the more aggressive attitude adopted by language planners and members of the Breton community. So, what is really the issue with the Gallo community? First of all, the dispersion in language planning projects prevents agreements and unity between associations and the activists who work on the preservation of the Gallo language. Furthermore, as I demonstrated earlier with the work carried out on Welsh, the lack of participation from core speakers can be an obstacle to the preservation process. Finally, efforts tend to concentrate more on the unification of the language (writing system, translation, publications, etc...) instead of urging people to think differently. It is

essential to push away the image of Gallo less ‘exotic’ and not popular enough to learn be learned. It is interesting to note that positive perceptions of the Gallo language and culture were expressed during these exchanges. During an interview, informant N 17 associates Gallo to Brittany, ‘la moitié’ (half of it), it’s an important part: ‘La Haute-Bretagne est aussi importante que la Basse-Bretagne’ – High-Brittany is as important as Lower-Brittany (N 10, M, Saint-Père Marc en Poulet, 07/09/09)<sup>151</sup>.

As one of the informants describes it, the place of Gallo in Brittany is as important as French: ‘autant que le français’ - as much as French; ‘c’est une langue d’écoute’ – a language of listening (N 30, M, 55:17, Saint-Maur, 06/24/09). This statement is summarizing the spirit which lacks among Gallo speakers to participate fully into the preservation process of the language and culture of High-Brittany.

#### 6.2.4 Conclusion

In chapter 3, I presented the sociolinguistic situation of Gallo in High-Brittany and showed how it has been historically subject to a highly negative linguistic culture. The results and comments of the informants also show how this continues to be the case, although associations and activities around Gallo are increasing public awareness. It must be kept in mind that conclusions based on these findings are limited in their application to the people involved at the time of their participation in this project, but it can be noted that comparatively younger informants are more in favor of including Gallo in their identity in its relationship with Breton (although none of the students chose

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<sup>151</sup> This interview was not recorded as requested by the informant.

‘Gallo’ when they were asked to define themselves). This may be indicative that it has gained some ground on Breton. However, the situation is more complex.

These observations are in accordance with Nolan’s findings (2008), meaning that Gallo is perceived as being an element of High-Breton identity consciousness, but does not have to be spoken: ‘Gallo is restricted to High-Breton identity and furthermore, this is subsumed into a pan-Breton identity represented by Breton’ (Nolan, 2008: 149).

This may arguably be viewed as a positive finding from the point of view of Gallo promoters and even as a basis for the establishment of Gallo as a widely accepted spoken language variety in Brittany in the future.

### 6.3 Collecting data: the questionnaires

6.3.1 TGDG: sources (<http://tgdp.org/index.php>), *The Dynamics of Language Change and Dialect Death in Texas German*.

The source questionnaire used for this study was created by Hans Boas in 2001 for the Texas German Dialect Project. The questions were adapted to the Gallo situation with three different versions corresponding to the different groups of informants I was planning on interviewing in summer 2009.

I used Boas' survey in the Spring 2006 for fieldwork in Castroville, Texas within the Alsatian community. It is a detailed questionnaire which covers the main areas of investigation I was exploring for the Gallo community: practices, representations, language preservation and language attitudes and identity. The progression from the section on representations and the section on identity in this framework allows to define regional identity more clearly. The informants are asked about the relationship between the language and the region: The questions 'Is Gallo associated with Brittany?' and 'Do you think it is necessary to speak / understand Gallo to be a member of the Gallo community?' give a general idea of the type of representations Gallo informants have of their relationship with the region.

This section also introduces specific questions on language attitudes: 'Do you think speaking / understanding Gallo is a good thing?' or 'Do you feel proud to be able to speak / understand Gallo?'. The format of the survey was successfully used during interviews with the first group of informants. In order to provide younger speakers with a shorter questionnaire, here are a few changes that could be made:

- (1) add a section on naming the language to see how informants define their language variety,
- (2) present questions on language identity and its representations with a rating system to demonstrate how much importance Gallo plays in speakers' identity (1 -> 5, a ranking which is similar to what is found for language practices),
- (c) the participation from community members and the community's approval for language maintenance should also be a main theme added to the survey: what informants think should be achieved first in language planning? How they think they can contribute to the process (using technology, media, radio, publications, etc...)?

Boas used the following protocol for the study:

- (1) A biographical questionnaire which includes themes such as:  
demography/history (15 questions), games and leisure (11 questions), marriage/dating (9 questions), weather/danger of death (5 questions), premonitions (4 questions), community (13 questions), church and religion (2 questions), school/education (17 questions), living conditions (9 questions), tourism and changes (7 questions), government/regulation (3 questions), language (19 questions).
- (2) A translation task composed of 20 sentences
- (3) Worksheets (19) from *The New Braunfels German Dialect* by Fred Eikel
- (4) Elicitation tasks based on Gilbert's work during which the informant is asked to translate 148 sentences and 20 extra sentences (if informants accept). Some of the sentences and words are used several times throughout the questionnaire to give time to

informant and provide a more authentic German translation. This questionnaire is four-page long and takes about 25 minutes total.

For the current study, no elicitation task was used due to the lack of time and most of the themes were discussed during interviews. In the next section, I give an overview of the questionnaires elaborated for this study on Gallo and identity.

### 6.3.2 Questionnaires for group 1 and group 2

All the answers from the questionnaires are stored online on the website Survey Monkey and they were analyzed through that website: [www.surveymonkey.com](http://www.surveymonkey.com). 99 questions in the general questionnaire for older / native speakers and in the questionnaire for students, 103 questions composed the questionnaire for Breton speakers (this last questionnaire was not used due to lack of time). Four parts composed each questionnaire: general information (13 questions), practices (32 questions), representations and identity (32 questions), and individual linguistic practices (23 questions).

In the first section, questions on class level and major were added to replace the ones regarding work which appear in the general questionnaire. The general question related to the acquisition of Gallo at school was broken down into more specific points for the students to find out exactly in which classes they took / are taking Gallo courses and why. The multiple-choice questions were slightly changed, as shown below:

Ex 1. ‘A cette époque, est-ce que vous parliez plus souvent gallo, français, or inapplicable N/A avec...?’ – At that time, were you speaking more often Gallo, French or N/A

with...? For students, I chose to add *camarades de classe* (classmates) and *enseignant* (teacher).

Ex 2. ‘Aujourd’hui, où est-ce que vous entendez parler plus souvent gallo, français, or inapplicable N/A?’ – Today, do you hear more often Gallo, French or N/A ? The choice given was the workplace (*travail*) vs. school (*l’école*)

Ex 3. ‘Aujourd’hui, est-ce que vous parlez plus souvent gallo, français, or inapplicable N/A avec?’ – Today, do you speak more often Gallo, French or N/A with... ? The respondents could choose between *collègues* (colleagues), *époux* (spouse), *enfants* (children), *grands-parents* (grandparents), *professeurs* (teachers).

On the other end, the following question was asked to older speakers:

Dans l’ensemble êtes-vous favorable à l’enseignement de la langue gallèse en primaire, collège, lycée ? (1) Favorable (2) Pas favorable (3) Indifférent  
– In general, are you in favor of the teaching of Gallo in elementary school, middle school and high school? (1) in favor (2) not in favor (3) indifferent.

In the last section, a few variations were made to adapt individual linguistic practices to younger learner informants. Below are the three distinct sets used in each questionnaire with the same choice of answers for all, i.e. *gallo, français, les deux, autre* (Gallo, French, both, other). For older speakers, I decided to select the following contexts which differ from the ones found in the questionnaire used for group 2:

*Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment parlée entre collègues de travail ?* What language is spoken more often between workmates?

*Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment utilisée pour s’adresser à un supérieur ?* What language is more often used to address a superior?



*Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment utilisée avec des clients ?* What language is more often used with customers?

For students, I modified the contexts of interaction given for the first questionnaire (group 1) to make it more specific.

*Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment utilisée entre camarades de classe?* What language is more often used between classmates ?

*Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment utilisée pour s'adresser à un professeur ?* What language is more often used to address a professor?

*Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment utilisée avec des amis?* What language is more often used with close friends?

The purpose was to parallel similar contexts of interaction between the two groups with a first situation where the addressee is at the same 'social' level as the speaker (workmate vs. classmate); a second one where the speaker is addressing a superior (boss vs. professor) and the third scenario involves an interaction with someone who is not completely familiar to the speaker (customer vs. friends).

### 6.3.3 Finding informants

Most of the informants were contacted through associations promoting the Gallo language and culture via email or phone conversations. A few people contributed to this task such as (N 55) from *Chubri* and (N 24), a full-time Gallo teacher in *Bain-de-Bretagne* and a female informant who lives in *Morbihan*. Two groups of respondents

were involved in the study, students (N = 17) and older / native speakers (N = 41) and among those were 37 men and 21 women.

**Table 6.9 - Number of informants to age categories**

Age	Number	Percent
18-20	17	34%
30-49	13	20%
50-59	13	20%
60 and above	15	18%

**Table 6.10 - Informants information (sex, occupation, location)**

INFORMANT	SEX	OCCUPATION	LOCATION
N 1	M	Lawyer	Brest (29) <sup>152</sup>
N 2	M	Retired	Trans la Forêt (35)
N 3	M	Teacher	Merdrignac (22)
N 4	M	Instructor	Rennes (35)
N 5	M	Retired	Loudéac (22)
N 6	F	Teacher	Loudéac
N 7	M	Manager	Crédin (56)
N 8	M	Teacher	Montfort sur Meu (35)
N 9	M	Retired	Saint-Jean s/ Vilaine (35)
N 10	M	Mailman / story-teller	Saint Père Marc en Poulet (35)
N 11	M	Grocer	La Chapelle-Chaussée (35)
N 12	M	Teacher	Trémoré (22)
N 13	M	Graphic designer	Courbevoie (92)
N 14	F	Teacher	Loudéac
N 15	M	Retired	Saint-Malo (35)
N 16	F	Retired	Le Plessis (22)?
N 17	M	Teacher	Sérent (56)
N 18	F	Student	Bovel (35)
N 19	M	Student	Malestroit (56)
N 20	M	Retired	Redon (35)

<sup>152</sup> The numbers in parentheses correspond to the different *départements* in the region of Brittany: (29) is Finistère, (35) is Ille-et-Vilaine, (22) is Côtes d'Armor, and (56) is Morbihan.

N 21	M	Story-teller	Guichen (35)
N 22	M	Curator	Montfort sur Meu
N 23	M	Retired	Redon (35)
N 24	F	Teacher	Orgères (35)
N 25	M	Retired	Blain (22)
N 26	F	Librarian	Camoël (56)
N 27	M	Bus driver	Janzé (35)
N 28	M	Retired	Tinténiac (35)
N 29	F	Retired	Trévé (22)
N 30	M	Retired	Saint-Maur (35)
N 31	M	Mailman	Saint-Père
N 32	F	Teacher	Brison St-Innocent (73)
N 33	M	Student	Trans la Forêt / St Malo
N 34	F	Student	Bain de Bretagne (35)
N 35	M	Student	Bain de Bretagne
N 36	F	Student	Crévin (35)
N 37	M	Student	La Dominelais (35)
N 38	M	Student	Poligné, La Gandoufflais (35)
N 39	M	Student	Poligné
N 40	F	Student	Chartres de Bretagne (35)
N 41	F	Student	Mernel (35)
N 42	F	Student	Noë-Blanche (35)
N 43	F	Student	Lieuron (35)
N 44	F	Student	Bourg des comptes (35)
N 45	M	Student	Saint-Malo de Phily (35)
N 46	F	Student	Grand Fougeray (35)
N 47	F	Student	Lalleu (35)
N 48	F	Student	Poligné
N 49	F	Student	Teillay (35)
N 50	F	Teacher	Josselin (56)
N 51	F	Retired	Josselin
N 52	M	Retired	Saint-Servant (56)
N 53	M	Retired	Josselin
N 54	M	Historian / writer	Gévezé (35)
N 55	M	Language planner	Rennes
N 56	M	Language planner	Moigné (35)
N 57	M	Retired	Combours (35)
N 58	M	Language planner	Rennes

#### 6.3.4 Data collecting

Data includes both answers from the questionnaires and the interviews.

Most of the interviews were conducted in the participants' homes and lasted two hours on average depending on the informant's time. Since most of the respondents who accepted to participate in the follow-up interviews are retired, it made meetings easier and allowed us to extend the conversation further than expected. The interactions between the informant and the interviewer were recorded with an MP3 recorder and all the files were transferred to a laptop.

(1) The answers to the questionnaires were collected online via the website SurveyMonkey where the answers are posted. The link was almost always sent to the informants by email, however a few times I went through the questionnaire with the informant when they did not have access to internet.

(2) A smaller part of the answers were collected when meeting with Gallo students in Bain-de-Bretagne, a town south of Rennes. For all of them, the answers were directly recorded on the website.

(3) The locations where the interviews were conducted are diverse: Rennes and outside of the city (the associations *Chubri* and *Bertaèyn Galeizz*), Morbihan (Josselin, Sérent), Côtes d'Armor (Loudéac), Redon, Saint-Malo.

## **6.4 Conclusion**

Although Gallo possesses all the necessary tools for a successful revitalization (similarly to the Welsh case), it lacks a true motivation and participation from its speakers to change language identity into a positive asset. I claim that Gallo is subject to much dispersion and its loss is consequently inevitable if this step is not reached.

Thus, the follow-up interviews were helpful to see whether the speakers were informed of what is being achieved in the field. In this chapter, I presented previous questionnaires and discussed particularly the latest work on Gallo by Nolan. Later, I turned to the methodology used for the current study (and its sources) and the way the questionnaires for groups 1 and 2 were elaborated along with the approach used for contacting informants and data collecting. In the following chapter, I analyze the results and explain how the hypotheses regarding the maintenance of the Gallo language are confirmed within the theoretical framework adopted.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Research project: Results**

#### **7.0 Introduction**

In chapter 6, I discussed previous questionnaires elaborated for the study of Gallo, Breton and Norman. I also introduced the recent surveys realized by Nolan before presenting the data collected for the current study based on Boas' model TGDP – Texas German Dialect Project (2001). This chapter presents the analysis on identity, practices, representations, and the status of Gallo at school. I chose Jones' framework to claim the existence of an established dissociation between language and identity within the Gallo speech community. In sections 7.3 and 7.4, technical issues expose general expectations and limitations encountered during the research project and open up the discussion concerning future changes affecting the language and the community in general.

I include below the hypotheses formulated at the beginning of the study in the first chapter. Based on Jones' work (2001) on Jèrriais Norman French, there is a necessary exchange that needs to be established between the two groups to preserve and promote Gallo language and culture. The general desire to maintain Gallo is noticeable, but a clear denial of responsibility to struggle for the revitalization of the language has been observed.

This is a comparative study on language attitudes and perceptions among younger speakers who acquired Gallo at school and older informants (*patoisants*<sup>153</sup>). In this chapter, I analyze how informants from both groups use Gallo (group 1 – older speakers) and (group 2 – students) and in which ways they perceive its preservation through diverse language planning measures, for instance road signs in Gallo, television and radio programs, and the appearance of Gallo in the school curriculum. I provide several answers to the following questions: is there a Gallo identity? Are language and identity naturally associated in the informants' minds? I summarize the findings in the section below.

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<sup>153</sup> Local speakers.

## 7.1 Result analysis

The focus is on the analysis of data related to identity, practices, representations, and Gallo at school. To present the data below, I chose to use pie graphs to compare the findings from group 1 and group 2. The analysis reflects on two questions formulated at the beginning of the study:

(1) How do both groups perceive language preservation efforts?

(2) How do members of the community use Gallo? Is there a Gallo identity? Are language and identity intertwined? Do these 2 groups have a distinctive identity?

I include comments on significant differences between the two groups in each section.

### 7.1.1 Identity

Regarding identity, group 1 shows positive feelings about their ability to speak / understand Gallo (60% SA<sup>154</sup>, 16.7% agree) whereas informants from group 2 who express more pride in speaking French (85.7% SA). To the statement, 'Gallo is part of my identity like French', 50% of group 1 and 78.6% of group 2 reacted positively.

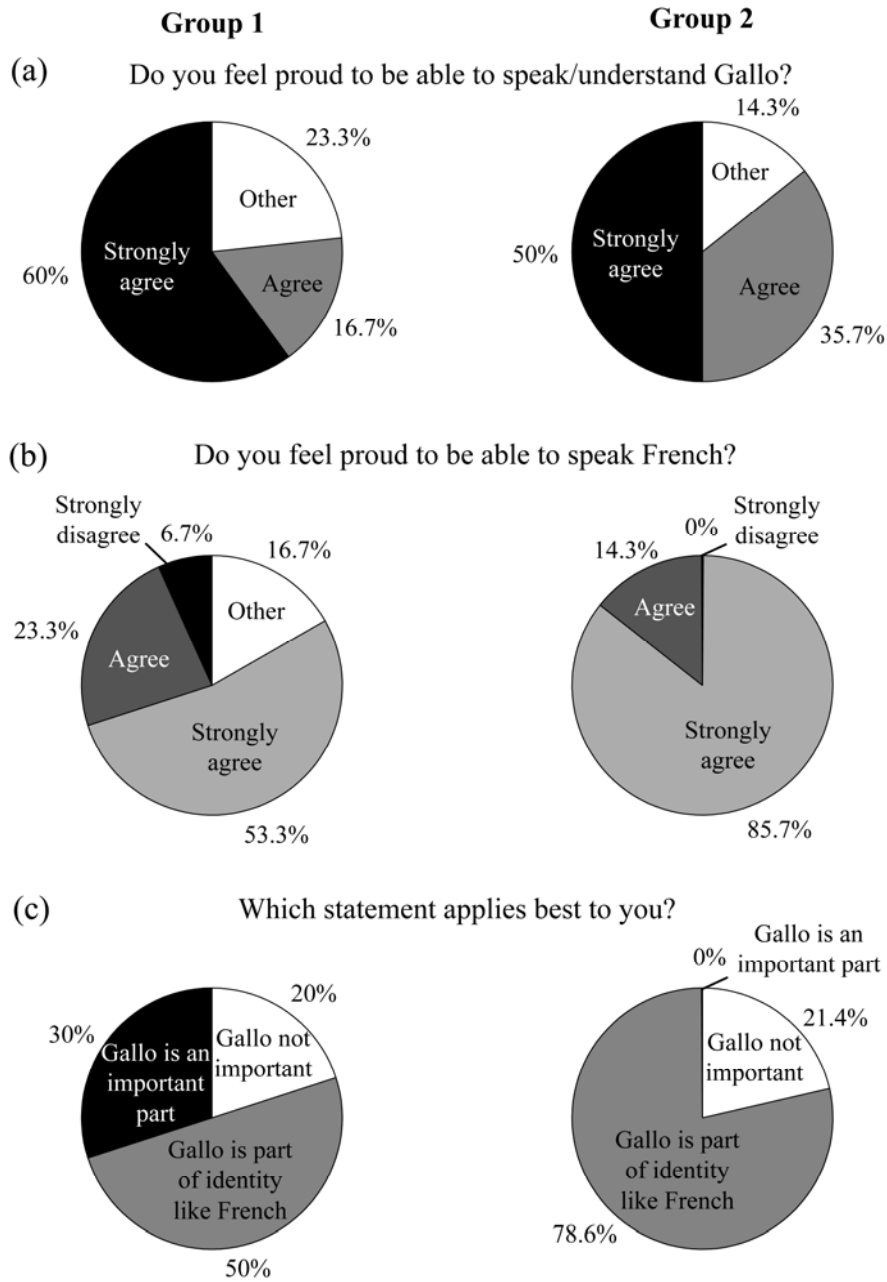
This last result is unexpected given the fact that the only direct contact the students or younger speakers have with the language is at school and their general knowledge of the culture and language is mostly limited to the education they receive during their studies.

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<sup>154</sup> Strongly agree



## Graph 7.1 - Identity

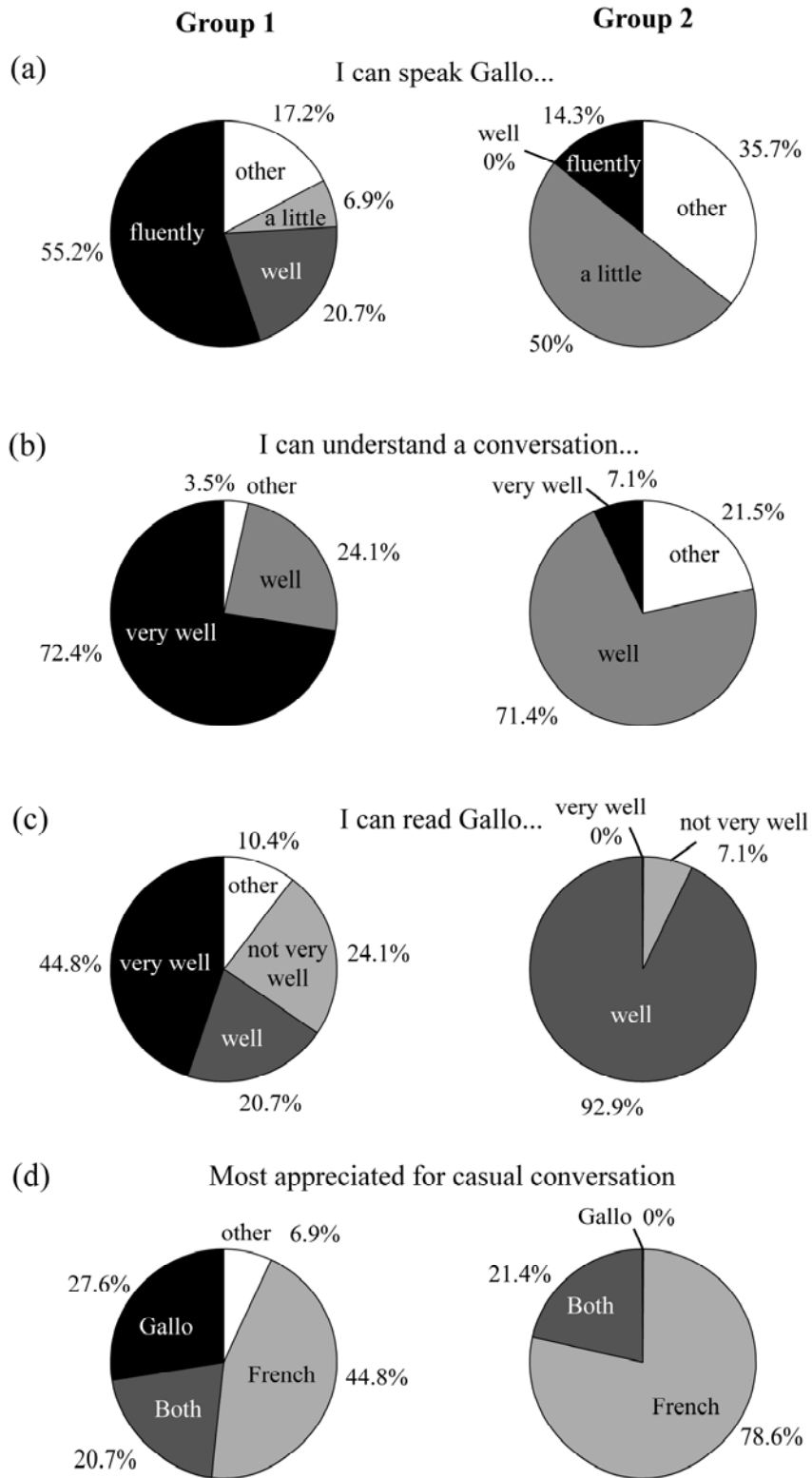


### 7.1.2 Practices

On practices, 55.2% of group 1 declares to be able to speak Gallo fluently and 72.4% says that they can understand a conversation very well (this last result is the same for group 2). 92.9% of group 2 can read Gallo well probably due to the fact that they are in the process of learning it at school versus 44.8% for group 1.

We notice a distinction in relationships between the two groups and their perceptions on how to use the language. When asked to choose the language that is the most appreciated for casual conversations, 44.8% informants of group 1 selected French and 78.6% in group 2. It is interesting to note that 27.6% and 20.7% of informants from group 1 use respectively Gallo and both languages in the same situation.

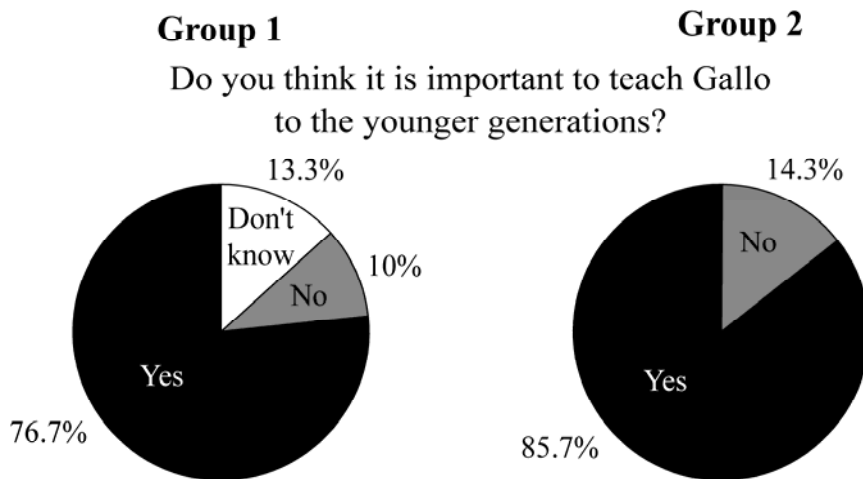
## Graph 7.2 - Practices



### 7.1.3 Representations

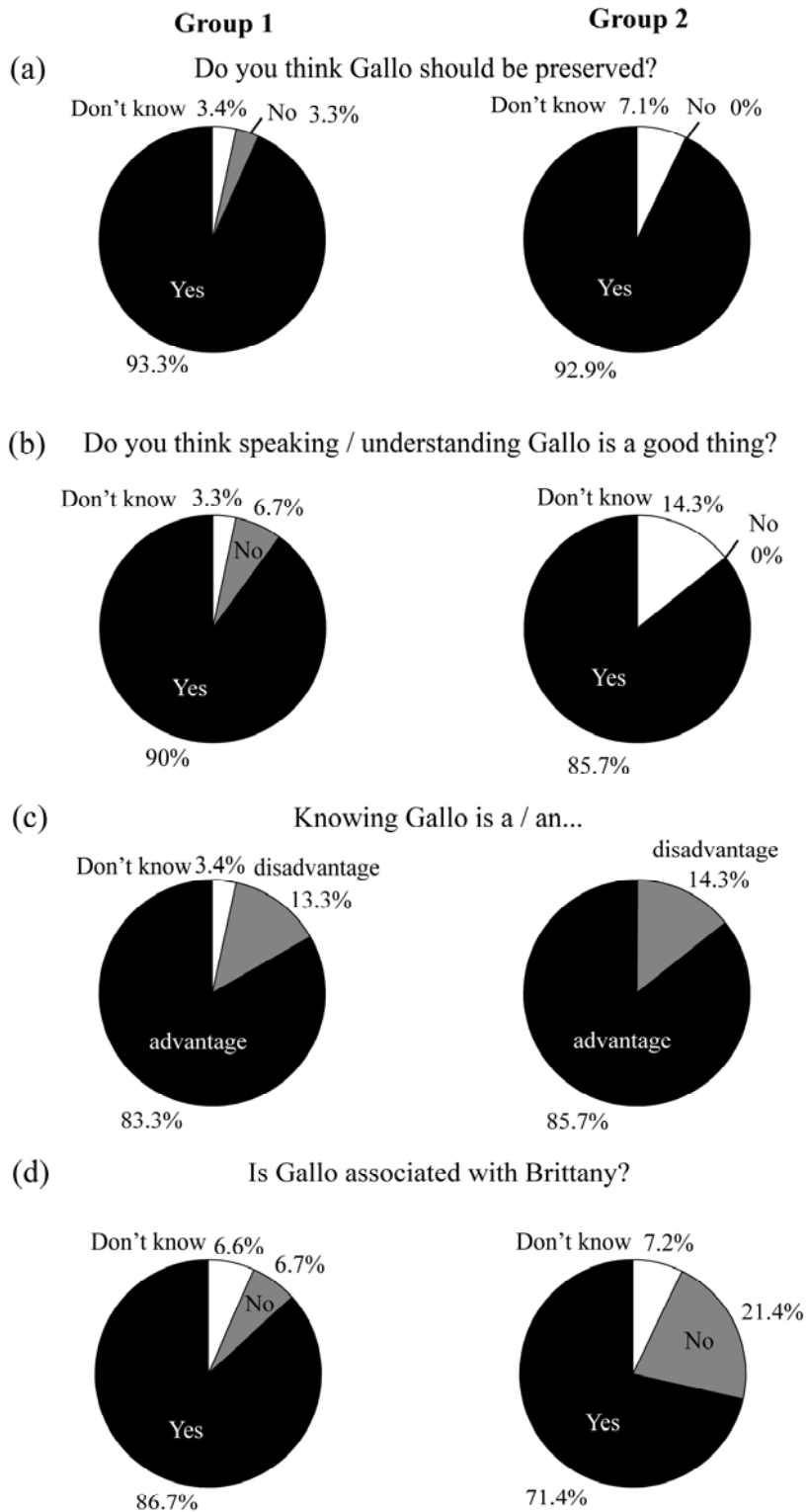
Both groups reacted highly positively to the following representations of Gallo. For question (3.1) ‘is it important to teach Gallo to younger generations?’, the percentage of positive answers was 76.7% for group 1 and 85.7% for group 2.

**Graph 7.3 – Representations (1)**



The idea that the preservation of the language prevails is confirmed by the reactions collected for question (3.19) ‘why is Gallo less spoken / used these days?’: 80% of group 1 and 92.9% of group 2 answered that it was due to the lack of transmission. Other factors for the decline of Gallo were evoked such as lingering feelings of shame and the stigmatization of people who speak the Gallo language and were confirmed by 63.3% of informants in group 1. Gallo not being a modern language was the third reason mentioned by 64.3% of informants from the second group.

## Graph 7.4 – Representations (2)



In the pie graphs above, I show the results gathered for a first set of statements / questions given to both groups: (3.4) 'the language should be preserved' (93.3%<sup>155</sup> - 92.9%<sup>156</sup>); (3.16) 'knowing Gallo is a good thing' (90% - 85.7%); (3.17) 'knowing Gallo is an advantage' (83.3% - 85.7%) and (3.30) 'is Gallo associated with Brittany?' (Y 86.7% - 71.4%).

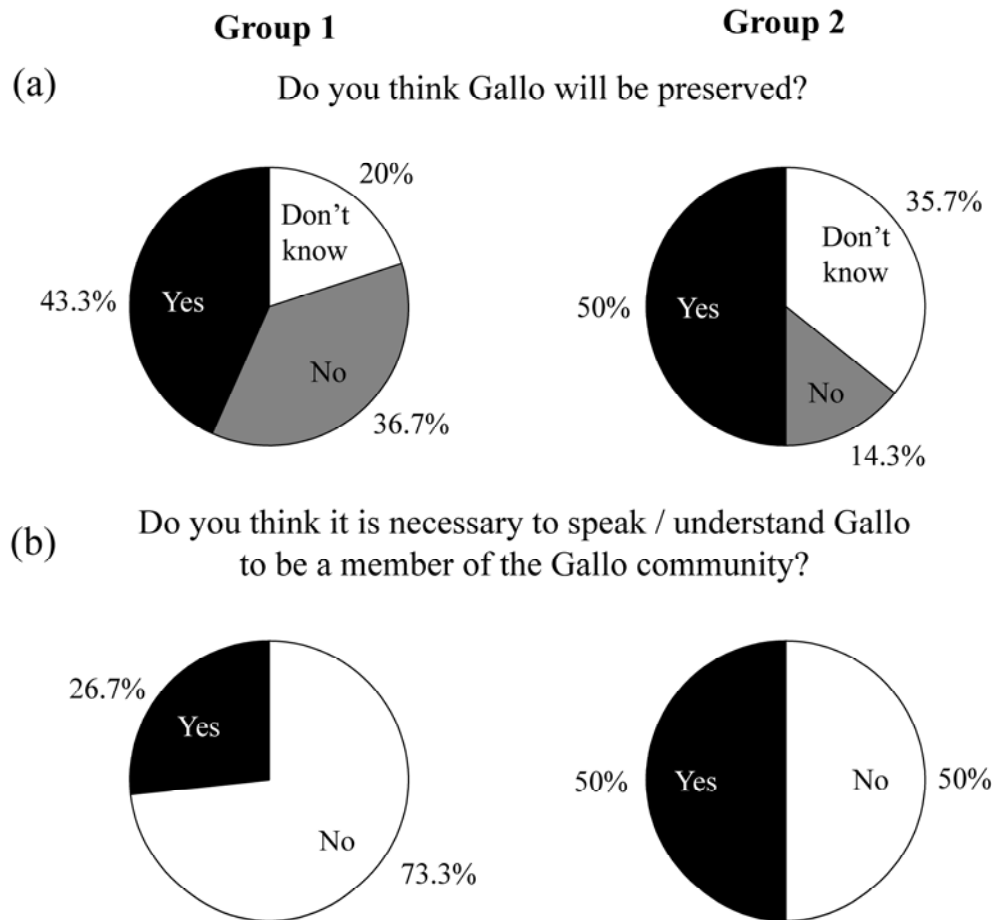
These findings show a contrast with the second set of questions whose results appear in the graphs: (3.5) 'do you think that Gallo will be preserved?' (Y 43.3% - 50%); (3.18) 'do you think it is necessary to speak / understand Gallo to be a member of the Gallo community?' (N 73.3% - 50%).

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<sup>155</sup> Results for group 1

<sup>156</sup> Results for group 2

### Graph 7.5 – Representations (3)



The findings for the last question appear in the table below: (3.25) ‘a world without Gallo would be’.

**Table 7.1 – A world without Gallo**

Group 1		Group 2	
missing something	90%	missing something	100%
a possibility	50%	a possibility	28.6%
sad	46.7%	sad	21.4%

The results are far less optimistic when the informants were asked whether Gallo *will* be preserved: 43.3% of group 1 and 50% of group 2. Both groups associate the Gallo language with terms of friendliness, identity, family and to the region of Brittany in general (86.7% - 71.4%). They also highly agree on the fact that a world without Gallo would be ‘missing something’ (90% - 100%).

**Table 7.2 – Terms you associate with the Gallo language**

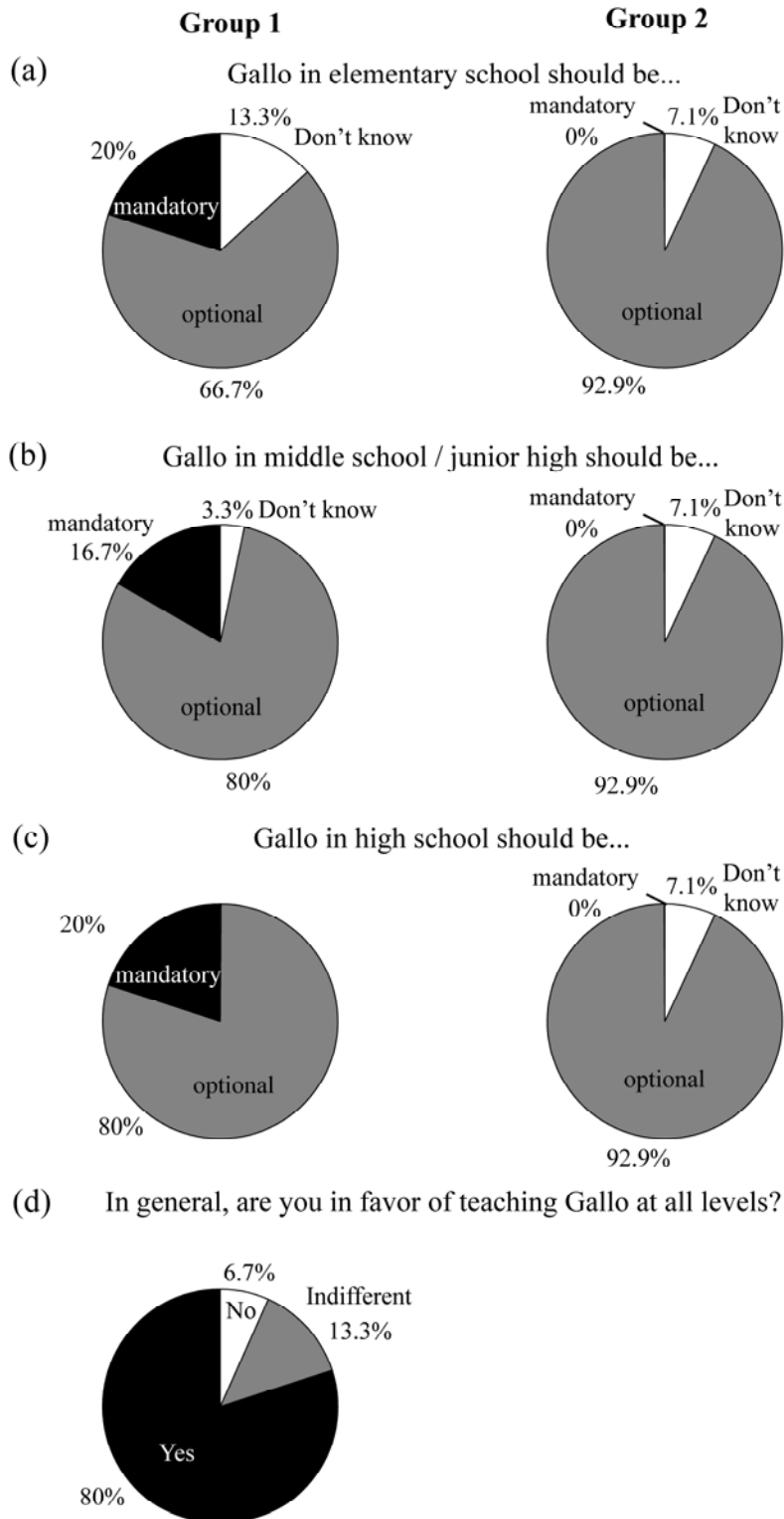
<b>Terms</b>	<b>Group 1</b>	<b>Group 2</b>
Friendly	100%	85.7%
Identity	79.3%	46.2%
Rural	93.1%	92.3%
Family	92.9%	84.6%
Home	82.1%	64.3%
To be comfortable	80.8%	61.5%

#### 7.1.4 Gallo at school

It is interesting to note that informants 92.9% of group 2 is more in favor of having ‘optional’ Gallo courses at all levels (elementary, middle and high school) and 80% of group 1 think that teaching Gallo at school is a good thing.

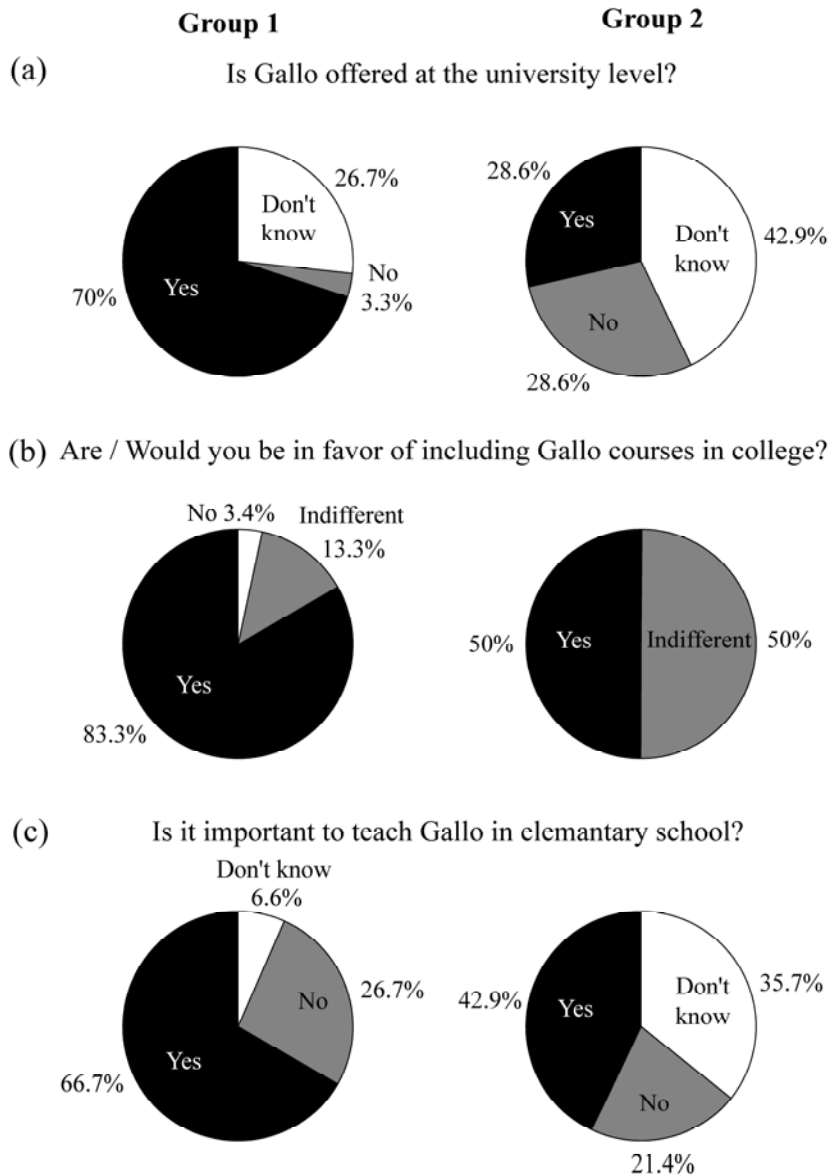


**Graph 7.6 – Gallo at school (1)**



Regarding the situation of Gallo in the school curriculum, most students are not always aware that they can pursue the study of the language as 42.9% of them answered that they didn't know whether or not Gallo was offered at the university level. But 70% of informants from group 1 seem informed that Gallo courses are offered at the university level and 83.3% of them are in favor of it versus 50% for group 2. As mentioned earlier, older informants are generally in favor of Gallo courses at all levels, as early as elementary school. 66.7% of positive answers were recorded for group 1 and 42.9% for group 2.

**Graph 7.7 – Gallo at school (2)**



A discrepancy exists between the way informants feel about their Gallo identity and its representations - positive ones – and their participation into the language planning processes. For instance, what they think about the acquisition of Gallo at school, and the acquisition of other regional languages, differ from the judgments they express towards their linguistic practices. I think that here is a sincere interest and a true motivation to

learn the language from the student group. This group is more aware of and sensitive to efforts on the preservation of Gallo. However, there is little or no continuity in the acquisition of the Gallo language at higher levels of studies (for instance, at college level). This shows a contradiction with the second group. Older speakers have more reluctant feelings towards the acquisition the language at school because it is a different variety and they don't think it is worth transmitting and preserving. The impact of past stigmatization of the Gallo language and culture is more present among older speakers due to their youth memories and experiences.

## 7.2 Confirmation of the main hypothesis: dissociation of language and identity

In chapter 4, I referred to Jones' work on Jersey Norman French (2001) as a framework for the study of Gallo and compared findings from both studies focusing on the following questions: 'do you think Jèrrais / Gallo should be preserved?'; 'do you think Jèrriais / Gallo will be preserved?'; 'do you think Jèrriais / Gallo should be taught in elementary school?'; 'should the study of Jèrriais / Gallo be compulsory at school?'; 'should there be television programs in Jèrriais / Gallo?'; 'should Jèrrais / Gallo appear on road signs?'

Along with Jones' framework, it was possible to draw comparisons between the Jersey Norman French (Jèrriais) and Gallo cases. I reformulate in (1) and (2)<sup>157</sup> the themes explored by Jones to answer the issues encountered at the beginning of this study. Jones built her argument on the successful case of language revitalization in Jersey Norman French by analyzing language planning and its appropriateness to attain language revitalization. The main factor is the dynamic which is - should be - at play in the relationship between language and identity, and the direct effect language planning has on the identity expressed (or repressed) by the speech community. I reiterate the obstacles that usually occur during the promotion of language maintenance: (1) little awareness of community members that language attitude and linguistic practices (particularly transmission) are closely intertwined in the process of language planning and (2) an increase in maintenance efforts towards the revitalization process, enforced by a group of researchers in the last decades, excluding none speakers. There has been little

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<sup>157</sup> On p.7

improvement due to the lack of active participation and clear motivations for language standardization from community members.

The association of these two concepts, language and identity, helps rebuild the feeling of an existing Gallo identity that is worth preserving. I show that the ability to speak and / or understand Gallo is not a necessary component of the Gallo identity. Thus, regional and individual identities are separated. For older speakers (group 1) who learned the language with family members and grand-parents, Gallo is still associated with stigmatized statements heard at school or within the family environment. The French language was viewed as the only key to economic improvement and social recognition. This category of informants expresses more negative attitudes towards Gallo preservation and stand in a rather indifferent position towards language planning measures.

Students and young adults (group 2) who learned / are learning Gallo at school appear to be more sensitive to the issue of preservation as they are usually instructed by teachers who are members of language planning associations (*Association des Enseignants du Gallo*, *Bertaeyn Galeizz*, *Chubri*, etc...), researchers and scholars who work with activist groups. The variety of Gallo taught in the school environment differs distinctively from the one spoken by older members. The main issue in the process of Gallo preservation is the conflict between two distinct movements. The groups that are named *néo-gallésants*<sup>158</sup> and *gallésants du cru*<sup>159</sup> stand in a complex relationship and the positive attitudes towards Gallo that are spreading among the first group might be denied by members of the second one.

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<sup>158</sup> Younger generation of Gallo learners / speakers

<sup>159</sup> Local and older speakers of Gallo.

### 7.3 General expectations and limitations during the research project

#### 7.3.1 Questionnaires, language use during interviews, and debates

Along with the two questionnaires for students and older speakers, another questionnaire was elaborated for informants who are not members of the Gallo community, mainly for Breton speakers. Unfortunately, due to a lack of time during fieldwork in the summer 2009, it was difficult to gather enough informants. The format is similar to the general questionnaire for informants of group 1, except that the word Breton replaced the word Gallo in several questions and the expression ‘regional language’ was selected to refer to both Gallo and Breton. As for the students, no recorded interview was conducted due to the lack of time and to final examinations which were taking place in June.

As an outsider, I was generally confronted to a strong reluctance from the informants to use the language in any form, which was definitely caused by the stigmatized nature of Gallo. On a few occasions, informants (N 20, M, N 28, M, N 52, M, N 53, M, N 2, M, N 50, F) accepted to speak, tell stories or sing in Gallo. Only one informant (N 24, F) asked me whether I preferred the interview to be conducted in Gallo or French. Several other informants used Gallo sporadically during the interview and one informant declared he preferred to use the *patois*:

j’préfère parleur ma langue à mé qu’ la<sup>160</sup>... (N 52, M, 37:25, Josselin, 06/25/09) – Je préfère parler ma langue que... - I prefer to speak my language than...

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<sup>160</sup> Je préfère parler ma langue à moi que la...

Generally, there was very little use of the language in front of the interviewer. Nevertheless, the informants were generally eager to share stories, texts and anecdotes of their experience and memories related to the language and culture of the region.

During the interviews, several questions from the questionnaire raised internal conflicts for the respondents. For instance, the concept of language preservation and teaching minority languages at school turned out to be two topics that informants would refer to the most. I came to the conclusion that older speakers do not always support the transmission and preservation of the Gallo language. Their main argument against transmission is the divergence between the variety of Gallo taught at school and the variety they used to hear at home or still speak on some occasions:

j'ai du mal à considérer le patois comme une langue (N 53, M, 23 :55, Josselin, 06/25/09) – I have a hard time considering the *patois* as a language.

The term *anecdotique* (anecdotal) was used by an informant from Josselin in Morbihan to describe the implementation of Gallo at school:

je trouve ça assez anecdotique...le gallo ne donne pas accès à une culture littéraire. C'est un peu fantaisiste (N 53, M, 27:44, Josselin, 06/25/09) – I find this rather anecdotal...Gallo does not give access to a literary culture. It is a little unreliable.

As for the preservation process itself, informants express confusion, doubts or indifference regarding the type of individuals who would benefit from this long and tedious language maintenance process. One informant who teaches in elementary school acknowledges that teaching Gallo is actually one of the most efficient ways to preserve



the language, but she also stresses the importance of certain priorities in a child's education:

faut bien passer par là si on veut la préserver mais il faut d'abord qu'ils parlent correctement le français, en primaire ils ont autre chose à apprendre (N 50, F, 16:33, Josselin, 06/25/09) – we have to go through that if we want to preserve it, but first they have to speak French correctly, in elementary school they have other things to learn.

Finally, the idea of a future for the language brings up many interrogations on the variety of Gallo that should be transmitted:

il faut la sauver mais pourquoi, pour qui? Ce sera sans doute une élite qui parlera le patois pour se faire plaisir, pour garder la tradition (N 53, M, 34 :36 – 34 :43, Josselin, 06/25/09) – we must save it, but why, for whom ? It will probably be an elite who will speak *patois* for fun and to keep the tradition.

### 7.3.2 Technical issues during fieldwork

Technically, the presence of a third party during the interviews often constituted a great help and facilitated interactions, (N9, M, N 55, M, N 58, M). Several issues occurred as the third person would interfere and react during the interviews (N 52, M, N 9, M) and many overlapping between participants during the exchanges rendered the recordings harder to transcribe.

On three different occasions, with informants from Chatillon in Ille-et-Vilaine and Josselin in Morbihan, group interviews were realized which enriched the debate, allowed me to guide the speakers and ask their opinion on the relationship between language and identity. As mentioned earlier, older speakers reacted less positively to the statement

‘Gallo is part of my identity just like French’ (50%<sup>161</sup> vs. 78.6%<sup>162</sup>) than students. Similarly, their comments confirmed the feeling that there is a Gallo identity at a minor level:

La Haute-Bretagne est aussi importante que la Basse-Bretagne (N 10, M, Saint-Père Marc en Poulet, 07/09/09) – High-Brittany is as important as Lower-Brittany.

When asked more specifically about the relationship between their identity and the language(s) they speak, the informants do not mention pride for Gallo exclusively. They recognize that Gallo is part of who they are as much as the French language:

ça fait partie de moi, de ma connaissance, c’est en prise directe avec mon territoire, mon terroir (N 30, M, 54 :04, Saint-Maur, 06/24/09) – it is part of me, part of my knowledge. It is directly connected to my territory, my heritage.

Generally, informants were not opposed to the idea of being recorded and most of them would almost forget the presence of the recorder on the table after thirty minutes or more when Gallo words and expressions would slip through. Only one informant (N 10, M) refused to be recorded.

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<sup>161</sup> Group 1

<sup>162</sup> Group 2

#### 7.4 Recent developments with associations

The educational system offers various ways of learning Gallo from elementary up to college either through evening classes with the association *Bertaèyn Galeizz* or by correspondence online with the association *Ademorr*. Media, particularly the internet, plays now a significant part in the preservation of Gallo and facilitates raising the public awareness. On the other end, radio and television have a very limited role in this process since TV programs are almost inexistent in Gallo and only two radio stations devote a few minutes to programs in Gallo. *France Bleu Armorique* plays a five-minute show everyday called *Fred et Roger* and *Plum FM* presents announcements in Gallo. Similarly, for the Jèrriais language, only five minutes of Jèrriais can be heard on the radio on Sunday morning and sixty minutes per year on television with a few programs devoted to other dialects of the Channel Islands including Guernésiais.

Regarding corpus planning such as publications, extensions and creations of lexicon in the Gallo language, several recent works are now accessible online (see web addresses in the bibliography). *Le Teinzou dou Galo*<sup>163</sup> by Fabien Lecuyer, *Dictionnaire Gallo de Roger et Fred*, and the *Dictionnaire de Jean-Luc Ramel. Mon Canepin de Galo*<sup>164</sup> by Romain Ricaud, *Le Petit Matao* by Régis Auffray, *Moga* and collections of names of villages and family names (or nicknames) in Gallo by Bertran Ôbrée are recent publications, less than two years old. Finally, Romain Ricaud's creation of *Lez Païssèy galeizz*<sup>165</sup> on myspace is worth mentioning since this work combines traditional data

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<sup>163</sup> *Le trésor de la langue gallèse* – the treasure of the Gallo language.

<sup>164</sup> *Calepin, agenda, carnet* – notebook, diary.

<sup>165</sup> *Les Séquences Galèses* – Gallo sequences.

collecting such as stories, tales, songs told by older speakers and debates related to current societal subjects. All audio files are accessible online, easy to use and free:

À l'écoute, des articles, des chroniques, des discussions sur des sujets d'actualité et de culture, écrits par des auteurs qui s'expriment en gallo (from the website [www.galoromaen.com](http://www.galoromaen.com)) – Listen to articles, chronicles, discussions on current affairs and cultural events written by Gallo authors.

His approach enlarges the vision of the future of Gallo and of all minority languages and explores the way technology can serve traditional knowledge and cultural heritage.

Further projects are left to be conducted. Exploring further identity issues among a group of students can be an interesting comparative study with Nolan's findings on *The role of Gallo in the identity of Upper-Breton school pupils of the language variety and their parents* (2008). For a more representative picture of the Breton identity including both Breton and Gallo, it is necessary to take into account respondents who are not part of the Gallo community, but who live close enough to share their insights about the language and culture of High-Brittany. Language attitudes of non-Gallo speakers could provide an 'external' view of the linguistic situation of Brittany. Since the study of the relationship between identity and language in regional languages examines problematic issues in the perspective of language maintenance, and in some cases language revitalization (dissociation, indifference), it is urgent to emphasize the effort on collecting and recording Gallo oral tradition (stories, songs, jokes, and proverbs) with the collaboration of older speakers before it disappears.

## 7.5 Conclusion

The first section of the chapter summarizes the results found in the current study on language identity, practices, representations and Gallo at school. Jones' model (2001) extended in Jones & Singh (2005) inspired the elaboration of a framework for the current study to explain and analyze the relationship between language and identity within the Gallo speech community. After a further analysis in chapter 7, I claim that the findings tend towards the confirmation of the main hypothesis, the dissociation of language and identity. I include a description of general expectations and limitations encountered during the research project as well as technical issues pertaining to the questionnaire, the language use during interviews, and the case of a few follow-up debates involving certain informants.

The last section on recent developments reached by Gallo associations opens up the discussion to a possible change from the effect of negative language attitudes on the survival of the language itself - as a direct consequence of language extinction - towards a more promising future for Gallo as it is discussed in the final chapter. As a general conclusion, I present some of the newer approaches adopted in terms of pedagogical methods for children (summer camps and immersion programs with *Dihun*), and adults (short-term language trainings and intensive professional trainings with *Stumdi*). These teaching methods combine two necessary components for a possible successful transmission and maintenance of the language: introducing multilingualism at an early age at school and connecting with older generations to encourage more 'natural' interactions in Gallo outside of the school environment.

## **Chapter 8**

### **General conclusion**

#### **8.0 Introduction**

In chapter 7 on result analysis, the last section is devoted to the latest improvements within the associative environment. The outcome generally expected is to make a minority language – which is almost invisible – visible using visual tools (road signs) and technology (media, internet).

The functions of Gallo as a communicative tool and as an element of bilingualism in partnership with Breton, French, and English need to be clearly stated in the language planning project. Simultaneously, the competition between Breton and Gallo becomes a positive component and strength in the preservation of Brittany's languages. Language learners, supportive authorities and state agencies should be convinced that Gallo is worth saving and develop intensive language programs for adults and immersion methodologies at school. Before discussing the role of identity planning in language maintenance, I consider the improvements that technology can bring to language programs and language transmission as original ways to reach out for different population groups. I conclude the discussion on the role of language in defining French nationalism and the way that role differs from languages spoken in minority groups within France and from national languages spoken in other European countries.

## 8.1 The future of the language: maintenance of Gallo?

### 8.1.1 Technology and language programs to serve language transmission

Latest improvements in technology and language programs were inspired by the Breton model to facilitate the acquisition and the improvement of the Breton language. The program started 24 years ago and 16 six-month long training sessions were organized. In 2009, the association *Stumdi* launched a three-month long training program in Gallo. The first workshop<sup>166</sup> organized in the fall of 2009 is now renewed in the spring 2010 stretching over from April to July. Along with *Stumdi*, four Gallo associations take part in this effort, *Chubri*, *Bertaèyn Galeizz*, *Dihun* and *Enseignants de Gallo*. I include the flyer for the intensive Gallo training for the Spring of 2010 (from April 1<sup>st</sup> to July 6<sup>th</sup>).

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<sup>166</sup> A three-month training in Gallo from September through November 2009 was held in Montfort sur Meu, Ille-et-Vilaine.

Illustration 8.1 - Stumdi Flyer for the 2010 Gallo workshop.



<http://www.stumdi.com>

The purpose of these three-month workshops is to intensively train adults willing to acquire the language through an immersion method for professional reasons and help them attain a near-native proficiency (teachers, journalists, radio announcers, secretaries in public administration, nurses, medical assistants in retirement homes). The trainings are open to everyone and in case of unemployment financial support may be provided to applicants by the Regional Council. The workshops offered by *Stumdi* expand the



promotion of Gallo and ensure its maintenance and use in domains that were strictly French-speaking areas until recently such as the workplace and school:

Les difficultés rencontrées aujourd'hui pour la survie et le développement du gallo sont celles que le breton a connues il y a une vingtaine d'années. Depuis, si tout n'est pas gagné, le breton se développe régulièrement, alors qu'il devrait être moribond, si l'on considère le nombre de locuteurs dans les années 1970. Il est de plus en plus utilisé au quotidien, et pour un nombre d'adultes qui va croissant, dans leur milieu professionnel. Le lien entre la langue et le monde du travail semble être le garant d'un usage de la langue normalisé, accepté par une majorité de la population<sup>167</sup> - Difficulties for the survival and development of Gallo are those encountered by Breton 20 years ago. Since then, even though everything is far from perfect, Breton is undergoing a regular development. However, considering the number of speakers in the 1970's, it should be moribund. It is increasingly used daily by a growing number of adults in their professional environment. The link between the language and work seems to be a proof of a standardized language accepted by a majority of the population.

The second objective of this long training language program is to recognize the two regional languages of Brittany and assimilate the two cultures as a personal enrichment and an opening to other minority cultures. It is an opportunity for learners to speak a language they are in contact with through oral expressions, sayings and toponymy. In 2009 and 2010, about 60 adults total took the three-month language program in Gallo:

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<sup>167</sup> From the website: [www.stumdi.com](http://www.stumdi.com)

beginners who wish to use Gallo at work, people interested in learning the language to facilitate their job search and *gallésants* who seek to improve their Gallo.

Now, we can discuss how close the instruction provided is to an immersive environment. According to the instructors of the four Gallo associations, the emphasis is placed on oral proficiency and Gallo is the only language used for communication inside and outside the classroom which creates an instructional environment close to immersion. The experience will be renewed in 2011 which proves of previously successful sessions. The association *Chubri* recently posted the announcement for a particular event related to the 2009 Gallo language training:

Roland Michon vient d'achever un nouveau film documentaire de 52 mn sur le gallo, produit par Kalanna Production et TV Rennes 35. Cette fois, il est question du premier stage de formation professionnelle de gallo qui a eu lieu à Montfort-sur-Meu pendant trois mois fin 2009. Mais déjà Bertaeyn Galeizz organise une projection du film à La Chapelle-du-Lou près de Montauban-de-Bretagne ce jeudi 23/9 à 20h30. Une soirée dans le cadre du festival Mill Góll ([www.chubri.org](http://www.chubri.org)) – Roland Michon just achieved the realization of a new 52 minute-long documentary on Gallo, produced by Kalanna Production and TV Rennes 35. The topic is devoted this time to the first professional training in Gallo which was organized in Montfort-sur-Meu during three months at the end of 2009. But *Bertaeyn Galeizz* is already organizing a screening of the film at La Chapelle-du-Lou near Montauban-de-Bretagne this Thursday 09/23 at 8:30pm. This event is part of the Mill Góll festival.

This movie along with future documentaries can be used to sensitize large audiences to the Gallo situation, show that the language is useful and worth learning. Such a media-

related tool represents a tremendous opportunity for the community to reach the public to raise awareness and change mentalities.

The writing component of the three-month trainings remains a heated debate among language teachers. When in Brittany in the summer 2009, I asked educators from *Bertaeyn Galeizz* and *Chubri* about the writing system chosen for the training. Both associations explained that they decided not to impose any specific writing approach onto the learners, and instead expose them to the main ‘schools’ (ELG, Le Coq, and Auffray). There was a common agreement that the instruction should not follow any particular textbook. *Chubri*’s recent project on broadcasting Gallo on radio stations and TV programs (mentioned in chapter 4) completes the work carried out during the workshops. Until recently, no realization of media in Gallo had been released. In order to share the progress realized in the field, a conference is usually held every two years in Nantes and a separate panel is specifically devoted to Gallo, *Journée d’Etudes Gallèses*<sup>168</sup> (JEG). The first JEG in 2007 was a general presentation of the different field of research in Gallo for instance writing Gallo, analyzing the phonetics and sociolinguistics of Gallo and Gallo as an urban language. The second conference held in 2009 focused on teaching methodologies in Gallo. Below I include the schedules for each.

The first conference on Gallo studies in June 2007 was launched at the University of Nantes - *1<sup>ère</sup> Journée d’Études Gallèses / 1<sup>err</sup> Journée d’Etudd Galéezz* (JEG’2007) – and the following topics were presented and discussed.

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<sup>168</sup> A day of Gallo Studies

**Table 8.1 – Presentations JEG 2007**

<i>Où en est le gallo? Résultats d'enquêtes réalisées à l'Université de Haute Bretagne</i> - What is the current situation of Gallo? Results from surveys realized at the Université de Haute-Bretagne.	Philippe Blanchet, Université Rennes 2
<i>Dix ans d'étude du Gallo aux Cahiers de Sociolinguistique : de la langue patrimoniale à l'affirmation sociolinguistique</i> – 10 years of studies of Gallo to the <i>Cahiers de Sociolinguistique</i> : from the language of cultural heritage to the sociolinguistic assertion.	Francis Manzano, Université Rennes 2
<i>Le gallo langue urbaine ? Les discours sur l'espace et les langues bretonnes à Rennes</i> - Is Gallo an urban language ? On the geographical area and the Breton languages of Rennes.	Thierry Bulot, Université Rennes 2
<i>Gallo et breton : complémentarité ou concurrence ?</i> – Gallo and Breton : are they complementary or in competition?	Gwendal Chevalier, Université Rennes 2
<i>Emploi des temps surcomposés à Couëron, Loire Atlantique</i> – Use of <i>surcomposés</i> <sup>169</sup> tenses in Couëron, Loire Atlantique.	Morgan Houdemont, Université de Nantes
<i>Diphthongaison ou création de hiatus ? Une analyse déclarative du gallo</i> – Diphthongization or creation of hiatus? A declarative analysis of Gallo.	Jesús Bretos and Sergio Chehabi, Universidad Autónoma of Madrid
<i>La formation du vocalisme en gallo</i> – Formation of the vocalic system in Gallo.	Jean-Paul Chauveau, CNRS <sup>170</sup>
<i>Fabriquer un dictionnaire de gallo : les sources de documentation, les difficultés rencontrées</i> – Creating a Gallo dictionary : sources of documentation and difficulties encountered.	Régis Auffray, teacher (Gallo and physics)
<i>Graphier le gallo. Une analyse anthropologique</i> – Writing Gallo. An anthropological analysis.	Christophe Simon, Université Rennes 2 and <i>Bertaeyn Galeizz</i>
<i>Lire et écrire le gallo avec le Moga ; un standard pour une diversité d'usages</i> – Reading and writing Gallo with <i>Moga</i> ; a standard for diversity.	Bërtran Öbrée, <i>Chubri</i>
<i>De la charte culturelle à aujourd'hui : 30 ans d'enseignement du gallo</i> – From the cultural Charter until today : 30 years of teaching Gallo.	André Le Coq Jahier, Association of Gallo Teachers

<sup>169</sup> Overuse of the past tense, *passé compose* (ex. j'ai eu mangé vs j'ai mangé – I have eaten).

<sup>170</sup> *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* – National Center for Scientific Research.

**Table 8.2 - Presentations JEG 2009**

<i>Pour une phonologie du gallo</i> – For a phonology of Gallo.	Jean-Pierre Angoujard, Université de Nantes
<i>L'enseignement du gallo auprès d'adultes: une demande émergente</i> – Teaching Gallo to adult learners : an increasing demand	Cristoff Simon, <i>Bertaèyn Galeizz</i>
<i>L'impact de l'apprentissage d'une langue régionale sur l'apprenant adulte et son entourage professionnel et familial</i> – The impact of learning a regional language on adult learners and on his / her professional and familial surrounding.	Claudie Malnoë-Motais, <i>Stumdi</i>
<i>L'enseignement du picard a-t-il commencé ?</i> – Has the acquisition of Picard started?	Jean-Michel Eloi, Université de Picardie, CEP
<i>Maupassant en gallo, le film</i> - Maupassant in Gallo, the movie.	Auguste Ferey, Association Gallo teachers
<i>L'outil audiovisuel au secours des langues de Bretagne</i> – Using broadcasting to save the languages of Brittany.	Samuel Julien, <i>Dizale</i>
<i>"Patois" des anciens et "gallo" des apprenants: quelques pistes pour limiter le hiatus</i> – The <i>patois</i> used by older speakers and the Gallo used by the learners : a few suggestions to avoid the hiatus.	Bèrtran Ôbrée, <i>Chubri</i>

The JEG are a set of panels on Gallo, which is presented as an extension of the larger linguistic colloquium<sup>171</sup> organized every other year. The meetings allow scholars and associations working and researching on the Gallo language to share the latest progress and methods developed in their field, for instance teaching methodologies in Gallo, writing systems, linguistic attitudes and practices, intergenerational transmission, as well as progress made in other *Oïl* languages.

Some of the subjects which were presented and discussed during the JEG 2007 in Nantes were published by the *Cahiers de Sociolinguistique N12* the same year, entitled *Autour du Gallo* with the contribution of Jean-Pierre Angoujard, Régis Auffray, Philippe

<sup>171</sup> JEL – *Journée d'Etudes Linguistiques* in collaboration with the Linguistic Research Group of the University of Nantes.

Blanchet, Thierry Bulot, Jean-Paul Chauveau, Gwendal Chevalier, Morgane Houdemont, André Le Coq Jahier, Francis Manzano, Bértran Ôbrée, and Christophe Simon.

As for the conference held in 2009 in Nantes, no publication appeared in the *Cahiers de Sociolinguistique*. After further research on the websites of the Université Rennes 2 and Blanchet's group CREDILIF, no conference has been planned for 2011. It is unclear as why this effort of promoting Gallo in the academic world seems to slow down. I argue that there might be less interest from the general public, nevertheless the growing diversity within the written forms of Gallo and disagreements over teaching methodologies are more likely to slow down academic research and discourage scholars' involvement.

#### 8.1.2 Different solutions for different population groups

For children, two recent events were organized last year<sup>172</sup> in the summer with the initiative of elementary school teachers of Gallo. The first summer camp was devoted to the theme 'Amuseriy dans les boés!'<sup>173</sup> for 8 to 12 year-olds in Plumieux, Côtes d'Armor (22) between July 12<sup>th</sup> and July 17<sup>th</sup>. The objective was to discover and practice Gallo, describe nature in the language, and learn about local legends and stories with people from the region. The second summer camp, 'Amuseriy a la mé!'<sup>174</sup>, took place in Pleneuf Val André, Côtes d'Armor (22) during a week between July 26<sup>th</sup> and August 1<sup>st</sup>. It was meant for children between the age of 7 and 11. Different activities were offered to learn and practice Gallo words and expressions while exploring the coast, the beach, and

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<sup>172</sup> 2009

<sup>173</sup> *Amusez-vous dans les bois!*, Have fun in the woods !

<sup>174</sup> *Amusez-vous à la mer!*, Have fun at the beach !

discovering legendary figures of the region. For both field trips, applications were available online, <http://assemblies-gallese.net>

On May, 3<sup>rd</sup> 2009, a workshop on Gallo was proposed by the association *Chubri* to learn basic words in Gallo and understand the variety spoken in the area of Fréhel<sup>175</sup>. In the summer 2009 in June, an introduction to Gallo phonology was offered entitled *un'estaij a Montrfi l'samdi 27 dë juin duran la Gallésie en fête - a stage*<sup>176</sup> at Monterfi on Saturday 27th of June during the Gallésie en fête<sup>177</sup>. Below is the announcement in Gallo followed by the translation in English.

Vou qnésée rën den l'galo, ou bën vou l'qaozée déjà vrae bën... Vou paisée a stë lang, vou lâz'enseignée, ou bën vou rasérée d'qae en Haott Brtèngn... Do la journée-si, j'vou propôzon d'vâer lé marq lé pu fameûzz dë la fonolojî du galo minzz a qlher parr lé z'etudd e l'z'analizz lé pu fréech fëtt<sup>178</sup>

you don't know anything about Gallo or you already speak it fluently...you are interested in this language, you are teaching it or you collect data in High-Brittany...This workshop introduces the main phonological characteristics of Gallo in the light of the most recent observations and analyses<sup>179</sup>.

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<sup>175</sup> Côtes d'Armor (22), North West of Rennes.

<sup>176</sup> Training

<sup>177</sup> Social events organized in June over a weekend to introduce Gallo culture and language to larger audience.

<sup>178</sup> Vous ne connaissez rien du gallo ou vous le parlez déjà couramment... Vous vous intéressez à cette langue, vous l'enseignez, ou vous faites du collectage en Haute-Bretagne... Cette journée vous propose d'aborder les principales caractéristiques de la phonologie du gallo sous l'éclairage des observations et analyses les plus récentes.

<sup>179</sup> [http://galo.lautre.net/ecriture/?exec=articles&id\\_article=33](http://galo.lautre.net/ecriture/?exec=articles&id_article=33)

The objective of these summer manifestations is to attract of large number of people, however workshops on Gallo phonology or linguistic are too specific and scholarly oriented to be presented during those festivities. The series of events organized every year in Monterfil – *La Gallésie en fête* - is an efficient way to get people to realize that Gallo culture and language are still alive through dances, songs, and tales. Although one can argue that it is a limited image of the language and culture of High-Brittany that is presented to the large audience, it does not help promoting the image of Gallo when linguistic discussions are often meant for a very specific group of individuals, scholars and university professors. It is essential to reach and inform individuals who do not use the speech community as Jones describes in the following terms:

Il est donc clair que, si les stratégies de planification identitaire vont réussir dans leur but de fournir une motivation pour la revitalisation du jèrriais, elles doivent aussi s'adresser à la communauté non-dialectophone (Jones & Bulot, 2009 : 35) - Thus, it is clear that if the strategies of identity planning will succeed to provide a motivation for the revitalization of Jèrriais, they must also address the non-dialectophone<sup>180</sup> community.

The first Gallo dictionary was published in 2007<sup>181</sup> by Régis Auffray. Only initiated circles are informed of its existence, restricting Gallo to its cultural and traditional aspects (music, dances, and songs). On the other end, ignoring the research conducted on language is not the best solution either. The Gallo language should be as equally present during summer manifestations as its cultural aspect, in a more accessible and simplified way so that the public can relate to it. For a language on the decline, the efforts are often

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<sup>180</sup> Individuals who are part of the larger community of Jersey but do not use the language.

<sup>181</sup> Before that glossaries and local lexicons were published.



misplaced or come at the wrong time. Here are a few examples: abstract the issue of standardization from its context, focus on speakers of the language only, and treat language maintenance planning separately from the concept of identity. Further in the discussion, I propose several suggestions to language maintenance or revitalization.

Other actions are taken to promote the Gallo language, one of the most traditional forms being data collecting, for instance the CD released by *Chubri* in December 2009 on recipes for *galettes*<sup>182</sup> or the project realized by the association *La Granjagoul*<sup>183</sup> in the summer 2009 on the practices and lexicon of different games of *palets*<sup>184</sup>. The recordings were made during actual games and tournaments of *palets*.

More radical actions have recently occurred. For instance the presence of Gallo on road signs, *Du galo su lé paniao*<sup>185</sup> was a project launched by a small group of Gallo speakers with the help of mayors from the region. In 2008, in response to the absence of Gallo in several cities of High-Brittany, the CBIL (*Coordination Bretagne Indépendante et Libertaire*)<sup>186</sup> decided to place bilingual signs at the entrance of 10 cities in the region of Lamballe and Saint-Brieuc: Saint-Brieuc / St-Berieu, Quessoy / Qhésoué, Yffiniac / Finia, Coëtmieux / Qoémieu, Noyal / Nouia, and Saint-Rieul / St-Rieu.

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<sup>182</sup> Breton crêpes

<sup>183</sup> Blend of *grange* (barn) and *goul*, sometimes written *goull*, *goule* (mouth also the ability to speak)

<sup>184</sup> A traditional game played in High-Brittany, equivalent of Bocce ball.

<sup>185</sup> It stands for 'Some Gallo on the signs' (<http://galo.lautre.net>)

<sup>186</sup> Coordination of an Independent and libertarian Brittany.

**Illustration 8.2 – Bilingual road signs in French and Gallo at the entrance of the city of Noyal<sup>187</sup>**



<http://galo.lautre.net/ecrire>

All these efforts show the active work achieved around the Gallo language. The ultimate purpose behind it is often unclear (unlike Jersey with Manx) and identity planning remains separated from the wider scheme of language revitalization. Most importantly, we notice several attempts to improve the revitalization techniques as it is the case with the survey on oral traditions conducted by the association *La Granjagoul* in the region of Parc . For the first time, this approach actively seeks the participation of the local population in the project and explicitly expresses the inevitable necessity to save and transmit the Gallo language and culture to younger generations. Among the objectives

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<sup>187</sup> Noyal is in the *d partement* of Ille-et-Vilaine.

mentioned above, the revitalization of the regional cultural life based on elements of the local heritage could serve as an inspiration for other villages and areas of High-Brittany:

La volonté de l'association est donc d'initier et d'accompagner une démarche de participation des habitants au travers un plan d'enquête et de collecte de la mémoire locale. Le fil conducteur sera la relation qu'ont entretenu ou entretiennent les habitants avec le centre bourg<sup>188</sup> – Thus, the will of the association is to initiate and guide an approach based on the participation of inhabitants via a survey and the collection of the local memory. The main theme will be the relationship that inhabitants have maintained or are maintaining with the village.

This method allows the association to meet and exchange with the local speakers when sharing and restituting local traditions and local history. This step is inevitable to value the regional identity of the speakers.

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<sup>188</sup> <http://lagranjagoul.e-monsite.com>

## 8.2 Planning identity

### 8.2.1 The crucial role of school: what kind of school?

Besides the different workshops (short-term and long-term professional training programs) proposed to larger audiences by the associations, the work of *Dihun* in particular contributes to promoting the acquisition of the Breton and / or Gallo languages at an early age. This association of parents, with a strong Breton-speaking background, is convinced of the advantages of bilingualism and multilingualism. The objective of *Dihun* is to introduce bilingualism in Breton or Gallo and French along with the acquisition of a third language - for instance English - following the guidelines of the *Programme Multilingue Breton*<sup>189</sup>. The diversity in the pedagogical materials used for teaching methods in Gallo (videos, audio files) becomes an asset for children in kindergarten and elementary school as they acquire the language in a more natural and immersive way.

On June 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> 2010, *Dihun* proposes an international colloquium under the theme *Quelle politique linguistique pour la Bretagne du 21ème siècle?*<sup>190</sup> The objective is to show that the linguistic policy for Brittany is not limited to the Breton and Gallo languages. This approach allows children to have access to multiple languages, French, English and a fourth language in Junior High, and their acquisition is based on linguistic immersion.

The Artigal method is already being applied in kindergarten and in a few elementary schools, for instance in Sérent<sup>191</sup>. Immersion programs must be rapidly implemented in

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<sup>189</sup> PMB, the Breton Multilingual Program focuses on the acquisition of three languages based on the Artigal method (chapter 2, 2.5).

<sup>190</sup> What kind of linguistic policy for 21<sup>st</sup> century Brittany?

<sup>191</sup> In Morbihan, explanation in an interview with a teacher on [www.dihun.com](http://www.dihun.com)

elementary school and later on in the curriculum in order to reach a stable and continuous transmission process in school. *Dihun* started offering that option in Catholic schools, but this approach is almost inexistent in the public school system of Brittany. For instance, the association of parents *Div Yezh*<sup>192</sup> supports immersive teaching methods in the public school system, however they does not represent a majority. It is important to establish a dialogue with older generations. In some cases, classes are asked to collect Gallo expressions or words among family members and neighbors, so that the young learners are aware of the existence of the Gallo language in their immediate environment:

il faut éviter la moquerie et la dévalorisation de la langue...faire intégrer le fait que le gallo n'est pas un truc affreux – we have to avoid mockery and depreciation of the language...need to understand that Gallo is not a awful thing (N, 17, M, 23:55, Sérent)

That way, it reduces negative attitudes towards the language and its speakers by creating a sense of awareness of the local identity among younger learners within the speech community.

### 8.2.2 How to change identity

In this section, I reiterate the reasons for which Jones's work on Jersey Norman French spoken on the island of Jersey is of great interest for the current study and used as a framework to explain the planning process needed for Gallo and predict the outcomes based on the findings. Both linguistic communities present common characteristics: issues with language standardization, negative attitudes towards the language, the role of school and associations, and transmission.

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<sup>192</sup> Parents association in favor of bilingual language programs.

First of all, Gallo, like Jersiais, is no longer spoken as a native language and a very low number of the population can still speak it fluently (less than 5% for Gallo and 3.2% for Jersey). Furthermore, the negative relationship between the language and identity generates a feeling of shame and progressively led to the decline of language use, as it was the case for the Jersiais language in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. After analyzing the results, it is noticeable that a significant percent of young Gallo learners feel ‘Gallo’ to some extent or express positive reactions towards the Gallo identity. Jones notes a similar tendency among the Jersey population. Therefore, if the language does not constitute an element of the regional identity, what are the main characteristics of identity?

Aujourd’hui, la très grande majorité des Jersiais de souche n’ont aucune connaissance du jèrriais et vivent leur vie entièrement en anglais. D’où une question : en quoi constituent les traits saillants de l’identité jersiaise contemporaine ? (Jones & Bulot, 2009: 27)

Today, the vast majority of the traditional Jersey population has no knowledge of Jèrriais and people live their entire life in English. Hence the following question: what constitutes the salient features of the contemporary Jersey identity?

In order to understand the way the planning of Jersey identity functions and which elements serve as a milestone, we must first consider the different goals that were elaborated to carry out the project. Three distinct and interdependent objectives were taken into account: (1) the modification of perceptions towards the dialect, (2) the creation of a solidarity movement among speakers which is the mission of the association *L’Assemblée d’Jèrriais*<sup>193</sup>, and (3) the reinforcement of the existence of a Jersey identity

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<sup>193</sup> The Assembly of Jersiais

among individuals who are not part of the speech community. The *Section de la Langue Jèrriaise*<sup>194</sup> adopts a more academic approach and encourages the participation of members who don't speak the language. Both groups aim at different categories of individuals, *L'Assemblée d'Jèrriais* places the emphasis on the idea of none exclusion among dialect users, even individuals who do not actively practice the language (*les dialectophones*). The *Section de la Langue Jèrriaise* strongly favors the participation of Jersey inhabitants from outside of the Jersey speech community (*les non-dialectophones*) to help with the language planning process:

Toutefois, la *Section* encourage la participation des Jersiais non-dialectophones...dont l'appui est essentiel pour le mouvement de revitalisation (Jones & Bulot, 2009 : 30) – Yet, the *Section* encourages the participation of none dialectophone Jersiais individuals...whose support is essential for the revitalization movement.

It is important to reach out for 'none active' members of the speech community to reshape identity in a positive way. The focus should be placed on this group since they usually outnumber the remaining speakers and live within the speech community.

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<sup>194</sup> The Section of the Jersiais language

### 8.2.3 Facing realities

Schools offering regional language courses alone cannot miraculously stop the decline of the language and reestablish intergenerational transmission. Nevertheless, school represents the only possible link between generations to reduce negative stereotypes and attitudes, and urge children to build a linguistic and cultural awareness within the linguistic community:

il vaut toujours la peine de (ré)introduire une variété à l'école même quand une campagne de revitalisation 'proprement dite' n'a que de faibles chances de réussir (Jones & Bulot, 2009 : 31) – It is always worth re-introducing a variety at school even when the 'so-called' revitalization campaign has a few chances to succeed.

The actors within the speech community always have to keep in mind that the revitalization measures have no immediate effect on the endangered language, but this should not prevent them from persisting in informing all the members of the community. A third element often determines the future of the process, thus the linguistic attitude of language users is essential to make visible a positive image of the language:

Les revitalisateurs ont également dû reconnaître que la réussite de la planification identitaire dépend, en grande mesure, de l'attitude des dialectophones (Jones & Bulot, 2009: 35) – Language promoters also had to acknowledge that the success of identity planning largely depends on the speakers' attitude.

Diversity in linguistic strategies may alter the goals and slow down the standardization procedure. One option is to value the Gallo language as a variety distinct from French and the alternative promotes the knowledge and acquisition of the language through the understanding of its relationship with French roots and lineage.



Recent reactions to help preserving the language and positive concepts associated with the language expressed by younger as well as by older Gallo respondents foreshadow promising outcomes in language planning (even though some of them mentioned stigmatized statements related to their childhood).

Finally, Gallo needs to reconnect with and rethink the past to show its roots via literary works (from other *Oïl* languages) so that it can claim a unique identity. The following quote from Jones summarizes the situation observed for Jersey and Gallo:

La planification identitaire doit donc assurer que la communauté linguistique jèrriaise peut s'associer avec sa lignée linguistique par la mise en évidence de ses racines (Jones & Bulot, 2009 : 33) – Thus, identity planning must assure that the Jersey linguistic community can relate to its linguistic lineage highlighting its roots.

To carry through this project, the speech community needs the participation of non active members as a supplementary support throughout the different language planning steps. Most importantly, elitism and exclusion should be avoided. The key relies on convincing people outside of the community (Breton speakers and none dialect speakers) that the notion of otherness - something different from the standard language and culture - is an asset and complements the dominant culture. Success depends on how well the linguistic element of identity is perceived by none speakers. They, too, have an impact on the future of identity planning. Older speakers need to be convinced, also, that adopting the local or regional identity does not mean losing their dominant identity. This stage might be one of the most ambitious ones:

la planification identitaire à Jersey doit également les convaincre (ou du moins les rassurer) que (ré)embrasser l'identité jersiaise ne signifie pas

perdre leur identité plus large (Jones & Bulot, 2009 : 35) – Identity planning in Jersey must convince them<sup>195</sup> (or at least reassure them) that re-adopting the Jersey identity does not mean losing their more global identity’.

For this group of informants - group 1, older speakers in the current study - it is probably easier to identify themselves to the more modern and respectable Gallo in order to accept the inevitable preservation of the language as an inherent feature of the reconstructed Gallo identity.

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<sup>195</sup> Older speakers of Jersey

### **8.3 Limitations and further research**

#### **8.3.1 Limitations**

This study does not give a definite and fixed picture of the changes the Gallo community is going through. However, it truly reflects the status of the language and its speakers' perception of identity and representations at the time of fieldwork in Brittany (summer 2009). Nevertheless, the low number of informants in the second group (students/young speakers) could originate drawbacks for the analysis of this study. One explication is the limited amount of time, the lack of contact and a few sources. When dealing with language identity and representations, the researcher need to have a large number of informants to be able to represent the community's expectations about the maintenance and revitalization of their language. I think that even though the total number of informants for this research is low, it is still possible to draw several conclusions from the results. First several findings from previous studies (Nolan, 2008) were confirmed regarding topics such as transmission, practices and identity. Others results were unexpected as discussed in the section below.

#### **8.3.2 Further research**

The first result expected from the questionnaires and interviews was the dissociation between the language and regional identity as an expression of non-necessity to speak Gallo to identify oneself as a Breton or as a member of the Breton community. I also expected negative reactions regarding the transmission of the language to younger generations as it was shown with findings from group 1 in chapter 7, one of the reasons

being the reluctance to accept the variety of Gallo taught at school and its divergence from a more traditional form of Gallo.

Thirdly, passive involvement in the revitalization process from both groups: group 1 shows no interest and informants from group 2, who are taking Gallo courses, do not pursue their acquisition of the language and understanding of the culture (except for a few cases who take Gallo at the Université Rennes 2). The variety of representations of the language found during the study was also expected. For instance, when asked which terms they associated with Gallo, most informants across both groups selected similar concepts to express their representation of Gallo as a none modern language that is not transmitted outside of school and easily associated with shame and backwardness (section 7.1.3).

However, what was not expected was the acknowledgement by younger speakers/learners of their Gallo identity. Even though this group is not active in the language revitalization effort, they are generally in favor of it. When asked to react to the statement ‘Gallo is part of my identity like French’, 78.6% of informants from group 2 answered positively. It is interesting to notice that most of those students (besides rare exceptions) were never exposed to the Gallo culture as intensely as their grand-parents were. Therefore, they do not have this intimate relationship with the language that older generations have been cultivating along all these years. I now mention the contradictory results that appear in Table 7.2 where both groups were asked to associate a list of terms with Gallo (friendly, identity, rural, family, home, to be comfortable): 46.2% of informants from group 1 and 79.3% informants from group 2 associated the term identity to the Gallo language. I think

that in this case the first group might have related the term identity to the notion of cultural heritage.

The question is not worded exactly in the same way as in the previous statement ‘Gallo is part of my identity like French’ (section 7.1.1). On the one hand, placing the words Gallo and French in the same sentence - thus presented as linguistically equal - might have altered the informants’ responses, which explains why 50% from group 1 chose that option since they naturally consider Gallo as being inferior to French. On the other end, the high percent of answers for that question from group 2 manifests a change in mentalities which could lead to a change in the representations of Gallo coming from younger generations.

Originally, a third questionnaire was intended to interview Breton speakers living in Eastern Brittan to record their impression of Gallo language and culture and its revitalization process. This aspect of the research would help collecting external reactions to the Gallo community from informants whose speech community underwent similar revitalization issues (orthographic systems, transmission, and identity) a few decades ago. This would be a comparative study to complete the results collected in 2009 with a set of informants selected from main Breton associations around Rennes such as *Stumdi*.

The objective would be to show whether or not Breton speakers (directly/actively involved in the promotion of Gallo culture) have similar representations of Breton and Gallo regarding language revitalization. Ultimately, research interests would be focused around two major questions whether the two speech communities are at the same stage in

language planning or not and do they benefit from regional and public recognition in identical ways.

Research on the language itself is also a necessity to better understand its linguistics and demonstrate its complexity and richness in a scientific way, reducing negative stereotypes attached to it. Recently, a Master student in language studies at the Université de Nantes defended her thesis on the negation in Gallo: *De la négation en gallo: le cas de aoqhun*<sup>196</sup>.

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<sup>196</sup> About the negation in Gallo: the case of *aoqhun* (none). This Masters' thesis was presented in Nantes in July 2010.

## 8.4 Conclusion

To maintain and revitalize an endangered language, it is first necessary to rethink positively the relationship between language and identity to secure its future, and acknowledge the existence of the linguistic variety to facilitate the process of standardization. These stages can only be reached if a dialogue is established among associations, older speakers, learners (adults and children) and neighboring speech communities. Adult learners should get involved in the transmission process with the help of associations along with none-active members of the speech community and younger learners should be encouraged to participate into the cultural and associative life of local Gallo speakers. The Gallo language has yet to overcome a few challenges. There is a necessity to develop bilingual and immersion programs for young learners via the adoption of a model, for instance the Breton immersion program, to teach Gallo in public schools. As mentioned earlier, only the private educational sector in Brittany has developed immersion language programs.

Let's briefly refer to the Manx language<sup>197</sup> teaching methodologies which were offered to the Jersey speech community. After positive results for the Jersey language, these methodologies were in turn offered and passed on to other linguistic communities such as Norman, Guernsey, and even Gallo (Jones & Bulot, 2009: 67). The cases of Manx and Jersey demonstrate that immersion language programs are the only sincere efforts towards a complete or almost complete instruction in the minority language. So far, optional courses of Gallo emphasize on oral practice, conversations, songs, and games.

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<sup>197</sup> A Celtic language spoken on the Island of Man.

More time should be devoted to the written language and reading. As it was shown in the case of Jersey, two factors accelerated the planning process. Parents got involved and accepted to send their children to schools offering Jersey. As a result, the language was integrated into the citizenship program:

les parents ont fait pression pour accentuer l'apprentissage de l'usage de la langue écrite et de la lecture [...] le jersiais est intégré dans le programme de citoyenneté, c'est-à-dire que tout élève dans le système scolaire de Jersey doit comprendre que le jersiais est un symbole de Jersey et l'une des valeurs communes du citoyen. (Jones & Bulot, 2009: 65, 66) – Parents put pressure to emphasize the use of the written language and reading [...] Jersey is part of the citizenship program, namely all students in the school system of Jersey must understand that Jersey is a symbol of Jersey and one of the common values of a citizen.

Education in a minority language not only involves learning the language both through its oral and written forms, but also accepting its values and the diversity by which the language expresses identity and remains a common phenomenon even among members of the same group: 'Pour transmettre une identité, ces symboles doivent forcément être très visibles à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du groupe' (Jones & Bulot, 2009: 19) – To transmit identity, these symbols<sup>198</sup> must inevitably be very visible inside and outside the group.

Safran (1999) in his paper on *Nationalism* (Fishman, Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity) offers a discussion on the role of languages in national identity and exposes the reasons why certain nations deliberately support minority languages (ex. Finland) while others don't pay that much attention to linguistic minority rights (ex. France). In the

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<sup>198</sup> For instance, territory, religion, clothing, customs, and blood.



formation of the French nation, language has served different purposes. Before the Revolution, the French language served to provide religious instruction. Later on, it was considered as the ideal form of expression to communicate Republican ideas. Today, French remains the main element of France's unity. In the Jacobin's vision, political values and commitment are easier to share with a common language. Therefore, being French and being included in the community is achieved through the mastery of the language as 'the French language *is* the French nation' (Safran, 1999: 78). In other European nations, nationality is not only dependent on language. For instance, in Switzerland, unity is held by economy rather than language and in the case of Spain and the United-Kingdom, common traditions and economic interest contribute to the feelings of nationalism. For linguistic minorities such as Gallo, Breton, Basque or Catalan language recognition was denied and rejected for a long as it was in opposition to the Jacobin's doctrine: 'In some cases, such as Breton, children were penalized by state authorities for using their "ethnic" language on school grounds' (Safran, 1999: 84). For all speakers, the relationship between their language and identity describes one reality of the outside world. Thus, the speaker of Gallo uses his language to describe his environment and the relationship to the land: 'Language serves as an important instrument for protecting collective identity and communal cohesion. It is important because it marks the "at-homeness" of a people threatened by cultural homogenization' (Safran, 1999: 80).

In this research, I have shown that the Gallo community is going through significant changes in the perceptions of the preservation of its language. We observe an emergence

of a community's sense of identity from younger speakers and a switch in their attitudes. All the elements are present, but a few internal battles are left to win: the development of immersion programs at school based on the Jersey model, the acceptance of diversity in language and identity (and surpass the ongoing disagreements over different writing systems and elitism), the emphasis on younger – older speakers exchanges while reaching out for outsiders, the integration of the linguistic element into the reshaping of identity to express diversity in the reality of the outside world and the official recognition of Gallo as an endangered language. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of the *Atlas des langues en danger*<sup>199</sup>, the UNESCO has listed Gallo as a seriously endangered language. It is the first time that Gallo is mentioned in the Atlas, thus increasing the importance of its maintenance and the maintenance of minority languages in general:

‘Le gallo est classé « sérieusement en danger ». Cette fois-ci, l’atlas est présenté sous forme numérique, ce qui permettra des mises à jour régulières’ ([www.chubri.org](http://www.chubri.org)) – Gallo is classified as ‘seriously endangered’. This time, the atlas has a digital version which will allow regular updates.

Gallo has not yet been officially recognized as a minority language by the European Union under the terms of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. For a very long time, unity and standardization was the only ‘true’ way to describe the world, leaving aside regional expressions of culture. The objective is to show that vernacular varieties are not the expression of the dominant discourse, and unlike preconceived beliefs, they don’t go against it, they complete it. The ‘re-education’ of the

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<sup>199</sup> Atlas of Endangered Languages.

Gallo community starts with understanding diversity and embracing multilingualism and multiculturalism. Other important steps would help Gallo become a fully recognized regional and minority language in France and in Europe:

- (1) Language planning movement (teachers, educators, associations, language promoters) must provide a clear and valuable description of the language so that it can progressively detach itself from the stigmatized image and stereotypes it is often subject to;
- (2) Gallo is related to French and this linguistic and historical relationship must be shown, but the Gallo language and culture should not be restricted to the world of farming;
- (3) The use of dictionaries, glossaries and recent publications should make Gallo more public and reduce misunderstanding;
- (4) There is an urgent need for a standardized form for school materials, language programs, publications, and recognition;
- (5) Finally, a change in attitudes from the state and French population at large would reinforce its promotion.

The steps listed above lead towards the same objective, to help Gallo gain moral authority within and outside the linguistic community. In the last few years, the Gallo community has shown a sincere effort to promote the language and has succeeded in introducing the language to a larger audience in Brittany including the Western part of the region. The presence of Gallo at school and the vitality among Gallo speakers and language educators to promote the language variety should be an inspiration to the neighboring minority language speakers in the process of language revitalization.

## **Appendix A**

### **Questionnaire for group 1**

#### **1. Informations générales**

1.1 Nom et prénom

1.2 Votre adresse email

1.3 Age

1.4 Sexe

1.5 Lieu de naissance

1.6 Lieu de naissance de vos parents

1.7 Dans quel(le) village/ville habitez-vous?

1.8 Profession

1.9 Lieu de travail

1.10 Votre âge quand vous avez commencé à travailler

1.11 Avez-vous séjourné dans une autre région?

Oui

Non

1.12 Si oui, laquelle/lesquelles?

1.13 Pendant combien de temps y avez-vous habité?

#### **2. Pratiques**

2.1 Quelle(s) langue(s) est/sont utilisée(s) dans la région où vous habitez?

2.2 Existe-t-il différentes variétés locales dans votre région?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

2.3 Si oui, lesquelles?

2.4 Ces variétés sont-elles utilisées dans d'autres villes ou parties de la région/département?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

2.5 Si oui, précisez où.

2.6 Quelle(s) langue(s) avez-vous apprise(s) à la maison?

2.7 Au début de votre scolarité quelle(s) langue(s) connaissiez-vous?

2.8 Quel âge aviez-vous quand vous avez appris votre seconde langue?

2.9 Où et avec qui avez-vous appris votre seconde langue?

2.10 Quand vous étiez enfant, le gallo était-il utilisé à l'école?

2.11 Si oui, par qui?

2.12 Quand vous étiez plus jeune, le gallo était-il enseigné à l'école?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

2.13 Le gallo était-il enseigné au collège?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

2.14 Le gallo était-il enseigné à l'université?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

2.15 Avez-vous étudié le gallo pendant votre scolarité?

Oui

Non

2.16 Si oui, pour quelle(s) raison(s)?

2.17 Et dans quelle(s) classe(s) ?

2.18 Dans l'ensemble, est-ce que la connaissance du gallo vous a aidé pendant vos études?

Oui

Non

Pas d'avis

2.19 Quand vous étiez enfant, où est-ce que vous entendiez parler plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable **N/A**?

à l'église

**gallo français**

**N/A**

à l'école

**gallo français**

**N/A**

à la maison

**gallo français**

**N/A**

aux magasins

**gallo français**

**N/A**

aux réunions de famille

**gallo français**

**N/A**

autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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précisez

2.20 Est-ce que vous parliez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable N/A

avec

vos/votre parents	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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vos grands-parents	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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vos/votre frères/sœurs	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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vos voisins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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votre enseignant	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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vos amis	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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vos camarades de classe	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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des étrangers	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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2.21 Toujours enfant, est-ce que vous parliez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**,

(c) inapplicable N/A?

à l'église	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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à l'école	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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à la maison	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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aux magasins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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aux réunions de famille	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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précisez

2.22 Plus âgé(e), où est-ce que vous entendiez parler plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**,

(c) inapplicable N/A?

à l'école	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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à la maison	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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aux magasins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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aux réunions de famille	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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à l'église	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
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précisez

2.23 A cette époque, est-ce que vous parliez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**,  
(c) inapplicable **N/A** avec

vos/votre parents	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos/votre frères/sœurs	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos voisins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos amis	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos collègues	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
votre époux/se	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos/votre enfants	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos grands-parents	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
des étrangers	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>

2.24 A la même époque, est-ce que vous parliez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**,  
(c) inapplicable **N/A**?

à l'école	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à la maison	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux magasins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux réunions de famille	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à l'église	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
précisez			

2.25 Aujourd'hui, est-ce que vous entendez parler plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**,  
(c) inapplicable **N/A**?

à l'église	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à la maison	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux magasins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux réunions de famille	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
au travail	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>

autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
précisez			

2.26 Aujourd'hui, est-ce que vous parlez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable **N/A** avec

des étrangers	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos/votre parents	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos/votre frères/sœurs	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos voisins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos amis	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos collègues	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
votre époux/se	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos/votre enfants	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>

2.27 Est-ce que vous parlez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable **N/A**?

à l'église	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à la maison	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux magasins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux réunions de famille	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
au travail	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
précisez			

2.28 Faites-vous partie d'un club ou association local(e) (sport, musique, art...) ?

Oui	Non
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2.29 Si oui, lequel/lesquels/laquelle/lesquelles?

2.30 Est-ce qu'on y parle le gallo ou le français ?

Gallo	Français	Les deux	Autres
précisez			



2.31 Aujourd'hui, y a-t-il d'autres domaines ou activités dans lesquels vous utilisez le gallo ?

Oui

Non

2.32 Si oui, lesquels ?

### 3. Représentations et identité

3.1 Selon vous, est-ce qu'il est important que le gallo soit enseigné aux générations plus jeunes ?

Oui

Non

Pas d'avis

3.2 Souhaitez-vous que vos enfants parlent

a) français uniquement      Oui      Non      Pas d'avis

b) français et gallo      Oui      Non      Pas d'avis

c) français et une autre langue      Oui      Non      Pas d'avis

précisez quelle langue

3.3 Souhaitez-vous que vos petits-enfants parlent

a) français uniquement      Oui      Non      Pas d'avis

b) français et gallo      Oui      Non      Pas d'avis

c) français et une autre langue      Oui      Non      Pas d'avis

précisez quelle langue

3.4 Pensez-vous que le gallo doit être préservé ?

(1 ) Oui

(2 ) Non

(3 ) Pas d'avis

3.5 Pensez-vous que le gallo sera préservé ?

(1 ) Oui

(2 ) Non

(3 ) Pas d'avis

3.6 Pensez-vous qu'il soit important d'enseigner le gallo à l'école primaire ?

(1 ) Oui

(2 ) Non

(3 ) Pas d'avis

3.7 A l'école primaire, l'apprentissage du gallo devrait être

(1 ) Obligatoire

(2 ) facultatif

(3 ) Pas d'avis

3.8 Au collège, l'apprentissage du gallo devrait être

(1 ) Obligatoire

(2 ) facultatif

(3 ) Pas d'avis

3.9 Au lycée, l'apprentissage du gallo devrait être

(1 ) Obligatoire      (2 ) facultatif      (3 ) Pas d'avis

3.10 Dans l'ensemble êtes-vous favorable l'enseignement de la langue gallèse en primaire, collège, lycée ?

Favorable      Pas favorable      Indifférent

Dites pourquoi si vous le désirez

3.11 Savez-vous s'il existe une filière pour l'étude du gallo au niveau universitaire dans votre région ?

Oui      Non      Je ne sais pas

3.12 Est-ce que vous y êtes/seriez favorable ?

Favorable      Pas favorable      Indifférent

Pourquoi ?

3.13 Pensez-vous qu'il devrait y avoir plus de programmes radio en gallo ?

Oui      Non      Pas d'avis

Pourquoi ?

3.14 Pensez-vous qu'il devrait y avoir plus de programmes télé en gallo ?

Oui      Non      Pas d'avis

Pourquoi ?

3.15 Le gallo devrait-il apparaître sur tous les panneaux de signalisation de la région ?

Oui      Non      Pas d'avis

3.16 Pensez-vous que parler/comprendre le gallo est une bonne chose ?

Oui      Non      Pas d'avis

3.17 Pour vous connaître le gallo, c'est:

un avantage      un désavantage      Pas d'avis

3.18 Est-il nécessaire de parler/comprendre le gallo pour un membre de la communauté gallèse ?

Oui      Non

Expliquez

3.19 Pour quelle(s) raison(s) pensez-vous que le gallo est moins parlé de nos jours ?

(1 ) Le gallo n'est pas moderne

(2 ) Le gallo n'est pas transmis aux nouvelles générations

(3 ) Le gallo n'aide pas pour trouver un travail

(4 ) Les gens qui parlent gallo sont mal perçus

(5 ) Le gallo n'est pas une vraie langue

(6 ) Les gallésants préfèrent parler français

(7 ) Les gallésants préfèrent parler breton

3.20 Je suis fier/fière de savoir parler/pouvoir comprendre le gallo

absolument d'accord      d'accord      pas d'accord      absolument pas d'accord  
pas d'avis

3.21 Je suis fier/fière de savoir parler français

absolument d'accord      d'accord      pas d'accord      absolument pas d'accord  
pas d'avis

3.22 Est-il possible de maîtriser le gallo et le français en même temps ?

Oui                      Non

3.23 Quelle situation vous correspond le mieux ?

Le gallo est une part importante de mon identité

Le gallo fait partie de mon identité tout comme le français

Le gallo n'est pas important pour mon identité

3.24 Quelle est votre identité première

française      gallèse      bretonne

3.25 Un monde sans gallo serait/aurait

(1 ) triste (2 ) une possibilité (3 ) plus riche (4 ) plus moderne (5 ) impossible

(6 ) arriéré (7 ) bien (8 ) plus pratique (9 ) un endroit solitaire (10 ) quelque chose en moins

3.26 Associez-vous les termes suivants à la langue gallèse ?

(1 ) la maison (2 ) officiel (3 ) amical (4 ) être à l'aise (5 ) étranger

(6 ) la religion (7 ) arrogant (8 ) rural (9 ) le futur (10 ) l'identité (11 ) urbain (12 ) l'amour (13 ) la haine (14 ) la famille

3.27 A quoi reconnaissez-vous un breton(ne) quand il/elle parle ?

3.28 La Bretagne est-elle représentée par des langues, des dialectes, des patois ?

Oui                      Non                      Pas d'avis

3.29 Si oui, lesquels ?

3.30 Pour vous, le gallo est-il associé à la Bretagne ?

Oui                      Non                      Pas d'avis

3.31 Y a-t-il des patois, des langues ou des parlers locaux qui ressemblent au gallo ?

Oui                      Non                      Pas d'avis

3.32 Si oui, lesquels ?

#### **4. Pratiques linguistiques (individuelles)**

4.1 Quelle était la première langue utilisée pour la compréhension (conversation) ?

**Gallo                      Français                      Les deux                      Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.2 Quelle était la première langue parlée en conversation ?

**Gallo                      Français                      Les deux                      Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.3 Quelle était la première langue utilisée pour la lecture ?

**Gallo                      Français                      Les deux                      Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.4 Quelle était la première langue utilisée pour l'écriture ?

**Gallo                      Français                      Les deux                      Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.5 Quelle était la langue la plus fréquemment parlée à la maison ?

**Gallo                      Français                      Les deux                      Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.6 Quelle était la langue la plus fréquemment lue à la maison ?

**Gallo                      Français                      Les deux                      Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.7 Quelle était la langue la plus fréquemment écrite à la maison ?

**Gallo                      Français                      Les deux                      Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.8 Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment parlée entre collègues de travail ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Autre</b>
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Précisez quelle langue

4.9 Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment utilisée pour s'adresser à un supérieur ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Autre</b>
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Précisez quelle langue

4.10 Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment utilisée avec des clients ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Autre</b>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------

Précisez quelle langue

4.11 Quelle est la langue la plus appréciée pour bavarder ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Autre</b>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------

Précisez quelle langue

4.12 Langue utilisée par le prêtre pendant son sermon ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Je ne sais pas</b>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------------

4.13 Langue utilisée pour une prière silencieuse ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Je ne sais pas</b>
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4.14 Langue utilisée pendant les services religieux ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Je ne sais pas</b>
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4.15 Je parle gallo

(1 ) couramment (2 ) bien (3 ) pas trop mal (4 ) un peu (5 ) pas du tout

4.16 Je peux comprendre une conversation en gallo

(1 ) très bien (2 ) plutôt bien (3 ) pas très bien (4 ) pas du tout

4.17 Je peux lire en gallo

(1 ) très bien (2 ) plutôt bien (3 ) pas très bien (4 ) pas du tout

4.18 Je peux écrire en gallo

(1 ) très bien (2 ) plutôt bien (3 ) pas très bien (4 ) pas du tout

4.19 J'écoute des programmes radio en langue gallèse

(1 ) tous les jours (2 ) souvent (3 ) parfois (4 ) rarement (5 ) jamais

4.20 Lequel/lesquels ?

4.21 Je regarde des émissions à la télé en langue gallèse

(1 ) tous les jours (2 ) souvent (3 ) parfois (4 ) rarement (5 ) jamais

4.22 Laquelle/lesquelles ?

## **Questionnaire for group 1 (translation)**

### **1.1 General information**

- 1.1 First and last names
- 1.2 Email address
- 1.3 Age
- 1.4 Sex
- 1.5 Place of birth
- 1.6 Parents: birthplace
- 1.7 Where do you live?
- 1.8 Profession
- 1.9 Work place
- 1.10 How old were you when you started working?
- 1.11 Have you lived in different region?
- 1.12 If so, which one(s)?
- 1.13 For how long?

### **2. Practices**

- 2.1 What is/are the language(s) spoken in your region?
- 2.2 Are there different local varieties in your region?  
Yes      No      I don't know
- 2.3 If so, which one(s)?
- 2.4 Are these varieties used in other cities or other parts of the region/department?  
Yes      No      I don't know
- 2.5 If so, name a few examples
- 2.6 Which language(s) have you learned at home?
- 2.7 When you started school, which language(s) did you know?
- 2.8 How old were you when you started learning your second language?
- 2.9 Where and with whom did you learn it?
- 2.10 When you were a child, was Gallo used at school?

- Yes      No      I don't know
- 2.11 If so, who would use it?
- 2.12 When you were younger, was Gallo taught at school?
- Yes      No      I don't know
- 2.13 Was Gallo taught in middle school?
- Yes      No      I don't know
- 2.14 Was Gallo taught in College?
- Yes      No      I don't know
- 2.15 Have you learned Gallo at school?
- Yes      No
- 2.16 If so, why?
- 2.17 In which classe(s)?
- 2.18 Overall, do you think knowing Gallo helped you at school?
- Yes      No      I don't know
- 2.19 When you were a child, where would you more often hear (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A?  
at home; at school; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other
- 2.20 Would you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A with your  
parents; grandparents; teacher; friends; siblings; neighbors; classmates; strangers
- 2.21 Would you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A  
at home; at school; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other
- 2.22 When you were older, where would you more often hear (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A?  
at home; at school; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other
- 2.23 At that time, would you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A  
with your parents; grandparents; spouse; children; friends; siblings; neighbors;  
colleagues; strangers
- 2.24 Would you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A  
at home; at school; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other
- 2.25 Today where do you more often hear (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A?



at home; at work; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other

2.26 Do you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A with your parents; grandparents; spouse; children; friends; siblings; neighbors; colleagues; strangers

2.27 Now do you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A

at home; at work; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other

2.28 Are you a member of a local club/association (sport, music, art...)?

Yes No

2.29 If so, which one(s)?

2.30 What language is used there?

Gallo French Both Other

2.31 Today do you use Gallo in other domains or activities?

2.32 If so, which one(s)?

### 3. Representations and identity

3.1 Do you think it is important to teach Gallo to younger generations?

Yes No I don't know

3.2 Do you want your children to speak?

French only YES NO I don't know

French and Gallo YES NO I don't know

French and another language YES NO I don't know

Which one?

3.3 Do you want your grandchildren to speak?

French only YES NO I don't know

French and Gallo YES NO I don't know

French and another language YES NO I don't know

Which one?

3.4 Do you think Gallo should be preserved?

YES NO I don't know

3.5 Do you think Gallo will be preserved?

YES NO I don't know

3.6 Is it important to you that Gallo is taught in elementary schools?

YES NO I don't know

3.7 Should the study of Gallo be compulsory in elementary school?

Compulsory Optional I don't know

3.8 Should the study of Gallo be compulsory in middle school?

Compulsory Optional I don't know

3.9 Should the study of Gallo be compulsory in high school?

Compulsory Optional I don't know

3.10 In general, are you in favor of offering Gallo language courses in elementary schools, middle schools and high schools?

In favor Not in favor Indifferent

Explain why if you want

3.11 Do you know if there is a program for the study of Gallo in College in your region?

Yes No I don't know

3.12 Are you/would you be in favor of it?

In favor Not in favor Indifferent

3.13 Should there be more radio programs in Gallo language?

YES NO I don't know

3.14 Should there be more TV programs in Gallo language?

YES NO I don't know

3.15 Should Gallo be featured on all regional road signs?

YES NO I don't know

3.16 Do you think speaking/understanding Gallo is a good thing?

YES NO I don't know

3.17 According to you, knowing Gallo is...

an advantage a disadvantage I don't know

3.18 Is it necessary to speak/understand Gallo to be a member of the Gallo community?

YES NO

3.19 Why do you think Gallo is less spoken these days?

Gallo is not modern

Gallo is not passed on to younger generations

Gallo is not helpful on the job market

Gallo speakers have it harder in school

Gallo is not a real language

Gallo speakers rather speak French

Gallo speakers rather speak Breton

3.20 I am proud to be able to speak/understand Gallo

I strongly agree; I agree; I don't know; I disagree; I strongly disagree

3.21 I am proud to be a French speaker

I strongly agree; I agree; I don't know; I disagree; I strongly disagree

3.22 Is it possible to be a Gallo speaker and French speaker at the same time?

YES NO

3.23 Which of the following situation applies to you?

Gallo is an important part of my identity

Gallo is part of my identity like French

Gallo is not important for my identity

3.24 How do you primarily identify yourself?

French Breton Gallo

3.25 A world without Gallo would be....(you can select several answers)

sad; a possibility; richer; more modern; impossible; lacking something; backwards;

something good; more practical; a lonely place

3.26 Please tell us how strongly you associate the following places and terms with speaking French:

YES NO I don't know

Home official

Friendly cozy

Foreign religion

Arrogant rural

Future identity

Urban love

Hate                family

3.27 How do you recognize a Breton when he/she speaks?

3.28 Is Brittany represented by languages, dialects or *patois*?

YES                NO                I don't know

3.29 If so, which ones?

3.30 Is Gallo associated with Brittany?

YES                NO                I don't know

3.31 Are there languages or local varieties which resemble Gallo?

Yes    No    I don't know

3.32 If so, which ones?

#### **4. Linguistic practices (individual)**

4.1 First language used for oral comprehension (conversation)?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.2 First language spoken in conversation?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.3 First language used for reading (newspapers/books)?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.4 First language used for writing?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.5 Language most frequently spoken at home?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.6 Language most frequently read at home?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.7 Language most frequently written at home?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.8 Language most frequently spoken with fellow workers?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.9 Language most frequently used to speak with a supervisor?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.10 Language most frequently used to speak with customers?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.11 Language liked most for conversation?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.12 Language used by the priest during its sermon?

Gallo    French    Both    I don't know

4.13 Language that you used for a silent prayer?

Gallo    French    Both    Other

4.14 Language used during religious ceremonies?

Gallo    French    Both    I don't know

4.15 I can speak Gallo

Fluently       well    OK    a little bit       not at all

4.16 I can understand a conversation in Gallo

very well       quite well       not very well    not at all

4.17 I can read Gallo

very well       quite well       not very well    not at all

4.18 I can write in Gallo

very well       quite well       not very well    not at all

4.19 I listen to radio programs in Gallo

Everyday       often    sometimes       rarely    never

4.20 Which one(s)?

4.21 I watch TV programs in Gallo

Everyday       often    sometimes       rarely    never

4.22 Which one(s)?

## **Appendix B**

### **Questionnaire for group 2**

#### **1. Informations générales**

1.1 Nom et prénom

1.2 Votre adresse email

1.3 Sexe

1.4 Lieu de naissance

1.5 Lieu de naissance de vos parents

1.6 Dans quel(le) village/ville habitez-vous?

1.7 Indiquez votre classe/niveau et filière scolaire

1.8 Indiquez le nom de votre établissement scolaire

1.9 Indiquez la ville ou le département où se trouve votre établissement

1.10 Avez-vous séjourné dans une autre région?

Oui

Non

1.11 Si oui, laquelle/lesquelles?

1.12 Pendant combien de temps y avez-vous habité?

#### **2. Pratiques**

2.1 Quelle(s) langue(s) est/sont utilisée(s) dans la région où vous habitez?

2.2 Existe-t-il différentes variétés locales dans votre région?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

2.3 Si oui, lesquelles?

2.4 Ces variétés sont-elles utilisées dans d'autres villes ou parties de la région/département?

Oui

Non

Je ne sais pas

2.5 Si oui, précisez où.

2.6 Quelle(s) langue(s) avez-vous apprise(s) à la maison?

2.7 A l'école primaire, quelle(s) langue(s) connaissiez-vous?

2.8 Est-ce que vous avez appris une seconde langue?

Oui

Non

2.9 Si oui, à quel âge avez-vous appris votre seconde langue?

2.10 Quand vous étiez plus jeune, le gallo était-il utilisé à l'école?

Oui

Non

2.11 Si oui, par qui?

2.12 Le gallo était-il enseigné à l'école primaire?

Oui

Non

2.13 Si oui, dans quelle(s) classe(s) ?

2.14 Avez-vous appris le gallo à l'école primaire ?

Oui

Non

2.15 Si oui, pour quelle(s) raison(s) ?

2.16 Et dans quelle(s) classe(s) ?

2.17 Avez-vous appris le gallo au collège ?

Oui

Non

2.18 Si oui, pour quelle(s) raison(s)?

2.19 Et dans quelle(s) classe(s) ?

2.20 Dans l'ensemble, est-ce que vous pensez que la connaissance du gallo vous aide dans vos études?

Oui

Non

Pas d'avis

2.21 Quand vous étiez plus jeune, où est-ce que vous entendiez parler plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable N/A?

à l'église	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
à l'école	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
à la maison	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
aux magasins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
aux réunions de famille	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
précisez			

2.22 Est-ce que vous parliez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable N/A avec

vos/votre parents	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
vos grands-parents	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
vos/votre frères/sœurs	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
vos voisins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
votre enseignant	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
vos amis	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
vos camarades de classe	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
des étrangers	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A

2.23 Toujours enfant, est-ce que vous parliez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable N/A?

à l'église	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
à l'école	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
à la maison	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
aux magasins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
aux réunions de famille	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	N/A
précisez			



2.24 Plus âgé(e), où est-ce que vous entendiez parler plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable **N/A**?

à l'école	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à la maison	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux magasins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux réunions de famille	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à l'église	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>

précisez

2.25 A cette époque, est-ce que vous parliez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable **N/A** avec

vos/votre parents	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos/votre frères/sœurs	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos voisins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos amis	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
votre enseignant	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos camarades de classe	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos grands-parents	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
des étrangers	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>

2.26 A la même époque, est-ce que vous parliez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable **N/A**?

à l'école	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à la maison	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux magasins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux réunions de famille	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à l'église	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>

précisez

2.27 Aujourd'hui, où est-ce que vous entendez parler plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable **N/A**?

à l'église	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à la maison	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux magasins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux réunions de famille	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à l'école	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
précisez			

2.28 Est-ce que vous parlez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable **N/A** avec

des étrangers	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos/votre parents	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos/votre frères/sœurs	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos voisins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos amis	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos grands-parents	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos professeurs	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
vos camarades de classe	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>

2.29 Maintenant, est-ce que vous parlez plus souvent (a) **gallo**, (b) **français**, (c) inapplicable **N/A**?

à l'église	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à la maison	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux magasins	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
aux réunions de famille	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
à l'école	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
autre	<b>gallo</b>	<b>français</b>	<b>N/A</b>
précisez			

2.30 Faites-vous partie d'un club ou association local(e) (sport, musique, art...) ?

Oui Non

2.31 Si oui, lequel/lesquels ?

2.32 Qu'est-ce qu'on y parle?

Gallo Français Les deux Autres

précisez

2.33 Aujourd'hui, est-ce qu'il y a d'autres domaines ou activités pour lesquels vous utilisez le gallo ?

Oui Non

2.34 Si oui, lesquels ?

### 3. Représentations et identité

3.1 Selon vous, est-ce qu'il est important que le gallo soit enseigné aux jeunes générations?

Oui Non Pas d'avis

3.2 Souhaitez-vous que vos enfants parlent

a) français uniquement Oui Non Pas d'avis

b) français et gallo Oui Non Pas d'avis

c) français et une autre langue Oui Non Pas d'avis

précisez quelle autre langue

3.3 Souhaitez-vous que vos petits-enfants parlent

a) français uniquement Oui Non Pas d'avis

b) français et gallo Oui Non Pas d'avis

c) français et une autre langue Oui Non Pas d'avis

précisez quelle autre langue

3.4 Pensez-vous que le gallo doit être préservé ?

Oui Non Pas d'avis

3.5 Pensez-vous que le gallo sera préservé ?

Oui Non Pas d'avis

3.6 Pensez-vous qu'il soit important de maintenir l'enseignement du gallo en primaire ?

Oui                      Non                      Pas d'avis

3.7 A l'école primaire, est-ce que l'apprentissage du gallo devrait être

Obligatoire                      Facultatif                      Pas d'avis

3.8 Au collège, est-ce que l'apprentissage du gallo devrait être

Obligatoire                      Facultatif                      Pas d'avis

3.9 Au lycée, est-ce que l'apprentissage du gallo devrait être

Obligatoire                      Facultatif                      Pas d'avis

3.10 Savez-vous s'il existe une filière pour l'étude du gallo au niveau universitaire dans votre région ?

Oui                      Non                      Je ne sais pas

3.11 Est-ce que vous y êtes/seriez favorable ?

Favorable                      Pas favorable                      Indifférent

Pourquoi ?

3.12 Pensez-vous qu'il devrait y avoir plus de programmes radio en gallo ?

Oui                      Non                      Pas d'avis

Précisez si vous le désirez?

3.13 Pensez-vous qu'il devrait y avoir plus de programmes télé en gallo ?

Oui                      Non                      Pas d'avis

Précisez si vous le désirez?

3.14 Le gallo devrait-il apparaître sur tous les panneaux de signalisation de la région ?

Oui                      Non                      Pas d'avis

3.15 Pensez-vous que parler/comprendre le gallo est une bonne chose ?

Oui                      Non                      Pas d'avis

3.16 Pour vous, connaître le gallo c'est:

un avantage                      un désavantage                      Pas d'avis

3.17 Est-il nécessaire de parler/comprendre le gallo pour un membre de la communauté gallèse ?

Oui                      Non

Expliquez

3.18 Pour quelle(s) raison(s) pensez-vous que le gallo est moins parlé de nos jours ?

- (1 ) Le gallo n'est pas moderne
- (2 ) Le gallo n'est pas transmis aux nouvelles générations
- (3 ) Le gallo n'aide pas pour trouver un travail
- (4 ) Les gens qui parlent gallo sont mal perçus
- (5 ) Le gallo n'est pas une vraie langue
- (6 ) Les gallésants préfèrent parler français
- (7 ) Les gallésants préfèrent parler breton

3.19 Je suis fier/fière de savoir parler/pouvoir comprendre le gallo

absolument d'accord      d'accord      pas d'accord      absolument pas d'accord  
pas d'avis

3.20 Je suis fier/fière de savoir parler français

absolument d'accord      d'accord      pas d'accord      absolument pas d'accord  
pas d'avis

3.21 Est-il possible de maîtriser le gallo et le français en même temps ?

Oui                      Non

3.22 Quelle situation vous correspond le mieux ?

Le gallo est une part importante de mon identité

Le gallo fait partie de mon identité tout comme le français

Le gallo n'est pas important pour mon identité

3.23 Quelle est votre identité première

française      gallèse      bretonne

3.24 Un monde sans gallo serait/aurait

(1 ) triste (2 ) une possibilité (3 ) plus riche (4 ) plus moderne (5 ) impossible  
(6 ) arriéré (7 ) bien (8 ) plus pratique (9 ) un endroit solitaire (10 ) quelque  
chose en moins

3.25 Associez-vous les termes suivants à la langue gallèse ?

(1 ) la maison (2 ) officiel (3 ) amical (4 ) être à l'aise (5 ) étranger  
(6 ) la religion

(7 ) arrogant (8 ) rural (9 ) le futur (10 ) l'identité (11 ) urbain (12 ) l'amour  
(13 ) la haine (14 ) la famille

3.26 A quoi reconnaissez-vous un breton(ne) quand il/elle parle ?

3.27 La Bretagne est-elle représentée par des langues, des dialectes, des patois ?

Oui Non Pas d'avis

3.28 Si oui, lesquels ?

3.29 Le gallo est-il associé à la Bretagne ?

Oui Non Pas d'avis

3.30 Y a-t-il des langues ou des parlers locaux qui ressemblent au gallo ?

Oui Non Pas d'avis

3.31 Si oui, lesquels ?

#### **4. Pratiques linguistiques (individuelles)**

4.1 Quelle était la première langue utilisée pour la compréhension (conversation) ?

**Gallo Français Les deux Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.2 Quelle était la première langue parlée en conversation ?

**Gallo Français Les deux Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.3 Quelle était la première langue utilisée pour la lecture ?

**Gallo Français Les deux Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.4 Quelle était la première langue utilisée pour l'écriture ?

**Gallo Français Les deux Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.5 Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment parlée à la maison ?

**Gallo Français Les deux Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.6 Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment lue à la maison ?

**Gallo Français Les deux Autre**

Précisez quelle langue

4.7 Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment écrite à la maison ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Autre</b>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------

Précisez quelle langue

4.8 Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment utilisée entre camarades de classe?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Autre</b>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------

Précisez quelle langue

4.9 Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment utilisée pour s'adresser à un professeur ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Autre</b>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------

Précisez quelle langue

4.10 Quelle est la langue la plus fréquemment utilisée avec des amis proches?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Autre</b>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------

Précisez quelle langue

4.11 Dans l'ensemble, quelle est la langue que vous appréciez le plus pour bavarder?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Autre</b>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	--------------

Précisez quelle langue

4.12 La langue utilisée par le prêtre pendant son sermon ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Je ne sais pas</b>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------------

4.13 La langue utilisée pour une prière silencieuse ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Je ne sais pas</b>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------------

4.14 La langue utilisée pendant les services religieux ?

<b>Gallo</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Les deux</b>	<b>Je ne sais pas</b>
--------------	-----------------	-----------------	-----------------------

4.15 Je parle gallo

(1 ) couramment (2 ) bien (3 ) pas trop mal (4 ) un peu (5 ) pas du tout

4.16 Je peux comprendre une conversation en gallo

(1 ) très bien (2 ) plutôt bien (3 ) pas très bien (4 ) pas du tout

4.17 Je peux lire en gallo

(1 ) très bien (2 ) plutôt bien (3 ) pas très bien (4 ) pas du tout

4.18 Je peux écrire en gallo

(1 ) très bien (2 ) plutôt bien (3 ) pas très bien (4 ) pas du tout

4.19 J'écoute des programmes radio en langue gallèse

(1 ) tous les jours (2 ) souvent (3 ) parfois (4 ) rarement (5 ) jamais

4.20 Lequel/lesquels ?

4.21 Je regarde des émissions à la télé en langue gallèse

(1 ) tous les jours (2 ) souvent (3 ) parfois (4 ) rarement (5 ) jamais

4.22 Laquelle/lesquelles ?



## **Questionnaire for group 2 (translation)**

### **1.1 General information**

1.1 First and last names

1.2 Email address

1.3 Age

1.4 Sex

1.5 Place of birth

1.6 Parents: birthplace

1.7 Where do you live?

1.8 Which year/class are you in?

1.9 Name of your school

1.10 Give the name of the city and 'département' where your school is

1.11 Have you lived in different region?

1.12 If so, which one(s)?

1.13 For how long?

### **2. Practices**

2.1 What is/are the language(s) spoken in your region?

2.2 Are there different local varieties in your region?

Yes      No      I don't know

2.3 If so, which one(s)?

2.4 Are these varieties used in other cities or other parts of the region/department?

Yes      No      I don't know

2.5 If so, where?

2.6 Which language(s) have you learned at home?

2.7 In elementary school, which language(s) did you know?

2.8 Have you learned a second language?

Yes      No

2.9 If so, how old were you when you started learning it?

2.10 When you were younger, was Gallo used at school?

Yes      No

2.11 If so, who would use it?

2.12 Was Gallo taught in elementary school?

Yes      No

2.13 If so, in which class(es)?

2.14 Have you learned Gallo in elementary school?

Yes      No

2.15 If so, explain why?

2.16 In which class(es)?

2.17 Have you learned Gallo in middle school?

Yes      No

2.18 If so, explain why?

2.19 In which class(es)?

2.20 Overall, do you think knowing Gallo helps you at school?

Yes      No      I don't know

2.21 When you were younger, where would you more often hear (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A?

at home; at school; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other

2.22 Would you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A with your parents; grandparents; teacher; friends; siblings; neighbors; classmates; strangers

2.23 Would you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A

at home; at school; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other

2.24 When you were older, where would you more often hear (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A?

at home; at school; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other

2.25 At that time, would you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A with your parents; grandparents; friends; classmates; teachers; siblings; neighbors; strangers

- 2.26 Would you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A  
at home; at school; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other
- 2.27 Today where do you more often hear (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A?  
at home; at school; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other
- 2.28 Do you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A with your  
parents; grandparents; teachers; friends; siblings; neighbors; strangers
- 2.29 Now do you speak more often (a) Gallo, (b) French, (c) N/A  
at home; at school; at church; in the stores; during family reunions; other
- 2.30 Are you a member of a local club/association (sport, music, art...)?  
Yes No
- 2.31 If so, which one(s)?
- 2.32 What language is used there?  
Gallo French Both Other
- 2.33 Today do you use Gallo in other domains or activities?
- 2.34 If so, which one(s)?

### 3. Representations and identity

- 3.1 Do you think it is important to teach Gallo to younger generations?  
Yes No I don't know
- 3.2 Do you want your children to speak?  
French only YES NO I don't know  
French and Gallo YES NO I don't know  
French and another language YES NO I don't know  
Which one?
- 3.3 Do you want your grandchildren to speak?  
French only YES NO I don't know  
French and Gallo YES NO I don't know  
French and another language YES NO I don't know  
Which one?

3.4 Do you think Gallo should be preserved?

YES NO I don't know

3.5 Do you think Gallo will be preserved?

YES NO I don't know

3.6 Is it important to you that Gallo is taught in elementary schools?

YES NO I don't know

3.7 Should the study of Gallo be compulsory in elementary school?

Compulsory Optional I don't know

3.8 Should the study of Gallo be compulsory in middle school?

Compulsory Optional I don't know

3.9 Should the study of Gallo be compulsory in high school?

Compulsory Optional I don't know

3.10 Do you know if there is a program for the study of Gallo in College in your region?

Yes No I don't know

3.11 Are you/would you be in favor of it?

In favor Not in favor Indifferent

3.12 Should there be more radio programs in Gallo language?

YES NO I don't know

3.13 Should there be more TV programs in Gallo language?

YES NO I don't know

3.14 Should Gallo be featured on all regional road signs?

YES NO I don't know

3.15 Do you think speaking/understanding Gallo is a good thing?

YES NO I don't know

3.16 According to you, knowing Gallo is...

an advantage a disadvantage I don't know

3.17 Is it necessary to speak/understand Gallo to be a member of the Gallo community?

YES NO

3.18 Why do you think Gallo is less spoken these days?

Gallo is not modern

Gallo is not passed on to younger generations

Gallo is not helpful on the job market

Gallo speakers have it harder in school

Gallo is not a real language

Gallo speakers rather speak French

Gallo speakers rather speak Breton

3.19 I am proud to be able to speak/understand Gallo

I strongly agree; I agree; I don't know; I disagree; I strongly disagree

3.20 I am proud to be a French speaker

I strongly agree; I agree; I don't know; I disagree; I strongly disagree

3.21 Is it possible to be a Gallo speaker and French speaker at the same time?

YES NO

3.22 Which of the following situation applies to you?

Gallo is an important part of my identity

Gallo is part of my identity like French

Gallo is not important for my identity

3.23 How do you primarily identify yourself?

French Breton Gallo

3.24 A world without Gallo would be: (you can select several answers)

sad; a possibility; richer; more modern; impossible; lacking something; backwards;

something good; more practical; a lonely place

3.25 Do you associate the following places and terms with Gallo:

YES NO I don't know

Home official

Friendly cozy

Foreign religion

Arrogant rural

Future identity

Urban love

Hate family

- 3.26 How do you recognize a Breton when he/she speaks?
- 3.27 Is Brittany represented by languages, dialects or *patois*?
- YES NO I don't know
- 3.28 If so, which ones?
- 3.29 Is Gallo associated with Brittany?
- YES NO I don't know
- 3.30 Are there languages or local varieties which resemble Gallo?
- Yes No I don't know
- 3.31 If so, which ones?

#### **4. Linguistic practices (individual)**

- 4.1 First language used for oral comprehension (conversation)?
- Gallo French Both Other
- 4.2 First language spoken in conversation?
- Gallo French Both Other
- 4.3 First language used for reading (newspapers/books)?
- Gallo French Both Other
- 4.4 First language used for writing?
- Gallo French Both Other
- 4.5 Language most frequently spoken at home?
- Gallo French Both Other
- 4.6 Language most frequently read at home?
- Gallo French Both Other
- 4.7 Language most frequently written at home?
- Gallo French Both Other
- 4.8 Language most frequently spoken with classmates?
- Gallo French Both Other
- 4.9 Language most frequently used to speak to a professor?
- Gallo French Both Other

4.10 Language most frequently used to speak with friends?

Gallo French Both Other

4.11 Language liked most for conversation?

Gallo French Both Other

4.12 Language used by the priest during its sermon?

Gallo French Both I don't know

4.13 Language that you used for a silent prayer?

Gallo French Both Other

4.14 Language used during religious ceremonies?

Gallo French Both I don't know

4.15 I can speak Gallo

Fluently well OK a little bit not at all

4.16 can understand a conversation in Gallo

very well quite well not very well not at all

4.17 can read Gallo

very well quite well not very well not at all

4.18 I can write in Gallo

very well quite well not very well not at all

4.19 I listen to radio programs in Gallo

Everyday often sometimes rarely never

4.20 Which one(s)?

4.21 I watch TV programs in Gallo

Everyday often sometimes rarely never

4.22 Which one(s)?

## Appendix C

### Consent Forms

Titre: **Planning language practices and representations of identity within the Gallo community in Brittany: A case of language maintenance.**

IRB PROTOCOL #

Menée par: Cécile Rey.

rcecile@gmail.com

Tel. 06-84-43-13-56

De l'Université du Texas à Austin: *Département: Français&Italien*

Téléphone: 471-5531

Directeur de thèse: Jean-Pierre Montreuil      HRH 3.108A

Téléphone : 471-6555

Nous sollicitons votre participation à une étude de recherche. Des informations concernant cette étude vous sont fournies dans ce formulaire. La personne chargée de l'enquête vous expliquera en quoi consiste cette recherche et restera à votre disposition pour répondre à toutes vos questions.

Lisez s'il vous plaît les informations ci-dessous et s'il vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas à les formuler avant de participer à l'enquête. Votre participation est une démarche volontaire. Vous pouvez refuser d'y participer à tout moment sans que votre décision n'engendre des pénalités/frais ou la perte de bénéfices auxquels vous auriez droit. Vous pouvez cesser votre participation à cette étude quand vous le désirez et votre refus n'aura aucun effet sur des relations en cours ou futures avec UT Austin ou d'autres sites participants. Pour cela, faites savoir à l'enquêtrice que vous mettez un terme à votre participation.

Cette personne vous fournira une copie de ce formulaire pour votre usage personnel.

Le but de cette étude est d'enquêter sur les attitudes linguistiques dans la communauté gallèse, documenter les jugements identitaires et révéler la façon dont l'aménagement linguistique et la revitalisation sont perçus et jugés par les locuteurs gallos. Cette étude se concentre sur les attitudes langagières dans la communauté gallèse. L'objectif est de fournir une analyse plus précise de ces comportements dans cette communauté. Pour ce projet, je compte interviewer approximativement 70 à 80 participants.

Si vous acceptez de participer à cette étude, il vous sera demandé de faire les choses suivantes :

Il vous sera demandé de remplir un questionnaire de 4 pages sur le site Survey Monkey : <http://www.surveymonkey.com/> (option papier possible). Il est possible que vous soyez sollicité pour une interview enregistrée pendant ou après le questionnaire.

Le temps estimé pour participer à cette étude est entre 30 et 40 minutes.



#### Les risques de cette étude

Il n'y a aucun risque connu à la participation de cette étude. Les risques associés à cette recherche ne sont dépassent pas ceux de la vie quotidienne.

#### Avantages à la participation à cette étude

Je comprends que cette étude ne m'apportera pas de bénéfices directs mais elle peut aider les membres de la communauté gallèse et d'autres communautés linguistiques à comprendre l'évolution du gallo en contact avec le français.

#### Compensation:

Aucune compensation ne sera fournie.

#### Confidentialité et protection de la vie privée :

Les données obtenues grâce à votre participation peuvent être mises plus tard à la disposition d'autres chercheurs dans le cadre d'une enquête ou étude non précisée dans ce formulaire. Si tel est le cas, aucune information vous concernant dans ce projet et concernant votre participation à toute autre étude ne sera dévoilées. Votre participation est volontaire et vous pouvez refuser d'y participer à tout moment sans que votre décision n'engendre des pénalités/frais ou la perte de bénéfices auxquels vous auriez droit.

Les enregistrements effectués au cours de cette étude seront gardés confidentiels et archivés. Seules les personnes autorisées de l'université du Texas, membres du IRB (Institutional Review Board) et le comité de thèse de l'enquêtrice dirigé par Prof. Jean-Pierre Montreuil ont le droit d'accéder à ces enregistrements et garderons la confidentialité de ces données. Toute information pouvant vous identifier comme sujet de cette étude ne figurera pas dans des publications. Au cours de l'enquête, vous serez tenu informé de nouveaux renseignements qui seraient susceptibles de changer votre décision de rester dans cette étude.

Je comprends que l'interview sera enregistrée et archivée. Les enregistrements peuvent être utilisés pour des présentations lors de conventions scientifiques et au cours de démonstrations en classe et sur internet.

#### Contacts et questions:

Si vous avez des questions sur cette enquête, n'hésitez pas à vous renseigner maintenant. Si vous avez des questions par la suite, si vous désirez des informations supplémentaires ou si vous voulez ne plus participer à l'étude, contactez l'enquêtrice (contacts personnels en haut de la page). Si vous avez des questions concernant vos droits en tant que participant, des plaintes, des préoccupations ou des questions à propos de la recherche, vous pouvez contacter Jody Jensen, Ph.D., Chair, The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at (512) 232-2685 ou The Office of Research Support au (512) 471-8871 ou email: [orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu](mailto:orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu).

Déclaration de consentement:

J'ai lu les informations ci-dessus et dispose maintenant de tous les renseignements nécessaires pour décider si je veux participer à cette étude.

Je consens à participer à l'enquête:

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

“Je donne ma permission pour que la vidéo ou enregistrement audio effectué pour cette recherche soit utilisé à des fins éducatives”.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature du participant Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature de l'enquêteur: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**Title: Planning language practices and representations of identity within the Gallo community in Brittany: A case of language maintenance.**

IRB PROTOCOL #

Study conducted by: Cécile Rey

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Tel. 06-84-43-13-56

Of The University of Texas at Austin: *Department / Office: French&Italian*

Phone: 471-5531

Dissertation supervisor: Jean-Pierre Montreuil *HRH 3.108A*

Phone : 471-6555

You are being asked to participate in a research study. This form provides you with information about the study. The person in charge of this research will also describe this study to you and answer all of your questions. Please read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to take part. Your participation is entirely voluntary. You can refuse to participate without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You can stop your participation at any time and your refusal will not impact current or future relationships with UT Austin or participating sites. To do so simply tell the researcher you wish to stop participation. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this consent for your records.

The purpose of this study is to probe linguistic attitudes within the Gallo community, document identity judgments and reveal how language planning and revitalization are being perceived and judged among Gallo speakers (true 'patoisants' or individuals who speak the language and more marginal speakers). The study investigates language attitudes within the Gallo community and my goal is to provide more accurate analyses of language behavior and awareness in this particular speech minority. For this project, I hope to interview approximately 70 and 80 participants.

If you agree to be in this study, we will ask you to do the following things:  
You will be asked to fill out a four-page questionnaire (SurveyMonkey website). An interview may be recorded after the questionnaire.

Total estimated time to participate in the study is between 30 – 40 minutes.

Risks of being in the study

There are no known or expected risks from participating in this study. The risk associated with this study is no greater than everyday life.

Benefits of being in the study

I understand that this study is not expected to be of direct benefit to me, but the knowledge gained may be of benefits to others, including knowledge of how Gallo has

changed due to its contact with French. There are no benefits for participation in this study.

Compensation:  
N/A

**Confidentiality and Privacy Protections:**

The data resulting from your participation may be made available to other researchers in the future for research purposes not detailed within this consent form. In these cases, the data will contain no identifying information that could associate you with it, or with your participation in any study.

Participation to the study is voluntary and the participant may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which the participant is otherwise entitled.

The records of this study will be stored securely and kept confidential. Authorized persons from The University of Texas at Austin, members of the Institutional Review Board, and the dissertation committee of the researcher supervised by Prof. Jean-Pierre Montreuil have the legal right to review your research records and will protect the confidentiality of those records to the extent permitted by law. All publications will exclude any information that will make it possible to identify you as a subject.

Throughout the study, the researchers will notify you of new information that may become available and that might affect your decision to remain in the study.

I understand that the interview will be recorded and archived. I also understand that the recording may be used for presentations at scientific conventions and as demonstrations in classrooms and on the internet.

**Contacts and Questions:**

If you have any questions about the study please ask now. If you have questions later, want additional information, or wish to withdraw your participation call the researchers conducting the study. Their names, phone numbers, and e-mail addresses are at the top of this page. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, complaints, concerns, or questions about the research please contact Jody Jensen, Ph.D., Chair, The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at (512) 232-2685 or the Office of Research Support at (512) 471-8871 or email: [orssc@uts.cc.utexas.edu](mailto:orssc@uts.cc.utexas.edu).

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

**Statement of Consent:**

I have read the above information and have sufficient information to make a decision about participating in this study. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

I hereby give permission for the video (audio) tape made for this research study to be used for educational purposes.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Investigator: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## AUTORISATION ETABLISSEMENT SCOLAIRE

Etude menée par: Cécile Rey.

rcecile@gmail.com

Tel. 06-84-43-13-56

De l'Université du Texas à Austin: *Département: Français&Italien*

Téléphone: 471-5531

Directeur de thèse: Jean-Pierre Montreuil      HRH 3.108A

Téléphone : 471-6555

**Titre: Planning language practices and representations of identity within the Gallo community in Brittany: A case of language maintenance.**

Nous sollicitons la participation de vos lycéens/étudiants en gallo au lycée \_\_\_\_\_, classe enseignée par \_\_\_\_\_ à une étude de recherche. Des informations concernant cette étude vous sont fournies dans ce formulaire. La personne chargée de l'enquête vous expliquera en quoi consiste cette recherche et restera à votre disposition pour répondre à toutes vos questions. Lisez s'il vous plaît les informations ci-dessous et s'il vous avez des questions, n'hésitez pas à les formuler avant de participer à l'enquête. La participation de votre établissement est une démarche entièrement volontaire. Vous pouvez refuser d'y participer à tout moment sans que votre décision n'engendre des pénalités/frais ou la perte de bénéfices auxquels vous auriez droit. Vous pouvez cesser votre participation à cette étude quand vous le désirez et votre refus n'aura aucun effet sur des relations en cours ou futures avec UT Austin ou d'autres sites participants. Pour cela, faites savoir à l'enquêtrice que vous mettez un terme à votre participation.

Cette personne vous fournira une copie de ce formulaire pour votre usage personnel.

Le but de cette étude est d'enquêter sur les attitudes linguistiques dans la communauté gallèse, documenter les jugements identitaires et révéler la façon dont l'aménagement linguistique et la revitalisation sont perçus et jugés par les locuteurs gallos. Cette étude se concentre sur les attitudes langagières dans la communauté gallèse. L'objectif est de fournir une analyse plus précise de ces comportements dans cette communauté. Pour ce projet, je compte interviewer approximativement 70 à 80 participants.

Si vous acceptez de participer à cette étude, nous demanderons aux étudiants de faire les choses suivantes :

Il leur sera demandé de remplir un questionnaire de 4 pages sur le site Survey Monkey : <http://www.surveymonkey.com/> (option papier possible)

Le temps estimé pour participer à cette étude est entre 30 et 40 minutes.

#### Les risques de cette étude

Il n'y a aucun risque connu à la participation de cette étude. Les risques associés à cette recherche ne sont dépassent pas ceux de la vie quotidienne.

#### Avantages pour la participation à cette étude

Je comprends que cette étude ne m'apportera pas de bénéfices directs mais elle peut aider les membres de la communauté gallèse et d'autres communautés linguistiques à comprendre l'évolution du gallo en contact avec le français.

#### Compensation:

Aucune compensation ne sera fournie.

#### Confidentialité et protection de la vie privée :

Les données obtenues grâce à votre participation peuvent être mises plus tard à la disposition d'autres chercheurs dans le cadre d'une enquête ou étude non précisée dans ce formulaire. Si tel est le cas, aucune information vous concernant dans ce projet et concernant votre participation à toute autre étude ne sera dévoilées. Votre participation est volontaire et vous pouvez refuser d'y participer à tout moment sans que votre décision n'engendre des pénalités/frais ou la perte de bénéfices auxquels vous auriez droit.

Les enregistrements effectués au cours de cette étude seront gardés confidentiels et archivés. Seules les personnes autorisées de l'université du Texas, membres du IRB (Institutional Review Board) et le comité de thèse de l'enquêtrice dirigé par Prof. Jean-Pierre Montreuil ont le droit d'accéder à ces enregistrements et garderons la confidentialité de ces données. Toute information pouvant vous identifier comme sujet de cette étude ne figurera pas dans des publications. Au cours de l'enquête, vous serez tenu informé de nouveaux renseignements qui seraient susceptibles de changer votre décision de rester dans cette étude.

Je comprends que les interviews seront enregistrées et archivées. Les enregistrements peuvent être utilisés pour des présentations lors de conventions scientifiques et au cours de démonstrations en classe et sur internet.

#### Contacts et questions:

Si vous avez des questions sur cette enquête, n'hésitez pas à vous renseigner maintenant. Si vous avez des questions par la suite, si vous désirez des informations supplémentaires ou si vous voulez ne plus que votre enfant participe à l'étude, contactez l'enquêtrice (contacts personnels en haut de la page). Si vous avez des questions concernant les droits de votre enfant en tant que participant, des plaintes, des préoccupations ou des questions à propos de la recherche, vous pouvez contacter Jody Jensen, Ph.D., Chair, The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at (512) 232-2685 ou The Office of Research Support au (512) 471-8871 ou email: [orssc@uts.cc.utexas.edu](mailto:orssc@uts.cc.utexas.edu).

Vous pouvez garder la copie de ce document.

Vous prenez la décision d'autoriser certains lycéens/étudiants de votre établissement à participer à cette étude. Votre signature ci-dessous indique que vous avez lu les informations fournies par ce formulaire et que vous avez décidé de laisser la classe de \_\_\_\_\_ participer à l'étude. Si plus tard vous décidez de retirer la participation de votre établissement à cette étude, faites-le moi simplement savoir. Vous pouvez mettre un terme à sa participation à n'importe quel moment.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature du directeur/de la directrice

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature de l'enquêteur

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date



## SCHOOL CONSENT FORM

Study conducted by: Cécile Rey  
Of The University of Texas at Austin: *Department / Office:* French&Italian  
Phone: 471-5531  
Dissertation supervisor: Jean-Pierre Montreuil      HRH 3.108A  
Phone: 471-6555

Title: **Planning language practices and representations of identity within the Gallo community in Brittany: A case of language maintenance.**

You are being asked to allow students enrolled in the Gallo class taught at \_\_\_\_\_ by \_\_\_\_\_ to participate in a research study. This form provides you with information about the study. The person in charge of this research will also describe this study to you and answer all of your questions. Please read the information below and ask any questions you might have before deciding whether or not to take part. The school's participation is entirely voluntary. You can refuse to participate without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You can stop your participation at any time and your refusal will not impact current or future relationships with UT Austin or participating sites. To do so simply tell the researcher you wish to stop participation. The researcher will provide you with a copy of this consent for your records.

The purpose of this study is to probe linguistic attitudes within the Gallo community, document identity judgments and reveal how language planning and revitalization are being perceived and judged among Gallo speakers (true 'patoisants' or individuals who speak the language and more marginal speakers). The study investigates language attitudes within the Gallo community and my goal is to provide more accurate analyses of language behavior and awareness in this particular speech minority. For this project, I hope to interview approximately 70 and 80 participants.

If you agree to be in this study, we will ask the students to do the following things: They will be asked to fill out a four-page questionnaire (SurveyMonkey website).

Total estimated time to participate in study is between 30 – 40 minutes.

### Risks of being in the study

There are no known or expected risks from participating in this study. The risk associated with this study is no greater than everyday life.

### Benefits of being in the study

I understand that this study is not expected to be of direct benefit to me, but the knowledge gained may be of benefits to others, including knowledge of how Gallo has

changed due to its contact with French. There are no benefits for participation in this study.

**Compensation:**

There is no compensation provided for this study.

**Confidentiality and Privacy Protections:**

The data resulting from your participation may be made available to other researchers in the future for research purposes not detailed within this consent form. In these cases, the data will contain no identifying information that could associate you with it, or with your participation in any study.

Participation to the study is voluntary and the participant may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which the participant is otherwise entitled.

The records of this study will be stored securely and kept confidential. Authorized persons from The University of Texas at Austin, members of the Institutional Review Board, and the dissertation committee of the researcher supervised by Prof. Jean-Pierre Montreuil have the legal right to review your child's research records and will protect the confidentiality of those records to the extent permitted by law. All publications will exclude any information that will make it possible to identify the students as subjects.

Throughout the study, the researchers will notify the students of new information that may become available and that might affect their decision to remain in the study.

I understand that the interview will be recorded and archived. I also understand that the recording may be used for presentations at scientific conventions and as demonstrations in classrooms and on the internet.

**Contacts and Questions:**

If you have any questions about the study please ask now. If you have questions later, want additional information, or wish to withdraw your child's participation call the researchers conducting the study. Their names, phone numbers, and e-mail addresses are at the top of this page. If you have questions about your child's rights as a research participant, complaints, concerns, or questions about the research please contact Jody Jensen, Ph.D., Chair, The University of Texas at Austin Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects at (512) 232-2685 or the Office of Research Support at (512) 471-8871 or email: [orssc@uts.cc.utexas.edu](mailto:orssc@uts.cc.utexas.edu).

You may keep the copy of this consent form.

You are making a decision about allowing your institution to participate in this study. Your signature below indicates that you have read the information provided above and have decided to allow students to participate in the study. If you later decide that you wish to withdraw your permission for your institution to participate in the study, simply tell me. You may discontinue your participation at any time.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of the Head

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Investigator

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

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#### Websites

<http://bertaeyn-galeizz.com/> - Several articles: *Le Gallo ou britto-roman*; *La consorteriy Bertaeyn Galeizz*; *Ecrire le Gallo* (A.J. Raude's interview who worked on the unified orthography of Gallo language, ELG 'Ecrire le Gallo'). This association was created in 1976 under the name 'Les Amis du parler gallo'

[www.bertaeyn-galeizz.com/mille-goules/](http://www.bertaeyn-galeizz.com/mille-goules/) - Cultural events and other festivities organized in 'Haute-Bretagne'

<http://www.a-demorr.ht.st> - Methods for learning Gallo online

[www.chubri.org](http://www.chubri.org) - Site on recent fieldworks and publications on Gallo language and culture created by Bèrtran Ôbrée in 2007

[www.galernn.lautre.net](http://www.galernn.lautre.net) - Usage of Gallo in public sphere

[www.lagallesiemonterfil.com](http://www.lagallesiemonterfil.com) - Culture of 'Haute-Bretagne' (music, tales, games)

<http://www.maezoe.com> - *Institut d'Etudes Britto-Romanes*, Institute of Britto-Romance studies

[www.maezoe.com/as-galleges](http://www.maezoe.com/as-galleges) - *Les Assemblées gallèses*, Festival of music and culture of *Haute-Bretagne*

<http://www.maezoe.com/dplo> - *Défense et Promotion des Langues d'Oil* (DPLO), Defense and promotion of the *Oil* languages

<http://www.celtia.info/culture/languages/gallo.html>

[www2.ac-rennes.fr/crdp/35/doc/dossiers/gallo/langue/accueil.htm](http://www2.ac-rennes.fr/crdp/35/doc/dossiers/gallo/langue/accueil.htm) - bibliography, online sources and associations for the maintenance of the 'langue gallèse'

[www.ac-rennes.fr/pedagogie/lettres/bretagn/gallo/galbibl.htm](http://www.ac-rennes.fr/pedagogie/lettres/bretagn/gallo/galbibl.htm)

[www.chantgallo.com](http://www.chantgallo.com) - This website presents traditional songs and melodies of 'Haute-Bretagne' region. They describe in a humoristic way the late 19th century and early 20th century rural life in the Gallo community

<http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/TIL.html> - Teaching Indigenous Languages

[www.plumfm.net](http://www.plumfm.net) - Radio station offering discussions and music in Gallo

[www.dastum.net](http://www.dastum.net) - Online inventory of Brittany oral tradition (Gallo and Breton)

<http://projetbabel.org/oil/gallo.html> - *Chansons en langues d'Oil*, Songs in *Oil* languages  
[www.obree.fr](http://www.obree.fr) - Official site of Bèrtran Ôbrée  
[www.uhb.fr/index.jsp](http://www.uhb.fr/index.jsp) Website of l'Université de Rennes

[www.prefics.org/credilif/](http://www.prefics.org/credilif/) - CREDILIF website : Centre de Recherche sur la Diversité Linguistique et littéraire de la Francophonie, Research Center on the linguistic and literary diversity of the French-speaking world

<http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gallo> - Wikipedia page on Gallo

[www.dihun.org](http://www.dihun.org) - Organization of parents which promotes the acquisition of three languages (Gallo / Breton, French, English) at an early age.

[www.lagranjagoul.e-monsite.com](http://www.lagranjagoul.e-monsite.com) - *Maison du Patrimoine Oral en Haute-Bretagne* – Center of Oral Tradition in High-Brittany has for mission to study and research on the oral heritage in High-Brittany, to reconstitute and make public this knowledge, value and promote the Gallo culture for all audiences.

<http://ubapar.org/> - *L'Union Bretonne pour l'Animation des Pays Ruraux*, The Breton union for the coordination of rural areas

<http://pays-gallo.net/pub/doku.php> - it was created in 2008 by four associations which promote Gallo culture

<http://assemblees-gallees.net/> - the association organizes festivals

<http://gallo-es-ecole.net/> - this association promotes the status of Gallo at school (*Association des enseignants du gallo* – Gallo teachers association)

<http://pouevretseu.net/> - a group of musicians who perform in Gallo, the association was created in 2001 to promote the music, dances and culture of Brittany

<http://prechou-theatre-gallo.net/> - 'les préchous', a group of 10 people performing plays in Gallo

[www.laboueze.com](http://www.laboueze.com) - Arts and traditions of *Haute-Bretagne*

[pagesperso-orange.fr/gallotonic/index.htm](http://pagesperso-orange.fr/gallotonic/index.htm) - Association Gallo Tonic Liffré: Culture and traditions of Haute-Bretagne

L'art et la Mie: cultural association in the Region of Bécherel run by Michèle Baudouin

[www.contoudisou.com](http://www.contoudisou.com) - A five-minute show in Gallo on the radio « France Bleue Armorique » with Roger le contou and Fred le disou.

<http://levif.free.fr/paroles/bchemin.htm> - Article with short audio interviews of Bruno Chemin owner of 'Le Saut Roland', a restaurant in Dompierre du Chemin.

<http://pagesperso-orange.fr/vovonne.toucourt/vovonnetoucourt/accueil.html> - Site of Maryvonne Limon, story-teller in the Gallo oral tradition. She teaches English and Gallo in Loudéac, Morbihan (Loudia)

<http://www.contes-et-merveilles.com/prestations/formules-accompagnees/les-routiniers.php> - This site describes the group 'Les Routiniers' musicians and story-tellers of Haute-Bretagne shares songs, dances and stories of the region.

<http://www.becherel-citedulivre.net> - Website of Savenn Douar, association that founded 'Bécherel Cité du livre'

<http://lagranjagoul.e-monsite.com/accueil.html> - *Maison du patrimoine oral en Haute-Bretagne* – Association that preserves the oral heritage of Haute-Bretagne.

[www.ecomusee-montfort.com](http://www.ecomusee-montfort.com) and [www.ecomusee-rennes-metropole.fr](http://www.ecomusee-rennes-metropole.fr) - two websites on cultural activities around Rennes (nature, cultural heritage, traditions, music...)

<http://www.skoluhelarvro.org/culture-bretagne/conteurs/recherche.php> - part of the website <http://www.skoluhelarvro.org/> from the Cultural Institute of Brittany devoted to Gallo story-tellers

<http://bzh-lib.5forum.info/en-gallo-f16> - Discussions in Gallo or about Gallo

<http://www.galoromaen.com> - Website created by Romain Ricaud on Gallo

<http://www.myspace.com/lezpaiseygaleizz> - Audio and written documents by Romain Ricaud and other Gallo speakers, interviews online (stories, anecdotes)

<http://galo.lautre.net> - Bilingual site Gallo-French gathering all the events and news around Gallo (blog)

<http://teinzoudougalo.fr/acoulhanss.aspx> - *Le trésor de la langue gallèse*, The treasure of the Gallo language. A website created by Fabien Lecuyer on the lexicon of Gallo

<http://www.tan.lautre.net/cadre2.htm> - Group of musicians who sing in Breton and Gallo

<http://www.agencebretagnepresse.com/index.php?langue=gallo> - Agence Bretagne Presse (Online information about Brittany)

[http://www.bretagne.fr/internet/jcms/c\\_16790/langues-bretonnes](http://www.bretagne.fr/internet/jcms/c_16790/langues-bretonnes) - *Conseil régional de Bretagne*, Regional Council of Brittany

<http://gr.bvdep.com/version-1/login.asp> - *Le Grand Robert de la langue française*, Dictionary of the French language.

## VITA

Cécile Hélène Christiane Rey was born in Lyon, France on March 30, 1979, the daughter of Marie-Hélène Rey and Michel Rey. After completing her work at the Lycée Lumière in Lyon, in 1997, she entered the Université Jean Moulin, Lyon III, France. During the academic year 2000 and 2001, she attended the University of Texas at Austin as an exchange student in English and Literature and received her Maîtrise (BA) in Liberal Arts in September 2001. During the following years, she continued her studies as in English major in Lyon specializing in Linguistics. Cécile entered the graduate program of the Department of French and Italian at the University of Texas at Austin in August 2003, received a Masters in French Linguistics in December 2005. Since the spring of 2006, she has been pursuing a PhD degree in linguistics and is finishing her dissertation while teaching lower-division French courses. She is currently teaching French as a lecturer at Baylor University and will defend her dissertation in the Fall of 2010 and graduate in December 2010.

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