A Sociolinguistic Profile of the Gallo Speech Community

Submitted by **Adrian Paul Chrimes**, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy* in **French**, **September 2016**.

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the role of the speech community in maintaining obsolescent languages in general, and Gallo in particular. A questionnaire was designed to elicit information from the Gallo speech community in three key areas: speakers' beliefs regarding their own use of language, speakers' attitudes towards Gallo and its status, and speaker's own proficiency in Gallo. The sample for this study was obtained through Gallo social networks which were identified and contacted thanks to the support of Gallo organisations based in Rennes. The questionnaire was administered to a mixture of older native speakers, employed semi-speakers and student-aged learners of Gallo. The results show that level of education remains the main factor affecting speaker attitudes and language use. Speakers with higher levels of education tend to be the ones engaged in revitalisation efforts while speakers with less education maintain a distance from such activities as well as a strong allegiance to the national language. The study also highlighted the division within the speech community concerning orthographic convention. Although a highly distinct written form is viewed by some as essential to distancing Gallo from French, it would seem that the majority of the speech community prefers accessibility over distanciation. This study provides insight into the impact which a speech community can have on the vitality or obsolescence of a variety. In the case of Gallo, it shows how a group of determined individuals can be influential in maintaining an obsolescent variety despite strong and continued pressure from official institutions.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The sociolinguistic issues facing minority languages have attracted increasing attention since the 1970s. Likewise, minority, regional or heritage languages have become a controversial topic in political debate, in France most obviously seen in the discussion over the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in 1992. Globalisation has had an almost immeasurable impact on trade, science, academia and business, bringing people from across the planet closer together, however, it has also had an impact on local languages and cultures. Recognising the benefit of learning global languages, communities and nations have increasingly abandoned regional and minority languages in favour of national and international varieties. Crystal (1999) states that the rate of language loss is so great that the world loses a language every fortnight, which means, as Krauss (1992) pointed out, that half of the world's six thousand vernaculars, will likely disappear over the course of this century. The status of Standard French within metropolitan France has always been fiercely protected and has often resulted in the marginalisation of France's regional languages. Although a founding member of the European Union, France signed the ECRML in 1999 but did not initially ratify. In fact, it was only in 2014 that the National Assembly adopted a constitutional amendment which permitted the ratification, although the ratification itself is yet to occur. The political inequality of regional languages in France, such as Breton and Occitan, as well as their persistence in the face of decreasing speaker populations and increasing pressure from nationalism and globalisation, mean that the sociolinguistic situation of France is a rich and diverse field of study. With political and social attitudes influencing current linguistic policies, a study of regional languages has the potential to

uncover trends and patterns of both language use and attitudes that could impact not only local communities but regional and even national language policies.

A great deal of work has been conducted on France's distinct regional languages, such as those mentioned above, but less time has been devoted to the study of the *langues d'oïl*. Their linguistic proximity to Standard French resulted in their being targeted by Renaissance and Revolutionary language policies, which defined them as *patois*, impoverished varieties of the national language. Until the latter half of the twentieth century, these languages have been largely overlooked by linguists except for a small number of dialectologists. On the very edge of the *langue d'oïl* dialect continuum lies Gallo. Since the 1970s, Gallo has been the subject of revitalisation efforts across Upper Brittany and has drawn the attention of academics. Studies conducted by French linguists have focused primarily on linguistic descriptions and the impact of language contact between, on the one hand Gallo and Breton, and on the other Gallo and French. Since the year 2000, two studies have been undertaken by English-speaking researchers, and the focus has shifted to sociolinguistic topics, in particular Nolan's (2006) work on language policy and Rey's (2010) work on perceptions of identity. This thesis aims to build on the work of scholars such as these by focusing on the language use and attitudes of the Gallo speech community. By focusing on the speakers themselves, it is hoped that the study will be able to answer some key questions about the vitality of Gallo.

As mentioned above, the quantity of research conducted on the subject of Gallo and other *Oïl* is comparatively small and its focus varies greatly from study to study. While the works of Nolan and Rey established a solid foundation for the type of research envisaged, the more recent of the two studies (Rey 2010) was five years old by the time this project entered the data collection phase. With

revitalisation efforts gaining momentum in the region, such a period of time has the potential to dramatically change the face of the sociolinguistic situation in Brittany. It became clear very early on in this project that fieldwork in Brittany would be necessary, given that existing sources seemed to contradict one another on even the most basic points. A preliminary visit was therefore scheduled and appointments made with representatives from the three main Gallo organisations operating in Upper Brittany. The purpose of the visit was twofold. Firstly, to gain an up-to-date understanding of the situation of Gallo and dispel some of the confusion caused by competing accounts and claims of academics and activists. Secondly, to identify relevant areas of study from which to draw research questions. The interviews conducted during this visit provided much needed context to the linguistic situation in Upper Brittany, however, they revealed very little about the current situation itself. The speech community remained something of a mystery. In the twenty-first century, who is actually speaking Gallo? Where is it being spoken and when? What do Gallo speakers think about their traditional language compared to Breton and French? By the end of the preliminary visit, conducted in 2013, I had identified the research questions to focus on; the next step was to determine how best to make contact with the speech community and find the answers to those questions.

This thesis will begin by setting the sociolinguistic scene with regards to the issues surrounding minority or heritage languages, vitality and obsolescence, and revitalisation. It will then introduce Gallo by providing a brief socio-cultural history and a description of the modern language. It will then explain the importance of conducting a study on Gallo by contextualising it in terms of the current minority languages debate. The methodology employed during this study will then be discussed before the analysis of the data collected in three areas:

language use, language attitudes and perceptions, and finally competence in Gallo.

2 GALLO PAST AND PRESENT

2.1. Introduction

Gallo is a relatively unknown variety, even in France. It exists on the fringe of the *langue d'oïl* dialect continuum, overshadowed by Breton in the West and French in the East. The lack of knowledge about Gallo in France is so great that, with the exception of Gallo speakers themselves, I always had to introduce Gallo to anyone who asked me the subject of my thesis during the fieldwork. As such, this chapter will introduce the language by answering some basic questions, such as: what is Gallo? Where did it come from? What is its relationship with French and Breton? Who speaks it? What does it sound like? We will begin with a brief socio-cultural history of Gallo's origins followed by a discussion of its current situation and status, particularly in relation to its linguistic competitors and the politics of language in France. Finally, an overview of aspects of Gallo as a linguistic system will conclude the chapter.

2.2 Language or dialect

Many of the issues relating to Gallo's status, both linguistic and political, are a result of a misunderstanding of Gallo's origins. This misunderstanding comes primarily as a result of the aggressive, but highly successful, State language policy which has capitalized on the similarities of Gallo (as well as the other *langues d'oïl*) with standard French and the history and evolution the two languages have shared.

Despite having already referred to Gallo as a language, can we say categorically that that this is the case? In order to make any kind of judgement as to Gallo's linguistic status we must first clarify the differences between language and dialect. Chambers and Trudgill (1988) provide a concise and clear discussion on

the subject. The first issue they raise is mutual intelligibility, citing a common belief that 'a language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects' (p.3). By this definition, dialects are less than languages by virtue of the fact that multiple dialects make one language. Chambers and Trudgill discuss groups of mutually intelligible dialects in terms of geographical continua, in which physical distance affects levels of intelligibility. By way of example, Chambers and Trudgill (1988:5) propose a dialect continuum comprising twenty-six dialects labelled A-Z. Dialects A-Z may be mutually intelligible, but to differing degrees. Dialects A and B will likely share a great deal of linguistic features due to their geographical proximity. Dialects A and M will share fewer features than A and B, but will still be intelligible to one another. Dialects A and Z, which lie at the geographic extremes of the continuum, will share far fewer similarities than even A and M. Using this logic, the more geographically central the dialect, the more shared features it will have with the others on the continuum.

The problem with this definition of dialects and languages is that groups of mutually intelligible languages are not too difficult to find, and Chambers and Trudgill (1988:11) cite the Scandinavian languages as an example. Similarly, they explain that there are German dialects which are not readily intelligible with one another. Returning to the A-Z dialect continuum, if the dialects A-Z run from East to West, then the dialects to the East of A and to the West of Z will belong to different languages. However, this does not mean that they are necessarily unintelligible to their neighbouring dialects, A and Z. As such, mutual intelligibility cannot be used as the sole criteria for defining dialects even though it is more readily observable than other factors affecting linguistic status.

The table below, which is adapted from the French language Wikipedia page for Gallo[1], shows how Gallo shares a number of similarities with neighbouring *langues d'oïl*. There can be little doubt that these varieties are linguistically similar; they share lexical and grammatical features and, in their written form at least, can be understood with little difficulty so long as one has a knowledge of one of the dialects. However, one may say the same of French, Italian and Spanish and yet these are accepted as distinct languages. The use of the term 'dialect continuum' to describe the *langues d'oïl* suggests that they are not languages at all and, as the term *dialecte* tends to have negative connotations in France, Gallo, Norman, Picard, and the others, are seen as being less developed and less refined than French.

Gallo	Norman	Poitevin	Picard	French
Le monde vienent su la térre librs tertous e s'ent'valent en drets e dignitë. Il lou apartient d'avaer de la réson e de la conscience e il ont de s'ent'enchevi conme feraen dés freres.	Touos les houmes nâquissent libes et parels dauns lus taête et en dreits. Il ount byin de l'obiche et de l'ingamo et deivent faire d'aveu lus prochan coume si ch'tait pour yeus.	Le munde trtouts avant naeçhu libres trtouts parélls den la dégnetai é den lés dréts. L'avant de l'aeme é de la cunsience é le devant coméyà e trtouts fratrnaument	Tous chés ètes humains is sont nés libes et égals in dignité et pi in drouots. Is sont dotés ed raison et d'conschienche et pi is doétte agir les uns invèrs les eutes din un ésprit ed fratérnité.	Tous les êtres humains naissent libres et égaux en dignité et en droits. Ils sont doués de raison et de conscience et doivent agir les uns envers les autres dans un esprit de fraternité

Among lay-persons, a common criticism of dialects is that they are 'reduced' in comparison to 'full' languages. Pidgins and creoles are also often cited as reduced languages, using tense and aspect markers rather than complex conjugations in their lexifier (Winford 2003). Dialects which evolve sufficiently to be perceived as languages must, therefore, be expanded in some way. Lodge (1993) highlights some of the main processes involved in the standardisation of

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[1] https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gallo#cite_note-Lexilogos-1

French, two of which are elaboration of function and codification. In most cases, the language or dialect undergoing standardisation is acquiring functions from another language. It may not be linguistically equipped for use in these functions and so must adapt in order to be a viable alternative. For example, in order for French to assure its position as an acceptable alternative to Latin for use in legal documents during the thirteenth century, significant changes had to be made to its lexicon and syntax as it had not been used in such a role prior to this period (Lodge 1993:118). The process of elaboration can take centuries, as it did for French, which continued to undergo change until the seventeenth century. The newly altered language is capable of dealing with any new functions which may arise in the future and Haugen (1966:107) refers to this ability as 'maximal variation of function'.

Codification involves the establishment of rules and norms which, seemingly in opposition to the end result of elaboration, aims to ensure 'minimal variation of form' (Lodge 1993). Codification is prescriptive and renders all use of the language which is contrary to prescribed rules and norms as incorrect. As such, codification tends to be championed by those in positions of power who wish to cement their authority and ensure the prestige of their own linguistic variety. In France, the *Académie française* has long been viewed as the prescriptive authority governing the use and evolution of the French language. However, we may liken the differences between the French governed by the *Académie* and the French used by the average man on the street as similar to the differences between Classical and Vulgar Latin. Just because the *Académie* deems one variant standard and another deviant does not mean that the deviant form is immediately abandoned. Thus the impact of the *Académie* must not be overstated when considering the plight of regional languages in France (Estival

and Pennycook 2011). Nevertheless, the establishment of the *Académie* is a clear indication of the close scrutiny language comes under in France and helps us understand how the prestige of standard French has risen to such an extent that all regional and social variation has been dubbed *patois*, or bad French.

If linguistic features play so minor a role in determining whether a vernacular is a language or a dialect then what are the key factors? The simple truth is that social and political factors play a far greater role in the elevation of a dialect to the status of a language. Chambers and Trudgill (1980:12) cite the popular claim that a 'language is a dialect with an army and a navy'. In the case of the mutually intelligible Scandinavian languages, it is political borders which delineate the languages, not linguistic ones.

How does this issue apply to the case of Gallo? The evolution of language in France is well documented. Lodge (1993) and Rickard (1974) provide in-depth discussions of the evolution of what we now term Standard French. However, the other *langues d'oïl* figure little in these works once *Francien* becomes selected as the language of the state, and so, in order to understand Gallo's situation, we must consider the linguistic history of France but from the point of view of those varieties which were not chosen as the national standard.

2.3 The origins of Gallo

To begin, let us recall the role that Latin, particularly Vulgar Latin (VL), played in the evolution of language in France. Prior to the Roman conquest of Gaul, which was all but complete by the end of the first century B.C., the Gauls spoke regionalised forms of Celtic, collectively known as Gaulish. The Romans so successfully subdued Gaul that eventually Latin culture largely supplanted Celtic culture. Latin acquired all high-status functions as the Gauls learned the

language of their invaders in order to trade with them. While the Roman administration maintained minimal variation within the written language, the spoken language, VL, was subject to changes due to language contact, and as VL came into contact with Gaulish, the Gallo-Romans that used it incorporated many of their own regional features. Rickard notes the addition of many items to the VL lexicon; most of the borrowings relate to everyday items which, presumably, had no Latin equivalent given the different lifestyles and traditions (Rickard 1974:4).

Although Gaul remained under direct Roman rule for only a few centuries, the cultural conquest was much longer-lasting and persisted through another wave of invaders. Towards the end of the third century A.D., Gaul became the target of an increasing number of raids by Germanic tribes. In the north, the Franks were the predominant tribe and controlled the land north of the Seine after defeating the last pocket of organised Gallo-Roman resistance around 486. At the same time, Clovis managed to unite the Frankish tribes and was crowned the first king of Francia (Frankish Gaul) establishing the Merovingian dynasty which ruled from Ile-de-France. As a united nation, the Franks went on to defeat their rivals the Visigoths in 507 and the Burgundians in 534, cementing their control of the north of what we now know as France. Despite their success, Frankish culture and language did not suppress the Gallo-Roman culture as the Romans had suppressed Celtic culture. Instead, the Franks assimilated both culturally and linguistically to the Romance-speaking population (Hen 1995:24-25). Lodge notes that tracking the shift from Frankish to Romance is difficult due to the lack of evidence (Lodge 1993:63). However, the more immediate concern is this: Why would a successful invader abandon his own language and culture in favour of the language and culture of the people he had subjugated? There

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are a number of reasons. The Germanic tribes had been displaced from their homelands in the east and had been for many years a nomadic people, living in isolated groups. Such a lifestyle limits cultural and linguistic contact. Lodge comments that during the early years of their occupation of Gaul, the Franks lived under Salic law and allowed the Gallo-Romans to live under Roman law. But there was no ethnic segregation, so, as the tribes expanded and spread out across Gaul, the difference between what was Roman and what was Frankish began to break down. Despite these demographic developments, the key factor in language shift is motivation; therefore, if the Franks were content to adopt Gallo-Roman culture and language rather than impose their own, it is likely because they recognised something of value in the Gallo-Roman language and culture. In cases where this was not the case, Frankish influences can be found in the language. For example, medieval terms relating to feudalism and warfare are Germanic and not Romance in origin (Lodge 1993:64-65). While Frankish language no doubt influenced the development of Gallo-Romance in northern Gaul, it would appear that the emerging *langues d'oïl* are based more on traditional regional borders than anything else.

As the spoken language developed, it became less and less similar to Latin and can be seen as a form of Proto-Romance. An early attestation we have of this emerging vernacular is the Strasbourg Oaths. The oaths were taken by two of the sons of Louis the Pious on 14 February 842 to formalise an alliance against their brother Lothair who had the strongest claim on their father's kingdom. The oaths were recorded by Nithardus, a contemporary of the events, in the original *romana lingua* (Rickard 1974:20). The documentation of the oaths in this early text is the first example of the language that would become modern Standard French. Rickard describes this first text as being short, formulaic and visibly

influenced by Latin; these criticisms are hardly surprising however, as the only tool historians like Nithardus would have had to record such documents was the Latin orthography. Despite these criticisms, the recorded oaths do provide us with enough variation from comparable VL texts to state that by the ninth century A.D. people in Gaul were speaking a language which was markedly different to the VL spoken during the Roman invasion, and that efforts were being made to create a vernacular writing system by adapting the Latin orthography.

At this time, the notion of a unified nation, i.e. what we would today recognise as France, was a long way from reality. There was no centralised government or administration, which meant that the land was ruled by feudal kings and vassal lords. Each ruler governed a small region but contact with other areas was usually motivated by military aims not cultural exchange. The linguistic result was the evolution of dialect continua: the *langues d'oc* in the south and the *langues d'oïl* in the north. The southern continuum has been described as being closer to Latin due to the delayed spread of Germanic influence which started in the north. Conversely, the *langues d'oïl* are more observably influenced by Frankish. Over the course of the subsequent centuries, we begin to see how social and political events shape the sociolinguistic situation. In 987, Hugh Capet, the Duke of Ile-de-France was elected king of France despite being only marginally more powerful than some of his own vassals. He was able to maintain his position thanks to the support of the Church which, from this point, would play an integral part in the shaping of the French nation and its language. While the influence of Capet's kingship was limited to a small region, it was the beginning of a unified central government that would grow in influence and power over the coming centuries.
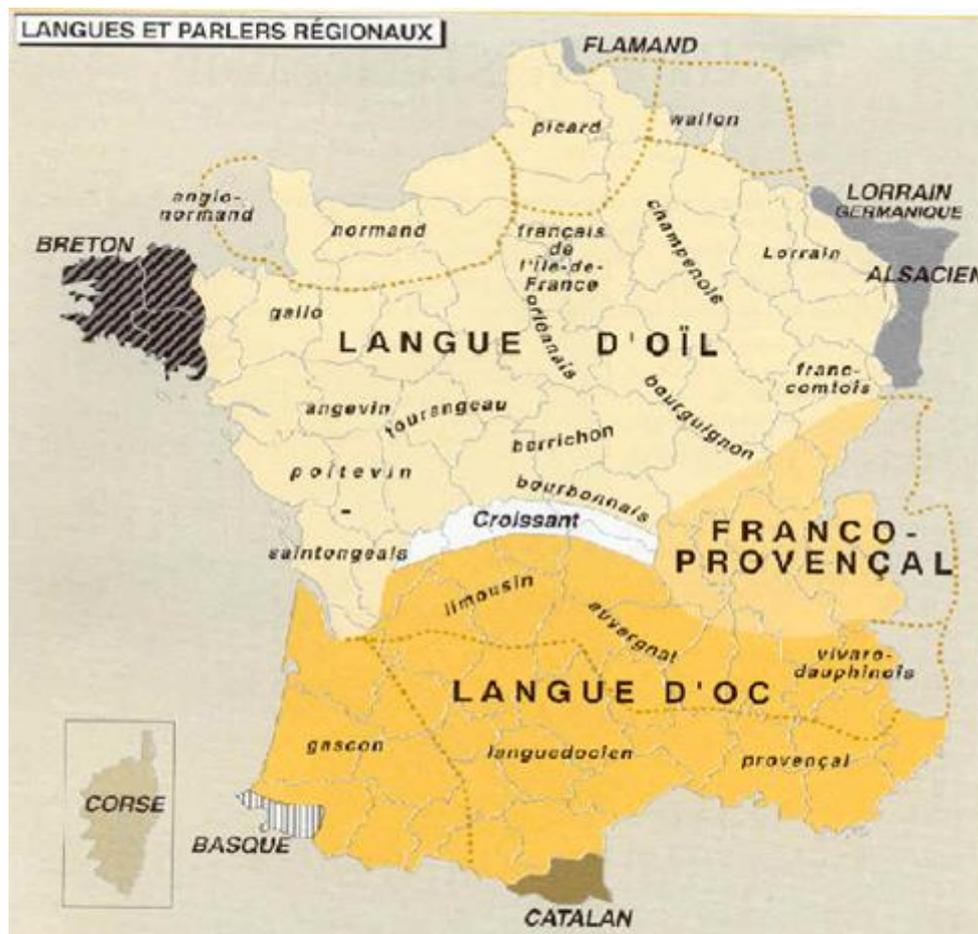
Map 1: The regional language divisions in France

As a member of the langue d'oïl family, Gallo shares much of its history as well as its linguistic features with Norman, Picard, Poitevin etc. As Gallo is found on the western limit of the dialect continuum, it is more removed from the central *oïl* dialects, particularly Francien which would later become the basis for the national language of France. Due to its location, Gallo is also subject to other social and political factors. Just as the Franks were settling in the north of Gaul, other Germanic tribes continued to push west in search of their own lands to conquer. Crossing the Channel, the Angles, Jutes and Saxons found the Romanised Britons in much the same disorganised state as the Franks had found the Gallo Romans. Their expansion was bloody but relatively rapid, and soon the Celtic Britons were pushed into the very corners of the Isles, into Wales, Cornwall and

Scotland, where Celtic influence and culture can still be found to this day. Some, however, were less content to live on the fringes of their ancestral lands and looked for a place to settle amongst their own. The Britons had traded with the Gallo-Romans of the Armorican peninsula (i.e. present-day Brittany) for years, and their language was closely related to the Celtic spoken in Gaul prior to the arrival of the Romans. There has, in fact, been much debate about the survival of Gaulish in Armorica; there are some who believe that in the far west of the peninsula, Gaulish continued to be spoken throughout the occupation and that Breton borrowings in French are actually Gaulish (see Lodge 1993:57, Capelle 1988:18-19). Due to the similarities between Gaulish Celtic and British Celtic, it is difficult to determine for certain whether loan words in French are Breton or Gaulish, however, the similarities between the two are likely the reason why the refugee Britons settled in Armorica. The Armoricans had weathered the Frankish invasion better than most and it is possible that they thought the Britons might be able to help them protect their corner of Gaul. It is uncertain whether or not the Armoricans asked for help from the migrating Britons against the Franks. It is perhaps more likely that they, the Britons, simply sought to settle on the peninsula and subsequently joined the fight against the Franks. In either case, the Britons successfully settled in the west, so successfully in fact that they soon began to spread across the region, which they renamed 'Little Britain' in reference to their homeland, and displaced Gallo-Romance with their own language. The term *gallo,* or *galo*, is in fact Breton in origin and was originally used by the newly settled Britons to denote anyone not sharing their own language and culture (Chauveau 1989). The term has since been taken to refer to the Romance language and culture of the inhabitants of eastern or Lower

Brittany, the first group of non-Celtic speakers the Bretons came into contact with. We will return to the regional history later.

We have established that the difference between languages and dialects is not so much linguistic as social and political. The reasons why Gallo has for so long been considered a dialect of French must therefore also be primarily social and political. In order to understand the relationship between Gallo and Standard French, we must determine why it was Francien, and not Gallo, that was selected to be the national language.

It has been noted that Hugh Capet was elected king of France in 987 and that he was the duke of Ile-de-France whose vernacular was the *langue d'oïl* that later came to be named Francien. It is logical that as the king's dominion increased and his court grew, the prestige of Francien would increase with it as the lower classes recognised the social possibilities that come with speaking the language of the ruling elite. It has also been noted that the limit of Capet's power was restricted to a small region in the north. In the south, a contender was rising in the *langue d'oc* that we now commonly refer to as Occitan. However, once again the Church intervened and the resulting Albigensian Crusade (1209-13) brought the south under the control of the king and all but destroyed Occitan's written evolution and dominance. In the north, social mobility led regional speakers to learn, if not speak, the language of the king's court; in the south, direct action against a political rival brought about the same end.

While the nation as a whole was undergoing substantial social change, the Bretons fought hard to defend and establish their region and in this they were largely successful. Although internal conflict led to numerous changes in leadership, the region was sufficiently well organised and its people united that

it managed to repel threats by the kings of Francia, as well as the Vikings mounting incursions from their lands in Normandy, to annex Brittany. However, as a result of the continued disruptions and threats to their way of life, Breton nobles began to leave the Celtic strongholds in the west and settle in Rennes and Nantes where the French aristocracy were well established (Tréhel-Tas 2007:24). From a linguistic standpoint, this diaspora of Breton social elites is perhaps the most relevant as it is a recorded instance of language contact between the Celtic language Breton and Gallo-Romance, specifically the *langue-d'oïl* variety Gallo. Despite the power shifts and struggles, at no point was Breton spoken universally in the political region of Brittany; there have always been Romance speakers living in the east of the region. While evidence during this early period is limited, the presumed extent of Breton's expansion eastwards is a frontier that does not include either Rennes or Nantes, even though both claim a strong link to Breton heritage and tradition. Thus we see that while the other *langues d'oïl* had the opportunity to grow and evolve as the vernaculars of every-day speech in the north, and while Francien was undergoing the processes of selection, elaboration and codification, Gallo was already under pressure from a second higher-prestige language, Breton.

While French, as a spoken language, continued to grow and develop across the kingdom, the written language took much longer to catch up. Since the Strasbourg Oaths, attempts to write down the dialects of northern France had been in progress, but it was not until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that a concerted shift from Latin to Romance occurred. Lodge postulates a number of socioeconomic reasons for this shift, resulting in an increase in prosperity and with it a need for a commonly-known written language to document not only the commercial transactions but also to encode cultural works which abound at such

times. In 1539, the *Ordnance Villers-Cotterêts* recognised the changes occurring in the country by decreeing that henceforth all legal and administrative affairs would be conducted in the *langage maternel francoys*. The choice of *francoys*, although it was indeed the language of the king's court and the social elite, suggests that it was more intelligible to the majority of the population than Latin. The name, *francoys*, links this form of early French to both *francien*, which came before it, and *Français*, which came after. Due to the fact that the *Ordnance Villers-Cotterêts* was aimed at eliminating the use of Latin as an official language, and that previous edicts of the same period had specifically differentiated between *francoys* and *langue maternel/vulgaire du pays*, some dispute the possibility that the *langue maternel* of the *Ordnance Villers-Cotterêts* may refer to written forms of regional vernaculars. While some consider the possibility of a supra-regional dialectal form of Gallo-Romance prior to this period, the adoption of *francoys* in 1539 suggests one of two things: either a supra-regional form did already exist or the vernaculars *'du pays'* were still sufficiently mutually intelligible that they could be used as legal documents across the kingdom. These legal changes are important to our discussion of Gallo, as in 1532 Brittany became a province of the kingdom of France. If a local vernacular, i.e. Gallo, did exist during this early period of French history, we would expect to find evidence of it in surviving texts, however, documents from this period exhibit much orthographic variation which makes it difficult to identify and distinguish different dialects. Conversely, there is evidence to suggest that the Parisian writing system was in use in Brittany as early as 1350 (Lodge 1993:122-123). However, one must remember that it would have been use by a comparatively small number, as literacy was not widespread.

2.4 The marginalisation of regional languages in France

As it had the support of the both the throne and the church, we may say that *francoys* was selected by those in power as the vernacular that would serve as the standard language for the new nation. The selection of *francoys* was a key part in the monarchy's aim to centralise the government and legitimise France as a centre of culture and reason in the eyes of the world. To render a centralised government more efficient, it was necessary for *francoys*, or Early French, to undergo standardisation, a process which would take centuries to complete but which would, in combination with an aggressive language policy, suppress regional language use in France. As the vernacular of the social elite, French was already positioned as the higher prestige language. During the Enlightenment, efforts were made, notably by Cardinal Richelieu, to establish French as the language of culture and reason in Europe by commissioning numerous works of literature and establishing the *Académie française* to maintain the integrity of the language and establish a dictionary and grammar for its continued use. As the language became codified, it acquired new functions, specifically those linked to the Renaissance - science, medicine and philosophy - and continued to acquire functions previously held by regional languages. Without the patronage of the state, the other regional languages could not contend with Parisian French and, in order to have dealings with the ruling class, people were obliged to learn the latter variety.

The French Revolution, and the establishment of a republic, served not only to strengthen the centralised position of the government, but established a new set of unifying principles of equality which opposed diversity in all its forms, including language use. It is thanks to the Revolution that French ideas of State and nation were fused into one, linking patriotism, culture and language to government, law

and the newly championed ideals of *liberté, egalité, fraternité*. Divergence from these ideals, and from the State that promotes them, are from thenceforth viewed as rebellion and dealt with accordingly. The proximity of the newly standardised French language to the *langues d'oïl* spoken by the majority of the country's northern citizens served the Revolutionary government's cause, as it was a simple affair for those in power to defame the *langues d'oïl* as rural vernaculars of uneducated peasants trying to imitate their betters in Paris. The idea of *patois* was born and the term was applied to all those vernaculars that were in some way related to French but which were not standard. The final nail in the coffin for regional languages in France was the education reforms of 1881 and 1882. Jules Ferry, Minister of Public Instruction during the 1880s, sought to bring the education system in line with republican ideals by secularisation. Until this point, the majority of schools were run by the church, which often conducted lessons in the vernacular most commonly used by their students. One of the consequences of the reforms was State-sponsored teacher training and the enforced use of French in classrooms. Teachers were required to abandon their own regional vernaculars and punish students who used regional variants in the classroom. These reforms, as well as conscription during the World Wars, which brought soldiers from across France together and forced them to speak in the language they all understood, i.e. Standard French, all but drastically reduced regional language use in France by the middle of the twentieth century.

2.5 Revival or Rebirth

In 1951, the *Loi Deixonne* was passed in France which recognised the existence of regional languages in France and authorised their teaching in formal education. Originally, the law authorised the teaching of Basque, Breton, Catalan and Occitan; over the years, amendments have been made to include Corsican

(1974), Tahitian (1981) and a number of Melanesian languages (1992). The *Loi Deixonne* never made any mention of the *langues d'oïl*, nevertheless, it established a precedence and resulted in the acceptance of regional language teaching by regional governments. In the case of Gallo, the 1977 *Charte culturelle de Bretagne* permitted the teaching of Gallo language and culture in primary and secondary education. Although language activism in Brittany existed prior to these judicial changes, they heralded the rise of Gallo associations.

What might be referred to as the 'Gallo Movement' began to take shape in the 1970s in the wake of other language revivals. It existed initially as the concern of the speech community itself. Prominent individuals like Gilles Morin who, although not a trained linguist or academic, recognised that his language and culture was losing ground to French and that action must be taken to ensure its survival. In 1976, *Les Amis du Parler Gallo*, the first specifically pro-Gallo organisation, was founded by Gilles Morin. As interest in Gallo and its preservation grew, the organisation evolved. In 1984, a schism in the organisation lead to the creation of a new association *Aneit*, which was founded by former members of the '*commission linguistique*' of *Les Amis du Parler Gallo*. *Aneit* continued the work of developing the language, particularly a written form which will be discussed later in the chapter. As well as *Les Amis du Parler Gallo*, the *Association des Enseignants de Gallo* was established during the 1970s and was specifically responsible for organising the education programmes used in primary and secondary schools across the region. *Les Amis du Parler Gallo* became *Bertaèyn Galeizz*, arguably the most well-known and influential Gallo association in Upper Brittany today. The aims of *Bertaèyn Galleizz* are as follows:

Sauver et dévlopper le gallo, langue parlée en Haute-Bretagne.

Intervenir quotidiennement auprès de tous publics pour informer sur l'existence, l'histoire et la richesse du gallo.

Faire du gallo une langue moderne et favoriser sa transmission auprès toutes les générations.[2]

According to an article published in the newspaper *Ouest-France* in October 2015, 23 Gallo organisations, including *Bertaèyn Galleizz*, were once involved in the campaign to raise awareness, promote Gallo use and develop the language, although there are fare fewer which are currently active. *Chubri*, founded in 2007, is one of the only organisations still active, which focuses on the Gallo language. Other associations currently active in Upper Brittany, such as *La Bouèze*, *La Granjagoul* and *Gallo Tonic*, are more focused on preserving and transmitting Gallo culture.

By the 1980s linguists began to take note and the first academic papers on the subject of Gallo began to appear. The evolution of what will be referred to in this chapter as 'Gallo studies' can be quite neatly grouped into these three decades. Unsurprisingly, work conducted during the 1980s focused on two main areas: linguistic description and introducing the academic community to Gallo. Within this period, the celebrated works of Jean-Paul Chauveau (1984, 1989) were published and remain two of the most influential and detailed descriptions of the language. During the 1990s, Gallo activists worked to sufficiently distinguish Gallo from French and legitimize it as an authentic Romance language, or in other words, a language which is verifiably descended from Latin as opposed to

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[2] "To save and develop Gallo, the spoken language of Upper Brittany.
To inform the public regarding the existence, history and cultural richness of Gallo.
To make Gallo a modern language and encourage its transmission across all generations."

some other language. Their efforts drew the attention of the academic and linguistic community. Academic studies, focusing on a broad range of linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects, had begun to appear in the nineteen eighties. In 1996 the first edition of a series named *Cahiers de Sociolinguistique* was published by the University of Rennes 2 under the title *Langues et Parlers de l'Ouest*; the focus was language use in Brittany and Normandy and the issue included three papers specifically focused on Gallo. In 1997 issues two and three of the *Cahiers de Sociolinguistique* were published in one volume under a similar title to the previous one, *Vitalité des Parlers de l'Ouest*, but the focus was expanded to include francophone Canada. In this second compilation of papers, Gallo figures as the focus of a further three articles. Since the year 2000, work on Gallo has continued to increase both in quantity and scope, so as to include many aspects of linguistic study, beyond simple description, particularly language contact and sociolinguistic attitudes. It has also seen an increase in the number of publications by Gallo associations and enthusiastic political activists, thanks to the French government's signing of the European Charter for regional languages in 2003, a factor which will be discussed further in this chapter and in chapter three. The *Autour du Gallo; État des lieux, analyses et perspectives (Cahiers se Sociolinguistiques No. 12)* was published in 2008 following a conference at the University of Rennes 2 dedicated specifically to Gallo. The collection contains ten papers, not all of which can be discussed here in depth, written by a mix of academics an Gallo activists.

This evolution has also resulted in Gallo associations publishing articles in academic journals themselves, raising awareness and promoting the need for revitalization, giving particular attention to the subjects of attitudes, identity, and transmission. What follows is a review of the work which has taken place since

the first waves of revitalisation in the late 1970s. The reason for including such a review is that these studies provide an insight into Gallo's situation at the turn of the twenty-first century which will provide the context for this study.

2.6 Diglossia in Upper Brittany?

In his article published in *Langues en Contact,* Manzano (2003) looks at Gallo's interaction with French and in so doing shows how Gallo has in some senses benefitted from its proximity to the national standard. He states early on in this paper that Gallo has been effectively overlooked academically due to the fact that for so many years it has been on the verge of dying out, and yet it persists into a new century. The anticipation of death, Manzano argues, is premature and has resulted in misconceptions about the *langues d'oïl*, which have only recently begun to be corrected (2003:137). Looking at the situation of Upper Brittany, as an example of diglossia, Manzano reasons that Gallo has endured due to the stability of the French/Gallo division. While French has very effectively dominated formal sociolinguistic domains, Gallo has managed to maintain itself in informal domains, at least within the rural areas of the region. As a result, Gallo and the other northern Romance varieties can still be found in more isolated villages and towns of France. However, Manzano also recognises that this diglossic perspective does not take into consideration his A+B=A' equation. Put simply, Manzano argues that in a diglossic situation, like the one found in Upper Brittany, contact between an invading language (A), and the local language (B), does not result in an amalgamation of the two (AB), but instead a localised form of the more dominant language (usually A) develops, (A') (p.134). In the case of the *langues d'oïl* in northern France, French 'mixed' with the existing regional languages, such as Norman, Gallo, and Picard, and formed regionalised varieties of French known as *patois*. In the minds of the general population, the

original B languages and the *patois* are the same entity. Manzano argues that the effect of this contact between French and Gallo is not only affecting people's attitudes towards Gallo, i.e. considering it a form of 'bad French', but also altering Gallo linguistically to the point that only the Gallo-influenced regional French is likely to survive. The trace elements of Gallo which survive in this regional variety of the standard are more often phonological and lexical features, items which are immediately recognisable as non-standard, but which do not overly impair intelligibility (p.138).

Given the findings of more recent studies concerning attitudes and identity (Rey 2010; Nolan 2006, see chapter 5), one might argue that the phonetic and lexical markers of regional French are all that is necessary to maintain regional identities. Given that so few see the value in learning the B languages in their entirety, but prefer to maintain a link to the regions and cultures they are associated with through the regional variety of French, the effort involved in maintaining and revitalizing these languages seems unnecessary.

Manzano concludes his article by outlining his *magasin dialectal*, in which he compares regional languages to shops containing linguistic elements of historical French, both in terms of language and culture. As such, regional languages act as cultural stores in which the nation's history is encoded and remains accessible to anyone searching for it, thanks to the ways in which regional French evolves and acts as a conduit between A and B languages. While the phonetic differences between B languages, regional French, and standard French have developed pejorative connotations, the lexical items which have survived seem to have avoided this negativity; instead they are viewed with a certain degree of revered nostalgia. Evidence of this can be seen in the popularity of Gallo performers such as *Roger le Contou* and *Fred le Disou.*

2.7 Gallo as a written language

Firstly, we must ask whether or not Gallo is truly a written language, or rather, when it was widely spoken, was Gallo written by its speakers? According to a 2006 study by the *Centre de Recherche sur la Diversité Linguistique de la Francophonie* (CREDILIF), 38% of informants claimed they were able to read Gallo texts, and 23% claimed they were able to write it (cited by Simon 2008:183). What were they reading? What does it look like and where did a written form come from? Early Proto-Romance/Gallo-Roman texts, such as the Strasbourg Oaths, while clearly distinguishable and divergent from VL, are difficult to identify as examples of distinct *langues d'oïl*. As discussed above, the shift in writing from Latin to *francoys* began as early as the 843 AD, and was likely well under way by the early part of the second millennium. By the Renaissance and the Revolution, we can consider the shift as being complete by virtue of the fact that cultural works in regional languages are no longer being produced. Furthermore, by the early twentieth century, language policy focused on eliminating use of regional languages in everyday communication. The question that arises is, did a written form of Gallo exist prior to the establishment of *francoys* as the language of the king's court and the development of French as a national standard?

It is difficult to determine the answer with any certainty. In their introductory talks and presentations, the *Association des enseignants de Gallo* list two texts from the twelfth century as being evidence of Gallo's written heritage. *La Chanson d'Aiquin* tells the story of the conquest of Brittany by Charlemagne; its author is unknown but the text shares many similarities with modern Gallo. Likewise, *Le Livre de Manières*, written by *Etienne de Fougères*, bishop of Rennes, contains verbs, nouns and prepositions found in modern written norms. A collection of

Christmas stories, written in the sixteenth century in Le Fail near Rennes, is also highlighted by the *Association des enseignants de Gallo* as an example of the written form of Gallo, one which demonstrates '*les particularismes et les écarts qui caractérisent la langue de Haute-Bretagne.*'[3] Whether or not a traditional written form existed, modern efforts to produce one are well underway.

The first modern work published on the subject of Gallo was by Jean-Paul Chauveau (1984): *Le Gallo: une présentation*, was published in two volumes by the Rennes C.R.D.P. and described in detail the Gallo language as spoken throughout Upper Brittany. Chauveau's work, based on his own fieldwork and observations, describes the variations in lexis and phonology across the region as well as highlighting some of Gallo's grammatical characteristics. In the opening passage, Chauveau explicitly states that the work is not meant to be taken as either a pedagogical method or a grammar. This is because such works presuppose unified and accepted norms which his research showed did not exist. In so far as the present study is concerned, this declaration by Chauveau is perhaps more relevant than the description of the language itself as it provides a clear starting point with regard to sociolinguistic research on the language. In 1984, the evidence showed that speakers of Gallo used varying forms of the language across the region, both in terms of phonology and lexis, and while intelligibility remained largely unaffected, codification was not likely. However, with this piece of work, and his subsequent volume *Evolutions phonétiques en gallo* (1989), Chauveau demonstrated that Gallo was sufficiently distinct from French so as to be considered a separate language from the national standard,

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[3] Quotation taken from a series of posters displayed by the association at an introduction to Gallo evening in Chavagne (November 2013).

whilst clearly sharing a common ancestor, Vulgar Latin. Chauveau's work can be considered the catalyst which spurred many others into action.

One of those who followed Chauveau was Henriette Walter (1986), who wrote an academic introduction to Gallo entitled *Le galo hier et aujourd'hui,* which familiarizes its readers with the socio-historical and linguistic context of the language and culture. Walter also highlights the work undertaken by early twentieth-century dialectologists investigating the *langues d'oïl*. Walter's article clearly illustrates the evolution of linguistic studies, starting with the focus on national languages, which has been prevalent throughout the early half of the twentieth century, and ending with the growth of minority and heritage language studies which have developed over the past fifty years. Following this introduction, Walter broaches the subject of orthography, a topic which remains hotly debated within the Gallo community. Due to its relevance to the topic of transmission, I will look more closely at what Walter has to say about the Gallo writing system. Firstly, she recognises that Gallo has existed primarily as an oral language, a fact that those individuals first concerned with revitalizing Gallo had to address. For them it was a question of acquiring for Gallo the prestige they felt it deserved: as Walter writes *'…dans l'ésprit de l'homme de la rue, seules les langues qui s'écrivent seraient dignes de ce nom*' (1986:23). In the case of unstandardized languages, orthography is frequently debated, and often individuals are divided by the concepts of distinctiveness and utility; both of which will be discussed further – as it is also among Gallo users who have produced multiple written forms. Walter divides the four which were prevalent at the time of her research into two groups: those which enable the user to *'…écrire son propre usage'* and those which prescribed certain norms, often ones which linked Gallo to French (p.25). *Les Amis du Parler Gallo*, recognising the need to

promote a system that was widely accessible, chose to incorporate French orthographic principles in their rendering of a written Gallo form. Walter summarizes their criteria as follows:

> *Les mots prononcés à la française seront orthographiés comme en français (Ex. une chatte).*
>
> *Les mots hybrides se conforment à la fois aux conventions françaises et aux conventions gallèses (Ex. une bichette « une biquette »).*
>
> *Les mots spécifiquement gallos seront orthographiés au moyen des signes disponibles pour le français (par ex. ch pour [ʃ] avec quelques compléments, tels que ë pour le voyelle centrale ou lh pour 'l mouillé' et jh pour 'jh expiré'.* (Walter 1986 :25)

However, these criteria were intended by the association only as '*indications sur les possibilités de mettre [le] gallo sous une forme écrite.*' (Walter 1986:25).

The second form*, la graphie Vantyé*, after the association *Vantyé* (which no longer exists), is in fact a Gallo-Breton style which took as its aim to '*rapprocher le gallo du breton et à l'éloigner du français'*. Two notable features of this form are the use of k for [k] in words such as *écrire* and *musique* (*ékrir, musik*), and w for [w] (e.g. *oiseau > wézyaw*) (Walter 1986:25). Furthermore, this style omits in the written form sounds which are not pronounced, a feature which has been adopted by more modern orthographies. As with *Les Amis du Parler Gallo*, the association *Vantyé* intended their conventions to be used as a guide by Gallo speakers. It should be noted that there has been no recent literature on the subject of *Vantyé* nor was it so much as alluded to in conversations this researcher has had with current Gallo activists.

The remaining two written forms which Walter notes are those put forward by Alan Raude and a proposed unified writing system, yet to be realised. Raude's orthography, established during his time with the association *Maezoe* (circa 1978), veers towards distinctiveness rather than accessibility and complete separation from French orthographical conventions. It also aims to unite common features of Gallo while remaining faithful to existing Gallo texts (Walter 1986:26). These common features, combined with their attestation in existing texts, reinforce claims of authenticity and distinction from French. While the details of these features will not be explored here, it is important to be aware of their existence and the efforts being made to raise people's awareness of them. Raude's orthography may be the first organized attempt to realize this, but it is certainly not the only attempt, as will be discussed later.

Finally, the proposed unified orthography came about in response to the publication of the cultural charter of the region of Brittany in 2004. The regional government took steps during the early 1980s to ensure the survival and promotion of Brittany's languages and culture, and the '*graphie unifiée*' represents one such step on the side of Gallo. Thierry Magot, Laurent Motrot and Jean-Yves Bauge were commissioned to elaborate the writing system in 1980. It avoided complete separation from French conventions, while borrowing features from other Romance languages. Unlike Raude's system, it sought out links to contemporary spoken Gallo rather than historical texts, and in doing so developed more into a tool comparable to the system proposed by *Les Amis du Parler Gallo*, albeit based on prescribed norms. In 1984 a pamphlet was published under the title *Nostre lenghe aneit* by the original compilers of the writing system, now a part of the association *Aneit* (p.27). In some ways the *graphie unifiée* tries to unite the most common features of existing written forms

with contemporary spoken styles. Relevant to the study of attitudes and identities is what Walter notes immediately following her account of the developing writing systems. In preparation for the publication of her article, and in reference to the competing orthographies of the time, Walter conducted a brief survey of Gallo teachers enrolled in the 1985 *stage de gallo*, organised by the Rectorat de l'Académie de Rennes. She found that Gallo users were reluctant to adopt one form over another. The struggle between usefulness and accessibility over authenticity and separation was already dividing the speech community at this time, and the literature shows that this division continues to this day. It should be viewed as a factor affecting the transmission of Gallo through education and is thus of particular interest to my study. A more detailed account of the orthographies that were being developed during this early period can be found in Walter (1986).

In chapter three, we will look at the impact a written form can have on the development, survival and revitalisation of an oral vernacular. In order to better understand the status of Gallo, we must consider the more modern attempts to develop, use and maintain written form.

Gallo activists are keen to establish Gallo's authenticity, as a distinct descendant of Latin, and develop a written form. It should be noted that the twenty-first century has also seen a rise in the number of articles and books written by activists of Gallo. While not trained linguists, Auffray, Simon, and Ôbrée have each had an article published in *Autour du Gallo*, a fact that deserves recognition. One might argue that the points they make should be viewed with a certain amount of caution, given their subjective attachment to the cause. However, being so close to the movement, they are also aware of the 'up to the minute' issues and concerns that Gallo faces, and this is the reason for including a

summary of their work here. In 2008, at the time of *Autour du Gallo's* publication, the issue in question was orthography, and all three writers submitted papers based on this topic; interestingly, no 'academic' paper included in this volume goes into detail concerning the competing orthographies. As well as being up-to-date with emerging issues within the Gallo speech community, the subject of Gallo orthography is particularly important to the study of language maintenance and transmission in Upper Brittany and these three writers help to explain the situation and give an account of what is being done to resolve the issue.

Christophe Simon, an employee at the association *Bertaèyn Galeizz*, begins his paper by stating outright that the general consensus regarding regional languages in general, and Gallo in particular, as being restricted to an oral designation is incorrect. In support of this statement he cites the results of Blanchet and Le Coq's survey, already mentioned above, which reported that 38% of the 138 informants were able to read Gallo, and 23% claimed to be able to write Gallo. The issue, as alluded to in the article by Auffray, is intelligibility of individual writing systems, as no one form or set of norms has ever been accepted. This has perhaps been confounded by the attempts of some associations to produce guides rather than prescriptive norms. In either event, Simon argues for the necessity for convention in order to preserve, maintain, transmit and legitimize both the Gallo language and its culture.

Bèrtran Ôbrée, former president of the association *Chubri*, maintains his support of the *Moga* writing system. Ôbrée was involved in the compilation of the very first Gallo dictionary, *Motier de galo* (1995 no longer in print). During this period, the argument between accessibility and distinctiveness was erupting, perhaps best exemplified by *Bertaèyn Galeizz* adoption of a Gallo spelling of their name over the original French form, *Bretagne Gallèse*. The association has since

altered the spelling its name further still to *Bertègn Galèzz*. The orthographic system used in the *Motier de galo* perhaps represents the starting point in this divide, and stands as middle ground between those who went on to develop the '*ABCD*' system (discussed later in the chapter), adopted by Auffray and similar to existing French norms, and those like Ôbrée who favoured a system that highlighted Gallo's differences. Like some of the older attempts to develop a writing system, *Moga* retains a flexibility that enables it to adapt and change with the spoken language. Its link with the spoken language is reinforced further by Ôbrée's attempts to promote the use of *Moga* by those involved in the Gallo arts scene, of which he is himself a well-known figure. Thus *Moga* has been disseminated across the speech community through poems, songs, and even several translations of Hergé's Tintin. Ôbrée's article goes on to explain the 'architecture' of *Moga* and includes pronunciation guides and other tools which will not be discussed here. However, it is important to note his assertion that a written language must be easily accessible, in accordance what he calls the '*loi de moindre effort'*, yet it seems that he has sacrificed this in order to assert Gallo's independence from French and in doing so has made *Moga* almost inaccessible to those whose interest in Gallo is casual.

Régis Auffray has become an individual of particular importance in the world of Gallo since 2005. He has been influential in compiling a Gallo-French dictionary as well as creating a codified grammar. Attempting to encode an oral language poses a number of problems. Written language is used in different ways and for different purposes than oral language. Unlike spoken language which is spontaneous, the written form is almost always considered and its use planned. Written language is used in administrative, educational, political and legal functions, functions which require a convention of norms. Creating these norms

requires a consensus among the speaker population, who themselves may have different ideas about how the written language should express their culture and language. Therefore, we see that the creation, adaptation or adoption of a written form represents a mammoth task and yet it is so essential to the survival of a language that it is often one of the primary concerns of language activists.

Since the beginning of the Gallo revitalisation movement, multiple written forms of Gallo have emerged, the earliest ones being identified by Walter as discussed above. Throughout the first decade of the twenty-first century, the orthographies still in use were: Praud, Vantyé, 'ELG' Moga, Deriano and '*ABCD*', as well as a number of idiosyncratic styles which have been developed by poets and writers attempting to transcribe Gallo in a way that matches their attitudes and beliefs about the language. These forms are not used by multiple speakers and often vary over time. Only the more established forms, those which have undergone some form of standardisation, are in common use, as far as is possible for a minority language. '*ABCD*', Deriano, 'ELG' and Moga are, in some ways, in competition with one another, vying to be the official written norm. However, as there is no governmental authority endorsing any one of the orthographies, the acceptance of one standard is based upon the successful diffusion of the various norms by the individuals or organisation which promote them.

The reason so many written forms exist is down to individual beliefs about how the written language should represent Gallo and its culture. On the one hand, some think the written form should reflect Gallo's distinctiveness and, as such, should not use established norms similar to those of French. Of those listed below, Praud and Vantyé represent the best examples of distanciated orthographies, those which are obviously dissimilar to French by the use of different norms which highlight lexical or phonological variation from the national

standard. The Deriano, Ôbrée and ELG writing systems represent more accessible orthographies that have adapted the conventions established by French grammarians to aid learners in their use of Gallo. While distanciation serves the purpose of distinguishing Gallo from French, it alienates some who are unfamiliar with these new norms and makes it more difficult for new speakers to learn the language. Tréhel-Tas (2007) uses an example sentence to demonstrate the alternate ways of transcribing sounds similar, if not identical, to those used in standard French. We can see clearly from these examples, that the Deriano, Ôbrée and ELG varieties are closely related to French and that, even non-native French speakers can, with some effort, understand written Gallo.

Standard French	il faut que j'aille le voir aujourd'hui
Praud	i faw ke j'awj le vèy ane
Vantyé	i faw ke j'awj le vèy ane
Deriano	faùt qe j'aùje le vair aneit
Ôbrée/MOGA	il fao qe j'aoje le vaer anoet
ELG	il faut qe j'auj le veir anoet

To combat the distanciation/accessibility problem, a new form, *ABCD*, has emerged. The *ABCD* orthography came about as a result of the combined experience of Gallo teachers who recognised the need for a universal written form which would enable more efficient teaching of the language. These teachers assimilated into their writing style elements which were well received by their students, for example the use of /gh/ and /qh/, and abandoned less common aspects like vocalic /r/. Above all, the aim of the *ABCD* is to provide a tool which

enables the transcription of natural speech and as such is not fixed but open to accommodate future evolution. The orthography's name, *ABCD*, refers to the names of its primary authors; Auffray, Bienvenu, Le Coq and Deriano. As the author of the most commonly used *ABCD* dictionary and grammar, Auffray is often credited with the creation of the *ABCD* orthography, but it should be noted that he is a contributor only. Furthermore, Patrik Deriano has authored both a dictionary and a grammar based on his own orthography, which is closely related to *ABCD*, and is believed to be superior to *ABCD*, by those who desire a written form which is more distanciated from French. Nevertheless, due to the success and availability of the Auffray dictionary and grammar, the *ABCD* orthography is fast becoming the most prevalent written form of Gallo in Upper Brittany. Auffray's works are certainly the most commonly used tools in education, and may be found on the desks of students in both official state school classes as well as on the bookshelves of adult learners attending private lessons. The issue of accessibility has had a significant impact on speakers and is raised almost immediately once the discussion turns to written forms of Gallo. On the one hand, there is an idealistic belief that resonates among many in the speech community that Gallo should be instantly recognisable as being different from French. I believe this is a direct result of the geographical proximity with Breton, which has its own distinct orthography being Celtic rather than Romance. It seems to have become almost second nature for Gallo speakers to compare Gallo with Breton, across a wide range of aspects, and it appears that a number of Gallo activists view Breton's relative success as being linked to its obvious dissimilarities with French. Nevertheless, the pragmatists, specifically those involved in the teaching of Gallo, recognise the positive impact that using French conventions has on learners. To this point, the *ABCD* orthography represents the closest any form

has come to balancing the issues of accessibility and distanciation, however there remain some critics that consider it to be too close to French.

2.8 The Language

Tréhel-Tas (2007:47) describes Gallo as a grammatically rich language with a wide variety of forms. One of the common lay-person's criticisms of dialects is their reduced form, therefore, this final section of the chapter will provide a brief linguistic overview of the language to make explicit the extent of the variation between Gallo and French. As mentioned above, there are a number of written forms in use in Upper Brittany, and several have codified grammars and dictionaries, the most prevalent of which is the *ABCD* orthography. At the time of writing, the only other published dictionary and grammar, available for purchase from bookstores as opposed to specialist online retailers, are written by Patrick Deriano. Deciding which form to use in this description is arbitrary, as the differences between the two forms are primarily orthographical not grammatical. Deriano's grammar was written seven years before Auffray's *Chapè Chapiao* (2012) and as a contributor to the *ABCD* form, Deriano certainly influenced Auffray. Given the increased use of *ABCD,* as well as the fact that we have taken the time to describe the *ABCD* orthography in the preceding section, it seems logical to take our description from *Chapè Chapiao.* However, by taking the description from Deriano, we present a more distanciated written form which will also highlight the differences between Gallo and French.

2.8.1 Phonology

Gallo is audibly quite different from French. Upon walking into a room where Gallo is being spoken, a French speaker immediately recognises the prosody as French but, upon approaching a group of speakers, it becomes apparent very quickly that the language being spoken is not the national standard. As well as

lexical differences, there are a number of phonological differences which mark Gallo, we will highlight the major differences between the phonological systems of Gallo and French, those that a visitor to Upper Brittany would immediately notice.

Regarding consonants, Gallo has [h], the affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] and palatalised plosives and fricatives. There is variation between apical [r] and dorsal [R]. The main difference in terms of vowels is that Gallo has a range of diphthongs, ending in [j] and [w].

Gallo also differs from French in the metathesis of *re* to *er*. For example, the adjective Breton becomes *Berton* in Gallo; likewise, in verbs, *regarder* becomes *ergarder*. One of the most obvious audible differences between Gallo and French is the realisation of 'qu' as [dʒ]. Given the frequency with which one encounters this sound, in words such as *que, qui*, *quel(s)/quelle(s)*, this difference is almost immediately noticed.

The following is a list of consonant combinations are common in Gallo, and some distinguish it from Standard French. Those combinations which end with either an *h* or an *l* may represent palatalization.

bll – [bl] or [bj]

ch – [ʃ]

cll – [kl], [kj], [tj], [sj]

fll – [fl] or [fj]

gh – [g], [gj], [j], [dʒ] ([dʒ] is characteristic of Gallo spoken in the west of the region).

gll – [gl], [gj] or [j]

gn – [ɲ]

ll – [j] after i

pll – [pl] or [pj]

qh – [k], [c], [kj], [tʃ] ([tʃ] is characteristic of Gallo spoken in the west of the region).

mm, nm, nn – two nasal consonants have the effect of nasalising the preceding vowel.

Gallo uses four semi-vowels; ou [w], i [j], u _, and y [j]. It also uses a number of diphthongs which set it aside from Standard French.

ae – [aj], [ɛj], [ɛ], or [ɑ]

ai – [aj], [ɛj], [ɛ]; occasionally [ə] when in the middle of a word or before the plural marker s.

aï – [aj], [ɛj], [ɛ], [i]

ao – [aw] and occasionally [ɔw]; [o] when at the beginning of a word.

eu – [œ], occasionally [Ø]

eû – [Ø], occasionally [œw]

iao – [jaw]; [ew] or [ɛw] in Loire-Atlantique, [jo] in parts of Ille-et-Vilaine, [ja] in the region around Fougères as well as the south of Brittany around Retz.

ou – [u]; sometimes realised [o] in the south of Ile-et-Vilaine when word-final.

oû – [u], [œw]

oué – [we], [wɛ], [wɑ], [wej], [wɛj], [waj]

2.8.2 Morphosyntax

Like French, Gallo uses indefinite and definite articles which are differentiated according to number and gender and which can be contracted if necessary. The singular forms are le and la are the same as French, however the plural written form *léz* differs from French in pre-consonantal contexts. When spoken, these definite articles are difficult to differentiate from French. Likewise, the indefinite articles *un/unn* (masculine, feminine) and the plural form *déz* differ from French when written but are almost indistinguishable from French when spoken. Tréhel-Tas (2007:53) notes that between two vowel sounds the plural forms *léz* and *déz* are reduced to *l'z* [lz] and *d'z* [dz], however, I have never noticed this in my observation of spoken Gallo. The contracted forms of these articles can differ from French in both written and spoken forms (depending on regional variations):

> *a+le = au   de+le = deü, do*

> *a+léz = èz   de+léz = déz, doz*

The articles listed above are taken from Tréhel-Tas and differ from the Deriano grammar in their use of accents in the plural form. Deriano chooses not to use as many accents in his system, for example: *lez, dez.* Auffray's grammar uses the same orthography as Standard French (les, des).

An important difference between Gallo and French is the trend of inverting the order of personnel pronouns in Gallo. In sentences where there is both a direct and an indirect object, the indirect object comes first. Therefore, a sentence such as 'I gave it to him' would be transcribed thus:

French: *Je le lui ai donné*

Gallo : *Je li l'ai donné*

As in French, nouns in Gallo can be simple or complex, masculine or feminine and singular or plural. In most cases, Gallo nouns take the same gender as their French counterparts, though there are some exceptions, for example; *unn aj; un âge* and *unn legume; un légume*. There are a number of ways to identify feminine nouns in Gallo; doubling of the word final consonant, e.g. *un veizein/unn veizeinn*; feminine endings –ózz, -oèrr and –ress for masculine nouns ending in –ór. There are also feminine nouns which are differentiated from the masculine forms by the article only. Plural forms are denoted in one of four ways;

1. lengthening of the vowel in word final syllable and the edition of a plural marker, s;

2. dipthongisation of the final vowel and the addition of a plural marker, s, for example: -al/-aus; èl/ -éaus; -èu/ -éaus; éau/ -éaus; il/ -ieus;

3. the addition of a plural marker, s to nouns ending in a vowel or a vowel and –t or –r;

4. the noun is differentiated from the singular form by the article only.

As with the articles described above, possessive adjectives and pronouns are distinguishable as Gallo in the written form only. Examples of these can be found in the appendices.

Once again, the Deriano orthography does not employ accents, while Auffray adopts the Standard French forms although he often omits the word final *e* (*notr, votr*).

As in French, Gallo verbs are conjugated according to their infinitive ending. In French, these verb endings are –er, -re and –ir; there are likewise three groups of verbs in Gallo. Group one is defined by the ending –er. Deriano and Auffray use the same orthographical conventions as Standard French, however, Tréhel-

Tas proposes a form which takes –ae; thus the verb 'to go' can appear as the French, *aller*, or *alae*, likewise, 'to hide', *cacher*, *qutae*; 'to whistle', *siffler, sublae*. Group two is identified by the ending –ir, for example *devair*. Finally, group three consists of verbs with a number of endings; Deriano lists them as: -air, -dr and –re. Some verbs are difficult to classify as they take the group two ending –ir in the infinitive, but conjugate according to the patterns in group one. These patterns are illustrated in the verb tables given in the Appendices. There are also the auxiliary verbs, *eytr* and *avair* (Deriano) or *étr* and *avair* (Auffray), which are conjugated differently, as they are in French.

It is important to note that in both the Deriano and Auffray grammars, as well as the overview given by Tréhel-Tas, the verb tables identify the *passé simple* as the primary past tense in use in Gallo. While this is perhaps true amongst writers and older speakers, it is not as noticeable among younger speakers and learners of Gallo, who tend to rely on the compound past (*passé-composé*), now used in French to the exclusion of the *passé simple*. Deriano alone explicitly includes compound tenses in his verb tables. This is important, as it shows Deriano's connection to the modern spoken language currently in use in Upper Brittany. Complete tables for the auxiliary verbs *avair* and *eytr*, as well as an example of a regular verb from group one, can be found in the Appendices. The passé-simple is given in the verb tables, however, other compound tenses for the verbs have been omitted as they are formed in the same way as the French. In some cases, the subjunctive form is not known. Deriano notes that it would be simple enough to formulate missing tenses given the patterns established across other groups but chooses not to do so himself (2005:365).

Finally, prefixes and suffixes are used a great deal in Gallo and would appear to be the primary means of creating nouns, usually through their addition to verbal roots. For example, the Gallo word for 'refrigerator', *un geroèrr* comes from adding the suffix –oèrr to the verb *geróae*, to freeze. Likewise, the suffix –ór is used to create nouns which describe individuals or their professions; therefore, the word for 'teacher' in Gallo is formed by adding –ór to the verb *anseinynae* (to teach), *un anseinyór*. Below are some of the main prefixes and suffixes and their uses:

-eriy, used to refer to an event: e.g. *drujae* (to have fun), *un drujeriy* (a party).

-aéy, used to express the contents, duration or result of an action: *unn bol* (a bowl), *unn bolaéy* (the contents of a bowl).

re-, similar to English and French, re- is used to denote the repetition of an action: *redavalae* (to go down again).

-ibl/-abl, denote possibility: *leizibl* (legible).

-eü, used to create adjectives: *qoerreü* (courageous).

2.9 Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to introduce Gallo by providing a sociohistorical context and an overview of the linguistic system. The chapter has highlighted Gallo's linguistic heritage, as a descendant of Vulgar Latin, and its position in the *langues d'oïl* dialect continuum. As a member of this continuum, Gallo shares many characteristics with Norman, Picard, Angevin, Poitevin and Francien. Thanks to socio-political factors, the latter has become the national language of France. The proximity of the *langues d'oïl* to French, combined with aggressive language policies, has led to the French phenomenon of *patois*. The

stigmatisation of *patois* and regional languages in France has resulted in their abandonment, to the extent that they are now obsolescent or dead. Recognising the obsolescence of Gallo, speakers in Upper Brittany have been engaged in language and cultural preservation activities since the 1970s resulting in the organisation of a number of Gallo associations. In their efforts to preserve their language and culture, these individuals and associations have collected corpora of written and spoken Gallo, both for posterity and to aid the work of revitalisation. However, it is important to note that the motivations of these organisations are not purely linguistic. Perhaps, as a result of its location within the region of Brittany, Gallo activists and promoters seem to feel in competition with their Breton language counterparts, and are keen to show how rich and relevant Gallo remains in the twenty-first century. Their efforts in this regard have lead some of the remaining native-speakers to question the decisions individuals like Régis Auffray and Patrik Deriano have made in the compilation of their dictionaries and grammars.

Changes to the law have enabled these associations to implement Gallo programmes in all levels of formal education in the region. To support language teaching, extensive work has been undertaken to produce pedagogic materials. The aforementioned dictionaries and grammars are now commonly found in classrooms and private lessons. As well as local support for the maintenance of Gallo, academics have started to investigate its use, status and place in the sociolinguistic situation of France.

3 VITALITY, OBSOLESCENCE, AND REVITALISATION

3.1 Introduction

To begin, it is important that we clearly define what is meant by the terms 'vitality', 'obsolescence' and 'revitalisation'. Next we must understand the factors which bring about these comparative states within a language's life cycle and apply them to the study of Gallo. It is perhaps helpful, when discussing language vitality and obsolescence, to start at the end of the problem rather than the beginning. The term 'language death' is commonly used by linguists to describe the end result of a decline in use, i.e. when the language ceases to be used. Matthews (2007) defines a dead language as one that is no longer the native language of anyone. Once a language ceases to be acquired by children at home, we may say that it is on the path towards death, or is obsolescing. The rate of decline is subject to a number of factors, some internal and some external. Wolfram (2003) highlights four types of language death: sudden language death, radical language death, gradual language death and bottom-to-top language death. While all types of language death are interesting topics of study, Gallo is the victim of a gradual death and so we will focus on this type in particular.

Gradual language death is the most common type of language death and is characterised by the shift from a lower prestige variety to a dominant and higher prestige variety. This period of language shift may take years, decades, even centuries, during which the proficiency of speakers will likewise shift. The older speakers will maintain their level of proficiency in the dying language for a time but will not transmit that proficiency to the younger generation with the same urgency. As a result, the younger generation will be far more proficient in the new dominant language and their proficiency in the dying language will be restricted

to just a few private and informal contexts; Dorian (1977) refers to these as semi-speakers. As the generations pass, the dying language will be spoken by fewer and fewer speakers with a decreasing degree of proficiency until the number of speakers reaches zero and the language dies. Although Wolfram's definition is compelling and readily applicable to Gallo, how the shift has occurred is not so clear-cut and easily defined. The motivations of individuals and groups are more difficult to pinpoint and are often subject to change.

Fishman (1991) identifies social and cultural dislocation as being a cause of language shift. Social and cultural dislocation are readily observed in Upper Brittany, and both are linked to the idea of prestige. By definition, minority languages, like Gallo, are involved in unequal relationships of power. In Brittany, the general population tends to consider French and Breton as more prestigious than Gallo. Fishman (1991:59) characterises such relationships of 'unequal power' as meaning that 'members of minority ethnolinguistic groups are frequently (but not inevitably) socially disadvantaged, i.e. less educationally and economically fortunate than the population surrounding them. This disadvantage is a by-product of their relative powerlessness numerically, politically and in terms of resource control of almost every kind.' Despite remaining in their traditional regions, speakers of minority languages are 'peripheralised' and tend to be less educated and less affluent (Fishman 1991:59). This can still be observed in Upper Brittany, where the remaining native-speakers of Gallo are still found in rural areas and are/were agricultural labourers. The type of speakers of a minority language come to symbolise the language itself, therefore, Gallo has long been viewed as a rural and agricultural vernacular without the means to communicate the subtle intricacies of modern society. Social mobility is viewed

as being limited by minority language use and leads to parents and grandparents actively discouraging their children from learning and using the traditional language. Tréhel-Tas (2007:36-37) has noted the effects of this social dislocation in Upper Brittany, particularly the refusal of native-speakers of Gallo to teach their local vernacular to their children and the tendency to push them to speak only in French. The end result is the 'syphoning off of the talented, the enterprising, the adventurous and the creative, [and] is a serious problem for the future of any ethnocultural community' (Fishman 1991:61).

Cultural dislocation comes as a result of globalisation. While there are some extreme cases where cultural leaders have been imprisoned or executed, cultural dislocation tends to occur through the adoption of socially desirable economic, political and cultural processes, practices and institutions. The relationship between British English and American English is a good example of the effects of linguistic globalisation. At this point, it would be very difficult to argue that, over the past thirty years, British popular culture has not been highly influenced by American popular culture. As a result, British English is now evolving to include a number of American English variants. The relationship between the United States and Great Britain is often considered to be advantageous, certainly in terms of economic and technological advances, however, the cost of globalisation is now beginning to become apparent. Fishman (1991:63) states that 'modernisation and democratisation erode "parochial" cultural differences, even religious differences, and lead to universal dependence on the same media, political parties, educational institutions and programs, and economic endeavours…', which eventually results in 'cultural genocide'.

Any visitor to Brittany will recognise the tragic truth of Fishman's statement. Walking through the streets of Rennes it is nearly impossible to detect any sign, reference, sight or sound of Gallo. In its place one sees the *Tricolore*, the heraldic *ermine*, and road signs in Breton. Even generous estimates of the number of Gallo speakers show that they are the minority within their own region. Likewise, traditional cultural events are attended by a select number of individuals, even when the primary language of communication at the events is French and the content is accessible to almost everyone. By any measure one cares to use, Gallo is an obsolescent language, however, the extent to which it is obsolescent, as well as its future, remain the source of much debate.

Once again, it is Fishman who posits a means of assessing obsolescence; his 'Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale (GIDS)' offers a broad means of assessing the intensity or degree of language shift. The scale consists of eight stages (as shown below, adapted from Fishman 2001:466). Stage 1 describes the hypothetical language in full vitality. As it progresses through the stages it becomes increasingly obsolescent. The minority/heritage/immigrant language is referred to by Fishman as 'Xish', while the dominant language is referred to as 'Yish':

1. Educational, work space, mass media, and (quasi-)governmental operations in Xish at the highest (nationwide) levels.

2. Local/regional mass media and (quasi-)governmental services in Xish.

3. The local/regional (i.e., supra-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among Xmen and among Ymen.

4. B - Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricula and staffing control.

A - Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control.

5. Schools for Xish literacy acquisition, for old and/or for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.

6. The organisation of intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood efforts: The basis of Xish mother-tongue transmission.

7. Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation (beyond the age of giving birth).

8. Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of Xish as a Second Language (XSL).

Gallo can be described as having passed through all eight stages. At this point in Upper Brittany, Gallo is rarely heard, even within highly localised and informal settings. Furthermore, Gallo use by the older generation is decreasing as the number of speakers within the group decreases (most remaining native-speakers are now over eighty years old). Finally, revitalisation and reconstruction of Gallo are well underway. The question is, can a language or variety so far along the GIDS be successfully revived? Can language shift be reversed?

Language revivals and campaigns to save heritage languages are now quite common and have been the subject of a number of studies. Grenoble and Whaley (2006:4) have even produced a textbook providing students with an introduction to revitalisation methods. As part of their introductory chapter, they cite a list of nine criteria, similar to Fishman's GIDS, identified by UNESCO[4] as

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[4]
http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/pdf/Language_vitality_and_endangerment_EN.pdf

being paramount in assessing language vitality/obsolescence. Grenoble and Whaley address these factors in terms of language revitalisation. The criteria, as they appear in Grenoble and Whaley, are listed below:

1. Intergenerational language transmission

2. Absolute number of speakers

3. Proportion of speakers within the total population

4. Trends in existing language domains

5. Response to new domains and media

6. Materials for language education and literacy

7. Government and institutional language policies, including status and use

8. Community members' attitudes toward their own language

9. Amount and quality of documentation

This chapter will investigate these factors in terms of their impact on Gallo's obsolescence and the efforts the speech community is taking to reverse them. The factors listed above will be discussed as they pertain to Gallo under the following headings; language policy, education, resources, literacy, media, and social attitudes.

3.2 Language Policy

The first aspect to consider is Gallo's current political status. French has been the official language of France since the *Ordnance Villers-Cotterêts* in 1539. Its official status was maintained and reinforced after the Revolution of 1789. The French government does not regulate which languages are used in publications by individuals, but all legal, commercial and workplace-related communications must by law be written in French. Census forms in France do not offer citizens the option to list their mother tongue, and it is presumed that French citizens

speak French. The French state is thus not marginalising Gallo specifically, but all minority and foreign languages in general. This is not new: as we have noted in chapter one, great efforts have been made to establish French as a language of culture and reason, science and medicine and in more recent times, diplomacy. What is interesting is that in 1999 the French government signed the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, but to this date, the government has not ratified it. This is hardly surprising given that it was proposed at a time when the global status of the French language was being threatened by the increased use of English as an international *lingua franca*. The aim of the charter was to protect and promote the traditional languages of the 'state parties', languages which may be recognised in regions or provinces but not by the central government. While the Charter applies specifically to languages rather than dialects, which at a national level Gallo is considered to be, those campaigning for its revitalisation consider Gallo to be a language. Should revitalisation occur, and Gallo's status amended it would therefore qualify for the aid and protection stipulated within the Charter. In either case, the document is a useful tool as it provides a number of actions which the state can take to support regional languages within their borders. The charter identifies two levels of protection, the first lower level (Part II) must be applied by all signatory nations, and the higher level of protection (Part III) is given at the discretion of the state. Governments may assign different languages within their borders different levels of protection. Part II consists of eight principles which constitute a framework by which preservation of traditional languages may be maintained:

- Recognition that regional or minority languages are an expression of cultural wealth.

- Respect for the geographical areas of each regional or minority language.

- Resolute action to be undertaken in order to promote regional or minority languages.

- Facilitation and/or encouragement for the use of regional or minority languages in speech and writing, in both public and private life.

- Provide provision of appropriate forms and means for the teaching and study of regional or minority languages at all levels of education.

- Promote relevant transnational exchanges.

- Prohibit all unjustified distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference relating to the use of a regional or minority language and intended to endanger its maintenance or development.

- Promotion by states of the mutual understanding between all the country's linguistic groups.

Part III comprises a list of proposed actions which could be undertaken by the state in the following areas: education, judicial authorities, administrative authorities and public services, media, cultural activities and facilities, economic and social life, and transfrontier exchanges.

At present the only action the French government has taken with regard to its regional languages is to recognise their existence in article 75-1 of the Constitution, although they are not specifically listed by name. In his survey of the languages of France in 1999, Bernard Cerquiglini (2003) identified eight languages within metropolitan France which would qualify for protection under the terms of the European Charter. He identified a further sixty-seven overseas languages which would likewise qualify and are probably an important reason

why France is still yet to ratify the charter, given the financial strain it would put on the country to provide support to all seventy-five languages. Within Cerquiglini's report, the *Oïl* varieties were grouped together and not listed separately. This decision may be the result of continuing uncertainty or reticence to declare the *langues d'oïl* as being separate and distinct from French. To do so would almost certainly qualify them for support and protection under the Charter as it states the following: *'La Charte concerne les langues pratiquées traditionnellement sur le territoire d'un État. La Charte entend par « langue régionale » une « langue pratiquée traditionnellement sur un territoire d'un État » … En revanche, elle ne concerne pas les « dialectes de la langue officielle d'un État ».'*[5] If we attempt to measure the French government's actions towards Gallo against this list above, we find that, on a national level, nothing is being done to support and promote its use or to encourage its learning. Despite this lack of support, Gallo is being taught in schools and published in the media, albeit it to a moderate extent.

In many ways, Walter's (1991) study assessed the success of France's pro-Standard language policy and its effect on Gallo. She interviewed 166 informants across Upper Brittany and asked them to name the vernacular used in their geographical region. She subsequently asked if the name they reported had always been used in their specific region before making any reference to the term 'Gallo' herself. Three more questions about the informants' understanding and use of the language were also included in her brief survey, all of them being open questions allowing the informant to respond without prompts. The results showed that the majority of people across Upper Brittany use the term *patois*, or

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[5] http://www.culturecommunication.gouv.fr/Actualites/En-continu/Vers-une-meilleure-reconnaissance-de-la-richesse-linguistique-de-la-France?x=hhji

some regional variation of the term, to refer to Gallo. Few informants reported using the term 'Gallo', however, it appears that it is slowly being adopted as work is being undertaken to raise awareness of the variety's legitimacy (Walter 1991:535). More than two decades after Walter's survey, I have decided to include similar questions regarding the naming of Gallo in my own questionnaire, to gauge whether or not the work of Gallo associations in Upper Brittany has successfully introduced the term 'Gallo' into the everyday speech of younger people in the area, or if the term *patois* is still widely used. Furthermore, during interviews conducted as part of a preliminary visit to the region, it was suggested to me that, in rural settings and among Gallo speakers themselves, the term *patois* has no negative connotations. This is a question which the current study aims to investigate, given the findings of French researchers like Manzano (2008) who argue the opposite. From Walter's study, we see that national language policies aimed at promoting Standard French have successfully marginalised Gallo to the point that speakers in Upper Brittany believe themselves to be speaking a less prestigious form of French, unworthy of its own name.

In the case of Gallo, we must consider not only its national status but also its regional status. Within metropolitan France, seven regional languages, of which Gallo is one, have received official regional recognition from local governments in the areas where they are spoken. The *conseil régional* lists French, Breton and Gallo as the official languages of Brittany and has done so since 2004. Despite this positive step, there are many Gallo activists who lament the significant differences between the levels of support accorded to Breton and Gallo by the *conseil.*

3.3 Education

National education policies relating to language often focus on maximising the potential for successful learning. In other words, if all students speak the same language, time and effort in the classroom can be devoted to preparing for exams and obtaining academic qualifications rather than on communication. This causes difficulties for regional and minority language users, whose proficiency in the national standard language is often lower than their classmates.

In 1951, the passing of the *loi Deixonne* meant that there was scope for the teaching of regional languages possible in State schools, however, little seems to have come from it due to the heavy stigmatisation associated with regional language use. In rural areas, children had been falling behind for many years, supposedly due to their low level of proficiency in the national standard. In response, two teachers in Upper Brittany, Dequé and Le Coq, used the *loi Deixonne* to benefit those students who were struggling in school by supplementing their formal education in French with an education in Gallo (Le Coq 2008:226). In 1976, Christian Leray, following in the footsteps of Dequé and Le Coq, began to develop pedagogical materials, which included Gallo, to aid those students who were struggling to achieve the grades they were capable of as a result of their poor French language skills. The efforts of these teachers opened the door for Gallo to enter the public school system as a subject worthy of study in its own right.

In the early 1980s, and thanks to a close relationship between the *Rectorat*[6] and the members of *les Amis du Parler Gallo* (which later became *Bertègn Galèzz*) and the *Associations des enseignants de gallo*, a Gallo programme was admitted

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[6] The *Rectorat* is the French equivalent of the Local Education Authority (LEA) in the UK.

into higher education. Over the next ten years, Gallo permeated the education system in Upper Brittany at every level. In Primary schools and *collèges*, Gallo tuition takes the form of music and poetry with lessons being taught by peripatetic teachers, often Gallo activists rather than qualified teachers. Conversations with these teachers have shown that it is a constant struggle to find time in the timetable for Gallo, despite its status, as school leadership is under pressure to focus on core subjects. In secondary schools, Gallo is offered as an optional part of the *baccalaureate*. Having observed a number of these lessons in various institutions, it would seem that the lessons focus more on culture and literature rather than conversation; parallels could be drawn between the ways in which dead languages are taught in the UK compared with modern foreign languages. Furthermore, there appears to be little in the way of standardised materials or approaches; the lesson content varied greatly from teacher to teacher. The success of the various programmes waxed and waned from year to year. At the height of its popularity in 2001, there were 2,745 students learning Gallo in Upper Brittany, however, the same year, university classes were cancelled due to budget cuts. By 2005, the number of students had dropped to 1,903. The programme has always faced opposition from schools whose primary concern is to prepare students for their exams. Anne-Marie Pelhate, a graduate of the now defunct distance-learning Gallo programme, and author of a number of children's books, described the struggle ; *"Quand on remplace les heures d'anglais, qu'on en met un petit peu moins pour mettre un peu de gallo, tout de suite c'est soit les parents qui se plaignent, soit l'inspecteur qui téléphone. Donc à chaque fois on est un petit peu obligé de se battre pour enseigner le gallo* (Léonard and

Jagueneau 2013 :331-332)."[7] At primary school, all students are introduced to Gallo through songs, poems and games. At *collège* and *lycée*, students may opt to study Gallo, and those who do so are, primarily, the children of Gallo-speaking families, or more accurately families who once spoke Gallo. At the *collège* level, cultural works form the basis of the primary materials for learning the language, with the aim of encouraging students to view Gallo as something other than a *patois* (Le Coq 2008:232). At *lycée* level, students prepare for an exam conducted in Gallo, making the language the primary focus of lessons. On the face of it, Gallo's place in the State school system appears to be well organised and successful. However, having observed a number of lessons at various levels, I sense a number of issues. Firstly, it would seem that the nature of the education received varies greatly from institution to institution. It is the responsibility of each individual teacher to organise a curriculum and relevant teaching materials for their students. Therefore, the proficiency of students varies greatly from place to place. Even at the *lycée* level, lessons are not uniform. The situation has evolved somewhat in recent years. In 2007, the *Rectorat* published a framework for Gallo examiners, to aid in the evaluation of student progress. This development has led to more consistent and comparable education. In 2008, the *Université de Rennes* 2 restarted Gallo classes, meeting the *conseil régional*'s desire to '*favoriser l'étude scientifique du gallo et son usage*'[8] (Le Coq 2008 :232). Nevertheless, despite the progress that has been made over the last thirty years, Le Coq (2008) describes the situation as unstable, and identifies the need for more support in the design and production of integrated pedagogical

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[7] "When we replace the hours spent on English, when we reduce them a little to spend a bit of time on Gallo, straight away it is either a parent who complains or the inspector who calls. So every time we are forced to fight to teach Gallo.'

[8] "[T]o promote the scientific study of Gallo and it's use'

materials as indispensable (p.232). Perhaps the primary issue facing language revitalisation programs is overcoming the cessation of intergenerational transmission. It has already been noted that older speakers have been reluctant to pass on Gallo to their children and grandchildren and so external education is necessary to maintain and transmit the language to future generations. During the fieldwork period, several current and former university students declared that their desire to speak Gallo to their future children has increased as a result of their learning.

3.4 Resources

The term resources can be broken down into two groups: financial resources and human resources. This section will deal with both starting with financial resources.

Funding for minority language activism has long been provided by private citizens. By way of example, the first of the controversial Breton road signs, which cover both Lower and Upper Brittany, were originally paid for by one generous Breton language activist. However, both Gallo and Breton do receive financial support from the regional government. Although exact figures are not readily available, Gallo activists fear that they are skewed heavily in favour of Breton. In an article which appeared in the newspaper *Ouest-France* on October 12 2015, these activists claim that only 1% of the regional government's '*budget Langues de Bretagne*' is reserved for Gallo promotion.

The financial well-being of a minority language refers not only to the funding which associations receive to support activities and campaigns, but also the economic standing of the speech community. If the speakers of a minority language are financially comfortable, they are more likely to engage in activities

and campaigning. Gallo has traditionally been linked to a rural and agricultural environment and lower-class speakers, therefore, the speech community is more likely to be seeking opportunities to supplement their incomes than they are to support cultural activities, especially when those activities require travel across the region.

3.5 Literacy

Literacy is viewed by the lay-person as an indication of prestige. As such, languages without a written form tend to be seen as less prestigious and therefore less valuable to a community. In efforts to revitalise an obsolescent language, literacy is also a more practical concern. Literacy enables access to a cultural knowledge and learning encoded through the language, particularly for learners and new speakers. Without literacy, effective education programmes are difficult to organise and implement. As well as learning, literacy also facilitates transmission through the use of media as mentioned above. Reviving existing literacy models or creating new ones is thus a primary task of language activists. In doing so, they are entering into a competition with the language of wider communication, which normally will have an established literacy model, which, according to Grenoble and Whaley (2006:114), presents a stumbling block in the attitudes of the speech community. While speakers may support the development of a written form for their traditional language, its adoption is not necessarily guaranteed. Individuals who use the language to access the local culture may not require a written form if the culture is primarily found in oral traditions; at present, this seems to illustrate the situation in Upper Brittany, where the majority of cultural events focus on music and story-telling. During conversations with older speakers, the subject of literacy often provoked harsh

criticism of current efforts to establish written forms of Gallo. Among these older speakers, it is a relatively common belief that a written form of Gallo has never existed and was certainly not used or known by speakers of their parents' generation. Although arguably widespread, use of Gallo by older people remains restricted to private and personal situations in which there is no cause to write the language. If Gallo remains restricted to private social contexts, does the need for a literacy exist? Grenoble and Whaley (2006:115) note that, with the exception of Hebrew, no language revitalisation efforts have existed long enough for linguists to determine empirically whether or not literacy is essential for successful language revitalisation. What is certain, is that without the support of the community, efforts to develop literacy are ultimately unsuccessful.

In Upper Brittany, it is not linguists who have orchestrated the development of a written form of Gallo. Although a number of academics have been involved in the work, it has been primarily laypersons who have championed the cause of the elaboration and codification of Gallo. We have noted that the '*ABCD*' orthography is the most commonly used system currently in existence (see 2.7) but, although widely accepted, there remain some who disagree with its conventions. Nevertheless, there seems to be a levelling of orthographic variants as the continued production of grammars and dictionaries eliminate the less commonly found variants.

The compilation of a dictionary is perhaps the best symbol of a language's successful transition from an oral to a written culture. Dictionaries of regional lexical items have been in existence for more than a hundred years, for example the *Glossaire patois du département d'Ille-et-Vilaine* by Adolphe Orain published in 1886. However, dictionaries recording the lexis of specific *langues d'oïl* are

still relatively uncommon. The first Gallo dictionary, *Motier de Galo*, was produced by Bertran Ôbrée in 1995, while he worked for the association *Bertègn Galèzz*. It is now out of print but can be found on the bookshelves of nearly every Gallo teacher, activist and middle-aged speaker in Upper Brittany. Since Ôbrée's well-received first attempt, a number of other dictionaries have been produced, most notably, the *Petit Matao* by Auffray (2007) and the Deriano dictionary *Motier de pouchette* (2010). The *Motier de pouchette* boasts 14 000 entries in the *gallo-français* section, compared to only 10 800 entries in the opposite direction. Deriano is keen to point out in his introduction that this difference demonstrates the rich lexical heritage of regional languages in general and Gallo in particular (2010: vii). Auffray's dictionary boasts 25 000 entries and is by far the most complete dictionary of Gallo currently available. However, the reports of older generation speakers concerning the existence of written Gallo prior to the 1970s raises the question: is modern Gallo sufficiently linked to the traditional vernacular of Upper Brittany. Admittedly, an element of elaboration and codification is the creation of norms and patterns whereby the language can adapt to new functions and linguistic developments, which norms may be strange to native-speakers. However, can the authors of these regional dictionaries prove that the basis for their work is legitimately founded in authentic regional language use, given the rarity of contemporary texts?

Perhaps in an effort to legitimise his work, Auffray wrote an article detailing his efforts to compile the *Petit Matao* which was published in *Autour du gallo* (2008). The association *Bertègn Galèzz*, the descendant of the original pro-Gallo association *Les Amis du Parler Gallo*, has for many years collected linguistic data pertaining to Gallo, including one hundred and twenty vocabulary lists,

comprising a total of 100 000 lexical items, taken from early dictionaries, linguistic maps and personal documents, which the association has computerised. The task of sorting through such a vast corpus of data was fraught with difficulty given Auffray's aims for the dictionary. As a Gallo teacher and language activist, Auffray needed his dictionary both to be an accurate and useful pedagogical tool, but also to stand up to the scrutiny of academic, popular and perhaps even political review. The protocols governing his work needed, therefore, to be strict without causing him to lose the cultural essence of the language.

Auffray found that the quality of early dictionaries varied greatly. Many offered translations based on information which was difficult to verify, and many were not ordered alphabetically (Auffray 2008:166). Furthermore, as noted by Deriano (2010) in the introduction to his dictionary, and mentioned above, Gallo is so lexically rich, that it would be impossible to include every attested lexical item. Auffray writes;

> Il est difficile de choisir les mots gallos quand il y en a beaucoup (trop). Que faire face à environ 170 mots gallos différents désignant la femme de façon péjorative, 130 mots gallos différents désignant une grande quantité, 100 mots différents pour désigner une toupie, 75 mots gallos différents pour désigner une cuite, l'excès d'alcool, 30 mots gallos différents pour désigner une soupe…. ?[9]

The problem facing Auffray was how to choose which variant to include in the dictionary. Frequency of use would seem to be the most obvious criteria on which

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[9] "It is difficult to choose Gallo words when there are so many (too many). What does one do when faced with around 170 words which designate *woman* in a pejorative way, 130 words in Gallo to designate a large quantity, 100 different words to designate the top or summit, 75 different Gallo words for a drunk, 30 different Gallo words for *soup*"

to base such a choice, but risks excluding lexical items which are culturally significant albeit less common. As such, Auffray chose to include those items most frequently attested as well as more uncommon words which are attested in early texts, are derived from a culturally significant root, and contain some aspect which is uniquely interesting (2008:167). From the seventy-five possible entries which Auffray could have had for 'drunk', twenty-two were included, four of which are rarely found in daily speech; *juilette, muzelée, pibotée, nâzée*. According to Auffray, *muzelée* is attested in Old French, while *pibotée* and *nâzée* are derivatives of French words which have evolved in Gallo to mean 'drunk' while in French they have not.

Choosing a variant based on frequency alone is relatively straightforward. Likewise, choosing variants based on their historical use or linguistic interest is also understandable. However, given the nature of the database (i.e. the words are given in isolation) and the nature of language in general (i.e. the important role of context in altering semantic meaning), how can we be sure that the translations given are accurate? The simple answer is that there is no easy way to be sure (2008:169) and one must rely on the good judgement of the researcher.

Another difficulty, faced by Auffray, was making sense of the regional vocabularies that *Bertègn Galèzz* had collected which were written according to French norms. The author gives the example of the word *guersillon*, which in spoken Gallo is often pronounced *grésillon*. The word *guersillon* appears fifty-one times on the *Bertègn Galèzz* lexical database, however, only six authors transcribe it as it appears above; nine write *gue(u)rsillon*, twelve attempt to transcribe it phonetically, eighteen write *guer(u)zillon* and six give an alternative

form based on a false translation (e.g. they confuse *guersillon* with *grillon*). The issues with historical orthography are very reminiscent of the current plight of Gallo speakers who are attempting to negotiate a minefield of variation in the written form.

While the resulting dictionary is undeniably a feat of dedication and painstaking attention to detail, the simple fact is that, as good as the *Petit Matao* may be, one must take into account the fact that it is nearly impossible to accurately compile a dictionary based on historical data alone. Nevertheless, as a modern tool designed to revitalise a language and enable its use in modern functions and domains, it is more than adequate. However, it remains the case that not all Gallo speakers, or even Gallo learners, subscribe to Auffray's methods and conventions. If this dictionary and orthographic style persist, it will be more as a result of it availability rather than its universal acceptance.

3.6 Media

The place of a language in the media can be a key indicator of a language's vitality/obsolescence. The media has long been a tool for disseminating written and spoken language as well as the culture it conveys. In this century, advances in technology mean that interactive learning materials can be produced cheaply and disseminated in seconds anywhere in the world. The development of such materials requires skilled individuals and a certain amount of financial backing, but incurs less cost than older methods used in revitalisation. As well as the use of the media to produce pedagogical materials, the use of a minority language in existing media shows the level of interest and prestige a community is according a language variety. Chevalier (2008) conducted a comparative survey of the presence of Gallo and Breton in public and social spaces. Her survey identifies

the following public spaces in which regional languages can be, and are, used within Brittany: public and commercial signage; education; administrative, public and judicial services; television, radio and print media; the arts; internet sites. A brief review of Chevalier's findings, particularly as they pertain to Gallo, will follow, along with some discussion of more recent developments.

During the 1990s, the linguistic landscape (as defined by Landry and Bourhis 1997) of Brittany was significantly altered by the addition of Breton languages road signs across the region. As such, the situation in Brittany is relatively unique within the Hexagon, where the use of French in the *espace public* is so strictly observed. Consequently, the presence of Breton on signs in Upper Brittany remains a cause of contention for many Gallo speakers, not least of all because the linguistic frontier of Breton has not extended into Upper Brittany for centuries, if ever. The contention which the Breton road signs provokes among Gallo speakers is possibly the most obvious examples of the division between the two regional identities. Gallo signage is rare across Upper Brittany. One example may be found at the Charles-de-Gaulle *métro* station in Rennes, and a recent initiative has led to the placement of Gallo signage at the entrance to a small number of villages and towns in Upper Brittany, for example Parcé, Brestot and Loudéac. With regards to commercial signage, Gallo is not currently used by any public company. However, the recent initiative by the association *Bertègn Gallèzz*, entitled *'du Galo, dam yan, dam vèr'*[10] aims to promote the use of Gallo in the economic, social and cultural life of Brittany. As a result, the first signs of

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[10] *'dam yan, dam* vèr' is a Gallo phrase translated approximately as: 'of course' or 'certainly', it is used in cases where the response is a foregone conlusion, thus the initiative *'du Galo dam yan, dam vèr'* may be translated into English as 'In favour of Gallo? Why of course!'

success are now appearing on social media sites, including pictures of Gallo signage in public spaces.

According to Chevalier (2008) Gallo is not used in administrative or public services nor in legal affairs.

Gallo is not currently used at all on the television, but steps have been taken to produce programmes in Gallo which will be broadcast over the internet. Gallo's presence on the radio is more consistent, particularly thanks to the efforts of *Plum.fm* who, at the time of Chevalier's survey, were producing three programmes in Gallo: *Le Galo Nouviao, D'Yaer a Inhae* and *Le Taran*. As well as *Plum.fm*, *Radio Bleu France Armorique* produces Gallo programmes from time to time, which focus primarily on cultural issues. Gallo's presence in print media is more common, although periodicals published solely in Gallo remain rare. Articles in Gallo have been published in newspapers (*Ouest-France*, *Nous-Vous-Île* and *L'Hebdomadaire d'Armor*) and magazines (*Hopala!* and *Le Liaun*). A relatively recent internet periodical, *La Runje*, is now available. *La Runje* is the work of Fabien Lécuyer, a regional language activist and journalist who works in a *Diwan* school on the Gallo Breton border. A collection of last year's articles is now available to purchase in printed form, however it is uncertain whether this will be an ongoing publication. A number of pamphlets and tracts have been published over the years and can sometimes be found in local bookshops; in certain cases, back copies are available on the internet.

Measuring Gallo's artistic contribution to the culture of Upper Brittany is difficult. Chevalier (2008) notes the work of *Dastum*, an association that collects and diffuses traditional music, stories, legends, poems, lore and memoirs in both Breton and Gallo. In the village of Parcé, the association *La Granjagoul* is

engaged in similar work, as is *Gallo tonique* in nearby Liffré. Along with other organisations, such as *Bertègn Galèzz* and *Chubri*, events, festivals and activities are organised across Upper Brittany, providing the community with opportunities to share common experience and knowledge and pass on cultural traditions. The publishing house *Rue des Scribes Éditions* has been responsible for producing most of the Gallo language works over the past fifteen years. It has sponsored translation works, notably several volumes of Hergé's *Tintin* and Goscinny and Uderzo's *Asterix*, as well as a collection of Gallo poems and stories in 2014, and the Auffray dictionary and grammar. Publications by smaller companies, particularly memoirs, are quite common but their use of Gallo is not consistent.

The internet is increasingly being used to diffuse Gallo. The periodical *Le Runje* has been noted above, and its editor, Fabien Lécuyer, has also written articles in Gallo for *7Seizh*, a trilingual news group based in Brittany. *Bertègn Galèzz* maintains a website which produces articles in Gallo and links to events and gatherings across the region. Both *Bertègn Galèzz* and *La Granjagoul* have social media accounts and regularly post information regarding events and publications. Although new media is being used to successfully diffuse information about Gallo and cultural events, the scope of its usefulness as a teaching tool is yet to be realised. If current efforts to attract new speakers, particularly younger generation speakers, are to be successful, it seems likely that modern technology, particularly the internet, will need to be exploited far more than is currently the case.

3.7 Social Attitudes

Labov (1966, cited by Milroy and Gordon; 2003) showed how influential social attitudes can be to language variation, particularly with regards to prestige and stigma. However, language attitudes are difficult to observe. A researcher must either ask an individual to state his attitude directly, or make judgements about an individual's attitudes based on their language use, emotional reactions, and behaviour (Oppenheim 1982:39). Self-reported attitudes and beliefs are the easiest to obtain. However, using self-reported data tends to raise concerns, particularly in variationist studies, this will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 4. If a researcher is to make judgements about an individual's attitudes, he must be familiar with the various sociocultural factors which have influenced the opinion. Language attitudes are learned through observation and experimentation (Garrett 2010:22). A child will inevitably observe a parent's reactions towards a particular vernacular or variant which will influence his own use of language. Likewise, a parent's response to the child's use of particular variants, i.e. positive or negative reinforcement, will influence language use and attitudes. The effects reach beyond the home. The opinions of social networks also influence language attitudes, as do cultural stereotypes and ideals. This is very apparent in France, where regional languages are often viewed negatively due to ingrained sociocultural ideas about their value. In order to reverse language shift, activists must address speaker attitudes.

The term 'social status', in this context, refers essentially to Gallo's prestige. In chapter 2, Gallo's systematic loss of prestige, to French and Breton, were outlined. Manzano (2008) argues that Gallo has managed to maintain informal linguistic domains, i.e. in the home, but has any progress been made to expand

Gallo's prestige in the minds and opinions of its speakers? This section will discuss to what extent Gallo is being positively recognised by the speech community and the wider population.

Manzano (2003) notes that the issue of status is of particular interest to those studying or campaigning for regional and heritage languages. In his own work, he found that speakers of Gallo, in all age groups, express negative attitudes towards Gallo use and transmission, due to the stigma associated with speaking a *patois*, which the majority of Upper Bretons still believe Gallo to be (Manzano 1997:25-27). However, Manzano also notes that speakers who leave the region, for personal or professional reasons, and subsequently return, report feelings of nostalgia and even pride concerning their maternal language. This group is often responsible for promoting revitalization efforts and activism. Within the speech community itself however, speakers appear to maintain the opinion that regional languages have lost their functionality and therefore learning them is a disadvantage. This problem is compounded by the disappearance of the traditional rural way of life, with which Gallo is so strongly associated. While some positive sentiment remains, it is disconnected from any formal function, and relegated to the realms of entertainment.

In a second article, '*Le Gallo à la fin du XXème* siècle', published in the same collection as the one above, Manzano attempts to provide an overview of Gallo's situation at the end of the twentieth century. Written fifteen years after Walter's *'Le galo hier et aujourd'hui'*, Manzano's article acts almost as a summary of what Gallo research has contributed since the subject's arrival in the academic arena. One of the initial subjects which Manzano broaches is that of myths. *'On verra que la Haute Bretagne, globalement à la recherche d'un statut sociolinguistique*

et identitaire stable, acceptable, tend aussi à fonder son identité sur des mythes.'
(Manzano 1997:412). As such, he argues, self-reported attitudes and judgements concerning both the Gallo language and culture by the speakers themselves are heavily subjective. We must, therefore, reconsider Manzano's earlier data, which stated that Gallo speakers report negative attitudes regarding the use and transmission of Gallo. This is an issue which this study will address. Manzano highlights the necessity for researchers and linguists to remain objective in their study of endangered languages: '[…] en un tel domaine le chercheur risque toujours de confondre son propre point de vue et celui des informateurs' (1997:412). Due to the impossibility of separating individual judgements from linguistic fact, Manzano and his team decided to base their study specifically on informant judgements. The findings of Manzano's study, as well as those of Blanchet (1997), show that both positive and negative opinions concerning Gallo abound in Upper Brittany. Negative judgements are frequent when discussing the subject of orthography and the multiple competing Gallo 'norms' (Manzano 1997:413). The positive reports tended to be linked to the traditional rural way of life associated with the region. It is interesting that, in my own recent conversations with younger speakers, this link, which Manzano reports as being positive, is in fact something the younger generation is seeking to avoid in favour of more modern and functional associations.

Manzano's study then looks at the place and role of Upper Brittany's social elites in the re-emergence of Gallo as a subject of study. It was brought to my attention, while speaking to one particular Gallo activist in Rennes, that it is these social elites who have prompted revitalisation efforts. The reason, he claims, is that due to greater degrees of education and professional success (through the medium

of French); this group has become aware of the loss of Gallo in their own lives and social circles. Thus, while numerous capable and intelligent individuals staff Gallo associations and activist groups, there are relatively few native speakers. Manzano (1997) also outlines the obstacles facing such elites who are trying to re-establish a Gallo identity. In particular, Manzano highlights the need to distance Gallo from both French and Breton, by means of abandoning structures, lexis, and phonology of Breton and French in order to legitimize and solidify an autonomous Gallo identity.

Blanchet and Le Coq (2008) have undertaken a sociolinguistic study of Gallo, hoping to gather information on how Gallo speakers view their language and culture. They accomplished this by means of interviews and questionnaires, with 138 responses from the four *départements* where Gallo is still spoken (Ille-et-Vilaine, Côtes d'Armor, Morbihan, and Loire Atlantique). Following up Walter's survey on names, they found that the majority of individuals aged between 25 and 73 years old used the term *patois*, while younger informants used '*Gallo*'. Some geographical differences were also reported; for example, informants Côtes d'Armor, a department which straddles the linguistic border between Breton and Gallo, were more likely to use the term 'Gallo', while people in Ille-et-Vilaine and Loire Atlantique prefer the term *patois*. This regional difference seems at first to be surprising, however, it is supported by the work of Carmen Llamas (2010) who has studied the attitudes and beliefs concerning identity of individuals and groups living in border towns between England and Scotland. Her work found that along frontiers, speakers' sense of identity is more overt and contested than in other regions. Furthermore, there exist groups that feel a greater sense of association with the national identity across the border than with

their own. Therefore, in Côtes d'Armor, a department which shares the longest border with Breton, the use of the term Gallo, as a means of defining and asserting one's cultural identity, is easily understood as being preferable to *patois*. On the topic of transmission, Blanchet and Le Coq found that informants claimed to have less understanding of the regional language than their parents and grandparents (Blanchet & Le Coq 2008:14). This generational decline of language comprehension and transmission is of particular relevance and, when investigated alongside attitudes, can lead to interesting judgements about the likelihood that Gallo will survive. Blanchet and Le Coq are keen to point out that a new generation of language learners is emerging. However, whether or not the rate and quality of learning are sufficient to ensure preservation and maintenance, alongside changing attitudes and language policies, remains to be seen and forms the focus of this project. Blanchet and Le Coq's informants reported the home as being the primary learning environment of Gallo, a statement that is almost immediately challenged by the authors themselves who recognise the increasing role that schools play in the transmission of Gallo (2008:16). On the subject of school, Blanchet and Le Coq's findings show that the majority of pupils who study Gallo already have some familial link to it, and as such the language is not really attracting new speakers. With regards to identity and perception, only 10% of informants from the city of Rennes regard Gallo as a part of the Breton identity, while that figure jumped to 25% among rural informants. Blanchet and Le Coq's inclusion of transmission in their questionnaire and interview makes their study highly relevant to the present project. Their work, conducted between 2004 and 2005, will act as a starting point from which I hope to be able to assess whether or not transmission Gallo, or at least attitudes towards transmission, has changed over the past ten years.

Bulot's (2008) work, entitled 'Le Gallo, une langue urbaine?' attempted to investigate the environments in which Gallo is used. There has been a lasting stigma attached to regional languages in France since the Revolution's assertion that the Republic should employ one unifying language, a language of culture and equality. This idea was reinforced by the revolutionary report written by Bertrand Barère, '*Rapport du Comité de salut public sur les idiomes*' which stated that the local vernaculars were only of use to fanatics and counter-revolutionaries. As such, regional languages like Gallo have been traditionally restricted to private spaces, and their public use has been ridiculed. The urban environment with which Bulot concerns himself, is the city of Rennes in the department of Ille-et-Vilaine, and he tends to focus his investigation on young Gallo speakers within the city. His sample was made up of informants who had been born in Rennes, and he looked at their competence in reading and writing, comprehension, and speaking. Bulot's results show that, along with French, immigrant languages, and Breton, Gallo does seem to have a place in the urban environment of Rennes. While the levels of comprehension and competence are not explicitly investigated, Bulot's study shows that Gallo does figure in the mind-set of young Upper Bretons, who report it as being part of their culture and identity (Bulot 2008:63). During both visits to Upper Brittany (the preliminary visit and the main data collection visit) I was based in Rennes and made a point of visiting bars, cafés, restaurants, boutiques, markets, supermarkets, museums and cinemas, both within the city centre and the suburbs. At no point did I hear Gallo being spoken. It may be that the work of Gallo associations in Upper Brittany is having an effect on attitudes towards Gallo, but it is not so obvious to the casual observer as to make him stop and ask questions about the language.

3.8 Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to show how language shift occurs and what factors play a part in its reversal, with specific reference to the state of Gallo and the actions and attitudes of the speech community. The discussions of these factors: language policy, education, resources, media, literacy and social attitudes, show that it is the speech community which is responsible for successful reversal of language shift. To a certain extent, the Gallo speech community has successfully implemented programmes and initiatives to raise awareness and secure support for their language. Gallo is officially recognised by the regional government of Brittany and receives a measure of support. The language is taught at all levels of education. Efforts are being made to increase Gallo use in all areas including social, cultural and economic domains. However, the extent of these successes is limited. The number of pupils learning Gallo is decreasing and pedagogical materials are almost not existent. In October 2015, the *conseil régional* announced funding to support the training of Breton teachers to the amount of 3,000 euros per person, but no such allowance has been made for the training of Gallo teachers. The speech community continues to lose its older native-speakers, while the number of young speakers attending Gallo cultural events diminishes. The research to date suggests that the speech community supports the maintenance and preservation of Gallo in principal but to only a modest extent in practice.

4 CONDUCTING FIELDWORK IN UPPER BRITTANY

4.2 Introduction

In this chapter, we will discuss the issues related to the planning and undertaking of fieldwork in Brittany. We will begin by looking at some studies which have preceded the current project, in particular their research aims and methodology as they have informed the course of this study's fieldwork and data collection efforts. We will then restate the research aims of this study and finally discuss the preparations and planning undertaken in order to effectively conduct fieldwork in Upper Brittany. Finally, the specific data collection methods employed during the fieldwork stage of the study will be outlined.

There are a number of studies which have informed the planning and undertaking of this one, specifically in terms of methodology. What follows is a brief overview of those studies and a discussion of how the various protocols and research methods have influenced this project. We will begin by looking at studies concerned with minority languages outside of France (Jones 1998; 2001, Nagy and Meyerhoff 2008), then look at a study by Eloy (1996) into Picard, another of the *langues d'oïl.* Finally, we will discuss the research of Nolan (2006) and Rey (2010), two English language studies focused on Gallo.

4.2 Investigating Dialects (Mari Jones 1998, 2001)

Mari Jones' (1998) work on two obsolescing Welsh dialects, was one of the first examples of dialects, rather than languages, being the focus of a vitality/obsolescence study. In her introductory remarks, Jones states that 'to the best of my knowledge…there exists no study which focuses both on the dying language and on its related dialects.' She goes on to support the lament of Hoenigswald (1989 cited in Jones 1998:1), who questions why dialects have

been so ignored given that linguists are often keen to assert that they are as complex and developed as those varieties that society has elevated to the status of 'language'. Jones' work on Welsh, and her subsequent work on Jersey Norman French (2001), remind us that the status a variety holds is largely subjective and should play no part in determining its worth as the subject of academic study. Furthermore, the attribution of prestige can be as arbitrary as the labelling of varieties as either language or dialect and in choosing to ignore dialects, we do not only lose a linguistic code but the culture and traditions of the people who once used it.

Jones' 1998 study focused on the Welsh dialects Gwenhwyseg and Rhosllannerchrugog. Her aim was to investigate the parallels between the loss of language and dialects, and in particular, her hope was to determine whether any particular grammatical features indicate language shift away from the variety in question. The main method of obtaining the data (casual speech) was linguistic interview which she conducted in two environments, depending on the informant. Her sample consisted of three groups of speaker: primary school children, secondary school children, and adults. The children were found and contacted through the schools they attended and interviewed there. The adults were found using the 'friend of a friend' approach and were interviewed in their homes. Jones had the advantage of being from the same geographical area as her informants and had close ties with members of both dialect communities which enabled her to obtain greater numbers of informants than she had expected; it also helped to allay concerns and reduce the uneasiness often associated with a formal interview setting (1998:52). One of Jones' concerns, with regard to her sampling attempts was the reluctance of many middle-aged informants about participating

in the study because of fears 'that their Welsh was not good enough' (1998:52).

In view of the stigmatisation attached to regional languages in France and the *langues d'oïl* in particular, I was concerned that I would face a similar reluctance to participate. I anticipated obtaining a modest sample of forty speakers across three age groups: young people in education, working age adults, and retired individuals. Within these groups there was the possibility of a number of issues. First, the youngest informants, although easily found and contacted, would almost certainly be low-level learners of the language who might consider their own language ability too low for the study. Secondly, the older speakers, in both adult groups, could be susceptible to feelings of shame attached to Gallo due to its status as a *patois*. As this study is not a variationist study, but focuses primarily on attitudes and beliefs, I was able to allay the concerns of some older speakers, who were initially reluctant to talk to me about Gallo. Likewise, the participation of the Gallo teachers alongside their students, and their encouragement that the students' views were as important as anyone else's, seemed to overcome the few doubts expressed by the younger participants.

Jones' (2001) research on Jersey Norman French also helped to identify certain potential obstacles in investigating an obsolescing dialect. In her study of *Jèrriais*, Jones used the same sampling technique to contact potential informants; this time, however, she made use of a questionnaire in order to obtain the data she desired. Although a competent French speaker, Jones had some concerns about comprehension issues and so decided to administer the questionnaires orally so that she could be present to support the participants if there were any comprehension issues. The decision to use a questionnaire in my own study came as a result of the desire to gather data on a broad range of topics quickly

and efficiently; however, I was likewise concerned that comprehension issues might arise due to the inflexibility of the questionnaire method. As such, I decided to administer the questionnaire personally to as many informants as possible in the same way as Jones had done. I found this particularly important when working with older informants who struggled with the last section of the questionnaire which contains written Gallo and which they were uncomfortable and unfamiliar reading themselves. Also, I wanted to gather some qualitative data in conjunction with the quantitative data the questionnaire would obtain and so, when administering the questionnaire to groups, I encouraged discussion of the individual questions and recorded the conversations. The various comments are included in the discussion of results throughout the following chapters although I do not submit them as qualitative data, rather as supplementary anecdotal evidence. The topics of Jones' questionnaire are common to studies of this nature and will be seen in the other studies mentioned hereafter. Jones investigates informant use of Jèrriais in comparison to their use of English. She also asks speakers to provide information about whom they speak Jèrriais with and where. In addition, Jones asks her subjects to comment on whether or not they believe Jèrriais should be accorded more attention in the media and in schools. All these areas are investigated by Nolan (2006) and Rey (2010), whose studies of Gallo have greatly influenced my own; however, Jones' decision to include questions about speakers' perceived proficiency in understanding and producing the written form of *Jèrriais* provided my own study with a subject that would allow me to build upon the existing works on Gallo in a new way. It was at the point of reading Jones' study on Jersey Norman French that the decision was made to include some form of proficiency task in the current study of Gallo to

compare against the informant's responses concerning their perceived ability to read, write, understand and produce the language.

4.3 Investigating heritage languages in a state of diglossia (Nagy and the Toronto Heritage Languages project)

As a contributor to the Heritage Language Variation and Change (HLVC) project being conducted in Toronto, Naomi Nagy has published extensively on the project and its findings. According to her website, the on-going project collects 'digital recordings and time-aligned orthographic transcriptions of conversations, questionnaires, and elicitation tasks in eight of the heritage languages spoken in Toronto, Canada. It is hoped that the corpus being collected will lead to better understanding of contact-induced language change.

The development of the HLVC project comes, in part, in response to an observation made by Nagy and Meyerhoff (2008) that within the field of sociolinguistics 'the trend is decidedly to examine one language at a time, essentially treating speakers as monolingual.' Due to the proximity of French and Gallo it is difficult to investigate one independently of the other; as such, an approach which considers the interaction between multiple languages is clearly beneficial. Unlike the HLVC project, this study will not include the compilation of a corpus of Gallo, in any form, nor will it focus on the ways in which language contact has altered French and/or Gallo as linguistic codes. The main way in which the HLVC has influenced this study is in its use of an ethnicity questionnaire. The twenty-five page HLVC questionnaire asks informants to provide information about their language history, use, preferences, as well as their perceptions and opinions about their own language(s) and identity. As the primary aim of the HLVC is to investigate variation and change, many of the

questions in the questionnaire concern the nature of the informant's language use, particularly in language contact situations. This area of study is of interest to the study of Gallo; however, as stated above, this is not a variationist study. The questionnaire I am proposing will treat informants as bilingual and as such will investigate the impact which bilingualism, and in the case of some informants a neo-bilingualism, is having on their lives and community. As such, the questionnaire will look at the relationships between speakers and Gallo, speakers and French, and their attitudes and perceptions towards both. The HLVC questionnaire is extremely detailed and encompasses a large number of topics and themes; however, it is also being realised by teams of researchers on an ongoing basis. To attempt to administer a questionnaire of similar scope in the present study was impractical and unrealistic. Therefore, I have attempted to incorporate relevant aspects of the HLVC ethnicity questionnaire into a more streamline survey

4.4 Research into the *langues d'oïl*

Eloy (1997) was one of the first to undertake academic work on the subject of Picard beyond the scope of simple linguistic description. In an article entitled *Parlez-vous picard? Un test de compréhension*, he describes a study undertaken in Amiens to determine to what extent young people in the city understand Picard, the traditional variety of the region. His research question stemmed from the idea that an individual's passive competence in his own regional vernacular might in fact be no greater than the competence of a non-native of the region. The test comprised twenty-five phrases of varying length, but no more than twenty-two syllables. The sentences were taken from a source that was widely regarded as being typical of Amiens Picard. In each case, the phrases were read

to the informants by a researcher from the region who had some understanding of Picard; the informants were then asked to provide a written translation of the phrases. Having decided that some form of proficiency task should be included in this study, Eloy's study of Picard provided a model of how to effectively assess comprehension of a *langue d'oïl*. Therefore, I attempted to gather authentic material from which I might be able to draw suitable phrases for translation. Interestingly, Eloy notes that the participants in his study enjoyed the task and insisted that he provide them with the correct translations after their responses were recorded. It was hoped that a similar attitude would be expressed by those taking part in the translation exercise of this study. However, Eloy's fieldwork consisted solely of the comprehension task, whereas in the case of this project the proficiency tasks came at the end of a questionnaire comprising over forty questions. Unfortunately, many of the participants of this study, particularly the younger students, were already tired by the time they got to this section of the questionnaire and as such their motivation was low.

The variables Eloy chose to focus on in the analysis of his data tended to be phonological. In my study of Gallo proficiency, I have chosen to focus on grammatical features. The reason for this focus is twofold. Firstly, whereas Eloy had the advantage of having a Picard speaker to read the phrases to his subjects, for the most part, the informants of the present study read the Gallo phrases themselves or else had them read by the researcher, a non-native speaker. Secondly, since there is a range of regional phonological variation (see Chauveau 1984), it seemed more beneficial to focus on the grammatical similarities and differences between Gallo and French.

4.5 Gallo studies in both English and French

4.5.1 French language studies

The work of Blanchet and Le Coq (2008) has already been mentioned earlier (see 3.7), however, it is useful to include here a brief overview of the study's sampling technique and fieldwork methodology as it pertains not only to the geographical area this study is concerned with but also the speech community and the language. While there are a number of French language studies devoted to the subject of Gallo, this work by Blanchet and Le Coq has been particularly relevant to the preparation of my own fieldwork. While other studies have produced interesting comparisons of Gallo and Breton (for example Chevalier 2008), linguistic descriptions and surveys of regional variation (Chauveau 1984, 1988), language contact (Manzano 2003), and arguments for various orthographic conventions (Auffray 2008, Simon 2008), relatively few have focused on sociolinguistic aspects pertaining to the speech community itself. Blanchet and Le Coq's study can be seen as building on the work of Walter (1991), who investigated the name by which speakers of regional vernaculars refer to their language/dialect. Blanchet and Le Coq devised a questionnaire to assess the practices, attitudes and even proficiency of Gallo speakers in Upper Brittany. Their sample of informants comprised 138 speakers across the four departments of Brittany where Gallo is traditionally found. Having spoken to André Le Coq as part of this study, I learned that the questionnaires were disseminated through an array of social networks, as well as through schools by virtue of his own association with the group *Les enseignants de Gallo*. The questionnaire begins by trying to categorise Gallo, or in other words ascertaining by what name Gallo is referred to in Upper Brittany. The original fieldwork for their study was undertaken between 2004 and 2005, and I was keen to include

a similar question in my own project to see if, ten years later, any change in perceptions had occurred. Next, Blanchet and Le Coq asked informants to report whether or not they hear Gallo being used in their respective neighbourhoods/areas; who speaks Gallo; and in what circumstances.

Identifying the domains in which Gallo is still spoken was a question I was keen to explore, since my own visits to Upper Brittany had yielded no encounters with Gallo in any of the places reported by researchers such as Nolan and Rey. Likewise, as mentioned in the discussion of Jones' work, I was eager to understand more about who speakers used Gallo with. Blanchet and Le Coq also included questions which investigated individual opinions and attitudes towards Gallo's status and representation, particularly within the region, which is so heavily influenced by the presence of Breton. Le Coq's suggestion that the associations were a good means of identifying and contacting potential participants was also a key part of the success of this study. During the preliminary visit to Upper Brittany, I was able to make contact with a number of individuals, primarily those associated with the various Gallo organisations based in Rennes; one such individual had been the president of *Les enseignants de Gallo* and was able to put me in contact with two teachers operating in St Malo and Loudeac. Through these two teachers, I was able to contact the majority of the 41 student-age informants who took part in the study.

4.5.2 Investigating language policies in Northern France (Nolan 2004)

The initial chapters of Nolan's thesis look at language policy in general without highlighting specifically how such policy has affected Gallo. In brief, Nolan describes the struggle between government supporters of a monolingual French state, and those campaigning for recognition of the reality of France's

multilingualism. Starting from chapter five, Nolan begins to apply his discussion of policy change to Gallo, by introducing his own fieldwork.

Between 2003 and 2004, Nolan conducted his fieldwork in Upper Brittany, distributing questionnaires to *collège* and *lycée* students, their parents and teachers (however, the teacher response rate was so low as to be discounted from the overall analysis of results). The questions themselves focused on the informant's attitudes towards language as well as their perceptions of identity. It is beneficial to include a breakdown of the sections and questions Nolan chose to include as it pertains to the work of Rey (which will be discussed subsequently), and the research aims of this study.

While Nolan's sample is relatively clearly defined, i.e. student-age Gallo learners and their parents, he uses the first section of the questionnaire to supplement his data on the informants so as to better stratify the sample and their responses. Thus, the initial questions relate to age, gender, and regional location. Section two of the questionnaire asks the informants about their own interaction with Gallo, specifically regarding native language, written and oral forms, understanding and competence, and use. The choice of questions is not surprising, however, Nolan's work is the first English language study to apply such a questionnaire to the study of Gallo. Concerning the use of written language, it is interesting to note that Nolan does not ask his informants to specify which written form they use, if any. Given the age group of the primary set of subjects, it is likely that younger students would not be aware of which orthography they were being taught. On the subject of comprehension, the informants were asked to choose a phrase from the following list which best described their level of understanding: *Je comprends le gallo sans problème; Je*

comprends le plupart de ce qu'on me dit; Je comprends quelques mots et expressions en gallo; Je ne comprends pas du tout le gallo. Similarly, when asked to describe their competence Nolan provided his subjects the following options : *Je le parle sans problèmes; Je le parle, mais avec quelques difficultés; Je parle assez mal le gallo; Je ne parle pas du tout le gallo.* While these options, in both cases, offer the informant a range of choices, more than simply yes and no, they do not take into account the state of Gallo within the Gallo community. For example, in my own conversations with Gallo speakers and activists it was reported that very few speakers of Gallo are able to produce what might be described as 'pure' Gallo utterances, i.e. there is an element of French in the majority of Gallo speaker communication. Likewise, according to the same activists, there are individuals who would not class themselves as speaking any Gallo, that are unable to produce 'pure' French sentences, i.e. without the inclusion of Gallo lexis. Again, with a sample population drawn from the younger generation such judgements are difficult to elicit, however, these considerations should be taken into account when analysing the data.

On the subject of language use, Nolan asks informants how often they use Gallo, where they speak it, and with whom. These questions are of particular importance to the study I am proposing and will feature in my own questionnaire. The use of Gallo in public places is an interesting topic directly linked to language attitudes and, due to the common attestation of older generation speakers, that Gallo is, and has been for many years, spoken only in highly informal and private environments, I believe that any change in attitude, brought about by a change in policy, will result in an increase in Gallo use in public places. However, Nolan's choice of possible answers could be viewed as having more to do with functional

use rather than attitude. For example, Nolan's options include the bank, the market, and the town hall; while it is possible to have social interactions in these places they, are not typically the environments in which people agree to meet socially, and so long as French is functionally more dominant in language domains it could be argued that linguistic research into regional language use is better suited to the investigation of personal social interactions. Following these questions, the informants are asked about how and why they are learning Gallo, both of which are integral to the study of attitudinal change.

As a starting point for the sociolinguistic study of language attitudes within the Gallo community, Nolan's work is pivotal. His contextual information is detailed and extensive and his methodology is well researched and executed. However, while his findings shed much needed light on the linguistic situation of Upper Brittany, I would argue that they are not necessarily relevant or appropriate indicators of attitudinal change. For example, Nolan's thesis focuses on the links between changes in language policy and the effects on minority language speakers; in the case of education in Upper Brittany, Gallo learning in schools predates the 1992 E.U. Charter for Minority and Regional Languages. By the time of the Charter's publication, Gallo pedagogic materials and methods had already been developed and instituted with minimal influence from either the state or the region; thus one might argue that a culture of regional language acceptance was in place prior to the introduction of the European Charter. Nevertheless, Nolan's work provides a solid foundation on which future Gallo researchers can build, as Rey demonstrates.

4.5.3 Investigating language and identity (Rey 2010)

Rey's thesis, Planning language practices and representations of identity within the Gallo community in Brittany: A case of language maintenance, follows on from Nolan's work in terms of both themes and methodology. Like Nolan, Rey's fieldwork comprised of a questionnaire distributed among two groups of informants, older speakers of Gallo and younger Gallo students. Unlike Nolan, Rey looks at the situation from the ground up, focusing on speakers' attitudes towards their own identity, as well as considering: regional variations of Gallo, orthography, and code-switching. Rey also considers the relationship between both Gallo and French, and Gallo and Breton. These themes in particular have become increasingly important in the Gallo world and it is likely that Rey's work will, like Nolan's, form the foundation of future sociolinguistic studies of Gallo. Approaching the study of Gallo from the point of view of revitalization, Rey focuses much more on the current situation of Gallo than Nolan.

Rey's questionnaire is based upon five main studies: Sauzet & Pic (2009), Dressler & Wodak (1977), Walter (1991), Pic-Gillard (2007), and finally Nolan (2006). Sauzet and Pic looked at the situation between Breton and Gallo, and is used by Rey to help better understand the situation Gallo speakers face when attempting to negotiate their own identity as either, French, Breton, or Gallo (gallèse). Dressler and Wodak discuss language maintenance and death within the region of Brittany and compare the decline of Breton to that of Gallo, something which Rey seeks to build upon with her own work. Walter's survey investigates the importance of the name Gallo is given by its speakers, considering the pejorative connotations that terms such as *patois* and dialecte have in France. Rey includes the study by Pic-Gillard as an example of a similar

project being undertaken to study another *langue d'oïl*, Norman. Finally, as the most recent Gallo-centred study undertaken, Rey looks quite extensively at the methodology of Nolan. The primary findings which Rey seeks to highlight at the end of her survey of the above studies is that 'younger informants are more in favour of including Gallo in their identity in its relationship with Breton' (Rey 2010:304). However, it remains secondary to the larger regional Breton identity. She argues that this finding may be an indicator that Gallo has successfully gained some prestige compared to Breton in the minds of Upper Bretons, something which she seeks to confirm with her own fieldwork.

Rey uses the questionnaire created by Boas' (2001 cited in Rey 2010) Texas German Dialect Project as a source for her own study and adapted the questions for the investigation of Gallo. Boas' questionnaire included sections on the following themes; biographical information, a translation task, worksheets from an existing text book, and an elicitation task. This protocol was largely followed by Rey, with the exception of the translation and elicitation tasks. By way of a brief overview of Rey's questionnaire I present the following summary:

Section 1: General Biographical Information; including age, gender, place of birth, and profession.

Section 2: General Language Use; questions regarding regional language use (past and present), familial language use (past and present), social language use, and education.

Section 3: Identity and Representation.

Section 4: Personal Language Use (past and present).

Rey's informants were contacted through the region's Gallo associations and consisted of two groups: older speakers, and younger students. The primary means of data collection was the questionnaire, however, a number of retired informants agreed to follow-up interviews which helped provide more detail and context to their responses. The questionnaire itself was distributed digitally via the website SurveyMonkey, except for several case in which the informants did not have access to the internet. In these cases, Rey personally delivered the questionnaire. The principal finding of Rey's fieldwork suggests that language use and competence are not significantly linked to people's perceptions of identity and, while Gallo may be capable of revitalisation, in so far as form and function are concerned, its speakers lack the necessary motivation to realise this end (Rey 2010:338). Elements from Rey's questionnaire will be incorporated into this study's questionnaire, particularly the investigation of familial and social language use.

4.5.4 Investigating the role of the speech community in maintenance of a regional language

The aim of this study was simple: to provide an up-to-date profile of the Gallo speech community in terms of the use, attitudes, and proficiency of a modest sample of speakers. It has been noted in the preceding chapters that recent studies have investigated various sociolinguistic issues relating to Gallo, however, relatively little information exists on the speech community itself. The question of who exactly is using Gallo in the twenty-first century remains largely unanswered. Therefore, before any data collection methods could be steeled upon, the speech community itself needed to be identified.

As well as identifying who is speaking Gallo, the second research aim is to determine where and when Gallo is being spoken. A key element to this aspect

of the study is the issue of private and public use. We have learned that in language contact situations, particularly diglossic situations, the higher prestige language quickly becomes dominant in all formal functions, restricting the less dominant language to use in informal and eventually private functions, for example in the home. This is certainly observable in Upper Brittany, where one must seek out individuals who are speaking either Gallo or Breton. One of the aims of revitalisation is to raise the dying language's prestige and expand its functions; this means encouraging its use in public contexts. Given the fact that revitalisation efforts have been underway since the 1970s, it would be interesting to find out whether or not speakers are now finding, or making, opportunities to speak Gallo in public. Furthermore, much has been made of the lack of intergenerational use among Gallo speakers, but it is worth investigating if this has changed, particularly with the increase in support and language activism over the last ten years.

Finally, we have seen that it is the speakers of a language that determine its fate. Ideas of prestige and culture are social, not linguistic, thus a language's perceived value is based in subjective attitudes and beliefs. While laws and policies are changing to accommodate heritage languages and promote their cultural value, the beliefs and attitudes of groups, tend to be less progressive. Investigating the beliefs and attitudes of Gallo speakers towards the status and situation of Gallo itself may seem unnecessary, since one might assume they adamantly support their traditional language. However, generations of prejudice and stigmatisation have left a lasting legacy on the speakers of regional languages across France and so it is imperative that we determine whether or not revitalisation is breaking down these ingrained perceptions.

While developing the research aims of this study, it became apparent that no other study has looked at the matter of speaker proficiency. While it would be nearly impossible to produce a full battery of language tests based on Gallo, and perhaps even inappropriate to ask speakers to subject themselves to such tests, basic vocabulary and grammatical tasks can give an insight into how speakers are handling the emerging written and codified forms of Gallo.

With the aims of the study established, as well as the need for fieldwork, the practicalities of such an endeavour had to be addressed. The rest of the chapter will outline the methods used to collect the relevant data from the Gallo speech community.

4.6 Sampling

Determining who is speaking Gallo may seem to be a simple matter; however, due to the fact that no incontrovertible evidence exists which documents the size or nature of the Gallo speech community, we cannot draw reliable conclusions based on the various existing sources and estimates, as they are primarily the work of Gallo activists. The only other option is to attempt to narrow down an empirically definable target population for use in this study. It was decided that attempts should be made to identify and contact a suitable group of informants and investigate their use and attitudes towards Gallo. Observational evidence suggests that the last remaining native speakers of Gallo are now in their seventies, eighties and nineties. Speakers younger than seventy are therefore most likely to be what Dorian (1981) refers to as 'semi-speakers', speakers whose proficiency is based on knowledge of the language which they acquired as children but which has been subject to attrition. In some cases the gaps in knowledge are filled by French; in others, the gaps are filled with modern Gallo

as taught and promoted by Gallo organisations. In either case, the level of proficiency within this group of 'semi-speakers' is broad in range. Identifying and contacting a suitable target group posed the first practical problem, and the methods employed to overcome this problem will be discussed later in this chapter.

Milroy and Gordon (2003) highlight the importance of obtaining a representative sample in sociolinguistic research; 'the strength of the conclusions one can draw depends on how accurately the sample represents the larger population' (p.24). One must, therefore, have some knowledge of the target population; in the case of this study, the Gallo speech community. Gillian Sankoff (1980 cited in Milroy and Gordon 2003) highlighted three issues researchers must be aware of when planning sociolinguistic fieldwork that aims to obtain a representative sample:

•   Defining the sampling universe: that is, to delineate, at least roughly, the boundaries of the group or the community in which one is interested. An adequate sample frame to investigate group members may then be sought.

•   Assessing the relevant dimensions of variation within the community: this involves constructing stratification for the sample. Thus, we must ask whether age, ethnicity, gender, or social class of speaker might affect the kind of language used. Most studies so far have shown that to a great extent they do, as does situational context.

•   Determining the sample size.

(Milroy and Gordon 2003:26)

While Sankoff's considerations are discussed by Milroy and Gordon in terms of variationist work, the principles translate to the type of survey this study

proposes. While there are various claims concerning the Gallo speech community, accurate details are rare. If we begin with a geographical delineation, we may say that Gallo speakers are found only in Upper Brittany, however this definition is difficult to confirm. Chambers and Trudgill's (1998) discussion of dialect continua shows that linguistic borders cross political ones, and it is likely that there are elements of Gallo being spoken in Normandy and the Pays de la Loire region. We know that Gallo used to be spoken widely in Nantes and that there are still some Gallo speakers in the area, despite the fact that the city is no longer a part of Brittany. Likewise, the linguistic border between Gallo and Breton is not so clear-cut as the political border between Upper and Lower Brittany. Walter (1986) has shown that the linguistic border has shifted over time. We might attempt to select a random sample based on established lists, for example telephone directories, in which case every person on the list has an equal chance of being chosen to take part in the study. Labov (1966) attempted to address the issue of representativeness by drawing a sample frame from such a list for his Lower East Side survey. Such a method would be unsuitable for this study as it presupposes that all individuals on such a list are Gallo speakers; this is clearly not the case, and no officially sponsored or compiled list of Gallo speakers exists. Comparable studies of immigrant languages benefit from the fact that their speakers tend to live together in close-knit communities, but, Gallo speakers are randomly distributed among the monolingual French speaking population.

Next we must consider sample size and stratification. The issue of sample size has been keenly debated and Milroy and Gordon (2003) discuss the various aspects of the argument in some detail. The essence of their discussion hinges on two main points. Firstly, while on the face of it a larger number of informants

is more likely to provide representative data, if the sample has been sufficiently stratified then a smaller number of informants should be as capable of providing representative information, and a larger number of informants actually becomes counter-productive (2003:29). Of particular importance however is the second issue, that of practicality. A large number of informants means more data handling and analysis which takes time. Given the make-up of the Gallo speech community, specifically its random distribution across the wider population, which makes identifying potential informants difficult, as well as the fact that the data analysis would be undertaken by only myself, the need to obtain a small and accurately stratified sample was paramount. The next issue was how to obtain a stratified sample.

Stratification in sociolinguistic studies usually refers to three main criteria: age, gender and social class, however, we may also consider other factors such as ethnicity, religion, and education. In the case of Gallo, religious beliefs are unlikely to play a major role in Gallo use. While ethnicity would affect language use, it is unlikely to interfere with this study as Gallo is not yet in a position to be attracting speakers from outside its original regions and social stratum of use, i.e. rural, lower-class and white Bretons. Age, gender and social class are proven influences on both language use and attitudes. Age and gender are relatively easy to establish, and most people are happy to provide the information when asked, provided it is for some reasonable purpose. The age of informants is of particular interest to this study as we are, in part, trying to establish changes in attitudes and language use across generations. Likewise, gender has been linked to the abandonment of traditional and low-prestige languages in favour of more dominant languages (Chambers; 1995, Labov; 1990, Armstrong and

Unsworth 1999 cited in Milroy and Gordon 2003). Social class, which is known to play an important role in minority language maintenance and revitalisation, is difficult to determine and cannot be left to self-reporting. Social class is difficult to define, much less judge, particularly now. Historically, titles, landownership, education and profession were markers of social class, however these factors are now much less relevant to current class systems. At this point, wealth seems to be the principal factor affecting social class. Unfortunately, for research purposes, people are far less willing to divulge their earnings than they are their age. Recognising this development, Halsey (1995) distinguishes between an economic class and a social status. This study will stratify its subjects by social status, determined by education. The reasons for doing this are twofold; firstly, the education system in France is comparatively homogenous; secondly, observational evidence suggests that Gallo is traditionally a rural and lower class vernacular while the modern revival is being orchestrated by educated individuals.

Having discussed the various issues that must be considered when identifying informants, we must determine how best to obtain a sample of Gallo speakers. Due to the lack of materials, i.e. an electoral role or a census which documents language preference, it is practical concerns which inevitably determine where the informants are drawn from.

Due to the relative scarcity of literature on the subject of Gallo, it was necessary to visit the target are prior to any formal fieldwork of data collection. A three-week preliminary visit was undertaken in the autumn of 2013 with two main aims; firstly, to determine the validity of anecdotal evidence reported in a number of activist literature, and secondly to make contact with the associations themselves. It was

hoped that the volunteers working for organisations such as *Bertègn Galèzz, Chubri* and the *Association des enseignants de Gallo* would be able to grant access to a wider network of Gallo speakers and potential informants. This snowball sampling technique has proved successful in the most recent Gallo studies conducted by Nolan (2006) and Rey (2010) and seemed to be the best option for contacting Gallo speakers. The initial visit yielded three contacts, all representatives of the organisations listed above; a year later, my network of Gallo speakers had risen to almost one hundred speakers.

The sample frame for this study was made up of 93 informants and stratified by age, gender and education. Three generational groups were broadly defined: Student; Employed; Retired. Informants in the Student group were aged between 16 and 25 years and represented Gallo learners; no subjects in this generational group classed themselves as native-speakers of Gallo. At the time of the study, they were engaged in, or had recently completed, Gallo lessons, either privately or as part of a formal education programme. Those students under the age of 18 were contacted through their teachers, members of the *Association des enseignants de Gallo* organisation. Thanks entirely to the cooperation of the teachers, I was able to personally administer the questionnaire to those students who were under 18, and record their discussions. The older Student informants were contacted through their former teachers and the majority of them completed the questionnaire via email. The Employed generation were contacted through the snowball or friend-of-a-friend approach. Starting with the activists I had met during the preliminary visit a year earlier, I was able to identify friends and family members of these individuals who were happy, and often eager, to be a part of the study. These informants often provided me with the names and addresses of

their friends and I was quickly able to find 36 subjects within this generational group. I initially made attempts to avoid using activists as a part of the data collection stage of the study; however, it quickly became apparent that, within this generation, almost all speakers of Gallo are involved in some way in the revitalisation of Gallo. As a result, the Employed group consists of teachers, raconteurs (traditional story-tellers), activists and supporters of Gallo. The final generational group was made up of Retired individuals, typically aged over 65 years. These informants were the most difficult to identify and contact as they did not always desire to take part in any form of activism or academic study; however, I was able to contact 16 individuals who were willing to answer the questionnaire. In every case, these informants were the children of lower-class, rural labourers and had learned Gallo as children, primarily from their grandparents. This group served as a generational benchmark, the first group of speakers to be heavily influenced by post-war anti-regional language stigmatism and, as such, the most likely to resist revitalisation efforts while remaining the closest thing to native-speakers.

With the research questions settled and the sample frame identified, the next step was to develop an effective means of data collection. Once again, it was the practical factors that determined what method of data collection would be employed. The preliminary visit consisted of interviews which provided a great deal of qualitative data. The experience is extremely rewarding and, due to the fact that this study is focused on attitudes and beliefs, the observer's paradox is less of an issue than in variationist studies. The interviews were scripted, i.e. a number of pre-determined questions were used to guide the conversation, but in all possible cases, the interview was conducted in a non-formal environment with

the interviewer playing the role of an interested but ignorant foreigner. The result of this approach was an average interview duration being over an hour. Despite only interviewing a dozen individuals during that first visit, it became very clear that interviewing all the informants in the sample frame during the primary phase of the fieldwork would generate too much information for one individual to analyse in the time frame allotted for the study. Thus, a more efficient method of data collection would be required.

4.7 Evaluating Language Use

The primary objective of the opening section of the questionnaire is to determine what language(s) speakers in Upper Brittany are using, who they are using them with and where. To start, informants are asked to comment on the use of Gallo where they currently reside, compared to where they lived as a child. This question is particularly important for determining to what extent Gallo use has decreased, or increased, during the lifetimes of the older informants. The following questions investigate speaker opinions regarding their proficiency by asking how well they understand and how well they speak Gallo. The questionnaire then moves on to the topic of intergenerational transmission by asking speakers what language(s) they spoke as children and who they spoke them with, as well as who they speak Gallo with now. The penultimate set of questions in this first section looks the issue of public and private use. It has been noted that obsolescing vernaculars are relegated to use only in private situations. These questions hope to uncover what progress the Gallo speech community is making towards using the language in public. Finally, and as part of the last question, I investigate whether speakers are using Gallo in new media, i.e. email, social media and text messaging.

The purpose of including a section devoted to language use is to gain a better understanding how much Gallo speakers are using the language, or more accurately, how much they believe they are using it. The results of the questionnaire will be compared with comments made by informants, particularly activists regarding the extent of Gallo use in the region.

4.8 Evaluating Language Attitudes

The questions in section two of the questionnaire investigate attitudes and beliefs concerning: status, policy, representation and identity. The choice of questions comes as a result of two factors; firstly, the success of Nolan and Rey's work and the desire to update their findings to take into account the intervening years of revitalisation between their studies and this one; secondly, the topics of the questions relate directly to doubts and concerns raised by individuals I met during the preliminary visit to Rennes.

The introductory question addresses the issue of the *patois* stigma by asking informants whether they believe Gallo to be best described as a language, dialect or *patois*. This is immediately followed up by asking whether these three terms carry positive, negative or neutral connotations. This addition came because of a conversation with Anne-Marie Pelhate, an author and radio broadcaster for Plum.fm, who raised the possibility that the term *patois* was losing its negative connotation within rural communities. During an interview with a volunteer from the association *Bertègn Galèzz*, himself a member of a rural community, the suggestion was made that, in the more isolated communities, the negative connotations never really took hold. In these areas, where French barely intruded on day-to-day life, the stigma played no real role. Between members of the same communities, and neighbouring communities of a similar social make-up, *patois*

was simply the name of their vernacular, not a derogatory term based on a social comparison.

After asking informants to define Gallo as either a language, dialect or *patois*, the questionnaire presents them with a set of questions focused on determining the reasons for their stated definition in question 1. Using a scale to record varying degrees of agreement/disagreement, informants are presented with a number of statements designed to elicit a response. For example, question 2.2c states 'Gallo should be considered as either a dialect or a *patois* as it does not possess a single official orthography.' The scale provides respondents five options: not at all; probably not; neutral; probably yes; absolutely. The same scale is used in the following questions which look at the sociocultural function of Gallo in the modern world. The section ends with a question on support, representation in the media, and identity. These themes are found in almost all studies of minority languages and revitalisation. Due to Rey's focus on identity in 2010, only one question was included in this study to examine identity, specifically, whether speakers identify most with the nationally identity of French, the regional identity of Breton or the local identity, Gallo. After investigating the subject of identity, particularly the work of Joseph (2003), it was decided not to make students choose between identities. Personal identities can be viewed as being made up of competing group identities, i.e. an individual is not simply a man, or British, or a farmer, rather his identity is made up of all these facets. Similarly, a Gallo speaker may consider himself French, Breton and Gallo; however, these identities are in competition and one will have a more prominent place in an individual's identity than the other two. This question aims to determine which is the most prominent.

4.9 Evaluating Language Proficiency

This final section of the questionnaire was the most difficult to design and realise. The first consideration is that this study is not an academic test, by which language proficiency is typically assessed, nor is it the aim of the study to assess the ability of the speech community to speak Gallo. To attempt such a task, as an outsider of the community, would be inappropriate and likely to cause offence. Thus a different approach was needed in order to include such a task successfully. The answer came in the form of the orthography debate. As discussed in chapters two and three, written languages, or cultures with a written language tend to survive longer and more successfully than oral traditions. In the work of minority language revitalisation, establishing a codified and standardised written form that can be diffused among the speaker population is paramount. Section three monitors the extent to which these orthographies are being disseminated and the effect multiple orthographies are having on speaker comprehension. The first question asks informants to provide the plural form of a given number of nouns. In an email conversation, a Gallo teacher, formerly connected to the association *Chubri*, advised me to be cautious when investigating pluralisation. His experience was that a significant proportion of the speech community does not use the plural forms of nouns in Gallo as they are given in the grammars and dictionaries published by Deriano and Auffray. Despite the risk that the question would return largely unanswered if this were the case, it seemed important to determine whether the claim was accurate as Gallo grammarians have taken measures to codify the rules for making nouns plural. The second question asked the respondents to translate a number of sentences from Gallo into French. The first thirteen questions were taken from pedagogic materials collected during the preliminary visit. These thirteen

sentences each contain an element of grammar particular to Gallo. Due to the limited resources available and the desire to include rather than exclude participants, the level of difficulty is kept low. The final sentences were taken from a now discontinued news letter written in a competing orthography (ELG). The inclusion of these sentences came after hearing several Gallo speakers' remark that the ELG orthography was difficult to understand and, on the part of the older speakers, did not resemble the Gallo they spoke as children.

The final questions in section three ask informants to indicate their orthographical and lexical preference from pairs of synonyms. In each question, one variant is similar to French and the other is markedly different. Given the debate between activists regarding the best way to encode the language, it seemed like a logical next step to ask informants to indicate their preference.

The questionnaire was administered to a total of 76 informants, with a further 17 completed and returned via email. A covering letter was sent to email respondents inviting them to expand upon their answers with annotations and supplementary information should they desire. This action was taken in the hope of eliciting more qualitative data, in the same way that the informal interview approach managed to achieve with those informants who received the questionnaire from the researcher personally. The results were mixed. While some individuals did provide insightful additions to their answers, a small number of informants reacted by changing the nature of the questionnaire to accommodate their opinions. While the information these individuals provided was interesting, it rendered their questionnaire responses practically void as they could not be incorporated into the quantitative analysis.

4.10 The process

During the early stages of the data collection phase, several one-on-one appointments took place, usually in the homes of the informants. The aim was to elicit opinions, which not all people are willing to proffer to a stranger, so it was essential that the informant felt comfortable and in control of the discussion. This was achieved by introducing the study and its aims and highlighting the fact that, as a foreign student, the researcher had little knowledge or understanding of Gallo and was eager to learn about the individual experiences and opinions of the speech community. In almost all cases, the informants were surprised that a British researcher was interested in their language and they were happy to help. After gaining consent to use any data they provided, including comments made during any discussions a copy of the questionnaire would be given to the informant and a voice recorder would begin recording the conversation. In most cases, the informant would read the question and then discuss his/her opinion before marking a response on the paper. The discussions were often verbalised internal debates which the researcher was did not wish to interrupt. In cases where debate was not forthcoming, the research would often preface a question with an interrogative such as: 'What do you think of this?'; 'Has this been your experience?' It was often the case that informants would change their immediate response to the questions after just a few seconds of discussion. As well as the voice recordings, the researcher made notes during the interviews which helped to provide the qualitative and observational data to support the questionnaire responses.

During the second week of fieldwork, group meetings began to occur, particularly among the student-aged informants and the retirees. In these meetings, the

same process of introducing the project and gaining consent was followed, however, during the administration of the questionnaire, the researcher read the questions aloud and to the group. This avoided confusion and gave the discussion some structure; it also meant that the audio recordings were not simply indiscernible group chatter but clear and usable comments and opinions.

4.11 Conclusion

Overall, the data collection period of the fieldwork went well. The sampling technique proved to be very effective, to the point that almost double the anticipated informants were found. Likewise, the questionnaire itself worked well and obtained the data it was designed to elicit. Specific issues which arose during the administration and analysis of the questionnaire will be discussed in the following chapters.

5 PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE USE AMONG GALLO SPEAKERS

5.1 Introducing the questionnaire

The design of section one of the questionnaire reflects the need for up-to-date data on language use trends in Upper Brittany. Rey's study (2010) on identity and Nolan's study (2006) on language policy represent the most recent English speaking academic studies to be conducted on the subject of Gallo. While other data does exist, notably those studies found in the 2008 publication *Autour du Gallo,* their findings often differ from the beliefs of Gallo activists and organisations. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to help to discuss the results obtained from section one of the questionnaire whose aim was to assess the nature of language use among the Gallo speech community.

The questions in section one can be divided into subgroups. Question 1.1 assesses awareness of Gallo use. Question 1.2 asks informants to report proficiency in any other language besides French. Questions 1.3 and 1.4 look at perceived proficiency in Gallo. 1.5 asks informants to state what language(s) they remember speaking at five years of age while questions 1.6 and 1.7 investigate interlocutors both past and present. Finally, 1.8-1.10 look at Gallo use in specific contexts and domains. Each question will be discussed in terms of the reasons for its inclusion in the questionnaire and the expected outcome of the results. The collected data of each question will then be displayed in tables and/or figures and discussed in terms of patterns and trends across generational groups (retired, employed and student), gender, and level of education (*brevet, bac,*

bac+, other[11]). As well as the stratification of informants, the tables show the number of non-responses (NR), the observed frequency (O.F.) of each response, that is the number of times the response was given, and finally the percentage, which shows how the O.F. compares when the number of NR is accounted for.

5.2 Awareness of Gallo use

The opening question of the questionnaire asks informants if they are aware of Gallo use in the area where they currently live (1.1a), and if they were aware of it in the area where they lived as a child. The hypothesis for these questions is that the Retired generation would be more aware of Gallo being used around them, due to the fact that older people have been exposed to Gallo for a greater number of years. Furthermore, Gallo was more commonly used sixty years ago and is therefore more likely to have been encountered even by informants who did not use it themselves. As we move closer to the present, Gallo use is reported as less common and therefore, we would expect to see fewer informants from the Employed group to report Gallo awareness, particularly where they currently live. It is the responses of the Student group which will indicate whether or not revitalisation efforts are increasing Gallo awareness in Upper Brittany. A comparison between the student results and the responses of the other groups will provide some insight into the level of language awareness of the younger generation. Increased awareness would indicate that revitalisation efforts are increasing awareness of Gallo among the younger generation.

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[11] Within the Employed and Retired subject groups, there were a small number of informants who had not completed secondary school but who di possess professional qualifications. These 'Other' qualifications tended to pertain to agriculture.

5.2.1 Discussion of data

1.1a	N/R	Yes	
Group (total informants)		O.F.	**%**
Retired (16)	0	10	**62.5**
Employed (36)	0	24	**66.7**
Student (41)	2	22	**56.4**
Male (51)	0	30	**58.8**
Female (42)	2	26	**65.0**
Brevet (48)	2	24	**52.2**
BAC (10)	0	7	**70.0**
BAC+ (26)	0	19	**73.1**
Other Qualification (9)	0	6	**66.7**

Table 5.1

1.1b	N/R	Yes	
Group (total informants)		O.F.	**%**
Retired (16)	0	14	**87.5**
Employed (36)	0	34	**94.4**
Student (41)	5	15	**41.7**
Male (51)	0	38	**74.5**
Female (42)	5	24	**64.9**
Brevet (48)	5	24	**55.8**
BAC (10)	0	9	**90.0**
BAC+ (26)	0	22	**84.6**
Other Qualification (9)	0	8	**88.9**

Table 5.2

The overall picture painted by the results for these two questions is that Gallo is less evident today than it was in the past. The assumption appears to be correct, specifically regarding the older generation. Responses across the generational groups suggest that exposure to Gallo has decreased over the past fifty years, and this in turn would suggest that Gallo use has similarly decreased. However, the data also shows that Gallo has not disappeared and can still be found across

the region. The Employed group did score the highest, particularly for question 1.1b, which asks informants about where they lived as a child. While it is difficult to see precisely what this result means for Gallo or for its revitalization, as the questionnaire collects only self-reported data, for the informants of this study aged 26-65 years old, the memory of Gallo being spoken when they were children is far more prevalent than their awareness of Gallo being spoken now. As expected, the older generation scored highly in both questions; this is not surprising, as it seems to be this retired generation of individuals who continue to use Gallo in everyday natural speech. Likewise, the student group scored higher for question 1.1a than for 1.1b by a difference of 14.7%. While it must be acknowledged that the numbers of informants cannot be considered representative of the sample population, the increase does suggest that the introduction of Gallo lessons in the public school system is raising awareness of Gallo among young people in Upper Brittany. The results also show that those informants with either a *Bac* or *Bac+* education are more aware of Gallo use around them than those who are less well educated. This conforms with Dorian's (1981) theory that revitalisation is undertaken by the social elite, i.e. people who have abandoned or lost elements of their traditional language and culture through social advancement and, recognising the loss, seek to redress this. A discussion with an activist during the preliminary visit to Rennes in 2014 reinforces this further. The individual in question maintained that, in his rural community revitalisation was not discussed and its necessity not recognised, because Gallo is still in everyday use.

It is possible that the wording of the question 1.1b caused confusion for some informants: *Le parler régional de la Haute Bretagne est parfois appelé le gallo:*

l'avez-vous remarqué (a) où vous habitez actuellement; (b) où vous habitiez quand vous étiez enfant? Those to whom the questionnaire was administered personally raised no concerns about the wording, but this question could be interpreted as asking informants to report whether or not Gallo is currently used in the area where they lived as a child. It is worth recognising this possibility when considering the data.

5.3 Gallo proficiency

Clearly, the data obtained from questions 1.3 and 1.4 cannot be taken as an accurate representation of Gallo proficiency as the data obtained is self-reported. However, as this study is also concerned with attitudes and perceptions, informant beliefs about their ability are perhaps more relevant to this investigation than would be the results of standardised academic tests. As with the previous questions, the responses of the Retired group can be used as a measure against which we can assess obsolescence and subsequent revitalisation in the answers of the Employed and Student groups. Therefore, we would expect to see greater perceived proficiency from the oldest informants and decreasing levels of ability with each subsequent generation. However, as a number of the employed informants are Gallo teachers and activists, it is likely that they will have achieved a high level of proficiency. Based on observational evidence and reports from sources such as Trehel-Tas (2007), it is unlikely that any of the students will report high levels of ability, as generational transmission is reckoned to have all but ceased. Any positive level of proficiency reported by the student group will be an indicator of increased language vitality.

Question 1.3 asks informants to rate their receptive language skills, specifically aural comprehension. Informants were given four possible answers: *Je*

comprends sans problème ce que l'on me dit en gallo; Je comprends la plupart de ce que l'on me dit en gallo; Je comprends quelques mots et expressions en gallo; Je ne comprends pas du tout le gallo. A similar set of responses, using a Likert scale, was used for question 1.4 which looked at productive language skills, specifically speech. The decision not to include reading and writing in these questions was partly a result of the continuing debate regarding orthography. The written form of Gallo is a subject that causes a great deal of confusion among Gallo speakers and will be discussed in more detail in the analysis of section three of the questionnaire.

5.3.1 Discussion of Data

1.3	N/R	Not at all		Some		Fairly Well		Well	
Group (total informants)		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	6.3	15	93.8
Professional (36)	0	0	0.0	1	2.8	12	33.3	23	63.9
Student (41)	0	0	0.0	16	39.0	21	51.2	4	9.8
Male (51)	0	0	0.0	8	15.7	18	35.3	25	49.0
Female (42)	0	0	0.0	9	21.4	16	38.1	17	40.5
Brevet (48)	0	0	0.0	16	33.3	23	47.9	9	18.8
BAC (10)	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	30.0	7	70.0
BAC+ (26)	0	0	0.0	1	3.8	8	30.8	17	65.4
Other (9)	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	100.0

Table 5.3

The hypothesis underlying questions 1.3 and 1.4 is largely supported. The oldest informants most consistently report high levels of ability, both in terms of receptive skills and productive skills. There are a number of individuals from the Employed group who report similarly high levels of proficiency. Of course, one must remember that the data represents opinion and not actual proficiency. Measuring proficiency is not the purpose of this study; rather, it is concerned with

ascertaining the attitudes and beliefs of Gallo speakers towards Gallo. Therefore, self-reported data is an appropriate means of determining how well Gallo speakers believe they speak and understand Gallo. We will consider question 1.3 first.

 Unremarkably, the retired group of informants scored the highest. All but one of the older informants answered that they had no problems understanding Gallo. Likewise, the majority (63.9%) of the employed group also reported having no problems understanding spoken Gallo; a further 33.3% reported having only a few problems with comprehension. Perhaps more interesting is that 51.2% of students reported that they understand most of what people say to them in Gallo. Given their status as learners of Gallo, this score is surprising especially when so few of the informants in this group report using Gallo outside of the classroom (see discussion of questions 1.8-1.10). One possible explanation for this score is the graded nature of the material discussed in Gallo classes. Having attended a number of Gallo lessons, both within the school system as well as privately run classes, I found that even as a non-native speaker of French I was able to follow the lesson and complete the activities and academic tasks. If these young students are only accessing Gallo in the classroom environment, then the self-assessment of their proficiency will be limited to their abilities within the same environment, where the material is prepared for them and where they have the support of a teacher to guide them.

Analysis by either gender or education does not reveal any clear differences. There are no great disparities between male and female scores, and the large differences between the educational groups can be accounted for by their generational make-up i.e. the *Brevet* group consists almost entirely of young

students, and the 'Other Qualification' group is made up entirely of older participants. It is worth noting that within the Other Qualification group, those who stated what that other qualification was were all rural labourers who, presumably, spoke Gallo throughout their working life rather than abandoning it for the more prestigious French language spoken in towns.

1.4	N/R	Not at all		Some		Fairly Well		Well	
Group (total informants)		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	0	0	0.0	1	6.3	0	0.0	15	93.8
Professional (36)	0	0	0.0	4	11.1	9	25.0	23	63.9
Student (41)	0	3	7.3	20	48.8	17	41.5	1	2.4
Male (51)	0	0	0.0	11	21.6	15	29.4	25	49.0
Female (42)	0	3	7.1	14	33.3	11	26.2	14	33.3
Brevet (48)	0	3	6.3	21	43.8	17	35.4	7	14.6
BAC (10)	0	1	10.0	1	10.0	8	80.0	0	0.0
BAC+ (26)	0	0	0.0	2	7.7	8	30.8	16	61.5
Other Qualification (9)	0	0	0.0	1	11.1	0	0.0	8	88.9

Table 5.4

The results for question 1.4 follow a very similar pattern to those of question 1.3. Where differences do exist, scores are lower than they were in the previous question. These slight differences suggest that current Gallo speakers understand more than they are able to produce.[12] This decline in productive capacity is to be expected from a speech community which has been systematically abandoning Gallo over the past century.

The results for the generational groups support the findings of Rey (2010: 320). 55.2% of Rey's older informants reported being able to speak Gallo fluently,

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[12] These results are supported by observational evidence: audience members of *Le Gallo en scène* (an annual Gallo cultural event) who reported having no problems understanding the sketches they watched but communicated with each other in French because they were not confident to do so in Gallo.

compared to 14.3% of the younger student informants. Likewise, 72.4% of the older informants reported being able to understand a conversation in Gallo "very well", compared to only 7.1% of the younger generation.

5.4 Language use as a child

Interviews conducted during the preliminary visit to Rennes in October 2014 suggested that, even by the time the study's oldest informants were starting school, French had already successfully penetrated most formal and public speech domains. The retired generation, in particular, talk in detail about the ways in which state education affected language use when they were children. However, there is little information about what languages were being spoken in the home prior to their enrolment in school. The purpose of this question is to determine to what extent Gallo was spoken in the home and how it has changed over the past three generations.

As mentioned, most of the information gathered about Gallo use in the home has come from observational or informal rather than empirical study, and any hypothesis is therefore based upon these personal accounts. It would seem logical to suppose that Gallo use would be more prevalent in rural areas where education levels, corporate or international business, and exposure to government and official bureaucracy are lower than in towns and cities. Therefore, it is likely that older generation rural informants and older generation informants with less education will have grown up speaking more Gallo than French. One may predict that across the employed generation a similar trend is likely, however, as the majority of the employed generation are highly educated it is necessary to look at the professions of their parents (given in the "Personal Details" section of the questionnaire) in order to corroborate this prediction.

Given the very existence of Gallo organisations working to revitalise Gallo, it seems very unlikely that the youngest generation is speaking Gallo more than it is speaking French at home*.*

5.4.1 Discussion of Data

1.5	N/R	French	French and Gallo Equally	Gallo	French and another language	Another language
Retired (16)	1	20.0%	0.0%	80.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Professional (36)	0	66.7%	13.9%	19.5%	0.0%	0.0%
Student (41)	0	95.1%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%	2.4%

Table 5.5

Question 1.5 asks informants to indicate which languages they spoke as a five year old. Seven possible responses were offered: *Le français uniquement; Surtout le français, et un peu le gallo; Le français et le gallo, de manière égale; Surtout le gallo, et un peu le français; Le gallo uniquement; Le français et une autre langue; Une autre langue uniquement.* The results are shown in table 5.5.

The student generation have learned French almost exclusively in the home, with the exception of two participants who learned English. Given that the oldest informant from this group is twenty-two years old, the data suggests that Gallo has ceased to be transmitted in the familial setting since the early 1990s. Interestingly, a fifth of the retired generation report learning French in the home, to some degree. The results also show that more females grew up speaking French than males; on the surface this supports established theories that women tend to abandon local speech norms in favour or more prestigious ones earlier than men (see Milroy and Gordon 2003:101). However, these figures are more likely due to the disproportionate number of female respondents in the student group. Likewise, the same explanation can be applied to the results for the Brevet

group. In general, the Bac and Bac+ groups are made up of informants from the employed group, and a small number of individuals from the retired generation; it is interesting that in these subgroups, French scores more highly than Gallo despite the age of the informants. This supports Dorian's observation that the social elite, in this case the more highly educated, engage in revitalisation efforts due to an awareness of loss. The inclusion of Gallo in the responses of other informants in the generational groups of those informants with Bac and Bac+ levels of education, suggests that Gallo was still in use during the early stages of their lives, but it was already being marginalised.

5.5 Gallo speaking interlocutors

UNESCO has highlighted intergenerational transmission as being a key factor in language preservation and maintenance (see chapter 3). As a result, questions 1.6 and 1.7 focus on the subject of interlocutors: who informants spoke Gallo to as children and who they speak Gallo to now. In order to determine to what extent claims that parents and grandparents are not speaking Gallo to their children are true, we much first determine when transmission across the generations began to stop. Comparing the scores of each generational group should help us to determine when children stopped speaking to grandparents, parents, siblings etc.

Questions 1.6 and 1.7 do differ slightly in that the responses offered to informants are different in each question. 1.6 asks informants if they used to speak Gallo with: *Grands-parents; Père; Mère; Frère/Sœur/Cousins; Autres Enfants.* Question 1.7 asks informants if they currently are speaking Gallo with: *Membres de la famille (adultes); Membres de la famille (jeunes); Amis plus âgés; Amis moins âgés.* The change in possible answers was originally designed to include,

rather than exclude, as many participants as possible. By altering the answers for 1.7, it was hoped that older generation informants whose fathers, mothers, and grandparents have died, could continue to give data. The changes have made the comparative analysis of the two questions more difficult, however their inclusion did mean that retired informants gave more answers than they otherwise would have.

5.5.1 Discussion of data

1.6	N/R	Grand parents		Father		Mother		Bro/Sis/ Cousins		Other Children	
Group (total informants)		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	14	100.0	14	100.0	14	100.0	11	78.6	11	78.6
Professional (36)	6	28	93.3	13	43.3	17	56.7	13	43.3	13	43.3
Student (41)	33	5	62.5	3	37.5	4	50.0	0	0.0	2	25.0
Male (51)	19	29	90.6	16	50.0	20	62.5	15	46.9	16	50.0
Female (42)	22	18	90.0	14	70.0	15	75.0	9	45.0	10	50.0
Brevet (48)	32	13	81.3	8	50.0	10	62.5	5	31.3	7	43.8
BAC (10)	3	7	100.0	4	57.1	4	57.1	3	42.9	3	42.9
BAC+ (26)	6	18	90.0	10	50.0	13	65.0	8	40.0	8	40.0
Other OR N/R (9)	0	9	100.0	8	88.9	8	88.9	8	88.9	8	88.9

Table 5.6

Question 1.6 asks respondents to comment on who they spoke Gallo to as children. It was believed that the retired generation of informants would indicate more categories than the employed group, who in turn would indicate more than the student group. The results, shown in table 5.6, supported this hypothesis. The numbers decrease for each group of interlocutors and over the course of each generation. Every informant from the retired group reports speaking Gallo with older family members; over 75% of these same informants report speaking Gallo to siblings and cousins as well as childhood friends. Although grandparents

continue to speak Gallo to the employed generation, all other figures fall by approximately 50%. Among the student generation, these figures have fallen again; however, the difference between the scores of the employed group and the student group are not as marked as the difference between the scores of the retired group and the employed group. This suggests that the rate of decline is decreasing. A quarter of the student informants report using Gallo with other children, although not brothers and sisters. The results for the student group also show that mothers are using Gallo with their children more frequently than fathers. This finding is contrary to the conclusions drawn by Nolan (2006) during his research. The data also suggests that parents speak Gallo more to their daughters than to their sons, which is surprising given the link between dialect and masculinity. One explanation for these results could be the higher number of female informants in the Student group.

1.7	N/R	Adult Family Members		Younger Family Members		Older Friends		Younger Friends	
Group (total informants)		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	5	5	**45.5**	4	**36.4**	9	**81.8**	5	**45.5**
Professional (36)	1	20	**57.1**	4	**11.4**	29	**82.9**	19	**54.3**
Student (41)	22	15	**78.9**	1	**5.3**	5	**26.3**	1	**5.3**
Male (51)	11	21	**52.5**	7	**17.5**	30	**75.0**	16	**40.0**
Female (42)	17	19	**76.0**	2	**8.0**	13	**52.0**	9	**36.0**
Brevet (48)	22	20	**76.9**	2	**7.7**	11	**42.3**	4	**15.4**
BAC (10)	1	4	**44.4**	0	**0.0**	7	**77.8**	6	**66.7**
BAC+ (26)	2	12	**50.0**	4	**16.7**	19	**79.2**	13	**54.2**
Other OR N/R (9)	3	4	**66.7**	3	**50.0**	6	**100.0**	2	**33.3**

Table 5.7

Question 1.7 asks informants to whom they speak Gallo now. The aim of this question was to determine (i) if intergenerational transmission of Gallo is currently in progress, and if so (ii) how this has altered over the past three

generations. The results in table 5.7 show that Gallo use is primarily in one direction, from younger speakers to older speakers. The student informants are currently speaking Gallo with older family members far more than with any other group of individuals. While there is some exchange between these young speakers and older friends, there is little or no conversation between speakers who are younger than them. Likewise the Retired and Employed groups are using Gallo more with older speakers than they are younger ones. The scores for younger interlocutors decrease with the age of the informants themselves, i.e. the older the informant group, the more they report speaking to younger speakers. This is logical, given that the older the informant the more people there will be who are younger than them. Additional qualitative data, from informant interviews, suggests that parents from the Employed group are now speaking Gallo to their children; however the number of individuals who report doing this is minimal. Furthermore, interviews with grandparents suggest that they do not use Gallo with their grandchildren, and that their children understand Gallo but do not speak it. The data obtained from question 1.7 does support Nolan's findings that it is men, or fathers, who are speaking Gallo with their children. Men scored higher than women for both "Younger family members" and "Younger friends".

5.6 Context and Domain

The next items in the questionnaire relate to context and domain. In her 2010 study of Gallo language and identity, Rey asked her informants a number of questions regarding their use of Gallo in given contexts and situations. Among the settings were: church, the market, the baker's shop. While her study collected a great deal of data on the subject, interviews from my own pilot study revealed that Gallo use is currently restricted to private settings, and it therefore seemed appropriate to focus the attention of this study on these. Question 1.8 asks informants if they use Gallo in four different locations: *A la maison; Au travail; Au tabac/bar; Au club social*. A fifth option, *Ailleurs*, was also included, along with an invitation to specify where they spoke Gallo. Informants responded simply 'yes' or 'no'. 1.9 asks respondents how frequently they hear/read Gallo in different contexts: *Quand je suis avec mes amis; Quand je suis avec ma famille; En lisant la presse; Pendant les cours (publics ou privés); En écoutant la radio; En regardant la TV*. Question 1.10 deals with the issue of language use in private and public spaces, as well as Gallo use in new domains like social media. Each question will now be discussed in turn.

5.6.1 In which environments is Gallo being used? (Question 1.8)

As stated above, Gallo use is reported primarily in the home, therefore, it seems likely that the majority of informants would respond to question 1.8 according. It is far more difficult to predict whether or not individuals are finding occasions to use Gallo in their place of work or when they are out at a bar. With regard to the age factor, it seems more likely that the retired group of informants will still be using Gallo in social situations in clubs and bars, as their social circles will include a higher proportion of Gallo speakers and therefore they will have more

opportunities to speak Gallo. The Employed group may also report Gallo use in contexts outside the home. Some of the employed informants are Gallo teachers, others work for or with Gallo organisations, so responses indicating use of Gallo at work may be misrepresentative. It seemed unlikely that the student generation would respond that they use Gallo in any context other than at home unless they considered school use as falling under the heading of *Ailleurs.*

1.8	N/R	At Home		At Work		In a Bar/Café		At a Social Club		Elsewhere	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	5	8	**72.7**	2	**18.2**	2	**18.2**	6	**54.5**	6	**54.5**
Employed (36)	3	20	**60.6**	20	**60.6**	11	**33.3**	12	**36.4**	15	**45.5**
Student (41)	10	8	**25.8**	8	**25.8**	0	**0.0**	2	**6.5**	16	**51.6**

.Table 5.8

The Employed group appears to be the generation which uses Gallo most frequently in the most contexts. In individual situations it is the retired generation who score highest, most notably in domains labelled "social club" and "elsewhere". The Student group report using Gallo "at home", "at work", "at a social club", and "elsewhere". These scores seem unlikely at first glance, however, during the administration of the questionnaires, it became clear that many of the students interpreted "at work" and "elsewhere" as school. Given that "at school" was not an option for this particular question it was deemed that the students' reading of the question was appropriate and their responses provided more insight into Gallo use than would be obtained by discounting their answers.

5.6.2 "How frequently do you hear/read Gallo?" (Question 1.9)

In question 1.9 a scale was used to determine the extent to which informants were exposed to Gallo in certain situations. In each case the given responses were as follows: *never or almost never, not often, occasionally, often,* and *very often.* The situations included in this question were influenced by a number of sources, notably Rey (2010), Nolan (2006), and Chevalier (2008). Having

established in earlier questions that family members and friends were the most common interlocutors, investigation into how frequently Gallo is being spoken between these speakers seemed the logical next step. Likewise, after reading Chevalier's comparative report on the presence of Breton and Gallo in the public domain, specifically the media, this question aimed to reveal if progress had been made in raising the profile of Gallo in the written press and in regional broadcasting. The results for each context will be discussed in turn.

1.9a	N/R	Never/Almost Never		Not Often		Occasionally		Often		Very Often	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	0	0.0	6	42.9	0	0.0	6	42.9	2	14.3
Employed (36)	0	6	16.7	7	19.4	14	38.9	5	13.9	4	11.1
Student (41)	0	30	73.2	3	7.3	8	19.5	0	0.0	0	0.0

Table 5.9

The first situation (1.9a) asked informants to rate their exposure to Gallo when with friends. 14.3% of the retired group reported hearing Gallo "very often" when among friends, 42.9% reported hearing it "often" and another 42.9% reported hearing it "not often". Among the Employed group, there were scores for each of the five possible responses, the most popular response (38.9%) being "occasionally". The majority of student informants answered "never or almost never" (73.2%). These scores support the notion that the oldest informants now have increasing difficulty finding older or similar-aged Gallo speakers to converse with and are seemingly unwilling or unable to converse with younger people to the same degree. The main qualitative finding relating to this question was a comment that arose in multiple interviews: "*Ça depend.*" Use of Gallo in social situations depends on the makeup of the social group. Gallo is abandoned when non-Gallo speakers are present and instances when individuals are in a an exclusively Gallo-speaking group is rare in everyday life. The majority score

for the student group is not surprising and perhaps illustrates where Gallo activism needs to focus its attention, if it is to succeed.

Question 1.9b asked informants to quantify their exposure to Gallo when among family members. The results for this question, shown in table 5.10, are similarly distributed. The Retired group's majority response was "not often" (58.3%). The most frequent response in the Employed group was once again "occasionally" (38.9%), although the breakdown of their other responses was more positive than in question 1.9a. Finally, 58.5% of the student group answered "never or almost never", with 24.4% answering that they "occasionally" heard Gallo at home. To both questions 1.9a and 1.9b the scores are not unexpected and show that even in low prestige linguistic domains Gallo is still struggling to find a place. While some of the results for the questions on where Gallo is spoken seemed encouraging, the overall extent to which Gallo is being used is concerning, especially given the low priority the language has among family and social groups.

1.9b	N/R	Never/Almost Never		Not Often		Occasionally		Often		Very Often	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	4	0	0.0	7	58.3	2	16.7	2	16.7	1	8.3
Employed (36)	0	2	5.6	8	22.2	14	38.9	10	27.8	2	5.6
Student (41)	0	24	58.5	4	9.8	10	24.4	3	7.3	0	0.0

Table 5.10

Questions 1.9c, 1.9e and 1.9f asked informants to report how frequently they were exposed to Gallo in the press, on the radio, and on the television, respectively. In all cases, the majority of respondents reported "never or almost never" and "not often", particularly with regard to Gallo on the television. These scores confirm Chevalier's (2008) finding that Gallo is largely absent from public media. In conversation, informants struggled to provide examples of

newspapers, magazines, radio or television programmes which regularly featured Gallo. While there are some well-known and popular exceptions, these sources are not readily available to the entire speech community. For example, *Plum.fm* is known across the region for having broadcasts devoted to Gallo, however its geographical range is poor and its catalogue of broadcasts is only available via internet access which many speakers do not have. Of specific examples of Gallo in the media cited by respondents, some had in fact ceased to be published for many years. In 2014-2015 attempts have been made to increase Gallo output in this domain, however, once again, financial constraints mean that diffusion of these materials is limited primarily to the internet (for example, *Runje* a monthly publication, available online and in print.

Question 1.9d, which asked how frequently informants were exposed to Gallo in public or private lessons, presupposed that the respondents did indeed attend Gallo lessons. The many who did not gave no response to the question and very little can be gleaned from the small number of responses obtained.

5.6.3 How frequently do you use Gallo? (Question 1.10)

Continuing on from question 1.9, which asked informants to what extent they encountered Gallo in certain contexts, question 1.10 asked them to what extent they used Gallo in given situations. There were two aims to this question: firstly, to determine if the traditional stigma associated with regional languages still discourages speakers from using Gallo in public spaces. Pairs of sub-questions were devised which attempted to provide respondents with the same interlocutors but different environments: for example, 1.10a asks informants how often they use Gallo with friends when speaking on the telephone, while 1.10b asks how often they use Gallo with friends in a bar. However, during the first few

appointments, when the questionnaires were administered personally, it became clear that the wording of the question required clarification. Some informants took the question literally, focusing on the place (a bar) rather than the context. For the student informants, who do not often frequent bars, this meant that they felt they could not answer the question. Subsequently, this question was clarified during face-to-face meetings and by way of a note when the questionnaires were completed via email. The second aim was to determine to what extent Gallo is being used in the technological domain, i.e. in emails, text messages and on social media. Questions 1.10e. 1.10g and 1.10h asks informants to report their level of Gallo use in this area.

The first two pairs of questions ask informants how frequently they use Gallo with friends (1.10a and 1.10b) and with family (1.10c and 1.10d) in both private and public spaces. Observations made during the preliminary visit to Rennes in 2014, and remarks from activists during the same visit, suggested that Gallo remained restricted to private use, primarily in the home. During a month-long stay in Rennes I had not heard Gallo spoken once in markets, restaurants, cafés or supermarkets; however, as that first visit had been limited to an urban environment, it remained possible that Gallo is still spoken in public in more rural settings.

The results of these two questions show that, even across generations, Gallo use is most often found in private settings. The tables on the following pages show clearly that the stigma attached to Gallo remains largely unchanged and revitalization efforts have done little so far to counter this. Interestingly, Gallo use in public is more common among friends than among family members.

1.10a	N/R	Never/Almost Never		Not Often		Occasionally		Often		Very Often	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	3	5	**38.5**	0	**0.0**	3	**23.1**	5	**38.5**	0	**0.0**
Employed (36)	1	8	**22.9**	9	**25.7**	13	**37.1**	4	**11.4**	1	**2.9**
Student (41)	0	37	**90.2**	2	**4.9**	2	**4.9**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**

Table 5.11 'To what extent do you use Gallo with friends on the phone?'

1.10b	N/R	Never/Almost Never		Not Often		Occasionally		Often		Very Often	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	3	8	**61.5**	0	**0.0**	4	**30.8**	1	**7.7**	0	**0.0**
Employed (36)	3	15	**45.5**	4	**12.1**	9	**27.3**	4	**12.1**	1	**3.0**
Student (41)	0	36	**87.8**	2	**4.9**	3	**7.3**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**

Table 5.12 'To what extent do you use Gallo with friends in a bar?'

1.10c	N/R	Never/Almost Never		Not Often		Occasionally		Often		Very Often	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	4	5	**41.7**	1	**8.3**	2	**16.7**	3	**25.0**	1	**8.3**
Employed (36)	2	3	**8.8**	8	**23.5**	15	**44.1**	7	**20.6**	1	**2.9**
Student (41)	0	26	**63.4**	5	**12.2**	8	**19.5**	2	**4.9**	0	**0.0**

Table 5.13 'To what extent do you use Gallo with the family at home?'

1.10d	N/R	Never/Almost Never		Not Often		Occasionally		Often		Very Often	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	7	7	**77.8**	1	**11.1**	1	**11.1**	1	**11.1**	0	**0.0**
Employed (36)	4	21	**65.6**	6	**18.8**	3	**9.4**	2	**6.3**	0	**0.0**
Student (41)	0	39	**95.1**	1	**2.4**	1	**2.4**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**

Table 5.14 'To what extent do you use Gallo with the family on the train?'

1.10f	N/R	Never/Almost Never		Not Often		Occasionally		Often		Very Often	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	11	1	**20.0**	1	**20.0**	2	**40.0**	0	**0.0**	1	**20.0**
Employed (36)	5	8	**25.8**	6	**19.4**	8	**25.8**	3	**9.7**	6	**19.4**
Student (41)	1	7	**17.5**	9	**22.5**	11	**27.5**	7	**17.5**	6	**15.0**

Table 5.16 'To what extent do you use Gallo at work?'

5.6.3.2 Gallo use in new domains (Questions 1.10e, 1.10g and 1.10h)

One of the UNESCO criteria for assessing language vitality and obsolescence is the language's ability to adapt to new domains. It seems fair to say that when Gallo was last spoken by a significant proportion of the population of Upper Brittany, certain domains in which it could now be used did not exist. Not only must Gallo spread into these domains in order to survive, modern domains such as social media and the internet are proving to be financially viable and superior methods of promoting and diffusing Gallo. As the majority of the older informants in this study come from rural areas, it is perhaps unlikely that the retired generation will score highly in the area of technological use. However, given that digital media is so useful to modern revitalization efforts, and the fact that a number of the employed group's informants work in Gallo related professions, it is most likely that the highest scores for these questions will come from this group. It is the answers of the student group which will determine whether or not Gallo organisations are successfully promoting Gallo use in digital media.

1.10e	N/R	Never/Almost Never		Not Often		Occasionally		Often		Very Often	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	12	3	**75.0**	0	**0.0**	1	**25.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**
Employed (36)	9	16	**59.3**	2	**7.4**	5	**18.5**	2	**7.4**	2	**7.4**
Student (41)	2	37	**94.9**	1	**2.6**	1	**2.6**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**

Table 5.15 'To what extent do you use Gallo on Facebook, Twitter etc?'

1.10g	N/R	Never/Almost Never		Not Often		Occasionally		Often		Very Often	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	12	2	**50.0**	1	**25.0**	0	**0.0**	1	**25.0**	0	**0.0**
Employed (36)	4	7	**21.9**	6	**18.8**	11	**34.4**	3	**9.4**	5	**15.6**
Student (41)	2	36	**92.3**	1	**2.6**	2	**5.1**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**

Table 5.16 'To what extent do you use Gallo when writing emails?'

1.10h	N/R	Never/Almost Never		Not Often		Occasionally		Often		Very Often	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	12	4	**100.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**
Employed (36)	6	19	**63.3**	3	**10.0**	3	**10.0**	1	**3.3**	4	**13.3**
Student (41)	0	37	**90.2**	2	**4.9**	2	**4.9**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**

Table 5.17 'To what extent do you use Gallo when text messaging?'

The data shows that, at this point, it is still primarily the Employed group that is using Gallo in digital media. There is almost zero Gallo use by the younger generation across all three questions (scores for all three questions were >90% "never or almost never"). Likewise, the older generation's scores seem to be affected most by the fact that 12/16 informants did not answer suggesting that this generation has not yet embraced technology, rather than Gallo use in this domain. The scores for the employed group, while greater than any other group, are not so marked as to suggest that social media, and the internet in general, are being used to their full potential.

5.7 Conclusions

This part of the questionnaire attempted to address the issue of language use by asking informants to determine to what extent they use Gallo. The results showed that Gallo use remains restricted to the *espace privé*, between close friends and family members. Throughout the course of the project, it was only in Gallo specific situations that I heard the language being spoken. In each of these events, it was already determined, either by experience of prior planning, that Gallo was the language being used. In *ad hoc* encounters, French was the primary language heard. Gallo is not acquiring new linguistic domains.

6 ANALYSIS OF RESULTS: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on attitudes towards Gallo. We will outline the purpose of each question in section 2 of the questionnaire and suggest a hypothesis regarding the results and finally discuss the data collected. The purpose of section 2 of the questionnaire was to investigate the speech community's beliefs and attitudes regarding Gallo, its relationship with Breton and French and its status within the region and the nation. Popular perception maintains the belief that *patois* remain highly stigmatised and, due to the association of the *langues d'oïl* with *patois*, languages like Gallo, Norman and Picard are unpopular and obsolescent, perhaps even dead. However, the existence of language activists and organisations suggest that each of these languages still have speakers. What do these speakers think of their traditional regional languages? Do they continue to believe the Enlightenment and Revolutionary rhetoric? Section 2 of the questionnaire was designed to investigate these questions and determine to what extent attitudes and beliefs about Gallo have changed, or are in the process of change.

6.2 Language, Dialect or *Patois*?

The first question in part 2 of the questionnaire asked informants what word best describes Gallo: *langue, dialecte, patois*. This question builds directly on the work carried out by Walter (1997) and Blanchet and Le Coq (2008). Although the precise sense of Blanchet and Le Coq's question was markedly different (they asked their informants to 'name their speech') they found that the most common term used to describe Gallo was *patois*; furthermore, the term 'Gallo' was most commonly used by younger informants aged 13-19 (2008:12). If revitalisation

efforts are proving successful in Upper Brittany, the results of this study should show greater numbers of older-generation speakers describing Gallo as a language rather than a *patois*. Given that the student informants were all identified and contacted through their Gallo teachers, and that they have chosen to learn Gallo at school, any answer from younger informants other than *langue* will be surprising. Concerning the Employed group, I believe their responses will be indicative of their political standpoint. Over the course of this study, I have met individuals who are highly competent in both oral and written Gallo and who use it every day, yet do not consider it to be anything more than a *patois*. Likewise, I have met individuals who struggle to understand conversational Gallo yet are adamant that it is a distinct language. Exposure to activism will likely determine the Employed group's responses.

So the first question in section two asked informants to define Gallo's linguistic status as either a language, a dialect or a *patois*. A follow-up question then asked if the three terms carried any positive, neutral or negative connotations in their view. This question also builds upon the work of Walter (1997) and Blanchet and Le Coq (2008), who asked subjects to name their local vernacular and describe it. Prior to administering the questionnaire, it seemed reasonable to assume that the employed generation would most uniformly describe Gallo as a language. Retired informants' responses would likely depend on their exposure to Gallo organisations, which is not measured as part of this study, however in general it was assumed that the older informants would be less likely to define Gallo as a language and more as a *patois*. The student informants were found as a result of their links to Gallo organisations, particularly teachers, who promote Gallo as a language; therefore, it is more likely that they will respond *langue* than *patois*. The results are shown in the table 6.1.

	N/R	Language		Dialect		*Patois*	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	6	**42.9**	2	**14.3**	6	**42.9**
Employed (36)	3	29	**87.9**	3	**9.1**	1	**3.0**
Student (41)	1	21	**52.5**	6	**15.0**	13	**32.5**
Male (51)	4	34	**72.3**	6	**12.8**	7	**14.9**
Female (42)	2	22	**55.0**	5	**12.5**	13	**32.5**
Brevet (48)	3	22	**48.9**	8	**17.8**	15	**33.3**
BAC (10)	1	9	**100.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**
BAC+ (26)	2	22	**91.7**	2	**8.3**	0	**0.0**
Other OR N/R (9)	0	3	**33.3**	1	**11.1**	5	**55.6**

Table 6.1 'In your opinion, which term best describes Gallo?' (Question 2.1 part I)

The Employed informants are clearly more comfortable describing Gallo as a language (87.9%). The remaining informants from this group tended to respond *dialecte* rather than *patois*. The older generation ('Retired') were evenly split between language and *patois* (42.9%). I believe this demonstrates an increase in exposure to groups such as *Bertègn Gallèzz*. The Student group's responses were akin to those of the Retired group: 52.5% answered that Gallo is a language, 32.5% answered dialect, and 15% answered *patois*. These results are by far the most surprising. The bulk of the student informants were found by teachers associated with the group *Enseignants de Gallo*, whose introductory talk focused heavily on the relationships between Gallo, the *langues d'Oïl*, French and Vulgar Latin, using the evolution of Proto-Romance in France as evidence of Gallo's status as a language. For 13 of 40 student informants to describe Gallo as a *patois* shows that there remains social stigmatisation of Gallo within the community and likely within the home environment. There is a difference of over 17% between the male and female responses for *langue* (M=72.3%, F=55%), while the Females' score for *patois* is more than double

(M=14.9%, F=32.5%). These results suggest perhaps that women in Upper Brittany are more conservative in their definitions of Gallo. This result is in line with other studies that have shown women to be less positive than men towards non-standard varieties; e.g. Gal (1978). With regards to level of education, those with BAC or BAC+ answered overwhelmingly *langue*. The 10 informants in the BAC group all answered *langue*; 22 of 26 BAC+ informants answered *langue* with the other 2 informants answering *dialecte*.

The second part of this first question asked informants to indicate whether or not they believed the terms *langue, dialect, patois*, to have any 'positive', 'negative' or 'neutral' connotations. The respondents showed a clear trend. *Langue* is seen to be an overwhelmingly positive term, so much so that no informants reported a negative connotation. While a handful of informants reported a neutral connotation, no score below 70% was recorded by a single group for 'positive'. The scores for *dialecte* were, by comparison, far more varied although the general trend showed the term to carry neutral connotations. It is likely that the neutral responses ascribed to *dialecte* are a result of the infrequency of the term's use in everyday language by the majority of the informants. In the Routledge *Frequency Dictionary of French* (Langdale and Le Bras 2009), the terms *dialecte and patois* are not recorded as one of the 5000 most frequently used words in the French language. In France, *dialecte* tends to be used primarily in academic discourse. Finally, the term *patois* seems to have retained its negative connotations: although the scores were not as one-sided as those for *langue*, the results show that, in every group, *patois* is seen as a negative term. The lowest negative scores for the term are found among the retired informants (71.4%), BAC informants (55.6%) and those with a different level of education (66.7%); in this case the two educational groups are made up of older

informants. From interviews and discussions with some of the informants, it would seem that for those who used Gallo as children at home, particularly the older informants, the term *patois* incites memories of hearth and home as much as it does the social stigma of 'bad French'.

6.3 Reasons for the perceived status of Gallo

Questions 2.2a – 2.2g ask the informants to what extent they agree with the given statements in an attempt to understand why the speech community views Gallo as either a language or a dialect/*patois* (in these questions, no distinction has been made between *dialect* and *patois*). It should be noted that the statements are complex and potentially controversial, and some informants may have had difficulty understanding some of them. In all cases the sentences comprised of an opinion regarding Gallo's status and a reason for that opinion. Some responses may indicate agreement with the opinion, but not the reason. The rationale behind these questions was the wish to explore the factors behind respondents' perceptions of the status of Gallo. The tables of results will be shown in full, but to facilitate the discussion, the responses will be combined to provide a positive and negative score i.e. 'not at all' and 'probably not' will be referred to as negative and 'probably yes' and 'absolutely' will be referred to as positive. In cases where the individual scores shed more light on the subject, they will be explored further.

6.3.1 'Gallo must be considered a language because it has its own linguistic system which is in some ways different from French' (Question 2.2a)

As the statement refers to Gallo as a language, it is reasonable to assume, given the nature of the informants, that a large proportion of responses would be

positive even if the rest of the statement is not considered. However, for those who think more closely about the reason for the opinion, i.e. *il possède son propre système linguistique qui est different de celui du français, à certains égards,* the question is perhaps more difficult to answer, as some speakers, particularly older ones, do not recognise Gallo as separate from French. The results are as shown below in table 6.2.

The positive scores far outnumber the negative scores. In some cases, a combined positive score of almost 90% can be seen. Of the generational groups, the Employed group scores the highest (88.8% positive combined). The Retired generation scores the lowest of the three groups with a combined score of 60%, while the student combined score is 75.6%. However, further examination of the data shows a more interesting picture with regards to these two groups. From the Retired responses, 8 informants answered this question "Absolutely" while only 1 informant answered "Probably yes". From the student group, 8 informants answered "Absolutely" while 23 answered "Probably yes". By examining the make-up of the combined scores, we see that the student group is far less certain of their opinion on this point than the older informants. It would be reasonable to conclude that the younger generations of Gallo speakers and learners are still developing their attitudes towards Gallo. Interestingly, the female positive responses for this question outnumber the male positive responses.

The issue of legitimacy and status is felt most keenly by the adult speakers of Gallo in Upper Brittany. It is therefore unsurprising that the positive responses for the adult informants are more frequently "Absolutely", while the positive responses for the younger informants are less certain. With regard to the younger informants, most of their exposure to Gallo comes through their school

lessons, all of which are conducted using the ABCD orthography which is, by design, close to French. For most of the teenagers who took part in the study, it is the similarities between Gallo and French which make the language accessible. As such, the fact that so many of the Student group answered positively shows the extent to which the politics behind the language remains a part of the Gallo communities identity as it continues to be passed down to the youngest speakers.

Group (total informants)	N/R	Not at all		Probably not		Neutral		Probably yes		Absolutely	
		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	1	0	0.0	4	26.7	2	13.3	1	6.7	8	53.3
Employed (36)	0	1	2.8	1	2.8	2	5.6	7	19.4	25	69.4
Student (41)	0	1	2.4	1	2.4	8	19.5	23	56.1	8	19.5
Male (51)	1	0	0.0	4	8.0	6	12.0	11	22.0	29	58.0
Female (42)	0	2	4.8	2	4.8	6	14.3	20	47.6	18	42.9
Brevet (48)	0	1	2.1	2	4.2	8	16.7	26	54.2	11	22.9
BAC (10)	0	1	10.0	0	0.0	1	10.0	0	0.0	8	80.0
BAC+ (26)	1	0	0.0	1	4.0	2	8.0	4	16.0	18	72.0
Other OR N/R (9)	0	0	0.0	3	33.3	1	11.1	1	11.1	4	44.4

Table 6.2 'Gallo must be considered a language because it has its own linguistic system which is in some ways different from French

6.3.2 'Gallo must be considered a language because, like French, it is derived from Gallo-Roman, the language spoken in Gaul during and after the Roman occupation' (Question 2.2b)

The second question in this group once again starts with the statement that Gallo should be considered as a language and then presents, as its reason for this, the fact that, like French, it is derived from Gallo-Roman. This point in particular is used frequently in talks and seminars directed by Gallo groups such as *Bertègn Gallezz* and *Enseignants de Gallo*. As such, it is likely that the majority of the respondents have heard a statement similar to the one given in question

2.2b at some point in their contact with Gallo. However, during interviews with some of the older speakers it became clear that modern Gallo is sufficiently distinct from traditional Gallo to cause some to wonder as to its authenticity or its artificiality. Given the small number of occasions when this issue arose in conversation, during the fieldwork, it will probably not influence the results of the questionnaire, however, it is worth noting that the statement in the question could prompt such considerations. The responses to 2.2b are summarised in table 6.3

Once again the higher percentages can be seen on the far right of the table, providing some very high combined positive scores in the 80s and 90s. The most obvious result is that no participants answered "Not at all"; furthermore, of the ninety-three informants, only three responded "Probably not". These figures alone show a belief that Gallo's authenticity as a distinct language comes from its direct links to Gallo-Roman, albeit to varying degrees. The Retired group seems to be the most unified in its belief, as their combined positive score totals 100%. The older informants are followed by the Employed group; whose combined positive scores totals 88.2%. Likewise, the male informants' total score is 89.8%. More variation is apparent the Student and female scores. Both groups score a combined positive score of over 60%, however, they also score over 25% for the "Neutral" response. Given that the generational group with the highest proportion of female respondents is the Student group, it seems reasonable to conclude that, within this set of informants, female Gallo speakers are less certain that Gallo's links to Gallo-Roman are sufficient to label it as a language.

The markedly high combined positive scores to this question are likely due to the fact that one of the earliest arguments for Gallo's legitimacy as a language

independent of French used is its evolution from Vulgar Latin. During the pilot study, I attended a discussion organised by the *Enseignants de Gallo* where this issue was highlighted. The materials used to illustrate the relationship between Latin and the other *langues d'oïl* were well worn suggesting that they had been made some time ago and were regularly used.

Group (total informants)	N/R	Not at all		Probably not		Neutral		Probably yes		Absolutely	
		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	1	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	2	**13.3**	13	**86.7**
Employed (36)	2	0	**0.0**	1	**2.9**	3	**8.8**	5	**14.7**	25	**73.5**
Student (41)	0	0	**0.0**	2	**4.9**	12	**29.3**	15	**36.6**	12	**29.3**
Male (51)	2	0	**0.0**	1	**2.0**	4	**8.2**	8	**16.3**	36	**73.5**
Female (42)	1	0	**0.0**	1	**2.4**	11	**26.8**	14	**34.1**	15	**36.6**
Brevet (48)	1	0	**0.0**	2	**4.3**	12	**25.5**	16	**34.0**	17	**36.2**
BAC (10)	1	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	1	**11.1**	1	**11.1**	7	**77.8**
BAC+ (26)	1	0	**0.0**	1	**4.0**	2	**8.0**	4	**16.0**	18	**72.0**
Other OR N/R (9)	0	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	9	**100.0**

Table 6.3 'Gallo must be considered a language because, like French, it is derived from the Gallo-Roman, the language spoken in Gaul during and after the Roman occupation'.

6.3.3 'Gallo must be considered a dialect or *patois* because it is little used in writing.' (Question 2.2c)

Questions 2.2c to 2.2g propose that Gallo should be thought of as a dialect or a *patois*; in 2.2c, the justification for the statement comes from Gallo's limited written use. The question of writing and orthography was perhaps the most prevalent in all of the conversations witnessed throughout the fieldwork. For activists, the issue of orthography tended to revolve around which written form (if any) was best suited for everyday use by the speech community. The comments usually referred to the confusion which multiple orthographies created, particularly among older speakers. Several of the older speakers themselves questioned the need for a written form at all. A reasonable amount

of variation should be expected from the results to this particular question therefore, as it is a topic which is divisive within the community itself. The results are shown in table 6.4

For the remaining questions in this group, it is reasonable to expect higher figures in the columns on the left of the table as respondents read the initial clause of the statement, (i.e. *Le gallo doit être considéré comme un dialecte, ou un patois…*), and immediately rush to its defence by answering "Not at all". A cursory glance at the table shows that this expectation is borne out, i.e. the highest scores can be found in the "Not at all" and "Probably not" columns. These figures are smaller than those recorded for questions 2.2a and 2.2b, suggesting that while informants are quick to agree with statements which define Gallo as a language, when faced with statements which clearly highlight some of Gallo's 'limitations', they find it more difficult to disagree with the lower status which has been accorded to Gallo for many decades. Even among the employed group, there are individuals who answered both "Probably yes" and "Absolutely". Perhaps most interesting, is the fact that whilst, 100% of respondents answered question 2.2b positively, that Gallo should be considered a language, in 2.2c, only 28.6% disagreed with the statement that Gallo should be considered a dialect or *patois*, and furthermore, 64.2% answer positively.

The results for this question show a number of points. Firstly, when we consider that the statements in all these questions are made up of an opinion followed by a rationale, we can see from the conflicting responses of the older generation that the participants are considering not simply the opinion, but also the rationale behind the opinion. Secondly, it would seem that Gallo speakers are still in the process of developing their own beliefs about their language. When we consider

that the subjects of this project were found through networking with pro-Gallo activists and teachers, and that the sample is fairly modest and technically not representative of the Gallo speech community at large, the answers to these questions show that even the beliefs and attitudes of Gallo speakers involved with activism and revitalisation are not yet fixed.

Group (total informants)	N/R	Not at all		Probably not		Neutral		Probably yes		Absolutely	
		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	4	28.6	0	0.0	1	7.1	8	57.1	1	7.1
Employed (36)	2	20	58.8	6	17.6	4	11.8	4	11.8	0	0.0
Student (41)	0	12	29.3	10	24.4	7	17.1	9	22.0	3	7.3
Male (51)	2	21	42.9	10	20.4	7	14.3	10	20.4	1	2.0
Female (42)	2	15	37.5	6	15.0	5	12.5	11	27.5	3	7.5
Brevet (48)	0	12	25.0	12	25.0	8	16.7	13	27.1	3	6.3
BAC (10)	2	6	75.0	0	0.0	1	12.5	0	0.0	1	12.5
BAC+ (26)	1	17	68.0	3	12.0	2	8.0	3	12.0	0	0.0
Other OR N/R (9)	1	1	12.5	1	12.5	1	12.5	5	62.5	0	0.0

Table 6.4 'Gallo must be considered a dialect or *patois* because it is little used in writing.'

6.3.4 'Gallo must be considered a dialect or *patois* because it does not have an official orthography.' (Question 2.2d)

Question 2.2d asks whether Gallo should be considered a dialect or *patois* because it does not have one sole official orthography. As alluded to above, the question of orthography is hotly debated within the Gallo community and the inclusion of this statement in the questionnaire aimed to examine whether the inability to settle on one of the several orthographies in existence is a sticking point for people when considering its status. While the inconvenience of multiple orthographies is widely commented upon, interviews with Gallo speakers did not suggest that there is a consensus among them that the lack of an accepted

written form negatively impacts perceptions of the language. The results for question 2.2d are presented in table 6.5.

As with question 2.2c, the results show considerable variation, perhaps also suggesting attitudes and beliefs which are not yet fixed. Again, the Retired generation produce a combined positive score that shows more of them agree with the statement than disagree (57.2% and 21.4%, respectively); this is likely a result of the statements themselves resembling criticisms levelled at the *patois* since their childhood which have become a more lasting social stigma for their generation. The Employed group as well as the BAC and BAC+ groups produce high combined positive scores, once again supporting the theory that revitalisation is primarily being conducted by social elites. In this question, the male and female scores show some interesting differences. The combined negative scores, i.e. the score which shows disagreement with the statement, are male 62.5% and female 42.5%, a difference of 20%. When we examine where the 20% ends up, we find it most strikingly in the "Neutral" and "Absolutely" responses. This data shows that, among women, orthography seems to play a more important role in assessing language status than amongst men.

The issue of orthography is perhaps the most keenly contested amongst those involved with the revitalisation of Gallo, but only among this group of individuals. Students learning Gallo at school are only superficially aware of the presence of multiple orthographies, while some of the oldest informants continue to doubt the authenticity of a written form of the language at all. Although the ABCD orthography is more widely found in use throughout Upper Brittany, it has not been completely accepted. These factors regarding the orthography debate account for the variability of responses to this question.

	N/R	Not at all		Probably not		Neutral		Probably yes		Absolutely	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	3	**21.4**	0	**0.0**	3	**21.4**	6	**42.9**	2	**14.3**
Employed (36)	3	21	**63.6**	6	**18.2**	4	**12.1**	1	**3.0**	1	**3.0**
Student (41)	0	12	**29.3**	5	**12.2**	11	**26.8**	8	**19.5**	5	**12.2**
Male (51)	3	23	**47.9**	7	**14.6**	7	**14.6**	9	**18.8**	2	**4.2**
Female (42)	2	13	**32.5**	4	**10.0**	11	**27.5**	6	**15.0**	6	**15.0**
Brevet (48)	0	11	**22.9**	7	**14.6**	14	**29.2**	10	**20.8**	6	**12.5**
BAC (10)	2	5	**62.5**	0	**0.0**	2	**25.0**	1	**12.5**	0	**0.0**
BAC+ (26)	1	19	**76.0**	4	**16.0**	1	**4.0**	1	**4.0**	0	**0.0**
Other OR N/R (9)	2	1	**14.3**	0	**0.0**	1	**14.3**	3	**42.9**		**0.0**

Table 6.5 'Gallo must be considered a dialect or *patois* because it does not have an official orthography.

6.3.5 'Gallo must be considered a dialect or *patois* because its vocabulary is smaller than those of French or English.' (Question 2.2e)

In his article describing the process of compiling the dictionary *Le Petit Matao*, Auffray (2007) describes the lengths to which he went to find attested regional vocabulary for the dictionary. Undoubtedly, Gallo's vocabulary is markedly smaller than that of French, but also comes under some scrutiny by traditional speakers who find items which are as foreign to them as English or Spanish words might be. Question 2.2e does not explore this issue in detail however, and it should be noted that at no point during the fieldwork did any participant question the statement that Gallo's vocabulary was relatively reduced. Taking this as a broad consensus that Gallo's vocabulary is much smaller than that of French, the responses to this question can be analysed with less concern for personal interpretation of the wording than in other questions. The results are shown in table 6.6.

The trends found in response to questions 2.2c and 2.2d continue in question 2.2e. The Employed and BAC/BAC+ groups show the highest combined

negative scores, followed by the male informants. The Retired group produce a 50% combined positive score compared with a 35.7% combined negative score, although it should be noted that the negative score is made up entirely of "Not at all" responses, while the combined positive score comprises entirely of "Probably yes" responses. When taken with the 14.3% "Neutral" score, it would seem that the older informants are less certain about the issue of vocabulary than it might appear on the surface. The student responses are spread across the entire range of answers; the highest individual score is "Not at all" however, combining the "Probably yes", "Neutral" and "Probably no" scores (57.5%), we can see that the majority of students do not have a strong opinion regarding the issue. Male and female scores also follow the trend established in earlier questions, with female informants agreeing with the statement markedly more than the men.

	N/R	Not at all		Probably not		Neutral		Probably yes		Absolutely	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	5	**35.7**	0	**0.0**	2	**14.3**	7	**50.0**	0	**0.0**
Employed (36)	3	24	**72.7**	3	**9.1**	5	**15.2**	1	**3.0**	0	**0.0**
Student (41)	1	16	**40.0**	7	**17.5**	6	**15.0**	10	**25.0**	1	**2.5**
Male (51)	3	29	**60.4**	4	**8.3**	8	**16.7**	6	**12.5**	1	**2.1**
Female (42)	3	16	**41.0**	6	**15.4**	5	**12.8**	12	**30.8**	0	**0.0**
Brevet (48)	1	16	**34.0**	8	**17.0**	9	**19.1**	13	**27.7**	1	**2.1**
BAC (10)	2	7	**87.5**	0	**0.0**	1	**12.5**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**
BAC+ (26)	1	21	**84.0**	2	**8.0**	2	**8.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**
Other OR N/R (9)	2	1	**14.3**	0	**0.0**	1	**14.3**	5	**71.4**	0	**0.0**

Table 6.6 'Gallo must be considered a dialect or *patois* because its vocabulary is smaller than those of French or English.'

6.3.6 'Gallo must be considered a dialect or *patois* because its grammar contains many faults in comparison to French' (Question 2.2f)

As mentioned previously, although Gallo grammars do exist, they do not appear to be widely used. This judgement is based on observations during the data collection stage of the project during which the researcher attended over ten classes and saw various dictionaries in use but no grammars. This perhaps is evidence of the lack of faith the average speaker places in the published grammars, or perhaps simply a lack of interest. In either case, the relative variability of Gallo grammar rules is quickly observed by a learner who might hear his grandfather say a phrase one way and his grandmother another. Question 2.2f sought to explore whether this variability, and Gallo's grammatical differences from French influence the perceived status of Gallo. The statement used in question 2.2f was clearly controversial, if not provocative, given its prescriptivist assumption that Gallo grammar includes errors. However, some respondents may have attributed such 'errors' to Gallo's distinctiveness, others to its variability. The results are shown in table 6.7.

For this question, the Retired generation are split between "Not at all" (38.5%) and "Probably yes" (61.5%); this particular pattern in the older generation shows perhaps a reduction of stigma as they answer with "Probably" rather than "Absolutely". The Employed, and the BAC/BAC+ groups are once again the highest scoring, with the entire BAC group answering "Not at all" (excluding those who did not answer the question). There remains more variation among the other groups, although combined negative scores for this question do outweigh positive scores, with the exception of the Retired generational group and the educational group 'Other' (almost all of whom are also part of the Retired group). By combining the "Probably…" and "Neutral" scores, we see that, in a number of

cases, this relatively uncertain mind-set scores more highly than the absolutes at either end of the attitudinal scale. The Student and Female groups' combined scores for Probably not/Neutral/Probably yes answers are greater than either of the 'extreme' responses, suggesting that their attitudes and beliefs may not be fixed. As mentioned above, the student group has the largest proportion of female respondents, therefore it is reasonable to conclude that young females are less certain about Gallo's status than the men in their generation. This offers Gallo organisations a clear target for their endeavours.

The issue regarding Gallo grammar is difficult to negotiate. During the pilot study, and the various conversations I had with Gallo activists, the only time the question of grammar was raised was when I brought it up. It seemed at the time that Gallo grammar, or at least speakers' understanding, was fluid at best. Furthermore, during the data collection phase of the study, there was vocal praise of the Auffray dictionary but his grammar was not mentioned. While a fixed grammar seems important to linguists, politicians and activists, the data obtained through the questionnaire, as well as the comments of speakers during the data collection phase, suggest that communication is more important than proscriptive rules about language use.

Group (total informants)	N/R	Not at all		Probably not		Neutral		Probably yes		Absolutely	
		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	3	5	**38.5**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	8	**61.5**	0	**0.0**
Employed (36)	4	24	**75.0**	3	**9.4**	4	**12.5**	1	**3.1**	0	**0.0**
Student (41)	0	18	**43.9**	6	**14.6**	6	**14.6**	8	**19.5**	3	**7.3**
Male (51)	4	30	**63.8**	4	**8.5**	6	**12.8**	6	**12.8**	1	**2.1**
Female (42)	3	17	**43.6**	5	**12.8**	4	**10.3**	11	**28.2**	2	**5.1**
Brevet (48)	1	18	**38.3**	8	**17.0**	7	**14.9**	11	**23.4**	3	**6.4**
BAC (10)	3	7	**100.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**
BAC+ (26)	1	20	**80.0**	1	**4.0**	3	**12.0**	1	**4.0**	0	**0.0**
Other OR N/R (9)	2	2	**28.6**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	5	**71.4**	0	**0.0**

Table 6.7 'Gallo must be considered a dialect or *patois* because its grammar contains many faults in comparison to French'

6.3.7 'Gallo must be considered a dialect or *patois* because it is closer to French than other distinct Romance languages like Catalan or Portuguese.' (Question 2.2g)

This question asks informants to what extent they agree or disagree that Gallo should be considered a dialect or *patois* due to the fact that it more closely resembles French than do other distinct Romance languages. The question of distanciation, particularly from an orthographic point of view is still hotly debated. The extent to which spoken Gallo resembles French depends upon individual speakers. The dividing line between Gallo and French can be blurred and fluid, particularly among learners who use French to fill the gaps in their knowledge of Gallo, such mixing has similarly been reported for other *langue d'oïl* varieties, such as Poitevin (Auzanneau; 1998). As such, it might be difficult for some participants in this study to differentiate clearly between Gallo and French. With regards to this question, an inability to clearly identify what is Gallo and what is French, combined with the increasing use of the *ABCD* orthography which more

closely resembles French than some of its competitors, seemed likely to lead to support for the statement. The results obtained are shown in table 6.8.

The table shows a continuation of the trend observed in the other 2.2 group of questions. Broadly speaking, most informants disagree with the statement; combined negative scores for this question are higher in every instance than the combined positive scores. There is, however, an increase in variation across certain groups. The Retired group's negative score is made up entirely of "Not at all" responses, while its positive score is made up of both "Probably yes" and "Absolutely" responses. In fact, for the first time in a question where the answers have been predominantly negative, "Absolutely" scores more highly than "Probably yes". This shift suggests that the proximity of Gallo to French is perhaps a fundamental issue for older Gallo speakers who are attempting to reconcile modern beliefs regarding Gallo's status as a language and traditional beliefs about its being a *patois*. The responses of the student group are highly varied. "Absolutely" scores the lowest of the possible answers (4.9%), however, the difference between the remaining possible responses is only 17%. The highest score is found for the "Neutral" response indicating once again that perhaps the youngest generation of Gallo speakers are not yet fixed in their beliefs. The fact that the combined negative score is higher than the combined positive score, albeit by 7.3%, suggests that the generation is now starting to lean towards a belief in Gallo as a language, no doubt influenced by their association with teachers and activists. Again, there is some difference between the male and female scores. Both genders disagree with the statement to a greater extent than they agree with it, however, the combined positive score for the female group is 15.1% higher than the combined positive score of the males

suggesting, once again, that female Gallo speakers are still more inclined to view Gallo as a dialect or a *patois*.

Group (total informants)	N/R	Not at all		Probably not		Neutral		Probably yes		Absolutely	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	9	**64.3**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	2	**14.3**	3	**21.4**
Employed (36)	4	22	**68.8**	2	**6.3**	6	**18.8**	2	**6.3**	0	**0.0**
Student (41)	0	7	**17.1**	8	**19.5**	14	**34.1**	10	**24.4**	2	**4.9**
Male (51)	4	23	**48.9**	5	**10.6**	12	**25.5**	5	**10.6**	2	**4.3**
Female (42)	2	15	**37.5**	5	**12.5**	8	**20.0**	9	**22.5**	3	**7.5**
Brevet (48)	1	9	**19.1**	8	**17.0**	15	**31.9**	11	**23.4**	4	**8.5**
BAC (10)	2	7	**87.5**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	1	**12.5**
BAC+ (26)	1	17	**68.0**	2	**8.0**	5	**20.0**	1	**4.0**	0	**0.0**
Other OR N/R (9)	2	5	**71.4**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	2	**28.6**	0	**0.0**

Table 6.8 'Gallo must be considered a dialect or *patois* because it is closer to French than other distinct Romance languages like Catalan or Portuguese.'

6.3.8 'Do you think learning Gallo should be compulsory in schools in areas where it is traditionally spoken?' (Question 2.3)

Questions 2.3-2.6 investigate issues relating to Gallo's role in society and use the same 5-point scale as questions 2.2a-2.2g. As such they will be discussed in much the same way and we will, where appropriate, use combined scores to provide a clearer overview of the results.

This question was expected to be controversial, due to the non-linguistic ramifications of including Gallo in an already busy student timetable. However, it seemed a good way of assessing to what extent Gallo speakers feel strongly about their language. It was expected that the results would be varied, perhaps even polarised, as Rey (2010) and Nolan (2006) included a similar question in their studies of Gallo. The results are presented in table 6.9.

It is difficult to see any very clear trends across the groups as the responses are so varied. The data shows that, among the retired participants, there is a relatively even spread of opinion. Using combined scores again, we see that 35.7% agree with compulsory Gallo lessons and 35.7% disagree, with a further 28.6% reporting a neutral opinion (a difference of just one speaker's answer). One could argue that since the positive combined score is comprised entirely of "Absolutely" scores, while the combined negative score is made up of both "Not at all" and "Probably not", the positive score is therefore more telling. However, as the difference is just one individual's response, it is difficult to conclude from the results that there is a marked difference in the beliefs of older generation Gallo speakers. The combined positive response for the Employed group was markedly higher than that of any other generational group (65.7%), however the student group showed a much greater degree of variation: about a 1/4 opting for "Probably not", "Neutral" and "Probably yes" respectively. This shows, perhaps more than any preceding question, that younger Gallo speakers are highly varied in their beliefs regarding Gallo and its place in society. Male and Female scores for this question were remarkably similar, while a clear majority of the BAC and BAC+ groups favoured obligatory Gallo in schools.

The results for this question are a perfect example of the split between the view of staunch political activists and the pragmatic considerations of the average speaker. Ideally, Gallo would be taught in schools with a similar degree of importance accorded to it as French; however, education policies prioritise those subjects which will have the greatest impact on the students' futures. Even Gallo activists recognise that studying Gallo, although important as a method of preserving local heritage and culture will not improve one's job prospects in a nation that so fiercely defends its national language.

	N/R	Not at all		Probably not		Neutral		Probably yes		Absolutely	
Group (total informants)		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	4	**28.6**	1	**7.1**	4	**28.6**	0	**0.0**	5	**35.7**
Employed (36)	1	3	**8.6**	4	**11.4**	5	**14.3**	12	**34.3**	11	**31.4**
Student (41)	0	6	**14.6**	9	**22.0**	13	**31.7**	10	**24.4**	3	**7.3**
Male (51)	3	6	**12.5**	9	**18.8**	10	**20.8**	11	**22.9**	12	**25.0**
Female (42)	0	7	**16.7**	5	**11.9**	12	**28.6**	11	**26.2**	7	**16.7**
Brevet (48)	0	7	**14.6**	10	**20.8**	16	**33.3**	10	**20.8**	5	**10.4**
BAC (10)	0	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	2	**20.0**	5	**50.0**	3	**30.0**
BAC+ (26)	1	3	**12.0**	3	**12.0**	4	**16.0**	7	**28.0**	8	**32.0**
Other OR N/R (9)	2	3	**42.9**	1	**14.3**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	3	**42.9**

Table 6.9 'Do you think learning Gallo should be compulsory in schools in regions where it is traditionally spoken?'

6.3.9 'In your opinion, is knowing Gallo an advantage?' (Question 2.4)

In her book *Parlons Gallo* (2007:36), Tréhel-Tas considers the lack of intergenerational transmission as being due to older generation speakers preferring to teach their children and grandchildren French as it is more valuable and advantageous in the modern world. Several of the older generation Gallo speakers reported that the younger speakers themselves abandoned Gallo in favour of the more prestigious French. Question 2.4 aims to investigate to what extent speakers and learners of Gallo consider knowledge of Gallo to be an advantage. What constitutes an advantage is not specified in the question, and it has been left to the individual informant to infer what they will by the term. In order to predict what kind of results and trends might be obtained from the data, we must however make some assumptions about the types of advantage the informants will be considering. At present, it is a rare thing to find Gallo being used in a professional environment outside of the very small community of Gallo teachers, therefore financial or professional gain is unlikely to be seen as an advantage linked to knowledge of Gallo. It seems reasonable that the primary

advantage in speaking Gallo is social and therefore dependent on the social networks of the speaker. During the preliminary visit, a number of Gallo learners reported their motivation for learning Gallo to be based on better familial communication, particularly with grandparents. While there are a number of individuals who speak at length about the importance of preserving language and culture as an end itself, it seems likely that the principal motivation (and therefore perceived advantage) that Gallo speakers see is the ability to talk to like-minded friends and family. As such, it seems more likely that those who answer positively to the question will be those who are exposed to, but currently have diminished access to, Gallo social networks. Older generation speakers tend to have had access to Gallo networks since their childhood; they have never been on the outside and therefore have never recognised Gallo as being advantageous in that regard. At the other end of the generational scale, younger speakers are still in the process of negotiating their own identities, determining who they are and what they want from life. At this point, they have chosen to learn Gallo, but their motivations may be academic (it is seen as a comparatively easy module) or social (i.e. their friends are doing it). In the middle, the Employed group is comprised of a number of individuals who work for or with Gallo associations and who promote Gallo as being beneficial and culturally important. Furthermore, theirs is the generation that recognises that they have lost access to the social networks of their parents and grandparents, networks they once were a part of as children and which comprised of members who understood the language in use. It is more than likely that they will respond positively to this question, however, practical factors, such as employment and education, are as pressing as a desire to maintain traditional ways and so it is difficult to

hypothesise confidently what the results will show. The data collected can be found table 6.10.

Using combined scores to give an overview of the situation, we can see that the responses to this question are overwhelmingly positive from every group of informants. Only one informant, a retired male, responded "Not at all" to the question, 'In your opinion, is knowing Gallo an advantage?'. With the exception of the single "Not at all" response, all other older generation responses were "Neutral" (28.6%). As expected, the Employed group of informants scored a very high combined positive score of 94.3%, the majority of their individual responses being "Absolutely". The Student group's results were more varied than the other generational groups; their combined positive score is made up of almost equal scores for "Probably yes" (36.6%) and "Absolutely" (39%), while 19.5% responded "Neutral". The educational scores closely resemble the generational scores, except the Other/NR group. The Brevet group responses are split between "Absolutely", "Probably yes" and "Neutral" in much the same proportions as the student group. The BAC and BAC+ groups have combined positive scores of 100%. These results perhaps show a change in attitude across generational divides which must, in some part at least, be attributed to the efforts of Gallo teachers and associations at raising awareness, challenging social stigma and attempting to legitimize Gallo use across the region.

As a Linguist, it is easy to see the value of preserving minority or heritage languages. It is easy because it remains largely theoretical for academics. For the speech community however the value of a language is inextricably linked to its usefulness in making everyday life easier. Gallo will not help anyone find employment nor will it improve sociability. This is illustrated by the results. The

older generation still recognise the very practical issues surrounding language use in Upper Brittany. The educated elite, most of whom are involved in Gallo activism, are by their nature idealistic and their responses show this. It would have been interesting to ask informants to elaborate on their responses and investigate what advantages these educated elites believe to be associated with learning and speaking Gallo beyond the link to family and ancestors.

	N/R	Not at all		Probably not		Neutral		Probably yes		Absolutely	
Group (total informants)		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	1	**7.1**	0	**0.0**	4	**28.6**	0	**0.0**	9	**64.3**
Employed (36)	1	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	2	**5.7**	8	**22.9**	25	**71.4**
Student (41)	0	0	**0.0**	2	**4.9**	8	**19.5**	15	**36.6**	16	**39.0**
Male (51)	2	1	**2.0**	1	**2.0**	5	**10.2**	11	**22.4**	31	**63.3**
Female (42)	1	0	**0.0**	1	**2.4**	9	**22.0**	12	**29.3**	19	**46.3**
Brevet (48)	1	0	**0.0**	2	**4.3**	12	**25.5**	15	**31.9**	18	**38.3**
BAC (10)	0	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	2	**20.0**	8	**80.0**
BAC+ (26)	1	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	5	**20.0**	20	**80.0**
Other OR N/R (9)	1	1	**12.5**	0	**0.0**	2	**25.0**	1	**12.5**	4	**50.0**

Table 6.10 'In your opinion, is knowing Gallo an advantage?'

6.9.10 'Do you believe that Gallo contributes to regional culture and identity?' (Question 2.5)

For outsiders, Brittany brings to mind thoughts of Celtic symbols, Breton road signs and the black and white striped flag with its ermine blazons. The link between Brittany and its Celtic heritage is so strong that little thought is given to the fact that Celtic Brittany has never accounted for more than approximately half of the region's geographical landmass, i.e. Lower Brittany. The people of Upper Brittany, whose heritage is traditionally Romance, are not as readily linked with popular perceptions of Brittany's identity and culture. This can be evidenced by a cursory glance over the local interest section of almost any bookshop in

Brittany, where collections of Breton fairy tales, myths and legends abound but, until recently, little or no representation of local Romance culture could be found. Likewise, in travel guides, markedly more attention is paid to Celtic iconology, attractions and pursuits. In part, it must be acknowledged that this state of affairs is likely as much to do with the fact that Breton activism is both longer and better established and, as one informant lamented, better organised than its Gallo counterpart. Nevertheless, the fact remains that there are few, if any, Gallo symbols, stories or individuals who are as popularly known as those of Breton culture. Perception, however, is often different to observable reality and can just as readily motivate people to take action. To what extent then do speakers of Gallo consider their language to contribute to regional culture and identity? The results are shown in table 6.11.

The combined positive scores show an overwhelming belief that Gallo does influence local culture and identity. No combined negative score exceeded 33.3% (in this case the educational group Other OR N/R of whom three individuals answered negatively) and even the "Neutral" responses did not exceed 10%. Looking more closely at the percentages for the "Probably yes" and "Absolutely" responses, we can see that in every group surveyed, the score for "Absolutely" was markedly higher than the score "Probably yes". Further investigation into why speakers believe Gallo influences regional identity and culture is necessary to draw more detailed conclusions from these results, however, it is clear that the consensus among Gallo speakers is that their language and the culture it transmits does contribute to regional ideas of identity and culture.

As with the former question, 6.9.10 would have benefitted from giving informants the possibility to elaborate on their answers. As has been mentioned, Breton culture seems to be dominated by Celtic images and icons and yet Gallo speakers maintain that regional culture and identity are influenced by Gallo. This is not obvious, even to someone who is searching for examples. At times, it can seem as though Gallo activists are in competition with their Breton counterparts, this is more obvious than usual when discussing issues pertaining to cultural identity. Activists argue that the Breton language is more closely associated with Brittany by laypeople and that this is inaccurate as half of Brittany has never been Celtic speaking. Nevertheless, with the advent of tourism, it is the unusual which is sought after and visitors to the region want to see and hear the more exotic sounding Breton. Over time this has led to the view that Breton culture, or the culture of Brittany, is inextricably linked to Breton, or the Celtic language of Brittany. Whether or not this is inaccurate or inappropriate, it is difficult to find example of Gallo having influenced the regional identity beyond the limits of the speech community and as the speech community dwindles so too does the influence of Gallo.

	N/R	Not at all		Probably not		Neutral		Probably yes		Absolutely	
Group (total informants)		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	1	1	**6.7**	1	**6.7**	1	**6.7**	2	**13.3**	10	**66.7**
Employed (36)	2	0	**0.0**	1	**2.9**	1	**2.9**	4	**11.8**	28	**82.4**
Student (41)	0	0	**0.0**	1	**2.4**	3	**7.3**	12	**29.3**	25	**61.0**
Male (51)	3	1	**2.1**	2	**4.2**	3	**6.3**	5	**10.4**	37	**77.1**
Female (42)	0	0	**0.0**	1	**2.4**	2	**4.8**	11	**26.2**	28	**66.7**
Brevet (48)	1	0	**0.0**	1	**2.1**	4	**8.5**	14	**29.8**	28	**59.6**
BAC (10)	0	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	1	**10.0**	9	**90.0**
BAC+ (26)	2	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	1	**4.2**	2	**8.3**	21	**87.5**
Other OR N/R (9)	0	1	**11.1**	2	**22.2**	0	**0.0**	1	**11.1**	5	**55.6**

Table 6.11 'Do you believe that Gallo contributes to regional culture and identity?'

6.3.11 'Do you believe Gallo's primary role is to help people remember the past?' (Question 2.6)

As stated above, there are relatively few professions which use Gallo. Aside from education, entertainment is perhaps the only other industry where Gallo speakers can find opportunities to use Gallo and be paid. There are a number of *raconteurs* performing in Gallo; some of them working hard to develop current and modern routines to attract a younger audience, while others are comfortable reciting old tales and poems and *les histoires d'antan*. In particular, the most celebrated Gallo performers, *Fred et Roger*, tend to rely heavily on nostalgia to please their audiences. This particular use of Gallo has received some criticism from forward-thinking activists who wish to distance Gallo from the past and promote its status as a modern language. Question 2.6 aims to investigate whether or not Gallo is finding success in this regard or if speakers still believe its primary role is nostalgic. It is hard to predict how informants will respond to this question. Table 6.12 shows the results obtained.

The results show a great deal of variation: while several previous questions have tended to produce a relatively clear overall opinion, it would appear that even among the Employed group, the question of Gallo's link to the past seems to be divisive. The Retired group answered primarily in agreement (60% combined positive score), although the remaining 40% disagreed. The majority of the Employed group disagreed (57.6%), 24.2% answered "Neutral" and 18.2% agreed. 43.9% of the student group answered "Probably yes", in addition a further 12.2% answered "Absolutely", giving the student group a combined positive score of 56.1%. The majority of the remaining 43.9% answered "Neutral" (26.8%). The difference between genders is interesting. Greater numbers of men answered 'Not at all' as well as 'Absolutely', although in the majority of responses for both genders were 'Probably not', 'Neutral', or 'Probably yes'. 45% of the female informants believe that the primary role of Gallo probably is to help people remember the past, compared to only 22.4% of men. This result is particularly interesting given the fact that it seems to be predominantly males who are involved in leading the revitalisation efforts in Upper Brittany. It would seem that men have a greater belief in Gallo's modern application than women. This is supported by Nolan (2006), who reports that it is primarily fathers who are attempting to teach their children Gallo in the home. In terms of education, the majority of the BAC (77.8%) and BAC+ (66.7%[13]) groups both disagreed with the statement. Informants in the Brevet and Other educational groups were more likely to agree that Gallo's primary purpose is nostalgia, this is likely a result of the groups' make-up. The members of these two groups are either older informants, who worked in rural environments and held qualifications linked to that professions, or younger informants, just beginning their Gallo language

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[13] Percentages indicate the combined score for 'Not at all' and Probably Not' from table 6.12.

education.[14] These informants are less likely to have been influenced by activism and so their opinions reflect the commonly held belief that regional languages are sources of entertainment.

The results obtained for this question are not surprising given the situation in Upper Brittany. While efforts are being made to promote Gallo culture and Language, the majority of organised events tend to focus on cultural aspects, for example poetry and theatre. These events use nostalgia as means of entertainment and Gallo is the way the audience accesses this nostalgia. For young people, such events may be the only exposure they have to Gallo outside of the classroom. For the older generation cultural evenings represent a safe place for them to use and enjoy their regional language. It is the educated professionals who wish to distance Gallo from ideas of nostalgia and entertainment, as shown by the results. The problem is that these events are the most well attended and for the activists are an important opportunity to promote the language.

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[14] Gallo lessons at Primary school level tend to be based on music and art rather than language and literature.

Group (total informants)	N/R	Not at all		Probably not		Neutral		Probably yes		Absolutely	
		O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	1	3	**20.0**	3	**20.0**	0	**0.0**	7	**46.7**	2	**13.3**
Employed (36)	3	9	**27.3**	10	**30.3**	8	**24.2**	4	**12.1**	2	**6.1**
Student (41)	0	2	**4.9**	5	**12.2**	11	**26.8**	18	**43.9**	5	**12.2**
Male (51)	2	11	**22.4**	12	**24.5**	9	**18.4**	11	**22.4**	6	**12.2**
Female (42)	2	3	**7.5**	6	**15.0**	10	**25.0**	18	**45.0**	3	**7.5**
Brevet (48)	0	1	**2.1**	5	**10.4**	12	**25.0**	24	**50.0**	6	**12.5**
BAC (10)	1	5	**55.6**	2	**22.2**	1	**11.1**	0	**0.0**	1	**11.1**
BAC+ (26)	2	7	**29.2**	9	**37.5**	5	**20.8**	2	**8.3**	1	**4.2**
Other OR N/R (9)	1	1	**12.5**	2	**25.0**	1	**12.5**	3	**37.5**	1	**12.5**

Table 6.12 'Do you believe Gallo's primary role is to help people remember the past?'

6.3.12 'How much support should Gallo be given from the government, the regional council, the local council? (Question 2.7 parts a-c)

Question 2.7 asks informants to consider what level of support they believe Gallo should receive from the national government, the regional government and individual *Mairies*. The question of official status and the support that such status should afford is hotly debated among Gallo speakers and activists due to the regional government's support of Breton. While policy is not the focus of this thesis, speaker beliefs about what support the language should receive are indeed of interest. The question offers participants six possible answers: Nothing, The Minimum, More, Much More, The Maximum, I Don't Know.

Question 2.7a looks at the role of the national government in supporting Gallo. As seen in table 6.13, the general consensus across the groups, with the exception of the Retired group and the Other or N/R educational group, is that the French government should do more to support Gallo, however the results for this question show a difference of opinion as to how much the national government should get involved. The majority (42.9%) of the retired group

believes that the French Government should do the minimum to support Gallo: one reaction to this question came from a group of older informants, who suggested that it was not the role of the national government to support regional languages. In contrast, the majority of the employed group (41.7%) believe the national government should do the maximum to support Gallo.

Question 2.7b asks the same question regarding the regional council and the results can be seen in table 6.14. Given the remarks of a number of the older informants in the previous question, as well as the feelings of inadequate representation and support in comparison to Breton voiced by some of the Gallo activists, it seems reasonable to assume that the general consensus will be that the regional government should do "More"/" Much more" to support Gallo. The responses show that over a third of all the informants in the study believe that the regional government should do the maximum to support Gallo and only two participants believe that the regional government should not do more. In all groups, over 90% gave a positive response to this question.

Finally, question 2.7c asks informants how much support the local council, or *mairie*, should give Gallo; the results are shown in table 6.15. The extent to which local town councils can support Gallo may seem insignificant compared to the financial support bigger institutions can provide, however a large proportion of Gallo-centred activities are taking place in small towns. Again, the results show a strong majority of informants believe that the *mairie* should do more to support Gallo. Very strong support for this statement by the following groups who have combined positive scores of over 80%: the Employed, BAC, BAC+, and the Other or N/R. The results for "The Maximum" are lower than they were for 2.7b but higher than 2.7a which suggests that Gallo speakers believe that the

responsibility to support Gallo lands primarily on regional and local government institutions.

During a Gallo literary event that took place early on in the pilot study, one of the activists attending the event introduced me to a regional minister. It was important for the activist to show the Breton politician that a foreign student had come to Brittany to study 'their' language. Among those involved in revitalisation efforts there is a strong feeling that Breton is disproportionally favoured by the regional government, this is clearly shown by the results. Likewise, most people believe that town and village councils should do more to support Gallo. When we consider what actions such entities can enable this is understandable. It is regional and local authorities which determine and fund the erection of road signs, they have greater access to local media and communication networks which stretch across and beyond regional borders. For the Gallo speech community, Breton is benefitting from funding and support that should be made available to Gallo but is not.

Group (total informants)	N/R	Nothing		The Minimum		More		Much More		The Maximum		I don't know	
		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	0	**0.0**	6	**42.9**	2	**14.3**	1	**7.1**	3	**21.4**	2	**14.3**
Employed (36)	0	0	**0.0**	3	**8.3**	10	**27.8**	7	**19.4**	15	**41.7**	1	**2.8**
Student (41)	0	5	**12.2**	6	**14.6**	17	**41.5**	7	**17.1**	0	**0.0**	6	**14.6**
Male (51)	1	2	**4.0**	9	**18.0**	13	**26.0**	12	**24.0**	11	**22.0**	3	**6.0**
Female (42)	1	3	**7.3**	6	**14.6**	16	**39.0**	3	**7.3**	7	**17.1**	6	**14.6**
Brevet (48)	0	5	**10.4**	9	**18.8**	19	**39.6**	6	**12.5**	2	**4.2**	7	**14.6**
BAC (10)	1	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	2	**22.2**	1	**11.1**	6	**66.7**	0	**0.0**
BAC+ (26)	1	0	**0.0**	3	**12.0**	5	**20.0**	7	**28.0**	10	**40.0**	0	**0.0**
Other OR N/R (9)	0	0	**0.0**	3	**33.3**	3	**33.3**	1	**11.1**	0	**0.0**	2	**22.2**

Table 6.13 'How much support should Gallo be given from the government?'

Group (total informants)	N/R	Nothing		The Minimum		More		Much More		The Maximum		I don't know	
		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	3	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	8	**61.5**	1	**7.7**	4	**30.8**	0	**0.0**
Employed (36)	0	0	**0.0**	1	**2.8**	5	**13.9**	8	**22.2**	22	**61.1**	0	**0.0**
Student (41)	0	1	**2.4**	0	**0.0**	14	**34.1**	13	**31.7**	11	**26.8**	2	**4.9**
Male (51)	2	0	**0.0**	1	**2.0**	11	**22.4**	14	**28.6**	23	**46.9**	0	**0.0**
Female (42)	1	1	**2.4**	0	**0.0**	16	**39.0**	8	**19.5**	14	**34.1**	2	**4.9**
Brevet (48)	0	1	**2.1**	0	**0.0**	18	**37.5**	15	**31.3**	12	**25.0**	2	**4.2**
BAC (10)	1	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	1	**11.1**	1	**11.1**	7	**77.8**	0	**0.0**
BAC+ (26)	1	0	**0.0**	1	**4.0**	2	**8.0**	4	**16.0**	18	**72.0**	0	**0.0**
Other OR N/R (9)	1	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	6	**75.0**	2	**25.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**

Table 6.14 'How much support should Gallo be given from the regional council?'

	N/R	Nothing		The Minimum		More		Much More		The Maximum		I don't know	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	3	0	**0.0**	1	**7.7**	4	**30.8**	1	**7.7**	5	**38.5**	2	**15.4**
Employed (36)	0	2	**5.6**	2	**5.6**	6	**16.7**	10	**27.8**	16	**44.4**	0	**0.0**
Student (41)	0	2	**4.9**	3	**7.3**	15	**36.6**	10	**24.4**	6	**14.6**	5	**12.2**
Male (51)	2	2	**4.1**	3	**6.1**	13	**26.5**	10	**20.4**	18	**36.7**	3	**6.1**
Female (42)	1	2	**4.9**	3	**7.3**	12	**29.3**	11	**26.8**	9	**22.0**	4	**9.8**
Brevet (48)	0	2	**4.2**	4	**8.3**	16	**33.3**	10	**20.8**	9	**18.8**	7	**14.6**
BAC (10)	1	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	1	**11.1**	3	**33.3**	5	**55.6**	0	**0.0**
BAC+ (26)	1	2	**8.0**	2	**8.0**	3	**12.0**	6	**24.0**	12	**48.0**	0	**0.0**
Other OR N/R (9)	1	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	5	**62.5**	2	**25.0**	1	**12.5**	0	**0.0**

Table 6.15 How much support should Gallo be given from the local council?'

6.3.13 The use of Gallo in the media and on road signs (Question 2.8 parts a-f)

Questions 2.8a – 2.8f ask about the use of Gallo in various public domains in Brittany (the media and road signs) and to what extent speakers believe it should be used alongside French and Breton. Informants were given six domains of use: three television channels, a radio station, a newspaper, and road signs. The television channels are broadcast across the region, although they are managed at different levels. *France 3* (2.8a) is a nationally organised channel which provides approximately ten hours of regional specific programming per week including local news reports. *TV Rennes* (2.8b) was the first local television channel in France and is available across Upper Brittany as well as via the internet. Likewise, *Breizh TV* is a privately owned television channel, originally based in Lorient, and has a strong connection with Breton language and culture, nevertheless it is available across the region including in the traditionally Romance area of Upper Brittany. *France Bleu* is a network of local radio stations, *France Bleu Armorique* covering the departments of Ille-et-Vilaine, Côtes-

d'Armor and Morbihan and, like *France 3*, providing regional as well as national programmes. In a similar way to *France Bleu*, *Ouest-France* is a regional newspaper chain based in Rennes, with local editions printed across Brittany. Finally, the inclusion of road signs in this group of questions comes about as a direct result of the multiple comments made by Gallo speakers, during the preliminary visit to Rennes, about the presence of Breton road signs in Upper Brittany despite a lack of Breton speakers. The possible answers given to these seven questions were: No Gallo; French and Breton over Gallo; Equal Use of Breton French and Gallo; Only Gallo. To save space on the tables of results, the languages will be referred to by their first letter i.e. B=Breton, F=French and G=Gallo.

The data collected for questions 2.8a-c, shown in the tables 6.16-6.18, suggest that in most cases, the three generational groups of Gallo speakers believe that Gallo should be used equally with French and Breton. There are several exceptions to this. Firstly, in table 6.16, 41.5% of students answered that no Gallo should be used in *France 3* programmes; though not a majority, it is the largest proportion of students and represents marked objection to Gallo use in the media by the youngest informants. Likewise, the majority of retired informants (61.5%) believe that Breton and French should be used over Gallo on *Breizh TV* (see table 6.18). In no case did more than two respondents from any one informant group answer that only Gallo should be used on *France 3*, *TV Rennes* or *Breizh TV*. It is also true that no more than three respondents answered that Gallo should be used more than French and Breton on either *France 3* or *Breizh TV*. However, a greater number of participants believe that Gallo should be used over French and Breton on *TV Rennes*; in particular, 20% of student-aged informants,

and employed informants, 22.2% of female informants and 28.6% of BAC educated informants.

Similar to the results for Gallo use on Regional Television, table 6.19 shows that the majority of informants answered that Gallo should be used equally with French and Breton on regional radio. The exceptions to this trend are the Retired generation (and the Other or N/R group), 38.5% of whom answered that French and Breton should be used over Gallo, a much higher proportion than in any other group.

	N/R	No Gallo		F & B over G		Equal FBG		G over F & B		Only Gallo	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	0	0.0	5	35.7	9	64.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Employed (36)	5	1	3.2	4	12.9	22	71.0	2	6.5	2	6.5
Student (41)	0	17	41.5	11	26.8	13	31.7	0	0.0	0	0.0
Male (51)	5	7	15.2	10	21.7	25	54.3	2	4.3	2	4.3
Female (42)	2	11	27.5	10	25.0	19	47.5	0	0.0	0	0.0
Brevet (48)	2	17	37.0	12	26.1	17	37.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
BAC (10)	1	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
BAC+ (26)	2	1	4.2	4	16.7	15	62.5	2	8.3	2	8.3
Other OR N/R (9)	2	0	0.0	4	57.1	3	42.9	0	0.0	0	0.0

Table 6.16 'To what extent should Gallo be used by *France* 3?' (Question 2.8a)

	N/R	No Gallo		F & B over G		Equal FBG		G over F & B		Only Gallo	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	4	0	0.0	5	41.7	6	50.0	1	8.3	0	0.0
Employed (36)	6	1	3.3	3	10.0	19	63.3	6	20.0	1	3.3
Student (41)	1	6	15.0	10	25.0	15	37.5	8	20.0	1	2.5
Male (51)	5	3	6.5	9	19.6	25	54.3	7	15.2	2	4.3
Female (42)	6	4	11.1	9	25.0	15	41.7	8	22.2	0	0.0
Brevet (48)	4	6	13.6	12	27.3	17	38.6	8	18.2	1	2.3
BAC (10)	3	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	71.4	2	28.6	0	0.0
BAC+ (26)	2	1	4.2	2	8.3	16	66.7	4	16.7	1	4.2
Other OR N/R (9)	2	0	0.0	4	57.1	2	28.6	1	14.3	0	0.0

Table 6.17 'To what extent Should Gallo be used by *TV Rennes*?' (Question 2.8b)

	N/R	No Gallo		F & B over G		Equal FBG		G over F & B		Only Gallo	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	3	0	0.0	8	61.5	4	30.8	1	7.7%	0	0.0
Employed (36)	7	2	6.9	5	17.2	20	69.0	1	3.4%	1	3.4
Student (41)	0	4	9.8	11	26.8	23	56.1	3	7.3%	0	0.0
Male (51)	6	4	8.9	13	28.9	24	53.3	3	6.7%	1	2.2
Female (42)	4	2	5.3	11	28.9	23	60.5	2	5.3%	0	0.0
Brevet (48)	3	4	8.9	12	26.7	26	57.8	3	6.7%	0	0.0
BAC (10)	2	0	0.0	1	12.5	6	75.0	1	12.5%	0	0.0
BAC+ (26)	4	2	9.1	6	27.3	12	54.5	1	4.5%	1	4.5
Other OR N/R (9)	1	0	0.0	5	62.5	3	37.5	0	0.0%	0	0.0

6.18 'To what extent should Gallo be used by *Breizh TV*?' (Question 2.8c)

	N/R	No Gallo		F & B over G		Equal FBG		G over F & B		Only Gallo	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	3	0	0.0	5	38.5	5	38.5	2	15.4	1	7.7
Employed (36)	6	1	3.3	2	6.7	20	66.7	6	20.0	1	3.3
Student (41)	0	4	9.8	6	14.6	24	58.5	7	17.1	0	0.0
Male (51)	5	2	4.3	8	17.4	26	56.5	9	19.6	1	2.2
Female (42)	4	3	7.9	5	13.2	23	60.5	6	15.8	1	2.6
Brevet (48)	2	4	8.7	7	15.2	28	60.9	7	15.2	0	0.0
BAC (10)	3	0	0.0	0	0.0	5	71.4	1	14.3	1	14.3
BAC+ (26)	3	1	4.3	3	13.0	14	60.9	4	17.4	1	4.3
Other OR N/R (9)	1	0	0.0	3	37.5	2	25.0	3	37.5	0	0.0

Table 6.19 'To what extent should Gallo be used by *France Bleu Armorique*?' (Question 2.8d)

The results shown in table 6.20 show that there is support across the sample for greater use of Gallo in print media in Upper Brittany. The highest scores in all groups showed that informants believe Gallo should be used at least equally with French and Breton. Interestingly, this is a notion that is shared by both genders, where we may have expected greater support for higher prestige varieties, particularly French, by Female informants.

In the case of road signs, comments collected during interviews suggest that clarity is considered more important than cultural or regional representation to Gallo speakers, the implication being that Breton should likewise be omitted from road signs in Upper Brittany. However, table 6.21 shows that a large proportion of respondents answered once again that Gallo should be used equally with French and Breton.

As with the previous set of questions, this set shows that the speech community does not feel that it is up to the state to resolve the linguistic situation in Upper Brittany, rather it is a regional matter. After speaking to a number of activists and campaigners, it seems that the issue of representation within Brittany is a real cause of contention.

	N/R	No Gallo		F & B over G		Equal FBG		G over F & B		Only Gallo	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	2	14.3	4	28.6	7	50.0	0	0.0	1	7.1
Employed (36)	6	1	3.3	2	6.7	18	60.0	8	26.7	1	3.3
Student (41)	0	6	14.6	10	24.4	18	43.9	6	14.6	1	2.4
Male (51)	5	4	8.7	9	19.6	23	50.0	8	17.4	2	4.3
Female (42)	3	5	12.8	7	17.9	20	51.3	6	15.4	1	2.6
Brevet (48)	1	7	14.9	11	23.4	20	42.6	8	17.0	1	2.1
BAC (10)	3	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	85.7	0	0.0	1	14.3
BAC+ (26)	2	1	4.2	3	12.5	14	58.3	5	20.8	1	4.2
Other OR N/R (9)	2	1	14.3	2	28.6	3	42.9	1	14.3	0	0.0

Table 6.20 'To what extent should Gallo be used by *Ouest France (éditions de la Haute Bretagne)*?'

(Question 2.8e)

2.8f	N/R	No Gallo		F & B over G		Equal FBG		G over F & B		Only Gallo	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	2	3	21.4	4	28.6	5	35.7	1	7.1	1	7.1
Employed (36)	3	3	9.1	3	9.1	17	51.5	7	21.2	3	9.1
Student (41)	0	13	31.7	9	22.0	17	41.5	2	4.9	0	0.0
Male (51)	4	9	19.1	6	12.8	22	46.8	7	14.9	3	6.4
Female (42)	1	10	24.4	10	24.4	17	41.5	3	7.3	1	2.4
Brevet (48)	0	14	29.2	12	25.0	19	39.6	3	6.3	0	0.0
BAC (10)	2	1	12.5	0	0.0	6	75.0	0	0.0	1	12.5
BAC+ (26)	2	2	8.3	2	8.3	12	50.0	5	20.8	3	12.5
Other OR N/R (9)	1	2	25.0	2	25.0	2	25.0	2	25.0	0	0.0

Table 6.21 'To what extent should Gallo be used on road signs?' (Question 2.8f)

6.3.14 Cultural identity: French, Breton, Gallo?

The final question in section 2 of the questionnaire looks at the question of identity. The topic has been investigated in detail by Rey (2010), therefore, it seemed fruitless to cover the same ground. However, five years have now passed since Rey's study, during which time Gallo associations have grown and their revitalisation efforts increased. It was considered important to include in the questionnaire at least one question which would address the issue of identity. Question 2.9 asked informants how likely they would be to identify themselves culturally as: French, Breton, Gallo. The possible answers were: Not at all, Not likely, I don't know, Probably, Certainly. As a result of Brittany's strong regional identity, the prediction was that informants would be more likely to identify themselves as Breton over Gallo, but less so than French which would retain its role as most people's primary identity. The results are shown in tables 6.22-6.23.

2.9a	N/R	Not at all		Not likely		I don't know		Probably		Certainly	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	3	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	3	**23.1**	0	**0.0**	10	**76.9**
Employed (36)	5	2	**6.5**	1	**3.2**	1	**3.2**	6	**19.4**	21	**67.7**
Student (41)	0	1	**2.4**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	2	**4.9**	38	**92.7**
Male (51)	5	3	**6.5**	1	**2.2**	3	**6.5**	6	**13.0**	33	**71.7**
Female (42)	3	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	1	**2.6**	1	**2.6**	37	**94.9**
Brevet (48)	2	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	2	**4.3**	44	**95.7**
BAC (10)	1	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	1	**11.1**	1	**11.1**	7	**77.8**
BAC+ (26)	3	3	**13.0**	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	5	**21.7**	15	**65.2**
Other OR N/R (9)	2	0	**0.0**	0	**0.0**	3	**42.9**	0	**0.0**	4	**57.1**

Table 6.22 'How probable is it that you would identify yourself culturally as French?' (Question 2.9a)

2.9b	N/R	Not at all		Not likely		I don't know		Probably		Certainly	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	11	100.0
Employed (36)	2	3	8.8	2	5.9	1	2.9	6	17.6	22	64.7
Student (41)	0	3	7.3	3	7.3	0	0.0	13	31.7	22	53.7
Male (51)	3	5	10.4	3	6.3	1	2.1	10	20.8	29	60.4
Female (42)	4	1	2.6	2	5.3	0	0.0	9	23.7	26	68.4
Brevet (48)	2	4	8.7	3	6.5	0	0.0	12	26.1	27	58.7
BAC (10)	1	0	0.0	1	11.1	1	11.1	0	0.0	7	77.8
BAC+ (26)	2	2	8.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	29.2	15	62.5
Other OR N/R (9)	2	0	0.0	1	14.3	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	85.7

Table 6.23 'How probable is it that you would identify yourself culturally as Breton?' (Question 2.9b)

2.9c	N/R	Not at all		Not likely		I don't know		Probably		Certainly	
Group (total informants)		O.F	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%	O.F.	%
Retired (16)	1	1	6.7	3	20.0	1	6.7	4	26.7	6	40.0
Employed (36)	1	0	0.0	1	2.9	1	2.9	9	25.7	24	68.6
Student (41)	0	10	24.4	8	19.5	9	22.0	12	29.3	2	4.9
Male (51)	1	4	8.0	2	4.0	6	12.0	15	30.0	23	46.0
Female (42)	1	7	17.1	9	22.0	5	12.2	10	24.4	10	24.4
Brevet (48)	1	10	21.3	9	19.1	8	17.0	12	25.5	8	17.0
BAC (10)	0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	10.0	1	10.0	8	80.0
BAC+ (26)	1	0	0.0	1	4.0	1	4.0	8	32.0	15	60.0
Other OR N/R (9)	0	1	11.1	2	22.2	1	11.1	4	44.4	1	11.1

Table 6.24 'How probable is it that you would identify yourself culturally as French?' (Question 2.9c)

As with previous questions, it is possible to use a combined score to gain an overall view of group responses. "Probably" and "Certainly" will be used to calculate a combined positive score, while "Not at all" and "Not likely" will be combined to provide a negative score. In cases where individual scores are marked they will also be discussed. We shall consider the tables 6.22-6.24 together.

The Retired generation report being most likely to identify themselves as Breton (100% answered "Certainly") followed by French (76.9% answered "Certainly"" and finally Gallo (66.7% combined positive score). It is interesting that the Retired responses for Breton and French were made up solely of responses for "Certainly" while Gallo elicited some "Probably" responses. The data suggests that national and regional identities are more firmly entrenched in the mind-set of the Retired informants, but it is the regional identity which appears to be strongest for this generation. While a Gallo identity does exist for these respondents, it is not sufficiently strong or established to replace either the national or the regional identity.

Given the make-up of the employed group it seems likely that a stronger sense of Gallo identity would be reported and this indeed proves to be the case. Their combined score for Gallo is 94.3%, higher than any other respondent group; it is also the highest combined score for the Employed group, i.e. the Employed group are more likely to identify themselves culturally as Gallo than they are French or Breton. While it is difficult to infer from the data why these informants answered thus, it may come from an increased awareness of Gallo, its culture and history, combined with a *desire* to be identified as Gallo, which is still lacking in the hearts and minds of the majority of informants in the other groups.

92.7% of the student informants answered that they would "certainly" identify themselves as French, and when this added to the 4.9% who answered "probably", the Student group's combined score for French is 97.6%. This combined score is higher than either student score for Breton or Gallo, suggesting that the youngest Gallo speakers consider themselves French rather than Breton or Gallo. Only two informants from the student group reported that they would "certainly" identify themselves as Gallo.

The difference between the scores for male and female informants is interesting to note. The combined positive score for female respondents answering Gallo is 48.8%, whereas 46% of male informants answered "Certainly", just 2.8% less than the female combined score. Another 30% of male informants answered "Probably" giving a difference of 27.2% between the positive combined scores of the two genders. It has been remarked in earlier chapters that women tend to adopt more prestigious norms before men. As Standard French is the more prestigious language in the country is it hardly surprising that female informants are more attached to a more prestigious identity than to a local one.

The results to this question were some of the most surprising, however, they fit with the patterns already seen in the results to previous questions. The national identity remains strong among those older informants who grew up being taught that the state, its culture, identity and language, are of paramount importance. In a number of discussions and interviews with older informants, the majority expressed the love of France and their national pride. Among the young, this sentiment was also expressed. Once again, it is those educated individuals in the employed group that provided the most divisive responses. While the results show some support and evidence of a Gallo identity, there is little or no evidence

of such an identity extending beyond social networks. Therefore, it is easy to understand the responses of the student informants who have likely never seen or experienced anything resembling an identity associated with Gallo.

6.4 Conclusions

This section of the questionnaire was focused on uncovering speaker attitudes towards Gallo in four principal areas: its status, its role in society, official support for Gallo and its representation in the media, and identity. In each case, clear generational trends were observed. With regards to Gallo's status, it is the employed generational group, made up of BAC and BAC+ educated individuals, who are most content referring to Gallo as a language, suggesting that it is still primarily an issue discussed by academics and activists. The statements participants were asked to agree or disagree with (2.2a – 2.2g) showed that, aside from the employed group, most speakers are comfortable describing Gallo as a language until they are confronted with reasons suggesting it is more similar to a dialect or a *patois.* From the data, we can draw several conclusions. Firstly, that revitalisation is being led by professional individuals, the social elite described by Dorian (1977). The remaining native speakers found in the retired generational group are still influenced by the stigma attached to regional languages by French language policy, while the younger generation have apparently not yet formed fixed opinions about Gallo. If we accept the generally held belief that older speakers view Gallo as a *patois*, then the results show a shift occurring, albeit slowly, to a belief that Gallo is a language and has value. Likewise, the younger generations are leaning towards considering Gallo to be a language separate from French and an important part of regional life and identity. Although these shifts in opinion can be seen as progress for activists, the issue remains that the number of older native speakers is rapidly decreasing,

while the number of young people learning Gallo is not increasing sufficiently to

ensure its survival.

7 LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

7.0 Introduction

Thus far, this study has built on the works of Nolan (2006) and Rey (2010), specifically with regards to methodology. To support the attitudinal data and to further develop the study, section three of the questionnaire was devised with the aim of investigating speaker proficiency. Various pedagogic practices were considered, including contacting Gallo teachers and requesting past exam papers and other materials, however, this seemed inappropriate given that a number of participants would likely be unfamiliar with such a format and might possibly feel uncomfortable at the prospect of being subjected to a quasi-formal test. Later discussion with Gallo teachers led to the realisation that acquiring such materials would likely have been implausible as the nature of examination does not necessarily include grammar specific testing. Instead, pedagogic materials obtained during the preliminary visit to Rennes were adapted and combined with other materials to develop some simple and easy to administer language tasks. Section 7.1 discusses the plural forms informants gave for a list of nouns, while Section 7.2 focuses on how they translated some Gallo sentences into French. Sections 7.3 and 7.4 are devoted to informants' orthographic and lexical preferences for pairs of words taken from competing dictionaries and other sources. As well as trying to determine speakers' relevant competency with regard to modern Gallo and its emerging norms, this section also looks at the extent to which the Gallo speech community relies on French to enable communication in Gallo. With the emergence of the Auffray dictionary as the most commonly found linguistic aid currently available, and its tendency to use an orthography which resembles French, there is possibility that Gallo communication requires French in order to exist in a modern context. Therefore,

investigating speakers' preference regarding orthographic and lexical variants seemed to be an efficient means of determining the extent to which Gallo is distancing itself from French, or not. This chapter will discuss the development and administration of each of the questions in the final section of the questionnaire, as well as the results obtained.

7.1 Question 1 Pluralisation

A conversation with a Gallo teacher, during the early stages of the present study, raised the issue of plurals and the observation that most speakers of Gallo do not use distinctive plural forms, but rather indicate plurality either by the use of pronouns or simply by context. This seemed at odds with the relevant chapters of both the Auffray and Deriano grammars, which provide extensive descriptions of the pluralisation process. As the majority of informants were likely to be students using the Auffray dictionary and grammar, I decided to use these materials as my reference for this question. Ten nouns, commonly used in lessons and found in cultural texts and oral works, were taken from the Auffray grammar and given to the informants in their singular form. Subjects were then asked to provide the plural form they would use. As the grammars are a recent development in the Gallo speech community, and are themselves an observation of language use rather than a set of prescribed rules, the potential for variation was great and this was confirmed by the results obtained. For each lexical item below, a brief description of the pluralisation norms is given from the *Chapè chapiao* grammar (Auffray 2012), followed by the responses given by the subjects. The results tables show the plural form, as given by Auffray, on the left and a breakdown of the other variants in terms of how markedly they differ from the 'prescribed' form. The decision to show the number of variants which differ by only one character (+/-), reflects the relatively new and limited diffusion of the

Auffray form for each noun and the fact that a pattern emerged during the early stages of the data analysis. As the results show, most reported variants for each plural noun are close to the Auffray variant. I felt it was important to show this in the results tables as it means one of two things; either that the Auffray dictionary and grammar are being more widely used, which might suggest acceptance of the *ABCD* orthography, or else Auffray's grammar does provide an accurate picture of Gallo use across the region.

7.1.1 *un cheva* (item 3.1a)

Nouns ending in *–a* and *–â* are made plural by adding the ending *–aos* [aw, ɔw]. Therefore, *un cheva* (a horse) becomes *des chevaos* (some horses).

The data collected from the questionnaire shows twenty-seven different plural forms of *un cheva.* The most commonly used variant was the plural form *des chevaos*. Table 7.1 shows the number of speakers who used the plural form given by Auffray and Deriano, the number of speakers who used a form that differed from the Auffray/Deriano form by only one character, the number of speakers who used a plural form that was markedly different from the Auffray/Deriano form, and the number of speakers who did not respond to the question.

Des chevaos	Form +/- 1 character	Markedly different form	N/R
9	64	7	13

Table 7.1

The table shows that only nine speakers use the variant *des chevaos*, as listed in the published grammars. However, it should be noted that while a greater number of speakers uses variants close to *des chevaos*, no more than five speakers use any one variant form, therefore, *des chevaos* is in fact the most commonly used plural form of *un cheva*. A common variant included an *i* in the

plural ending, e.g. *cheviao*; this likely comes from the plural ending of singular nouns which end in –*è* (see below) and which sound is distinctively 'Gallo'.

7.1.2 *un dai* (item 3.1b)

Nouns ending in –*ai* in the singular are made plural by converting this to –*ais*. Therefore, *un dai* (a finger) becomes *des dais* (some fingers).

Des dais	Form +/- 1 character	Markedly different form	N/R
32	24	18	19

Table 7.2

The most common plural form of *un dai* (a finger) is *des dais*: thirty-two respondents reported using this form. The second most reported form is likewise very close: *des dai* is reported by a further fourteen speakers. Another thirteen variants were reported, making fifteen in total, however most of them are reported by only one speaker and are audibly similar to the Auffray form *des dais* even if they are written differently. Six males from the Employed group gave the plural form *des daj*; this form comes from the Deriano grammar and further supports the notion that the Auffray, now commonly used in schools and private lessons, is quickly becoming accepted by an increasing majority of learners.

7.1.3 *un chapè, un tuè* and *un vè* (items 3.1c, 3.1d, 3.1i)

Plurals of nouns ending in –è depend upon the form of the noun. The pluralisation of *un chapè* exemplifies the first way in which plural nouns, ending in –è in the singular, are formed by adding the ending –iaos [jaw, jɔw]. This is one of the more distinct plural forms in Gallo is as it is audibly different from Standard French. *Un chapè* (a hat) becomes *des chapiaos* (some hats).

Des chapiaos	Form +/- 1 character	Markedly different form	N/R
57	12	18	6

Table 7.3

The results show fifteen different variants currently in use by the informants, the most common of which is the *ABCD*/Deriano form *des chapiaos*. The majority of the variants (ten of the fifteen) are audibly similar to the *ABCD*/Deriano form; the remaining five variants are also similar to one another, e.g. d*es chapets*, *des chapés, des chapès, des chapè, des chapeaux*, and suggest the possibility of regional variation. Another possibility is that speakers are taking the plural form of another noun and applying it to this noun. This misappropriation may be seen in subsequent examples. The particularly high score for the plural form *des chapiaos* is likely a result of the fact that the *–iaos* suffix is markedly different to French and identifiable as Gallo. The twelve informants who used a variant of *des chapiaos* which differed by only one character all recorded the response *des chapiao*, perhaps more indicative of a spelling slip rather than a conscious decision to use an alternative form.

The pluralisation of *un tuè* shows another way in which nouns ending in –è are made plural by adding the ending *–ouaos*. Therefore, *un tuè* (a pipe) becomes *des tuaos* (some pipes).

Des tuaos	Form +/- 1 character	Markedly different form	N/R
3	13	42	22

Table 7.4

The informants reported twenty different plural forms of *un tuè*. Only three speakers responded that they use the precise form as noted in the Auffray grammar, *des tuaos*. However, thirteen informants, evenly split across the Student and Employed groups, report using the variant *des tuyaos*, a form noted by Auffray alongside *des tuaos* as being the most common plural forms of *un tuè* across the region. Interestingly, a large proportion of both Student Age and Employed informants responded using the *des tuès*, a form used to pluralise a

subgroup of singular nouns ending in –*è* (see below). There is also evidence of the misappropriation of the –*iaos* plural ending; several informants, most notably from the older generation, use the variant *des tuyiaos*

Finally, *un vè* (a worm) is made plural by adding the ending –*és*, *des vés* (some worms). However, Auffray notes that this particular form is not commonly observed and that nouns such as *un vè* are more frequently made plural by adopting one of the other endings listed above. The variety of possible plural forms for singular nouns ending in –*è* seems to cause confusion, particularly among learners of Gallo (see above, *un tuè*). The results support this idea as a larger number of informants, particularly students did not respond to the question; this could be because they were unfamiliar with the noun itself or its plural form. Forms given which varied from *des vés* by only one character tended to be *des ves*, in which the accent is omitted.

Des vés	Form +/- 1 character	Markedly different form	N/R
36	15	13	29

Table 7.5

7.1.4 *un ôtë* (item 3.1e)

Nouns ending in –*ë* are most commonly pluralised using the ending –*ës*, for example *un prë/des prës*, however there exist two alternate forms used to pluralise a small number irregular nouns ending in -*ë*. One of these irregular nouns is *un ôtë* (a house/dwelling), which is made plural by adding the ending –*ieûs* [jœw] (it is important to note that Deriano's grammar transcribes the plural form differently, e.g. *des ôtieùs*, this may influence the results of a small number of Employed informants who adhere to the Deriano system). The other method of pluralising singular nouns ending in –*ë* is the ending –*és* as *in un jenouë/des jenoués*. The variation of plural endings to denote pluralisation for words which

share the same ending in the singular raises the likelihood of variation among informant answers for this particular question. It is particularly likely that young speakers and adult learners make errors when attempting to render nouns ending in –*ë* plural.

Des otieûs	Form +/- 1 character	Markedly different form	N/R
39	33	21	27

Table 7.6

The results for *un ôtë* show that the speakers of Gallo who took part in this study seem either to know the plural form *des otieûs* or do not. Twenty of the subjects who did not respond to the question were students and it is possible that this is because the noun itself is unfamiliar to them. A large number of informants reported using the forms given by Auffray, and the thrity-three subjects who gave a form which differed by only one character gave variants which were likely the result of an unfamiliarity with orthographic norms rather than grammatical ones. Likewise, those variants which are recorded as being markedly different (i.e. variants which differ from the given form by more than one character) are, for the most part, closely related to *des otieûs*. One exception is *des otiaos*, given by an older speaker, which demonstrates the misappropriation of the –iaos ending. The results may be explained as flipsides of the same coin. For those who are familiar with the noun, the plural form seems to be readily accepted and used. Whereas, there remain a portion of learners who do not know this noun or who use a synonym in its place.

7.1.5 *un pomier* (item 3.1f)

Auffray (2012) notes that for singular nouns ending in –*er* two plural endings are used depending on the region. In the north, the plural form of *un pomier* (an apple tree) is commonly *des pomiées*; however, in the south a different plural ending

is more frequently found, thus *un pomier* becomes *des pomiers*. While this study did gather informants from across the region, the majority of younger subjects came from the north which will likely affect the results.

Des pomiées	Form +/- 1 character	Markedly different form	N/R
0	12	69	24

Table 7.7

There are twenty different variants reported as being in use by informants and *des pomiers* is the most common (reported by sixteen informants across all generations), however, the northern variant is not reported at all. There are multiple forms whose stem includes a (*u*), e.g. *des poumier, des poumiers, des pumieus, des poumië*. Originally I believed this to be a regional variant specific to the western linguistic border, however, I then heard the '*u*' sound being widely used at an event east of Rennes, where those in attendance were primarily from the surrounding villages. Three other forms were reported by over five speakers: one of these was the singular form with the plural article, *des pomier*, another was the Auffray form but with the additional '*u*', *des poumiers*, and the third ended in a separate sound, *des pomieux*. This deviation from the 'prescribed' ending accounts for five of the twenty variants. Once again, a form using the distinct Gallo ending *–iaos* was reported, *des pomiaous*.

7.1.6 *un poulet* and *un endret* (items 3.1g and 3.1j)

Most singular nouns ending in *-et* adopt the plural ending *–éts* (sometimes written as *–ets* in the south but with no change to the pronunciation). Thus, *un endret* (a place) becomes *des endrets* or *des endréts* (some places). However, certain nouns in this particular group, those ending in *–et* in the singular, take the same *-iaos* plural ending as those singular nouns ending in *–è. Un poulet* (a chicken)

is one such noun whose plural form takes this ending, *des pouliaos* (some chickens).

Des pouliaos	Form +/- 1 character	Markedly different form	N/R
36	28	24	3

Table 7.8

The high number of responses to this question illustrate how well-known and widespread the Gallo *-iaos* ending is across the region. The popularity of the ending, combined with the frequency of the lexical item in Gallo texts and conversation classes, makes this one of the most answered questions in this section of the questionnaire. Interestingly, the high number of markedly different responses have come from a common variant noted by both Auffray and Deriano in their respective grammars. In some areas in Upper Brittany, the plural form *des poulets* seems to be common. Variants of this type account for the majority of the 24 recorded in the 'markedly different form' column.

Des endrets	Form +/- 1 character	Markedly different form	N/R
5	11	13	64

Table 7.9

It is possible that the low number of responses for this question are as a result of a lack of familiarity with the item. *Un endret* (a place) is perhaps less commonly used than some of the other items used in this question. Furthermore, adopting the *–iaos* ending for this particular noun produces a sound that is audibly so different from French and Gallo that it has not occurred. Those variants which were markedly different from the Auffray form tended to be similar to the French, for example *des endrois.* It is interesting to note, that while the plural form of *des*

poulets is apparently known by speakers as an acceptable variant of *un poulet*, the same plural ending is less commonly known with regard to *un endret*.

7.1.7 *un beu* (item 3.1h)

All singular nouns ending in –*eu* are made plural by adding the plural ending –*eûs*. Therefore, *un beu* (a cow) becomes *des beûs* (some cows).

Des beûs	Form +/- 1 character	Markedly different form	N/R
9	13	28	53

Table 7.10

At this point in the administration of the questionnaire, many of the informants began to show signs of fatigue; as such, it is hardly surprising that the number of responses to this question has dropped to approximately half of the total number of informants. Once again, a surprisingly low number of speakers report using the variant noted by Auffray, although it is likely that many of the thirteen subjects who reported using a similar variant (+/- 1 character) simply 'misspelt' the Auffray variant. The most common markedly different variant reported was *des biaos*, once again illustrating the confusion among Gallo speakers and learners regarding plural endings of nouns.

With this section of the questionnaire, the number of informants actually completing the tasks has made drawing conclusions difficult. However, it does seem to be apparent that not all speakers understand or conform to the norms proposed (or observed) by Auffray in his grammar. Furthermore, in a surprising number cases, informants tend to revert to a stereotypical phonological ending (-iaos) to denote a plural. It should be noted that other factors are likely to have impacted the results obtained, for example the extent of an informant's lexis. While every effort was made to selected items which would be well-known even

to learners the lack of responses to certain questions suggests a gap in lexical knowledge rather than grammar.

7.2 Translation (Question 2)

The decision to include a translation exercise had to be carefully considered. Firstly, translation can be a somewhat subjective process, influenced by style and personal choice. Secondly, it can be difficult for a non-native speaker to judge the difference between stylistic choice and grammatical error. In the present study, these two issues were compounded by the fact that grammatical usage in Gallo fluctuates from user to user. While prescribed grammars are available (see Chapter 2), adherence to their rulings is far from universal. In an attempt to overcome the issue of stylistic choice, informants were asked to translate Gallo sentences into French. In this way, informants were producing answers in the language of which the researcher had the greatest knowledge and confidence assessing. The Gallo sentences themselves were taken from a variety of pedagogic materials collected during the preliminary visit to Rennes. It was hoped that they would be both accessible and familiar to students and older informants alike as, for the most part, they are phrases which are likely to be heard and used in everyday conversation.

Analysing the responses also required consideration of several factors. At the outset, it was assumed that the areas of difficulty would be those aspects of Gallo which differ significantly to French. However, this has not always proved to be the case. As such, the analysis and discussion of each question has necessitated an individual approach. Therefore, the tables of results are not uniform as each sentence contained different grammatical points. Every attempt has been made to group similar points together to facilitate the discussion. Furthermore, the

number of results obtained vary from item to item. The reason for this may be an increasing level of difficulty or simply fatigue or waning interest towards the end of the questionnaire. To make the results as clear as possible, the total number of informants in each group is given in parentheses, followed by a column listing how many from the group attempted the question and how many did not. The decision to include an 'Attempted' and a 'N/R' column was taken early on, as ten out of sixteen Retired informants declined to take part in the exercise since they did not acknowledge or understand the written form of Gallo. Given the reduced number of Retired informants who answered this question, the results obtained from this group will only be discussed if there appears to be a striking pattern or trend. Likewise, the number of Students who participated in this particular task varied greatly from item to item. In an attempt to make the analysis easier, participants who gave only a partial translation have not been included, and this has had a marked impact on the results. Lexical items which differ significantly from Standard French have been included in the analysis of these questions. As there are different lexical items in each sentence, they have been included in each of the tables. No specific section will be devoted to the discussion of these lexical items for the simple reason that the informants either successfully translated them or not, which in turn will depend on the individual's own lexical knowledge. Again, it should be noted that the choice of the sentences for use in this task was a result of their supposed simplicity. It was hoped that even young learners would recognise the majority of the words used.

7.2.1 Negation

    a. *J'ë ren qe uit ans d'âje* – 'J'ai seulement huit ans'

Q.3.2a	Attempted	N/R	Correct translation of *ren qe* ('only')	Omission of negative particle *ne*
Student (41)	34	7	12	16
Employed (36)	34	2	26	9
Retired (16)	6	10	2	4
Male (51)	39	12	23	11
Female (42)	35	7	17	18

Table 7.11

The first question in the exercise, the phrase *J'ë ren qu uit ans d'âje* (I am only eight years old), is perhaps the simplest. Most individuals with an understanding of French would be able to recognise a number of words in the sentence and likely determine its meaning. As such, it is hardly surprising that the number of individuals who decline to attempt the question is so low. By contrast, it should be noted that a number of individuals attempted the question without successfully translating the features which this question focuses on. For example, in the student group, 34 informants attempted to translate the phrase however, only 12 of the 34 correctly incorporated the negative complement *ren* ('*rien*') into their French response, choosing instead to translate the sentence as *J'ai huit ans*, 'I am eight years old'. The Employed informants translated the phrase more closely, with a higher percentage of informants including a French equivalent for *ren…qe*, often *seulement* or *ne que.*

The second feature of this sentence which has been analysed is also an aspect of negation. The Gallo sentence uses the negative complement *ren* in isolation, whereas the Standard French translation of the sentence would require the use of *ne* before the verb (when using *que*). It would be reasonable to assume that politically or linguistically minded informants would translate the sentence into French incorporating both *ne* and *que*. However, *français populaire* frequently

omits the preverbal negative particle *ne*. Like regional languages and dialects, *francais populaire* is often stigmatised. Participants' choice to omit the *ne* from their translations could be seen as a reflection of their attitude towards Gallo's status, i.e. that it remains a low-prestige form of French like *français populaire*. As expected, the Student informants most frequently omitted the *ne* from their answers, however, given their age, it is unlikely that their translation choices came as a result of political awareness. The Employed informants produced more accurate translations in that they remained close to the Gallo original but were formed using Standard French norms. This result is similarly unsurprising, as the Employed group contains both Gallo teachers and individuals who work in professional environments where adherence to standard linguistic norms is necessary. Finally, Female scores were higher than Male scores in both respects, and this reflects the tendency for women to use higher-prestige variants more than males.

3.2b Je ne dormis que ceinc órr – 'Je n'eus que cinq heures de sommeil/Je n'ai dormi que cinq heures'

Q.3.2c	Attempted	N/R	Negation: *ne* and *que*	Lexis - *órr*
Student (41)	34	7	34	30
Employed (36)	34	2	34	34
Retired (16)	6	10	6	6
Male (51)	40	12	40	36
Female (42)	34	7	34	34

Table 7.12

By comparison, the negation used in item 3.2c follows Standard French norms and, as a result, the scores are markedly higher across all groups. High numbers of informants correctly translated *órr*, despite its distanciation from French. While the data obtained in chapter 6 suggests that the speech community is more inclined to accept an accessible orthography (i.e. one which adopts many of the conventions used by French) it would seem that in high frequency lexical items, markedly distinct forms do not cause problems with comprehension.

7.2.2 Interrogatives

Direct interrogative sentences in Gallo are sometimes formed in much the same way as in Standard French, for example through the use of inversion, an interrogative marker (*est-ce que* in French and *c'ét-i que*/*ét-i que* in Gallo) or a rising intonation. Item 3.2b. is an example of the use of the post-verbial interrogative marker *ti* (which does not exist in Standard French) to signify a Yes/No question, and which is also present in the Gallo form of *est-ce que*, although it is contracted in the *ABCD* orthography to *ét-i que* (Auffray 2007:113). Item 3.2i is an example of inversion where the subject and verb are contracted (*vous-'ous*).

b. *Tu ses ti mener une chârte? – Sais-tu conduire une voiture ?*

Q.3.2b	Attempted	N/R	*ti* omitted French	Lexis - *charte*
Student (41)	27	14	25	18
Employed (36)	33	3	33	26
Retired (16)	6	10	6	1
Male (51)	32	19	30	21
Female (42)	34	8	34	24

Table 7.13

The *ti* particle is of particular interest as it has been the focus of linguistic study in the past (Foulet, 1921; Guiraud, 1965). This attention suggests that the *ti* particle was more common in French during the first half of the twentieth century, whereas it is now extremely uncommon. Grevisse (1986:641) has argued that it can still be heard in certain regions and, in his study of Picard, Coveney (1996) reports that *ti* use is still found among Picard speakers, although during his fieldwork the only instances where it was heard in spontaneous speech was in the utterance *Ça va ti*, produced in one village by elderly speakers. The same phrase, *Ça va ti*, can be heard relatively frequently when in the company of Gallo speakers. The pedagogic materials, from which this item was taken, suggest that the *ti* particle is also used in other interrogative utterances, however it was not recorded during spontaneously produced speech in either visit to Upper Brittany. The results obtained for 3.2b show that almost all the informants who attempted the translation recognised the Gallo use of *ti* and that it did not cause them any difficulties when changing the sentence into French. While the high numbers of correct translations in the Employed and Retired groups are not surprising, the number of Students who also managed to correctly translate the interrogative is interesting to note. However, the majority of the student informants completed the questionnaire with the script in front of them and a question mark clearly denoting the phrase as an interrogative. As such it may be that the results have been influenced by the form the questionnaire took. Nevertheless, in this case, the simple interrogative construction seems to be commonly understood across all generations.

i. *Ven'ous cante moi?* – 'Venez-vous avec moi?'

Q.3.2i	Attempted	N/R	Contraction verb+subj

Student (41)	12	29	11
Employed (36)	30	6	30
Retired (16)	6	10	6
Male (51)	28	23	27
Female (42)	20	22	20

Table 7.14

Item 3.2i represents a more complex form of interrogative involving the contraction of a verb and its inverted subject pronoun (*ven'ous* = 'venez-vous). The results, particularly among the student group, reflect this complexity. While the number of 'N/R' from the employed and retired groups remained similar to 3.2b, the number of students who did not answer increased dramatically. The contraction, *ven'ous*, is likely to have caused confusion even though the informants are presumably familiar with inversion in French. The contraction of pronouns will be discussed further in the next section.

7.2.3 Pronoun Use

3.2d *Lev'ous ben vite ! – Levez-vous vite !*

Q.3.2d	Attempted	N/R	Contraction verb + reflexive pronoun
Student (41)	16	25	9
Employed (36)	23	13	17
Retired (16)	6	10	6
Male (51)	27	24	21
Female (42)	18	24	11

Table 7.15

As in 3.2i, the verb plus reflexive pronoun sequence provides an imperative structure and have resulted in another contraction. In this instance, sixteen students attempted the task and just over half correctly recognised the verb and reflexive pronoun and were able to translate the phrase into French. Of the nine who successfully translated the phrase three were university level students and the other six were *lycée* age; this supports the findings from the previous question, suggesting that contracted forms may not be taught to learners until more advanced classes. Once again, the lack of participation from the older informants means that it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from the empirical data obtained.

3.2f *J'la treürons dmain* – 'Nous la trouverons demain'

Q.3.2f	Attempted	N/R	*Je + -ons* verb ending	Lexis - *treürons*
Student (41)	17	24	6	10
Employed (36)	26	10	13	19
Retired (16)	6	10	4	4
Male (51)	24	27	2	3
Female (42)	25	17	0	2

Table 7.16

3.2l *J'alon ferr ùnn merienn sëtt raisiée* – 'Nous allons faire un sieste cette après-

midi'

Q.3.2l	Attempted	N/R	*Je + -ons* verb ending	Lexis - *merienn*
Student (41)	4	37	1	4
Employed (36)	23	13	11	21
Retired (16)	6	10	5	6
Male (51)	22	29	10	22
Female (42)	11	31	7	9

Table 7.17

Items 3.2f and 3.2l both involve the Gallo structure whereby the subject pronoun

je is used with a first person plural verb ending to construct a first person plural

phrase. It is common in Gallo speech but far from systematically used. While I

did hear it during both field trips to Upper Brittany, I heard just as many instances

of a French equivalent being used in Gallo discourse, for example the use of *on*

va as well as *nous alons*. The hypothesis for the use of this feature was that older

speakers, and adults who had grown up hearing this feature spoken (even if they

had not produced it spontaneously themselves), would have no problem

recognising it in a written sentence. Among younger speakers, I expected fewer

correct translations and that they would translate *je* as a first person singular.

Once again, the results show that the Student informants struggle with the more complex and markedly different forms of Gallo grammar.

Only four students attempted to translate the item 3.2l, all of whom were university students who had completed the Gallo courses offered at *college* and *lycée* and had chosen to pursue Gallo through their higher education courses. While all four managed to translate the lexical item *merienn* ('nap'), only one was able to correctly identify *j'alon ferr* as *nous allons faire*. The student responses for 3.2f were marginally better; seventeen attempted the question and six managed to correctly translate *j'la treürons* as *nous la trouverons* (use of the third person singular *on* in the translation was also accepted as accurate). The disparity between the two scores could be partly a result of waning student engagement or the increased difficulty of the phrase itself. 3.2l contains more lexical items than 3.2f, which, aside from the subject, object and verb, only contained one other item which is noticeably similar to French (*dmain – demain*). In addition, the *-ons* ending in French is perhaps easier to recognise as a first person plural than the form *-alon*.

7.2.4 Verb forms

3.2e *J'ai ergardé à vos devair (J'ai vérifié vos devoirs)*

Q.3.2e	Attempted	N/R	Compound tense (past)	Recognition of *re-* inversion
Student (41)	29	12	21	22
Employed (36)	34	2	34	30
Retired (16)	6	10	6	4
Male (51)	36	15	22	30
Female (42)	33	9	19	28

Table 7.18

Item 3.2e involved a compound past tense, the preposition à, as well as metathesis, whereby re in the verb regarder is inverted in Gallo. The inversion of *'re'* is common langues d'oïl varieties, including Picard, and is well known by Gallo speakers and learners, especially as it is present in the name of the region Bertègn. As such the majority of participants who attempted the question recognised the verb. The use of compound tenses in Gallo seems to be a relatively recent phenomenon. Typically, the past historic is used by older speakers and is found in the traditional literature of the region. The adoption of a compound tense is possibly as a result of Gallo's proximity to French. However, Auffray (2012:17) notes that the use of the *passé composé* in Gallo is less because of its link to the present (i.e. current relevance), as with the present perfect tense in English (e.g. I have looked). For this reason, the *passé simple* has endured in most varieties of Gallo as it serves a specific linguistic purpose. Auffray does concede that in varieiteis of Gallo found in the Morbihan, as well as the southern areas of Loire-Atlantique, the *passé simple* is unknown and the *passé composé* is used as it is in French.

In item 3.2e, the reader does not have access to a larger context to help determine whether the statement's intended meaning is with or without current relevance: in English, the verb could be translated as either 'have looked' or 'looked'. Were the informants to assume a conversational context, the interpretation with current relevance is more likely and therefore there is no reason to expect informants to translate the item using the *passé simple*. Indeed, the *passé simple* was not given in any responses, even among the older or better educated informants. The ease with which the *passé-composé* is formed, as well as its accessibility, in so far as younger speakers are concerned, makes its

adoption by Gallo learners unsurprising as many of them are likely unfamiliar with the past historic in French.

3.2g *Matlao srat benéze de vôr élà – Mathieu sera heureux de voir ça*

Q.3.2g	Attempted	N/R	Future tense
Student (41)	26	15	16
Employed (36)	23	13	23
Retired (16)	6	10	6
Male (51)	37	14	27
Female (42)	18	24	18

Table 7.19

It is important to reiterate that these sentences came from pedagogic materials that did not all subscribe to the same orthography. Item 3.2g came from a selection of materials organised by a Gallo teacher working for *Chubri*. However, he did not chose to use the organisation's own orthography (*Moga*) and instead used an approximation of the most popular forms in use. His hybrid orthography has verbs which follow different conventions to the Auffray grammar and the *ABCD* orthography. As mentioned, the majority of Student informants have learned Gallo through the medium of the *ABCD* orthography and the Auffray grammar, which notes the third person singular form of *être* in the future as *sera*, not *srat* as used in item 3.2g. However, within the Auffray grammar the conditional form, *seraet,* does resemble the form given above. This disparity between written forms caused some issue for the student group; ten of the twenty-six participants who provided a translation made an error with the tense, most commonly through the use of the conditional. The majority of adults who attempted the question seemed not to make the same mistake. The employed group and the retired group were able to recognise the various elements of the sentence despite their following different orthographic conventions to most of the

other sentences in this task. The results for this question highlight the complexity of the issue of orthography. Older speakers have obviously had more exposure to the language and potentially with the competing norms which have come and gone over the years. We can assume that this experience has provided the older generations with a more flexible attitude towards written Gallo and the ability to recognise possible variants.

3.2h *J'sieûdre rectalement les structions qu'm'avez dit – Je suivrai scrupuleusement les instructions que vous m'avez données*

Q.3.2h	Attempted	N/R	Future tense	Lexis - *rectalement*
Student (41)	19	22	11	6
Employed (36)	27	9	25	16
Retired (16)	6	10	6	5
Male (51)	33	18	28	16
Female (42)	19	23	14	11

Table 7.20

An irregular verb in the futures tense, *seûdre*, is the main feature of question 3.2h. The table includes data relating to the accurate translation of the tense as, in this case, the verb form differs markedly from the French and would be more difficult to determine without some prior knowledge. The results show once again that the number of students who attempted the task was low. I believe this suggests that their lack of knowledge is a result of their education not having progressed sufficiently rather than a deficiency in the pedagogy itself. The employed group and the retired group scored highly with most of the informants who attempted the task being able cope with the tense, the lexical item *rectalement,* and the absence of the subject pronoun in the subordinate clause.

3.2m *A paine q'ale a û decrouillë sa porte – Elle a à peine déverrouillé sa porte*

Q.3.2m	Attempted	N/R	Relation between clauses	Lexis - *decrouillë*
Student (41)	1	40	0	1
Employed (36)	4	32	2	4
Retired (16)	0	16	-	-
Male (51)	3	48	2	3
Female (42)	2	40	0	2

Table 7.21

The sentence used in item 3.2m is taken from a text being studied in a *lycée* class I observed during the preliminary visit to Rennes and includes an example of the double compound past (*passé surcomposé*). It is intentionally the most difficult of the translation phrases given in this part of the questionnaire. However, the markedly low number of respondents who attempted the question is likely to be the result of fatigue as much as difficulty with the language. For instance, the verb *decrouiller* is well known in the region as typically Gallo; all four of those who submitted a complete answer accurately translated it. Due to the small number of subjects who did offer a translation, it is possible to look at each of them individually. Three of the four subjects were from the employed subgroup of informants; of these three, the two who successfully translated the sentence in its entirety were what might be termed high-level Gallo speakers. The first was a Gallo teacher, employed by the University of Rennes, the second was the author of a Gallo grammar and dictionary. The third subject from the employed group who attempted the translation was an activist who has worked closely with a number of associations. The final informant was a university-level student, and while she did not successfully translate the entire sentence, her response accurately conveyed the meaning. Although is it impossible to draw firm conclusions from such a small number of informants, it is interesting to note that all four subjects were educated beyond BAC level.

Question two also included four additional translation sentences (n-q). This group constituted the most difficult items in terms of grammatical forms and lexis; furthermore, they were presented in the ELG orthography, one of the most far removed from Standard French. From the outset, it seemed unlikely that many informants would be able to accurately translate the sentences in their entirety, however it was believed that at least some would be able to understand some in part. During the administration of the questionnaire, it became clear that this was not the case. Only one informant was able to translate all five phrases correctly; once again, this was the grammarian and lexicographer referred to above, probably the most highly qualified and knowledgeable informant in the study. While the results obtained from these five questions do not provide enough data to analyse, the fact that so many informants did not respond to them is in itself informative. In the orthographic debate, there are still those who argue that Gallo must have a more distanciated written form in order to legitimise it as truly distinct from French. The findings of this study would suggest that those learning Gallo and using it as a written language are more comfortable with *ABCD*. In addition to this, a number of speakers, some involved in this study and some not, assert that the distanciated forms of previous years, and ELG in particular (as the only such orthography that is still commonly known) do not reflect the sounds and nuances of their language. It is perhaps a further argument that the reconstruction of Gallo has focused too much on legitimising the language in the minds on non-speakers rather than rendering it familiar to the speech community. As such, it is reasonable to predict that ELG will cease to be used entirely, in favour of a more familiar orthography, most likely *ABCD*. The issue of orthographic and lexical preference will be investigated in the next section, in the last two questions of the questionnaire.

7.3 Orthographic preference (question 3.3 of the questionnaire)

Questions 3.3 and 3.4 attempted to determine whether or not the Gallo speech community is as concerned with issues of distanciation and authenticity as certain activists have supposed. The first of the two questions, 3.3, gave the subjects a word in French and two orthographic variants of the Gallo equivalent; informants were then asked to choose their preferred variant. The variants were listed in two columns; column one contained those variants which were closer to French, while column two contained those variants which were markedly different. The variants do not come from two specific orthographies, but were found by the researcher and judged to be similar or dissimilar to French. The aim was to determine whether or not speakers would use an orthography which is similar or more distinct from French. The discussion of results follows below; in the title of each table, the more similar spelling comes second and the less similar one comes third.

3.3a *disque – dixe – diqss*

	N/R	*Dixe*	*Diqss*
Student (41)	12	25	4
Employed (36)	3	21	12
Retired (16)	4	9	3
Male (51)	10	32	9
Female (42)	9	23	10

Table 7.22

3.3b *causer – caozer – qaozer*

	N/R	*Caozer*	*Qaozer*
Student (41)	12	29	0
Employed (36)	3	29	4
Retired (16)	4	12	0
Male (51)	12	35	4
Female (42)	7	35	0

Table 7.23

3.3c *pays – payis – péyiz*

	N/R	*Payis*	*Péyiz*
Student (41)	12	17	12
Employed (36)	3	16	17
Retired (16)	6	4	6
Male (51)	14	13	24
Female (42)	7	24	11

Table 7.24

3.3d *français – françaez – franséez*

	N/R	*Françaez*	*Franséez*
Student (41)	12	21	8
Employed (36)	3	19	14
Retired (16)	4	12	0
Male (51)	12	26	13
Female (42)	7	26	9

Table 7.25

3.3e *coq – co – coc*

	N/R	*Co*	*Coc*
Student (41)	22	4	15
Employed (36)	17	9	10
Retired (16)	10	3	3
Male (51)	32	7	12
Female (42)	17	9	16

Table 7.26

In almost all cases, the variant in column one is chosen over the more distanciated variants in column two, most notably among the younger informants. In the case of 3.3b *caozer/qaozer*, no students reported preferring the term *qaozer*, and neither did the retired group. In so far as the student group was concerned, only in two instances was the pattern for the two variants dissimilar to the example given above. Firstly, in 3.3e, more student informants preferred the variant in column two, *coc* and this will be discussed in greater detail later. The second instance was 3.3c, where seventeen of the student group reported a preference for the variant *payis*, while twelve reported preferring the more distanciated variant *péyiz*. The reasons for this preference are difficult to determine. It could be as a result of a belief that the vowel sound is more accurately transcribed through the use of *é*, however the addition of the *z* at the end of the word would seem to contradict this as it does not appear to be audible in spoken Gallo. Furthermore, a similar convention has been observed in 3.3d, where *français* is shown as *françaez* in column one and *franséez* in column two, and yet the student group reported a clear preference for the column one variant. With the exception of 3.3e, it would appear that the younger speakers of Gallo favour an orthography that makes the language more accessible to them through their pre-existing knowledge of French.

In the case of the employed group of speakers, the results show a great deal more variation. In the first two examples, the group prefers the column one variant. However, in the remaining three questions (3.3c, 3.3d and 3.3e) the different preferences for the two variants does not extend beyond five speakers. This would suggest that speakers within this generation are experimenting more with orthographic variation. It is not surprising, given that it has already been observed that the social elite, or educated and professional individuals, are often the driving force behind revitalisation efforts. As such, one might expect it to be these individuals who have the most vocal and perhaps the most compelling arguments for the use of one variant over another, however they all seem to be rather subjective. For example, one participant, a published Gallo writer, reported that he continued to use his own conventions because he felt that none of the existing orthographies accurately transcribed his vernacular. However, upon hearing these remarks, a well-respected activist pointed out to me that this writer has been known to use different conventions within his own work. Orthographic variation still appears prevalent among those who are leading the Gallo cause.

For the retired group of informants, I believe that it is fair to say that, for most of them, their participation in this questionnaire was the first exposure they had had to the written from of several of these words. It meant that, during the administration of this question, many of them paused for some time to think about they would write the word. As stated, most of the retired group's responses came from one or two meetings where several informants were in attendance, this resulted in a great deal of discussion regarding the subject. Some, who had refused to take part in the translation exercise, were now drawn into the debate and eventually offered their preference. Some, who started from a stance of distanciation, changed their minds after listening to their friends. Others

adamantly maintained that written Gallo never existed when they were children and that it was not necessary; however, if it were to become necessary, adherence to French conventions, over the adoption of an artificial system, was preferable. As a result, we find that the majority of the responses for these questions of orthographic preference show that the older informants favour variants which similar to French and thus more easily recognisable.

Among the cases discussed above, there seems to be an exception. 3.3e was the only question where the variant in column two, *coc*, registered more 'votes' across the generational groups than the variant in column one, *co*. Given the trend that has emerged thus far, that the speech community seems to prefer familiar variants over distanciation, it is possible that the variant *coc* was preferred by so many because it is in fact closer to the French equivalent (both have a final consonant) than the variant in column one, *co*. There is another issue with this particular pair of variants. On the questionnaire, a space was provided for informants to note include a variant they would use if they felt that neither of the two given matched their own preferences. In almost all cases, informants circled one of the variants from either column one or column two, and as such the discussion of question 3.3 has not included any other discussion and for those few instances where an informant did provide an alternative it has been counted as a N/R. The results for question 3.3e show a large number of N/R, and while the majority were students who did not participate in the question, a portion of them (sixteen out of the total forty-nine N/R) wrote the same variant on the form – *coq*. In studying Gallo, it is sometimes very difficult to determine where the variety being spoken ceases to be French and becomes Gallo, and this question illustrates this problem.

7.4 Lexical Preference (items 3.4 and 3.5)

Like the previous question, 3.4 asked informants to indicate the word they would use from four pairs of synonyms. Again, the variant in column one was judged to be closer to the French equivalent, while the variant in column two was judged to be more distinct. Judging from the results obtained from question 3.3, it would seem reasonable to assume that the majority of informants would indicate the variant that was closer to French. The results can be seen in the tables below and the discussion follows.

3.4a *cabane – cabane - cahutte*

	N/R	*Cabane*	*Cahutte*
Student (41)	15	21	5
Employed (36)	6	12	18
Retired (16)	6	4	6
Male (51)	15	15	21
Female (42)	12	22	8

Table 7.27

3.4b *chute – chaete - calbasse*

	N/R	*Chaete*	*Calbasse*
Student (41)	23	11	7
Employed (36)	4	13	19
Retired (16)	6	7	3
Male (51)	17	15	19
Female (42)	16	16	10

Table 7.28

3.4c *lèvres – leuvrs - babines*

	N/R	*Leuvrs*	*Babines*
Student (41)	27	12	2
Employed (36)	14	16	6
Retired (16)	8	7	1
Male (51)	23	19	9
Female (42)	26	16	0

Table 7.29

3.4d *transcription – tournaije – rnott*

	N/R	*Tournaije*	*Rnott*
Student (41)	31	9	1
Employed (36)	21	15	0
Retired (16)	12	4	0
Male (51)	25	25	1
Female (42)	32	10	0

Table 7.30

The results do show that among younger speakers of Gallo, lexical variants which appear closer to French tend to be preferred. The student group indicated that, of the four sample words given in question 3.4, they would use the more familiar variant in each case. It must be noted again that by this stage in the process, a large proportion of the younger participants had become distracted and, as such, there are rising numbers of N/R throughout this question.

As with the previous question, the results for the employed group were more varied and no clear pattern is visible. In two of the questions, the group prefers the variant in column two (*cahutte* and *calbasse*) suggesting that the informants would use lexical items that clearly identify their speech as separate from French. However, in the other two questions, the more familiar variant is chosen. In this instance, I believe some observational evidence suggests a reason for this

difference. In 3.4c, the variants are given as *leuvrs*, which closely resembles the French, and *babines.*[15] One might expect participants from the employed group to choose *babines*, however only six of sixteen did so. One respondent told me later that *babines* is not synonymous with *leuvrs*. Having consulted the Auffray dictionary, *Le Petit Matao*, during the development of the question I found that the entries for both words suggested the contrary, but in reality a subtle difference was perceived by the speakers which may have caused some confusion and could account for the higher response for *leuvrs* which perhaps more accurately translates the French *lèvres*. The other instance of a variant in column one being preferred by the employed group is 3.4d. The French word given is *transcription*, a word which could be viewed as being beyond the typical linguistic domains of traditional Gallo (i.e. pre-revitalisation Gallo). The Gallo equivalents offered were *tournaije* in column one and *rnott* in column two. No speakers in the employed group reported preferring *rnott*. Several informants asked for clarification when they saw the word and it was clear that for most of them the item was unknown; as such they felt, by default, forced to choose the other variant.

The retired group followed a similar pattern to their answers in the previous question and, it can be assumed, this is for the same reasons. As many of the older subjects were unfamiliar with written Gallo, choosing a form or variant that was familiar to them thanks to French is unsurprising. The only exception was 3.4a, where six respondents chose *cahutte* and only four chose *cabane*. Due to the relatively small number of informants from this group who took part in section three it is difficult to draw many conclusions about their language use from these

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[15] *Babines* is an entry in the Collins-Robert French dictionary, it is translated as 'lips' or 'chops'.

results. However, the majority of the older informants came from three areas; Vannes in the south, Loudeac in the west, and Rennes in the east. It is possible that those respondents that reported a preference for *cahutte* based their choice on whether or not this variant was used in their region.

7.5 Concluding remarks

It is clear that section three of the questionnaire was ambitious and, with hindsight, perhaps proved too complex a task to undertake alongside an investigation of language attitudes and language use. Instead of focusing solely on what the data reports, it is important to take on board the implications of what was not reported as well as what was said outside of the formal questionnaire process. Question 3.1 investigated the process of pluralisation and whether or not speakers were able to provide the plural forms of different nouns. While there was certainly some confusion and an over-reliance upon the most commonly known plural ending, it is clear that Gallo speakers do not simply denote a plural by using a plural pronoun, nor do they simply rely on context. Question 3.2 asked speakers to translate a number of Gallo sentences into French. At this point, the attention of some of the informants did begin to wane as they had been engaged in the process for over thirty minutes, however those who completed the tasks illustrated how the modern written from of the language does appear to be largely accessible not only to learners of the language, who are familiar with the multiple orthographic conventions currently in use across the region, but also older speakers who are only recently beginning to recognise the existence of the written form. The results also suggest a lingering reliance on Standard French, in so far as grammar and lexis are concerned. While sentences with lexical and morphosyntactic similarities with French were more readily translated, those with unfamiliar words and conjugations tended to be ignored or answered incorrectly.

The final sentences of question 3.2, written using the ELG orthography, were almost universally dismissed as being so far removed from Gallo that they were largely inaccessible. Even the author of a Gallo grammar and dictionary, who volunteered to take part in the study, admitted that he had had difficulty translating those sentences. This illustrates the point made above that, in so far as this section of the questionnaire is concerned, we learn from what was not written on the questionnaire form as well as from what was. Combined with the results from questions 3.3 and 3.4, this dismissal of the ELG orthography would suggest that the majority of the Gallo speech community prefers to use an orthography which is more accessible, valuing accessibility over the ideal of a distinct and separate identity.

This conclusion is further substantiated by the results obtained for questions 7.3 and 7.4. In both cases, the general finding was that respondents, particularly the young, prefer lexical and orthographical variants which are familiar, or in other words, which are closely related to French. During the data collection phase of the study, I listened to as much spoken Gallo as possible, it all cases, including the recordings obtained by researchers interviewing 'native-speakers', it was possible to recognise French words mixed in with the Gallo. While attending a meeting between activists discussing the *'du galo, dam yan dam ver'* campaign, which was conducted in Gallo, even I, a non-native French speaker, was able to follow the conversation thanks to the number of French loan words, or Gallo words which closely resemble French, in use. These experiences have led me to the conclusion that modern Gallo is currently a hybrid language possibly more akin to a pidgin than a distinct linguistic code. Even if it once was distinct, and perhaps could be in the future, the current speech community needs French in order to communicate.

8 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of the Gallo speech community. The sociolinguistic situation of France has been shaped by language policies which have traditionally favoured the national standard by marginalising regional and minority languages such as Gallo. Nevertheless, Gallo, as well as other *langues d'oïl* continue to be spoken into the twenty-first century. The rise of language activism in Upper Brittany has led to a number of claims concerning the relative vitality of Gallo, and academic research has suggested that the language may be less obsolescent than previously believed. The late Thierry Bulot (2008) went so far as to suggest that Gallo may now have evolved from its rural origins to become an urban dialect, however it is not easily found. As such, the aim of this study was to identify the Gallo speech community if possible and investigate their language practices as well as their attitudes towards their traditional language. With the presence of Breton in the region, Brittany is already an area of diglossia, in a broad sense of the term, but to what extent does that diglossia include Gallo? Do the native inhabitants of Upper Brittany continue to speak Gallo as an everyday language or has it been supplanted by French and, if so, to what extent? Furthermore, given the stigmatisation attached to regional languages in France, how do Gallo speakers perceive their own language and does this change across the generations? One way of determining to what extent Gallo is used and what the speech community thinks of it is to determine whether or not Gallo is being used in public, as a relegation to solely private use would strongly suggest that the language is in the latter stages of obsolescence (Fishman 1999). As an obsolescent language undergoing revitalisation, Gallo is also the subject of competing written forms, a competition which this study

highlights as in progress and, although it would appear that the *ABCD* orthography is gaining ground, there remains no accepted form.

This study has attempted to investigate these issues. It has not been possible to conduct in depth research into all aspects of the Gallo speech community, so particular attention has been paid to the areas of language use, attitudes and perceptions, and language proficiency with regards to the emerging orthographies and grammar conventions now prevalent in Upper Brittany.

Due to the relative obscurity of Gallo in the public consciousness, the thesis began with an outline of Gallo's sociolinguistic origins and current status. As a descendant of Vulgar Latin, Gallo developed on the fringe of the *langue d'oïl* dialect continuum and, with the rise of *francien* to the status of national standard, it fell victim to the proscriptive language policies of the Enlightenment and the Revolution of 1789. Along with the other *langues d'oïl*, Gallo was denounced as *patois* or 'bad French', a stigma that sullied it in the minds of the general population and even the speech community itself. Nevertheless, it was not until after the education reforms of the late nineteenth century, and conscription during the two World Wars that regional languages began to disappear at an alarming rate. This gave rise to language activism and efforts to revitalise obsolescent linguistic varieties. In Upper Brittany, language activism began on behalf of Gallo in the 1970s and Gallo was admitted into the public school system during the early 1980s. Since that time, interest in Gallo, both cultural and academic, has waxed and waned. A decrease in student numbers led to University courses being cancelled at the end of the 1990s, only to be revived less than a decade later. Similarly, francophone academic research into Gallo grew in quantity and scope throughout the last three decades (e.g. see *Cahiers*

de sociolinguistique 1-3, 7 and 12). The aims of these early studies have, broadly speaking, been to situate Gallo as an authentic language with legitimate roots in the sociolinguistic situation of France. A relatively large proportion of these studies have been conducted by individuals who have some personal interest in Gallo and the topics investigated tend to be motivated by activism or revitalisation, for example; Le Coq (2008), Ôbrée (2008), Auffray (2008). Other researchers have spent time investigating the impact of language contact (Leray, 2003; Manzano, 2003), as well as linguistic descriptions (Chauveau, 1984; Houdemont, 2008). Over the last ten years, interest in Gallo, at this level, has now been shown among the English speaking researchers, whose primary focus in Gallo tends to be sociolinguistic (Nolan, 2004; Rey, 2010). This study was designed to provide and up-to-date picture of the speech community and how it is continuing to use and develop Gallo.

To effectively investigate the study's research questions a questionnaire was developed. Due to the nature of the speech community, it was felt that a questionnaire was the most efficient means of collected the required data, however, the disadvantages inherent with this method raised concerns, particularly the type of data questionnaires tend to obtain. Previous studies in the field of Gallo tended to rely on quantitative data, often obtained by questionnaire, whereas the claims of some of the activist organisations seemed to be based on qualitative data, personal experience, or observational evidence. Due to the fact that certain of these studies' findings seemed to contradict each other, I felt it essential to attempt to collect both qualitative and quantitative data. Logistical and pragmatic constraints meant that a questionnaire remained the most feasible method for collecting data in Upper Brittany and so measures were taken to address the method's shortcomings. For instance, the researcher made every

effort to administer the questionnaire personally. In those cases where the respondent was alone, the exchange developed more into an interview and the resultant conversation was recorded and the additional data was reviewed. Likewise, when groups came together to answer the questionnaire, I sought permission to record the meeting and encouraged the participants to discuss the questions before answering. By so doing, I gained a more detailed picture of the sociolinguistic situation in Upper Brittany. In those cases where the questionnaire was sent via email to respondents, an added instruction was given to annotate their answers with reasons and opinions, so as to allow these participants the same opportunity to explain their answers as those informants whom I met personally. The informants themselves were contacted through Gallo activists I had met during the preliminary visit to Rennes. 93 participants were divided into three generational groups: Student, Employed, Retired. These generational groups were further differentiated by gender and level of education. Education was used as the primary means of assessing social class, due to the difficulty of determining class by profession. Several teachers were keen for me to meet their students, as a way of impressing upon them the importance of their regional language beyond the borders of Upper Brittany, and almost all of the students agreed to take part in the study. The older informants were found by the friend-of-a-friend approach. Although only sixteen who fitted the criteria for the Retired group actually took part in the study, I was pleasantly surprised that I managed to find so many. Older generation speakers are increasingly difficult to find and the number of informants reflects this. It should be noted that several of the Employed group were on the cusp of being included in the Retired group, but in the interests of consistency, it was felt that the criteria for the groups should be upheld rather than assessing each participant's eligibility individually. The

Employed group of informants was perhaps the easiest group to find and contact but the most difficult to investigate. Although the aim of the study had been to talk to individuals from this generational group who were not affiliated with any of the Gallo activist groups, the reality was that no such participants could be found.

As stated above, the broad aim of this study was to investigate the Gallo speech community in an effort to better understand how and why Gallo continues to be spoken into the twenty-first century despite fierce opposition from not only a national language (French) but also a regional one (Breton). Building on the works of researchers like Nolan (2006) and Rey (2010), the questionnaire was developed and disseminated across Upper Brittany. Whereas Nolan focused on language policy and Rey looked at perceptions of identity, this study focused solely on members of the speech community in an effort to identify their attitudes and linguistic habits regarding Gallo. Furthermore, attempts were made to ascertain to what extent the speech community is actually proficient in Gallo. Although the questionnaire was designed to obtain primarily quantitative data, ignoring the qualitative and observational data which the study has also uncovered would, I believe, be a mistake and so, in this concluding chapter, I will make reference to both.

In light of the previous comments, we must recognise that data collection actually began during the preliminary visit to Rennes in 2013. Having read the most relevant works on the subject of Gallo, which were available at the time, I travelled to Brittany to meet with several members of the Rennes-based Gallo organisations. The aim in making a preliminary visit was to clear up some of the confusion and questions which had arisen as a result of the reading I had done

in the UK, as well as to focus the aims of the investigation by identifying appropriate research questions. The interviews undertaken during the visit, primarily with activists and teachers, expanded my knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation of Brittany as a region and France as a nation but actually did little to answer my questions. I therefore came to the conclusion that the most basic of questions needed to be addressed by this project. According to certain activists, Gallo is still in everyday use as a mother tongue in a number of rural communities dotted around the region. Throughout the course of this investigation I never found nor was I introduced to such a community. According to those responsible for the compilation and publication of the several dictionaries of Gallo which are now available, the lexical entries found therein represent authentic Gallo language as spoken in Brittany during the past five hundred years. However, an elderly speaker of Gallo, whom I met by chance and who was not associated with any Gallo organisation, questioned these claims as he vehemently insisted that most of the spoken language promoted by modern associations has very little to do with the mother tongue he learned as a child and has used throughout his life. Furthermore, he asserted that no written language was ever employed by those Gallo speakers he lived and worked with and, therefore, the written forms now in existence are artificial. As a researcher, it is sometimes difficult to remain objective when dealing with passionate people and in the case of this interview I found that I had to constantly remind myself of my role as a researcher, but the fact remains that my experience coincides more with his remarks than with the assertions of those working to promote, protect, and expand Gallo in Upper Brittany. This incident brought to light the need to examine the written language and the continuing debate regarding orthography.

At the time of this study, the *ABCD* orthography, as used by the E*nseignants de Gallo* and *Bertègn Galèzz*, remains the most common written form found during the undertaking of the fieldwork. However, this is likely the case because a significant portion of the fieldwork took place in schools, where the lessons are organised and taught by members of the *enseignants de Gallo*, and with individuals who were found through contacts I had with these organisations. Nevertheless, a number of individuals reported their preference for other orthographies. The reading highlighted the existence of *ELG* as a rival to *ABCD*. *ELG* is a highly distanciated orthography whose aim seems to be to separate Gallo from French by adopting orthographic conventions which are so far removed from those employed by French that one could not confuse them as being mutually intelligible. Simon (2008), argues the value of *ELG*, and while there remains support for distanciation, *ELG* has largely fallen behind *ABCD* in terms of acceptance, despite Simon's own efforts and publication of a Gallo phrasebook in *ELG*. The questionnaire included five sentences written in *ELG* and asked informants to translate them into French; these sentences were ignored by almost every informant. Only one managed to accurately translate all five. Most comments, made during the administration of that particular question, highlighted the inaccessibility of the form and, among older people, how it was foreign and unrelated to the language they considered to be Gallo. Other informants championed the orthography of Patrick Deriano as being the closest to the spoken language. Although Deriano worked on the *ABCD* orthography (the D represents his name and input), the publication of his own grammar and dictionary suggests that he was not completely happy with the end result. Nevertheless, the two variants remain close and the differences between the Deriano dictionary and grammar and those published by Régis Auffray are

subtle. Those who reported using the Deriano written form were exclusively well-educated members of the Employed group of informants, although they tended to be at the younger end of the age range. Additionally, they all seemed to have had personal contact with the author, which may explain their support for his work, but I do not believe it should 'explain away' their beliefs that the Deriano orthography is more suited to serve as the written form of Gallo. Finally, with regard to orthographies, there remains a group of individuals, exclusively in the Retired generation of informants, who do not subscribe to one orthography at all. Particularly among those who write in Gallo, for example poetry or memoirs, older speakers seemed to prefer to use their own conventions. This has not prevented their work from being published or appreciated. For example, one informant's work has been recently published in a collection Gallo poetry. This informant uses his own written form as he believes it best represents the Gallo he learned as a child and continues to speak now. However, as one Gallo teacher pointed out, he is not consistent in the use of his own conventions, which can cause difficulties for those who read his work and which makes it impossible to use his poems in the classroom.

Another question, raised by the interviews conducted during the preliminary visit, was generational transmission. Conversations with activists in particular suggested that Gallo use is perhaps more prevalent in rural areas of Upper Brittany than one might suspect. A number of '*collectages*', conducted by Daniel Giraudon (academic and author) and Raphaël Gouablin (member of *Bertègn Galèzz* and creator of the '*Du galo? Dam yan dam ver!*' initiative), support the idea that Gallo can still be found across the region, but the subjects of these '*collectages*' are, unsurprisingly, advancing in years and one wonders to what extent they find opportunities to speak with other Gallo speakers, given the

relative isolation which so often accompanies old age. Research by Bulot (2008) asserts the presence of Gallo in urban environments, particularly Rennes, and the idea that Gallo is as much an urban dialect as *français populaire* and immigrant languages. If this is the case, it is not so prevalent that one is likely to chance upon a Gallo conversation while out shopping in the city centre; in fact, I would argue that one is more likely to encounter Breton on the streets of Rennes than Gallo. Based on the questionnaire data, as well as personal observations, it seems reasonable to suggest that the use of Gallo by young people, in situations outside of the classroom, is infrequent. Gallo has been reported as being in use primarily in the home, however, students report very little Gallo use between themselves and their parents. This suggests that the parents of these younger informants are either unwilling or unable to communicate with their children in Gallo. Given the assertion by Tréhel-Tas, that during the latter half of the twentieth century, parents were reluctant to transmit Gallo to their children due to stigmatisation, I believe that the parents of this studies Student informants are unable to communicate with their children in Gallo. The majority of parents in Upper Brittany, specifically those who come from traditional Gallo-speaking families, are now unable to produce Gallo sufficiently competently to be able to transmit it to their children. As such, the Gallo interactions that young people are having outside of the classroom tend to be with grandparents and are, therefore, limited to a small number of subjects. This constitutes a change in behaviour by the Retired generation, the oldest of whom are, presumably, responsible for not passing on Gallo to their own children. It would suggest that the stigmatisation attached to Gallo has diminished over time to the extent that they are now comfortable teaching Gallo to their grandchildren. The results concerning the use of Gallo among adult speakers, both in the Employed and the Retired groups,

suggest the use of Gallo across generational divides, implying once again that a change has occurred in the attitudes of older speakers in Upper Brittany. In so far as the Employed informants are concerned, the increase in their use of Gallo with older speakers is likely the result of a conscious effort on their part to maintain the language through contact with remaining native speakers. While attempts were made to find informants in this age range who were not affiliated in some way with a Gallo organisation, the reality, it seems, is that such individuals are few and far between and that Tréhel-Tas' observation, regarding inter-generational transmission during the second half of the twentieth century, is only too accurate. Those few informants in the Employed group, who were not associated with a Gallo organisation or activist group, did report using Gallo with friends and family members of all ages; they also tended to be men, supporting Nolan's finding that it is fathers who are predominantly responsible for teaching their children Gallo in the home.

The study also sought to investigate the extent to which Gallo is being used in public and private domains. Observational evidence and reports have, for some time, reported Gallo as a form reserved solely for private settings between close friends and relatives. The study aimed to determine to what extent the speech community has progressed towards public use of Gallo and whether or not Gallo is being used in new domains such as social media, email and text messaging. The results showed that, is not being used with any degree of frequency in public, nor is it used in new domains beyond the purpose of promoting Gallo either through activism or teaching. In general, Gallo use would seem to be on the rise, however, as many for those who took part in the study are linked with activist efforts, either overtly as members of Gallo organisations or inadvertently as students in Gallo classes, an increase in the reports of Gallo use by the sample

is to be expected. In particular, the informants which made up the Employed group represent the social elite, so named by Dorian (1977), who are responsible for revitalisation. It is, therefore, likely that these speakers pay closer attention to the language they use, however, this attention also heightens the issue of self-reporting as individuals who are aware of their language use, as well as having political or personal motivations which govern their language use, are more likely to be prone to bias. Nevertheless, if these individuals are involved in revitalisation efforts and regularly attend cultural events, they will, by extension, have greater opportunities to speak Gallo. Is this reflective of every-day Gallo use within the community? I believe it is difficult to determine, but I also believe whether it is or is not, the point is moot; so long as Gallo is being spoken somewhere and for some purpose, the chance of preserving it remains. One point, which does seem clear, is that if we remove the domains of school and activism from the results, then the use of Gallo in professional situations drops dramatically. In response to the lack of presence that Gallo has in public domains, *Bertègn Galèzz* initiated the *'du galo? Dam yan dam ver'* campaign, aimed at encouraging employers to promote the use of regional languages in the workplace through an overt pledge of support. The initiative, launched in 2014, was slow gaining momentum, however successes have been noted on the association's social media accounts. At a meeting, which was held prior to the launch and to which I was invited, the campaign's aims and purpose were presented to the representatives of the other Gallo organisations operating in Upper Brittany. At the time, I remember noting the passive reaction of those in attendance, as well as some of the questions which followed the presentation, particularly those relating to the process by which the initiative would be realised. In general, the reception was cool and I felt that the questions asked were not sufficiently answered to allay

the doubts and concerns of those present. My own personal question, which as an objective observer I declined to raise, concerned the motivations behind the initiative. As well as overt support, in the form of a sticker or banner prominently displayed in the companies' places of business, the campaign also includes an invitation to support the cause through the donation of funds. Why would professional entities offer money to support the promotion and development of a language whose speaker population cannot clearly be defined or numbered?

The speech community's attitudes towards Gallo, particularly in comparison with Breton and French, remain split. Perhaps, we may say that the older generation is beginning to view Gallo as more than a *patois*. Likewise, the younger generation, now the recipients of an education which overtly teaches that Gallo is a language, is now asking questions about the discrepancies between the ways in which Gallo, Breton and French are regarded. However, across the sample of informants, French remains the primary focus of language and identity. Although members of the Employed generational group report feeling more Gallo than Breton or French, the majority of the younger and older subjects consider themselves French above all. Where there does seem to be some unity among the speech community is in the conflict between Breton and French. A marked number of informants, report a struggle between their competing regional identities. It would seem that Gallo is gaining ground as the gulf between regional support increases in favour of Breton.

The study also hoped to ascertain to what extent speakers are proficient in modern forms of Gallo. The most prolific form of Gallo currently found in Upper Brittany is the *ABCD* orthography and Auffray's associated grammar, however it has been noted that acceptance of this form is not universal. Nevertheless, it

remains the primary method through which newcomers to Gallo are instructed. Even among groups and speakers who do not wholly subscribe to the *ABCD* norms, use of *ABCD* is common. The study found that among young speakers, simple and frequent standardised forms are being assimilated and accurately used. The Student group was able to recognise plural forms of nouns as well as handle simple translation exercises. The Retired generation, while able to give plural forms of nouns, struggled to complete the translation exercise. The difficulty was not with the language, as many of them were able to provide oral translations if the sentences in section three of the questionnaire were read to them, however a third of them declined to participate in that particular question because they felt unable to use the written form Gallo was presented in.

The primary findings of this study suggest the speech community now comprises of older speakers who once spoke Gallo as a native language, adult speakers who are attempting to maintain the language they heard spoken in the home during their childhood but who did not necessarily acquire the language at that time, and youth who are now learning Gallo at school but who received little in the way of support outside of the classroom. It would seem that the speech community as a whole is struggling to find opportunities to use Gallo in public beyond events and circumstances where Gallo is the focus of the social gathering. French remains the primary vehicle for wider communication within the Gallo speech community and continues to be used in all linguistic domains by the majority of speakers due to a lack of intergenerational transmission between Gallo speakers and a sociolinguistic situation in France that does not promote the use of regional languages in the workplace. Finally, with regard to the evolution of Gallo, younger speakers seem to be gaining access to Gallo efficiently through the newly codified forms of the *ABCD* orthography and

Auffray's grammar, *Chapè chapiao* (2012). While there is a feeling among older speakers that the written forms which are now starting to be accepted in Upper Brittany are not authentic, nevertheless, it is likely that as the community loses the remaining native-speakers, criticisms of the written forms will similarly disappear.

As the total number of speakers is nearly impossible to corroborate, it is difficult to measure to what extent Gallo is in decline or, conversely, benefiting from revival. Thanks to the linguistic situation in Brittany, Gallo enjoys some security from the language policies directed at the rest of the nation's regional languages. However perhaps it is as a result of this relative security that the speech community lacks the motivation to profit from Gallo's standing in the region. Furthermore, while the infrastructure exists to maintain and promote Gallo within Upper Brittany, there remains division between the organisations and individuals responsible for Gallo's revitalisation. The effect is that issues like orthography divide the community and weaken attempts to move forward in other areas, for example status.

Ideally, the study would have benefitted from a larger and more differentiated sample. As noted above, the number of Gallo native-speakers is decreasing dramatically and it is becoming difficult to find individuals who are able to take part in this type of study. Had the study successfully found more native-speakers, it would have been easier to compare the attitudes of the different generational groups. While this study did investigate attitudes towards the various orthographies prevalent in Upper Brittany, it would have been interesting to ask informants whether or not they believed a distanciated orthography added to their sense of Gallo identity. Another aspect which was not directly investigated was

the spoken language. During the planning stages of this study, the possibility of a matched-guise test was investigated, following the method employed by Eloy (1993) in his study of Picard. The test would have involved participants listening to a selection of recordings, a passage from a well-known document such as the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Each recording would have been in a different dialect of *langue d'oïl*. Informants would then be asked to identify which recording was Gallo. Unfortunately, it was not possible to find suitable individuals to record the audio clips, as they would need to be authentic speakers of the various dialects. As well as a matched-guise test, recording and analysing informants' speech would also have been desirable as it is much closer to the individual's spontaneous vernacular than the written form. The issue with including this type of activity was the method of analysis. As Gallo remains largely uncodified, it seemed too difficult for the researcher to analyse speech without the help of a native or near-native speaker, which was beyond the practical scope of the study. Collecting and analysing spoken Gallo from the subjects who took part in this study would be the next logical step, to ascertain to what extent the subjects' attitudes match their proficiency as well as to determine which variants are most prevalent in the speech community. Finally, investigating the extent to which regional variation has been levelled as a result of the standardisation efforts of individuals like Auffray and Deriano, would have given this study another worthwhile dimension. Despite being highly localised, variation within Gallo is widespread. Auffray (2008) describes how he had to whittle down lists of possible lexical variants for his dictionary. His method was to choose the most commonly found and write entries based on those. It would be interesting to see ten years after its publication, whether or not the dictionary is having a levelling effect on local forms or if they persist.

The data collection phase of this project started with the pilot study at the end of 2013. There can be no doubt that since then the revitalisation movement in Upper Brittany has increased in momentum, however, it is hard to determine what success it has achieved.

The goal of Gallo associations is to preserve and promote Gallo language and culture. To this point, it must be noted that the focus, or at least the greatest successes, have been through the preservation efforts. Associations such as *Gallo Tonique* and *La Granjagoul* have amassed impressive cultural archives of poetry and songs, likewise researchers have scoured the countryside collecting interviews of the few remaining native-speakers. Linguistically, individuals like Auffray, Deriano and Obrée have encoded and even attempted to standardise the spoken language and there works can be found online and in various bookshops. Despite all these achievements, Gallo's vitality is not noticeably improving. The number of speakers remains almost impossible to quantify while the number of learners attending Gallo classes in state schools is not growing. From within the Gallo speech community, it must seem as though progress is being made. There have been a number of recent publications as well as a markedly increased presence of Gallo on social media. Both achievements have been celebrated by those who have worked hard to realise them however, having spent time in the region, having spoken to and worked with the activists, Gallo speakers and non-Gallo speaking inhabitants of Upper Brittany, I would argue that the success is restricted to the community itself. When attending Gallo events, one finds the same people in the audience, the same people managing the stalls, the same people at the book launches. It leads us to the conclusion

that the efforts to promote Gallo are not matching the efforts to preserve it; however, this conclusion is overly critical. On cannot dispute the passion or commitment of the Gallo activists currently working in Upper Brittany. If there is a failing, it comes in the approach. Too often, it felt as though the events I attended were planned around the audience the organisers knew they would attract, rather than anticipating the attendance of non-Gallo speakers. The most well attended events remain those which use Gallo as a means to indulge nostalgic reminiscence. In order for Gallo to be successfully revitalised, activists must attract younger speakers and it is highly doubtful that this will occur through culrtural evenings and traditional music. Gallo must be seen by young people as useful and the easiest way to promote it amongst this generation is through the use of technology, particularly social media. Likewise, in lessons, the language must be taught in the same way that students learn Spanish or English, as a living language, rather than focus on literary texts and poems. If the revitalisation is to succeed, I believe that the production of modern Gallo, both written and spoken, must be increased. There are too few publications or broadcasts in Gallo and those which are produced are not sufficiently advertised. If younger speakers can see Gallo being used to discuss matters that pertain to their everyday life then perhaps they will adopt it. For this to happen, those involved in revitalisation must adapt their approach.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 Linguistic description
Avair – To have

Infinitive	Present Particple	Past Particple
avair	aeyant	z-eû

Present	Imperfect	Past Historic	Future	Conditional
J'ae	J'avaez	J'us	J'arae	J'araez
T'az	T'avaez	T'us	T'araz	T'araez
Il a	Il avaet	Il ut	Il ara	Il araet
J'om	J'avaem	J'ume	J'arom	J'araem
Vouz ez	Vouz aviez	Vouz ute	Vouz arez	Vouz ariez
Il ont	Il avaent	Il urent	Il aront	Il araent

Imperative
Aeye
Aeyom
aeyez

Eytr – To be

Infinitive	Present Particple	Past Particple
eytr	Étant	étei

Present	Imperfect	Past Historic	Future	Conditional
Je sei	Je taez	Je fus	Je serae	Je seraez
T'ez	Tu taez	Tu fus	Tu seraz	Tu seraez
Il eyt	Il taet	Il fut	Il sera	Il seraet
Je som	Je taem	Je fume	Je serom	Je seraem
Vouz eyte	Vouz tiez	Vouz fute	Vouz serez	Vouz seriez
Il sont	Il taent	Il furent	Il seront	Il seraent

Imperative
seye
seyom
seyez

Group one: Chanter – To sing

Infinitive	Present Particple	Past Particple
chanter	chantant	chantei

Present	Imperfect	Past Historic	Future	Conditional
Je chante	Je chantaez	Je chantis	Je chanterae	Je chanteraez
Tu chante	Tu chantaez	Tu chantis	Tu chanteraz	Tu chanteraez
Il chante	Il chantaet	Il chantit	Il chantera	Il chanteraet
Je chantom	Je chantaem	Je chantime	Je chanterom	Je chanteraem
Vouz chantez	Vouz chantiez	Vouz chantite	Vouz chanterez	Vouz chanteriez
Il chantent	Il chantaent	Il chantirent	Il chanteront	Il chanteraent

Imperative
chante
chantom
chantez

Possessive adjectives:

	Masc	Fem	Plural
1st sing	mon, m'n	ma, m'n	méz
2nd sing	ton, t'n	ta, t'n	téz
3rd sing	son, s'n	sa s'n	séz
1st pl	nóstr		noz
2nd pl	vóstr		voz
3rd pl			lórz, loerz

Possessive pronouns:

Masculine: le myen/léz myen   mon syen/méz syen

le tyen/léz tyen   ton syen/téz syen

le syen/léz syen   son syen/séz syen

le nostr/léz nostr   le noestr/léz noestr

le vostr/léz vostr   le voestr/léz voestr

le lórr/léz lórr   le loerr/léz loerr

Feminine : la myenn/léz myenn ma syenn/méz syenn

la tyenn/léz tyenn ta syenn/téz syenn

la syenn/léz syenn son syenn/séz syenn

la nostr/léz nostr   la noestr/léz noestr

la vostr/léz vostr   la voestr/léz voestr

la lórr/léz lórr   la loerr/léz loerr

Appendix 2 Fieldowork materials

The following is the pack given to each participant containing an introductory letter, a consent form and the questionnaire.

Introduction

Depuis le commencement de mes études à l'Université d'Exeter en Grande Bretagne, je m'intéresse à deux choses – le français et les langues minoritaires. Dès que j'ai commençait mon thèse doctoral je savais que je voulais faire quelque chose sur les langues minoritaires de la France. Le gallo m'a attirait grâce à sa situation unique entre le breton et le français. Après une courte visite en Haute Bretagne en 2013, j'étais sûr que je voulais lancer une enquête sur le gallo, pour mieux comprendre les attitudes, motivations et croyances de ses locuteurs. Le questionnaire suivant représente la culmination de mes études, et en obtenant autant de participants que possible, j'espère que je puisse mieux comprendre la situation actuellement du gallo. Si vous pouvez m'aider à réaliser mon projet je serais reconnaissant.

Le questionnaire vise les individus qui ont eu des expériences avec le gallo. Peut-être entendre parler du gallo incite des mémoires du passe, ou des membres de la famille. Peut-être le gallo incite des idées d'une identité culturelle. Surtout, ce n'est pas nécessaire de parler gallo pour en participer.

Sur le page suivant il y a un formulaire de renseignements et de consentement, ce qui est nécessaire pour que je puisse utiliser l'information que vous me donnez. Si vous avez moins de 18ans, s'il vous plait, me donnez seulement votre prénom (pas votre nom de famille) et ce n'est pas nécessaire de me fournir avec votre adresse non plus.

Le questionnaire consiste de quatre sections :

Section 1 – pose des questions sur votre usage des langues.

Section 2 – pose des questions sur vos opinions sur le statut du gallo.

Section 3 – pose des questions sur les variantes de gallo.

Section 4 – demande d'information générale (si vous avez moins de 18ans s.v.p. ne donne pas votre nom de famille [4.1] ni vos coordonnes [4.2], mais vous pouvez répondre à tous les autres questions.

Si vous avez des commentaires supplémentaires s.v.p. ajouter des notes sur le questionnaire, ou m'envoyer un email. S'il y a des questions que vous ne comprenez pas vous êtes libre de ne pas répondre. Si vous avez des amis ou membres de votre famille qui sont intéressés de faire partie du projet je suis joignable à apc211@ex.ac.uk Je serai en France jusqu'à le 5 décembre si vous voulez me rencontrer pour en discuter plus.

Je vous remercie pour votre aide,

Adrian Chrimes

UNIVERSITE D'EXETER

FACULTE DE SCIENCES HUMAINES

RENSEIGNEMENTS ET FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT POUR LES PROJETS DE RECHERCHES

Enquête sur l'usage et la transmission du Gallo

Nom du chercheur et renseignements sur le projet:

M. Adrian Chrimes vous propose de participer à une enquête dans le cadre de son doctorat, qui examine l'usage et la transmission du Gallo. Une partie importante du travail inclut un questionnaire au sujet de la langue et la culture gallèse. Les participants du questionnaire auront aussi l'occasion de parler de leurs expériences avec le gallo dans les entretiens supplémentaires. Les questionnaires seront distribués en 2014-2015 et le procès d'analyse des enregistrements et des autres données recueillies se terminera en septembre 2015 à la fin du doctorat. Ce projet de recherche est financé par le Arts and Humanities Research Council (Conseil de la Recherche en Lettres et Sciences Humaines du Royaume-Uni).

Définition des participants:

Les participants seront des personnes pour lesquels le gallo joue un rôle (ou a joué un rôle) dans la vie quotidienne, de n'importe dégrée. En particulier, cette enquête vise de découvrir les expériences des parleurs du gallo du troisième âge et les individus qui redécouvrent la langue depuis le commencement du mouvement de revitalisation.

Données et renseignements à recueillir et leur usage:

Les données recueillies seront utilisés (a) d'abord et avant tout pour cette étude. Après l'achèvement du projet ils pourraient être conservés à l'usage possible dans (b) des recherches ultérieures, (c) à des fins d'enseignement et (d) dans des ouvrages érudits (livres, revues, site web etc.), dans lesquelles vos réponses pourraient être citées. D'autres matériaux que vous fournissez pourraient aussi être cités, décrits ou analysés. Dans tous les cas, les informations vous concernant seront exploitées de manière anonyme, cependant votre profession peut être citée pour donner un contexte de vos réponses. Vous pourrez par ailleurs avoir accès à toute publication éventuelle si vous en faites la demande, et vous pourrez vous retirer du projet à n'importe quel moment.

Dans quelles circonstances les renseignements fournis par les participants seront-ils conservés?

Les enregistrements et les transcriptions des enregistrements seront conservés (et protégés par un mot de passe) sur l'ordinateur personnel du chercheur dans une pièce fermée à clé afin d'assurer que personne n'y accède sans le consentement des participants. Les réponses du questionnaire seront conservées dans un classeur fermé à clé. Vos coordonnées et les enregistrements vous concernant seront conservés séparément dans des endroits différents.

Coordonnées du chercheur:

Si vous souhaitez me contacter, vous pouvez vous servir des coordonnées ci-dessous.

Adrian Chrimes

20 Falkland Garth

Newbury

RG14 6PB

Royaume-Uni

Mail: apc211@ex.ac.uk

Téléphone: +447597245248

Directrice de thèse:

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EX4 4QH

Royaume-Uni

Mail: a.b.coveny@ex.ac.uk

Téléphone: 00 44 13 92 72 42 18

Consentement:

J'accepte de participer à cette enquête dans les conditions énoncées ci-dessus et de permettre l'utilisation des données que j'ai fournies aux fins décrites ci-dessus. Je peux me retirer du projet à n'importe quel moment en contactant le chercheur.

Nom du participant (en majuscules):..

Signature du participant: ....

Adresse mail ou numéro de téléphone: ....

Signature du chercheur: ………………………………………………….

Date:

Un exemplaire de ce formulaire sera conservé par le chercheur, et un deuxième exemplaire sera conservé par le participant.

Veuillez noter que vos coordonnées et l'enregistrement et la transcription de votre entretien seront conservés séparément dans des endroits différents.

Enquête Linguistique En Haute Bretagne

Merci beaucoup pour votre aide en participant à cette enquête. Si vous avez des questions ou des commentaires supplémentaires sur le projet, n'hésitez pas à me contacter.

Adrian Chrimes

Section 1 L'usage des langues

1.1 Le parler régional de la Haute Bretagne est parfois appelé le gallo; l'avez-vous remarqué
   a)   où vous habitez actuellement?

   Oui/Non   à   préciser   la   commune/département
   _____

   b)   Où vous habitiez quand vous étiez enfant ?

   Oui/Non   à   préciser   la   commune/département
   _____

1.2 Parlez-vous d'autres langues en plus du français?

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1.3 Comprenez-vous le gallo? Cochez la phrase qui convient le mieux à votre situation:

   _   Je comprends sans problème ce que l'on me dit en gallo
   _   Je comprends la plupart de ce que l'on me dit en gallo
   _   Je comprends quelques mots et expressions en gallo
   _   Je ne comprends pas du tout le gallo

1.4 Parlez-vous gallo ? Cochez la phrase qui convient le mieux à votre situation :

   __   Je le parle sans problème

   __   Je le parle, mais avec quelques difficultés

   __   Je parle assez mal le gallo

   __   Je ne parle pas du tout le gallo

1.5 Quelle langue parliez-vous à 5 ans?

   _   Le français uniquement
   _   Surtout le français, et un peu le gallo

_ Le français et le gallo, de manière égale
_ Surtout le gallo, et un peu le français
_ Le gallo uniquement
_ Le français et une autre langue (à préciser)
_ Une autre langue uniquement (à préciser)

1.6 Si vous parliez gallo comme enfant, avec qui le parliez-vous?

_ Grands-parents   _ Père   _ Mère   _ Frère/Sœur/Cousins

_ Autres Enfants

1.7 Si vous parlez gallo maintenant, avec qui le parlez-vous le plus?

_ Membres de la famille (adultes)   _ Membres de la famille (jeunes)   _ Amis   plus âgés

_ Amis moins âgés

1.8 Employez-vous le gallo dans les situations suivantes? (oui/non)

	Oui	Non
À la maison		
Au travail		
Au tabac/bar		
Au club social		
Ailleurs (à préciser)		

1.9 Indiquez avec quelle fréquence vous entendez/lisez le gallo dans les contextes suivants:

1= jamais ou presque jamais; 2= pas souvent; 3= occasionnellement; 4= souvent; 5= très souvent

a) Quand je suis avec mes amis   1   2   3   4   5
b) Quand je suis avec ma famille   1   2   3   4   5
c) En lisant la presse   1   2   3   4   5
d) Pendant les cours (publics ou privés) 1   2   3   4   5
e) En écoutant la radio   1   2   3   4   5
f) En regardant la TV   1   2   3   4   5

1.10 Indiquez avec quelle fréquence vous utilisez le gallo dans les contextes suivants:

1= jamais ou presque jamais; 2= pas souvent; 3= occasionnellement; 4= souvent; 5= très souvent

a) Avec des amis au téléphone   1   2   3   4   5
b) Avec des amis dans un bar   1   2   3   4   5
c) Avec la famille à la maison   1   2   3   4   5

d)	Avec la famille dans un train	1	2	3	4	5
e)	Sur Facebook, Twitter, etc *	1	2	3	4	5
f)	Dans les cours ou au travail	1	2	3	4	5
g)	En composant des méls*	1	2	3	4	5
h)	En composant des SMS*	1	2	3	4	5

Pour les questions (e), (g), et (h), si vous n'utilisez pas cette technologie, passes à la question suivante.

Section 2 Attitudes

2.1 A votre avis, quel est le terme le plus approprié pour le gallo?

Langue   *Dialecte*   *Patois*

Pour vous, est-ce que ces termes portent des connotations? (Veuillez cocher une réponse pour chaque terme)

Langue   :   _ Positive   _ Neutre   _ Négative

Dialecte :   _ Positive   _ Neutre   _ Négative

Patois   :   _ Positive   _ Neutre   _ Négative

Dans les questions suivantes, indiquez vos réponses en encerclant le numéro qui correspond le mieux à votre opinion.

1 = pas du tout; 2=probablement non; 3= opinion neutre ; 4=probablement oui ; 5= absolument

2.2

a.   "Le gallo doit être considéré comme une langue, puisqu'il possède son propre système linguistique qui est différent de celui du français, à certains égards. »

                                                        1   2   3   4   5

b.   "Le gallo doit être considéré comme une langue, puisque, comme le français, il est dérivé de la langue gallo-romane parlée en Gaule pendant et après l'occupation romaine. »

                                                        1   2   3   4   5

c.   "Le gallo doit être considéré comme un dialecte, ou un patois, puisqu'il est peu utilisé à l'écrit. »

                                                        1   2   3   4   5

d.   "Le gallo doit être considéré comme un dialecte, ou un patois, puisqu'il ne possède pas une seule orthographe officielle. »   1   2   3   4   5

e.   "Le gallo doit être considéré comme un dialecte, ou un patois, puisque son vocabulaire est beaucoup moins grand que ceux de langues comme le français et l'anglais. »

                                                        1   2   3   4   5

f.   "Le gallo doit être considéré comme un dialecte, ou un patois, puisque sa grammaire comporte beaucoup de fautes, en comparaison avec le français. »   1   2   3   4   5

g.   "Le gallo doit être considéré comme un dialecte, ou un patois, puisqu'il est plus proche du français que ne sont des langues romanes distinctes comme le catalan ou le portugais. »

                                                        1   2   3   4   5

2.3 Pensez-vous que l'apprentissage du gallo devrait être obligatoire dans les écoles des régions où on le parle traditionnellement ?

                                                        1   2   3   4   5

2.4 Pour vous, est-ce un avantage de connaître le gallo ?   1   2   3   4   5

2.5 Croyez-vous que le gallo contribue à l'identité et à la culture de votre région?

	1	2	3	4	5

2.6 Croyez-vous que la fonction primaire du gallo est de se souvenir du passé?

	1	2	3	4	5

2.7 D'après vous, quel niveau de soutien devrait être donné au gallo par les institutions suivantes ?

1= rien; 2= seulement le minimum ; 3= on devrait faire plus; 4= on devrait faire beaucoup plus ; 5= on devrait faire le maximum possible ; 6= je ne sais pas.

a. *Le gouvernement français*	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Le *conseil régional*	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. *Votre mairie*	1	2	3	4	5	6

2.8 D'après vous, à quel niveau le gallo devrait-il être utilisé dans les contextes suivants, en Haute Bretagne?

1= le gallo ne devrait pas être utilisé ;

2= le français et le breton devraient être utilisées avant le gallo ;

3= le gallo devrait être utilisé autant que le français et le breton ;

4= le gallo devrait être utilisé plus que le français et le breton ;

5= le gallo devrait être la seule langue utilisée

a. France 3	1	2	3	4	5
b. TV Rennes	1	2	3	4	5
c. Breizh TV	1	2	3	4	5
d. France Bleu Armorique	1	2	3	4	5
e. Ouest France (éditions de la Haute Bretagne)					
	1	2	3	4	5
f. Panneaux de signalisation	1	2	3	4	5

2.9 Si quelqu'un vous demandait de vous identifier culturellement, quelle est la probabilité que vous répondriez :

	Pas du tout	Peu probable	Je ne sais pas	Probable	Certainement
a) Français(e)	1	2	3	4	5
b) Breton(ne)	1	2	3	4	5
c) Gallo	1	2	3	4	5

Section 3 Compréhension et Traduction

Parce que le gallo ne possède pas une seule orthographe officielle, les questions suivantes utilisent une variante orthographique.

3.1. Donnez les formes plurielles de ces mots en gallo :

a) Un cheva   des _____

b) Un dai   des_____

c) Un chapè   des_____

d) Un tuè   des_____

e) Un ôtë   des_____

f) Un pomier   des_____

g) Un poulet   des_____

h) Un beu   des_____

i) Un vè   des_____

j) Un endret   des_____

3.2 Traduisez les phrases suivantes en français.

a) J'ë ren qe uit ans d'âje.

b) Tu ses ti mener une chârte ?

c) Je ne dormis qe ceinc órr.

d) Lev'ous ben vite !

e) J'ai ergardé à vos devair.

f) J'la treürons dmain.

g) Matlao srat benéze de vôr élà.

h) J' sieûdre rectalement les structions qu'm'avez dit.

i) Ven'ous cante moi ?

j) Eyou qe tu vâs ?

k) Sa i'a gerouë anet.

l) J'alon ferr ùnn merienn sëtt raissiée.

m) A paine q'ale a û decrouillë sa porte.

Les phrases suivantes viennent de la gazette *Le Liaun* (septembre 2010). Traduisez-les en français.

n) « Lez laungg e couteürr populaèrr on de chaunjae […] asórfein de survesqi. »

o) Seür qu le galo est ben d'amaen pór temoényae de la couteürr tradicionall

p) Le galo deit qeriae e éstr dan le noe.

q) Je devon afaèczonae le galo a dez gizz sortij de lein etó

3.3 Voici 5 mots en français et deux traductions possibles en gallo; veuillez encercler l'orthographe gallo que vous utiliseriez ou fournir la vôtre, si elle est différente.

	French	Gallo 1	Gallo 2	Autre
a)	disque	dixe	diqss	
b)	causer	caozer	qaozer	
c)	pays	payis	péyiz	
d)	français	françaez	franséez	
e)	coq	co	coc	

3.4 Voici 5 mots en français et deux variantes possibles gallo; veuillez encercler la variante gallo que vous utiliseriez.

	French	Gallo 1	Gallo 2
a)	cabane	cabane	cahutte
b)	chute	chaete	calbasse
c)	lèvres	leuvrs	babines
d)	transcription	tournaije	rnott

3.5 Pour les mots suivants, veuillez indiquer quelle forme se conforme le plus à ce que vous utilisez, ou précisez une autre forme.

Moi	mae	ma	mài	mè	Autre :
Pluie	pié	plé	pllée		Autre :
Pomme	pom	poum	ponm		Autre :

Section 4 Informations générales

4.1 Nom et prénom

4.2 Coordonnées (Adresse et adresse mél)

4.3 Année de naissance

4.4 Quel est votre niveau d'éducation ?

_ Brevet ;   _ Baccalauréat ;   _ Bac + ;

Précisez

4.5 Votre Profession (soyez aussi précis(e) que possible s.v.p)

4.6 Votre Lieu de naissance (commune et département)

4.7   a) Avez-vous séjourné ailleurs qu'en Bretagne?   Oui/Non

         b) Si oui, où? Pendant combien de temps?

4.8 Lieu de naissance de vos parents

         Mère

         Père

4.9 Professions de vos parents

         Mère

         Père

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