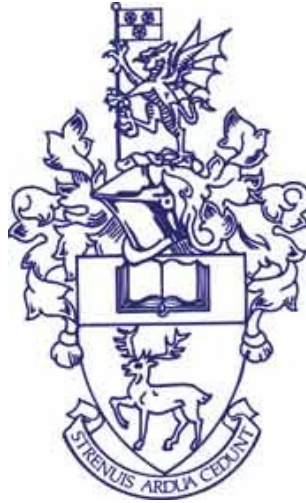


University of Southampton Research Repository ePrints Soton

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g.

AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full thesis title", University of Southampton, name of the University School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination



UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS & SOCIAL SCIENCES

School of Humanities

Globalisation processes and minority languages:

Linguistic hybridity in Brittany

by

Michael Hornsby

Thesis for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

February 2009

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

A B S T R A C T

FACULTY OF LAW, ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

Doctor of Philosophy

**Globalisation processes and minority languages:
Linguistic hybridity in Brittany**

Michael Hornsby

February 2009

Recent interest in the 'disappearance' of languages has been accompanied by increased revitalisation efforts in many minority language settings, often considered to be experiencing obsolescence due to pressures of globalisation and modernity. Many of these revival movements aim to 'recreate' an idealised (or 'authentic') form of the language in question, through reference to traditional or standardised language practices. Simultaneously, however, 'unanticipated results of language management' (Spolsky 2006: 87) have produced non-traditional and hybrid linguistic forms which are very often contested by the community in which the language revival is taking place.

Taking Breton as a case study, this thesis examines the phenomenon of 'new' or 'neo' speakers in Brittany at the start of the twenty-first century and the implications their appearance has for the survival of the only Celtic language still extant in continental Europe. The tensions between traditional and neo-speakers are examined in the context of the theoretical framework of critical sociolinguistics (Heller 2002). Current language practices in Brittany are analysed through the anthropological linguistic concept of language ideology, which is used to explain and critique seemingly contradictory linguistic behaviour in this particular setting of linguistic minoritisation. Parallels are also drawn with neo-speakers of other minority languages, most particularly Scottish Gaelic. While both languages show increasing transformation and hybridisation due to the non-traditional nature of their methods of transmission, they are not, of course, alone in the changes they are experiencing; indeed, they can act as good indicators of what the future holds for many minority languages over the course of the twenty-first century.

CONTENTS

Lists of tables	vii
Author's declaration	viii
Acknowledgements	ix
Definitions and abbreviations	x
 INTRODUCTION	 1
0.1 INVESTIGATING LANGUAGE CHANGE IN BRITTANY	5
0.1.1 <i>Methodological and ethical considerations</i>	6
0.1.2 <i>Data analysis</i>	14
0.2 LANGUAGE AND ISSUES OF POWER	19
0.2.1 <i>Linguistic relativity</i>	19
0.2.2 <i>Standardisation and the emergence of standardised languages</i>	20
0.2.3 <i>Standardisation and issues of power</i>	23
0.3 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS AND SECTIONS	24
0.4 THESIS RESEARCH QUESTIONS	26
 SECTION A: LANGUAGE 'DEATH', CHANGE AND CONFLICT	
 Introduction	
<i>Recent interest in language 'death' and the disappearance of languages</i>	27
 CHAPTER 1: LANGUAGE 'DEATH' IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY	
1.0 INTRODUCTION	30
1.1 LANGUAGE SHIFT IN BRITTANY	31
1.2 DO LANGUAGES 'DIE'?	36
1.3 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND LANGUAGE DEATH	39
1.4 DISCOURSES OF ENDANGERMENT	40

1.5	LANGUAGE COMMODIFICATION	42
1.6	LINGUISTIC HYBRIDITY	46
1.7	CONCLUSIONS	48

CHAPTER 2: LANGUAGE CHANGE IN BRITTANY

2.0	INTRODUCTION	50
2.1	THE HISTORY OF LANGUAGE SHIFT IN BRITTANY	50
2.2	BRETON SPEAKERS AT THE START OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY	57
2.2.1	<i>The frequency of using Breton</i>	61
2.3	SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESPONSES TO LANGUAGE SHIFT	62
2.4	LINGUISTIC RESPONSES TO LANGUAGE SHIFT	73
2.4.1	<i>Breton linguistic responses</i>	73
2.4.2	<i>Responses in other minority languages</i>	78
2.5	THE PROBLEM OF DIFFERING EXPECTATIONS	82
2.6	CONCLUSIONS	84

CHAPTER 3: LANGUAGE CONFLICT IN BRITTANY

3.0	INTRODUCTION	87
3.1	FRENCH LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES	87
3.2	MINORITY LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES	90
3.3	LANGUAGE CONFLICT IN FRANCE IN THE TWENTY- FIRST CENTURY	92
3.3.1	<i>Recent debates on the place of regional languages</i>	96
3.4	LANGUAGE CONFLICT: AN OVERVIEW	99
3.5	THE RHETORIC OF FRENCH REPUBLICANISM	101
3.6	THE 'THREAT' OF BRETON AND OTHER REGIONAL LANGUAGES	103
3.6.1	<i>Threats from within France</i>	105
3.6.2	<i>Threats from outside France</i>	107
3.7	INTERNAL LINGUISTIC CONFLICT IN BRITTANY	109
3.8	THE PROBLEM OF LINGUISTIC OWNERSHIP	112
3.8.1	<i>Breton as part of France's linguistic heritage</i>	113
3.8.2	<i>Who 'owns' the Breton language?</i>	114
3.9	CONCLUSIONS: LINGUISTIC CONFLICT AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES	118

SECTION B: GLOBALISATION PROCESSES IN BRITTANY

INTRODUCTION	123
---------------------	------------

CHAPTER 4: THE PHENOMENON OF ‘NEW’ SPEAKERS: BRETON AND GAELIC PERSPECTIVES

4.0	INTRODUCTION	127
4.1	THE APPEARANCE OF ‘NEW’ SPEAKERS	128
4.2	NEO-SPEAKERS AS A REACTION TO GLOBALISATION	133
4.3	LANGUAGE CONFLICT AND NEO-SPEAKERS	135
4.4	THE EFFECT OF NEO-SPEAKERS ON TRADITIONAL SPEAKERS	139
4.5	CONCLUSIONS	142

CHAPTER 5: BRETON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGIES

5.0	INTRODUCTION	144
5.1	BRETON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES	145
5.1.1	<i>Ecologism, commodification and nationalism</i>	147
5.2	BRETON LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES	151
5.2.1	<i>Standardisation, authenticity and transnationalism</i>	151
5.3	CONCLUSIONS	158

CHAPTER 6: BRETON AS A COMMODIFIED LANGUAGE

6.0	INTRODUCTION	160
6.1	LINGUISTIC COMMODIFICATION	161
6.2	YOUNG BRETON SPEAKERS’ VIEWS ON THE LANGUAGE	167
6.3	CONCLUSIONS	168

CHAPTER 7: THE IDEOLOGY OF MONOLINGUALISM AS ‘STANDARD’

7.0	INTRODUCTION	170
-----	--------------	-----

7.1	<i>LE MONDE COMME SI</i>	172
7.2	BRETON-LANGUAGE SITES	176
7.3	CONCLUSIONS	181

CHAPTER 8: ATTEMPTS AT CREATING 'AUTHENTICITY' IN BRITTANY

8.0	INTRODUCTION	183
8.1	TENSIONS OVER SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN BRETON LANGUAGE REVITALISATION	186
8.2	TENSIONS OVER SPEAKERS' STATUS	189
8.3	TENSIONS OVER IDENTITY	192
8.4	CONCLUSIONS	195

SECTION C: CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER 9: LINGUISTIC HYBRIDITY IN BRITTANY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

9.0	INTRODUCTION	196
9.1	WHERE DO <i>NÉO-BRETONNANTS</i> FIT IN?	197
9.2	BRETON RESPONSES TO HYPERMODERNITY AND GLOBALISATION	205
9.2.1	<i>Commodification</i>	208
9.2.2	<i>Hybridity</i>	211
9.3	CONCLUSIONS: LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES IN SITUATIONS OF LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT	218
9.3.1	<i>Limitations of the present study</i>	223

APPENDIX 1: CONSULTANTS INTERVIEWED FOR THIS THESIS	225
--	-----

APPENDIX 2: PRESS ARTICLES ON SOME OF THE COURSES MENTIONED IN THIS THESIS	226
---	-----

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES	229
-----------------------------------	-----

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Breakdown in intergenerational transmission (Broudic 1995)	57
Table 2: Changes in the demographics of Breton speakers (Observatoire de la Langue Bretonne 2002)	61
Table 3: Sociolinguistic differences in the Breton language (George 1989)	66
Table 4: Dialectal and <i>néo-breton</i> contrasted	73
Table 5: Lexical innovation in <i>néo-breton</i>	75
Table 6: Processes of authentication	186



AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I, Michael Hornsby, declare that the thesis entitled 'Globalisation processes and minority languages: Linguistic hybridity in Brittany' and the work presented in the thesis are both my own and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University of any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself and jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- parts of this work have been published or are under consideration as:
 - 'Breton as a failed national language'. Invited contribution to *The Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity* (volume II). Fishman, J. & O. García (eds.). OUP (in preparation).
 - 'The ideology of monolingualism as 'standard' in Brittany.' Aberdeen Postgraduate Conferences Proceedings (submitted).
 - 'The phenomenon of "New" speakers – Breton and Gaelic perspectives.' *Lublin Studies in Celtic Linguistics* (in press).
 - 'Change and resistance in minoritised linguistic landscapes.' *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on Minority Languages* (ICML 11) (in press).
 - 'The MacDonaldisation of the Breton Linguistic Landscape.' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Volume: 29 No: 2. 2008, pages: 127–138.
 - 'Neo-Breton and Questions of Authenticity.' *Estudios de Sociolingüística*, Volume 6(2), 2005, 191-218.

Signed:

Date:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The journey to completion of this thesis has been long and one that has seen a number of changes for me, both personally and professionally. I need to thank first and foremost the help given to me in the preparation of this thesis by Professor Clare Mar-Molinero, my principal supervisor, and Dr. Rodney Ball, my advisor who, over the course of the seven years involved, were both highly supportive and, when necessary, challenging.

I acknowledge with thanks the financial support I received from the AHRC during 2006-2008 which enabled me to complete the thesis.

Many people have contributed to the writing of this thesis by their willingness to engage with me on specific topics associated with it. In particular, I must highlight the consistent support and help of Dr. Janig Stephens, whose invaluable advice and insight have enabled me to avoid pitfalls which I might otherwise have become embroiled in, as an outsider to the Breton-speaking community. Dr. Dick Vigers, whose enthusiasm for all things Breton largely coincides with my own, has helped me enormously to formulate my approach to studying *néo-bretonnants*, mainly, it has to be said, through our points of divergence!

Acknowledgement is also due to the various organisations whose courses I attended and/or which I consulted: Skol an Emsav, Studi-ha-Dudi, Skol Diwan Lannuon, Collège Charles Le Goffic, Kalon Plouha and Roudour. Their hard work is a testament to the vitality of the Breton revitalisation movement in Brittany today. *Trugarez dezho ha buhez hir d'ar brezhoneg!*

I wish to acknowledge also the first group of *néo-bretonnants* I came across for this study and who acted as my linguistic guinea pigs in many ways: Christelle, Christophe, Corinne, Isabelle, Kévin, Mark, Oriane, Rachid, Tony and Yves.

My thanks also go to the staff of the National Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who provided a welcoming and comfortable setting for the writing up of this thesis during my stay in Sarajevo in December 2008. *Hvala im što ste mi ustupili sobu u biblioteci.*

My discovery of Brittany, the Bretons and the Breton language in 1985 would not have been possible without the generous and indulgent support of my parents, who made sure I was able to investigate fully the practicalities of spending a year in Rennes. It is to them and to their memory that this thesis is dedicated.



DEFINITIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Badume	Traditional varieties of Breton which are highly localised and which differ from one village or locality to the next
Bremañ	‘Now’: Breton-language monthly magazine, produced by <i>Skol an Emsav</i> .
CofP	Community of Practice
DAO	<i>Deskiñ d’an Oadourien</i> (‘Teaching Adults’): An organisation that coordinates Breton language courses for adults
Dihun	‘Awakening’: Catholic bilingual (French-Breton) school system
Div Yezh	‘Two Languages’ / ‘Bilingual’: Bilingual streams in state-run schools
Diwan	Private immersion schooling in Breton and French
Kalon Plouha	‘The heart of Plouha’: Cultural and linguistic organisation in the town of Plouha, Côtes d’Armor
KEAV	<i>Kamp Etrekeltiek ar Vrezhonegerion</i> (‘The Interceltic Camp for Breton speakers’): Annual summer immersion course in Breton
L1 / L2	First / second language
Roudour	‘Ford’: Breton-language teaching organisation based in Carhaix, Finistère
Néo-bretonnants	‘New’ speakers of Breton, i.e. L2 speakers
Skol an Emsav	‘School of the Movement’: Breton-language organisation based in Rennes which has developed an ulpan-style course in Breton
Studi-ha-Dudi	‘Study and Leisure’: Breton-language cultural organisation based in the village of Plésidy, Côtes d’Armor
Ulpan	‘Room’ or ‘Studio’ (Hebrew): Immersion language teaching method developed in Israel, now used in Brittany

INTRODUCTION

Néo-bretonnants or ‘new speakers of Breton’ are adult revivalist speakers of Breton; my interest in them stems from my undergraduate days. My year abroad was spent in the eastern Breton city of Rennes, where I was a student on a French course for foreigners. A department of Celtic was also located at the same university and, over the course of the year, I pursued a variety of extra options in Celtic languages, most notably Irish and Breton. Additionally, I was involved in a variety of Breton evening classes, conducted by *Skol an Emsav*, and I furthermore attended a language weekend organised by *Diwan* (the Breton immersion school movement) in western (and in my mind ‘authentic’) Brittany. These activities meant I came into contact with a large number of *néo-bretonnants*. Throughout that time, something sat uneasily with me – why were there not opportunities to go out and speak with ‘real’ Breton speakers? Having spent the previous year in Cardiff, learning Welsh, I was expecting the Welsh situation to be replicated in Brittany, with native speakers and learners mixing together (if not always comfortably). I was, in fact, discounting the neo-speakers I was dealing with; in my mind, they were in some way lacking in authenticity.

A year later, and having returned to Brittany to take part in a French-language revision course before final examinations in Cardiff, I went on an excursion with other foreigners to visit a typical Breton chapel. Outside were what I took to be local people, selling souvenirs and postcards. As I

approached them, I could hear them speaking Breton. I decided to ask one of the elderly men, in my best neo-Breton, the price of a postcard, despite a sign on the table declaring that they cost seven francs each. I was greeted with silence. “Seizh leur, ya?” (‘Seven francs, yes?’) was my next attempt. Again, silence. I handed him the money, said, “Trugarez” (‘Thank you’ in literary Breton as opposed to the more vernacular ‘mersi’) and went uneasily into the chapel.

That experience has stayed with me to this day. I had spent considerable time learning Breton, both in Brittany and in Wales, where I had found a native speaker willing to give lessons. And yet, when I came to use the language in what I saw at the time as an ‘authentic’ situation, I came away bemused and not a little defensive. What was wrong with my Breton? Did my non-local accent prevent me from being responded to in Breton? Had I committed a faux-pas by effectively eavesdropping in on a private conversation and then using Breton to ask my question, instead of respecting local diglossic boundaries?

Such questions and experiences have prompted my interest in the sociolinguistic situation of minority languages, and the constraints on their use. I kept remembering my dealings with Bretons who were learning their ‘native’ language and yet did not appear to be accepted by the very communities with whom they were attempting to communicate. If I had felt frustrated and defensive with my experience of trying to converse with native speakers, how much more frustrating must it be for those *néo-bretonnants* who experience similar situations daily?

The present study began primarily as a sociolinguistics-based project, in an attempt to ‘establish causal links between language and society, pursuing the complementary questions of what language contributes to making community possible and how communities shape their languages by using them’ (Coulmas 1997: 3). However, such an essentially descriptive approach to the language use of *néo-bretonnants* soon encountered problems regarding the status (or lack of) of the Breton language in the French Republic of the twenty-first century and the obvious issues of power imbalances between the dominant and dominated speech communities. This has led to my exploring a critical sociolinguistic approach to the research questions. Critical sociolinguistics rely less on a descriptive approach to sociolinguistic problems and concentrate more on: ‘un accent **explicite** sur les dynamiques sociales telles qu’elles se déroulent dans le temps et à travers l’espace’ (Heller 2002b: 10; my emphasis) (‘an **explicit** emphasis on social dynamics as they occur in time and space’). Particularly important for exploring power dynamics in a minoritised linguistic situation was the ‘critical’ factor made explicit in such an approach, resulting in a type of ‘sociolinguistique capable de révéler quels intérêts sous-tendent les actions, les représentations et les discours, et qui bénéficie de l’évolution des processus sociaux’ (Heller 2002b: 10) (‘sociolinguistics which is able to reveal what interests underpin [different] actions, claims and discourses, and who exactly benefits from changes in social processes’).

The central point of the thesis focuses on the idea of language and power from not only outside (and acting upon) the Breton-speaking community but also from within the community itself to such an extent that I have turned to the field of anthropological linguistics for indepth explanations of what exactly was occurring in Brittany (and other situations of linguistic minoritisation) at the start of the twenty-first century. The term anthropological linguistics (as opposed to linguistic anthropology) places this approach firmly within the field of linguistics, rather than anthropology per se, which is an important distinction for the present study, as the patterns of language use of *néo-bretonnants* are my prime concern here. That is not to downplay the 'wider social and cultural context [of language and], its role in forging and sustaining cultural practices and social structures' (Foley 1997: 3) which, according to Foley, is the main concern of anthropological linguistics, but as the identity of *néo-bretonnants* is essentially a linguistic one, language has to remain the prime focus here.

A further reason for adopting an anthropological linguistic approach is that the field has given increasing prominence to the concept of 'language ideology' and the fact that Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity's book on *Language Ideologies* (1998) was published in Bright's series, Oxford Studies in **Anthropological Linguistics** (and not in Linguistic Anthropology), is not without significance. The concept of language ideology has helped explain critically the imbalances of power I found in fieldwork in Brittany and the various ideologies I discovered there have been analysed, again with the

imbalances of power as the focus.

Much of the current study deals with the 'mixed' linguistic practices of new speakers of Breton and while such practices can take standardised forms, due to the over-arching ideology of the standard prevalent in so many language revitalisation movements, they can also produce 'chaotic, impure, hybrid forms' which 'until recently, even many linguists believed ... did not merit the term language' (Gal 2006: 13). As Gal further points out, such a pejorative view of neo-speakers can be avoided through the adoption of an anthropological linguistic framework which, 'puts such communities and speakers at the centre of attention in order to study the whole range of speakers' linguistic practices in interaction' (Gal 2006: 13). Validating non-traditional linguistic forms is not a neutral stance, of course. It is based on a descriptive, as opposed to a prescriptive, ideology of language and is allied to a liberal political position. This can prove problematic for traditional speakers whose own ideologies may clash with such a view. As Werbner (1997: 12) asserts: 'The real voices from the margins want no truck with hybridity'.

0.1 INVESTIGATING LANGUAGE CHANGE IN BRITTANY

The data for the case study in the present thesis come mainly from periods of fieldwork carried out between 2004 and 2006 during Breton-language courses for adults in Plésidy and Plouha, Côtes d'Armor (northern Brittany) and in Quimper, Finistère (south-west Brittany). Baseline data was collected using

participant observation and semi-structured interviews about the nature of communities of ‘new’ speakers of Breton (*néo-bretonnants*) and the variety of Breton these communities tend to employ, along with the language ideologies these same speakers hold. The use of ethnographic methods enabled the above foci to be extended to the reasons *why* neo-Breton speech communities have the attributes that they do and how these attributes are related to and intertwined with the language ideologies that are held both collectively and individually.

0.1.1 *Methodological and ethical considerations*

Sociolinguistic ethnography allows us to take ‘a close look at language practices in a specific setting’ (Heller 2006: 13). As my own area of interest is on the contemporary usage of Breton, I chose to concentrate first and foremost on adult learners of Breton, or *néo-bretonnants*. Of course, Breton is also currently used by traditional speakers (Broudic 2009) and by children attending immersion and bilingual schools in Brittany (and Paris) as well; studies of these speakers concentrate on language loss (Broudic 1995; Broudic 1999; Vetter 1999) and language acquisition and revitalisation (Jones 1998a; Jones 1998b; Le Dû and Le Berre 1999; Texier and Ó Néill 2005) respectively. Less documented but, in my view, equally interesting, is the generation of adults who have not been brought up speaking Breton but have elected to learn the language in adulthood (Pentecouteau 2002a; Pentecouteau 2002b). The choices and motivation of this group are interesting from a number of perspectives, not least

the prospects for revitalisation of the Breton language to which these ‘new’ speakers can contribute, and the new and relatively more easily available opportunities that these adults have for becoming Breton speakers.

I chose to study a number of sites where these opportunities are to be found. Primarily these were courses of a week’s duration (or more) in a variety of locations in Brittany, held generally in the summer months (but not exclusively so). Above all, this choice of site was motivated by my own availability for fieldwork – as a full-time secondary school teacher, I had limited time to pursue such investigations in Brittany, and these courses were run mainly in the school holidays. My presence on such courses allowed me the direct experience of becoming a Breton speaker myself, which I was able to compare to similar situations in which I had participated in the past – similarly to some of the Breton courses mentioned in this thesis, I had experience of ulpan programmes in the mid 1980s (in Welsh) and the early 2000s (in Hebrew).

The participants on these courses (see Appendix 1 for details) came, in the main, from various parts of Brittany, though not exclusively so. That the courses were run locally to some of the participants was an important factor – local ‘authenticity’ is a theme I return to in Chapter 8. Other participants were from different parts of Brittany and the tensions this sometimes caused are discussed in the afore-mentioned chapter as well. A third group I identified (and to which I myself belonged) were those participants who came from outside Brittany altogether. This group can be further divided into those people

who had Breton roots and connections (many participants from Paris and the south of France fell into this category) and those people with no connection to Brittany whatsoever. These included participants not only from other regions of France (such as the Basque country, the Auvergne and the Rhône-Alpes region) but also other western European countries (such as the UK, Belgium, Luxemburg and Italy).

The geographical origins of the teachers on these courses make for interesting reading. It was exceptional if a teacher came from the local area where the course was being held. Only in one case was a course teacher from the immediate area (Lorient 2003); he also stood out in that he had acquired Breton in an intergenerational family setting. Otherwise, teachers were not 'local' and came from places as diverse as Paris, the Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Rennes, and England. Apart from the teacher in Lorient (and two other teachers from all of the courses I attended and whose dialect differed from the area where they were teaching), all the teachers were *néo-bretonnants*. This is an important point to note. The current reproduction of the Breton language among adult learners of the language is **by** *néo-bretonnants* **for** *néo-bretonnants*. McDonald (1989) reports that similar situations exist in the immersion and bilingual school systems; most of the teachers there have also learned the language in adulthood. Despite the presence of a small number of L1 Breton teachers on the courses I attended, that the linguistic and cultural reproduction of the Breton language is firmly in the hands of the neo-speakers was not only

plain to see, it is furthermore backed up by the literature on the subject (Jones 1998a: 322; Ferguson 2006: 105). The gap between the two types of speakers is sometimes exaggerated and you can find cases where neo-speakers communicate successfully with traditional speakers, as in the following example:

Je ne parle jamais français à ma boulangère ... et jusqu'ici elle ne m'a jamais fourgué un pain au raisin à la place du pain de campagne ... Je suis pourtant un paourkaezh neobretonnant (sic) ... avec ma 'fausse' langue.

(Post on FPL : *Forum des Peuples en Lutte* <http://fpl.forumactif.com>)

('I never speak French to my baker ... and so far she hasn't foisted a 'pain au raisin' on me, instead of a country loaf ... despite being an unfortunate (*in Breton*) neo-Breton speaker ... with my 'false' language.')

The gap between neo- and traditional speakers, while certainly having some lexical and syntactic basis (see Chapter 2), would appear to be equally based on significant ideological differences as well. I discuss these differences in more detail in the case study (Chapters 6 to 8).

As ethnographers, we 'learn to assume the strange status of accepted bystanders or professional overhearers. This sometimes implies finding what amounts to a blind spot in the scene, that is, the least intrusive place where to sit or stand' (Duranti 1997: 101). This involves constantly having to make choices over levels of observation compared to levels of participation, or as Duranti (1997: 102) puts it, 'between moments of high involvement and

moments of low involvement in the activities that surround them'. This is not the only choice the participant observer has to make, of course. Ethical considerations also have to be taken into account and Duranti (1997: 103-104) talks about the 'cultural ecology' involved in interviewing and questioning; in other words, our participation needs to be carefully considered in order not to upset local sensibilities. On one occasion, my role between participant and researcher became exposed when I openly took notes from a display in a cultural centre which had charts on the use of Breton by children in the local Breton-immersion secondary school. One of the administrators of the centre noticed my note-taking and I felt it timely to explain that I was undertaking sociolinguistic studies in England, hence my interest.

One technique I adopted in order to make my presence as a researcher on these courses less intrusive involved moving away from semi-structured interviewing and concentrating more on what might be termed ethnographic conversations (Roberts et al. 2001). By this I mean naturally occurring conversations which contain elements which will prove of interest to the researcher. Indeed, it can prove possible for the researcher to steer the conversation to topics that are of interest to him/her, thus distinguishing this *modus operandi* from participant observation *per se*. Ethnographic conversations are based on the premise that the conversation is led by the consultant. It is the researcher's job to glean the information (s)he needs from the material the consultant chooses to present. It is above all a collaborative

process between consultant and researcher. The latter can, however, influence the conversation in certain directions, through the 'cultural framework principle' (Spradley 1979) which invites consultants to take into account the socio/political/historical realities of their experiences. For example, when one consultant, after she had attended a week-long course, complained that her attempts to speak Breton with her older relatives was thwarted after a couple of sentences, the question, "What do you think influences them to do that?" put the whole system of Breton diglossia into context for her.

In a neo-Breton setting, topics such as the fate of the language, reasons for learning Breton and the non-acceptance of learners by older, native speakers were regularly discussed during breaks and sometimes during classes. I benefited from these naturally arising opportunities to gather data for the present project, the advantage being that the opinions uttered were totally spontaneous and not influenced by my presence. In other words, I was likely to be able to document more authentic data than by asking direct questions of informants, since their responses were more spontaneous and less influenced by what they might think I *wanted* to hear.

As a British researcher investigating the Breton language, I was following in the footsteps of the anthropologist Maryon McDonald whose research, as she readily admits herself, was biased towards 'greater concern ... with native realities rather than with customary, external perceptions of them' (McDonald 1989: 314). Her published conclusions on the world of Breton-language activists

provoked strong debates:

Over the next few months, I was redefined by the [Breton-language] movement as an outsider. Where I had once been a 'Celt' I was now, inevitably, 'English' once more, and a 'fascist'. I was 'reactionary' and working for figures and bodies as diverse as Thatcher and Marchais, the CIA and the KGB. I was also 'royalist', or rather *royaliste*, which is insult indeed ... A copy of the thesis had been placed in Plounéour's town hall, but, at the height of the debate, it was gently hinted that perhaps I should remove it, so I did. There were fears that the town hall might go the way of part of the Palais of Versailles. ²

(McDonald 1989: 314-315)

My ethical concerns led me to establish a balance between McDonald's approach on the one hand ('It is difficult ... in the resultant work, to please all the parties involved' (McDonald 1989: 314)) and Duranti's advice on the other:

There is no way ... of escaping the responsibility we have as researchers towards the people we study. This does not mean that we should always and only write what we think they will like, but that whatever we decide to say publicly and publish should be informed by our awareness of the potential consequences of our research.

(Duranti 1997: 121).

As a result, I have been careful to consider my responsibilities towards my consultants. First and foremost, I have not attempted to reproduce the words of the people with whom I have had conversations, but rather to give a flavour of what they said. This risked creating a case study which consisted

merely of 'impressionistic re-creations' (Besnier 1994: 27). However, what I hope to convey in the case study are not so much solely my impressions but more a general analysis of the ideologies which emerged during my time spent in fieldwork. Furthermore, the ethnographic conversations were, in reality, a secondary source of data – the main technique employed throughout the fieldwork has been participant observation. The data is presented in the form of discernible trends which are evident from the ethnographic conversations which took place. While vignettes or personal narratives are useful in ethnographic research since they allow consultants to define a situation in their own terms, they have been avoided here. Not only are they limiting in terms of self-reporting, they do not always reveal the discrepancy between what a consultant says and what the same consultant actually does. This is an important distinction, since my primary concern has been to explore the various language ideologies prevalent in the sites I visited, and attitudes (and rhetoric) are often at odds with actual linguistic practices, often influenced sub-consciously by the language ideologies held individually and collectively.

Another consideration has been to preserve the anonymity of the consultants. My approach in this area was influenced in particular by my previous training in psychotherapy, where the confidentiality of the client (the equivalent of the consultant in a therapeutic setting) is paramount. The community of neo-Breton speakers is a relatively small one and it is important, I feel, that individuals should not be identifiable in the present thesis. Such is the

advice given in the literature (e.g. Johnstone 2000: 43) and in any case, the participation of the consultants in ethnographic conversations, while taking place in a research context and in a public forum, was not based on explicit consent on their part for their identities to be revealed. Appendix 1 (p. 225) lists my principal consultants from a variety of courses, held at different times and locations, but only their first names have been used, to ensure anonymity. Any comments I have included in the present thesis are not attributable to individual consultants.

0.1.2 *Data analysis*

My interest in the neo-Breton community of speakers focuses on the nature of this community and on the covert ideologies that these same speakers hold about the Breton language. Both foci encompass issues of power both within the community itself, and outside it, both in French society and in a wider Western context. Changing social conditions linked to postmodernity or globalisation have enabled the emergence of new or non-traditional linguistic and cultural sites for representing and performing Breton identity. To explore these conditions effectively, a theoretical framework situated within critical sociolinguistics is required, a framework capable of taking into account power relations and stakes underlying language use, issues of collective and individual identity, and the link between representations and social behaviour. This approach draws on a more sociological perspective of critical

sociolinguistics (Heller 2002b; Blommaert 1998). Heller further describes critical sociolinguistics as a perspective which builds on traditional interactional approaches to sociolinguistics (Heller 2002b), but which is able to relate language practices and discourse to social categorization (identity) and social stratification (power) by drawing on the sociological frameworks proposed by Bourdieu (1977 and 1982) and Giddens (1984). The analytical tools proposed in critical sociolinguistics can, therefore, not only interpret language use and discourse as related to social practices, but can also interpret language practices to reveal social practices. More specifically, critical sociolinguistics adds to the traditional questions on language use: 'Where? Why and how? Who stands to gain or lose? What are the stakes?' As more non-traditional sites emerge where Breton linguistic practices and identities are contested, we can examine discursive tensions over access to symbolic and material resources. Many of these tensions revolve around the questions of authenticity. Da Silva, McLaughlin and Richards have examined similar tensions of authenticity in minority French settings and their critical sociolinguistic questions are adapted here to the Breton situation: Who counts as a 'good' *bretonnant*? What counts as 'good' Breton and 'good' bilingual practices? Why? How? Who decides? And what are the consequences? (Da Silva, McLaughlin and Richards 2007: 185).

My investigation into the nature of the neo-Breton speech community, influenced by initial impressions from fieldwork that it might form a separate speech community to that of traditional speakers, required further analytical

tools in the shape of two theoretical frameworks: the social network and the community of practice (CofP). The use of these concepts was an attempt on my part to work with the problematic construct of 'speech community' (SpCom) of which there has been 'remarkably little agreement or theoretical discussion ... in sociolinguistics' (Patrick 2006: 573). Bucholtz's (1999: 203) definition that portrays the SpCom as 'a language-based unit of social analysis' or Patrick's (2006: 577) rephrasing of this portrayal as 'a socially-based unit of linguistic analysis' describe the interface between social and linguistic worlds on which the SpCom is based. My use of sociological constructs such as the CofP or the social network is an attempt to explore and explain the nature of this interface. In many ways, though, any attempt to impose labels on groups of speakers is to confine, restrict and objectify that particular group in question for the benefit of the researcher and may have little correlation with reality as perceived by the same speakers.

The concept of a social network was first introduced by Milroy in 1980 and thereafter network theory has been used extensively when researchers have wanted to explain why certain varieties of language have survived for long periods of time even when they have been associated with low status. Milroy and Milroy (1992) state that a social network can be seen as an endless web linking people together; for practical reasons, the researcher sees the networks as being linked to the individuals who are part of them. Vetter (1999) conducted a study in Ploumoguier on the state of the Breton language in this particular

corner of Finistère. Whereas Ploumoguier does not represent a typical Breton language social network (since the language appears numerically stronger here than in many other parts of Lower Brittany), it does demonstrate that social network analysis is an appropriate model for examining these particular (i.e. traditional) speakers of Breton. Vetter (1999) found that the more integrated people were in the four social networks of ‘family’, ‘neighbourhood’, ‘workplace’ and ‘entertainment’, the better were their proficiency in speaking and understanding Breton. She concludes that ‘il s’ensuit que les réseaux ont actuellement une fonction de conservateur de la langue’ (‘it follows that, at the present time, networks act as a safeguard for the language’) (Vetter, 1999: 223).

Néo-bretonnants, on the other hand, cannot be said to be preserving the language in the same way as traditional speakers; their activities are aimed at creating opportunities for using Breton in (for them) new domains. This is not to dismiss the role that some *néo-bretonnants* will play in localised, Breton-speaking social networks, especially in Lower Brittany, but in the main, *néo-bretonnants* will meet other *néo-bretonnants* to use the language. The concept of the CofP would appear to encompass such linguistic behaviour. In Wenger’s (1998) terms, a community of practice consists of practitioners who possess a shared repertoire and a domain (or common interest) to which they have a certain amount of commitment. The repertoire of neo-Breton CofPs is the Breton language – often the standardised variety and a L2 for the vast majority of participants – and the domain consists of a language preservation (or

revitalisation) project. Most traditional speakers of Breton have little interest in such a project (as evinced in their absence from language planning initiatives), and are content to use the language in dwindling networks which are not based on the language per se, but on common points of reference, such as a working-class background, being from the same locality or sharing common cultural practices (e.g. traditional singing). There is a limited amount of crossing over for *néo-bretonnants* who are fluent speakers *and* who possess some other skill (e.g. the ability to sing traditional *kan-ha-diskan* at *festoù noz* (ceilidhs) or agricultural interests – cf. p. 49). Thus some *néo-bretonnants* are able to take part in traditional social networks *if* they have some interest in common with traditional Breton speakers, but this is rarely just the language. As has been pointed out in a Welsh context, ‘those able to negotiate into target language social networks are likely to become successful learners’ (Newcombe 2002: 52) but such opportunities are rare for *néo-bretonnants*. The difference in the two types of group is crucial and I will refer to neo-Breton groups as CofPs and traditional Breton-speakers as operating mainly within social networks in this thesis. Such an approach does engender certain problems. *Néo-bretonnants* do have their own social networks of course but they are different in nature from traditional Breton-speaking networks, which Le Coadic (2004b) sees as essentially ‘deterritoralised’. The essential point is that the two sets of speakers inhabit different social worlds and this is what I hope to reflect by using the terms ‘CofP’ and ‘network’ in this way.

0.2 LANGUAGE AND ISSUES OF POWER

The linguistic situation in Brittany is a microcosm of power issues which exist not just within the French State but also in many other situations where an imbalance of power is manifest through language conflict and tension. As such, an anthropological linguistic approach allows us to explore these tensions from theoretical bases such as linguistic relativity and related theorisation which arises out of linguistic relativity, such as that of language ideologies.

0.2.1 *Linguistic relativity*

In looking at the imbalances of power in contemporary Brittany, it is important to start with the assumptions 'with which individual speakers as members of speech communities perceive reality and are able to represent it' (Duranti 2001: 26). The Breton speech community's particular assumptions, or constraints, about their own reality can be detected in 'linguistic forms [and what they] accomplish in social interaction or, more generally, in the construction of everyday life' (Duranti 2001: 26). This concept of linguistic relativity was expanded by Hymes (1966) to include not only the ways in which linguistic structure may influence our experience of the world, but also, 'the ways in which cultural patterns ... can influence language use and determine the functions of language in social life' (Duranti 2001: 15).

Having the cultural uses of language as a focus is, according to Lucy (1996: 38), essential 'for assessing the general significance of language in social and psychological life'. He broadens this idea into the field of discourse functionality which, he says, does not exist in isolation from language structure since, 'the two may interact in important ways' (Lucy 1996: 59). One of the most important ways that this interaction takes place, and of direct relevance for the present study, is the mediation of structure and function by 'certain ideologies of language which reflexively structure discursive practice' (Lucy 1996: 59). Work by Kroskrity (2000); Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity (1998); and Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) focuses on these ideologies and their influence on language structure and language use. This research framework forms much of the basis of the discussion in Section B on the language ideologies which are found in the Breton linguistic situation and, by extension, in many other situations of linguistic minoritisation.

0.2.2 *Standardisation and the emergence of standard language*

Much debate in Brittany at the present time centres upon the variety of Breton that is taught in immersion and bilingual schools for children, and also to adults in a variety of immersion and evening classes. There is certainly a wide range of varieties which a learner can choose to adopt, from highly localised dialectal forms to a pan-Brittany standardised version of the language. My personal observations confirm that the current debate in Brittany centres on what

constitutes the Breton language – for the vast majority of native speakers, for whom a sense of Brittany as an entity does not exist, ‘the’ Breton language is that which is spoken in their immediate locality and only with locals of similar ages and backgrounds. On the other hand, for some language militants, a standardised variety is the only acceptable form which can be transmitted and employed in schools, radio broadcasts and television programmes (the few that exist, that is). The gulf between the two stances is very wide and seemingly unbridgeable, as Jones (1998) has pointed out. Then again, other speakers inhabit a sort of no man’s land or limbo, where their use of the language is more idiosyncratic (described by McDonald [1989] as a case of dialect mixing). Various attempts to produce a standardised form of Breton were undertaken over the course of the twentieth century, but so far no one version has emerged triumphant (cf. pp. 109-110).

The debate over the acceptability of standardised Breton as opposed to dialectal Breton reveals power struggles over language, whereby a particular language variety is defined as the standard and is used by the dominant class to maintain control. This process of standardisation has been studied in detail by Bloomfield (1935); Labov (1970); Baugh (1999); and Rickford (1999). Who constitutes the ‘dominant’ class in Brittany is problematic, though, at least in a linguistic sense. Native speakers far outnumber learners or ‘new’ speakers of the language, and yet the latter come predominantly from the educated, middle classes, as opposed to the rural, working-class backgrounds of the

majority of native speakers. What further complicates the debate is what language militants try to do with the standardised language when they fail to adhere to traditional diglossic patterns of language use. The sociolinguistic concept of diglossia (Ferguson 1972 [1959]) posits concurrent use of a High variety (H) and a Low one (L). Initially, Ferguson claimed that diglossia could only exist in a situation where varieties of the same language were present, but this notion was challenged by Fishman (1967), who claimed that different languages can also serve different purposes within the same community. This is the case in Brittany, where traditionally French is the high variety and Breton the low one. The use of the concept of diglossia in this particular situation also reveals the inherent power imbalance within such language use. Tensions arise when the diglossic nature of the (traditional) Breton speech community is not taken into account (or ignored), as when militants try to use Breton where French would more likely to be the norm (e.g. addressing strangers). McDonald (1989) reports that when she approached some elderly women who were talking Breton and addressed them in the same language, their irritated response that they were perfectly able to speak French reveals much about the strictly delineated diglossic boundaries to which the majority of traditional Breton speakers continue to adhere.

0.2.3 *Standardisation and issues of power*

The process of standardisation has been described in detail by Gramsci (1971, 1975) and by Bourdieu (1982, 1985) who provide us with their useful interpretations of 'hegemony' and 'habitus' which in turn make power imbalances, such as those found in situations of linguistic minoritisation (among others), more easy to analyse. Gramsci's notion of hegemony was meant to capture the ability that a ruling class has to build consensus through the work of all kinds of intellectuals, which consequently gives the rest of the population a political, intellectual and moral direction (Gramsci 1971). Whether consciously or not, militants have worked with such a concept in their efforts to 'rebuild' the Breton language and at least one of them, Roparz Hemon (1900-1978) made no secret of his intentions to create 'a brand new language for Lower Brittany, simple and pure, in which you can work with the truth more than in the old languages of the world' (Hemon 1972: 52).

In a similar way, Bourdieu's notion of habitus is related to Gramsci's notion of hegemony insomuch as it is an unconscious set of dispositions that are connected to and recursively activated by specific activities or practices. Habitus is also important to the concept of cultural capital, in that cultural capital can be derived from an individual's habitus. It is often defined as dispositions that are inculcated in the family but manifest themselves in different ways in each individual (Harker 1990: 10; Webb et al. 2002: 37; and Gorder 1980: 226). Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, where linguistic skills

and varieties are seen as having a 'value' within a 'market' is taken up in anthropological linguistic work such as that of Gal (1989) and Woolard (1985) and, most significantly for the present thesis, by the sociolinguist Heller (1999, 2000, 2002, 2006). I refer extensively to Heller in Section B, where I discuss the related process of 'commodification' which I consider the Breton language has undergone in recent decades.

0.3 OUTLINE OF SECTIONS AND CHAPTERS

The present thesis is divided into three sections, further divided into an introduction and nine chapters. In Section A, I explore the concepts of language 'death' and language change, considering especially how they affect languages in the twenty-first century. In Chapter 1 I look at the theoretical background of language 'death' (especially why the metaphor 'death' for language obsolescence lacks intellectual rigour) and how the concept of language ideology is closely aligned to the linguistic behaviour that can lead to a language being used less and less. In that chapter I also explore how certain ideologies arise out of current discourses of globalisation and 'high modernity' (Giddens 1991). Chapter 1 also describes the methodological tools used to create the data for the present study, most notably ethnographically-based participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Since the vast majority of languages experiencing obsolescence are minority ones, Chapter 2 examines the changes that have occurred in one particularly dramatic case of attrition,

namely that of Breton, where transmission of the language virtually ceased after the mid-twentieth century and where, at the start of the twenty-first century, we are seeing the consequences of such linguistic choices. Chapter 3 locates Breton in frameworks of language contact and conflict and discusses how these frameworks have shaped attitudes towards majority and minority languages in France.

Section B contains the case study for the present thesis. Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the general contexts of 'new' speakers and of language ideologies in minority language settings. Each of next three chapters incorporates a detailed aspect of linguistic behaviour arising out of a variety of language ideologies I discovered whilst engaged in fieldwork in Brittany. Thus Chapter 6 looks at the 'commodification' of the Breton language and the 'value' it has gained in recent years on a variety of 'markets'. Chapter 7 explores the recursive ideology of nationalism in Breton militant circles, which, I argue, is based on wider discourses of linguistic imperialism and dominance within the French state. Finally, Chapter 8 looks at the need for 'authenticity' among speakers of Breton, whether they be learners or native speakers and examines differing interpretations of what 'authenticity' means for individuals and different groups of speakers.

Section C contains the conclusions drawn from the thesis as a whole and examines the general trends that can be identified not only for Breton but for minority languages in general.

0.4 THESIS RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Given the focus, described above, on the linguistic behaviour that arises out of a situation of language endangerment, my research questions are formulated to explore the particularities of the rapid attrition of Breton by older speakers, on the one hand, and the simultaneous (but not numerically equivalent) 'creation' of 'new' speakers on the other. The emergence of *néo-bretonnants* in Brittany and elsewhere challenges the conventional ways of thinking about language 'death' and questions whether we can still talk of the 'death' of a language in any meaningful way when speakers continue to emerge and continue to use the language, albeit in non-traditional ways and in a transformed variety. As with other sections of the thesis, anthropological linguistic and sociolinguistic fields of enquiry have been combined to explore the following three aspects of the current linguistic situation in Brittany:

1. What type of community, if any, do *néo-bretonnants* constitute?
2. To what extent is the existence of a neo-Breton linguistic community a response to discourses of hyper-modernity and globalisation?
3. What are the connections between language ideologies and linguistic behaviours in this particular situation of language endangerment?

These questions are interesting, I believe, not only from a Breton and/or French perspective but are pertinent to many situations of language endangerment in the western world.

SECTION A: LANGUAGE ‘DEATH’ AND LANGUAGE CHANGE

INTRODUCTION: *Recent interest in the disappearance of languages*

Over the past quarter of a century, interest in the disappearance of languages has developed to a point where language death and obsolescence can be viewed as a field in its own right. Recent academic publications on *language endangerment*, i.e., the process whereby languages lose ground to other languages either because they are spoken by fewer and fewer speakers and/or because they are heavily influenced by one or more competing languages, include Abley (2003), Crystal (2000 and 2004), Dalby (2002), Harrison (2007), Maffi (2001), Nettle and Romaine (2000), Phillipson (2003) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000). These authors basically share the same positions, though there are minor differences in the specific ways they state them. A post-colonial attitude is sometimes discernible – westernisation is equated with globalisation and the only areas affected by it are perceived to be the Americas, Asia and Australia (Mufwene 2002). Moreover, globalisation is occasionally referred to as *McDonaldisation* and *Americanisation*; these phenomena are treated as synonymous with the process, instead of being viewed more accurately as an after-effect of it (Mufwene 2005: 19).

The language ‘death’ discourse polarises certain languages as agents of globalisation and other languages as endangered and their speakers as victims. Calvet (1998) talks of ‘language wars’ in which English (among others) is

perceived as a 'killer language' (cf. Price 1984; Nettle and Romaine 2000). Too often the emphasis is on 'loss', as opposed to the gains populations can acquire due to the process of language shift. There is little discussion of how language revitalisation can fit into this framework; very often, the language is taken out of its economic, social and cultural context and treated as a bounded object, instead of a human behaviour which its speakers have felt obliged to change, in response to changing socio-economic realities.

In Section A, I discuss the theoretical models of language death and the related discourse of endangerment that currently occupies some discursive space in early twenty-first century western preoccupations and also the methodologies I have employed to investigate language change and attrition in one speech community, that of Breton in north-west France. Much of the nature of linguistic change in Brittany (and indeed elsewhere among minority language speech communities) can be explained through the investigation of commonly (but also subconsciously) held language ideologies, which are explored in depth in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 explores the historical linguistic situation of the Breton language, from its heyday at the turn of the twentieth century to its much reduced state (both in numbers of speakers and in terms of domain usage) at the start of the twenty-first century. Whereas Breton presents a rather dramatic example of a language in 'steep and perhaps terminable decline' (Dalby 2002: 136), it is by no means unique in the way its speakers have switched from using a minority, less-prestigious language to a majority

language of statehood (in this case, French). As such, the study of the attrition of the Breton language exemplifies what is happening to many languages that are under threat of extinction and demonstrates that endangered 'indigenous' languages exist closer to home than just in the Americas, Asia and Australia, the traditional areas of focus for anthropological linguistics (cf. Mufwene 2002, above).



1

LANGUAGE DEATH IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Language ‘death’, as a field of investigation, is a fairly recent addition to sociolinguistics, even if the phenomenon of language loss is not, in itself, anything new (cf. Dalby’s discussion of the disappearance of Gaulish and Aramaic in the face of Latin (Dalby 2002: 52-60)). What *is* new though, is a ‘discourse of language endangerment’ which has emerged over the past several years and which has been described by Dobrin, Austin and Nathan (2007: 59) as ‘an ideologically charged discursive space that is kept bustling by a number of overlapping constituencies’, such as linguists, minority activists, international groups, funding institutions, conservation groups and the media. This discourse (discussed in more detail in Section 1.4) appeals emotively and moralistically to the groups outlined above, and indeed, to the general public when stories of the endangerment of a particular language hit the headlines (cf. the *Enduring Voices Project* mentioned in Section 1.5 below). Crystal’s claim that ‘the educated public – a public that is usually concerned and vociferous about language and ecology – is still unaware that the world is facing a linguistic crisis of unprecedented scale’ (Crystal 2000: vi) is less true

than it was when he was writing nine years ago. Since then, there has been a proliferation of books, articles and broadcasts alerting the public to language endangerment. Often, as noted above, the tone has been emotive – consider for example Harrison (2007: 7): ‘The accelerating extinction of languages on a global scale has no precedent in human history. And while it is not exactly equivalent to biological extinction of endangered species, it is happening much faster, making species extinction look trivial by comparison’.

In this first chapter, I concentrate on the contemporary discourses of language loss and endangerment, and how these arise out of discourses of modernity. These discourses are examined within the context of linguistic minority endangerment, with particular reference to the Breton linguistic situation. Finally, the particular complexities of investigating language change within minority communities are discussed and critiqued in the section on methodology.

1.1 LANGUAGE SHIFT IN BRITTANY

In this section, the phenomenon variously known as language death, language shift and language obsolescence is discussed with close reference to the Breton linguistic situation. As one of the languages identified by a range of commentators (e.g. Crystal 2000; Dalby 2004; Tanner 2004) as a classic example of language shift, Breton lends itself well to the exploration of various stages of obsolescence that languages can undergo due to the pressures of globalisation.

That the use of Breton by traditional speakers is in decline is undisputable. And when these same speakers, at least half of whom currently use more French than Breton in their daily lives, attempt to use their first language, the result can be, as discussed more fully in Chapter 2, speech full of lexical borrowings from French. This adds weight to the claim that Breton is a 'dying' language (or indeed, an already dead one). Such assertions can be found in the work of several commentators, such as Dalby (2002: 136), who states: 'The use of ... Breton ... is now in steep and perhaps terminal decline. Only older people use [this regional language] habitually. No children arrive at school speaking [Breton] alone.' Tanner is less circumspect in his predictions:

From one of the most vigorous and widely spoken Celtic languages, [Breton] has become one of the weakest, its very survival for the next 25 years now looking questionable. At best it may linger as the language of a club of enthusiasts who communicate over the internet or meet at pre-arranged functions, like modern enthusiasts for Cornish. It has no future as a community language.

(Tanner 2004: 261)

By locating Breton within discourses of globalisation and high modernity (see p. 27), I intend to explore the restriction of the use of Breton to social networks and communities of practice in rather more positive terms than those adopted by Tanner, cited above, in order to argue that Breton, as a 'community' language, has some way to go before it ceases to be used in this way.

If the Breton language is indeed in danger of 'dying' during the twenty-first century, then the concept of language 'death' needs to be examined more closely. According to Crystal (2000: 14), 'if you are the last speaker of a language, your language is ... already dead.' Breton is hardly in that position. With less than 200, 000 speakers of the language (Broudic 2009), we are hardly looking at a 'last-speaker' scenario. Crystal (2000: 14) refers to the figure of 20,000 speakers as the 'danger level' for the future prospects of an endangered language in some parts of the world, and Breton can claim at least ten times this number. However, Crystal (2000: 21) does make reference to the term 'seriously endangered' in his book. A 'seriously endangered language', according to Wurm (1998: 192), typically has 'the youngest speakers age fifty or older', which aptly describes the majority of traditional Breton speakers. Dalby (2002: 220) confirms the importance of the use of a language in determining whether it is dying or has died when he writes, 'a language "dies" when it is no longer used in conversation' but Breton is far from falling out of use as a conversational medium. Having said this, opportunities for speaking it do appear to be becoming more restricted. In one family's case, Breton is used only among the retired members of the family at home – the fact that they are originally from another part of Brittany has meant that the neighbours do not understand their particular variety of Breton, and the bizarre scenario (bizarre to an outsider, that is) arises where native speakers of Breton find themselves conversing with each other in French, due to perceived problems of communication!¹

The key to appreciating fully the seriousness of the state of endangerment, as Vincent (2002) points out, is to look at the number of speakers of the current generation compared to that of past generations. This ties in with Wurm's (1998) category of 'seriously endangered' mentioned above. In a similar way, Durkacz (1996: 226) identifies this as a 'classic pattern of language decline' where the vast majority of native speakers are older than fifty and not enough young people are replacing them. So even though Breton does exhibit some signs of linguistic health, the most crucial – the lack of inter-generational transmission – stands out as a firm predictor of the 'demise' of the Breton language in the twenty-first century in this particular framework.

Breton displays features of 'gradual shift', which has been described as the loss of the language due to a gradual shift to the dominant language, with intermediate stages of bilingualism. The proficiency continuum is determined principally by age, with younger generations more proficient in the dominant language (Campbell and Muntzell 1989: 182-186; Wolfram 2002: 765). Sasse (1992) has elaborated on gradual language shift and has labelled it 'attrition', whereby a language loses speakers and domains. Attrition normally involves the loss of structure, whereby morphologically complex constructions are replaced with analytical constructions together with a loss of phonological distinctions. This can be accompanied by the borrowing of structure and lexicon from the dominant language (Thomason 2001: 228-9).

Broudic (2001: 24) has categorised the development of the shift in

language in Brittany (or what Quéfé (in Broudic, 2001: 24) prefers to call a 'glissement') into four distinct stages:

1. At the time of the first world war, Breton was still the language of choice for the majority of inhabitants of Lower Brittany, but knowledge of French was growing.
2. After World War Two, Breton was still widely in use, especially in rural areas. Round about this time, the last monoglot speakers died out and parents started speaking French to their children.
3. In the 1970s, Breton became a minority language within its own territory.
4. By the year 2000, a mere 20% of the population of Lower Brittany was able to engage with the Breton language at some level.

He points out that the middle of the twentieth century saw a particularly rapid decline in the use of the language, with the number of speakers declining by 80% over fifty years. This rapid attrition corresponds to the 'punctuated equilibrium model' of language obsolescence, postulated by Dixon (1997) as a situation of linguistic equilibrium within geographical areas, wherein linguistic features (such as phonological systems, grammatical categories, lexemes, and, at a slower rate, grammatical forms) diffuse and eventually converge together towards a linguistic prototype for the area.

'Punctuation' (or language loss) occurs either naturally, with a material innovation (e.g. agriculture) or due to aggressive politics or religion. A period of punctuation is typically accompanied by an expansion of dominant

languages and then a split of the latter into typologically related languages (for example, Latin splitting to produce the modern Romance languages). Since the creation of the French Republic, standard French has expanded in France at the expense of regional languages. Dixon points out that in recent centuries punctuation has occurred in equilibrium areas all over the world and he predicts that recent unprecedented language loss will lead to just one language for each nation and eventually to one world language (Dixon 1997: 147).

According to this model, the logical outcome would result in a shift towards the dominant language for **all** speech communities in a given area, not just minority ones. The current shift of regional languages in Europe towards the languages of statehood (English, French, Spanish, etc.) could possibly represent an increasing future trend and it is not beyond the realms of possibility that these same state languages will, in turn, eventually shift in the direction of global English, a concern which is discussed in, for example, Phillipson's *English-only Europe?* (2003).

1.2 DO LANGUAGES 'DIE'?

The 'death' of a language is, of course, a metaphorical reference to the decline in use and in the number of speakers of a particular language. As one commentator has noted, 'languages do not literally "die" or go "extinct", since they are not living organisms ... Small tongues get abandoned by their

speakers, who stop using them in favour of a more dominant, more prestigious, or more widely known tongue' (Harrison 2007: 5). In the present project, I prefer to use the terms language shift and/or language obsolescence to indicate what I perceive to be currently occurring in some situations of language minoritisation. 'Language shift' can be defined as the 'habitual use of one language ... being replaced by the habitual use of another' within a particular community (Gal 1979: 1). 'Language obsolescence' has been defined in a similar way (Hoenigswald 1989: 347) but which more specifically refers to the structural changes in languages undergoing shift (McEwan-Fujita 2006: 279). It is important to recognise though, that if we are to problematise the concept of language 'death', then we furthermore need to re-think our concept of language 'shift' as a monolithic process:

The image of 'shift' is an image of a community transferring its allegiances and completely transforming its practices, whereas in fact it is clear that language domination, contact and change give rise to linguistic practices, attitudes and forms of identification that are far more mixed and complex than the term 'language shift' indicates.

(Jaffe 2007: 52)

Avoiding the death metaphor is not just a matter of stylistics, however. Such terminology obscures the fact that language shift does not take place at the point when a speaker dies, a key point that must be kept in mind when assessing it. Furthermore, to talk of a minority language 'dying' is to disregard the imbalance of power between the monolingual speakers of the majority

language and the bilingual speakers of the minority one, as pointed out by McEwan-Fujita (2006: 292) with reference to the Scottish situation: ‘Through repeated exposure to the idea that “Gaelic is dying”, there is always the possibility that Gaelic speakers themselves will become more fatalistic about the future of Gaelic, and will enact a self-fulfilling prophecy by failing to transmit the language to the next generation, since “it is dying anyway”’. Similar reactions can be found with regard to Irish; when Hindley published *The Death of the Irish Language: A Qualified Obituary* in 1990, he sparked off a debate that prompted criticism from the Irish-speaking media, scholars, and literati. Some reviewers' titles included: ‘Buried Alive’ by Éamonn Ó Cíosáin (1991) and ‘The Corpse that Sits Up and Talks Back’ by the poet Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill (1995).

The simultaneous situation in Brittany of language shift among native speakers on the one hand and of language ‘revival’ among *néo-bretonnants* on the other, as a reaction to the present period of heightened awareness of language endangerment, points to a largely undocumented phenomenon of language shift. What appears to be happening is not so much a revival of Breton but more a transformation of the language (see section 2.5). To claim that a new language is emerging (cf. McDonald 1989; Jones 1995, 1998) seems extreme; nevertheless, there can be little doubt that speakers of languages such as Breton are facing pressures which are unprecedented. This little-discussed phenomenon of language transformation as a product of language shift is explored in more detail in 2.5.

1.3 LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND LANGUAGE DEATH

The analysis of reasons for language shift can, I would argue, be most significantly located within the anthropological linguistic framework of 'language ideologies', since such ideologies are held simultaneously collectively and individually by speakers of endangered languages and influence language behaviour. Language ideologies are generally defined as a set of beliefs about the nature of language or about a particular language shared by the members of a defined community (Watts 1999; Milroy 2001). This definition has been further developed by Kroskrity who sees language ideologies as 'beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in social worlds' (Kroskrity 2006: 498). He only steers us away from homogenous views of language ideologies such as that of Rumsey, who defines ideologies as 'shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world' (Rumsey 1990: 346), by emphasising the plurality of locations in which ideologies about language can be located ('social worlds'); he also emphasises their largely unconscious nature by describing them as 'beliefs' and 'feelings' (as opposed to 'notions' or 'attitudes'), and thus very often subjective to individuals and individual groups.

Such belief systems become so well embedded in the collective psychology of a particular group that they often come to form part of the widely accepted lore and language myths of the same group, as can be perceived as natural or self-evident (Boudreau and Dubois 2007). Further

analysis of these ideologies is possible through a critical sociolinguistic approach, which rejects the view of community, identity and language as natural and bounded phenomena and sees them rather as 'heuristic devices which capture some elements of how we organize ourselves, but which have to be understood as social constructs' (Heller 2007: 13).

Language ideologies held by majority language groups are also pertinent to cases of language shift, since they will influence the environment in which the minority language community operates. Most importantly, they are used to maintain the status quo through ideologies of 'standard' and 'dominant' language which conceal the power relations involved and lead, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) to 'symbolic violence'. Thus pressure on speakers of minority languages occurs largely through widely-held language ideologies, with language shift as a result. Interestingly, some members of a community can resist such pressure and develop generally opposing (but sometimes complementary) language ideologies which go some way to slowing down the language shift in question and such ideologies (and resultant linguistic behaviour) are the focus of the case study of the present thesis (Chapters 6-8).

1.4 DISCOURSES OF ENDANGERMENT

Mention has already been made of a prevalent 'discourse of language endangerment' above, which has been evaluated in the work of Silverstein (1998), Blommaert (2001), Hill (2002), Freeman and Patrick (2004) and Duchêne

and Heller (2007). Language loss and endangerment as a discourse is grounded in and perpetuates Western assumptions about languages as bounded denotational codes, with a stable reality inherent in a particular ethnic group that occupies a unique ecological niche (Dobrin, Austin and Nathan 2007: 59). Recent academic publications, such as Austin and Simpson (2007), Crystal (2000), Dalby (2002), Fishman (2001), Harrison (2007), Grenoble and Whaley (2006) and Nettle and Romaine (2000) and more populist works, such as Drysdale (2001) and Abley (2003) all reflect a general concern for minorities and their languages in what is perceived to be a time of unprecedented flux and degeneration (Cameron 1995).

Such discourses work in predictable, but also sometimes in surprising, ways. Thus a recent television programme on Euronews compared two endangered languages, Welsh and Breton, and unsurprisingly found initiatives on the part of the French government to be severely lacking in comparison with language reversal efforts in the United Kingdom (<http://www.euronews.net/index.php?page=european&article=457851&lng=1>). Less predictably, the discourse of endangerment is not confined to just minority languages. The French language has been constructed over the centuries around the unification of the state and territory but numeral political crises and ideological tensions at the present time over multi-culturalism and multilingualism, caused in part by globalisation, is now highlighting the position of French as an endangered language (Moïse 2007: 216). Most

surprisingly, identifying a language as ‘endangered’ can have drawbacks as well as possible beneficial effects. Such drawbacks are an unanticipated side-effect of ‘documentary linguistics’, a new discipline which records and archives endangered languages, producing a ‘tension between the moral agenda that motivates endangered languages work on the one hand, and the way that agenda has been operationalised on the other’ (Dobrin, Austin and Nathan 2007: 61). This tension can confine the very languages linguists seek to preserve to objects to be studied and digital recordings:

This troubling transformation of languages – to indices, objects, and technical encodings – ... reflects ... the forces of commodification, standardisation, and audit that shape the management of information more generally in contemporary Western culture.

(Dobrin, Austin and Nathan 2007: 61)

The standardisation and commodification of Breton due to its minority status in a rapidly globalising world are two themes which are discussed in greater depth in Chapter 4 and in Section 1.5 below.

1.5 LANGUAGE COMMODIFICATION

A particular consequence of globalisation processes has been a ‘shift from an ideology of authentic nationhood to an ideology of commodification’ (Heller 2002c: 47). As a result of this shift, a ‘decoupling of language and identity’ (Heller 2002c: 51) has occurred, resulting in a view of language as ‘an acquirable

technical skill and marketable commodity' (Heller 2002a: 47). In a similar way, 'linguistic instrumentalism',

... is a view of language that justifies its existence in a community in terms of its usefulness in achieving specific utilitarian goals such as access to economic development or social mobility. In contrast, a language is viewed non-instrumentally to the extent that it is seen as forming an integral part of one's ethnic or cultural identity, and if its existence in a community is justified in terms of its symbolic value in allowing the community members to maintain a sense of identity.

(Wee 2008: 32)

I argue for an expanded definition of a 'commodified language' in this thesis, not just in economic terms, but in 'cultural capital' terms as well (Bourdieu 1986). Whereas the marketability of minority languages is less obvious than it is for more widely-spoken languages, the general perception of language as a quantifiable resource does have advantages for less-used languages. The separation of language and identity means that minority identities are also, in a sense, commodified. In learning a minority language, it is increasingly possible to become a member of that particular minority language community, though this is often contested by other members of the same community, particularly those who are so through dint of birth and/or upbringing:

Languages are coming to be treated more and more as economic commodities, and ... this view is displacing traditional ideologies in which languages were primarily symbols of ethnic or national identity.

(Block and Cameron 2002: 5)

The increasing commodification of language is a by-product of globalisation which characterises the present time as one of 'high modernity' (Giddens 1991). According to Heller, such globalisation processes are the consequence of the expansion of capitalist networks and as such, create new opportunities at local levels for access to global markets, bypassing nation states (Heller 1999: 339). Elsewhere, she has defined high modernity as the tension resulting from these opportunities which exists between monolingual nation states and supra-national structures and processes (Heller 1999: 339). Heller sees this tension as causing the breakdown of contemporary language ideologies (based on nineteenth-century nationalist ideologies), which in turns results in the 'uniformisation of communicative practice' (Heller 2002b: 8) but also with 'hybridity as a hall-mark' (Heller 2000: 10). Williams and Morris point out that this breakdown (or shift as they term it) can work in favour of groups in situations of language minoritisation: 'This shift opens up space for diversity, including the reorientation of minority language groups within normative space' (Williams and Morris 2000: 127).

Language commodification in itself is not new, but the unprecedented rate of the process *is* a recent phenomenon. The contemporary commodification of endangered languages has its basis in the historical objectification of some major European languages, such as Spanish. For example, one of the major aims of the author of the first grammar on the Spanish language, Antonio de Nebrija, was to set in stone the nature of the Castilian language and

reduce it to bounded object status. His stated aim was ‘reduzir en artificio este nuestro lenguaje castellano: para que lo que agora y de aquí adelante en él se escriviere pueda quedar en un tenor: y estenderse en toda la duración de los tiempos que están por venir’ (‘to codify our Castilian language. From now on, whatever is written in it can retain one meaning and endure for all time to come’) [Nebrija 1492: 100-101].

A similar ‘common objectifying thrust’ is also to be found in language study from early colonial situations onward (Errington 2001: 34), where contact with indigenous peoples led to the quantifying of their languages in western European terms. However, a more recent development and one which is at present affecting smaller, endangered languages closer to home is the Euro-American culture of audit, accounting and oversight in which quantification, evaluation and competitive ranking are all-persuasive (Strathern 2000).

Such a culture has the tendency to treat languages, and especially endangered ones, as bounded objects which can be subjected to quantification, as indices, as technical encodings and as exchangeable goods (Dobrin, Austin and Nathan 2007: 60). A recent initiative that reflects the growing interest in minority and endangered languages is the *Enduring Voices Project* (sponsored by the National Geographical Society). Its aims are to document endangered languages and prevent language extinction by identifying the most crucial areas where languages are endangered and embarking on expeditions in order to

understand the geographic dimensions of language distribution, to determine how linguistic diversity is linked to biodiversity and to bring the issues of language loss to wider attention (<http://www.nationalgeographic.com/mission/enduringvoices/about-the-project.html>). Whilst on the face of it the project appears to be a noble cause, the media campaign surrounding one of the aforementioned expeditions attracted overwhelmingly negative responses from linguists, which focused on 'the loose handling of the linguistic details, and with the subordination of professional and social responsibility to the interests of a private venture' and the fact that it was 'too transparently a marketing stunt presupposing the saleability of languages, "the unmistakable indicator of commodity status' (Kopytoff 1986: 69)'" (Dobrin, Austin and Nathan 2007: 61). While addressing the issue of language loss, initiatives such as the *Enduring Voices Project* do fall prey to what Kopytoff has termed the 'collectibles' paradox: as languages become 'more singular and worthy of being collected' they 'acquire a price and become a commodity and their singularity is to that extent undermined' (Kopytoff 1986: 81).

1.6 LINGUISTIC HYBRIDITY

Constructs of hybridity have been used to conceptualise new cultural forms, practices and identities created from a synthesis of diverse elements. Sources such as Anzaldúa (1987), Arteaga (1997) and Bhabha (1990) reinforce the optimistic aspects of the notion and focus on the positive consequences of the

mixing of languages and codes. In particular, Bakhtin (1996: 358) defines linguistic hybridity as the encounter between ‘two different linguistic consciousnesses’ and states that hybrid utterances bring together and promote dialogue between diverse worldviews. Hybridity, in *néo-bretonnant* terms, focuses on linguistic and sociolinguistic evolution, which I explore in the case study of the present thesis (Chapters 6 to 8). In particular, I use the concept of hybridity to investigate the structural changes which are taking place in neo-Breton and the non-traditional domains where this variety is currently being used. Whereas *néo-bretonnant* hybridity is sometimes contested (Jones 1998b; Le Dù and Le Berre 1995/1996; McDonald 1989; Morvan 2002; Timm 2003), the tendency is to view it in positive terms (Broudic 2001; Gemie 2002; Kergoat 1999; Le Coadic 2001; Louarn 2001; Moal 2003; Morvannou 2001; Observatoire de la Langue Bretonne 2002; Pentecouteau 2002; Texier and Ó Néill 2005).

Language revitalisation in Brittany, and the resulting situation of linguistic hybridity, while having immediate and obvious advantages for language activists and others interested in the Breton language, can and does alienate other sections of Breton society. Scholars such as Ahmad (1995), Nederveen Pieterse (1995) and Joseph (1999) argue that many optimistic readings of hybridity neglect the relations of power and domination that circumscribe and form hybrid practices. Nederveen Pieterse (1995: 57) in particular suggests the need for a careful consideration of ‘the terms of mixture [and] the conditions of mixing’ in specific instances of hybridity. Furthermore,

Dirlik (1999: 109) argues that the use of the term hybridity 'blurs . . . significant distinctions between different differences'. In other words, conceiving of Breton (or other) identities and language varieties as hybrids may obscure the distinctiveness of each specific hybrid phenomenon. Thus hybridity, while it can usefully be used to challenge narrow social, cultural and linguistic categories, can also become, ironically, a gloss that reduces all differences to a generic condition of 'mixture'.

Not only are traditional speakers of Breton excluded in a framework such as this (with their own traditional hybrid form of Breton being classified as too 'corrupted' by contact with French as a result), the majority francophone population in Brittany also can be discouraged from participating in any aspect of the revitalisation project. Linguistic hybridity can consequently ostracise certain speakers as much as it affirms and supports others.

1.7 CONCLUSIONS

Investigating variation and change in minority language communities at the start of the twenty-first century requires a carefully-considered approach on the part of the researcher. The current tendency to assign a language like Breton the status of an endangered species (itself a biological metaphor) and a commodity to be recorded and collected, reflects the fact that sociolinguists and anthropological linguists are operating in a time of increased awareness about language loss. While increased language awareness is not a bad thing in itself,

sensibilities in communities labelled as linguistically endangered tend to be heightened. More than ever before, the researcher needs to consider the role she or he occupies as a participant observer in the chosen field. Consultants in such communities are conscious of the precarious situation in which their language finds itself and, to do justice to linguistic projects such as the present one on Breton, entering the speakers' frame of reference as fully as possible is called for, while being mindful of our status as outsiders. Finding a balance for this dichotomy is the delicate task facing the researcher in such a situation.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to Gwenaëlle Diquélou for sharing this piece of family information with me.
2. Ten rooms in the Palace of Versailles were damaged by a bomb planted by Breton nationalists in June 1978.
3. One consultant, a long-term resident in Brittany originally from Wales (but not Welsh-speaking), confirmed that her acceptance into local, Breton-speaking networks was based less on her linguistic skills and more on her farming activities. These put her on a par with her neighbours, who were used to discussing such activities in Breton amongst themselves.



2

LANGUAGE CHANGE IN BRITTANY¹

2.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I explore the processes whereby the Breton language has been reduced from the main (and in a considerable number of cases, the only) community language for the vast majority of the population of Lower Brittany at the start of the twentieth century (Broudic 1999) to a language confined to the older generations and revivalist (or ‘new’) speakers at the start of the twenty-first (Broudic 2009). This exploration includes the claim that the present state of Breton is an impoverished one because of the lack of family transmission since the 1950s. This claim is compared and contrasted with simultaneous developments in other minority languages in Europe and problematised within a framework of linguistic transformation, as opposed to linguistic renovation.

2.1 THE HISTORY OF LANGUAGE SHIFT IN BRITTANY

Les signes du déclin et de l’absence de transmission de la langue sont sans équivoque. Il n’est que d’observer une personne qui a désappris sa langue et qui s’efforce de parler breton ... elle emprunte de nombreux termes au français, qu’elle cherche parfois à habiller en breton, et qu’elle introduit dans des phrases hachées ... la loi humaine du moindre effort fait le reste, les calques se multiplient et on s’accommode. En fait, en agissant ainsi, on répond au vœu le plus cher

des détracteurs de la langue: les emprunts systématiques marquent, pour eux, la fin prochaine de celle-ci.

(Abalain 2004: 82)

(The signs of decline and the absence of language transmission are unmistakable. You only have to observe someone who has unlearned his language and who forces himself to speak Breton ... he borrows numerous terms from French, which he sometimes tries to dress up in Breton, and which he introduces into truncated sentences ... human nature does the rest, calques abound and people get used to them. In fact, by acting in this way, the dearest wish of the detractors of the language is granted: such systematic borrowings indicate, for them, the not-too distant demise of Breton.)

The present state of the Breton language, described above and based on personal observation by Abalain, is the result of a variety of interconnected historical processes. From the time of the union of Brittany and France in 1532, a succession of French-speaking outsiders arrived to serve as administrators, teachers, merchants, clergymen who, although not great in numbers, were clearly the thin end of the wedge as far as the challenge to Breton by French on its home territory was concerned. However, even before this time there were forces at work in Brittany and France which were bound to lead to the weakening of Breton and the strengthening of the role of French in the very heartland of Brittany itself. During the Middle Ages even when Brittany was entirely independent, much of the Breton nobility and clergy adopted French because of its greater currency in Europe at that time. During this period, many of the towns became largely French in speech though not exclusively, because Breton retained its hold on the agricultural hinterland and urban merchants and

tradesmen could not ignore this (Texier and Ó Néill 2000: 3-4). The Revolution merely added impetus to the already established pattern of the gradual 'demise' of Breton and Abalain (1989: 209) reminds us that one of the distinguishing features of the Revolution was the enforced disappearance of regional languages in France, where 'le fédéralisme et la superstition parlent bas-breton, l'émigration et la haine de la République parlent allemand, la contre-révolution parle italien et le fanatisme parle basque' (Barrère, on behalf of the Public Health Committee, 27 January, 1794) ('Federalism and superstition speak Breton, emigration and hatred for the Republic speak German, counter-revolution speaks Italian and fanaticism speaks Basque').

Such openly hostile attitudes towards regional languages were echoed by other state officials throughout the nineteenth century and thus the drive towards the gradual obsolescence of Breton was perpetuated. The under-prefect of Quimperlé, Auguste Romieu, in 1831, called on the clergy to help with the state's linguistic policies by, 'n'accordant la première communion qu'aux seuls enfants parlant le français' (Abalain 1989: 209) ('giving First Communion only to those children who speak French.'). In 1845, primary school teachers were reminded: 'vous n'êtes établis que pour tuer la langue bretonne' (Abalain 1989: 210) ('Your *raison d'être* is to kill the Breton language'). Nettle and Romaine describe this process as 'top down death': 'Breton ... retreated in this way, lacking a role in government or religion, which were imposed from outside, but

persisting as the home language of the peasantry' (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 91).

From 1897 to 1951, pressure from the state continued for Breton speakers to abandon their mother tongue, which does need to be taken into account but also should not be over emphasised. Broudic (1999: 38) records that in 1902 a government minister banned preaching in Breton in churches in lower Brittany which resulted in 127 priests being suspended for their 'usage abusif du breton' ('excessive use of Breton'). He also quotes the infamous statement, made by a state education minister, Anatole de Monzie, who declared in 1925 that 'pour l'unité linguistique de la France, la langue bretonne doit disparaître' (ibid.) ('for the linguistic unity of France, the Breton language has to disappear'). However, state officials had to accept that some of its citizens did not speak French; in 1896, for example, government officials in Lorient were instructed to interview conscripts in Breton (Broudic 1999: 39). Moreover, Broudic (2003) has shown that some excesses supposedly carried out by the French state, such as signs saying: 'il est interdit de cracher par terre et de parler breton' ('no spitting and no speaking Breton') are in fact over-generalised exaggeration generated in the 1960s.

This is not to deny the fact that state schools, for example, did have a policy of not allowing Breton to be spoken on their premises by the use of the 'symbole' or 'vache' (similar to the 'Welsh Not') and this is described by Hélias in a vivid manner:

A propos du symbole, la vache est souvent symbolisée par un objet matériel, n'importe quoi: un galet de mer, un morceau de bois ou d'ardoise que le coupable (!) doit porter en pendentif autour du cou au bout d'une ficelle; un sabot cassé, un os d'animal, un boulon que le maître d'école remet au premier petit bretonnant qui lui offense ses oreilles de fonctionnaire avec son jargon de truandaille ... Le détenteur de la vache n'a de cesse qu'il n'a surpris un de ses camarades en train de parler breton pour lui refiler l'objet. Le second vachard, à son tour, se démène de son mieux pour se débarrasser du gage entre les mains d'un troisième et ainsi de suite jusqu'au soir, le dernier détenteur écopant de la punition.

(Hélias 1975: 236)

(In connection with the *symbole*, the *vache* often takes the form of a material object which can be anything: a seashell, a piece of wood or slate which the guilty party (!) has to wear like a necklace around his neck on a piece of string; a broken clog, an animal bone, a bolt which the teacher hands out to the first small Breton speaker who offends his civil servant ears with his beggar's jargon. The holder of the *vache* has to go at it until he finds one of his friends speaking Breton so that he can pass over the object to him. The second holder of the *vache* has to do his best to pass on the evidence into the hands of a third and so until late afternoon, when the last holder cops his punishment.)

Hélias, however, readily admits that he did not actually experience such practices himself:

Je dois dire que, dans mon école, je ne me souviens pas d'avoir jamais vu la vache sous forme d'un objet quelconque, pas plus que je n'ai entendu encourager la dénonciation.

(Hélias 1975: 236)

(I have to say that, in my school, I don't remember having seen the *vache* in any form whatsoever, and neither did I hear denunciation being encouraged.)

There *is*, nevertheless, plenty of evidence in the literature that such linguistic repression did go on; for example, Vetter records the words of an informant who clearly remembers playing a trick on her friend in order to avoid punishment:

Quand on lui parlait en breton, elle répondait en breton, on lui donnait le symbole ... voilà, c'était une ruse.

(Vetter 1999: 188)

(When we spoke to her in Breton, she would reply in Breton, and then we would give her the *symbole*... so we were playing a trick on her.)

Hélias points out that there was complicity on the part of monolingual Breton-speaking parents for this linguistic policy:

Le père ou la mère, qui quelquefois n'entend pas un mot de français, après lui avoir appliqué une sévère correction, lui rapproche amèrement d'être la honte de la famille, assurant qu'il ne sera jamais bon qu'à garder les vaches ...

(Hélias 1975: 235)

(The father or mother, who sometimes did not understand a word of French, after severely punishing the child, would reproach him for bringing shame on the family, telling him he would be only fit for looking after cows ...)

Economic factors contributed to the continuing pattern of gradual language shift and migration, the drift from the land to jobs in the towns and the cities as mechanisation reduced the need for farm labour during the 1950s. Such transformations clearly weakened Breton, particularly in southwest Brittany,

where industrialisation and urbanisation were more marked and where the tourist industry attracted a steady stream of monoglot French-speaking outsiders (Texier and Ó Néill 2000: 5).

Falc'hun (1956) reminds us that the 'influence de la route' brought about the switch from French to Breton to quite a considerable degree. He cites the case of the dialect of Vannes which he says shows more lexical influence from French than the Breton spoken to the north of Pontivy, the former area having much better road links with Upper Brittany than the latter.

Abalain (1989: 213) expands on this idea by suggesting that in addition to better road networks, the railways played an important role in the language shift in Brittany by allowing many Breton speakers to leave their normal places of residence in search of work in Le Havre, Rouen and even Marseilles. He claims those left behind started adopting an inferiority complex, as they compared their 'failure' in having stayed to the 'success' of those who had left, sometimes reinforced by the return of the latter in their retirement to the villages where they had been brought up. Paris was by far the preferred destination of many Breton émigrés, particularly young people and especially women, who found employment in cafés, restaurants and even as wet nurses.² Traffic in the opposite direction brought in monolingual French speakers in the form of civil servants.

2.2 BRETON SPEAKERS AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Héran, Filhon and Deprez (2002), in their work based on the 1999 census in France, show that, even though Breton had been transmitted to over quarter of a million French citizens as an inter-generational language by at least one of their parents (with another 400,000 people having had a ‘partial transmission’ of the language, i.e. resulting in semi-speakers of Breton), the transmission rate in 1999 to the younger generations stood at only 10%. It would seem that the critical period for the Breton language was the post-war era (broadly speaking from about 1945 to about 1960) when Breton parents virtually ceased raising their children in Breton and the critical cycle of intergenerational mother tongue transmission broke down. This can be vividly illustrated by reference to data from the commune of St Méen in Finistère where, over a period of just seven years, the percentage of children born between 1945 and 1952 whose parents addressed them in Breton dropped from 100 to just 10%:

Year of Birth	Number of Children	Gender	Number of L1 Breton Children	%
1945-46	6	M	6	100%
1947	12	M/F	10	83.33%
1948	11	M/F	7	63.64%
1949	8	M/F	5	62.50%
1950	11	M/F	3	27.27%
1951	10	M/F	2	20%
1952	10	M/F	1	10%

Table 1: Breakdown in intergenerational transmission (Broudic 1995: 338)

This breakdown in transmission was not so uniform in all areas of Lower Brittany, however. Keraval (1954) states that in the *pays Bigouden* (to the west of Quimper), 90% of the population was using Breton in 1954 and that in the fishing ports of Penmarc'h, Guilvinec and Léchiagat, between 75-80% of the population was still doing so. Broudic (1995:338) notes that in such circles, a fisherman would use Breton both in the home and at work, speaking French to any of his children still at school, but using Breton with his older children who were also fishermen or manual workers ³.

It would appear there are two main reasons for the accelerated shift from Breton to French during this period. One reason was economic, when rural workers from the recently mechanised countryside moved into the towns, the result being a weakening of Breton particularly in south-western Brittany. Here, industrialisation and urbanisation were more marked and where the tourist industry attracted a steady stream of monolingual French-speaking outsiders.

The second reason for the position of Breton being sharply undermined in this period was a political and ideological one. Post-war France was forced to come to terms with the phenomenon of widespread collaboration with the Nazi régime. A few prominent Breton nationalists had worked with the Germans in the hope of establishing a separate Breton state, but to no avail. This resulted in an over-reaction on the part of the French state, with the suppression of virtually all forms of cultural expression of the Breton language, from journals to newspapers, to Breton in an educational setting, limited as that had been.

Post-war rhetoric labelled Breton as a patois and a vehicle for collaboration which had been championed by the enemies of France (such as those right-wing Breton nationalists who had sought to reach an accommodation with the Nazi administration between 1940 and 1944) and adversely affected language attitudes on the part of Breton-speaking parents (Téxier and Ó Néill 2000: 5-6). The result is, according to Le Coadic, a linguistic 'taboo':

If one admits that we are indeed dealing with a taboo, then the "sacred" might well be the French Republic "one and undivided", which supposedly liberates individuals from community oppression and gives them access to modernity and to universality.

(Le Coadic 2000: 23)

It is worth noting that that such negative psychological effects are still extant.

Le Coadic (2000: 24) puts it thus: 'Today this shame and self-hatred are far from having disappeared.' Jones points out that such effects do not bode well for the future of the language:

[The] psychological representation of the language in the minds of its speakers seem to be having an extremely significant bearing on the fate of Breton, for ... even native speakers living their entire lives through the medium of Breton are often reluctant to support any measures, such as Breton-medium schooling, that might enhance the sense of regional identity amongst its speakers, since that does not fit into their mental picture of what Breton should be.

(Jones 1998b: 138)

Gemie (2002: 149) cites some interesting examples of the resultant diglossic situation from Prémel (1995: 58), who observed two women in a railway carriage using Breton as the train moved through the countryside but who switched to French each time the train entered a railway station. Gemie also refers to the case of a local council in a Breton-speaking area whose meetings were held in French, but the proceedings of which were often discussed afterwards in Breton. Such a phenomenon can reach almost comic proportions; McDonald (1989: 276) reports that, on the farm where she was staying to learn Breton, the mother spoke to the farm dog in Breton (because in that milieu, workers are addressed in Breton), whereas the cat, as a pet (a middle-class custom), was to be spoken to politely, in French! While the language may not have been explicitly banned in schools during this post-war period, the sense of shame was shared by those of the younger generation who were still being brought up in a Breton-speaking environment, as demonstrated by one consultant interviewed by Le Coadic:

When I was little in school it was almost shameful to live in an environment like we had at home. I mean, to have parents who always spoke to us in Breton (...) We felt this to be a defect. And we had to hide it. So we considered it a bit like an abscess that we shouldn't show. (...) In my opinion, that's what it's like. Like someone who has a lump on his back. It's a handicap.

(Le Coadic 2000: 24)

2.2.1 *The frequency of using Breton*

Table 2 below, taken from the *Rapport sur l'état de la langue bretonne* ('Report on the state of the Breton language') (Observatoire de la Langue Bretonne 2002: 14), shows the evolution of the Breton speaking population from 1886 to 1999. That this evolution is uneven and apparently contradictory in many ways reflects the lack of official interest in regional languages by the French state until recently; many of the figures the Observatoire cites are informed estimations by scholars working in the field and are not drawn from official census returns. The 1999 figures are taken from the first ever official census of Breton speakers to have been carried out by the French state and it is obvious that previous estimates had seriously underestimated the total number of Breton speakers. The situation has been further complicated recently by the publication of Broudic's latest survey (2009), where he claims there are now only 174, 000 Breton speakers! However the general point can be made that if the figures are not the same in each of the surveys, they still point to a general steep decline in numbers in the Breton Speech Community.

Year	Breton speakers	Population in Brittany
1886	1,982,300	3,316,600
1928	1,158,000	3,062,840
1952	700,000	3,072,378
1983	604,000	3,703,384
1991	250,000	3,847,821
1997	240,000	3,847,821
1999	304,000	4,040,463

Table 2: Changes in the demographics of Breton speakers (Observatoire de la Langue Bretonne 2002: 14.)

Demographics tell us little about language use, however. In an earlier survey in 1997, Broudic found that something like a quarter of all Breton speakers (27%, that is, 66,000 people) use the language every day. Forty-five per cent (110,000 people) reported that they would use the language 'often' (this percentage includes everyday users as well). This leaves 50% of all Breton speakers who rarely used Breton and around 5% who 'never' used it (13,000 people). This gives the impression that there were around 110,000 people in Lower (western) Brittany who used Breton on a fairly regular basis and roughly that number again who chose not to do so, but who were capable of speaking the language fluently. However, of this figure of 110,000 people who did use Breton fairly frequently, the overwhelming majority were approaching or were well past retirement age, with only 0.2% of these speakers being below twenty years of age. Where these speakers lived is also an important factor in the use of Breton. Thirty-five to forty per cent of them lived in communities with between one and five thousand residents. Only 12.5% of them were found in towns of more than 10,000 people (Broudic 1999: 43-45). Thus from this survey in 1997, a picture emerges of a typical Breton speaker as being aged over sixty (and in general, a lot older still) and coming from a non-urban background.

2.3 SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESPONSES TO LANGUAGE SHIFT

Broudic (1995: 447) has shown that speakers of Breton learnt it from their

parents in 92.5% of all cases and that 4.5% have learnt it in through taught courses. Given the break in transmission which occurred in the 1950s, referred to in Section 2.2, Broudic's statement 'la chaîne est désormais rompue' ('the chain has nevertheless been broken') sums up the situation. In terms of language revitalisation, this percentage of learners stands out as relatively high (cf. 4.0 for comparative numbers in the Gaelic-speaking community in Scotland). This 4.5% has been referred to by Jones (1998b: 129) as 'a new group of *bretonnants*, predominantly middle-class and from urban backgrounds, who speak a standardised, pan-Brittany variety of Breton. These speakers stand apart in many ways from the traditional dialect speakers and yet, somewhat, paradoxically, they are playing an important role in creating the concept of a Breton identity.' She also refers to the very important distinction in attitudes between the two sets of speakers: 'The *Néo-bretonnants* view speaking Breton as something positive. They lay great emphasis upon maintaining the tradition of speaking Breton within their families and instil their children from the first with a sense of Breton identity by giving them names such as Divy, Gwenolé, Nolwenn and Lénaïg. This stands in marked contrast with the stance of many native speakers ...' (Jones 1998b: 134-135).

Hagège (1992: 251-252) describes and enumerates the neo-speakers as: 'un groupe résolu de 20 000 personnes environ qui, bien qu'ayant appris le breton comme seconde langue, l'utilisent et le transmettent par choix, contrairement à la masse de bretonnants passifs' ('a resolute group of some 20,000

people who, even though they have learnt Breton as a second language, make use of it and transmit it by choice, unlike the vast majority of passive Breton speakers'). It is unclear, however, what sources Hagège has used to reach such an estimate; he makes no references in his work to back up these figures. As Broudic (1999: 449) points out, Hagège's section on Breton in *Le Souffle de la Langue: Voies et Destins des Parlers d'Europe* (1992) is replete with 'excessive generalisations and not without approximations' (my translation).

At the other end of the scale, Louarn (2001) estimates that there could be many more *néo-bretonnants*, perhaps as many as 50,000-60,000. She bases this figure on the visible good will which motivates people to take to the streets and march in favour of a wide range of proposed Breton-language initiatives. A recent report by the association *Deskiñ d'An Oadourien* ('Teaching Adults') (2004: 3) estimates that there are at least 8000 adults a year learning Breton in evening classes and language courses. Fieldwork I carried out among learners of Breton in Rennes would seem to suggest that, in one urban setting at least, up to 8% of learners of Breton claim to use the language on a frequent basis (Hornsby 2005: 213), so with this particular cohort, some 640 'new' speakers are being 'produced' each year by such courses. What these apparently complex figures point to is a lack of a clear definition of who exactly is a *néo-bretonnant* and to what extent one has to be Breton 'speaking' before one can apply this particular label to oneself or to others.

This 'neo' form of Breton, standardised by Roparz Hemon (1900-1978), a Celticist whose nationalist credentials caused him to seek refuge in Ireland after the war, has been described by one commentator as, 'a pan-dialectal koine, with a bias toward *léonais* pronunciation - for example, no palatalisation of velar consonants before front vowels, which is widespread in *vannetais* as well as certain subdialects of *cornouaillais*. In addition, the structural and linguistic differentiation of Breton vis-à-vis French was emphasised by these reformers, with the goal of achieving a purer "Celticity" in syntax and lexicon.' (Timm 2000: 149) This type of Breton has been taught at the University of Rennes and in the Diwan immersion schools and state and Catholic bilingual schools since the 1970s, of which there are several dozen in Brittany. As a result it has become the principal variety of the language learned by younger people, and since Breton is being passed on in a family context in only 0.2% of all cases (Broudic 1999: 43-45), it is this variety of Breton which is most likely to endure in the future.

The two groups of speakers are, however, quite distinct in both their use of and attitudes towards the Breton language. There appears to be a three-fold distinction with regard to this situation which has been summed up by Jones (1998a: 321) using the following categories:

- Dialectal Breton, showing French influence in its lexicon but not in its syntax and predominantly spoken by the working class;

- Standardised literary Breton, with no particular French influence, used above all in writing but influencing the speech of educated, older speakers, e.g. the clergy;
- *Néo-breton*, showing French influence in its syntax but not in its lexicon and is predominantly spoken by the middle classes.

She concludes, 'although both the obsolescent and reviving varieties are termed 'Breton', they are not, strictly speaking, the same language' (Jones 1998a: 321). George (1986: 321) has shown the main differences between the varieties in Table 3. Figures such as the estimated numbers of speakers and their average age reflect the year the data was constructed; nevertheless, the basic differences are still valid:

	<i>Bretonnants</i>	<i>Néo-bretonnants</i>
Location	In rural parts of Brittany west of a line from Biric to the mouth of the Vilaine	All over Brittany, including a substantial number in Rennes
Number	Up to 500, 000 but declining at an alarming rate	A few thousand
Age	Generally over 50	Relatively young
Literacy	Few can read or write Breton	Can read and write Breton
Pronunciation	Little influenced by French	Heavily influenced by French
Type of Breton	Dialectal	Standard
Vocabulary	Full of French words especially for modern words and concepts	Few French words, many new formed from Celtic roots
Motivation	Speak Breton because it is their native language; sometimes ashamed of this	Speak Breton because they want to; sometimes militant

Table 3: Sociolinguistic differences in the Breton language (George 1989)

Acceptance of *néo-breton* is by no means universal. It has been described 'as frequently unintelligible to many of the native Breton speakers from predominantly rural communities' (Jones 1995: 428), who in turn feel stigmatised by their own varieties of Breton: 'Intimidated by the intellectualisation of their language, they are quick to denigrate their own variety of Breton with the words "we don't speak properly here" or "We make *fautes d'orthographe* [spelling mistakes] when we speak Breton" and will accept the oddest sounding Breton from militants or other *Néo-bretonnants* as examples of "good" language because they are considered to be well-educated people' (Jones 1995: 430).

Jones has further qualified it not as a creole or a pidgin, but as a *xenolect*, *xenolects* being 'slightly foreignised varieties spoken natively which are not creoles because they have not undergone significant restructuring' (Holm 1988 in Jones 1995: 435). However, French (being the main influence on Breton) as a 'foreign' language in Brittany is a questionable concept on socio-historical grounds, given its 'historic presence in the province and the role it plays in Breton-speaking circles as a substitute for a cross-dialect Breton' (Jones 1995: 436). Le Coadic (2001) points out that Brittany has always been what he terms 'une société biethnique' ('a bi-ethnic society'), that is, a society which has two cultures, one Breton-speaking and one Gallo- or French-speaking, but both of which refer to the Breton language as 'un symbole auquel tous les Bretons sont attachés' ('a symbol to which all Bretons are attached').

The accusation that the revitalisation of Breton is a middle-class project cannot be denied, but this is not so surprising, when one considers that the aim of the vast majority of *bretonnants* in the middle of the twentieth century was to provide a better future for their children by speaking to them in French. As a result, 'Bretons were busy studying - through the medium of French - to become civil servants (and therefore often emigrate)' as Moal (2000: 83) puts it. In other words, rural Breton speakers were actively encouraging their children to become 'middle class'. Is it any wonder, then, these same French-speakers of Breton-speaking parents are working to regain something they feel has been lost? That the impetus comes from a relatively privileged section of Breton society may be no bad thing. As the Breton-language poet Anjela Duval has said, albeit in rather naive terms: 'Le jour où les bourgeois bretons retrouveront leur langue, le peuple les suivra et se remettra lui aussi au breton. Je dis que la langue sera sauvée par le haut' (Duval 1982 in Le Coadic 1998: 243) ('The day when the Breton middle classes find their language again, the people will follow them and will also take to Breton. I say that the language will be saved from on high.')

It might be more appropriate to think of *néo-breton* in interlanguage terms, that is, 'intermediate varieties of a target language spoken by foreign learners' (Holm 1988: 10), except that Bretons learning Breton are not really 'foreign learners'. In fact *néo-breton* displays characteristics of both a xenolect and an interlanguage (see below) in that adult learners display interlanguage

features in their Breton and their children in immersion and bilingual schools can display xenolect features. It is possible to view this as a temporary situation, however. That Puerto Ricans in New York are reported to use Nuyorican (Holm 1988: 10) does not mean that New York English as a whole can be classified as a xenolect; presumably speakers of Nuyorican will adopt New York English linguistic norms as time goes by. In the same way, the Breton 'xenolect' being spoken by children from the immersion and bilingual schools has really only been in existence for thirty-two years (i.e. just over a generation) and there are signs that normalisation is taking place, as reported in Dumont (1998: 7), whereby a levelling of dialects among immersion school pupils appears to be happening: 'Desket 'vez deomp kompren an holl doareoù komz-se, e-giz-se e komprenomp ar Wenedourien, al Leoniz, hag all' ('We are taught to understand all dialects, so that we understand people from Vannes and from Léon, and others'). It does mean, at the present time, though, that similarly to Mayan in Guatemala, 'grammatical forms that index "authentic" ... identity also index age cohorts' (Barrett 2008: 278).

What actually happens when a speaker of dialectal Breton meets *néo-bretonnants*? Such a situation is illustrated in *Brezhoneg 'leiz o fenn'*, a documentary by Daniellou (1998) which explores the use of Breton made by speakers produced by *Diwan* schools which started in 1977 and whose first cohort to sit the *baccalauréat* did so twenty years later. Two of the students are in a bakery, discussing (in Breton) their purchases, when they are introduced to an

older lady, known to the other customers as a Breton speaker. It is an excellent example of the linguistic gap between the different generations of Breton speakers. There is very often a feeling among older Breton speakers that children, who are in the process of being educated, need to be addressed in the language of education (i.e. French), and it is a matter for comment when older *bretonnants* hear children being addressed in Breton, as attested by Kergoat (1999: 420): ‘«On apprend le breton à l’école aujourd’hui ...», me disait l’autre jour un Quimpérois m’entendant parler breton à mes enfants, «... de mon temps c’était interdit», façon de dire: «allez y comprendre quelque chose »’ (“‘They’re learning Breton at school nowadays...,” an inhabitant of Quimper said to me the other day when he heard me speaking Breton to my children, “... in my day it was forbidden,” which was his way of saying: “Work that one out’’).

One of the most noticeable features of the students’ pronunciation of Breton is that it has much more of a ‘French’ flavour than that of the older speaker, particularly in their use of standard French ‘r’ [R], compared to the alveolar ‘r’ of the older lady. Another obvious feature is the extent to which French loanwords appear in the older speaker’s speech as in her use of ‘telefoniet’ ‘telephoned’ instead of ‘pellgomzet’. Some loan words are simply French words said with a Breton pronunciation: ‘droit’ [drwat] ‘right’ and ‘punition’ [pyni:si:ən] ‘punishment’. On two occasions, the older speaker uses the ‘official’ (i.e. state) French designation for an area in otherwise Breton

utterances: 'Finistère' ('Penn-ar-Bed') and 'Cornouaille' ('Kernev').

Moreover, the use of French placenames reveals a very interesting psychological phenomenon in the conversation. As the older lady is speaking, the students are, on a subconscious level, correcting her Breton by supplying her with the 'norm' (i.e. *néo-breton*). When she uses 'Cornouaille', one of the students can be heard quietly saying the Breton equivalent 'Kernev' [keRne] (the paradox being that the insertion of [R] makes the term sound more French than the use of 'Cornouaille' by the older speaker!) A more insistent note is introduced when the woman is saying where she is from – she uses the term 'Finistère'. The students ask her if she means 'Bro-Vigouden' ('Pays-Bigouden'), which the woman then qualifies with, "Ya ... Kemper" ('Yes ... Quimper'). The woman is then informed that Kemper (Quimper) is not actually in the '*Pays-Bigouden*' but in '*Pays-Glazic*'. What can be observed here is an imbalance of power in the transactions between the two sets of speakers, with the ball being very much in the *néo-bretonnants*' court, presumably because their Breton is recognised by all parties as 'more standard', due to education and class origin. McDonald (1989: 285) reports how older Breton speakers can feel their language is not quite good enough when compared to that of *néo-bretonnants*: 'There was, among native speakers, a growing awareness that their Breton was "mixed" with French ... their daily Breton was not really "good Breton" ... because "deformet eo toud" ("it's all deformed").'

There is also a mismatch in the lexicon used by the two sets of speakers.

Whether consciously or subconsciously, the French loanwords and dialectal features used by the older speaker are 'corrected' by the younger speakers; for example, 'punisienn' is replaced with 'punijenn' ('punishment'). What should be kept in mind, however, is that despite the differences in use of loanwords and in pronunciation, the two sets of speakers engaged in very successful communication, which would seem to contradict the view expressed by Jones (1995) that the older speakers simply do not understand speakers of *néo-breton*. Consequently, it might be possible to classify *néo-breton* as one Breton dialect among many, which speakers of other dialects may have to make an effort to understand (as they would with any dialect other than their own), but which is far from being incomprehensible to them.

In an analogous situation, Hincks, in his paper on literary Welsh and literary Breton as linguistic scapegoats, points out that where Welsh language planners have attempted to replace such obviously English loanwords as 'ofertec(i)o' 'to overtake', 'rownd' 'around', 'sandwich' 'sandwich', 'tships' 'chips', 'sort(i)o' 'to sort' and 'plîs' 'please' with neologisms, no one is attempting to suggest that a Welsh xenolect is being created, mainly because of 'the higher status of Welsh and the influence of the language in the educational system' (Hincks 2000: 22).

2.4 LINGUISTIC RESPONSES TO LANGUAGE SHIFT

2.4.1 Breton linguistic responses

The most comprehensive account to date of features of *néo-breton* is by Jones (1998a: 302-304), whose findings have been summarised below in Table 4; for purposes of clarification, I have added a note about mutations in Celtic languages:

Linguistic feature	Dialectal Breton	Néo-breton
Mutations 'Mutations are a series of synchronic phonological changes affecting word Initial consonants. These changes are not caused by The phonological but are Triggered by the syntactic Environment in question' (Ball 1988: 70).	Mutation system very 'productive with the older generation' as in [ör vut:a] 'gok:a kol:a] ('the bottle of Coca Cola') (Dressler 1972: 449).	Some or all mutations are being lost or confused (Dressler 1972: 442).
Phonological Uncertainty	Apical trill for /r/: [r] (Dressler 1972: 454).	Variety of pronunciations Of /r/: [r], [R] and fricative [ř] after stops.
Word Order	Hewitt (1977: 27) notes that The following verbal Constructions are possible in every tense: (i) subject/ personal pronoun + 3 sing. of verb; (ii) anything except subject/personal pronoun + conjugated verb; (iii) infinitive + conjugated <i>ober</i> 'to do'.	Influence of French SVO word order leads to the generalisation of construction (i) opposite, though this is not the most neutral. This structure is apparent In the speech of immersion school pupils (McDonald 1989: 198) but excludes the Possibility of emphasis. 4

Verbs		Distinction between unmarked and habitual forms for 'to be' and 'to have' in present and imperfect tenses is often neglected. (Hewitt 1977:28). Situational forms of 'to be' are not always used. (Hewitt 1977: 28-29). Synthetic forms of present tense are being replaced by analytical forms (Dressler 1988: 187).
Interrogation	An anticipated disagreeing response can be attached to The end of a question in Breton, such as the Latin NUM, as in NUM VENIS? ('You're not coming, are You?')	The Breton equivalent of NUM is not used because of a lack of such a formula in French (Hewitt 1977: 33). 5
Inflected Prepositions	Inflected forms such as <i>din</i> , <i>dit</i> , <i>dezhañ</i> ('to me, to you, to him') are maintained.	Increased transparency, as in <i>da me</i> , <i>da te</i> and even <i>da toi</i> , <i>da lui</i> (McDonald 1989: 348).

Table 4: Dialectal and *néo-breton* contrasted

She concludes that modern (i.e. *néo-*) Breton exhibits "classic" examples of change prevalent in situations of language obsolescence' and additionally phonological and syntactic influence from French. Calques, she claims, 'often arise due to an insufficient knowledge of Breton' (Jones 1998: 304). Timm confirms this trend amongst *néo-bretonnants* and the reaction of dialect speakers of Breton to such calques:

At the same time as they endeavour to avoid French-derived loanwords characteristic of the traditional Breton speakers, the French dominant learners of Breton can scarcely prevent themselves from resorting to French lexemes when at a loss to remember the “authenticated” neo-Breton word, thus producing nonce (one-time) loanwords, while the native speakers use loanwords that are well-established in their particular speech communities. The latter are very sensitive to this distinction (between nonce and established loanwords) and may find this sufficient reason in itself to switch to the dominant language in their interactions with L2 speakers.

(Personal observation; Miossec 1999 in Timm 2001: 456)

Ironically, where loanwords from French are well established in dialectal Breton they have been the focus of lexical innovations by language reformers (the main three being Vallée, Mordiern and Hemon (Morvan 2002)) as shown in Timm (2001: 456):

<i>Néo-Breton</i>	<i>Traditional Breton</i>	<i>French</i>
<i>baleadenn</i>	<i>promenadenn</i>	promenade ‘walk, promenade’
<i>abeg</i>	<i>rezen</i>	raison ‘reason’
<i>digoll</i>	<i>reparasienn</i>	réparation ‘reparation’
<i>palenn</i>	<i>tapis</i>	tapis ‘carpet’
<i>prof</i>	<i>prezen</i>	présent (n.) ‘present, gift’
<i>stalioù</i>	<i>magazinoù</i>	magasins ‘stores’
<i>berrloeroù</i>	<i>chausetoù</i>	chaussettes ‘socks’
<i>listri</i>	<i>vaisseloù</i>	vaiselles ‘dishes’
<i>gwalc’herez</i>	<i>machinalave</i>	machine à laver ‘washing-machine’
<i>baraerezh</i>	<i>boulangerezh</i>	boulangerie ‘bakery’

Table 5: Lexical innovation in *néo-breton*

Jones (1995: 429) gives more examples of the same, and it is interesting to note that she terms such innovations as ‘purification’:

kaotigell instead of *konfitur* (‘jam’) ⁶
holl instead of *tout* (‘all’)
hevelep instead of *memes* (‘same’)
morse instead of *james* (‘never’)
dibab instead of *choaz* (‘to choose’)
ar galleg instead of *ar français* (‘French’)

Quoting Hewitt (1977), she further demonstrates the French influence on Breton syntax as well, as in the phrase: ‘en em dommañ a ra ouzh an tan’, which is a calque on the French construction, ‘il se chauffe auprès du feu’, instead of ‘tommañ a ra ouzh an tan’ (Jones 1995: 429) (i.e. French syntax uses a reflexive construction, whereas Breton in this case would employ an intransitive verb). This is in contrast to the lexical items cited above, where French influence has been specifically avoided:

Much of the newly-created Breton terminology is based on intricate procedures of derivation, resulting in complex polysyllabic creations. Such terms are often only accessible only to those who have received some Breton-medium education and are therefore frequently unintelligible to many of the native Breton speakers from predominantly rural communities.

(Jones 1995: 428)

Her example of a neologism which would not be intelligible to such speakers consists of the neo-Breton word for ‘female typist’, namely ‘skriverezerez’, which consists of the following elements: *skriv* – ‘write’ + *-er* –

‘professional’, + *-ez* – ‘a machine’ + *-er* ‘professional’ + *-ez* ‘female’, and initial investigations with fluent speakers of the language confirm the confusion that would ensue should such a term be used in their midst ⁷.

Jones attempts to demonstrate that the idiolects of *néo-bretonnants* are at variance with each other, depending on personal preferences and subjective experiences:

Many of those who have learnt the language via the education system are painfully aware that they speak a standardized, educated variety of Breton. They therefore see the acquisition of local features as a goal to be aimed for ... the standardised pronunciation [is] arbitrarily ‘clipped’ in the name of authenticity ... the variety used by the *néo-bretonnants* is often self-consciously crammed full of regionalisms, randomly selected from all four corners of the country – a real case of dialect mixing.

(Jones 1998a: 315-6)

In matters of pronunciation, neo-Breton shows considerable influence from French (most particularly the use of standard French /R/ and the accentuation of the final syllable ⁸). Other features of *néo-breton* which are particularly noticeable to traditional speakers include:

- The incorrect use of ‘zo’ (i.e. subject not in initial position) as in ‘*amañ zo trous*’ instead of ‘*amañ ez eus trous*’ (‘there’s noise here’) or ‘*boud zo trous er-maes*’ for ‘*boud ez eus trous er maes*’ (‘there’s noise outside’);
- Stress patterns of sentences follow French intonation, not Breton, as in ‘*lava’ret em eus*’ instead of ‘*lav’aret em eus*’ (‘I spoke’); ⁹

- Incorrect gender in Breton has been influenced by gender in French: **'teir fenn'* (f) instead of *'tri penn'* (m) ['three heads'] because *'penn'* is masculine in Breton but *'la tête'* is feminine in French.¹⁰

Detractors of neo-Breton have often attempted to show that there is something artificial about it, that it is 'une langue ethniquement pure' ('an ethnically pure language') (Morvan 2002: 25) which has arisen to 'substituer à la réalité vivante une langue artificielle' ('replace living reality with an artificial language') in 'une Bretagne revue et corrigée' ('a revised and corrected Brittany') (Morvan 2002: 21). Le Berre (2001) says (controversially) that neo-Breton was constructed in a similar fashion to Esperanto, 'sur la base de parlers vivants qui ne ressemble à aucun parler vivant' ('based on living speech [but] which does not resemble any particular living speech'). Just how unusual is neo-Breton, though?

2.4.2 *Responses in other minority languages*

'Le breton normalisé' (Morvan 2002: 25) as a 'corrected' form of the language recalls the situation in English-speaking Ontario, where the form of French being spoken by immersion-school children is 'abnormally standardized' (Mougeon and Beniak 1991: 209), with local features such as the use of *'sontaient'* for *'étaient'* ('were') and the use of *'de'* rather than the more familiar *'à'* to express possession being largely absent from the speech of English dominant speakers (Mougeon and Beniak 1991: 136). In such cases of renewal, tensions

can exist between reformers, who wish to see linguistic purity in the 'renewed' language and traditional speakers, who may have abandoned certain forms a long time ago. In the case of Irish, 'the standardisers, who were by necessity men of some erudition, found it possible to dispense with regionalism and idiomaticity, but not with traditional grammar. Native speakers, for their part, had found it possible to dispense with some of the more complex features of the traditional grammar' (Dorian 1994: 485).

Linguistic purism (i.e. the denigration of a particular language variety or dialect) in a minority language setting not only can alienate the remaining native speakers, it can also work against language maintenance. Dorian (1994: 489) reports that 'there has recently been some actual evidence in the literature of language obsolescence to suggest that, in cases where a small or otherwise precariously placed language has survived longer than might have been expected, an absence of puristic attitudes may have characterised some speakers'. She quotes Hamp (1989) and Huffines (1989), whose research demonstrates that more competent speakers of obsolescent Arvanitika and Pennsylvania German belonged to less conservative subgroups. As she points out, 'structural or lexical purity is not in itself a key to survival, nor does "impurity" necessarily represent an opening of the floodgates to external influences which must inevitably swamp a small language' (Dorian 1994: 490). The negative effects of purism can work in the opposite direction if

native speakers reject out of hand innovations and neologisms, as described by Crystal (2000: 117): 'They [the traditional speakers] have to recognise that, even though the language has changed from its traditional character, it can nonetheless be of great psychological and social value as a means of providing people with a badge of identity. This is one of the most difficult mindsets to adopt, especially when people have been part of a tradition which sees the ancestral language as sacred or pure.' Leprohon, a Breton nationalist politician, points out that less negative thinking might be a more useful stance to adopt in language revitalisation terms:

Arrêtons de parler d'une langue qui serait le véritable breton parce qu'elle aurait été parlée par des bretonnants qui n'allaient pas à l'école; parce qu'ils me font bien rire, les gens qui se réfèrent à cet état de la langue pour dire, c'est cela et cela seul qui compte. Et pourquoi donc? Au nom de quoi?

(Leprohon 2001)

('Let's stop talking about a language which is supposed to be real Breton because it was said to have been spoken by Breton speakers who didn't go to school; because they really make me laugh, the people who refer to this state of the language when they say this, and this alone, is what counts. Why does it? Says who?')

The presence of majority-language members who engage with the language in a minority setting is by no means confined to a Breton scenario. Kabatek (1997: 185) reports on the emergence of a 'new urban Galician' or a 'Galician koiné', in which he detects filtering and interference processes, the

latter being due to the presence of mother-tongue Castillian speakers in the Galician speech community. In the northern Basque country (Iparralde), native speakers of Basque are noticing that the younger generations (especially those educated in the Basque immersion schools) show French interference in their Basque syntax (e.g. the omission of the ergative case subject marker -k, or the use of the verb 'to be' instead of the verb 'to have' in the past tense, reflecting French perfect tense formations) (Jorajuria. Personal communication).

Geographically closer to the Breton situation, speakers of Gallo (the *langue d'oïl* traditionally spoken in upper Brittany) who are under forty years old can reasonably be classified as neo-Gallo speakers, given that in order to attain a high level of knowledge of Gallo, these speakers, would, in all likelihood, have employed language learning strategies associated with neo-language learners. There appear to be very few Gallo speakers gaining knowledge of the language solely outside of a school setting (Nolan, University of Limerick. Personal communication).

In the case of Breton which, as Moal has pointed out, shows the lowest intergenerational rate of transmission of all of France's regional languages (Moal 2003: 337), the position of *néo-breton* as the most viable form of the language recalls Ó Baoill's comment on the necessity for compromise in such situations: 'If Irish is to become a viable means of communication among the general population, I fear that much levelling will take place, and it is certain

that many of the contrasts now existing in Irish will be lost. If the revival of Irish were to succeed, then it might all be worthwhile' (Ó Baoill 1988: 125). In a similar way, Costaouec (2002: 129) talks of a 'price to pay' which might be just too high for speakers of traditional Breton: 'Le prix à payer pour que "le breton" se conserve semble être la disparition du breton local, le seul auquel les bretonnants soient réellement attachés' ('The price to pay so that "the" Breton language is preserved seems to be the disappearance of local Breton speech, the only one to which [traditional] Breton-speakers are really attached'.) This raises questions of authenticity - if a language is 'reduced' in some way, is it still the same language? This is precisely the debate surrounding neo-Breton, with some commentators (e.g. Timm 2003) suggesting that it can be regarded as a different language. There are two arguments against viewing *néo-breton* in this way, however. The first is to take Dorian's advice and 'concede that more than one kind of authenticity exists' (Dorian 1994: 489). The Breton language encompasses neo-Breton as much as it encompasses the various regional dialects. So why bother to continue using the neo- prefix? The second argument provides the answer: it should be recognised that neo-Breton represents not so much a linguistic restoration or revitalisation and more a transformation of the Breton language.

2.5 THE PROBLEM OF DIFFERING EXPECTATIONS

A very useful model in this context has been proposed by Bentahila and

Davies (1993), who argue that the term 'revival' is a misnomer and suggest that 'many confusions, disillusionments and discrepancies might be avoided if the difference between **restoration** and **transformation** was more explicitly drawn' (Bentahila and Davies 1993: 372, my emphasis).

Breton is being transformed, with the production of new CofPs which consist of urban-based, middle-class intellectuals and activists. The authors' statement that 'the domains of the new, transformed language may co-exist beside the vestiges of the old community, but it is not always the case that the two can be fused together – hence the sense of alienation which may in some cases assail the remaining traditional users of the language' rings very true in the case of Breton and would seem to justify the neo- prefix, despite the pejorative connotations which are sometimes affixed to it. Bentahila and Davies note that 'it is extremely difficult if not impossible to persuade people en masse (as opposed to the occasional intellectual) to use a language in contexts where they do not really need it, or to enforce its intergenerational transfer on any large scale' (Bentahila and Davies 1993: 372), but that *transformation* is a much more realistic prospect for many threatened languages, such as Breton: 'the production of reasonably accomplished non-native speakers, the standardisation of the language or the provision for it to be used in new domains seem to be much more accessible goals' (Bentahila and Davies 1993: 372).

2.6 CONCLUSIONS

The Breton language is at a critical point in its history in that the twenty-first century will see the near-total disappearance of traditional Breton speakers.

Using MacKinnon's concept of intergenerational ratio (MacKinnon 2003), traditional Breton speakers are not reproducing themselves, numerically speaking, so that the cohort of Breton speakers in their 50s and 60s will be the last generation to have had the language transmitted to them in a family setting (There are and will be some exceptions to this, of course, but they will be rare).

Does this mean that Breton will be an obsolescent language and that the existence of neo-Breton is merely represents 'the pre-terminal phase of some dying languages in particular socio-political contexts' (Jones 1998: 323)? Or, more optimistically, is the fact that between 20 and 60,000 people are using the language and that some of them are sending their children to bilingual and immersion schools a sign that better times are on the way? It may be that the *néo-bretonnants* will keep the language alive until such a time that conditions will change so that it is spoken more widely than it is now. As Walter (2001) points out, when discussing the number of *néo-bretonnants*: 'S'il y a un certain nombre de personnes qui sont bien décidées, je suis sûre qu'ils y arriveront, parce qu'on a des exemples dans l'histoire des langues' ('If there is a certain number of people who have made their minds up, I am sure that they will succeed, because there are examples of this in the history of languages'). It is this determination that will ensure that Breton is not to be consigned to the list

of 'dead' languages just yet. Such a situation also throws into relief the power struggles different sets of speakers are facing in a whole host of languages which are undergoing obsolescence, of which Breton is just one example.

NOTES

1. Part of this chapter has appeared in print as 'Neo-Breton and questions of authenticity', *Estudios de Sociolingüística* 6/1 (2005), 191-218.
2. One consultant reported that her grandmother's neighbour went to Paris to work as a wet nurse, leaving her own child to be raised on cow's milk by one of her grandmothers. (Stephens, Janig. Personal communication. January 2009).
3. One Breton-speaking acquaintance of mine living in Wales who brought up her children in both Breton and English reports that when she was visiting Brittany, an older family friend (whose dominant language was Breton) insisted on speaking to her children in less than fluent French. According to the language ideology this speaker had adopted, French was the language you used with children and with educated people, even though the children in question did not understand it! (Stephens, Janig. Personal communication. April 2003).
4. In Daniellou's documentary, there is a good example of the differences between structures i) and ii) in the extract mentioned in 2.3. The Diwan pupils first of all emphasise their ability to speak Breton (structure [i]): 'Ni a gomz brezhoneg ivez' (we + relative pronoun + speak [3s] + Breton + also) ["**We** also speak Breton"] and then repeat their statement using structure (iii): 'Komz a reomp brezhoneg ivez' (speak [infinitive] + relative pronoun + do [1pl] + Breton + also) ["We speak Breton as well."] The irony of this situation is that these *néo-bretonnants* **do** show a competent use of the different structures, contrary to what McDonald (1989: 198) found.

Furthermore, Stephens (1996) has shown that, contrary to what McDonald found, mutations are preserved in the speech of young children in immersion schools; her research in fact shows that mutated forms emerge in their speech before lexical-entry non-mutated ones.

5. I find it curious that an example is given here in Latin, rather than Breton! Having checked out this particular situation with Ken George, a fluent speaker of the language who has contact with older rural Breton-speakers, I find that two devices exist. Dialectal Breton employs the use of the tag 'deo' (dialectal variants 'geo', 'eo') which is sometimes used as a prompt, as in 'N'emaout ket o tont, deo?' ('You're not coming, are you?'), whereas *néo-bretonnants* employ 'neketa?', which is a calque on French 'n'est-ce pas?' (George, Ken. Personal communication. October 2003).
6. McDonald (1989: 284) says this means 'muck' in dialectal Breton, not necessarily something you would want to put on bread!
7. George confirms that the term *skrivezereze* is a 'monstrosity' and he has checked out its acceptability with older, rural native speakers, who reject it as part of their lexicon. They informed him that when they were growing up, there was no need for such a word, because people did not type back then! The fact is, such neologisms are indeed not intelligible to such speakers but then, the average speaker of English, aged 60+, would be pushed to explain technical terms, such as 'modem', because, *grosso modo*, it is outside their range of experience. (George, Ken. Personal communication. October 2003).
8. My thanks to Gwenaëlle Diquélou for pointing out these characteristics (Personal communication. March 2003). Emphasising the last syllable is not confined to *néo-bretonnants*, however; it has been used by native speakers in imitation of a 'pretentious' accent (attributed to people from the Leon). (Stephens, Janig. Personal communication. January 2009).
9. As Hincks (2000:31) points out, however, 'the change in the intonation and accentuation of Breton is undoubtedly the most significant cause for concern, but such features can change without a language being considered to have become extinct.'
10. Thanks to Camille Olivier for pointing out these features (Personal communication. August 2003). It has been pointed out to me by a native speaker from a different region to that of Mr. Olivier that while some of the features mentioned are incorrect in his dialect (Gwenedeg), they are traditionally to be found in other dialects, such as that of the Tregor (Stephens, Janig. Personal communication. January 2009).

3

LANGUAGE CONFLICT IN BRITTANY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

That 'there is – in the field of European languages – no contact situation which cannot be described as a linguistic conflict at the same time' (Nelde 2007: 64) is particularly true for the French state and its approach to both regional and non-European minority languages. In this chapter, I aim to explore the position of Breton in France from a contact linguistics perspective in Sections 3.1 and 3.2, by looking at the underlying language ideologies of both French and Breton in order to understand better the conflict which has arisen between them. Sections 3.3 – 3.6 examine this particular situation of linguistic conflict in more detail. Section 3.7 examines the concept of linguistic ownership and why this is problematic in a Breton setting. Finally, Section 3.8 examines the phenomena which have led to internal linguistic conflict within the Breton speech community.

3.1 FRENCH LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Much of French republican rhetoric on language (that is, the prevalent language attitudes on the part of the French state towards French and its relationship to

minority languages in France) 'is clearly chauvinistic and above all, alas, doomed to ineffectiveness since it is not based on a serious analysis of the situation' (Calvet 1998: 187). Exposing the underlying ideology makes for uncomfortable reading. Bochman (1985: 119-129) has described features of French language policy, such as purism at the level of the national language, anti-dialectal centralism, nationalist centralism directed against national minorities and linguistic colonialism or expansionism outside the country's frontiers, as fascist in nature. While such ideology is shared with totalitarian regimes, such as Mussolini's Italy, Franco's Spain or Hitler's Germany, this does not mean the French republic in itself is a fascist state – clearly in so many other ways it is not. However, France's overwhelmingly democratic political nature has given a veneer of respect to a language ideology that, in the totalitarian regimes mentioned above, has been the subject, a posteriori, of legitimate criticism. As Calvet (1998: 187) points out, the differences in regard to the law relating to the use of French passed in 1975 are 'differences of degree and not of kind' when comparing democratic France with Fascist Italy, Spain and Germany.

This has led to rhetoric on the part of the French state that is contradictory and conflictual in relation to anything that is not standard French. Thus, while the international *Agence de la Francophonie* encourages, on one level, a pluralistic approach in respect of other languages and cultures ('un monde pluraliste dans le respect des langues et des cultures') and recognises that

French sometimes co-exists with other national languages in French-speaking countries ('au sein de l'espace francophone le français cohabite parfois avec d'autres langues nationales'), it nevertheless stresses that linguistic unity is to be preserved to the detriment of linguistic diversity:

Il est nécessaire que les diverses variantes de français qui sont parlées dans l'espace francophone ne diffèrent pas trop les unes des autres de façon à ce que le fondement linguistique soit le même pour tous et qu'il continue à jouer le rôle que les états membres lui ont attribué.

(Agence de la Francophonie 1997: 27)

(It is vital that the diverse varieties of French which are spoken in the Francophone world do not differ too much among themselves so that the linguistic base is the same for all and that it continues to play the role which member states have assigned to it.)

Thus even though there have been recent developments which have seen the inclusion of minority languages in the French constitution (cf. 3.3.1), this does not signal any real change in the status quo; lip-service is paid to linguistic diversity in a politically correct manner, without there being any real political will to effect change in the status of regional languages in France, as I will show below.

As I have already discussed (p. 40), language ideologies are *not* the same as language attitudes. While the French state has recently expressed a seemingly positive attitude towards minority languages in France through the

recognition of the same in Article 75 in the Constitution (July 2008), actions do not match rhetoric, and the continued absence of measures aimed at furthering the cause of these languages is noticeable.

3.2 MINORITY LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Language ideologies among linguistic minorities in France tend to reflect the prevailing republican focus on linguistic unity, to the extent that a recent anthology on two minority language literatures, published by the education authorities in Montpellier and destined for use in schools, mirrors the supremacy of French. The volume, *Petite anthologie des littératures occitane et catalane* (Torreilles and Sanchiz 2006), when subjected to critical sociolinguistic analysis (cf. pp. 14-15), reveals some interesting tensions. That it is a ‘small’ anthology is significant; the implication is that Occitan and Catalan are, in their turn, ‘small’ languages compared to French. Indeed, numerically they are, but this turn of phrase reinforces the inequality in status between French and regional languages in France. Also significant is that the introduction to the anthology is in French only. Pupils studying Occitan and Catalan literature in the south of France are able to understand – presumably – non-literary texts in those languages as well. This same introduction reinforces the nature of the power relationship between Occitan, Catalan and French by talking in terms of a ‘patrimoine légué par ceux qui nous ont précédés’ (an ‘inheritance left by those who have come before us’) (p. 7); whereas this might legitimately describe

the inclusion of literature in Occitan and Catalan composed by writers in previous centuries, where does that leave the contributions from contemporary writers? Are these too an historical 'legacy' or signs of a still vibrant cultural movement? The question of ownership of Occitan and Catalan arises when both their literatures are subsumed and absorbed into that of France: 'Les langues de France ont toutes leur littérature. Ensemble celles-ci forment la littérature de France, l'une des plus belles et des plus puissantes du monde' ('The languages of France all have their own literatures. Together they form the literature of France, one of the most beautiful and powerful in the world') (Torreilles and Sanchiz 2006: 7). According to this ideology, literature written in Occitan and Catalan has no legitimacy without an over-riding reference to the French nation-state and its culture, even if much of the literature mentioned in the anthology was written when the French state had no political control over the regions in question. Fishman (1972: 9) has identified this process of 'rewriting' linguistic history when he says, 'The past is being mined, ideologised, and symbolically elaborated in order to provide determination, even more than direction, with respect to current and future challenges'.

In Brittany, the same emphasis on linguistic assimilation into an idealised past is to be found among *néo-bretonnants*, as McDonald (1989: 109) discovered: 'The language does not exist external to the social context of its evaluation and use. The language *is* the values invested in it, or the values woven into it by its speakers.' These values will differ considerably between

traditional and neo-speakers. Thus traditional speakers of Breton will often fall short of the idealisation imposed on them by new speakers of the language, and the stereotypical sense of shame a traditional speaker has of his or her first language is not as clear-cut as activists often claim it is; this sense of shame has less to do with French educational policies and more to do with a 'shame of Breton in specific social contexts, part of which may be the educated learner himself. When the learner or the militant is not there, Breton may again flourish, and will be without shame' (McDonald 1989: 104).

3.3 LANGUAGE CONFLICT IN FRANCE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

The policies of the French state towards Breton were explored in depth in Chapter 2 of the present thesis and many of the examples could equally well be applied to other regional languages in France (cf. Bourdieu (1991); Grillo (1989)). Breton speakers have thus not been singled out for special treatment but have experienced, along with speakers of other regional languages, a common approach on the part of French officialdom. Historically as well as currently, the French state has had a 'preoccupation with legitimating and institutionalising French as the "common" national language' (May 2001: 157). This preoccupation stems from well before the Revolution and, in current terms, this same preoccupation has been systematically pursued via the education system up until the present day (May 2001: 157). This preoccupation

was manifest in different ways, however. In pre-revolutionary France, language policy was, according to Jacob and Gordon largely absent: 'A succession of royal courts of the Ancien Régime proved indifferent to the language spoken by their subjects' (Jacob and Gordon 1985: 111) and even if the *Ordonnance de Lyon* (1540) enforced the use of French instead of Latin in all tribunals, this decree was not directed at ordinary people but at the bastardised Latin of administration, according to Bruneau (1966 vol. 1: 126). Le Roy Laudurie (1976: 12) reports that an incomplete administration of the provinces in the seventeenth century, 'guaranteed the permanence of regional ethnic groups and decentralization by fact, if not by law' (trans. Jacob and Gordon 1985: 112).

The administration of the Revolution inherited this multilingual situation a century later and had to face reality by translating all revolutionary decrees in local dialects and languages. In 1792, for example, the Assembly ordered the Ministry of Justice to translate laws into German, Italian, Catalan, Basque and Breton ('en langues allemande, italienne, catalane, basque et bas-bretonne') (Jacob and Gordon 1985: 113). Even Grégoire, often cited for his pronouncements on the need to confront anti-republican sentiment among minority linguistic populations, apparently supported a stable bilingualism which would serve the Republic. He states that these linguistic minorities:

... exist despite the railroads, and their disappearance would be very regrettable; the important thing is that all Frenchmen understand and speak the national language, without forgetting their individual dialects.

(In Gazier 1880: 297; trans. Jacob and Gordon 1985: 113)

The nature of the preoccupation with regional languages changed as the Jacobins felt the need to identify enemies of the Revolution as causes of its failure. Higonnet (1980: 49) observes that 'the persecution of dialects served two ends: first, it could be seen as a genuine step towards a more equal society; second, it diverted attention from more material social problems, like the redistribution of land.' However, the targeting of linguistic minorities in the Republic as a convenient scapegoat proved ineffectual:

The Jacobins came to view these minority languages as an active threat to the Revolution and to the still fictive national from which the Revolution claimed by its legitimacy. Yet the Revolution ... was no more able to assimilate these minorities than had been the royal administration which it inherited and expanded. Despite much-vaunted Napoleonic institutional reforms, the French state posed little threat to the underlying linguistic bedrock of France for nearly a century after the Revolution.

(Jacob and Gordon 1985: 114)

A prevailing ideology about the inherent superiority of the French language, based on the achievements of the great French writers of the previous two centuries: the century of Reason (seventeenth century) and the Century of the Enlightenment (eighteenth century), dates from this time. Schieffelin and Charlier Doucet (1998: 300) claim that 'ideas of the clarity, exactness, logic, rationality, natural order, and richness of the French language as contributing to the greatness of French civilization' are current manifestations of this

ideology; such ideas would explain the attitudes of some opponents to regional languages having a greater presence in the public life of the French state. These ideas have their roots in theories on the nature of language developed during the Enlightenment. According to Higonnet (1980: 50), 'much intellectual effort in France after 1760 was directed towards the understanding of language in general and to the nature of the superiority of French in particular ... being the most abstract, French was best able to convey with precision the more abstract thoughts of modern man.' This ideology has persisted across the centuries, so much so that Oldenberg felt able to restate similar sentiments:

La langue française est si bien adaptée à l'expression des pensées les plus complexes, des nuances les plus subtiles que, depuis trois siècles – depuis Molière – rien n'a pu réellement l'entamer.

(Oldenberg 1984: 21)

(The French language is so well adapted to expressing the most complex thoughts and the most subtle of nuances that, for three centuries – since Molière in fact – nothing has been able to undermine it effectively.)

Politically, France stands out as one of the most centralised states in Europe and one of the most resistant to the current trend towards the 'reevaluation of "oppressed" cultures' (May 2001: 37). It is thus an excellent example of a state providing the right conditions for language conflict to flourish. The distinct lack of political will in accommodating any but the most

symbolic of regional demands has produced a contemporary situation where political activists in the north Basque country, Brittany, Savoy, north Catalonia, French Flanders, Occitania and Alsace, despite lacking any real collective political influence (notwithstanding recent opportunities at EU level for collaboration), are nevertheless united on one essential point, namely a collective criticism of the centralism of the French state (Chartier and Passeron 2002).

3.3.1 *Recent debates on the place of regional languages*

Discussion over the apparently controversial move to recognise regional languages in the Constitution has come from a variety of quarters. In the debate in the Assemblée nationale, support for it was expressed by some members of the Socialist Party, such as Jean-Yves Le Drian, who saw it representing long overdue recognition and consideration ('de la reconnaissance et de la considération'). His colleague, Marylise Lebranchu, saw it more in terms of reparation, making up for the negative linguistic policies of the Third Republic ('une forme de réparation, par rapport au combat mené contre les langues régionales sous la IIIe République') (Ternisien 2008). Similar sentiments were expressed by Christine Albanel, the minister for culture and communication, who saw the proposal as matching current trends towards pluralism and transformation: 'L'heure est au pluralisme. En matière de langage, la société française se transforme à vive allure, dans ses pratiques comme dans ses représentations' ('Pluralism is in favour. As far as language is concerned,

French society is being dramatically transformed, in its practices as well as in the way it is being represented) (Assemblée nationale, 7 May 2008).

The difference between language attitudes and language ideologies is succinctly demonstrated here. Once Albanel had expressed a positive *attitude* towards regional languages in France, she went on to demonstrate an *ideology* based on standard (and monolingual) language in favour of French. While apparently lending supporting for the recognition of regional languages in France, she was opposed to this having any practical effect in public life: 'Personne ne pourrait défendre l'idée d'une administration obligée de s'exprimer aussi dans la langue d'une région donnée, et qui recrute des fonctionnaires qui la maîtrisent' ('No one can defend the idea of creating an administration which is forced to use the local language in a given region, and which recruits civil servants who are fluent in this language') (Assemblée nationale, 7 May 2008). Some members of the Assembly echoed this sentiment, notably Muriel Marland-Militello, who emphasized the estimated costs such recognition would bring and, who, in the process, revealed a similar ideology of standardisation: 'Je suis opposée à ce que les langues régionales ou minoritaires deviennent des langues officielles de la République au même titre que le français. C'est pourquoi, outre les problèmes de coût que cela poserait, je trouve inutile de rendre obligatoire la traduction en langues régionales des lois ou des actes' ('I am opposed to regional or minority languages becoming official languages of the Republic in the same way that French is. This is why, apart

from the problems of finance this would cause, I find it useless to make the translation of laws or acts into regional languages compulsory') (Assemblée nationale, 7 May 2008).

A line of thought pursued by some Assembly members was to appeal to the general sense of endangerment of the French language in order to make common cause with endangered regional languages. For example, Jean Lasalle identified the current globalisation processes which are restricting the use of French internationally as the same processes which caused regional languages to decline half a century ago ('Le français est en train de s'écrouler comme les langues régionales ont commencé de le faire il y a cinquante ans.') He equated attempts to save regional languages with the protectionist policies adopted by French governments in the past: 'Soyons unis pour le défendre, tout en parlant toutes nos langues' ('Let us be united in defending [French], while still speaking all our [regional] languages') (Assemblée nationale, 7 May 2008).

A more virulent anti-regionalist sentiment was also apparent. Jean-Luc Mélenchon, was not only 'fier d'être jacobin' ('proud to be a Jacobin', i.e. a republican), he was also reported by *Le Monde* as calling immersion schools in Brittany 'religious sects' ('il avait traité de « sectes » les écoles Diwan qui pratiquent un enseignement bilingue français-breton') (Ternisien 2008). That Mélenchon is a member of the Socialist Party did not prevent him from holding different language ideologies to his colleagues Le Drian and Lebranchu, whose more positive attitudes are cited above.

Other opposing views were expressed by members of the speech communities directly affected by the proposals. Separatists in French Polynesia reportedly condemned the reform since it would mean their languages were becoming the property of France, revealing an essentially colonial attitude ('Elle signifie selon eux que les langues polynésiennes deviennent « la propriété de la France ». « Il s'agit d'une énième attitude colonialiste »') (Ternisien 2008).

Earlier opposition, when the proposal was first mooted in May 2008, was expressed by the Union of Breton Teachers who saw this amendment as tokenist. According to the Union, such moves would not increase the use of regional languages in public life by the state, nor would there be any obligation on the state to promote the teaching of regional languages ('Anat eo da UGB ne vo ket anavet implij ar yezhoù-se er vuhez foran gant ar stad da heul an amañtañ-se, na ne vo ket redi ebet warni kas o c'helenn war-raok') (*Bremañ*, June 2008, p. 17).

3.4 LANGUAGE CONFLICT: AN OVERVIEW

Language 'conflict' (and indeed language 'contact'), much like the notion of language 'death' discussed in Chapter 1, are popular metaphors employed to help us make sense of particular linguistic behaviour on the part of groups of speakers. As such, 'there is neither contact nor conflict between languages' (Nelde 2007: 63), only between individual speakers and between speech communities. However, unlike the case of the language 'death' metaphor, I

would argue that the notions of 'contact' and 'conflict' between languages (viz. speakers) is useful in that a language conflict can serve as a secondary symbol of other, less-exposed conflicts (for example, socio-economic, political and religious, inter alia) (Nelde 2007: 64). Thus the conflict arising from contact between the Breton and French languages had, as its origin, an internal political basis, whereby French was 'associated with the *equality* element of the Republican trinity' (Millar 2005: 83) but which has been reframed in recent years as adding to the external threat of multiculturalism. If, as Nelde (2007: 60) contends, 'speakers in the early 21st century are confronted with strong demands to move towards a "New Multilingualism"', one would imagine that the pre-existing multilingualism of a minority of French citizens is to be valued and promoted as a positive step towards this new era of multiple linguistic competencies. However, 'the emphasis on diversity in France is a symbolically legal addendum to a centuries-old discursive construct based mainly on uniformity because this diversity appears mainly in texts of a very low degree of legal force' (Määttä 2005: 182). This means that the French state can claim it is meeting European standards of multilingualism by adopting certain articles of Part III of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (which France signed in 1999 but cannot ratify because of its constitution, cf. 3.5 below). These 'encourage', 'promote' and 'develop' regional languages but do not affect the status quo, based on the 1951 *Loi Deixonne*, which allows 'for the presence of regional languages in education, media, and

cultural life as long as there is demand and the position of French and its speakers is not threatened' (Määttä 2005: 178).

3.5 THE RHETORIC OF FRENCH REPUBLICANISM

France is a highly centralised state where possession of, and ability in, the 'correct' form of French is considered to be the chief marker of 'Frenchness'. Even those who are bidialectal, or bilingual, are considered in some way *unrepublican* by many of their fellow citizens.

(Millar 2005: 24)

In recent years, the rhetoric used by proponents of the French republican policy on regional languages has shifted, but only in terms of a more moderate vocabulary. While the Barère report (1794) spoke of Basque-speaking fanatics, Italian-speaking counter-revolutionaries, German-speaking anti-republicans and Breton-speaking federalists, present-day opponents of any liberalisation of regional language policies are more likely to couch their arguments in terms of social division and separatism (Judge 2007: 22). Notwithstanding the problematic position regional languages in France occupy, the main threat nowadays is seen to come from the encroachment of global English on French public discourse. For example, the 1992 change to the Constitution made French the only official language of the Republic (and thereby rendering it impossible for France to ratify the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*) and in 1999 the *Loi Toubon* was passed to impose the use of French in a number of contexts (such as retail, business transactions and science and technology)

(Judge 2007: 23). Both were a reaction to increasing globalisation and the related increased use of English; however, the amended Article 2 of the Constitution has been used to delegitimise Breton-language immersion schools and reject Diwan's demands for integration into the state education system (Judge 2007: 135). Multiculturalism is viewed negatively in republican rhetoric, where organised minority or special interest groups are seen as divisive in terms of a French collectivist sentiment. This does not affect just linguistic groups: Grossman and Miclo (2002) see the rise of 'new tribes' based on culture, region, age, social class, religion, sexual orientation, gender and ethnic origin as equally divisive. From the end of the 1980s, a crisis has emerged centred on the 'Republican model of integration' and against a backdrop of liberalism in the economic sphere, where republican values of 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' and a sense of universalism based on uniformity are seen as under threat. In recent times, France has seen a rise in particularism and calls for recognition of 'collective identities' (republican rhetoric for 'minorities'), coupled with an increase in individualism (Wieviorka 2000). France is obviously not exceptional in experiencing such trends, but reactions to them on the part of the French state do stand out as particularly defensive. Moreover, as stated before, linguistic conflicts can act as the symbolic focal point for other struggles. Any concessions on the linguistic front will encourage other groups to demand their own rights in turn.

This can best be demonstrated by reference, once again, to the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. When the French government signed the Charter in May 1999, it simultaneously issued a statement which interpreted the Charter as promoting Europe's linguistic heritage rather than recognising and protecting minorities and as not conferring collective rights to the speakers of regional or minority languages (Määttä 2005). This rationale was similar to that evoked by those who claim that privileging multilingualism in the European Union is a hindrance to the development of a European public sphere (e.g. Wright 2001: 79, 87) (Määttä 2005). Further tokenist support was given when France specified seventy-five languages spoken on French territory which meet at least some of the criteria for being considered a regional or minority language, effectively making a mockery of the whole process, since 'some [regional language] activists saw it as a stab in the back, because it seemed to turn their case into ridicule' (Judge 2007: 142). Why is it, then, that the French state is so defensive when it comes to regional and minority languages?

3.6 THE 'THREAT' OF BRETON AND OTHER REGIONAL LANGUAGES

Puisque les Basques et les Bretons,
les Alsaciens, les Occitans,
les Corses, les Chtimis, les Wallons,
ils veulent tous être indépendants,
puisque'ils veulent tous l'autonomie,
qu'a priori ils n'ont pas tort,
ben c'est décidé moi aussi,
j'prends ma guitare et j'crie bien fort

que j'suis l'séparatiste du 14^e arrondissement,
l'autonomiste de la Porte d'Orléans².

Renaud, 'Le blues de la Porte d'Orléans' (cited in Chartier & Larvor
2002: 4)

Renaud's song, dating from 1977, was recently complemented by a film entitled *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis* (Boon 2008), marketed in the UK under the title of 'Welcome to the Sticks'. Both aim to mock, albeit gently, any notion of difference based on linguistic and/or regional affiliation. The film has local 'characters' working in a Nord-Pas-de-Calais post office united in their resistance to the arrival of a new boss from the south of France, sent north as punishment for misconduct. Much is made of the lack of comprehension of the local Picard dialect (known as *ch'ti*), which is mocked to the point of caricature. As gentle as this comedy may be, the theme does point to a tendency in French political thinking not to take matters such as local dialects and languages seriously. Commentators such as Hicks have pointed to the French state's apparent inability to cope effectively with the modern realities of multi-culturalism and multilingualism, despite President Sarkozy's declarations³ that France must modernise in order to deal successfully with globalisation (Hicks 2008). France loses all credibility globally in its oft-heard complaints that French should be promoted in the face of the increasing use of English, as Hagège (1996: 33) has pointed out:

Il est clair que si [le français] demande à être pris en considération par l'ensemble des Européens, il ne peut pas en même temps continuer de s'imposer d'être dans le sillage jacobin de l'oppression infligée aux langues qu'il a au sein de son territoire national. En d'autres termes, si cette contradiction n'est pas dépassée, le français ne peut pas jouir de la crédibilité à laquelle il aspire à l'échelon de l'Europe et du Monde.

(It is obvious that if the French language is asking to be taken seriously by all Europeans, it cannot at the same time continue to set itself in the Jacobin wake of the oppression inflicted on the languages that it has in the heart of its national territory. In other words, if this contradiction is not overcome, French will not be able to enjoy the credibility to which it aspires at the European and world scale.)

France is also in a contradictory position because it has ratified the Lisbon Treaty. This particular treaty, which will come into force if ratified by all European member states, requires that the latter respect cultural and linguistic diversity (Art. 2.3), while the attached Charter of Fundamental Rights (Art. 21) prohibits discrimination on the grounds of language, ethnicity or membership of a national minority (Hicks 2008).

3.6.1 *Threats from within France*

Minority languages in France can be perceived as a 'threat' to national unity on a number of levels, be they historical or ideological. The spectre of collaboration during World War Two still haunts French society, not least the role Breton nationalists were playing during that period. Despite immediate post-war declarations that the number of Breton autonomists involved with the Bezenn Perrot, the military wing of the Parti National Breton (and active collaborators

during the occupation), was 'very limited' (Ministère de l'Intérieur 1944), the fact that *any* Breton nationalists had collaborated was enough to lead to exaggerated claims by members of the Resistance; French communists thought that the numbers involved were much greater, claiming that there were 2,000 PNB *Maquisards* in Finistère alone (*Front* 1944). All in all, only 150 Breton nationalists were interned after the war (Biddiscombe 2001: 835). But that figure is enough to ensure suspicion of nationalist motives (including linguistic ones) up until the present day. The matter is complicated by what Sowerwine (among others) has termed the myth of 'resistancialism' (Sowerwine 2001: 229), propagated by de Gaulle, who claimed only 'a few traitors may have directly served the enemy' with 'the immense mass of the French [having been] combattants brought together to serve the fatherland' (Sowerwine 2001: 229). This stands in marked contrast to Monnier's assertion that some 40, 000 Frenchmen were to be found in German uniform during the occupation (Monnier 2007). In this climate of denial, which allowed the French 'to forge a consensus that enabled them to avoid confronting the extent of collaboration for three decades' (Sowerwine 2001: 229), republicans were free to express exaggerated claims over the nature of Breton nationalist collaboration without resorting to inconvenient factual evidence. Such claims undoubtedly reverberate in French popular memory nowadays when the focus is on Breton-language matters.

3.6.2 *Threats from outside France*

Post-war clashes with the United States feed republicans' sense of insecurity.

The 'Coca-colonisation' of France in the 1950s (Sowerwine 2001) led to resistance to the notion of 'Americanisation', seen as 'the uneven distribution of prosperity and the sense that something quintessentially French was being lost' (Sowerwine 2001: 280). The American principle of communitarism, which 'claims that certain groups of people are not treated equally by the state, that their differences need to be acknowledged and accommodated' (Cairns 2000: 92), is to be resisted, in republican terms, at all costs as an American import.

The last two decades of the twentieth century saw a number of social crises in France, largely due to 'failure of social measures ... with regard to housing, integration or education' (Moïse 2007: 227) and the general sense of a breach of social contract, since 'granting public equality does not take into account the daily discrimination, the setting of distances, the marginalisation processes' (Moïse 2007: 227). The discourse of endangerment to the French language has shifted during this period away from the threat of international English, regional languages and spelling reforms to 'the cultural links with Mediterranean countries, often identified and stigmatised through their religion, indeed through dialectal Arabic' (Moïse 2007: 225).

Consequently, an equally powerful threat to match that of the maintenance of regional languages is the contact situation the French language currently occupies with immigrant languages, most particularly the Arabic of

the Maghreb. Caubet (2004: 142) reports, using census data, that 25% of the families surveyed throughout France (out of a total of 380, 000 families) by INSEE and INED spoke a language other than French to their pre-school children. Such findings have generated new tensions in France which in turn have reinforced ideologies of French as a dominated or threatened language. In February 2001 dialectal Arabic was removed from the list of approved languages for the baccalauréat (Moïse 2007: 231) and three years later, the Bénisti report castigated mothers in France who chose to speak a language other than French to their children: 'Elles devront s'obliger à parler le français dans leur foyer pour habituer leurs enfants à n'avoir que cette langue pour s'exprimer' ('They should force themselves to speak French at home in order to accustom their children to having only this language with which to express themselves') (Benisti 2004 : 9). Parents who refused to take such advice were to be reported to the local authorities: 'Si cette mère persiste à parler son patois l'institutrice devra alors passer le relais à un orthophoniste' ('If this mother persists in speaking her jargon, the teacher should then alert a speech therapist') (Benisti 2004 : 9).

Thus the emphasis on 'danger' from within the Republic has been reinforced by discourses on 'danger' from the outside, and away from the linguistic to the cultural, though the two are inexorably linked, of course: 'Linguistic tensions are now accompanied by strong cultural and religious tensions, brought to light especially in the school system as reproducer of the

social order' (Moïse 2007: 233). This has led to the law which was passed on 15 March 2004 banning the conspicuous demonstration of religious affiliation in public schools and colleges. France's adherence to a rigid 'abstract universalism' (Khosrokhavar 1997) appears anachronistic in a modern age where 'the republican model no longer seem[s] to build a unified citizenry in the public space. The airtight separation between the two spaces, private and public, is an ideological construct which no longer has any great hold on reality' (Moïse 2007: 225). As Bourdieu notes, 'it is indeed, paradoxically, just as they are mobilising to demand universal rights which are effectively refused them, that symbolic minorities are called back to the order of the universal' (Eribon 1998). Again, the notion of being unrepublican is used to counteract demands for political and societal equality on the part of minority groups, be they based on sexual orientation (to which Bourdieu was referring in the above quotation) or linguistic orientation, the focus of the present chapter.

3.7 INTERNAL LINGUISTIC CONFLICT IN BRITTANY

Language conflict arises in Brittany not just through the interface between French, Breton and Gallo. Within the Breton speech community, Breton speakers are in conflict over what constitutes 'the' Breton language. Much is made of the highly dialectalised nature of Breton and fieldwork in Brittany has revealed, in one particular instance, one set of neighbouring couples in the town of Pont Aven, all of whom are native Breton speakers, using French because one

of the couples are from outside the area (cf. p. 40, note 1). Such linguistic behaviour is documented and described as located in a concept of 'badume', from the Breton meaning 'round here' ('ba du-mañ') (Le Dû and Le Berre 1995: 16). This sociolinguistic concept is based on difference: local speech needs to be *different* from what is said down the road, or in the next village, and the fact that neighbouring villages have more in common, linguistically speaking, than alleged differences is to be overlooked. Consequently, the concept acts as a local consensus on linguistic behaviour and not some norm imposed from the outside (Le Dû and Le Berre 1995: 16). This makes it difficult for a learner of the language to know exactly what form to adopt. McDonald (1989: 169) reports that it is *de rigueur* for learners to truncate 'Breton in imitation of popular speech. This is not necessarily done with a mastery of any local system, but with a consciousness of missing out letters from the printed word, and of shedding intellectuality for popular authenticity'.

In such circumstances, it is not surprising that attempts have been made to codify the language, in order to make it more accessible for L2 learners, as detailed in Chapter 2. However, as already noted in the same chapter, standardised forms are not readily acceptable to traditional speakers of the language and leads to passive resistance on the part of traditional speakers, who seen signs of 'inauthenticity' in such speech. Some linguists see the standardised form – neo-Breton – as a pseudo-norm not backed by any political or institutional strength (Le Dû and Le Berre 1999: 18). The Breton

speech community as a whole is not united in its use of and attitudes towards the language and some of the more extreme negativity towards Breton is expressed by its remaining native speakers, as in the agricultural worker, quoted in Guinard's 2001 documentary on the Breton language, who wished 'Breton had never existed' (my translation).

Often overlooked in discussions of minority language rights in Brittany is the precarious position Gallo occupies in the eastern part of Brittany. Research shows that Gallo is even more endangered, in numerical and revitalisation terms, than is Breton (Nolan 2008). There appears to be little common ground between the speech communities and indeed Gallo's status as one of the languages currently spoken in Brittany (and hence a 'Breton' language) is liable to be challenged by activists working exclusively in the domain of (Celtic) Breton revitalisation:

The Gallos stressed that they had common cause with the Breton movement against French centralism, but the Breton militants were clearly not going to share that cause in Brittany. Gallo could not be a 'proper language', they said, since it had no unity and no orthography other than French.

(McDonald 1989: 142)

Language conflict in Brittany is, then, not just a simple juxtaposition of French versus Breton. It is most often the speakers of standard (neo) Breton

who come into conflict with state linguistic policies based on official monolingualism as enshrined in the Constitution. Traditional speakers of Breton are, in the main, little affected by the same state policies, as they operate in a well-established system of diglossia, with the 'badume' as the Low variety and standard French as the High variety (Le Dû and Le Berre 1999: 19). Though Gallo and Breton revitalisers share an outwardly common cause, little is done jointly to work towards common aims. This is not to mention the other, non-European languages spoken by Brittany's inhabitants which attract even less attention in the literature than does Gallo. That they are mentioned at all in the French government's statement which accompanied the signing of France of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* is not so much a call for linguistic equality on the part of the French state as an attempt 'to divide and rule'.

3.8 THE PROBLEM OF LINGUISTIC OWNERSHIP

Linguistic conflict often results when competing claims are made as to who 'owns' a language. One would presume that, insofar as any language can be 'owned', it is the speakers who produce the language who are the 'owners'. However, it is not always that simple. This section examines a variety of claims on linguistic ownership which have resulted in conflict in a number of situations of contact. I examine first of all claims that Breton is part of French

linguistic heritage (3.8.1), then claims within the Breton speaking community as to which variety of Breton should be spoken (3.8.2).

3.8.1 *Breton as part of France's linguistic heritage*

In an attempt to make *the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* more palatable to republican ideology, the problem of territoriality was circumvented by the lawyer Guy Carcassonne when making the case for France signing the Charter: regional languages, such as Breton, were *part* of France's linguistic heritage and therefore belonged to the whole of the French nation, not just the Bretons (Judge 2007: 142). The concept of territoriality is particularly problematic from a republican point of view, given that France is 'one and indivisible'. A similar line of argument was pursued by Cerquiglini in his report (commissioned by the French government, prior to signing the Charter). As well as avoiding territoriality (as in the term 'langue régionale'), he furthermore avoided the notion of minority (a term not favoured in republican vocabulary) by changing 'langue minoritaire' into 'langue de France' ('a language of or belonging to France') (Judge 2007: 142). The clear implication is that if the French states 'owns' the language, then it can deal with it as it sees fit; in other words, the status quo can be preserved. What regional language activists say, or do, is of little consequence, since they do not have the final word, either politically and morally, heritage being a domain of the state.

Even more bizarrely, attempts have been made to subsume regional languages under the French language. In a legal framework, the media in France are required to support 'French works' and Decree no. 90-66 (17 January 1990) covers works in both French and the regional languages. Forty per cent of all songs on French radio have to be in French, which *includes* regional languages. Law no. 2000-719, a modification of the above decree, specifies that since regional languages are part of the French cultural and linguistic heritage in all its regional and local diversity ('patrimoine culturel et linguistique dans sa diversité régionale et locale') (Judge 2007: 136), they can be used in radio broadcasts. Decree no. 95-110 explicitly states that 'original works in the French language includes since 1990 works in the regional languages' (Judge 2007: 137). For speakers of regional languages, this creates a number of tensions. Whilst apparently protecting the legal status of regional languages in the media, it allows for tokenist gestures towards the languages in question (for example, the television channel France 3, whose explicit mission is the preservation of France's cultural and linguistic heritage, broadcasts between just a few minutes to a few hours per week in Alsatian, Basque, Occitan, Provençal, Catalan, Corsican and Breton). Furthermore, such an approach is rife with contradictions: if the 'langues de France' belong to the *whole* of the French nation, then why are these programmes broadcast *only* in the regions where they are traditionally spoken? As with any minority group, speakers of regional languages are not just confined to specific areas; take, for example, the large

Breton community in Paris which has established a Breton-language immersion school in the capital. Such practices furthermore operate in a framework of territoriality which was one of the objections the French state had initially towards signing the Charter.

3.8.2 *Who 'owns' the Breton language?*

Contested claims as to who speaks for the Breton language are not just found at national level. I have shown how conflict has been a characteristic of attitudes of traditional and *néo-bretonnants* towards each other (Section 3.7).

Language conflict also arises in and between these different groups of speakers. As I have shown, traditional Breton speakers will resolve their local linguistic differences by avoiding the issue altogether, and switching to the high language, namely French. Neo-Breton speakers' own linguistic behaviour can stand out as defensive and occasionally patronising when it comes to more traditional speakers of the language, as Pentecouteau (2002: 175) has noted:

Lors de travaux d'observation, j'ai entendu des militants très investis dans l'emsav dire attendre la disparition totale des bretonnants de naissance afin de pouvoir travailler sans ce 'fardeau' ... l'action des nouveaux locuteurs ne porte pas ou peu à valoriser une connaissance encore vivante.

(Pentecouteau 2002: 175)

(While engaged in observational work, I have heard some activists who are very committed to the Breton movement say that they are waiting for the total disappearance of native Breton speakers so that they can work

without this 'burden' ... the behaviour of new speakers does little or nothing to validate an already existing knowledge of the language.)

Pentecouteau further notes that *néo-bretonnants* rarely seek out native speakers when learning Breton and that, consequently, the Breton language is developing on the margin of native speakers' practices ('se développe en marge des usages que font les bretonnants de naissance') (Pentecouteau 2002b: 53). In other words, neo-Breton is a language which seems to have been created against the will (or at least without the participation) of native Breton speakers ('le néo-breton est une langue qui aurait été créée contre la volonté (en tout cas sans la participation) des bretonnants de naissance') (Pentecouteau 2002b: 176). While it is an exaggeration to claim that traditional and *néo-bretonnants* are not in fact speaking the same language (Jones 1998a: 321), it is difficult to refer to the Breton speech community without reference to this tension, since the points of reference and linguistic and cultural acquisition are different for the two groups, thus leading to conflict among them.

Things are even more complicated when it comes to inter-group differences between *néo-bretonnants*. The Breton language stands out as a prime example of failed standardisation. Various reforms have been initiated to provide one standardised form of spelling, in order to overcome the nineteenth century custom of writing either according to the phonology of the north-west dialect (Leon) or the south-east dialect (Gwened). Three tendencies have

developed, according to the language ideologies of the groups of writers who align themselves to one particular orthographic system:

1. **University Orthography.** Among the chief exponents of this spelling system are Le Dû and Le Berre, of Brest University, mentioned above, who have little patience for the neo-Breton movement. Local, dialectal forms are prioritised in this system since the future of Breton has not been thought out in its entirety ... but only on the scale of the district or of the village ('l'avenir du breton n'est pas pensé dans sa totalité ... mais à l'échelle du canton, voire de la commune') (Le Besco 1997: 30). It is used, in addition at the University of Brest, in bilingual units and classes in state and Catholic primary and lower-secondary schools.
2. **Interdialectal Orthography.** The writers who use this particular spelling system have a similar stance to the proponents of the University Orthography, in their attempts to reproduce traditional language forms, with local pronunciation systems acting as a norm (Le Besco 1997: 30). In fact, the system is little used outside of the circle of writers for the journal *Ar Falz*, based in Morlaix.
3. **Zechadeg or Peurunvan ('completely unified') orthography.** This is the mostly widely used Breton spelling system in Brittany, being the orthography of most Breton literature and journals and of the immersion school movement (*Diwan*). The writing system gained notoriety in 1941 when it was decided to represent the evolution of the historical phoneme /θ/ with a single grapheme¹. The year 1941 is not without significance; as Press says, the system 'is much maligned because of suspicions regarding the circumstances of its "creation" during the occupation' (Press 1986: 5).

Thus internal divisions are clearly discernible among Breton speakers when they write in the language. Whatever spelling they use can either align or distance them from at least three ideological positions. Even though the spelling systems are not so vastly different that any Breton speaker, with practice and patience, can read a text written in any of these systems, such a situation causes

contention when detractors claim the language is fragmented to the extent that several spelling systems are needed in order to write it, depending on the dialect ('morcelée au point que l'on a besoin d'avoir recours à plusieurs orthographes pour l'écrire, selon le dialecte') (Le Besco 1997: 29). When Press noted in 1986 that 'a single [Breton] spelling system is indispensable' (p. 4), much can be inferred about the nature of the internal linguistic conflict within the Breton speech community that, twenty-two years on, the matter is still not resolved. Whereas Le Besco (1997: 34) reports that *Zechadeg* ('unified') spelling is the most widely used system in Brittany, it is closely rivalled by University Orthography, since that is the system the French government has decided should be used in state and Catholic bilingual schools in Brittany.

3.9 CONCLUSIONS: LINGUISTIC CONFLICT AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Majority and minority language ideologies, in the case of France at least, are the mirror reflections of each other and inevitably lead to conflict. That they are not complementary has been already demonstrated; but, if more proof is needed, recent legal developments show that these tendencies are firmly entrenched. The vote in the French senate on 21 July 2008 to include the clause 'Regional languages are part of France's heritage' in Article 75 of France's Constitution (discussed earlier on in Section 3.3.1) was greeted by some activists with 'great satisfaction' (Hicks 2008) but such moves remain symbolic while the French state remains unwilling to ratify the Charter. Given the claim on the part of the

French Academy that inclusion of regional languages in the Constitution would 'undermine national identity' (Hicks 2008) such rhetoric inflames and aggravates the existing linguistic conflict in France, a conflict where the different parties are not equally matched. Linguistic domination is a policy which *can* be altered; conflict among France's linguistic communities is not in any way inevitable. First of all, ideologies based on the need to dominate (even if due to perceived linguistic insecurity on the part of the French Academy) engender 'symbolic violence', through which legitimacy is imposed 'by concealing the power relations' of the force which imposes them (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977: 4). Such symbolic violence can be addressed by the French State – and indeed, as Ní Chinnéide (in Hicks 2008) points out, *should* be addressed by a democratic state whose rhetoric includes the concept of equality:

[The] EBLUL [European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages] believes it is high time that France puts an end to its policy of destruction of its autochthonous languages that has undermined its credibility both in Europe and internationally, and that concrete measures be taken quickly to translate this recognition into realities.

(Ní Chinnéide 2008)

In any situation of conflict, there have to be two or more sides with competing claims and the language ideologies of minorities within the French state can hinder their own positions. By attempting to compete on the same terms as those espoused by the State, and by adopting what Lafont (1986) has

termed the 'Sociolinguistics of the Periphery' (a centre-periphery model of political and economic relations, cf. Hechter 1975), linguistic minorities within the French state play the conflict 'game' by their adversary's rules. Le Nevez (in press) has proposed an alternative model, discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine, suggesting that emphasis (and the efforts of language activists) needs to be transferred to the domains where Breton is currently still in a strong position, and moved away from concentrating on the perceived defects of Breton compared to French. As a consequence of the latter approach, the current linguistic conflict has resulted in a situation comparable to the one Haugen observed in Norway: 'The result of the language movement has so far been to create an image in "schizoglossia", a personality split which leaves many persons linguistically divided and uncertain' (Haugen 1996: 276). In such situations of linguistic conflict, power dynamics are of primary importance. Such dynamics are most profitably analysed through a critical sociolinguistic approach, as argued in Chapter 2, since the examination of what is at stake for each party involved results in a deeper understanding of the issues involved. Such an approach can be applied to a whole variety of situations, not just that of France. As Martin-Jones points out, the anthropological linguist 'Gal presents the case for adopting a new comparative approach to the study of minority bilingualism: one which would enable us to go beyond individual community level studies and gain more general insights and one which provides explanations of the differences as well as the similarities observable across

language groups' (Martin-Jones 1989: 123). Minority languages in France occupy the same socio-economic environments as other minority speech communities in Western Europe; it is the political framework in which these languages find themselves that marks the French state as out of step with neighbouring, democratic countries. A comparative approach, as outlined by Gal above, could show how the situation of linguistic conflict in France could be different, given alternative circumstances⁴. The fate of no language is sealed or indeed deserving of 'a qualified obituary'⁵.

NOTES

1. This phoneme (found also in Cornish and Welsh and hence a characteristic of P-Celtic) evolved into /z/ in the speech of north-western and central speakers of Breton, and into /x/, /h/ and /χ/ in south-eastern speech. The grapheme proposed was 'zh' to represent this z/h opposition (e.g. 'kaz' 'cat' in most of Brittany but 'kah' in the south-east became 'kazh'). Confusingly, its use was – incorrectly – extended to include a z/Ø opposition. This opposition has nothing to do with the /θ/ phoneme, but is based on another phoneme, /ð/. This phoneme, which is also characteristically P-Celtic, tends to be lost in south-east and central dialects, but is rendered /z/ in the north-west. Forms such as 'kouzehan' in *peurunvan* is 'koueza' 'to fall' in most of Brittany but 'kouehein' in the south-east (the Welsh cognate 'cwyddo', where 'dd' = /ð/, shows the original phonemic basis of the word). This renders the *peurunvan* form etymologically incorrect (Le Besco 1997: 34).
2. Since the Basques and the Bretons,
the Alsatians and the Occitans,
the Corsicans, the Picards, the Walloons,
all want to be independent,
since they all want regional autonomy,
and in principle, they're not wrong,
well, I've decided that I too
will take up my guitar and shout out loud

that I am the separatist of the 14th district,
the autonomist of the Porte d'Orléans.

3. 'Une grande patrie est faite d'une multitude de petites patries, unies par une formidable volonté de vivre ensemble' ('A great country is made up of a multitude of small countries, united in their will to live together'). Sarkozy, 9 March 2007, cited in Assemblée nationale, 7 May 2008.
4. Compare, for example, the federalist model of Spain, or the devolutionary model of the United Kingdom, where linguistic minorities have been granted much more political power recently than was historically the case.
5. As Hindley's 1990 book, 'The death of the Irish language', was subtitled.



SECTION B: GLOBALISATION PROCESSES IN BRITTANY

INTRODUCTION

This section of the thesis examines in more depth the linguistic behaviour of neo-speakers and how this is affected by processes of globalisation, such as commodification and hybridity. In some discourses, globalisation is not a new phenomenon. Bruthiaux (2008: 18-19) shows that commentators such as Flowerdew (2002) and Sifakis and Sougari (2003) have linked it to early human history; or to language contact occasioned through trade (Bolton 2002); or to colonial expansion (Pardo 2001; Singh and Doherty 2004).

Globalisation has been described in terms of either expansion or interconnectedness. Expansion is seen as essentially originating in the United States and involves 'the spread of American business practices, American cultural assumptions and American knowledge to other parts of the world ... globalisation is an attempt to make the world safe for American values and American capital' (Humphrey 2003: 321). This is a view prevalent particularly in France, where resistance to this expansion has been personified in recent years by José Bové, spokesman for the Confédération Paysanne and famous for dismantling a branch of McDonald's; by many, he is seen as the 'invincible Gaul' (Le Coadic 2002: 107). A more positive view of globalisation concentrates on its essentially interconnected nature, which promotes 'dense communication

networks and financial interdependencies that not only improve the standard of living in many countries, but also serve to promote peace by creating shared interests' (Humphrey 2003: 319). This interconnectedness also brings uncertainty, however; it 'brings with it a yearning for stability and for enduring values, even as they are threatened by economic and cultural change. It also brings with it the desire for rootedness, and a certain resistance to the homogenisation and anonymity of modern living' (Humphrey 2003: 319).

The benefit for minority groups is that they can adapt to these new conditions on their own terms ('selon leurs propres codes') (Pentecouteau 2002: 115); according to this view, 'la mondialisation produirait de nouvelles cultures et de nouveaux échanges et permettrait le développement de nouvelles formes de réappropriation, de contacts, d'échanges et d'interactions entre celles-ci' ('globalisation is said to produce new cultures and new exchanges and is said to permit the develop of new ways of regaining [culture], of being in contact, of exchanging and of interacting between [these new cultures]') (ibid.).

In an attempt to demonstrate the transnational nature of these phenomena, I have analysed some data from the Scottish Gaelic situation, which displays close analogies to the transformations Breton is undergoing at the start of the twenty-first century. I have also used data taken from fieldwork to show how certain pervasive language ideologies can shape neo-speakers' linguistic behaviour and practices; these same language ideologies are mirrored in the majority-language communities and can lead commentators to judge

harshly or simply to misunderstand the practices of speakers of minority languages. Take, for example, the following passage from Morvan who, elsewhere (2002: 16) has described the language of *néo-bretonnant* children as ‘un mélange d’emprunts gallois et de neologismes, véritable sanscrit d’initiés’ (‘a mixture of Welsh borrowings and of neologisms, a real form of Sanskrit only for the initiated’):

La langue de ces élèves est curieusement lacunaire: une élève (la seule qui parle breton quotidiennement) sait nommer le soleil mais pas la lune. Dame, dit-elle, on ne sort pas la nuit chez nous. Tous adoptent des mots français à la place des mots qui leur manquent mais sont dans l’incapacité de dire si un mot est français ou breton: le *bern teil* pour l’un d’eux, c’est un mot français, puisque ses parents parlent français et qu’ils lui demandent d’aller dehors jeter les ordures sur le *bern teil*, mais *fricot*, c’est un mot breton, puisque chez sa grand-mère, on parle breton et on dit: *Friko vo*, ce que signifie qu’on va se régaler.

(Morvan 2002: 40-41)

(‘The language of these pupils is curiously lacking: one pupil (the only one to speak Breton every day) knows how to name the sun but not the moon. Lady, she says, we don’t go out at night at home. All of them adopt French words for words they don’t know but they are unable to say whether a particular word is French or Breton: the *bern teil* [‘dung heap’] for one of them is a French word, since his parents speak French and they ask him to go and throw the rubbish out on the *bern teil*, but ‘fricot’ (‘stew’) is a Breton word, because at his grandmother’s house they speak Breton and they say ‘Friko vo’ (‘There will be stew’), which means they are going to have a treat.)

Putting aside for one moment the fact that primary school children may not yet have developed the metalinguistic capacity to analyse their own speech in ways that Morvan apparently requires in the above passage, and also the fact

that young children's language is still in the process of developing, such commentary demonstrates a failure to grasp the intense pressures minority languages are under at the moment and that hybridity (of which that extract is a perfect example) is a by-product of modernity (Heller 2000: 10). This section aims to expand our understanding of such hybrid practices in Brittany and, by extension, elsewhere as well.



4

THE PHENOMENON OF ‘NEW’ SPEAKERS – BRETON AND GAELIC PERSPECTIVES¹

4.0 INTRODUCTION

According to economic frameworks, globalisation consists of ‘inter-related factors that include investment, industrialization, sustainability, colonialism, nationalism, human rights and culture’ (Bruthiaux 2008: 17). In contrast, sociological perspectives see globalisation as an increasing inter-dependence that transcends the economic to include the personal, cultural and political (Bruthiaux 2008: 18). Furthermore, many linguists assume that globalisation is intimately connected with the spread of English – take, for example, Lo Bianco (2004) who links both political and economic globalisation in the nineteenth century with British (and later, American) English as a major element in these processes. Many commentators see few positive linguistic results in such processes, such as Phillipson (2001) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2001), who see exploitation and cultural weakening being imposed by Western corporations and transnational institutions on the societies affected. In Sri Lanka, for example, Punchi (2001) reports on the advantage of being schooled in English rather than in vernacular languages; in Arabic-speaking countries Elkhafaifi (2002) considers international Arabic is losing ground to English

(Bruthiaux 2008: 21). Language is thus one key area where the effects of globalisation, or of 'interconnectedness', is keenly felt, not least by linguistic minorities.

4.1 THE APPEARANCE OF 'NEW' SPEAKERS

'New' or 'neo' speakers are a phenomenon which is noticeable in situations of linguistic minoritisation where revitalisation efforts are particularly advanced in the field of education. Immersion-type schools are producing 'new' speakers each year in such situations and their numbers are complemented by adult learners of these minority languages. This chapter focuses on neo-speakers in Brittany and Scotland, where their numbers appear particularly significant in comparison with the remaining native (or 'traditional') speakers of Breton and Gaelic respectively. Estimates for neo-speakers in Brittany range from 20,000 to 60,000 people compared to some 250,000 remaining native speakers (Hornsby 2008: 130-131); in Scotland, according to MacCaluim (2007: 81), there are a 'few thousand' learners, of whom only a 'few hundred' are fluent speakers (or 'nouveau Gaels' to use Glaser's term [2007: 258]), compared to just over fifty-eight thousand native speakers.

Neo-speakers have appeared on the linguistic scenes in Brittany and in Scotland (and in other minority language settings) not only through language revitalisation efforts in each of the respective countries, but also because globalisation provides opportunities for minority groups to access new spaces

in the name of 'cultural exception'. This access is largely unregulated and outsiders to the traditional speech community have as much access to these new spaces as do traditional members. This is particularly true in the present period of heightened awareness of language endangerment (cf. Chapter 1), described by Cameron as 'the presupposition of a dire and rapidly deteriorating situation ..., the repeated expression of alarm about the scale of the problem, and the use of emotively, loaded terms to describe it (e.g. *death, endangerment, extinction, threat*)' (Cameron 2007: 269). Such alarm is not always shared by the linguistic communities most affected by this endangerment; for example, 'in the Singapore context, the fact that the shift to bilingualism has happened at the expense of other Chinese languages has always been officially celebrated' (Chin 2008: 74). Mufwene has expressed similar doubts over whether language shift is *always* detrimental to the communities concerned; he questions the seemingly all-pervading shadow that English, through globalisation, casts over less prestigious languages and proposes an analysis of the evolutionary mechanisms and conditioning factors that affect maladaptive populations (Mufwene 2002: 40). He incisively inquires, 'whether from an evolutionary perspective and from the point of view of populations which define their own identities, language rights advocates should bemoan normal adjustments that people continue to make to changing ecologies' (Mufwene 2002: 43). In a similar vein, the positive aspect of the spread of English has been developed by Stroud (2003) and King (2004) in particular, who argue that multilingualism is

an asset in developing societies, provided that these communities are in charge of their own language policies (Bruthiaux 2008: 22). There are potential advantages for endangered languages in this scenario. Current pressures from globalisation on national languages, such as French, are providing new opportunities for smaller languages, such as the regional languages in France. Bruthiaux has identified a trend in seeing globalisation as 'an opportunity for societies and individuals to become aware of their distinctive socio-cultural makeup while taking part in enriching crosscultural exchanges' (Bruthiaux 2008: 23). I would furthermore argue that this trend can influence attitudes in English-speaking nation-states, where smaller languages in contact with local forms of English are also benefiting from a discourse of 'distinctiveness'; language acts in the UK (Welsh (1993), Gaelic (2003)) and in the Republic of Ireland (*The Official Languages Act* 2003) demonstrate recent political goodwill towards autochthonous minority languages. This trend is not universal, however, as demonstrated by Schmidt (2007) in his discussion of the 'Official English' movement in the United States, where any concession to speakers of minority languages is perceived as detracting from the prestige and status English holds in American society.

The Celtic languages have a long history of 'endangerment', exacerbated nowadays by discourses of ecological and linguistic collapse. If 'Breton is the only Celtic language still alive on the European continent, an invaluable part of the European heritage and ... of all mankind' (Texier and Ó Néill 2005: 158),

then the race is on to make sure the language does not disappear just yet:

[Bretonisation] 'has to begin sooner rather than later because in 2020 the 300,000 [sic] native Breton speakers of Breizh Izel [Lower Brittany] will be gone and can no longer be utilised for new social policies' (Texier and Ó Néill 2005: 159).

Similarly, 'Gaelic faces some severe challenges in the twenty-first century, to the point that some question whether promotion or even survival is really even possible' (Ó Néill 2005: 359). Such discourses fire the popular imagination and people learn endangered languages, such as Breton or Gaelic, not only as an act of nationalist solidarity, but also as a form of resistance towards globalisation and an antidote to ever-decreasing ecological and linguistic diversity. Donating to the World Wildlife Fund or learning an endangered language because traditional speakers have so few people to speak to – both can appeal to middle-class notions of a social conscience.

Many traditional speakers do not view the demise of their language in the same terms, however, and this inevitably leads to tension between neo- and traditional-speakers. The spaces created by globalisation may have provided neo-speakers with opportunities to show their solidarity with minoritised peoples closer to home than Amazonian rainforest tribes, but as Block points out, 'while the view of languages as cultural repositories may have given way to the view of languages as commodities in many parts of the world, what are we to make of the possibility that the former view was never representative of

the feelings of the masses of people it purported to be representative of?' (Block 2008: 201).

If speakers of Breton and Gaelic never viewed their languages as 'cultural repositories' (Block 2008: 201), then they are even less likely to have viewed them as commodities either. They are (or were) part of a community-wide norm of linguistic behaviour – whom you speak to in Breton (or Gaelic) depends very much on your relationship with them and the accommodation (and diglossic) norms in your particular locality. Thus incomers into a rural locality attempting to speak the minoritised language, or strangers in an urban setting using the same language as an act of cultural defiance, are bound to cause tensions within the traditional speech community. Some commentators may see the future of minority languages as lying in their commodification, since the process,

... can have a direct impact on enhancing the language status of subordinate languages; it can help to ease tensions between majority and minority communities; it can serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-English languages in U.S. society; and it highlights the importance of cooperative language planning.

(Ruiz 1984: 25-6)

However, the downside of the process have also been recognised, since

... it does little in terms of recognition of intrinsic non-quantifiable resources associated with languages, including psychological, cultural, affiliational, aesthetic, and historical aspects, among others.

(Ricento 2005: 362)

This is borne out in the examples given below in the Breton- and Gaelic-speaking communities. In the present chapter, the Breton situation is primarily compared with that of Scottish Gaelic, for the simple reason that the role and status of Gaelic learners in the wider Gaelic-speaking community has been researched more thoroughly than in other situations of language minoritisation (e.g. Glaser 2007; MacCaluim 2007; McLeod 2001; MacLeod 2001; Morgan 2000).

4.2 NEO-SPEAKERS AS A REACTION TO GLOBALISATION

The pervasive spread of globalising forces has brought awareness of the potential loss of linguistic diversity, the destruction of the diversity of knowledge systems and the potential abuse of human rights. This is accompanied, according to Hinton, by specific concerns on the part of the endangered speech communities themselves:

Despite the fact that the general public should feel they have an investment in the survival of indigenous languages and cultures, what is really important is self-determination.

(Hinton 2001: 5)

In this framework, self-determination consists of rejecting globalisation which according to Abalain (2004: 348) does not subordinate everything; it causes another phenomenon of rejection because in this case, human beings as

the main focus, have been overlooked ('ne subordonne pas tout: il provoque un autre phénomène de rejet cette fois, car l'essentiel, l'être humain, est oublié').

Reactions to the threat of language shift in minority communities vary, but two major trends are discernible. One is to try to regain what is in danger of being lost by attempting to preserve linguistic communities through nationalist rhetoric and discourses of identity; the second trend is to try and raise the economic profile of the language in question and to stress the value of linguistic commodification. Thus the emphasis is less on what native and neo-speakers can do for the revitalisation of the language and more what the language (or the symbol of language) can do for speakers (and potential speakers) in economic and other material terms. In terms of the effects of globalisation, Da Silva, McLaughlin and Richards (2007: 186) point out that the current repositioning of language as a commodifiable resource in cultural production arises from the current disentangling of language from person-hood and community, allowing minorities to discover new ways of (re)producing their culture(s).

In a Breton context, the first of these approaches to salvaging the language is exemplified in the literature by Pentecouteau's consultant who stated that learning Breton allowed him to preserve some of his own personal history and the memory of his grandparents: 'Le fait de parler, ça me rapproche d'eux, ça me rattache à eux' ('The act of speaking brings me closer to them, connects me with them') [Pentecouteau 2002b: 146]. In Scotland, a survey conducted by MacCaluim (2007: 157) among Gaelic learners shows a similar

trend: 12% of the people questioned were learning it because of identity issues and 15.5% for nationalist reasons. Additionally, 25.8% were learning Gaelic in order to keep the language alive. The second, commodifying trend is exemplified by the 4% of people who thought learning Gaelic would be useful in securing employment while fewer than 1% saw it as benefiting tourism (MacCaluim 2007: 157). Such low figures seem to support McLeod's assertion that language commodification is less beneficial than might be imagined, given that 'it has created an expectation that Gaelic can provide direct pay-offs in the form of employment opportunities, and that language development initiatives should be assessed primarily in terms of their economic impact and only secondarily in terms of their linguistic impact' (McLeod 2001: 18).

4.3 LANGUAGE CONFLICT AND NEO-SPEAKERS

Language conflict, as a potential reason for the emergence of neo-speakers, needs to be considered with reference to the globalisation processes mentioned in Section 4.2. Language conflict, as a consequence of language contact, is not a new phenomenon of course; what does stand out is that globalisation processes have allowed an alternative response to language conflict which, before the twentieth century, would have resulted in a shift towards the dominant language, either abruptly or over a period of time. It is only in the twentieth century that we find substantial evidence of attempts to reverse language shift

as an outcome of language conflict. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the present period of modernity has heightened our awareness of language endangerment. Language revitalisation programmes have given rise, as a by-product, to the phenomenon of neo-speakers (especially in situations of linguistic minoritisation). This is what Spolsky was referring to when he spoke of the ‘unanticipated results of language management’ (Spolsky 2006: 87).

The mid-twentieth century appears to be the crucial moment when awareness of language endangerment (as a consequence of language conflict) began to be apparent. Breton literature serves as a historical record of this awareness of change. Vallée, writing in 1941, recalls the very different domains the Breton language occupied at the start of the century:

Em yaouankiz ne gleved war ar maez ger gallek ebet, hag er c’hêriou, e veze komzet hag enoret ar brezhoneg keit-ha-keit gant ar galleg. Bremañ, e kêriou bihan evel Gwengamp, a vec’h ma teurvez zoken tud ar bobl komz brezhoneg. Ouspenn ma veze komzet stankoc’h, e veze ivez klaz gwelloc’h eget bremañ. Nebeut-tre a c’heriou gallek o tont da saotra ar yez, dreist-holl evit an traou-bemdez hag evit ar vuhez war ar maez. Ar skoliou dreist-holl a zo bet penn-abeg da se.

(Vallée 1941)

(In my youth, one did not hear a single word of French in the countryside. Breton was well regarded, even in towns, and spoken as often as French. Nowadays, in small towns like Guingamp, ordinary people hardly condescend to speak Breton. Not only was Breton spoken more widely, it was also spoken better than it is now. There were very few French words to pollute the language, particularly as regards everyday things and those referring to life in the countryside. The schools bear the main responsibility for this loss.)

At roughly the same time, the stance adopted by language militants in Brittany was a conflictual one, as evinced in the writings of Hemon:

Ar wirionez eo hon eus e Breizh – evit bremañ da vihanañ – da zizober kalz muioc’h eget d’ober, da ziskar kalz muioc’h eget da sevel. Hag en ur skignañ ur gelennadurezh nevez, e rankomp stourm war un dro ouzh ar gelennadurezh kozh. Pe e vo evel hadañ war ur bod-spern ha gortoz un eost fonnus.

Diarbenn spered Bro-C’hall, eno emañ an dalc’h evidomp.

(Hemon 1972)

The truth is that we have in Brittany – at least for the time being – to undo a lot more than we have to do, to destroy a lot more than we have to build. And in spreading a new teaching we must also fight the old teaching. Or else it will be like sowing seeds on a thorn-bush and expect [sic] a fine harvest.

Overcoming the spirit of France. Such is our main objective.

Neo-speakers are a more recent outcome of language endangerment, and are particularly well documented in the literature on Scottish Gaelic.

MacCalluim sums up the tension arising between the old and the new when he talks of the ‘uneasy relationship’ between traditional and neo-speakers:

The sometimes uneasy relationship between learner and native speaker can be analysed at on [sic] two different levels. The first of these is on the level of relatively superficial communication problems and the second consists of the deeper sociological differences which exist between the two groups in terms of matters such as identity and views regarding Gaelic.

(MacCalluim 2007: 79)

The mismatch between expectations and actual linguistic ability appears to be the source of much tension. Traditional speakers of Gaelic have little contact or experience with fluent learners of Gaelic, which can result in disappointment for the latter:

Even advanced or fluent learners might find their ability in the language underestimated by native speakers who may turn to English when this is unnecessary.

(MacCaluim 2007: 80)

On the other hand, over-enthusiastic learners may expect inhabitants of (or descendants of people from) the *Gàidhealtachd* (traditional Gaelic-speaking area of Scotland) to behave in ways they are unwilling or unable to accommodate, since learners,

... fail to appreciate that some people whom they believe to be Gaelic speakers might be passive bilinguals or semi-speakers rather than fluent Gaelic speakers or that many younger Gaelic speakers do not consider it to be “cool” to be seen speaking Gaelic.

(MacCaluim 2007: 80)

Thus revitalisation attempts originally designed to resolve language conflict by reversing the shift towards the dominant language have done much

to arrest the decline in numbers of speakers but have done little to modify or change the nature of the language conflict which gave rise to the tendency towards language shift in the first place. In her poem *Cànain/Language*, Bateman shows that the conflict is still very much with us. In such discourses of tradition, native speakers represent an idealised past, since, '[b]ha am beòil mar chlagan fhlùraichean/ tais, domhainn, fàilteachail' ('Their mouths were like the bells of flowers/ moist, deep, welcoming'). Language shift is expressed as '... bha an cainnt na cùbhraidheachd/ a dh'fhalbh air a'ghaoith' ('their talk was a fragrance/ which disappeared on the breeze') (Bateman 2007: 22-3). In contrast, the appearance of neo-speakers ('beòil eile' / 'other mouths') is to be celebrated, though Bateman appears unsure about the welcome they will receive in modern Gaelic-speaking networks ('Carson a bhiodh am boltrach staoin?' / 'Why doubt their sweetness?') (Bateman *ibid.*).

4.4 THE EFFECT OF NEO-SPEAKERS ON TRADITIONAL SPEAKERS

In Scotland, MacCaluim has suggested that 'some of the enthusiasm for the language might rub off on native speakers with whom learners come into contact' (MacCaluim 2007: 85). Glaser has further suggested that neo-speakers are 'good for the morale of native speakers' (Glaser 2007: 260). More often than not, though, native speakers can react negatively to 'excessive enthusiasm' which Glaser (2007: 261) claims is 'counterproductive'. This can reach the point where neo-speakers are burdened with the label of 'white settler', a term

normally reserved for owners of holiday homes and retirees (Jedrej and Nuttall 1996). A sense of 'them' and 'us' can be created to the point where local initiatives such as a history archive are disparaged as 'something for incomers' because locals 'know all that already' (Glaser 2007: 262).

The predominant reaction to neo-speakers on the part of traditional speakers is one of suspicion. This is understandable when the vast majority of native speakers of Breton have grown up under the influence of nationalist (i.e. republican) rhetoric. Since the discursive space allowing minority languages greater room may not be recognised as a consequence of globalisation by traditional speakers, the appearance of neo-speakers can seem an unexpected (and unwanted) development. Iain Crichton Smith (Iain Mac a'Ghobhainn), a Gaelic poet who learned the language when it was still possible to acquire it in a community setting (as opposed to intergenerational family transmission), comments, in one of his poems, on the subject of incomers. He highlights the suspicion that can be felt towards them, especially those of them who seem to be engaging in a 'politically correct solution [of hybridisation] to an anti-ethnic or nationalist agenda' (Werbner 1997: 13). He says that outsiders are coming to his area to learn Gaelic but reproaches them for what they are doing to the language: 'Anns a' van gheal/ tha thu 'g eadar-theangachadh mo Ghàidhlig' ('In the white van/ you are translating my Gaelic') (Mac a'Ghobhainn 1987:5; translation by MacLeod 2001: 108-9). He lists these outsiders as English, German and American and contrasts them with the girl from Barra who

accompanies them on her harp (' 's nighean à Barraigh/ a' suathadh na clàrsaich') (Mac a'Ghobhainn *ibid.*).

The 'white van' crashes in on the world of Gaelic, and seems to represent modernity because that is the setting where the language is being translated and indeed transformed. Similar suspicions can cause traditional speakers of Breton to distance themselves from language revitalisation attempts since, according to Pentecouteau (2002b: 176), 'les bretonnants de naissance en sont quasiment exclus' ('people brought up speaking Breton are almost totally excluded from them'). In a similar way, Glaser (2007: 260) reports that there are few traditional speakers in the 'Gaelic renaissance' currently underway in Scotland.

Neo-speakers can alienate traditional speakers in other ways too. Ownership of the culture associated with the minority language can be disputed:

Many Gaelic learners are uninterested in many aspects of the Hebridean lifestyle and culture and can even be highly critical of them and actively favour a redefinition of what constitutes "Gaelic culture", the meaning of the "Gaelic community" and the significance of the Gaelic language itself.

(MacCaluim 2007: 88)

Thus when learners bring 'the periphery to the centre' (in Waters' terms), they risk joining the mass media 'in a search for the exotic to titillate audiences in

search of variety' (Waters 2001: 192), thereby transforming the very society whose language had attracted their interest in the first place.

Very often, learners may lack the sociolinguistic awareness necessary for successful integration into the speech community in question, as MacKenzie points out: 'Simply learning Gaelic does not make you a Gael since that depends as much on social and cultural traditions of which language is only one aspect' (MacKenzie 2002). McDonald comments on a very similar situation in Brittany where, she claims, Breton language courses 'fail to offer the learner a grasp of popular socio-linguistic (sic) values' (McDonald 1989: 279).

4.5 CONCLUSIONS

Neo-speakers have only appeared in any real numbers in situations of language minoritisation since the mid-twentieth century, due to the greater pervasiveness of globalisation processes. Members of minority language communities have not always known how to react and the fact that their reactions have been less than enthusiastic in the past can cause resentment and confusion among learners of the language, whose motivations are sincere. Both sides of the divide (if it is possible to term the differences in this way) can feel misunderstood and misrepresented. Bridging this gap would appear to be the key to successful language revitalisation but such considerations are frequently overlooked in language planning and language management initiatives.

However, this is easier said than done. Using ‘language varieties associated with social or ethnic groups that the speaker does not normally “belong” to’ (Rampton 1995: 14) or ‘code-crossing’ (Fought 2006: 197) entails ‘a disjunction between speaker and code that cannot be readily accommodated as a normal part of ordinary social reality’ (Rampton 1995: 278). Since social norms are in effect being flouted, majority language speakers using the minority language can be seen as intrusive, mocking or doing something that is simply not done, according to local mores. Hybridity, in all its forms, is becoming more and more common as the effects of globalisation spread and people come to act in non-traditional ways. This includes linguistic behaviour, despite resistance by sections of the minority language community. The tendencies to preserve and commodify language, mentioned in 4.1, are apparent in both the Breton and Gaelic speech communities, but are not confined to them by any means.

NOTE:

1. This chapter is due to be published in *Lublin Studies in Celtic Linguistics* as ‘The phenomenon of “New” speakers – Breton and Gaelic perspectives.’

5

BRETON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND IDEOLOGIES

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In a study which seeks to examine how neo-speakers operate in a minority language context, it is imperative that the motives underlying the revitalisation movement are analysed in depth. These motives and attitudes are easily verbalised and the activists involved are very conscious of them; they often form the *raison d'être* of the language movement in question, and can be located in broader discourses of nationalism and ecological endangerment. Language ideologies, on the other hand, are frequently not so explicit and are only discernible by a close examination of the rhetoric of the movement in question. Such ideologies are held subconsciously and they influence activists' attitudes and actions, even though sometimes, as I show below and have shown earlier when discussing the current debate over the French constitution, the ideologies and language attitudes can be at odds with each other, even at the level of individual speakers.

One of the most accessible (but also most revealing) ways of carrying out such an analysis is through the examination of the key texts published by the language revitalisation movements and letting their own words speak for

themselves. To this end, the websites of four Breton language activist groups were examined, using a critical sociolinguistic framework (Heller 2002b), to determine the nature of the attitudes and ideologies held by a broad selection of neo-Breton organisations. In addition, breadth in the analysis was incorporated by including a further three websites of organisations offering tuition in Breton to adults; they range from liberal teaching frameworks (with French playing a role in both teaching and social interaction activities) to highly structured teaching schemas, where the use of French is, to all intents and purposes, 'banned'. A semi-official body, established by the regional council in Brittany to co-ordinate adult learning classes in Breton is also included in the present analysis. Finally, as an example of the increasingly transnational nature of minority languages, the website and magazine of a Welsh-Breton twinning organisation have been analysed in a similar way.

5.1 BRETON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Three main attitudes are discernible in a survey of the above websites. For the purpose of the present study, attitudes are defined as the opinions (both negative and positive) that people hold about the status and future of the Breton language and the reasons for learning and/or maintaining it as a spoken medium in the twenty-first century. The attitudes under investigation here are overwhelmingly positive and in favour of preserving the language; negative attitudes, though they certainly do exist outside the *néo-bretonnant* community,

are not featured here for the simple reason that all the websites consulted belong to organisations that work for the maintenance of Breton as a spoken language. This is not an attempt to create bias in the present study in favour of the language, but simply for the reason that they are not to be found in this particular context. This is in marked contrast to language *ideologies* that prevail in *néo-bretonnant* circles, which can be ambivalent and have a negative effect on the possibilities of maintaining Breton in the future.

The three themes which characterise these attitudes (ecological, nationalist and language-as-a-commodity) are located, I would argue, in globalisation processes, or as a reaction to them. Ecological and nationalist attitudes have been explored in the literature in a variety of situations, such as Nettle and Romaine (2000), who contrast widely-held concerns over ‘worldwide near-total ecosystem collapse’ (p. ix) with the apparent lack of attention paid to the ways in which people, and their languages, can also be endangered: ‘More has been said about the plight of pandas and spotted owls than about the disappearance of human language diversity’ (Nettle and Romaine 2000: ix). A similar discourse of ecological endangerment can be found in the work of Grenoble and Whaley (2006), Dalby (2002) and Harrison (2007), *inter alios*.

Nationalist attitudes in revitalisation movements have been explored by Beswick (2007) in Galicia, and Barbour and Carmichael (2000) in Europe in general. Much less explored is the concept of the instrumentalisation or

commodification of language. Tan and Rubdy (2008) explore the position major languages occupy at global and local marketplace levels and Heller (1999; 2000; 2002) has investigated in depth the place of 'commodified French' in minority situations in French-speaking Canada. The present study extends this concept to a minority language which does not have majority status elsewhere, as French does in Heller's examples; it also tracks the development of this concept in a community where the language is spoken less and less and in increasingly restricted domains.

5.1.1 Attitudes based on ecologism, commodification and nationalism

The association *Kalon Plouha* (<http://site.voila.fr/kalon.plouha>) came into being in 1992 originally to protect the environment around the township of Plouha, on the central north coast of Brittany, whose agricultural infrastructure was threatened with re-organisation by the local (French-speaking) council. Tracks for agricultural vehicles were laid in many areas of beauty, much to the consternation of local (Breton-speaking) inhabitants, who saw the fragility, social cohesion and the Breton characteristics of Plouha being seriously under threat as a result of what they termed 'domination française' ('French domination') in the French version of the website and 'pegen kreñvoc'h oa ar C'hallaoued egeto' ('how much stronger the French were than them') in the Breton-language version. Thus in the first discernible attitude under consideration here, that based on an ecological discourse, the value of the Breton

language was emphasised as being necessary to really understanding the local landscape – some of the tractor tracks would never have been laid if the local council had spoken Breton, it is hinted on the organisation’s website, since ‘holl ar vrezhonegerien a oar ez eus douaroù gleb en ul lec’h anvet Pouldouran’ (‘all Breton speakers know that there is wet land in the place called Pouldouran’), Pouldouran meaning ‘The Ditch of Water’. Having succeeded in getting some of the tracks closed down (reportedly after some tractors were lost to the sea!), the association concentrated on safeguarding Breton as part of its ecological remit.

The second attitude, based on a tendency to commodify the language, could be observed in two of the websites surveyed. On the *Studi ha Dudi* website (<http://pagesperso-orange.fr/studi-ha-dudi/>), one of the reasons given for people attending the Breton-language course was, ‘evit labourat war ur raktres micher troet war-zu ar brezhoneg hag ar sevenadur’ (‘in order to progress, career-wise, by concentrating on the Breton language and its culture’). Job opportunities are not enormous in the field of Breton language teaching, but it is becoming a viable option as the number of immersion and bilingual schools grows. However, Pentecouteau reports an instance in which making ‘use’ of the Breton language in this way caused one language activist to react negatively:

L’aspect instrumental était dénoncé pour deux raisons. Il pensait que cette jeune fille ne ferait plus beaucoup de progrès car ses préoccupations étaient très éloignées de celles des militants. Ensuite, son investissement étant relatif,

il se disait que cela pourrait éventuellement nuire à l'éducation scolaire en breton des enfants dont elle s'occupait.

(Pentecouteau 2002a: 215)

('The instrumental aspect was denounced for two reasons. He thought that this young woman would not make much more progress because her ambitions were very distant from those of the activists. Therefore, her investment being relative, he thought that this could eventually lead to negating the school education in Breton of the children of whom she would be in charge'.)

As a response to modernity and globalisation, another website, KEAV – *Kamp Etre-Keltiek ar Vrezhonegerion*, 'The Inter-Celtic Camp of Breton Speakers' (<http://www.keav.org/>), shows how interest in learning Breton has grown particularly strong as the influence of modernity and globalisation has increased from the 1980s onwards. The camp started life in 1955 with sixty-seven people turning up to learn Breton and peaked in 1974, when it joined forces with the militant organisation *Skol an Emsav* ('The School of the Breton Movement') and 200 people attended. The joint venture between *Keav* and *Skol an Emsav* was felt to be too politically-based, however, and the co-operation was discontinued after that year. Nevertheless, activity resumed in 1977, and from a low point of forty people attending that year, numbers grew to 147 in 1995. Numbers are thus small in this specific context, but do represent a particularly committed body of language revitalisers, since the camp is well known for enforcing the 'Breton only' rule to a degree unknown elsewhere in other Breton language courses.

The third attitude that comes across is a nationalistic one. One example has already been mentioned in the ecological category, that of 'French domination'. It is quite rare to hear France and Brittany being opposed as points of reference in most Breton language courses, and particularly in their websites. There is a good reason for this. As mentioned in 3.3, Breton nationalists have had to cope with the image of collaborators during World War II and the vast majority of activists have avoided drawing unwanted attention on their nationalist credentials which, in another context of language minoritisation, would not be treated so suspiciously. KEAV, in particular, goes to lengths to point out just how non-political their stance is; and, it should be noted that the following passage appears in French only on the website (possibly in order to make a particular point):

KEAV n'est affilié à aucun parti politique – les participants, stagiaires et encadrants, de leur côté, peuvent évidemment exprimer leurs opinions mais respectent les croyances et convictions de chacun, ne font pas de propagande pour tel ou tel parti et suivent les règles habituelles qui régissent toute communauté.

(KEAV is not affiliated to any political party – participants, course members and facilitators, for their part, are perfectly free to express their opinions but do respect the beliefs and convictions of each individual, and do not engage in propaganda for such or such party and follow the usual rules that govern any community.)

5.2 BRETON LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

As Kroskrity states, 'language ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities' but he also warns that the subsequent linguistic stratification 'subordinates those groups that do not command the standard' (Kroskrity 2006: 509), as examined below. What is interesting is that the ideologies which have been identified seem to be multi-sited, and not confined to single organisations. The commonality these organisations have is not only that they follow the ideologies identified below, but that they also actively reproduce them; they are sites of 'ideological production', as described by Phillips (2000). That they are not sites of 'metapragmatic commentary' (a further category of ideological site identified by Phillips [2000]) is highly significant; this concept is returned to in the conclusion of the present chapter and developed fully in the overall conclusion of the thesis (9.3).

5.2.1 *Standardisation, authenticity and transnationalism*

An examination of these ideologies reveals three main themes. Two of them, the ideology of the standard and the ideology of the authentic, are themes found elsewhere (e.g. Joseph (1987), Cheshire and Stein (1997) and Gal and Woolard (1999) on standardisation; Trilling (1972) and Bucholtz (2003) on authenticity in language). The third theme, the ideology that language can be transnational, in a context of globalisation, has rarely been discussed in a minority language

context (but see Laponce 2003). These themes are highlighted and exemplified in the present section; their definitions and their analysis are developed in much greater detail in each section of the case study (Chapters 6-8).

The ideology of the standard is, according to Gal (2006) the prevalent language ideology in Europe today and this is true in the situations of linguistic minoritisation under consideration here. 'Standard language' ideology emerges often in websites such as that of KEAV (see above) where explicit mention is made of the need for learners to be taught standard, literary Breton, 'afin de pouvoir s'exprimer dans toutes les circonstances de la vie quotidienne' ('in order to be able to interact in every daily life situation') and also so that they can 'apprécier des pans entiers de la culture bretonne souvent ignorés' ('appreciate whole areas of Breton culture which often get overlooked').

The ideology of the standard is prevalent in another website, that of *Deskiñ d'an Oadourien* ('Teaching Breton to Adults') (DAO) (<http://dao.breizh.free.fr/>) but in a different way. This organisation is not so set on ensuring 'standard' Breton is taught, but that it is taught in a standardised format, so that all courses offering Breton tuition have uniform levels for their classes. A sensible suggestion, at first glance, but one which runs counter to the original ethos of the Breton movement, which was seen as 'anti-French' and thus anti-conformist (McDonald 1989). In common with much of western European culture, the tendency to uniformisation has reached even the Celtic fringe, as in

the words of DAO: ‘E-keñver tachennoù zo eo pouezus koulskoude mont war-raok evit unvaniñ anezho’ (‘It is important, however, to make progress in a uniform manner in certain domains’).

The mirroring of this tendency towards standardising language, of boxing it into neat domains, is the rule, often imposed during Breton-language courses, of ensuring that Breton, and Breton only is used during the courses: ‘Ha brezhoneg gant an holl dud-se epad ar c’hamp – ha brezhoneg hepken!’ (‘Breton is to be used by all those people during the camp – and Breton only!’) is how the KEAV website puts it. Other courses are less emphatic in their rules – *Kalon Plouha* does not insist on Breton only in their level 1 and 2 courses, but does insist, in an interesting turn of phrase, on ‘not one word of French’ (‘ger gallek ebet’) at levels 3 and 4. Thus, from a positive reinforcement of (albeit idealised) monolingualism in Breton within one organisation, the shift in emphasis is towards avoiding French at all costs in another, at least for those who are advanced enough to be able to do so.

Most of the KEAV website is in Breton (‘Ar brezhoneg eo yezh KEAV. Alabamour da se emañ lodenn vrasañ al lec’hienn e brezhoneg’ ‘Breton is the language of KEAV. Accordingly, the vast majority of this website is in Breton’), which reflects the idea, mentioned above, of an idealised monolingualism in a minority language, and which is explored in greater detail in Chapter 7. This approach does deliberately ignore, however, the fact that most people accessing the website will be French-dominant in their linguistic skills. The presumed

effect is to encourage learners to continue to make further progress so that they can aspire to the monolingual ideal espoused by the website. Occasionally, though, this can come across as elitist, in that any use of French will undermine the ethos of the camp; this includes a section on the KEAV website, in French ('Originalité de KEAV' 'The Originality of KEAV'), which opens: 'Ci-dessous un article en français pour donner quelques renseignements sur KEAV à ceux qui ne sont pas bretonnants' ('Below is an article in French to give non-Breton speakers some information about KEAV'). In other words, this is the direct reversal of the current situation in Brittany, where Breton is subordinate to French in all situations; French occupies here a secondary, less important position than Breton.

A second major theme, apparent in all the *néo-bretonnant* websites surveyed, is that of attempting to faithfully reproduce Breton culture in an authentic fashion. One of *Studi ha Dudi*'s main aims is to organise cultural activities and entertainment developed in partnership with local organisations, local actors and politicians, and with communities which border the township of Plésidy ('obererezhioù war ar sevenadur pe dudioù aozet a-gevret gant kevregigezhioù staliet tro-dro, gant tud ar vro pe gant an dilennidi hag ar c'humunioù en-dro da Blijidi'), the emphasis being on the 'local'. This is further emphasised when *Studi ha Dudi* lists possible reasons why people might take up the study of Breton. The majority of reasons centre on what is immediately 'local' to the learner:

C'hoant ho peus da zeskiñ brezhoneg

- evit komz gant ho familh, ho mignoned, ho amezeien
- evit mont donoc'h war-zu ho kruioù
- evit gallout komz gant ho pugale skoliataet e brezhoneg ha sikour anezhe gant o labour skol

(You want to learn Breton

- in order to talk with your family, your friends and your neighbours
- to be better connected to your roots
- to be able to talk to your child who are being schooled in Breton and help them with their school work).

KEAV tends to emphasise its own originality; unlike the well-known and widely broadcast summer festivals in Brittany, which in fact do little actually to promote the Breton language in any real and meaningful way, KEAV claims it is carrying out a humble and basic task, very often overlooked by the media ('effectu[e] ainsi un humble travail de fond, souvent ignoré des médias'). It does this by not allowing complete beginners to attend (so that the atmosphere can remain 'authentically' Breton) and by allowing a gradual shift in its courses away from standard Breton (which it nevertheless encourages in its lower level courses) to the roots of the language in the ordinary Breton spoken in Lower Brittany ('ses racines dans le breton populaire parlé en Basse-Bretagne'). Any tendency towards neologisms or neo-Breton is counteracted on KEAV's website by the inclusion of 'Pe vez ret, e vez ret .. met pas dre ret !' ('When there's a need, there's a need ... but not too much !'), an article on how to avoid the overuse of the construction 'ret da' ('have to'), an apparent characteristic of neo-

Breton which, for the author of the website at least, is not 'authentic' enough to count as 'real' Breton.

The final theme for which there was abundant data in the analyses carried out on the websites is that of transnationalism. This has been little discussed in a minority language context, but it is a theme which is growing in importance as the effects of globalisation make themselves felt at very local levels. Minority language groups are now able, thanks to globalising processes, to appeal to other linguistic communities who find themselves in similar situations of endangerment. Thus KEAV's website opens with welcoming sections in Breton, Welsh, French and English and we are reminded that, in the early days of setting up the camp, Welsh people were also present and the Irish used to attend in the past as well ('Kembreiz a veze ingal, Iwerzhoniz a veze bloavezhioù zo ivez'). Such a transnational appeal, originating among other Celtic minorities, has expanded in recent years to include participants from Germany, Hungary, the USA and Japan. An openness towards non-Bretons and people with non-Breton ancestry (indeed, the "Other") appears to be one of the main inspirational ideologies of the group, since it welcomes people from all over the world, all bound together by the same motive of wanting to talk only in Breton, no matter what level they are at, as long as they are not beginners ('KEAV accueille des gens de tout horizon, tous unis par ce même désir de ne s'exprimer qu'en breton, quel que soit leur niveau').

Keuredigezh Kembre-Breizh / Cymdeithas Cymru-Llydaw ('The Wales-Brittany Society') is a specific example of the increasingly transnational nature that Breton, like other minority languages, is in the process of acquiring, in the face of mounting globalisation. Breton, like the Irish language, is facing increasing demands for 'local "authentic" products and experience, which create culturally-specific opportunities' (Ó Conchubhair 2008: 237). As with other Celtic languages, Breton has a strong presence on the web, which makes the language available to Breton speakers and learners, regardless of their location and timezone. The fact that most of the growth of the internet has been through the medium of English has, additionally, opened up space for smaller, minority languages which have found a voice and a presence where previously none existed. The English language has a neutral relationship with these minority languages, a very different scenario to the conflict situation speakers of minority languages will have experienced with which the traditionally 'dominant' languages they grew up. An additional advantage is that these languages are no longer accessible only to those born and/or based in the respective countries. *Keuredigezh Kembre-Breizh* (www.kembre-breizh.org.uk) goes one step further – it provides a forum where speakers of Welsh and Breton can interact transnationally, not only on the web, but by providing activities (such as study days) which can be attended by members and supporters in person as well. Such transnational initiatives are not immune to pervasive language ideologies of nationalism, however; one of the society's stated aims is

to communicate with its members in the ‘native’ languages of each country. In this case, the languages are Welsh and Breton. That Brittany has another ‘native’ (i.e. minority) language, Gallo, is not mentioned. Nor is the fact that for the majority of Welsh people and Bretons, their native language is not a Celtic one. The website provides an example of ‘balanced bilingualism’ – each section has an exact equivalent in both Breton and Welsh. The magazine *Breizh-Llydaw* (‘Brittany’), produced by the society, is produced in both languages, according to the preference of the author of each article.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have identified the main language ideologies prevalent in the Breton speaking community in the twenty-first century. These ideologies are developed and analysed in further depth in the case study which follows (Chapters 6-8), and in which I have tried to identify where these same ideologies intersect. What is particularly fascinating, I believe, is where those points of intersection produce tension and new ways of ‘being Breton-speaking’, and the implications this has for *néo-bretonnants* in Brittany in the twenty-first century. As sites of ideological production, all the organisations discussed here act as agents of social reproduction of dominant ideologies. This leaves little room for the emerging, alternative visions of being ‘Breton-speaking’, which can be ascribed to the lack of meta-pragmatic reflection with

which these organisations (and the Breton movement as a whole) tend not to engage.



6

BRETON AS A COMMODIFIED LANGUAGE

6.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, which constitutes the first part of the case study of the present thesis, the focus is on the observable world of *néo-bretonnants*, and three themes in particular. These themes, already identified in earlier chapters, are exemplified and analysed in the present chapter; they are as follows: (1) the commodification of the Breton language (cf. Chapter 4), (2) the ‘ideal’ of Breton monolingualism (in the discussion on language ideologies in Chapter 5) and (3) the search for linguistic authenticity (in Chapter 3, where tensions arising from language conflict are discussed).

These three areas of discussion are examined within a framework of two interconnected language ideologies, namely the ideology of endangerment and the ideology of the standard. In examining the three themes in this way, this case study pinpoints various processes which, I believe, many minority languages are undergoing at the start of the twenty-first century. Thus while the discussion focuses on one particular endangered language currently spoken in northwest France, the implications and the processes described here are echoed elsewhere. Research into other situations of language endangerment

seems to indicate a certain commonality among these processes which is not bounded by national frontiers (cf. Hornsby [2005] for parallel phenomena in Basque and Galician).

Much of the fieldwork for the present project was conducted in a number of week-long Breton-language courses for adults (see Appendix 2). People who might otherwise not consider attending a language course were attempting to learn Breton for a variety of reasons: their children attended bilingual schools and they wanted to be able to talk to them in Breton; others worked at the local immersion school in an auxiliary capacity and were keen to support the all-Breton nature of the establishment; and, in one case, a participant was aiming to train as a teacher in the state bilingual system.

6.1 LINGUISTIC COMMODIFICATION¹

An increasing number of linguistic minorities are finding their cultures and their languages commodified in the sense that a symbolic worth has been placed upon the languages in question that had not previously existed.

Edwards, writing about Gaelic in Cape Breton, Canada, points out the importance of linguistic symbolism in ensuring some sort of viable future for endangered languages:

Minority-group speakers who no longer use the language for ordinary, communicative purposes often retain an attachment which involves the language as group symbol.

(Edwards 1991: 271)

I believe we have witnessed, at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, a shift away from a purely communicative view of language towards an awareness of the value that language can hold in terms of identity, due in no small part to the process of commodification which minority cultures have undergone. Breton has been as much affected by this process as any other western European minority language:

Useful or not, Breton is a language with enough positive symbolism to justify some optimism for its survival. The future of this language will depend on its symbolic strength, the belief of young Bretons that a Breton identity can be a positive one and that the Breton language is an irreplaceable element in that identity.

(Kuter 1989: 87-88)

Examples of the increasing commodification of the Breton language are abundant in many parts of Brittany. Obvious examples of language commodification include the bilingual signs to be seen in many Breton towns and cities, and the use of the language in an attempt to sell products. The impact of these signs is viewed differently, however, according to the different frames of reference of the speakers affected. Local authorities no doubt considered it a positive move when they commissioned and financed these bilingual road signs. However, for native speakers of the language living in these same communities, the 'official' name may not match the name with which they grew up, though this in itself is not viewed as a problem by Costaeuec, who

considers that the discrepancy will confuse only tourists: '... les notations retenues n'ont que peu de rapport avec la prononciation traditionnelle des toponymes, situation qui semble ne gêner que les touristes' ('the spelling which has been used has little in common with the traditional pronunciation of the place names, but this appears to be a problem only for tourists') (Costaouec 2002: 134). In a separate category altogether, beers brewed in Brittany now tend to carry bilingual descriptions on their labels: 'Bière Ambrée de Fermentation Haute / Bier Goularz Uhelvervet' ('Strong bitter'). Who are these descriptions for? Native speakers of Breton are as capable of understanding the French labelling as any other citizen of the Republic. The answer is much more likely to be that the 'gimmicky' use of Breton on the labels is intended to attract the attention of buyers outside Brittany.

The view held by some course participants that Breton is a potential source of job and career opportunities, are echoed in material produced by the education authority which covers much of Brittany (*académie de Rennes*) to encourage people to take up the study of the language. One such pamphlet, produced in 2003 and entitled, 'Apprendre le breton dans l'académie de Rennes/Deskiñ brezhoneg e akademiezh Roazhon' ('Learning Breton in the Rennes education authority') tends to stress the usefulness of learning the language. The benefits are said to include: a deeper understanding of Breton culture and heritage ('evit bezañ gouest da anavezout ha da gompren gwelloc'h sevenadur ha glad Breizh'), activation of children's latent linguistic

ability in order to learn other languages ('evit diorren abred e spered ar vugale ar galloud da zeskiñ yezhoù all'), links with other Celtic languages and cultures ('evit plaenaat an hent a gas betek ar yezhoù hag ar sevenadurioù keltiek all'), career opportunities in education, the media, the film industry, tourism and cultural activities ('evit en em gemer e-koulz evit labouraat diwezhatoc'h e Breizh ha tapout ur vicher en deskadurezh, er mediaoù, er sinema, war dachenn an douristelezh hag ar sevenadur') and finally an ability to step into the cultural world of the remaining 250,000 (sic) Breton speakers ('evit tostaat ouzh bed ha sevenadur an 250 000 a vrezhonegerien a-vremañ').

This last reason for acquiring linguistic skills in Breton calls to mind a discourse on authenticity. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 8 as the 'authority of authenticity' (Gal and Woolard 1999: 7). Sending one's children to a Breton immersion school is not just a pedagogical choice, according to a pamphlet produced by one such school in Lorient, it is buying into 'ur feson arall da vevañ e Breizh' ('another way of living in Brittany'). The pamphlet continues:

L'immersion en langue bretonne est ... devenu l'outil fondamental de la pédagogie DIWAN. Elle permet aux enfants et aux parents de participer de façon concrète à la dynamique de reconquête et de réappropriation de la culture et de la langue bretonnes. Elle permet également aux enfants bilingues dès l'entrée en primaire de s'approprier de façon plus faciles les autres langues.

(Breton language immersion has ... become the fundamental didactic tool in DIWAN schools. It allows the children and their parents to

participate in the dynamic of the reconquest and regaining of Breton culture and language in a concrete way. It also allows children who have become bilingual in their primary school to acquire other languages more easily.)

‘Reconquest’ and ‘regaining’ speak to a sense of historical continuity of Breton-speaking, most likely to be lost if (some of) the present generation of school children are not educated in or through the medium of Breton. Parents who send their children to such schools are doing their part to ensure this continuity, so the argument seems to run; an argument of this kind would appeal to families who have their roots in the locality, but not exclusively so. Examples are to be found of outsiders supporting such projects, as are examples of non-Bretons learning Breton (see below).

Not being born in Brittany and not being of immediate Breton descent is no impediment to sharing Breton culture and more specifically the Breton language. Outsiders are able to participate in Breton language communities of practice (CofPs) to varying degrees, depending on their level of fluency. Of course, I discovered people from outside Brittany who nevertheless had very direct links to the area – they had at least one Breton-speaking parent or grand-parent. They came predominantly from the Paris region, where there has long been a large Breton diaspora. However, for the purposes of exploring the phenomenon of people with little or no connection to the region and even less so to the language, I was keen to discover the extent to which the Breton language has been, in some way, ‘commodified’. On every course I attended,

there were a small number of people who could be said to be 'buying into' this distinctive 'Celtic' culture of France. They ranged from residents from other French regions, such as Normandy, the Auvergne or the Basque Country, and French cities such as Lyons, to people from other European countries including Italy, Luxembourg or the UK.

Reasons for pursuing these courses varied, but included a love of Breton music and a desire to understand the language of Breton songs, and an interest in the similarities and differences of Breton with minoritised languages in their own countries (as in the case of participants from Italy, Luxembourg or the Basque Country). Occasionally, idiosyncratic reasons emerged. One English gentleman, having retired to Brittany a few years earlier, had recently discovered the Breton language course in his locality and was pursuing it for curiosity's sake. His efforts were much appreciated – when one visiting musician who was giving a talk to the participants enquired about their origins, other participants spontaneously broke into applause when *Bro-Saoz* ('the land of the Saxons') was mentioned! In another context, a participant talked about the lure of being able to speak a 'secret language' with other *bretonnants* in her home town of Clermont-Ferrand. A participant from Lyons had found a sense of belonging in Breton-speaking circles that were lacking in her home city. Her adoption of the Breton language went hand in hand with her ownership of a small flat in Quimper, where a lively Breton/Celtic scene flourishes in the form of 'Irish' pubs, a Breton-language bookshop, a Breton-language resource centre

and a world famous internet-linked *Fest Noz* (similar to a ceilidh), to name but four of the more obvious examples. For her, the Breton language also represented a possible career change. Wishing to move from her current employment as a teacher of English in Lyons, she was pursuing a long-distance degree course in Breton at Rennes University. This is an atypical example of 'buying into' Breton culture, representing as it does a somewhat drastic lifestyle switch, but one which is a logical outcome of identity and linguistic commodification.

6.2 YOUNG BRETON SPEAKERS' VIEWS ON THE LANGUAGE

One of the courses I attended took place in the premises of a Breton-immersion secondary school (Skolaj Bro-Dreger), and the results of a survey on language attitudes the school had conducted during the academic year 2004-2005, were on display in the school foyer. This survey revealed some interesting evidence that points to a certain sense of linguistic commodification among this group of 11 to 15-year-olds. Whereas 43% of them report that they use Breton at home (whatever is meant by 'using' Breton), a much higher percentage sees the school as either a place to use the language (59.5%), or as a vehicle for its active preservation (22%). Tellingly, only 20% of them expect to be able to use their Breton in the workplace in the future.

It would appear then that the category entitled, 'Use of Breton at school' (59.5%) and the category, 'Preservation of Breton through the school' (22%),

equalling 81.5% of the pupils, both correspond to the main raison d'être of the school (in the pupils' minds at least) and account for their principal use of Breton. This would presumably be only in lessons for some of them, since just under a third of all pupils (31%) report that they consistently use Breton at school outside classes. The discrepancy in these figures points, I would suggest, to the reduction of the language to an educational medium limited to school premises, rather than a revitalisation of the language through the school system.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

The reduction of the Breton language to mainly educational sites and the occasional use of it as a marketing tool stand in marked contrast to reactions to the economic potential of a regional language in Scotland, where Pedersen claims that the Gaelic-speaking community, because of its association with geographical isolation and a dramatic landscape,

... has the winning natural ingredients for a world- class product given effective organization, appropriate investment and rigorous control of quality, including cultural and linguistic integrity.

(Pedersen 2000: 162)

Pedersen considers that 'ascribing a greater commercial worth to the language will undoubtedly raise its profile' (2000: 158) and there is some evidence that this is beginning to happen: 'The Gaelic Rings/Cearcaill na

Gàidhlig' is an innovative tourist-marketing initiative, aimed at both Gaelic and non-Gaelic speaking visitors, the stated aim of which is articulating the fundamental importance of the Gaelic language and its culture throughout the Hebridean Islands and the West Highland mainland (Campbell 2008: 3). It remains to be seen, however, how effective commodification will prove in helping minority communities maintain endangered languages in their midst. At the present time in Brittany, attempts to employ the Breton language as a marketing tool appear to have much less success than its use as a teaching medium, as far as revitalisation of the language is concerned, at any rate.

NOTE:

1. An adaptation of section 6.1 has appeared in print in 'The incongruence of the Breton linguistic landscape for young speakers of Breton' in *The Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 29(2), 2008, 127-138.



7

THE IDEOLOGY OF MONOLINGUALISM AS 'STANDARD' ¹

7.0 INTRODUCTION

A noticeable feature of some minority language revitalisation movements is the insistence, on the part of some speakers, for the minority language to be used in all the domains the majority language occupies. This has given rise to demands for governmental information to be provided in a variety of minority and regional languages across Europe. Other institutions (such as banks, energy suppliers, etc) have opted to produce bilingual forms and other paperwork which includes much or all of the information supplied (or solicited) in the minority language. Some countries, most notably Wales and Ireland, with their respective language acts (1993 and 2003), have required public bodies to state explicitly how they will ensure a place for the Welsh and Irish languages in their institutions.

In this chapter, I intend to examine how such a situation has come about, concentrating on the linguistic situation in Brittany as a case study, where I pay particular attention to the emerging ideologies which I discovered whilst engaged in fieldwork there over the past few years. These ideologies are not confined to just the Breton case of course, but they do explain why, after many

years of intransigence, the French state is beginning to allow signage to be erected in regional languages such as Breton, Basque and Corsican. Indeed such ideologies can cross national borders and what one country in the EU concedes to its linguistic minority/ies can be seen to be reflected in some way by other EU countries at a later point in time. What is particularly interesting is that such political moves have their origins not from the 'top down' (as in many language planning initiatives) but result from pressure from the 'bottom up'.

The call for 'parity of esteem' for minority languages is based on a 'norm' located within two major language ideologies, that of standardisation (cf. 3.3.1) and the legitimacy of monolingualism, which is 'taken as normal, and therefore as essential to linguistic and cultural development both at the level of the community and at the level of the individual' (Heller 2006: 85). Attempts to subvert the dominance of languages such as French and English are based on the principle of linguistic subordination, in which language varieties associated with socially subordinate groups are viewed as linguistic deficits rather than neutral linguistic differences (Lippi-Green 1997). The concept has been researched particularly well in Catalan sociolinguistics where it is known as the *Catalan subordination norm* (Vila 1996: 185). Traditionally in Catalonia, the practice that has prevailed between members of the two predominant linguistic groups is the convergence towards Spanish. This is so because both groups perceive Spanish as the neutral code, one that everyone understands and speaks, and so it is the language that offers more guarantees for success in

interpersonal communication (de Rosselló i Peralta 2003). This situation is mirrored in many other situations of linguistic minoritisation in Europe (and indeed further afield) since it is human nature for us to try and adapt to our interlocutors as far as possible. This has been demonstrated by Giles et al. (1973) whose proposed interpersonal accommodation theory explains how interpersonal adaptation, or in other words, linguistic convergence, follows social approval.

7.1 *LE MONDE COMME SI*

Le Monde Comme Si ('The World As If', or 'The World of Make-Believe') (Morvan 2002) gives expression to a provocative trend in French thinking about attempts to revitalise Breton (and other regional languages). In her book, Morvan satirises the Breton cultural movement and refers to the 'futility' of fighting against the 'inevitable tide' of language shift. As someone who was previously closely involved with the *Emsav* ('cultural resurgence') Morvan can offer an insider's view, but also a view which is no longer inspired by ideologies prevalent among Breton-language revitalisers. The following passage typifies her position on using Breton as a means of communication:

... combien ai-je vu de parents s'évertuer à baragouiner un breton pénible pour échanger avec leurs enfants, combien ai-je vu d'enfants contraints à une véritable schizophrénie, parlant français chez eux mais breton à l'école, sans savoir pourquoi la charge de sauver une langue qui ne leur servirait jamais à rien leur incombait à eux. Etrange inversion de la situation tant dénoncée par les militants, qui amenait des enfants,

interdits de parler français comme leurs aïeux avaient été interdits de parler breton, à expier la faute des ancêtres comme un péché originel. Obéir à l'injonction de parler la langue de mon peuple, c'était, dans ma famille, de le faire taire.

(Morvan 2002: 24-25)

(... how many parents have I seen attempt to babble painfully in Breton in order to communicate with their children, how often have I seen repressed children developing what can only be called schizophrenia, speaking French at home but Breton at school, without exactly knowing why the responsibility of saving a language which would never be useful to them should fall on their shoulders. In other words, a strange inversion of the situation so denounced by activists, whose children, prohibited from speaking French in much the same way as their older relatives had been prohibited from speaking Breton, were supposed to expiate the sins of the ancestors like some sort of original sin. Obeying the injunction to speak the language of my people was, in my family, to silence it).

Morvan's title of *Le Monde Comme Si* vividly evokes the daily struggle *néo-bretonnants* face when using Breton: they act 'as if' Breton were a language of wider communication; 'as if' it is the done thing to transmit the language to their children; 'as if' Breton-language schooling for their children is just another educational choice. Morvan's stance on such 'as if's' is thoroughly negative but I would argue that acting in such a way is a necessity if *néo-bretonnants* are to retain a sense of purpose in learning and using the Breton language.

Looking further afield, other minority groups are acting in similar ways to *néo-bretonnants* and nobody seems to be claiming they are play-acting. In a Welsh context, Trosset talks of the need of L2 Welsh speakers to 'seek to

escape from their learners' status, which has now become, in effect, a social stigma' (Trosset 1986: 187).

Similarly, in French-speaking Ontario, one school clearly states:

Toutes les activités, qu'elles soient purement scolaires ou qu'elles soient culturelles ou récréatives se déroulent en français. On attend également de vous que vous vous adressiez en français à vos enseignant-e-s et à vos condisciples; en classe et pendant toutes les activités scolaires et para-scolaires.

(Heller 2006: 84)

(All activities, whether strictly academic, cultural or recreational take place in French. We also expect you to speak in French to your teachers and your fellow students, in class and during all school-time and extra-curricular activities.)

Heller found that, despite the school's clear linguistic policy (one of 'as if' the school were in an overwhelmingly French-speaking province),

... while [pupils] collaborate with the construction of a French monolingual public face, they act out their bilingual experience of life, their bilingual identities and the value they place on bilingualism by performing bilingualism. This means using English, or occasionally both French and English, in the spheres which they consider to be private, under their control rather than that of the school. They therefore daily attack the integrity of the monolingual 'oasis culturel' that [the school] is supposed to be, while at the same time they need it in order to become the kind of bilinguals they want to be, and the school wishes for them.

(Heller 2006: 114)

Such tensions are not surprising, given the top-down emphasis on monolingual language use and the equally powerful bottom-up pressure to communicate in, what is for them, an authentic way (i.e. bilingually and diglossically). The monolingual policy of militants who insist on using Breton at every opportunity, who make Breton the working language of their homes, much like Heller's school in the example above, recalls Jaffe's observation that in many minority language movements; 'legitimate and authorized identities are typically associated either with a monolingual norm or an ideal of balanced bilingualism' (Jaffe 2007: 50-51).

Thus some *néo-bretonnants* will carry language learning out of the prevailingly monolingual Breton classroom and into everyday life. However, for other *néo-bretonnants*, the prevailing culture (i.e. French-speaking) will play a more central role in their language use, and 'hybrid bilingualism' (Heller 2000: 10) will emerge in the form of mixed language practices (i.e. Breton and French intertwined) and less than 'perfect' mastery of Breton. Problems arise because such practices do not fit in with the prevailing discursive emphasis on 'balance' (i.e. bilingualism as two parallel mono-lingualisms) which,

...flies in the face of minority language communities' experience of language shift. It is extremely difficult for the individual to have 'balanced' competencies in two languages when those languages have vastly different statuses and uses in the surrounding society. Secondly,

much remains unexamined with respect to the social meanings of 'balance'.

(Jaffe 2007: 58)

Néo-bretonnants are no different from other people involved in immersion programmes all over the world, but the resulting (and natural) tensions which emerge because of the conflicting aims of additive and hybrid bilingualism have sometimes been seized upon by opponents to claim the world of *néo-bretonnants* is somehow 'inauthentic', as in the work of McDonald (1989) and Jones (1995, 1998), as well as Morvan (2002). I argue that this shows a lack of understanding of the transformations many minority languages are forced to undergo due to processes of 'High Modernity' (Giddens 1991), which result in such tensions.

7.2 BRETON-LANGUAGE SITES

Breton was the working language of the courses I followed – the courses were introduced in Breton, it was used as the target language in classes and it was used by the teachers amongst themselves outside the classrooms, apart from one course administrator who was a natural passive Breton user. That is, he understood the language but used French to communicate with others. Being in his twenties and having lived in the Breton-speaking locality all his life, his

passive knowledge of the language was in itself enough for him to be accepted in *néo-bretonnant* circles. He was, however, the exception.

Language ideology played a large part in determining which language was used outside of the classroom. Only one course (out of the five I attended) was largely Breton-speaking outside lessons. All the extra-curricular activities were organised in Breton and as there was a large group of competent Breton speakers on the course, Breton was overwhelmingly used during the coffee breaks. The ideologies in force on other courses were based less on 'Breton monolingualism' and French generally played a larger part in informal transactions.

An important influence on whether Breton was used or not in such informal situations was the presence of what I have termed 'lead speakers'. Such people were identified by the rest of the group as fluent (if not always accurate) speakers of Breton, who generally spoke in Breton and expected to be addressed in that language. More research needs to be done on the psychological make-up of these speakers, as there was no obvious correlation between their ethnic origins, gender and age and their personal language ideology².

Other factors determining whether Breton or French (or occasionally English) was used outside the classroom need to be taken into account. Beginner learners simply did not have the linguistic skills to participate in conversations in Breton and so French was their language of choice. In Welsh-speaking/Welsh-learning circles, where 'the process of learning a new

language temporarily takes away people's ability to talk, and the sense of inadequacy leads them to experience shame' (Trosset 1986: 184), learners often do not participate actively in conversations with more fluent speakers of Welsh. Reverence for the act of Welsh-speaking would be shown by adopting silence. Such behaviour would not have been acceptable in most of the courses I attended in Brittany, where people were more assertive in their rights to communicate in the language of their choice. Thus in such situations, the emphasis was always content-focused, rather than medium focused, as in comparative situations in Wales.

In two of the courses I attended, there was a small contingent of English people. In the case of two participants, they each had a parent from Brittany (though not Breton-speaking) and in another case, the participant had bought a house in the local area (but long before the current trend of British people buying a Breton pied-à-terre for weekend retreats) and wanted to get to know local culture better. It seemed natural for me, as a native English speaker, to communicate with them in English, even though two of them had high fluency levels in Breton (one of them was the beginner-level teacher on one of the courses). What was happening here, on some level, was, I assume, people identifying a certain language with a certain individual and it was that language in which that person was generally addressed. If it worked for the English speakers in the groups, then it probably worked in a similar way for people who were French-dominant. The only time such linguistic boundaries

were fluid was with myself and a participant who had spent a lot of time in America and was keen to practise his English, though his linguistic behaviour was the subject of light-hearted teasing by other participants. 'Ur staj a saozneg eo?' ('Is this an English course?') they would ask him.

Perhaps the most direct example of a linguistic ideology based on monolingualism as the norm was in a document given out in one class about activities being organised in Breton in the local area. The document did not list such activities; rather, it was a 'call to arms' for people to organise the activities themselves and to ensure that the working language was Breton. The prevailing ideology was that people in Brittany should be able to participate in activities in Breton:

Pet ha pet gwech all n'em eus klevet gant tud hag a vez poaniañ da zeskiñ hon yezh pegen start eo dezhe koazeal pa ne gavont den ebet evit en ober gante. E lec'h all e Breizh, eus Naoned da Vrest, en em gav an danvez brezhonegerien estroc'h e-pad ar c'hentelioù.

(Time and time again I have heard from people who have taken the time to learn our language about how difficult it is for them to find someone to speak to. All over Brittany, from Nantes to Brest, Breton speakers meet in order to use the language outside classes.)

The monolingual ideal is expressed in the following statement:

Ur reolenn hepken zo boutin d'an oll obererezhioù-mañ: pep tra e brezhoneg!

(There's only one rule as far as all these activities are concerned: everything has to be in Breton!)

A certain sense of reality creeps in with the recognition that not everyone has the linguistic skills to live up to this ideal:

Ober e brezhoneg ne dalv ket mestroniañ mat hon yezh dre ret met bezañ prest d'ober eus e seizh gwellañ evit na vefe nemet brezhoneg.

(Using Breton does not necessarily mean mastering our language in itself but being willing to use Breton to the best of your ability.)

An interesting use is the term 'hon yezh' ('our language') to designate Breton. Presumably, it is meant to make less competent users of Breton feel part of the neo-Breton community and to encourage and empower them in their use of the language. Such a technique recalls the situation in the southern Basque country, where local radio stations employ call-signs and station identifications in Basque as 'framing devices for the ensuing talk, establishing for the radio and its audience symbolic membership in an *euskaldun* ('Basque-speaking') public even if later, Castilian might be used' (Urla 2001: 153).

7.3 CONCLUSIONS

Néo-bretonnants find themselves having to make assertive linguistic choices and this is a feature shared with other linguistic groups throughout the world, not least in Quebec, where language legislation in the 1970s is making itself felt as French become the working language in domains where previously English was the norm. Heller points out that in such situations, speakers (or ‘acteurs’, as she terms them in this context), ‘font fonctionner ces changements dans des directions qui correspondent non seulement à ce qui est possible, mais aussi à ce qui est à leurs yeux souhaitable’ (‘make these changes work in directions which not only correspond to what is possible, but also to what is desirable in their eyes’) (Heller 2006: 73). With predictions of two languages ‘dying’ every month (Crystal 2000), linguistic assertiveness such as that found among the *néo-bretonnants* indicates a rather more refreshing trend than among other linguistic minorities. That much of the linguistic practices will be ‘hybrid’ in Heller’s sense of the word (i.e. a contradiction ‘between the stigmatised but authentic vernacular ... and the emerging standard [language] which marginalises vernacular-speakers’ (Heller 2006: 24)) is one major challenge facing language revitalisers in Brittany at the present time.

NOTES:

1. This chapter is being published in ‘The ideology of monolingualism as ‘standard’ in Brittany’ (Aberdeen Postgraduate Conferences Proceedings).

2. One of these lead speakers featured prominently in a piece of fieldwork I filmed in the summer of 2004. As a courtesy to my consultants, I made copies of the filming and mailed these copies to them. While engaged in further fieldwork in the same locality in 2006, I was approached by the wife and daughter of the lead speaker mentioned above. He had passed away earlier on that year and they had come to thank me for the audiovisual record which was now particularly precious to them. It has struck me since just how intimate sociolinguistic research is and just how valuable our documentation can prove to be in contexts which we could scarcely imagine at the time of compilation.



8

ATTEMPTS AT CREATING LINGUISTIC 'AUTHENTICITY' IN BRITTANY

8.0 INTRODUCTION

The search for one's roots indicates a general malaise in society and a general eagerness to have or adopt an 'authentic' identity, whether linguistic or otherwise. Deacon (1996), writing about the Cornish language dilemma, points out that it 'may be the local variant of something much wider and more global. There is a sense ... that we are living through a complex transformation, that society is changing more rapidly and in different directions than before' (p. 92). Complex societal transformations will have an impact on linguistic practices as much as on any other human behaviour. Of Deacon's 'attributes of post-modernity' (1996: 93), the most salient for the present discussion is the 'growing perception of fragmentation, particularity, difference and contingency'. His perception that 'the problem of authenticity is a peculiarly modern problem' (Deacon 1996: 99) may be not totally accurate, given Woolard's point that 'authenticity arose as an ideological tool in late 18th and 19th century romantic notions of language, people, and nation' (Woolard 2005: 2), it is nevertheless true that the present period is characterised by a crisis of authentic representation. As the societies we live in, particularly in the developed world,

continually modernise, we find ourselves caught in a vicious cycle which has been described thus by Deacon: 'Modernity ... adds constantly to "inauthenticity" ... but it also creates the quest for authenticity' (Deacon 1996: 99). He adds that this quest becomes more and more difficult to obtain, due to the elusive nature of authenticity: 'The general fragmentation and speeded up social change associated with postmodernity has two consequences. First, the authenticity searches become even more frantic. As the possibility of achieving authenticity recedes further, so the value given to authenticity strengthens' (Deacon 1996: 100).

The concept of authenticity in language revitalisation settings appears to be a major concern of the majority of participants. What exactly, though, are they hoping to recreate? Most often, there is some reference to a tradition of standard usage, a 'pure' form of the language and the language's status as some sort of national or group icon. 'Authenticity', in such sociolinguistic contexts, has been usefully problematised by Coupland (2003: 420), who talks of a tension between *establishment* and *vernacular* authenticities. If vernacular set of authenticities (which stress phenomena such as natural and inherent linguistic change, in-group social network norms and local affiliations) have proved to be the focus of much sociolinguistic study, this has been for valid reasons, not least that these are perceived as egalitarian. Less well documented is the establishment set, typified by an emphasis on standard usage, hygienist tendencies and the ideology of language as a national icon, since its authoritarian stance is

intrinsically less attractive to sociolinguists. However, Coupland argues that 'the ... overarching semantic dimensions of authenticity are present, in just about equal measure, in *both* the first *and* second sets (Coupland 2003: 420-421). Taking into account that a 'single' authenticity does not exist in any linguistic situation goes a long way to explaining the tensions in many language revitalisation settings today. In this section, I explore different attempts to (re)create 'authenticity' in a number of Breton-language sites with reference to both vernacular and establishment sets in Brittany today. That the 'establishment' in Brittany is a grass-roots initiative, a situation shared with a number of linguistic minorities in Europe (but perhaps not to the same extent as in Brittany, given the lack of central government interest in such matters), makes the situation especially complex but also particularly fascinating.

Bucholtz has expanded the concept of authentication (i.e. rendering an object, event, artefact, speech act, etc, 'authentic') and has suggested how to approach this concept from a sociolinguistic perspective:

It is the tactic of authentication that produces authenticity as its effect. Thus sociolinguists should speak not of authenticity but more accurately of authenticity effects, achieved through the authenticating practices of those who use and evaluate language. This perspective

does not deny the cultural force of authenticity as an ideology but emphasizes that authenticity is always achieved rather than given in social life, although this achievement is often rendered invisible.

(Bucholtz 2003: 410)

Bucholtz has furthermore proposed three sets of pairs of terms to describe these ‘authenticity effects’, which I summarise below:

Area of authentication	Process	Effects
Similarity/Difference	Adequation	Construction of contextually sufficient similarity between individuals or groups
	Distinction	Downplaying of inter-subjective likeness
Structural Power	Authorisation	Claims of culturally recognised status
	Illegitimation	Denial or rejection of above claim
Genuineness/Artifice	Authentication	Assertion of an identity as genuine or credible
	Denaturalisation	Assertion of an identity as inauthentic or unreal

Table 6: Processes of authentication (after Bucholtz 2003: 408-9)

These areas of authentication will be referred to below in the discussion of the data obtained from fieldwork in Brittany.

8.1 TENSIONS OVER SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN BRETON LANGUAGE REVITALISATION

One of the most obvious tensions to emerge during the language courses I attended in Brittany centred on differing language ideologies. Ideologies of the

'authentic' clashed most often with ideologies of the 'standard'. Participants were attending these languages courses in order to learn 'the' Breton language, but it soon became apparent that there were tensions and contradictions over what constituted 'the' language in question. Tensions over 'adequation' (cf. Bucholtz above) which, in this context, I take to be learners' attempts to appropriate what they understood as 'authentic' linguistic practices (i.e. those of traditional, native speakers) emerged when these learners were presented with local, dialectal (i.e. non-standard) forms. As an outsider to the speech community, I eagerly seized upon these forms in order to make my Breton sound more local and thus more 'authentic'. However, other participants had different perspectives. One of them came from a neighbouring region where the pronunciation system was distinctly different and thus when she was presented with such forms as /ha:je/ 'today', /bomde:/ 'every day' and /bopla:/ 'every year', which in *her* family would be pronounced /hizi:u/, /be:mdez/ and /be:plo:az/ respectively, she took exception to this and reported to me, towards the end of the course, that she wished she had asked the teachers to be pluralistic in their approach and include her dialect too.

On the other hand, I witnessed attempts to break away from a native speaker frame of reference. This phenomenon corresponds to Bucholtz's process of 'distinction', mentioned above, and was manifested in the down-playing of attempts at becoming similar to native speakers. It was as if there were, on occasion, a conscious stance of not wanting to be compared to native

speakers and a subsequent shying away from acting like them. Pentecouteau says this can go as far as neo-speakers insisting on language standardisation as the only way to save Breton ('l'unification est le seul moyen de conserver la langue') (Pentecouteau 2002b: 202). This thread is discernible in Davalan (2000: 35), where the various ways of saying 'thank you' in Breton are discussed. He sees the forms used by native speakers as the least 'classy' mode of expression and claims that 'neo' forms are gaining in popularity:

A. La moins « classe » mais la plus courante

Mersi mersi bras mersi dit mersi deoc'h

B. La plus « classe » (elle devient de plus en plus courante)

Trugarez trugarez vras trugarez dit trugarez deoc'h

These tensions indicate a state of affairs where learners of minority languages are struggling to find a happy medium between being a 'good enough speaker' of the language in question but also realising that they will, in all likelihood, never speak exactly like a native speaker. In other language-learning situations, speakers of majority languages are used to hearing outsiders speak their languages with foreign and non-native accents and turns of phrase.

Generally speaking, speakers of endangered languages are simply not used to this happening in their own language. In Quebec, where for a long time the local variety of French was stigmatised as 'inferior', someone addressing a francophone in English-accented French would be replied to in English. This is

less the case now since, as Frazer (2006: 138) points out: 'Quebeckers have had twenty five years to learn what English-speaking North Americans have had 150 years to absorb: how to hear their language spoken with a[n] [non-native] accent'. Native speakers of Breton, much like the native speakers Jaffe worked with on Corsica and who viewed 'Corsican linguistic space as private', see learning Breton (and Corsican) as 'a contaminating, deauthenticating act' (Jaffe 2001: 286). As non-native and neo-speakers (and their children) increasingly become the majority in Brittany, this tension might diminish somewhat, though, as purist tendencies will always be held by some members of any speech community, it is unlikely to disappear altogether.

8.2 TENSIONS OVER SPEAKERS' STATUS

This pairing of tensions focuses on claims of a recognised status which is either affirmed or rejected. In the context of the courses I attended, this manifested itself most often in who is authorised to speak and who is not. Jaffe (1999: 32) has summed up this tension very accurately when she says that 'minority activists must simultaneously recognise a binary, oppositional mode of values and promote some kind of synthesis and balance between dual identities'.

Jaffe's study of the tensions inherent in the Corsican language situation finds echoes in a whole host of similar situations. Her mention of the 'banishing of learner language from the informal, public sphere' (Jaffe, 1999: 206) was not

generally found in my fieldwork in Brittany; fluent speakers on the courses I attended were, by and large, fairly tolerant of learners' mistakes, though one teacher felt it to be his unfailing duty to correct each and every mistake in either syntax and pronunciation. Apart from this exception, such tolerance can be seen as part of a process of hybridisation, that is 'the ways in which forms become separated from existing practices and recombine with new forms in new practices' (Rowe and Schelling 1991: 231). For example, the traditional way of asking someone's age in Breton uses the verb 'to be', as in 'Pe oad oc'h?' ('What age are you?'). In a similar manner, asking someone's name, traditionally, uses the verb 'to be', 'Pe anv oc'h?' ('What name are you?'). However, due to French influence, you often hear, from traditional and neo-speakers alike, 'Peseurt oad 'peus?' ('What age do you have?'). This French influence has produced a hybrid form, by analogy, not found traditionally either in Breton or in French, namely 'Peseurt anv 'peus?' 'What name do you have?' (Davalan 2000: 90).

An interesting observation noted by Jaffe (1999: 8-9) involves two classroom settings she experienced in the learning of Corsican. The courses I attended in Brittany were similar to the learning environment Jaffe experienced in Corsica which 'located linguistic identity and authority in collective social action' in that they were informal in nature and felt the emphasis was on "'becoming" rather than "being"' to use Jaffe's terms for her categories (Jaffe 1999: 8-9). In a similar way, I found there were no 'politically charged silences' as she calls them (ibid). As mentioned previously, social

interaction in these particular pedagogical settings was paramount and addressing fellow participants, even if it was in French, was preferable to remaining silent, due to one's deficient Breton.

Linguistic practices also produce tensions in this area. The existence of three systems of schooling for teaching Breton to children under twelve (namely immersion, state bilingual education and Catholic bilingual education) reflects this particular tension in Breton society as a whole, where a monolingual ideal (Breton immersion schooling) co-exists with a bilingual/ diglossic ideology (where timetable parity is given to instruction in French in the Breton bilingual schools). This tension between ideologies was mirrored in the different courses I attended in Brittany where on some courses the consensus was that Breton should be used as much as possible whereas in other settings such linguistic choices were left to individuals.

There are grounds for claiming that this tension in ideologies was visible in the language produced by the learners. Mention has already been made of the tension over which dialect forms were to be presented to participants and on the same course, we were presented with three forms of the future tense in the verbal form 'you shall speak': *'komzit'*, *'komzoc'h'* and *'komzfet'*. Such plurality was encouraged, since we would come across speakers locally who would use such forms. We were also encouraged to truncate words, so that *'sec'hed'* 'thirst' became *'sec'h'* and *'dezhi'* 'to her' became *'deï'*. Tensions arise when such clipping is employed by learners, since it can be viewed as

‘inauthentic’ by commentators such as McDonald (1989: 169) who claim it ‘is not necessarily done with a mastery of any single local system’, i.e. the mixing of truncated forms from different dialects. Thus seeking to use ‘authentic’ forms of the language in question can result in the speaker illegitimising him/herself, at least in the eyes of some commentators and some native speakers.

8.3 TENSIONS OVER IDENTITY

Bucholtz’s final process pairing (‘authentication’ and ‘denaturalisation’) focuses on whether a speaker’s identity is perceived as genuine or as inauthentic. A speaker’s identity in both neo-Breton CofPs and traditional Breton-speaking networks, in order to be considered ‘authentic’ by the speaker him/herself and others, has to be historically traceable and/or has to make some reference to the language’s past, either in its *badume* or its literary form. Authentic language (i.e. language produced by authentic speakers) is what Pentecouteau calls,

... la langue “d’autrefois”, c’est-à-dire une langue qui est complètement idéalisée et qui fait référence, même si c’est d’une manière très éloignée, à un autre monde ..., c’est aussi une langue qui fait référence à une culture qui n’était pas encore rapportée à la culture française, minorée, dominée.

(Pentecouteau 2002b: 175)

(... the language of “former times”, that is to say, a language which has been completely idealised and which refers, even if it is very far back, to another ... world, also as a language which refers to a culture which had not been taken over, minoritised and dominated by French culture.)

Thus consultants would refer to the past to authenticate linguistic practices. One participant demonstrated this clearly when asking about the ‘authenticity’ of an alternative verbal form: ‘Implijet eo gant ar re gozh?’ (‘Is it used by older speakers?’) In a similar manner, an interviewee on a Breton-language radio programme (Guillamot 2006) stated that, for him, ‘real’ Breton has an immediate focal point in his own family: ‘Ar gwir brezhoneg zo brezhoneg desket evel yezh gentañ. Pa oa erruet ma zad er skol, ne gomze ket galleg ... setu ma referañs’ (‘Real Breton is Breton that has been learnt as a first language. When my father arrived at school, he didn’t speak a word of French ... for me, that’s my point of reference’.) This is similar, in many ways, to the Pentecouteau reference mentioned earlier, that in many neo-Breton speakers’ minds, there is an idealisation of the past, when ‘proper’ Breton was spoken.

Another, very different technique employed by some revitalisers was to authenticate the *present* state of the language, rather than make references to the past. The textbook used in one of the Breton courses I attended attempted to normalise a particular debate over French-influenced pronunciation by some neo-speakers:

La prononciation du breton est actuellement en pleine évolution et il n’est pas rare d’entendre des personnes, qui bien que parlant couramment le breton, le prononcent comme s’ils parlaient français, ignorant ainsi royalement la plupart des règles énoncées ici. C’est un peu choquant mais c’est comme ça. Gardez vous bien de les juger. Ils peuvent être très sympas et c’est en grande partie grâce à eux que le breton survit.

(Breton pronunciation is changing very rapidly and it is not rare to come across people who, even though they speak Breton fluently, pronounce it as if they were speaking French, thus ignoring most of the rules which have been laid out here. It is a bit shocking but that is how it is. Try not to judge them. They might be very nice people and it is largely thanks to them that the Breton language is surviving.)

Thus the situation where a strong French accent in Breton is normally condemned as 'inauthentic', as in the work of McDonald (1989) and Jones (1995, 1998) is, in one author's view, something we should accept as part of linguistic 'evolution'.

However, there were examples of the denaturalisation of speakers' identities. The interviewee on the radio programme mentioned earlier said that his status as a Breton speaker was not recognised by his Breton-speaking relatives: 'Emañ ma holl familh o chom e bro Leon ... ne gomzont ket brezhoneg ganin, met e komzint ganin diwar benn ar brezhoneg' ('All my family lives in the pays de Léon region ... they do not speak Breton to me, but they will talk to me about the language'). The only identity thus open to him is that of a *néo-bretonnant*.

Another course participant, from the same region, confirmed that it was practically impossible to maintain a conversation in Breton with her Breton-speaking relatives because sooner rather than later a switch into French would occur, since that was the default language they used together. In both cases, the

status of these neo-speakers as Breton speakers was negated (or ignored) by older, traditional speakers.

8.4 CONCLUSIONS

The ideologies of endangerment and of the standard stand out clearly in the present case study as influencing linguistic practices in one situation of language revitalisation, much in the way Boudreau and Dubois have highlighted the importance of ideology in exerting ‘pressure on linguistic practices and on the construction of identity’ (Boudreau and Dubois 2007: 105). Both ideologies, resulting either directly or indirectly from the present climate of the need to ‘save’ languages, encompass issues larger than the linguistic ones presented here. What I believe they demonstrate is a trend that an increasing number of language revitalisation movements exhibit. Whether this constitutes ‘saving’ a language forms the basis of Chapter 9, where the present thesis is summarised and conclusions are drawn.



SECTION 3: CONCLUSIONS

Chapter

9

LINGUISTIC HYBRIDITY IN BRITTANY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

9.0 INTRODUCTION

As I have shown, there is much in the literature that indicates that *néo-bretonnants* are, in many ways, ‘speakers apart’. Jones (1995 and 1998), McDonald (1989) and Timm (2000, 2001 and 2003) talk of a real rift between *néo-bretonnants* and traditional speakers, and other commentators (e.g. Tanner 2004; Le Berre 2001) totally dismiss any attempts by non-native speakers to learn and use the language outside the classroom. Furthermore, the data from my periods of fieldwork have corroborated this. One of my aims in the present study was to investigate the position *néo-bretonnants* occupy in Brittany today and to question the idea that they can be dismissed as ‘fanatics’ or ‘language geeks’. I was also keen to question notions such as the ‘inauthenticity’ of their use of the Breton language. Finally, I wanted to know why originally monolingual French speakers were attempting to become speakers of an obsolescent language. Such a scenario is not confined to Brittany of course, as I have shown with examples from other situations of language endangerment, but the Breton situation does

illustrate quite vividly the divisions that are being exacerbated within minority language groups during the present period of hypermodernity.

9.1 WHERE DO *NÉO-BRETONNANTS* FIT IN?

Neo-speakers in a Breton context can cause consternation for traditional (older) speakers, as indeed they do in other linguistic contexts. Sometimes this is perpetuated by neo-speakers who see themselves engaged in ‘une reconquête de l’héritage et une réinvention continue de la tradition’ (‘a reconquest of their heritage and in a continual reinvention of tradition’) (Simon 1999: 145). Thus choosing to send their children to bilingual and immersion schools, using Breton in contexts where diglossic norms would insist French is used, fetishising the Breton language as ‘le symbole par excellence de la nationalité bretonne’ (‘the ultimate symbol of Breton nationalism’) (Simon 1999: 162) ‘flies in the face of minority language communities’ experience of language shift’ (Jaffe 2007: 58). These *néo-bretonnants*, by their linguistic behaviour, are putting themselves outside the fold, as it were.

Such a view projects language as whole, bounded systems and privileges language over people. Unless one speaks the ‘correct’ (but not standard) Breton, one simply does not fit in. Such a view is understandable, of course, in communities where people have been duped into hating their ethnolinguistic heritage through nationalist ideologies originating in the majority group. Metalinguistic awareness might go some way to combating

such views on the part of traditional speakers, but the problem remains of how to transmit such awareness among an aging segment of the population.

Schemes do exist where younger and older speakers of Breton are brought together. *Quêteurs de mémoire de Finistère*, organised by the local council in the far west of Brittany, lists thirty-three projects in 2007/8 where pupils in immersion and bilingual schools in the department contact with older Breton speakers in their respective communities (<http://queteurs.cg29.fr/public/edition-2007.php?l=fr>).

Much of the lack of alleged misunderstanding between neo- and native-speakers can be explained through accommodation theory. Accommodation theory, defined by Coulmas (2005: 32) as ‘the ways people speak [and] adjust to their interlocutors ... this adjustment has a social dimension’, sheds light on a linguistic behaviour which is sometimes a characteristic of interactions between neo- and native-speakers. The literature in this area shows a range of responses exhibited by native speakers when confronted with L2 speakers of their language. One of delight at an outsider using the language and the conciliatory use of ‘foreigner talk’ (FT, or simplified speech) does not happen regularly between native and neo-speakers in Brittany. More likely is that the native speaker may make deliberate efforts *not* to use FT:

The lack of FT could be attributed to the interactional goal of maintaining distinctiveness from the [non-native speaker] ... for reasons

of ethnocentrism, as a response to a negative stereotype held of the [non-native speaker].

(Zuengler (1991: 238)

More likely still is that the native speaker will switch to French, as Zuengler further points out:

This lack of linguistic accommodation can be further exacerbated by an increased distancing on the part of the native-speaker, who can shift towards the standard or towards a regional dialect when speaking to a non-native speaker to emphasise divergence between the two interlocutors.

(Zuengler 1991: 238)

This appears to be what is happening in many cases of interaction between native speakers of minority languages. The two sets of speakers are occupying differing social positions. It is not confined to just these languages or indeed just to minority languages, of course. The literature shows that speakers of numerically stronger and more prestigious languages can exhibit the same behaviour; Giles and Powesland (1975) show how French-speakers in Montreal will switch to English if addressed in a non-native accent (though see Frazier 2006; cf. p. 192). Woolard (1989: 69) reports on the accommodation norm in Catalonia that 'Catalan should be spoken only between Catalans'; and, according to Miller (1982) foreigners talking Japanese will invoke a response in a foreign talk register or in English.

This can happen for a number of reasons. First of all, the minority language speaker being addressed may be expressing divergence, that is, refusing to acknowledge the other person's linguistic efforts to express solidarity or similitude, since in the case of neo-speakers of Gaelic and Breton, the neo-speaker is most often an outsider to the local community. However, 'maintenance or divergence is often seen by its recipients as insulting, impolite, or downright hostile' (Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991: 28), even though this may not have been the native-speaker's actual intent. Occasionally though, depending on the individual, the native speaker may have intended to reject the neo-speaker, since the minority language can be seen as appropriate for interactions with family and friends only, and attempts to cross these well-established diglossic boundaries may be taken as intrusive.

Another possible scenario is where the native speaker is not seeking to differentiate himself/herself from the neo-speaker through divergence, but rather simply conforming to the speech community's accommodation norm of non-convergence. The difference is a subtle one. I see divergence as the native speaker's proactive behaviour in maintaining in-out group boundaries. A lack of convergence, on the other hand, is a more passive behaviour which is centred on a speaker's or group's lack of need, often unconscious, for social integration or identification (Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991). Thus, the native speaker does not feel compelled to accommodate the neo-speaker in his/her attempts to communicate in the minority language, since it is outside

their own social experiences. This behaviour is often accompanied by a lack of awareness of the 'social implications of the absence of convergence' (Giles, Coupland and Coupland 1991: 28), which reinforces the premise that it does not amount to a deliberate snub to neo-speakers' efforts.

Finally, what Giles, Coupland and Coupland term 'group communicative distinctiveness' may come into play, whereby 'interlocutors will not only stereotype and depersonalise their interlocutor(s) but also will take on the communicative patterns believed to be prototypical of their group' (Giles, Coupland and Coupland, *ibid.*). Minority language speakers are acutely aware that their languages exist in a diglossic space and that when diglossic norms are broken by neo-speakers, native speakers are participating in what amounts to a thwarting of these norms if they reply in the minority language.

So, what place do *néo-bretonnants* have in Brittany today? It is hard to categorise them as belonging to just one segment of society, different *néo-bretonnants* occupying different echelons of their communities. That some *néo-bretonnants* operate solely in specific communities of practice is undeniable. In research I carried out in 2003 amongst a group of *néo-bretonnants* in Rennes (Hornsby 2005: 212), I found that 46% of the people surveyed (n=103) would only use their Breton at places like evening classes, where the main or sole purpose in getting together is to make use of the language. As 'an aggregate of people who come together around a mutual engagement or an endeavour' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992) these *néo-bretonnants* clearly form a

community of practice whose aim is precisely to practise the Breton language. That this may be seen as 'inauthentic' by some commentators is probably because such practices are new and a counter-response to language attrition. Neo-speakers are simply not playing by the rules of what people see as the 'natural' or 'inevitable' process of language 'death'. However, to claim, as Tanner (2004: 261) does, that Breton 'at best ... may linger as the language of a club of enthusiasts who communicate over the internet or meet at pre-arranged functions' is to downplay the importance of such activities. An attitude such as this buys into an ideology of language as a 'finite, stable, standardised, rule-governed instrument of communication', or a 'real object waiting to be discovered' (Le Nevez 2006: 67) and fails to appreciate that language is 'a pattern of learned behaviour and a means of communication between living human beings' (McEwan-Fujita 2006: 291). That Tanner (2004: 261) 'throughout the day ... never heard one word of Breton from the audience or the dancers and singers' while in Brittany not only strikes me as lacking in understanding of the nature of diglossic societies, I feel it is probably untrue. Single words or even phrases of Breton abound at folklore festivals in Brittany to describe the dances, songs (the majority of which were probably in Breton) or the costumes etc. His point is more likely that he did not hear Breton being spoken as a means of communication. While *he* indeed may not have, this does not mean it does not happen on a daily basis among other *bretonnants* (whether traditional or 'neo' in nature).

Other *néo-bretonnants* are using the language more frequently and whereas this will sometimes be in locations that can be described as a CofP (e.g. bilingual and immersion schools) they are also speaking Breton in less institutionalised settings, for example, with friends, other family members or work colleagues. In the investigation I carried out in 2003, between 3% and 8% of the people surveyed would take every opportunity to use Breton as the medium of communication, depending on the particular situation, hence the range of percentages (Hornsby 2005: 213). These people might be legitimately described as constituting a ‘social network’, described by Milroy (2002: 549) as ‘the aggregate of relationships contracted with others’. The behaviour of these *néo-bretonnants* is not unusual or ‘inauthentic’ since ‘speakers draw on linguistic resources which are organised in ways **that make sense under specific social conditions** (or, to use a Foucauldian approach, with specific discursive regimes’ (Heller 2007: 1, my emphasis).

Néo-bretonnants do not, of course, operate in a vacuum. All speech communities (including the Breton-speaking one) have a continuum of speakers, and minority speech communities undergoing attrition will exhibit different facets of linguistic variation and change with different segments of a given speech community bear witness to different varieties of these phenomena. Romaine (1989: 71) sums it up thus: ‘Different speakers in the same community may participate in different types of changes and there may be important linguistic discontinuities in a so-called proficiency continuum’.

Sociolinguistic discontinuity tends to be a feature of present-day minority language communities in that vernacular features tend to be lost and morphological simplification and/or transfers from the dominant language can be observed (Mougeon and Nadası 1998: 50). Thus the features mentioned in Chapter 2 which mark the language of *néo-bretonnants* as different from that of traditional speakers, especially the contrast between dialectal and standardised forms, can be seen in terms of a linguistic continuum, since on 'a given point on the continuum speakers may not use certain variants and that the social and/or stylistic constraints that bear on the variable use of vernacular versus standard variants may disappear or take a different form' (Mougeon and Nadası 1998: 53).

It is reasonable to include L2 speakers (such as *néo-bretonnants*) on this continuum, as has been shown elsewhere: 'The continuum ... could be further extended to include speakers who learned French in an immersion setting. In all likelihood, such speakers would resort to morpho-syntactic simplification, transfer, or form avoidance that are not found in the French of the moderately restricted speakers and are used with less frequency than that of the restricted speakers' (Mougeon & Nadası 1998: 52-53). The important point here is that *all* speakers of Breton need to be included on this continuum, whether they are neo-speakers, L2 or other non-traditional users of Breton.

As Le Nevez (in press) argues, '[R]enovating Breton through the promotion of a normative linguistic standard risks alienating or marginalising

people who speak Breton differently'. Though Le Nevez most likely had in mind the standardised form of Breton *néo-bretonnants* most commonly speak, normative linguistic standards can work in more than one direction.

Attempting to deny *néo-bretonnants* a place on the linguistic continuum in Brittany, a common position adopted by the majority of traditional speakers and commentators alike (cf. Chapter 1), is to adopt a normative linguistic standard which privileges speakers of a certain age, milieu and location. This touches on commonly-held linguistic ideologies prevalent in Brittany which I have discussed in Chapter 5 of the present thesis. How these language ideologies influence linguistic behaviour is discussed in greater depth in Section 3 of this chapter.

9.2 BRETON RESPONSES TO HYPERMODERNITY AND GLOBALISATION

The literature includes a variety of analyses on the effect of globalisation on language (e.g. Grillo 1989; Heller 1994a; Gee, Hull and Lankshear 1996) and more particularly on minority languages (e.g. Blommaert 1996; Jaffe 1999; Watts 1999; Makoni and Pennycook 2005; Heller 2006). The effect of globalisation on Breton, as a threatened, minority language, has not been the focus of such studies to any significant degree, with the notable exceptions of Timm (2000), Sonntag (2003) and Le Coadic (2004) who respectively have explored language ideologies, anti-globalisation movements and recognition of the pros and cons of globalisation in Brittany. The present thesis aims to add to this small body of

commentary on the effects of globalisation in Brittany through the exploration of signs of commodification and hybridity in this particular setting of linguistic minorisation.

These studies see the current clash between universality and particularism in different terms. Some classify it as the process of globalisation in action, others see it as a consequence of modernity. Yet others talk about it as a typical condition of postmodernity or of postkeynesianism (Salée 1996). There appears to be little agreement as to what linguistic globalisation actually is. What commentators do agree on, though, is the tangible effects of the phenomenon. As Le Coadic (2004: 23) states, '[A] présent, la dé-localisation que suscite la « modernité aiguë » est d'une toute autre ampleur' ('At the present time, the process of delocalisation which is generating "high modernity" is of a totally different intensity').

The present thesis has examined two aspects of globalisation in Brittany: linguistic commodification and hybridity. Linguistic commodification has been explored in depth by Heller (2002) in French-speaking Canada; her analyses have been transposed in the present thesis onto Breton in France and adapted to make sense of what is going on in twenty-first century Brittany. Such an approach has been touched upon by Press (2004: 1), who wonders whether we might be in 'a period of "post-standard" languages, where there is much more tolerance of alternative forms from various dialects and registers, including the usage of non-native speakers'. This approach is not without problems, of

course; as Grin (2005) has argued, approaches that commodify language do not take into account market failure in the case of ‘superpublic’ or ‘hypercollective’ goods (De Swaan 2001) such as language. In other words, the term ‘commodification’ suggests that the less available a particular commodity, the more sought after and valuable it is. However, as speakers of lesser-used languages will be acutely aware, the linguistic rarity of their speech is not valued more highly than more commonly spoken ones; quite the opposite in fact (activists being the exception of course). Nevertheless, the concept of commodification has proved useful in the present thesis to explain and critique current trends of using Breton in previously monolingual French domains and for this reason it has been retained.

In a similar fashion, the concept of linguistic hybridity as a consequence of the pressures of globalisation and modernity has proved a useful tool in examining the claims that the Breton produced by *néo-bretonnants* is substandard or inauthentic, due to the structural changes that are sometimes apparent in their speech. Hybridity is, according to Heller (2002) a hall-mark of modernity and is certainly not confined to just a Breton situation. By reframing linguistic hybridity as a universal aspect of modernity and recognising the very similar processes that are occurring in other situations of linguistic minoritisation, we are able to explain and indeed conventionalise aspects of *néo-bretonnants’* speech that have been hitherto classified as unusual.

9.2.1 *Commodification*

Much like any other society, Brittany (and other regions of France) is susceptible to the 'intertwining of the local and the global' (Cassell 1993: 28). An awareness of language loss has caused Breton activists to react in tried and tested ways (tried and tested in other contexts, that is) to reverse this particular situation of language shift. This operational prototype, this 'how-to-save-a-language' is what Giddens (1991) has termed a 'disembedding mechanism': knowledge that has been 'codified and ... reliably applied to an indefinite number of cases' (Cassell 1993: 28). Measures insisted upon by activists to preserve the Breton language have not been dreamt up in isolation; these are steps which have been adopted from other situations of language endangerment. On the one hand, the increased use of Breton in the media, in educational establishments and on road signs represents measurable progress; on the other hand, such progress 'reduces' the language to a handful of sites in modern Breton life, sites which traditional speakers would not expect (or perhaps would not want) their language to appear. The downside of linguistic commodification is that it risks exploiting, 'the minority culture for the greater benefit of the majority group' (Ricento 2005: 358).

How appropriate is this focus? Providing educational opportunities in Breton is a laudable aim, but given current French policy on the Republic's minority and regional languages, where multiculturalism and multilingualism is associated negatively with globalisation and Americanisation (Giddens 2007:

35), the ability to use a standardised form of Breton opens up a career path for only a very small number of potential employees. And yet, commodifying the language, making Breton available to a wider range of potential speakers than might otherwise have been the case does bolster and support those (admittedly few) native Breton-speaking adults of child-bearing age who wish to have their children educated through Breton, and also those parents, even though they are not fluent Breton speakers themselves, who have older native speakers of Breton in their family and who wish to ensure some sort of continuity for the language. That such children are joined by pupils whose origins may not be Breton, or indeed not even French, supports the revival of Breton in new and modern ways, which current traditional speakers would have been hard pressed to imagine when they were children themselves, since the language was either tacitly or openly discouraged.

Commodification enables 'potential' speakers to be drawn from the adult population as well. Presenting Breton as an alternative to French hegemony will appeal to certain sections of the population for ideological and political reasons. Adopting Breton as their own personal cause enables them to live out their own sense of difference in a relatively easy fashion. As Breton language courses become more and more popular, as Breton language sites on the web proliferate, distance is no longer an obstacle for those people who wish to become part of the Breton language revitalisation movement. Summer courses, such as those I detailed in Chapter 5, attract not only locals but people from

other regions of France and especially Paris; indeed, Parisians often occupied the higher echelons of such courses – they were the real ‘diehards’, the people who had invested most in terms of time, money and effort in learning Breton. Even though they do not live in Brittany throughout the year, such a diaspora provides what might be termed ‘co-speakers’ (Ó Giollagáin 2004), i.e. neo-speakers who can bolster numbers in Breton-speaking localities and who provide an audible Breton-speaking presence in such areas, albeit for the one, two or three weeks they might be in the locality. On the very first course I attended as part of the fieldwork for the present thesis, an afternoon of ‘boloù-pok’ or ‘boules’ was arranged for the participants. We met down in the local square and began our game. The whole event was conducted in Breton. At the same time, a parallel game was under way, the participants being locals whose age and whose speech (when I listened carefully) indicated they were native Breton speakers. Yet their dialogue was very different to ours. When they chose to comment on our presence, they did so in French; when a young teenager turned up to talk to one of the women, the conversation again switched to French. The whole afternoon was typified as two parallel worlds with very little communication between them, exactly as described in the literature.

And yet this is not the only way forward. Traditional and neo-speakers of Breton do not have to occupy the same two ‘solitudes’ of French- and English-speakers in 1940s Canada (McLennan 1945). As Le Nevez (in press) points out, there are inherent problems in focusing on status issues of the

language to the detriment to more grassroots initiatives: ‘Institutionalising and formalising Breton downplays the affective, interpersonal side of Breton, and this downplays one of the main reasons people want to learn the language.’ This is not to suggest that improvements activists agitate for and the successes they have achieved so far are not worthwhile, but much more work remains to be done on the ‘affective’ aspect of language revitalisation in Brittany, as discussed in greater depth in Section 3 of this chapter.

9.2.2 *Hybridity*

Linguistic hybridity historically has been evident in many situations of language contact. Take, for example, the Limburg Frankish dialect in the Netherlands, which displays French linguistic influence (Millar 2004: 7); the Kashubs’ traditional ‘Catholic identity and large-scale bilingualism in Low German [which] rendered their identity highly hybrid’ (Millar 2004: 10); and the Caithness dialect of Scots, with apparent phonological and lexical interference from Gaelic (Millar 2004: 12). Breton historically has also demonstrated similar hybridity in its contact with French – see Hornsby (2005) for a discussion on French influence on the speech of traditional Breton speakers.

Hybridity is also a feature of the speech of *néo-bretonnants*. It differs though from the examples of hybridity mentioned above in that neo-Breton hybridity is innovative. Unlike the previous examples, whose hybridity is based on centuries-old situations of language contact, neo-varieties are located in

situations of revitalisation (and ultimately situations of language obsolescence). As the notion of revitalising a language is a relatively modern concept (as opposed to earlier laissez-faire attitudes to language 'death'), this form of hybridity is contested, as discussed in Section 2.3, where neo-Breton is not accepted as a 'legitimate' variety by traditional speakers and (some) academics alike.

This form of linguistic hybridity can be found in a number of situations. Péronnet (1996: 121) has identified what he calls, 'une grande instabilité linguistique' ('great linguistic instability') which involves (in Atlantic Canada, at least) two opposing tendencies – a pull in one direction towards standardised language and a pull towards vernacular or hybrid language in the other. Boudreau and LeBlanc-Côté's (2003: 297) example of "on parle comme *half* français, *half* anglais" ('we speak like half French, half English') illustrates succinctly this tendency. Linguists have classified this hybrid effect resulting from language contact in terms of linguistic transfer, structural simplification and stylistic reduction (Chaudeon, Mougeon and Beniak 1993: 72) but simultaneously in terms of increased contact with standard forms of language which leads, in turn, to greater standardisation of the vernacular (Péronnet 1996: 122-3).

What has made the Breton linguistic situation particularly fascinating to study is precisely this inherent contradiction which such tendencies expose. Other situations of linguistic hybridisation display similar, opposing

tendencies but Breton stands out in that activists had thrown an added complication into the mix – neo or standardised Breton – where, before, the pull was between standard French and a hybridised form of vernacular Breton, in which authenticity was measured in terms of long-established loanwords from French and highly-localised forms of pronunciation. The balance was thrown out of equilibrium by the neo-Breton ‘interloper’ and this has been resented by older, traditional speakers, not only because of its lack of authenticity (in their terms) but also because this standardised form of Breton does not have ‘the prestige, the public presence in administration and government, commerce and education, that would give it real validity’ (Press 2004: 1). In other words, it is no match for French in vying for the position of the H language in Brittany today.

Thus what at first regard might appear to be a situation all languages go through (i.e. standardisation, with resultant tension from the lack of status for the vernacular), is actually far more complicated. Breton is not unique, *per se*, in this situation, but it is rare. Other minority languages may experience similar tensions, but the ideological set-up in which Breton finds itself, i.e. the near total rejection and lack of support from the French state in all but the most tokenistic forms, is shared only with other French regional languages (Basque, Occitan and Alsatian, *inter alia*), due to ‘the hostile linguistic environment peculiar to France’ (Vigers 2006: 154).

As I have shown in Chapter 1, neo- or revitalised Breton as a hybrid variety, despite the protestations of its detractors, has a number of counterparts in other situations of minority language planning. To return to this theme for a moment, recent work by Zuckermann (2003, 2006 and 2008) on language planning in an Israeli context has highlighted the relationship between Hebrew and the hybrid form of the language that has arisen due to revitalisation efforts. As in Breton, phonology and phonetics are in opposition to morphological forms and vocabulary; neo-Breton, it is claimed, has elements of French phonology and phonetics but a ‘purified’ Celtic morphology and lexicon just as revived Hebrew has Yiddish phonology and phonetics but Semitic morphology and basic vocabulary (Zuckermann 2008).

Zuckermann points out that “‘revived’ languages are unlikely to have a single parent’ (Zuckermann 2008: 36), which in the case of Breton means that the new form of the language which is gaining currency has both Breton *and* French as ‘parent languages’, in much the same way as revived Hebrew has Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, Russian and other languages as parent languages. This recalls Bentahila and Davies’ assertion that revived languages are, for the most part, *transformed* languages (Bentahila & Davies 1993: 372). I believe it is unrealistic to expect revitalisation movements to reproduce faithfully and exactly the same form of language which is (or was) spoken by older generations, often idealised as the purest and best form of the language and to be copied at the expense of other, less ideologically charged linguistic varieties.

Indeed, one wonders if such a linguistic resurrection is even possible, ‘without the occurrence of cross-fertilization with revivalists’ mother tongue(s)’ (Zuckermann 2006: 58).

Such hybridity sits uneasily with traditional speakers of the language which is undergoing revitalisation efforts, and this unease can spread quite easily to some revivalist speakers themselves and make them doubt the authenticity of their language planning. More productive in such situations would be a greater metalinguistic awareness, among all sections of the community in question, of the need for more realistic expectations of the end results of language planning; in the words of Zuckermann: ‘When one revives a language, one should expect to end up with a hybrid’ (Zuckermann 2008: 36). If expectations in the Breton speech community were to shift more in the direction of the acceptability of new, hybrid forms, then inter-communal tensions (such as those outlined in Chapter 3) would diminish at a moment in the history of the Breton language when it needs all the advantages it can muster. Such acceptability would ideally not seek to cover up the differences neo-Breton displays but rather accept them as linguistic changes in progress. Neo-Breton, similar to Welsh in the twenty-first century, is evolving, acquiring new functions with a certain ‘ecological “naturalness” to these changes, which will be hard to resist’ (Coupland and Bishop 2006: 46). As a hybrid form of Breton, the ‘neo-’ prefix does not need to be dispensed with, but accepted and indeed celebrated for its ‘naturalness’, much in the way that Zuckermann insists that

revived Hebrew should really be called 'Israeli' (cf. the title of his recent book, 'Israeli, a Beautiful Language' (2008)).

Coupland and Bishop argue for similar linguistic tolerance in Wales:

Just at a time when the Welsh establishment needs to be openly welcoming any and all forms of Welsh practice, any and all levels of competence and varieties involving Welsh, it is highly unfortunate for an untenable bilingual ideal to be promulgated.

(Coupland and Bishop 2006: 48)

Coupland and Bishop's examples from Wales of 'linguistic varieties deemed to be "incomplete" (e.g. partially learned, code-mixed) or "non-standard" (e.g. regionally or class-marked)' [Coupland and Bishop 2006: 47] also have an echo in Brittany, particularly the first category of 'incomplete' forms. Most especially, code-switching between Breton and French and nonce borrowings among *néo-bretonnants* can be seen as inauthentic linguistic behaviour because it is triggered by the circumstances in which these speakers have acquired the language and not, as would be the case for traditional speakers, by a trigger caused by register, domain or context.

Neo-Breton may indeed sound strange to traditional speakers – but if, as the statistics suggest, half of these same 'native' speakers rarely use the language, if at all, then *any* attempt to use Breton would stand out as unusual to them, whether it be neo-speakers or indeed other traditional speakers. It is

possible that some speakers, having been unwilling to transmit the language to the younger generations in the past, nevertheless still guard it jealously – Marton and Preston’s personal possession hypothesis (Marton and Preston 1975) may come into play here, whereby ‘native speakers regard any assumption of native-speaker rights by non-native speakers (the use of slang, obscenities, informal pronunciation) as ‘linguistic thieving’.” Thus the lack of acceptance of *néo-bretonnants* can be ascribed less to the latter’s ‘bizarre’ linguistic behaviour and more to their ‘audacity’ for wanting to appropriate the language in the first place.

The personal possession hypothesis mentioned above throws into relief the concept of the ‘native speaker’. This of course is a whole field of inquiry in itself and space does not permit here a long exposé of who exactly qualifies as a native speaker in any given context – suffice to say, the native speaker as ‘expert’ is a contested concept, and as Davies points out, speakers with native-like linguistic abilities can match or indeed surpass the expertise of native speakers by birth (i.e. early childhood exposure) through being an exceptional learner, through education using the target-language medium, by virtue of being a native user (in the post-colonial sense) or through long residence in the adopted community (Davies 2003: 214). Certain *néo-bretonnants* stand out as more linguistically aware, more highly educated and more well-versed in Breton language and culture than other Breton speakers who were brought up in the language as children but have not developed its use into adulthood.

9.3 CONCLUSIONS: LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND LINGUISTIC BEHAVIOUR IN SITUATIONS OF LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT

Language ideologies, defined by Woolard (1998) as a set of cultural notions through which we understand linguistic practices, erase phenomena which do not match these same cultural notions. As such, language ideologies correspond to Blommaert and Verschueuren's (1998) 'dogma of homogenism' where 'the "best society" is suggested to be one without intergroup differences' (p. 195). This concept of homogenism is highly relevant for the present study, since it is a powerful influence on the linguistic behaviour of *néo-bretonnants* in a variety of seemingly contradictory ways. In terms of language ideologies, Gal (2006) has identified 'standard language' as the current dominant language ideology in Europe, stating that 'it simultaneously shapes and hides many of the actual practices of speakers, especially of minorities and migrants' (p. 14).

The linguistic practices of *néo-bretonnants* are both shaped and hidden by homogenising and standardising forces, as evinced in Chapters 4 to 6. These phenomena, when located in a situation of language contact (which, according to Nelde [1997: 289] always results in 'linguistic conflict'), can oppose Breton against French, with the former being 'une langue *chaude*, riche, souple, savoureuse, imaginée' ('a *warm*, rich, flexible, spicy and imaginative language') and French at the other end of the affective scale as 'une langue *froide* et abstraite, sans plus de contact avec le réel, le charnel, la nature, la vie, langue de

citadins et de d'intellectuels coupeurs de cheveux en quatre' ('a *cold* and abstract language, having lost contact with what is real, with the carnal, with nature, with life; a language for citizens [of the Republic] and for intellectuals ready to split hairs') (Simon 1999: 162). A simultaneous discourse of endangerment (as detailed in Moïse 2007) can posit French as the threatened language in relation to English, making French 'la langue du coeur' ('the language of the heart') (Simon 1999: 163). Such a description must surely be perceived ironically by regional language activists in France.

Such essentially nationalist discourses, bolstered by ideologies of 'standard Breton' (or indeed 'standard French') influence Breton-language activists to operate in terms of idealised or balanced bilingualism. This can lead to contention in minority language situations, 'because the bilingualism that characterises the sociolinguistic landscape in these contexts is always unbalanced' (Jaffe 2007: 50). Just how contentious this response is to modernity is exemplified by Morvan (2002), discussed in Chapter 4; such a response is, in fact, unsurprising since, 'it is extremely difficult for the individual to have "balanced" competencies in two languages when those languages have vastly different statuses and uses in the surrounding society' (Jaffe 2007: 58).

Activists find themselves in an impossible position. It makes sense, given the lack of status Breton has in public life, for activists to press hard for political parity for regional languages in France. As Ó Néill (2005: 428) notes:

‘Sociolinguistic planning not backed up with political clout is, in effect, impotent’. The problem is that sociolinguistic and political planning are two very different fields. What is appropriate or possible in one domain may not work at all well in the other. Working to change the status of Breton does not mean the corpus of the language has to be ‘upgraded’ as well. Breton’s lack of parity to French does not mean, in certain domains, that Breton does not dominate in other domains, such as in cultivating a sense of affectivity, community and local identity. Insisting on the use of Breton in exactly the same way French is currently used in Brittany today merely reinforces, albeit ironically, the idea that Breton is less useful and less prestigious than French (Le Nevez, in press).

So far in this section, I have discussed the tensions arising out the head-on clash between homogenising and standardising ideologies and discourses in France between monolingual French-speakers and speakers of Breton and French who have acquired their bilingualism additively. There are, however, further internal tensions within Breton-speaking milieux, arising out of an ‘ideology of dialect’. Watts (1999: 69) discusses this ideology in the context of quadrilingual Switzerland but his description of ‘the symbolic value of the dialects in the majority of linguistic marketplaces in which they are in competition with the standard is not only believed to be much higher than that of the standard but is also deliberately promoted as having a higher value’, rings true for the Breton situation as well. *Néo-breton* is dismissed as

‘inauthentic’ by the majority of traditional speakers (McDonald 1989; Jones 1998) and by some academics (e.g. Le Dû and Le Berre (1996: 15) who call it ‘avec une certaine irritation, du français déguisé’ (‘with some irritation, French in disguise’) due to its hybrid nature; however, ‘it is with this variety of Breton ... that the perpetuation of the language lies’ (Timm 2003: 34).

Both ideologies, that of the standard and that of the dialect, can be located in Bakhtin’s schema of language shift involving a transition from monoglossia to heteroglossia, via polyglossia (Crowley 2002: 180). Due to pressures of globalisation and modernity, we are currently witnessing the shift from monoglossia (‘unitary language’) to polyglossia (the cohabitation of several languages and cultures) but the process is not a smooth one. The opposing ideologies of the standard and of the dialect are based on the notion of language being ‘unitary’ within a monoglossic imperialist discourse (Ó Croidheáin 2006: 63), i.e. there only being room for one particular linguistic system in claims of authenticity or legitimacy. Tensions arise as societal opinions tend more and more towards post-colonial polyglossia, that is, the validation of a wide range of linguistic varieties in a given context.

As I have argued elsewhere (Hornsby 2008), the task of Breton language activists is to deconstruct these ideologies and usher in linguistic diversity in Brittany in the twenty-first century. This can be achieved by not only continuing to work on securing functional and symbolic spaces for Breton but also by considering language practices at the ideological and discursive

levels as well (Le Nevez, in press). In this way, Breton (and other minoritised languages) can have a secured future in the twenty-first century, but perhaps not in a form that either traditional or neo-speakers had previously imagined. In other words, a discursive shift needs to take place if Breton-speaking is to continue after the 'demise' of the traditional Breton-speaking community and if the language being spoken is to continue to be recognised and acknowledged as *Breton* as the twenty-first century progresses. The key to this is to develop tolerance, most especially tolerance of different linguistic forms and of different sociolinguistic practices. Not only would this include tolerance of neo-Breton forms and practices by the remaining traditional speakers *and* vice versa, it would encompass tolerance of *all* linguistic varieties spoken in Brittany today. If 'globalisation merely implies greater connectedness and de-territorialisation' (Waters 2001: 192), then the consequent opportunities for pluralism are currently not being taken up in any great measure by Breton speakers. Indeed, neither is the opportunity to make common cause with speakers of languages which are not indigenous to the area, which Williams sees as important step in ensuring functional democracy for linguistic minority groups by conceiving of,

... RM [regional minority] and IM [immigrant minority] language groups in tandem as forming elements within a language continuum which is dominated by hegemonic languages. The clearest difference between RM and IM language is their history, but the needs of the speakers to be recognised and treated with dignity is exactly the same.

(Williams 2008: 362)

The difficulty would be persuading these two groups to work together. Ó Giollagáin (2008: 254-255) suggests a top-down approach and questions what provision governments are making for immigrant languages in the fields of education, social reproduction and governmental services, since he sees the interface between regional and immigrant minority groups as potentially mutually beneficial, at least in an Irish context:

...the new ethno-linguistic minorities as well as the remaining Irish-speaking communities [can] set about creating the conditions for proactive institutional provision in a manner that is integrated into socially productive language dynamics.

(Ó Giollagáin 2008: 258)

As I have already noted in Chapter 3, such a top-down approach would be problematic in Brittany, given the resistance of successive French governments to initiatives aimed at furthering multiculturalism and multilingualism. A bottom-up approach would appear to be a much more viable option.

9.2.1 *Limitations of the present study*

The current research has identified the need for such a discursive shift and this could be extended further by paying greater attention to exactly how language ideologies operate in minoritised situations and how they influence linguistic behaviour of both traditional and neo-speakers. An ethnographic

approach, informed by psychoanalytic and cognitive theories of the unconscious, particularly that of 'chronically accessible constructs' (Bargh 1989; Higgins 1989) which aim to uncover the unconscious process involved in memory, perception, attitudes and interpersonal behaviour (Pervin 2003: 248) would add to our understanding of individual and collective linguistic reactions and responses during the process of language shift. Furthermore, the concept of the CofP has proved useful in the present study, since they are constructed and maintained through processes of negotiation over meaning. Language, as a central component of these processes, has been analysed by critical sociolinguistics, which conceptualises the 'role of local interaction in sustaining broader social structures and relationships' (Tusting 2005: 53). The role of language in minority communities could be explored further in more nuanced interpretations of CofPs and how such groupings contribute to minority language revitalisation. In particular, whether the concept of 'communities of use' (Sallabank 2003) more accurately describes what is happening in minority language revitalisation awaits further investigation. Indeed, the whole concept of 'community' as related to linguistic practices appears problematic in general. The general lack of an agreed definition of a 'speech community' and that 'the job of proper [speech community] taxonomy, fitting case studies to typology and refining the latter, awaits' (Patrick 2006: 593), does indicate a big gap between theory and actual linguistic practice, which this thesis has highlighted.

Appendix 1: Consultants interviewed for this thesis

<i>First Name</i>	<i>Age (approx.)</i>	<i>Level in Breton</i>	<i>Breton-speaking Relatives</i>	<i>From Brittany</i>	<i>Resident in Brittany</i>
Brigitte	40+	Intermediate	No	No	No
Christelle	30+	Intermediate	Yes	Yes	Yes
Christophe	20+	Intermediate	Yes	Yes	Yes
Corinne	30+	Intermediate	Yes	Yes	Yes
Eneko	20+	Beginner	No 1	No	No
Erwan	40+	Intermediate	Yes	Yes	No
Isabelle	30+	Intermediate	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jean-Noel	60+	Advanced	No	No	No
Joelle	30+	Beginner	No	No	No
Joy	50+	Intermediate	No 2	No	Yes
Kévin	18+	Intermediate	No	No	No
Marie-France	40+	Intermediate	No	No	No
Marie-France	60+	Advanced	No	No	No
Mari-Jo	40+	Advanced	No 2	No	Yes
Mark	60+	Intermediate	Yes	Yes	Yes
Michel	60+	Advanced	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nikol	40+	Advanced	No 2	No	Yes
Oriane	20+	Intermediate	No	No	No
Rachid	30+	Intermediate	No	Yes	Yes
Régine	60+	Advanced	No	Yes	Yes
Sabrina	30+	Intermediate	No	No	No
Tony	20+	Intermediate	Yes	Yes	Yes
Yves	30+	Intermediate	Yes	Yes	No

Notes:

1. L1 Basque speaker
2. L1 English speaker

Appendix 2: Press articles on some of the courses mentioned in the thesis

PLÉSIDY

Apprentissage du breton : 30 stagiaires à Diwan

Depuis lundi, 30 stagiaires se retrouvent dans les locaux du collège Diwan.

But de la manœuvre : initiation, consolidation des bases ou perfectionnement en breton. Ce stage, organisé par Thomas Postic, responsable à Studi ha Dudi, s'inscrit également dans le programme de la quinzaine Plinn.

Le programme

Les cours s'étalent sur la journée (environ six heures) et sont donnés par trois formateurs. Il s'agit de Ronan An Eskob, Visant Dubois et Tudual Karluer. Répartis en trois niveaux, ils suivent la méthode Oulpan. Basé sur l'oral, cette méthode permet à l'élève d'être rapidement mis en situa-

tion, de parler et d'être acteur de son apprentissage.

Les stagiaires viennent des quatre coins de Bretagne et d'un peu plus loin : Trégor, Centre-Bretagne, Léon mais aussi Pays-Basque et Paris et sa région. « Nous avons beaucoup de stagiaires de la région parisienne en niveau trois », indique Ronan An Eskob. L'ambiance au stage est très conviviale et en soirée, les personnes hébergées à l'internat Diwan occupent leur temps de façon plutôt agréable : bouloù pok (boules bretonnes en breton), fest-noz, soirée crêpes.

Jeudi soir, une partie de l'équipe s'est rendue au Danouët pour prendre part à la soirée irlandaise.

● le groupe « consolidation des bases » et leur formateur étaient un brin dissipés.



-GG

Samedi 07 Août 2004

Le Télégramme 13

Plésidy

Ouest-France
Vendredi 6 août 2004

Stage de breton : 28 participants

L'association Studi ha Dudi organisait dans le cadre du festival Plinn, un stage de breton d'une semaine au collège Diwan. Bonne participation avec 28 stagiaires encadrés par trois professeurs, Vincent Dubois, Tudual Karluer et Ronan Lescop. Le stage permet de progresser rapidement car dès les premières leçons, l'élève est mis en situation de parler, et cela, sur les trois niveaux. Les stagiaires viennent de toute la région, de Montpellier, de la région parisienne et même du pays basque et du pays de Galles. « On participe à ce stage pour approfondir le breton mais aussi pour découvrir une pédagogie et une culture » dit un stagiaire. Cette forme de stage permet en effet une maîtrise de la langue bretonne car le stagiaire est vite l'acteur de son apprentissage.



Belle participation au stage d'une semaine dans les salles du collège Diwan.

Bourbriac

43 stagiaires en langue bretonne au collège Diwan



La pause repas et les veillées sont aussi des temps forts pour l'expression orale.

Le pays de Bourbriac est pleinement entré dans les programmes du festival Plinn. Notamment avec l'association Studi ha Dudi, qui accueille cette semaine dans les salles du collège Diwan 43 élèves en stage de langue bretonne.

Les élèves, venus de Bretagne, mais aussi de Paris ou de Belgique, sont répartis en 5 groupes pour les 5 jours. «**Tous, débutants ou confirmés, veulent apprendre et se perfectionner. Les méthodes utilisées**

par les enseignants visent en priorité à mettre les élèves en situation de parler», explique Ifig Troadec, directeur de Studi ha Dudi. Bien sûr la pratique du breton se fait également au cours des repas et des veillées.

Ce mercredi 3 commence aussi dans le collège le stage de musique chant et de danse : il dure trois jours. Au programme, accordéons diatoniques et chromatiques, guitare, violon, flûte, kan ha diskann, danses traditionnelles. Les cours sont tous

assurés par des artistes renommés. Hébergement et restauration sur place.

Inscriptions toujours possibles : 02 96 13 10 69. Autres temps forts de la semaine : ce mardi 2, randonnée pédestre à Pont-Melvez, à partir de 14 h. Mercredi 3, après-midi visite d'une ferme à Moustéru. À partir de 14 h jeudi après-midi, stage de crêpes à Plésidy. Vendredi à 21 h, au Danoùet, concert spectacle des Rives : «Si Bretagne m'était contée».

Une semaine de stage pour les bretonnants



Quarante personnes participent au stage de breton, organisé par Kalon Plouha, cette semaine.

Depuis lundi, quarante personnes participent au stage de breton, organisé par Kalon Plouha. Cette année, la semaine de cours et d'animation connaît une hausse de fréquentation. En début de journée, les cours de langues, sur trois niveaux, sont animés par Mich Beyer,

Maï et Yann-Fulub Dupuy ainsi que Mari-Jo Le Roux. Les fins d'après-midi et les soirées sont animées par des sorties variées avec, entre autres, la visite de l'abbaye de Beauport (en breton), sous la conduite de Yann-Fulub Dupuy.

Kalon Plouha invite également le

public à participer à différentes rencontres autour de la langue bretonne. Les conférences sur la littérature bretonne du XX^e siècle et le mouvement littéraire Gwakarn ont attiré le public qui, comme les stagiaires, a rencontré des éditeurs de livres et de revues. Enfin, vendredi

12 août, la clôture du stage sera marquée par une soirée concert ouverte à tous, salle polyvalente de Lanloup. L'invité sera Louis-Jacques Suignard, un des artistes moteur de la nouvelle chanson bretonne.

Pratique : concert, à 20 h 30, salle polyvalente de Lanloup. Tarif : 6 €.

PLOUHA

Vendredi 12 Août 2005

Le Télégramme 25

Kalon Plouha : 40 participants au stage de breton

Depuis lundi, 40 personnes participent au stage de breton organisé par Kalon Plouha. Cette année, la semaine de cours et d'animation connaît une hausse de fréquentation.

Soirée concert, ce soir

En début de journée, les cours de langues, sur trois niveaux, sont animés par Mich Beyer, Maï et Yann Fulub Dupuy ainsi que Mari-Jo Le Roux.

Les fins d'après-midi et les soirées sont animées par des sorties variées, avec entre autre, la visite de l'abbaye de Beauport, en breton, sous la conduite de Yann Fulub Dupuy.

Kalon Plouha invite également le public à participer à différentes rencontres autour de la langue bretonne. Les conférences sur la littérature bretonne du XX^e siècle et le mouvement littéraire Gwakarn ont, pour leur part, attiré le public, qui comme



● Actuellement, 40 personnes suivent le stage de breton, organisé par Kalon Plouha.

les stagiaires a rencontré des éditeurs de livres et de revues. Enfin, ce soir, la clôture du stage sera marquée par une soirée concert ouverte

à tous, à la salle polyvalente de Lanloup.

L'invité est Louis-Jacques Suignard, un des artistes moteur de la nouvel-

le chanson bretonne.

Pratique : concert, à 20 h 30 à la salle polyvalente de Lanloup. Entrée 6 €.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Films, documentaries and radio programmes cited

- Boon**, Dany. 2008. *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis*. Pathé Renn Productions.
- Daniellou**, Soazig (dir.). 1998. *Brezhoneg 'leiz o fenn*. Kergoff: Kalanna/France 3 Ouest.
- Guillemot**, Loeiz. 2006. *An abadenn*. Programme on Radio Breizh Izel (2 August 2006).
- Guinard**, Pierrick (dir.). 2001. *Brezhoneg, un siècle de breton*. DVD video. France 3 Ouest 13 Production – Cinémathèque de Bretagne.

Websites consulted

- Bremañ www.breman.org (Accessed November 2008).
- Cymdeithas Cymru-Llydaw <http://cymru-llydaw.blogspot.com/> (Accessed November 2008).
- DAO (*Deskiñ d'an Oadourien*) dao.breizh.free.fr/ (Accessed November 2008).
- Forum des Peuples en Luttas <http://fpl.forumactif.com/forum-breizhat-f3/breton-en-territoire-gallo-t2558-195.htm> (Accessed May 2009).
- Kalon Plouha site.voila.fr/kalon.plouha (Accessed November 2008).
- KEAV (*Kamp Etrekeltiek ar Vrezhonegerion*) www.keav.org/ (Accessed November 2008).
- Le Monde www.lemonde.fr (Accessed October 2008).
- Quêteurs de mémoire de Finistère <http://queteurs.cg29.fr/public/edition-2007.php?l=fr> (Accessed July 08).
- Studi ha Dudi pagesperso-orange.fr/studi-ha-dudi/ (Accessed November 2008).

Works cited

- Abalain**, Hervé. 1989. *Destin des langues celtiques*. Paris: OPHRYS.
- Abalain**, Hervé. 2004. *Pleins feux sur la langue bretonne*. Spézet: Coop Breizh.
- Abley**, Mark. 2003. *Spoken here: Travels among threatened languages*. London: Arrow Books.
- Agence de la Francophonie**. 1997. *Quelle francophonie pour le XXI^e siècle? 2^e Prix international de la francophonie Charles-Hélou*. Paris: Agence de la francophonie.
- Ahmad**, Aijaz. 1995. The politics of literary postcoloniality. *Race and Class*, 36 (3), 1–20.
- Anzaldúa**, Gloria. 1987. *Borderlands/La frontera: The new mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

- Arteaga, Alfred.** 1997. *Chicano poetics: Heterotexts and hybridities*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Assemblée Nationale.** 7 May 2008. *Déclaration du Gouvernement sur les langues régionales et débat sur cette déclaration. Comptes rendus des débats au cours de la XIIIe Législature (2007-2012)*. Available online at http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/cr/2007-2008/20080153.asp#P385_72702 (Accessed November 2008).
- Association Buhez.** 2001. *Parlons du breton*. Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France.
- Austin, Peter & Andrew Simpson** (eds.). 2007. *Endangered languages*. Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 14. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail.** 1996. *The dialogic imagination: Four essays*. (Ed. Michael Holquist. Translated by Caryl Emerson & Michael Holquist). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Ball, Martin.** 1988. *The use of Welsh*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Barbour, Stephen & Cathie Carmichael.** 2000. *Language and Nationalism in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bargh, John** 1989. Conditional automaticity: Varieties of automatic influence in social perception and cognition. In James Uleman & John Bargh (eds.). *Unintended thought*. New York: Guilford, 3-51.
- Barrett, Rusty.** 2008. Linguistic differentiation and Mayan language revitalisation in Guatemala. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12(3), 275-305.
- Bateman, Meg.** 2007. *Soirbheas/Fair wind*. Edinburgh: Polygon.
- Battye, Adrian, Marie-Anne Heintze & Paul Rowlett.** 2000. *The French language today: A linguistic introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Baugh, John.** 1999. *Out of the mouths of slaves: African American language and educational malpractice*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bénisti, Jacques-Alain.** 2004. *Rapport préliminaire de la commission prévention du groupe d'études parlementaire sur la sécurité intérieure: Sur la prévention de la délinquance*. Paris: Assemblée Nationale. Available online at http://cirdel.lyon.free.fr/IMG/pdf/rapport_BENISTI_prevention.pdf (Accessed November 2008).
- Bentahila, Abdelai & Eirlys Davies.** 1993. Language Revival: Restoration or transformation? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 14(5), 355- 373.
- Besnier, Niko.** 1994. The truth and other irrelevant aspects of Nukulaelae. *Pacific Studies* 17(3), 1-39.
- Beswick, Jaine.** 2007. *Regional nationalism in Spain: Language use and ethnic identity in Galicia*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bhabha, Homi.** 1994. *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Biddiscombe, Perry.** 2001. The last White Terror: The Maquis Blanc and its impact in liberated France, 1944-1945. *The Journal of Modern History* 73, 811-861.

- Block**, David & Deborah Cameron. 2002. Introduction. In Block, David and Deborah Cameron (eds.). *Globalisation and language teaching*. London: Routledge, 1-10.
- Block**, David. 2008. On the appropriateness of the metaphor of LOSS. In Tan, Peter & Rani Rubdy (eds.). *Language as commodity: Global structures, local marketplaces*. London: Continuum, 187-203.
- Block**, David and Deborah Cameron. 2002. Introduction. In David Block and Deborah Cameron (eds.). *Globalisation and language teaching*. London: Routledge, 1-10.
- Blommaert**, Jan. 1996. Language planning as a discourse on language and society: The linguistic ideology of a scholarly tradition. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 20(3), 199-222.
- Blommaert**, Jan. 2001. The Asmara Declaration as a sociolinguistic problem: Reflections on scholarship and linguistic rights. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5(1), 131-155.
- Blommaert**, Jan & Jef **Verschuere**n. 1998. *Debating diversity: Analysing the discourse of tolerance*. London: Routledge.
- Bochman**, Klaus. 1985. Pour une étude comparée de la glottopolitique des fascismes. In André Winter (ed.). *Problèmes de glottopolitiques. Symposium International Mont-Saint-Aignan* (20-23 septembre 1984). Rouen: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 119-129.
- Bolton**, Kingsley. 2002. Chinese Englishes: From Canton jargon to global English. *World Englishes* 21, 181-199.
- Bourdieu**, Pierre. 1982. *Ce que parler veut dire*. Paris: Fayard.
- Bourdieu**, Pierre. 1985. *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu**, Pierre. 1991. Language and symbolic power. (Translated by Gino Raymond & Matthew Adamson.) Cambridge: Polity in association with Basil Blackwell.
- Bourdieu**, Pierre & Jean-Claude **Passeron**. 1977. *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. (Translated by Richard Nice.) London: Sage Publications.
- Boudreau**, Annette & Mélanie **LeBlanc-Côté**. 2003. Les représentations linguistiques comme révélateurs des rapports à « l'Autre » dans la région de la Baie Sainte-Marie en Nouvelle-Écosse. In André Magord (éd.). *L'Acadie plurielle : Dynamiques identitaires collectives et développement au sein des réalités acadiennes*. Québec: AGMV Marquis, 289-305.
- Boudreau**, Annette & Lise **Dubois**. 2007. Français, acadien, acadjonne: Competing discourses on language preservation along the shores of the Baie Sainte-Marie. In Alexandre Duchêne & Monica Heller (eds.). *Discourses of endangerment: Ideology and interest in the defence of languages*. London: Continuum, 99-120.
- Bremañ**. 2008. *Hor yezhoù er Vonreizh*. June 2008, 16-17.

- Broudic**, Fañch. 1995. *La pratique du breton de l'ancien régime à nos jours*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Broudig**, Fañch. 1998. Ar brezoneg hag ar vrezonegerien e 1997. *Brud Nevez* 207, 3-59.
- Broudic**, Fañch. 1999. *Qui parle breton aujourd'hui? Qui le parlera demain?* Brest: Brud Nevez.
- Broudic**, Fañch. 2001. Le breton: langue en danger? In Association Buhez. *Parlons du breton*. Rennes : Editions Ouest-France, 7-26.
- Broudic**, Fañch. 2003. Il est interdit de cracher par terre et de parler breton. <http://perso.wanadoo.fr/fanch.broudic/pajennou/interdit.html> (Accessed December 2003).
- Broudic**, Fañch. 2009. *Parler breton au XXI^e siècle*. Brest : Emgleo Breiz.
- Bruthiaux**, Paul. 2008. Dimensions of globalisation and applied linguistics. In Peter Tan and Rani Rubdy (eds.). *Language as commodity: Global structures, local marketplaces*. London: Continuum, 1-30.
- Bucholtz**, Mary. 1999. 'Why be normal?' Language and identity practices in a community of nerd girls. *Language in Society* 28(2), 203-23.
- Bucholtz**, Mary. 2003. Sociolinguistic nostalgia and the authentication of identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7:3, 398-416.
- Cairns**, Lucille. 2000. Sexual fault lines: Sex and gender in the cultural context. In Kidd, William & Siân Reynolds (eds.). *Contemporary French cultural studies*. London: Arnold, 81-94.
- Calvet**, Louis-Jean. 1998. *Language wars and linguistic politics*. (Translated by Michel Petheram). New York : Oxford University Press.
- Cameron**, Deborah. 1995. *Verbal hygiene*. London: Routledge.
- Cameron**, Deborah. 2007. Language endangerment and verbal hygiene: History, morality and politics. In Alexandre Duchêne & Monica Heller (eds.). *Discourses of endangerment*. London: Continuum Press, 268-285.
- Campbell**, Angus Peter, Mairi **Macarthur**, Brian **Wilson**, Iseabail & Margaret **Mactaggart**, Donald **Meek** & Hugh & Jane **Cheape**. 2008. *The Gaelic Rings/Cearcaill na Gàidhlig*. Stornoway: Comhairle nan Eilean Siar.
- Campbell**, Lyle & Martha **Muntzell**. 1989. The structural consequences of language death. In Nancy Dorian (ed.). *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 182-198.
- Cassell**, Philip. 1993. Introduction. In Phillip Cassell (ed.). *The Giddens reader*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1-37.
- Caubet**, Dominique. 2004. *Les mots du bled*. Paris : L'Harmattan.
- Chartier**, Erwan & Jean-Claude **Passeron**. 2002. *La France éclatée : Régionalisme, autonomisme, indépendantisme*. Spézet: Coop Breizh.
- Chaudenson**, Robert, Raymond **Mougeon** & Édouard **Beniak**. 1993. *Pour une étude panlectale de la variation en français*. Paris: Didier Érudition.
- Cheshire**, Jenny & Dieter **Stein**. 1997. *Taming the vernacular: From dialect to written standard language*. London: Longman.

- Chin, Ng Bee.** 2008. Linguistic pragmatism, globalisation and the impact of the patterns of input in Singaporean Chinese homes. In Tan, Peter & Rani Rubdy (eds.). *Language as commodity: Global structures, local marketplaces*. London: Continuum, 70-88.
- Costaouec, Denis.** 2002. *Quel avenir pour le breton populaire? Enquête à La Forêt-Fouesnant*. Brest: Brud Nevez.
- Coulmas, Florian.** 1997. *The handbook of sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Coulmas, Florian.** 2005. *Sociolinguistics: The study of speakers' choices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coupland, Nikolas.** 2003. Introduction: Sociolinguistics and globalisation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(4), 465-472.
- Coupland, Nikolas & Hywel Bishop.** 2006. Ideologies of language and community in post-devolution Wales. In John Wilson & Karyn Stapleton (eds). *Devolution and identity*. Aldershot and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 33-50.
- Crowley, Tony.** 2002. Bakhtin and the history of language. In Ken Hirschkop & David Shepherd (eds.). *Bakhtin and cultural theory* (2nd edn). Manchester: Manchester University Press, 177-200.
- Crystal, David.** 2000. *Language death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, David.** 2004. *Language revolution*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Dalby, Andrew.** 2002. *Language in danger: How language loss threatens our future*. London: The Penguin Press.
- Da Silva, Emanuel, Mireille McLaughlin & Mary Richards.** 2007. Bilingualism and the globalised new economy: The commodification of language and identity. In Monica Heller (ed.). *Bilingualism: A societal approach*. London: Palgrave.
- Davalan, Nikolas.** 2000. *Brezhoneg : méthode de breton. Hentenn oulpan 1*. Rennes : Skol an Emsav.
- Davies, Alan.** 2003. *The native speaker: Myth and reality. Bilingual education and bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Deacon, Bernard.** 1996. Language revival and language debate: Modernity and postmodernity. *Cornish Studies* 4. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 88-106.
- De Swaan, Abram.** 2001. *Words of the world: The global language system*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Deskiñ d'An Oadourien.** 2004. *An c'helenn brezhoneg d'an dud deuet. Un enklask, stad an traoù, raktresoù ha kinnigoù*. Available online at: http://dao.breizh.free.fr/index.php?id_article4&yezhibrezhoneg (Accessed June 2007).
- Dirlik, Arif.** 1999. Bringing history back in: Of diasporas, hybridities, places, and histories. *The Review of Education/Pedagogy/Cultural Studies* 21(2), 95-131.

- Dixon**, R. 1997. *The rise and fall of languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dobrin**, Lise, Peter **Austin** & David **Nathan**. 2007. Dying to be counted: the commodification of endangered languages in documentary linguistics. In Peter Austin, Oliver Bond & David Nathan (eds.). *Proceedings of Conference on Language Documentation and Linguistic Theory*. London: SOAS, 59-68.
- Dorian**, Nancy. 1989. *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Dorian**, Nancy. 1994. Purism vs. compromise in language revitalisation and language revival. *Language in Society* 23, 479-494.
- Dressler**, Wolfgang. 1972. On the phonology of language death. *8th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 448-57.
- Dressler**, Wolfgang. 1988. Phrasal morphophonemics in Breton-speaking Wernicke's Aphasia. In *Linguistic Analysis of Aphasic Language*. New York: Springer, 62-68.
- Drysdale**, Helena. 2001. *Mother tongues: Travels through tribal Europe*. London: Picador.
- Duchêne**, Alexandre & Monica **Heller**. 2007. *Discourses of Endangerment : Ideology and Interest in the Defence of Languages*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Duranti**, Alessandro. 1997. *Linguistic anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duranti**, Alessandro. 2001. *Linguistic anthropology: A reader*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Dumont**, M. 1998. *Bugale Diwan*. Roazhon: Ikkon.
- Durkacz**, Victor. 1996. *The decline of the Celtic languages*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Duval**, Anjela. 1982. Cited in *Laouenan*, 108. In Ronan Le Coadic 1998 : 243.
- Eckert**, Penelope & Sally **McConnell-Ginet**. (1992) Think practically and look locally: Language and gender as community-based practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 21, 461-90.
- Edwards**, John. (1991). Gaelic in Nova Scotia. In Colin Williams (ed.). *Linguistic minorities, society and territory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 269-297.
- Elkhafaifi**, Hussein. 2002. Arabic language planning in the age of globalisation. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 26(3), 253–269.
- Eribon**, Didier (ed.). 1998. *Les études gay et lesbiennes* (Colloque du Centre Georges Pompidou, 23 et 27 juin 1997). Paris: Centre Georges Pompidou.
- Errington**, Joseph. 2001. Colonial linguistics. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30, 19-39.
- Falc'hun**, François. 1956. *La dialectologie bretonne : problèmes, méthodes et résultats*. Paris: Institut de Linguistique.
- Ferguson**, Charles. 1959. Diglossia. *Word* 15: 325-40. Also in Giglioli, Pier Paolo (ed.). 1972. *Language and social context*. London: Penguin, 232-51.

- Ferguson**, Gibson. 2006. *Language planning and education*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Fishman**, Joshua. 1967. Bilingualism with and without diglossia: Diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 23:2, 29-38.
- Fishman**, Joshua (ed.). 1972. *Readings in the sociology of language*. New York: Mouton Publishers.
- Fishman**, Joshua (ed.). 2001. *Can threatened languages be saved? Reversing language shift revisited: A 21st century perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Flowerdew**, John. 2002. Globalisation discourse: A view from the East. *Discourse and Society* 13(2), 209-225
- Foley**, William 1997. *Anthropological linguistics: An introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Fought**, Carmen. 2006. *Language and ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Frazer**, Graham. 2006. *Sorry, I don't speak French: Confronting the Canadian crisis that won't go away*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.
- Freeman**, Jane & Donna **Patrick** (eds.). 2004. *Language rights and language survival*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Friedrich**, Paul. 1989. Language, ideology and political economy. *American Anthropologist* 91, 295-312.
- Front**: *Hebdomadaire du Front National* (December 2, 1944).
- Gal**, Susan. 1979. *Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press.
- Gal**, Susan. 1989. Language and political economy. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18, 345-67.
- Gal**, Susan. 2006. Minorities, migration and multilingualism: Language ideologies in Europe. In Patrick Stevenson & Clare Mar-Molinero. (eds.). *Language ideologies, practices and policies: Language and the future of Europe*. London : Palgrave, 13-27.
- Gal**, Susan & Kathryn **Woolard** (eds.). 1999. *Languages and publics: The making of authority*. Manchester: St Jerome Press.
- Gazier**, Augustin. 1880. Lettres à Grégoire sur les patois de France 1790-1794. *Revue des langues romanes* 2(1), 193-217.
- Gee**, James, Glynda **Hull** & Colin **Lankshear**. 1996. *The new work order: Behind the language of the new capitalism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Gemie**, Sharif. 2002. The politics of language: Debates and identities in contemporary Brittany. *French Cultural Studies* xiii, 145-164.
- George**, Ken. 1986. Un exemple de bilinguisme breton-anglais. *La Bretagne Linguistique* 2, 150-158.
- Gibson**, Jacqueline & Gwyn **Griffiths**. 2006. *The turn of the Ermine: An anthology of Breton literature*. London: Francis Boutle Publishers.
- Giddens**, Anthony. 1984. *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity.

- Giddens**, Anthony. 1991. *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Giddens**, Anthony. 2007. *Europe in the global age*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Giglioli**, Pier Paolo. (ed.). 1972. *Language and social context*. London: Penguin.
- Giles**, Howard, **Coupland**, Justine & **Nikolas Coupland** (eds.). 1991. *Contexts of accommodation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Giles**, Howard, **Taylor**, Donald & **Richard Bourhis**. 1973. Toward a theory of interpersonal accommodation through speech: Some Canadian data. *Language in Society* 2, 177-192.
- Giles**, Howard & Peter **Powesland**. 1975. *Speech style and social evaluation*. London: Academic Press.
- Glaser**, Konstanze. 2007. *Minority languages and cultural diversity in Europe: Gaelic and Sorbian perspectives*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gorder**, Karen. 1980. Understanding school knowledge: A critical appraisal of Basil Bernstein and Pierre Bourdieu. In Derrick Robbins. 2000. *Pierre Bourdieu volume II*. Sage Publications: London, 218-233.
- Gramsci**, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the prison notebooks*. (Translated by Quintin Hoare & Geoffrey Nowell Smith) (eds.). New York: International Publishers.
- Gramsci**, Antonio 1975. *Gli intellettuali e l'organizzazione della cultura*. Roma: Editori Riuniti.
- Grenoble**, Lenore & Lindsay **Whaley**. 2006. *Saving languages: An introduction to language revitalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grillo**, Ralph. 1989. *Dominant languages: Language and hierarchy in Britain and France*. Cambridge : C.U.P.
- Grin**, François. 2005. Économie et langue : De quelques équivoques, croisements et convergences. *Sociolinguistica* 19, 1-12.
- Grossmann**, Robert & François **Miclo**. 2002. *La république minoritaire: Contre le communautarisme*. Paris: Éditions Michalon.
- Gumperz**, John. 1982. *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hagège**, Claude. 1992. *Le souffle de la langue: Voies et destins des parlers d'Europe*. Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob.
- Hagège**, Claude. 1996. *Le français, histoire d'un combat*. Boulogne-Billancourt: Éditions Michel Hagège.
- Hagège**, Claude. 2000. *Halte à la mort des langues*. Paris: Odile Jacob.
- Hamp**, E. P. 1989. On Signs of health and death. In Nancy Dorian. (ed.). *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 197-210.
- Harker**, Richard 1990. Education and cultural capital. In Richard Harker, Cheleen Mahar & Chris Wilkes (eds.). *An introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu: The practice of theory*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Harrison**, K. David. 2007. *When languages die: The extinction of the world's languages and the erosion of human knowledge*. Oxford: Oxford University

Press.

- Haugen**, Einar. 1996. *Scandinavian language structures: A comparative historical survey*. Minneapolis MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hechter**, Michael. 1975. *Internal colonialism*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press.
- Hélias**, Pierre-Jakez. 1975. *Le Cheval d'orgueil*. Montrouge : Plon.
- Heller**, Monica. 1994. *Crosswords: Language, education, and ethnicity in French Ontario*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Heller**, Monica. 1999. *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. London: Longman.
- Heller**, Monica. 2000. Bilingualism and identity in the post-modern world. *Estudios de Sociolingüística* 1:2, 9-22.
- Heller**, Monica. 2002a. Language, education and citizenship in the post-national era: notes from the front. *LPI Working Papers* 11, 1-13.
- Heller**, Monica. 2002b. *Éléments d'une sociolinguistique critique*. Paris: Éditions Didier.
- Heller**, Monica. 2002c. Globalisation and the commodification of bilingualism in Canada. In David Block & Deborah Cameron (eds.), *Globalisation and language teaching*. London: Routledge, 47-63.
- Heller**, Monica. 2006. *Linguistic minorities and modernity: A sociolinguistic ethnography*. (2nd edn). London: Longman.
- Heller**, Monica. 2007. (ed.). *Bilingualism: A social approach*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hemon**, Roparz. 1972. *Breizh hag ar bed. Ur Breizhad oc'h adkavout Breizh*. Brest: Mouladurioù Al Liamm. In Jacqueline Gibson & Gwyn Griffiths. 2006. *The turn of the Ermine: An anthology of Breton literature*. London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 444-5.
- Héran**, François, **Filhon**, Alexandra & Christine **Deprez**. 2002. Language transmission in France in the course of the 20th century. *Population & Sociétés* 376, February 2002. Paris: INED-Institut national d'études démographiques.
- Hewitt**, Steve. 1977. *The degree of acceptability of modern literary Breton to native Breton speakers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University diploma of linguistics thesis.
- Higgins**, E. T. 1989. Continuities and discontinuities in self-regulatory self-evaluative processes: A developmental theory relating self and affect. *Journal of Personality* 57, 407-444.
- Hicks**, Davyth. 2008. 'Regional' languages recognized as 'part of France's heritage'.
http://www.eurolang.net/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3087&Itemid=1&lang=en (Accessed 27 August 2008).
- Higonnet**, Patrice. 1980. The politics of linguistic terrorism and grammatical hegemony during the French Revolution. *Social History* 5(1), 41-69.

- Hill**, Jane. 2002. Expert rhetorics in advocacy for endangered languages. Who is listening and what do they hear? *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 12, 119-133.
- Hincks**, Rhisiart. 2000. *Yr iaith lenyddol fel bwch dihangol yng Nghymru ac yn Llydaw/The literary language as a scapegoat in Wales and in Brittany*. Occasional Studies Series. Aberystwyth: The Welsh Department.
- Hindley**, Reg. 1990. *The death of the Irish language: A qualified obituary*. London: Routledge.
- Hinton**, Leanne. 2001. Language revitalisation: An overview. In Leanne Hinton & Ken Hale (eds.). *The green book of language revitalisation in practice*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 3-18.
- Hirschkop**, Ken & David **Shepherd**. 2002. (eds.). *Bakhtin and cultural theory* (2nd edn). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Hoenigswald**, Henry M. (1989). Language obsolescence and language history: matters of linearity, levelling, loss and the like. In Nancy Dorian. (ed.). *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 347-354.
- Holm**, John A. 1988. *Pidgins and Creoles*, volume 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornsby**, Michael. 2005. Neo-Breton and questions of authenticity. *Estudios de Sociolingüística* 6:1, 191-218.
- Hornsby**, Michael. 2008. The incongruence of the Breton linguistic landscape for young speakers of Breton. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 29:2, 127-138.
- Hornsby**, Michael. Change and resistance in minoritised landscapes. *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on Minority Languages* (in press).
- Hornsby**, Michael. Breton as a failed national language. Invited contribution to *The Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity* (volume II). Joshua Fishman & Ofelia García (eds.). OUP (in preparation).
- Hornsby**, Michael. The ideology of monolingualism as 'standard' in Brittany. *Aberdeen Postgraduate Celtic Conference Proceedings* (submitted).
- Hornsby**, Michael. The phenomenon of 'new' speakers – Breton and Gaelic perspectives.' *Lublin Studies in Celtic Linguistics* (submitted).
- Huffines**, M. L. 1989. Case usage among the Pennsylvanian German sectarians and non-sectarians. In Nancy Dorian (ed.). *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 211-26.
- Humphrey**, John. 2003. Globalisation and supply chain networks: The auto industry in Brazil and India. *Global Networks* 3(2), 121-141.
- Hymes**, Dell. H. 1966. Two types of linguistic relativity (with examples from Amerindian ethnography). *Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics conference 1964*. Bright, William (ed.). The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter, 114-167.

- Jacob**, James & David **Gordon**. 1985. Language policy in France. In William Beer & James Jacob (eds.). *Language policy and national unity*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 106-133.
- Jaffe**, Alexandra. 1999. *Ideologies in action: Language politics on Corsica*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jaffe**, Alexandra. 2001. Authority and authenticity: Corsican discourse on bilingual education. In Monica Heller & Marilyn Martin-Jones (eds.). *Voices of authority: Education and linguistic difference*. Westport, CT/London: Ablex Publishing.
- Jaffe**, Alexandra. 2007. Minority language movements. In Monica Heller (ed.). *Bilingualism: A social approach*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 50-70.
- Jedrej**, Charles & Mark **Nuttall**. 1996. *White settlers*. Luxembourg: Harwood.
- Johnstone**, Barbara. 2000. *Qualitative methods in sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones**, Mari. 1995. At what price language maintenance? Standardisation in modern Breton. *French Studies* XLIX(3), 428-436.
- Jones**, Mari. 1998a. *Language obsolescence and revitalisation: Linguistic change in two sociolinguistically contrasting Welsh communities*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jones**, Mari. 1998b. Death of a language, birth of an identity: Brittany and the Bretons. *Language Problems and Language Planning* 22(2), 129-42.
- Joseph**, John E. 1987. *Eloquence and power: The rise of standards and standard languages*. London: Pinter.
- Joseph**, May. 1999. Introduction: New hybrid identities and performance. In May Joseph & Jennifer Fink (eds.). *Performing hybridity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1-24.
- Judge**, Anne. 2007. *Linguistic policies and the survival of regional languages in France and Britain*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kabatek**, Johannes. 1997. Strengthening identity: Differentiation and change in contemporary Galician. In Jenny Cheshire & Dieter Stein (eds.). *Taming the vernacular: From dialect to written standard language*. London: Longman, 185-199.
- Keraval**, Pierre. 1954. Quelques aspects de la géographie linguistique en Cornouaille. *Penn-ar-Bed* 2, janvier 1954, 9-10; 3, avril 1954, 5-6.
- Kergoat**, Lukian. 1999. Une Bretagne en quête d'identité: La relation à la langue. In *Breizh ha Poblou Europa/Bretagne et Peuples d'Europe*. Saint-Touan: Klas, 415-426.
- Khosrokhavar**, Farhad. 1997. *L'islam des jeunes*. Paris: Flammarion.
- King**, Kendal. 2004. Language policy and local planning in South America: New directions for enrichment bilingual education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 7(5), 334-347.

- Kloss**, Heinz. 1978. *Linguistic composition of the nations of the world/Composition linguistique des nations du monde*. International Center for Research on Bilingualism/ Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme. Québec: l'Université Laval.
- Kopytoff**, Igor. 1986. The cultural biography of things: commoditisation as process. In Arjun Appadurai (ed.). *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 64-91
- Kroskrity**, Paul. 1993. *Language, history, and identity: ethnolinguistic studies of the Arizona Tewa*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Kroskrity**, Paul. (ed.). 2000. *Regimes of language: ideologies, politics and identities*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Kroskrity**, Paul. 2006. Language ideologies. In Alessandro Duranti (ed.). *A companion to linguistic anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 498-517.
- Kuter**, Lois. 1989. Breton vs. French: Language and the opposition of political, economic, social and cultural values. In Nancy Dorian (ed.). *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 75-90.
- Labov**, William. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied English.
- Lafont**, Robert & Phillipe **Gardy**. 1981. La diglossie comme conflit : L'exemple occitan. *Langages* 13 (61), 75-91.
- Lafont**, Robert. 1986. *Le dénouement français*. Paris: J.-J. Pauvert-Suger.
- Laponce**, Jean. 2003. Bable and the market: Geostrategies for minority languages. In Jacques Maurais & Michael Morris (eds.). *Languages in a globalising world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 58-63.
- Le Berre**, Yves. 2001. In Pierrick Guinard. *Brezhoneg, un siècle de breton*. DVD 3: chapter 6. DVD video, France 3 Ouest/13 Productions.
- Le Berre**, Yves. 1996. Parité et disparité – Sphère publique et sphère privée de la parole. *La Bretagne linguistique* 10, 7-25.
- Le Besco**, Patrick. 1997. *Parlons breton: Langue et culture*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Le Coadic**, Ronan. 1998. *L'identité bretonne* (2nd edition). Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Le Coadic**, Ronan. 2000. The Breton language: From taboo to recognition. In R. Sutcliffe and G. Ó Néill (eds.). *The Information Age, Celtic Languages and the New Millennium: 6th Annual Conference of the North American Association for Celtic Language Teachers*. Available online at http://www.csis.ul.ie/naaclt2000/final_proceedings.htm, 23-28 (Accessed May 2003).
- Le Coadic**, Ronan. 2001. In Pierrick Guinard (dir.). *Brezhoneg, un siècle de breton*. DVD 3: chapter 6. DVD video, France 3 Ouest/13 Productions.
- Le Coadic**, Ronan. 2004a. Modernité aigue et minorité. In Nathalie Dugalès, Ronan Le Coadic & Fabrice Patez (eds.). *Et la Bretagne ? Héritage, identité, projets*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 15-33.

- Le Coadic**, Ronan. 2004b. Brittany's borders: International crossing borders. History, theories and identities. University of Glamorgan, December 2-4 2004. Available online at: www.breizh.net/identity/saozneg/brittany_borders.htm. Accessed 06 May 2009.
- Le Dû**, Jean & **Le Berre**, Yves. 1995. Le double jeu de la langue. In Eloy (ed.) *La qualité de la langue ? Le cas du français*. Paris: Champion, 251-268.
- Le Dû**, Jean & Yves **Le Berre**. 1996. Parité et disparité: Sphère publique et sphère privée de la parole. *La Bretagne Linguistique* 10, 7-25.
- Le Dû**, Jean & Yves **Le Berre**. 1999. Le qui pro quo des langues régionales: Sauver la langue ou éduquer l'enfant ? In Claris Christos, Denis Costaouec & Jean-Baptiste Coyos (eds.). *Langues et cultures régionales de France*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 71-84.
- Le Nevez**, Adam. 2006. *Language diversity and linguistic identity in Brittany: A critical analysis of the changing practice of Breton*. Sydney: University of Technology thesis. <http://hdl.handle.net/2100/312> (Accessed April 2008).
- Le Nevez**, Adam. Beyond normativity: Creating space for Breton in a plurilingual identity. *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on Minority Languages* (in press).
- Leprohon**, Ronan. 2001. In Pierrick Guinard (dir.). *Brezhoneg, un siècle de breton*. DVD 3: chapter 6. DVD video, France 3 Ouest/13 Productions.
- Le Roy Laudurie**, Emmanuel. 1976. Qui gouvernait sous l'Ancien Régime? *Le Monde* 26 July 1976, 12.
- Lippi-Green**, Rosina. 1997. *English with an accent: Language, ideology and discrimination in the United States*. London: Routledge.
- Lipschutz**, Ronnie. 1992. Reconstructing world politics: The emergence of global civil society. *Journal of International Studies* 21(3), 389-420.
- Lo Bianco**, Joseph. 2004. Invented languages and new worlds. *English Today* 20, 8-18.
- Louarn**, Lena. 2001. In Pierrick Guinard (dir.). *Brezhoneg, un siècle de breton*. DVD 3: chapter 6. DVD video, France 3 Ouest/13 Productions.
- Lucy**, John A. 1996. The linguistics of 'color'. In Clyde Hardin & Luisa Maffi (eds.). *Color categories in thought and language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Määttä**, Simo K. 2005. The European charter for regional or minority languages, French language laws and national identity. *Language Policy* 4, 167-186.
- Mac a' Ghobhainn**, Iain. 1987. *An t-Eilean agus an Cànan*. Glasgow: Roinn nan Cànan Ceilteach.
- MacCaluim**, Alasdair. 2007. *Reversing language shift: The social identity and role of Scottish Gaelic learners*. Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona.
- MacKenzie**, J. 2002. Gaelic, social exclusion and cultural fascism (letter to the editor). West Highland Free Press, 12 April 2002.

- MacKinnon**, Kenneth. 2003. Reversing language shift: Celtic languages today – any evidence? *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 8(1), 109-132.
- MacLeod**, Michelle. 2001. Language and bilingualism in the Gaelic poetry of Iain Crichton Smith. *Scottish Studies Review* 2:2, 105-113.
- Mac Mathúna**, Liam. 2008. Linguistic change and standardization. In Caoilfhionn Nic Pháidín & Seán Ó Cearnaigh (eds.). *A new view of the Irish Language*. Dublin: Cois Life, 76-92.
- Maffi**, Lusia. 2001. (ed.). *On biocultural diversity: Linking language, knowledge, and the environment*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Makoni**, Sinfrey & Alastair **Pennycook**. 2005. Disinventing and (re)constituting languages. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies: An International Journal* 2(3), 137–156.
- Martin-Jones**, Marilyn. 1989. Language, power and linguistic minorities: The need for an alternative approach to bilingualism, language maintenance and shift. In Ralph Grillo (ed). *Social anthropology and the politics of language*. London: Routledge, 106-125.
- Marton**, Waldemar & Dennis **Preston**. 1975. British and American English for Polish university students: Research report and projections. *Glottodidactica* 8, 27-43.
- Maurais**, Jacques & Michael **Morris** (eds.). *Languages in a globalising world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- May**, Stephen. 2001. *Language and minority rights: Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language*. Harlow: Longman.
- McClure**, J. Derrick (ed.). *Doonsin' emeralds: New scribes anent Scots an Gaelic/New studies in Scots and Gaelic*. Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona.
- McDonald**, Maryon. 1989. *We are not French! Language, culture and identity in Brittany*. London: Routledge.
- McEwan-Fujita**, Emily. 2006. 'Gaelic doomed as speakers die out'? The public discourse of Gaelic language death in Scotland. In Wilson McLeod (ed.). *Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 279-294.
- McLennan**, Hugh. 1945. *Two solitudes*. Toronto: Collins.
- McLeod**, Wilson. 2001. Gaelic in the new Scotland: Politics, rhetoric and public discourse. *JEMIE: Journal on ethno-politics and minority issues in Europe* (Summer 2001). Available online at <http://www.ecmi.de/jemie/download/JEMIE02MacLeod28-11-01.pdf> (Accessed September 2008).
- Meyerhoff**, Miriam. 2002. Communities of practice. In Jack Chambers, Peter Trudgill & Schilling-Estes, Natalie (eds.). *The handbook of language variation and change*. Oxford: Blackwell, 526-548.
- Millar**, Robert McColl. 2004. Linguistic history on the margins of the Germanic-speaking world: Some preliminary thoughts. In J. Derrick McClure (ed.). *Doonsin' emeralds: New scribes anent Scots an Gaelic/New studies in Scots and Gaelic*. Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona, 3-17.

- Millar**, Robert McColl. 2005. *Language, nation and power: An introduction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Milroy**, Lesley. 1980. *Language and social networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Milroy**, Lesley. 2001. Social networks. In Rajend Mesthrie (ed.). *Concise encyclopedia of sociolinguistics*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, 370-6.
- Milroy**, Lesley. 2002. Social networks. In Jack Chambers, Peter Trudgill & Schilling-Estes, Natalie (eds.). *The handbook of language variation and change*. Oxford: Blackwell, 549-573.
- Milroy**, Lesley & James. 1992. Social network and social class. *Language in Society* 21, 1-26.
- Ministère de l'Intérieur**. 1944. *Bulletin sur la situation dans les régions et les départements*, no. 2. November 16, 1944. AN F/1a/4028.
- Mougeon**, Raymond & Terry **Nadasi**. 1998. Sociolinguistic discontinuity in minority language communities. *Language* 74(1), 40-55.
- Moal**, Stefan. 2000. Waiting for TV-Breizh? In R. Sutcliffe & G. Ó Néill (eds.). *The Information Age, Celtic Languages and the New Millennium: 6th Annual Conference of the North American Association for Celtic Language Teachers*. Available online at http://www.csis.ul.ie/naactl2000/final_proceedings.htm, 83-88 (Accessed May 2003).
- Moal**, Stefan. 2003. How can one be a Breton speaker in the twenty-first century? *Contemporary French Civilisation* XXVII(2), 312-355.
- Moïse**, Claudine. 2007. Protecting French: The view from France. In Alexandre Duchêne & Monica Heller (eds.). *Discourses of endangerment: Ideology and interest in the defence of languages*. London: Continuum, 216-241.
- Monnier**, Jean-Jacques. 2007. *Résistance et conscience bretonne 1940-1945: L'hermine contre la croix gammée*. Fouesant: Yoran Embanner.
- Morgan**, Peadar. 2000. The Gael is dead; long live the Gaelic: The changing relationship between native and learner Gaelic users. In Gordon McCoy with Maolcholaim Scott (eds.). *Aithne na nGael/Gaelic Identities*. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queens University Belfast/Iontaobhas ULTACH, 126-32.
- Morvan**, Françoise. 2002. *Le monde comme si: Nationalisme et dérive identitaire en Bretagne*. Arles: Actes Sud.
- Morvannou**, Fañch. 2001. Le breton demain? In Association Buhez. *Parlons du breton!* Rennes: Éditions Ouest France, 181.
- Mougeon**, Raymond & Édouard **Beniak**. 1991. *Linguistic consequences of language contact and restriction: The case of French in Ontario, Canada*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Mougeon**, Raymond & Terry **Nadasi**. 1998. Sociolinguistic discontinuity in minority language communities. *Language* 74(1), 40-55.

- Mufwene**, Salikoko. 2002. Colonisation, globalisation, and the future of languages in the twenty-first century. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* 4(2) <http://www.unesco.org/most/vl4n2mufwene.pdf> (Accessed January 2009).
- Mufwene**, Salikoko. 2005. Globalization, and the myth of killer languages. In Graham Huggan & Stephan Klasen (eds.). *Perspectives on endangerment*. Hildesheim/New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 19-48.
- Nebrija**, Antonio de. 1492. *Gramática de la lengua castellana*. Estudio y edición Anonio Quilis. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Ramón Areces. Available online at <http://www.antoniodenebrija.org/> (Accessed July 2008).
- Nederveen Pieterse**, Jan. 1995. Globalisation as hybridisation. In Mike Featherstone, Scott Lash, & Roland Robertson (eds.). *Global modernities*. London: Sage, 45–68.
- Nelde**, Peter. 1997. Language conflict. In Coulmas, Florian (ed.). *The Handbook of sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell, 285-300.
- Nelde**, Peter. 2007. Maintaining multilingualism in Europe: Propositions for a European language policy. In Anne Pauwels, Joanne Winter & Joseph Lo Bianco (eds.). *Maintaining minority languages in transnational contexts*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 59-77.
- Nettle**, Daniel & Suzanne **Romaine**. 2000. *Vanishing voices: The extinction of the world's languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Newcombe**, Lynda Pritchard. 2002. 'A Tough Hill To Climb Alone'. Welsh Learners Speak. *Hong Kong Journal of Applied Linguistics* 7(2), 39-56.
- Ní Dhomhaill**, Nuala. 1995. *Rogha Dánta*. Dublin: Raven Arts Press.
- Nolan**, Shaun. 2008. School and extended family in the transmission and revitalisation of Gallo in Upper-Brittany. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 29(3), 216-234.
- Ó Baoill**, Dónal. P. 1988. Language planning in Ireland: The standardisation of Irish. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 70: 109-26.
- Observatoire de la Langue Bretonne**. 2002. *Un avenir pour la langue bretonne? Rapport sur l'état de la langue bretonne*. Rennes: Office de la Langue Bretonne.
- Ó Ciosáin**, Éamonn. 1991. *Buried alive: A reply to 'The death of the Irish language'*. Baile Átha Cliath: Dáil Uí Chadhain.
- Ó Conchubhair**, Brian. 2008. The global diaspora and the new Irish (language). In Caoilfhionn Nic Pháidín & Seán Ó Cearnaigh (eds.). *A new view of the Irish language*. Dublin: Cois Life, 224-248.
- Ó Croidheáin**, Caoimhghin 2006. *Language from below: The Irish language, ideology and power in 20th-century Ireland*. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Ó Giollagáin**, Conchúr. 2004. A contrastive view of Irish language dynamics. *Collegium antropologicum* 28(1) (supplement).
- Ó Giollagáin**, Conchúr. 2008. Linguistic dimensions of the globalised frontier: Old and new minorities in contact and in context. *International Journal of Anthropology* 23 (3-4), 247-260.

- Oldenberg**, Zoe. 1984. *L'Express*. 24 August 1984, p. 21. Cited in Adrian Battye, Marie-Anne Heintze & Paul Rowlett. 2000. *The French language today: A linguistic introduction*. London: Routledge, 31.
- Oliver**, James. 2005. Gaelic and Identities in Scotland: Contexts and contingencies. *Scottish Affairs* 51, 1-24.
- Ó Néill**, Diarmuid. 2005. Scottish-Gaelic in Scotland. In Diarmuid Ó Néill (ed.). *Rebuilding the Celtic languages: Reversing language shift in the Celtic countries*. Talybont: Y Lolfa, 366-382.
- Ó Néill**, Diarmuid. 2005. *Rebuilding the Celtic languages: Reversing language shift in the Celtic countries*. Talybont: Y Lolfa
- Pardo**, María. 2001. Linguistic persuasion as an essential political factor in current democracies: Critical analysis of the globalization discourse in Argentina at the turn and at the end of the century. *Discourse and Society* 12, 91-118.
- Patrick**, Peter. 2006. The speech community. In J. Chambers, Peter Trudgill and Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.). *The handbook of language variation and change*. Oxford: Blackwell, 573-597.
- Pedersen**, Roy. 2000. The Gaelic economy. In Amy Hale & Phillip Payton. (eds.). *New directions in Celtic studies*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 152-166.
- Pentecouteau**, Hugues. 2002a. L'apprentissage du breton dans un contexte de mondialisation. In M. Humbert (ed.). *La Bretagne à l'heure de la mondialisation*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 113-121.
- Pentecouteau**, Hugues. 2002b. *Devenir bretonnant. Découvertes, apprentissages et (re)appropriations d'une langue*. Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes : Rennes.
- Péronnet**, Louise. 1996. Nouvelles variétés de français parlé en Acadie du Nouveau-Brunswick. In *Les Acadiens et leur(s) langue(s) : quand le français est minoritaire*. Colloque du Centre de recherche en linguistique appliquée de l'Université de Moncton, 19-21 août 1994. Moncton : Université de Moncton, 121-135.
- Pervin**, Lawrence. 2003. *The science of personality* (2nd edition). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Phillips**, Susan. 2000. Constructing a Tongan nation-state through language ideology in the courtroom. In Paul Kroskrity (ed.). *Regimes of language*. Santa Fe: NM: School of American Research Press, 229-257.
- Phillipson**, Robert. 2001. English for globalisation or for the world's people? *International Review of Education* 47(3-4), 185-200
- Phillipson**, Robert. 2003. *English-only Europe? Challenging language policy*. London: Routledge.
- Prémel**, Gérard. 1995. Anamnèse d'un dommage, ou comment le français est venu aux Bretons. *Langage et Société* 72.
- Press**, Ian. 1986. *A grammar of modern Breton*. Berlin : Mouton de Gruyter.
- Press**, Ian. 2004. *Standard Breton*. München: Lincom GmbH.

- Punchi**, Lakshman. 2001. Resistance towards the language of globalisation: The case of Sri Lanka. *International Review of Education* 47(3/4), 361-378.
- Rampton**, Ben. 1995. *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents*. New York: Longman.
- Ricento**, Thomas. 2005. Problems with the 'language-as-resource' discourse in the promotion of heritage languages in the U.S.A. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 9(3), 348-368.
- Richardson**, John. (ed.) *Handbook for theory and research for the sociology of Education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Rickford**, John. 1999. *African American vernacular English: Features, evolution, educational implications*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Roberts**, Celia, Michael **Byram**, Ana **Barro**, Shirley **Jordan**, and Brian **Street** 2001. *Language learners as ethnographers*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Romaine**, Suzanne. 1989. *Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rosselló i Peralta**, Carles de. 2003. Catalan or Spanish? Language choice from home to school. In Lotfi Sayahi (ed.). *Selected Proceedings of the First Workshop on Spanish Sociolinguistics*, 30-42. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla proceedings Project.
- Rowe**, William & Vivian **Schelling**. 1991. *Memory and modernity: Popular culture in Latin America*. London: Verso.
- Ruiz**, Richard. 1984. Orientations in language planning. *National Association for Bilingual Education Journal* 8, 15-34
- Rumsey**, Alan. 1990. Wording, meaning, and linguistic ideology. *American Anthropologist* 92, 346-361.
- Salée**, Daniel. 1996. La mondialisation et la construction de l'identité au Québec. In Mikhaël Elbaz, Andrée Fortin & Guy Laforest (eds.). *Les frontières de l'identité : Modernité et postmodernité au Québec*. Sainte-Foy : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 105-125.
- Sallabank**, Julia. 2003. *Communities of use of an endangered language (with reference to Guernsey French)*. Paper presented at Mercator conference, Aberystwyth, April 2003.
- Sasse**, Hans-Jürgen. 1992. Theory of language death. In Matthias Brenzinger (ed.). *Language death: Factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 7-30.
- Schieffelin**, Bambi & Rachelle **Charlier Doucet**. 1998. The 'Real' Haitian Creole : Ideology, metalinguistics, and orthographic choice. In Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn Woolard, and Paul Kroskrity (eds.). *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 285-316.
- Schmidt**, Ronald. 2007. Defending English in an English-dominant world: The ideology of the 'Official English' movement in the United States. In Alexandre Duchêne & Monica Heller (eds.). *Discourses of endangerment: Ideology and defence of languages*. London: Continuum, 197-215.

- Sifakis**, Nicos & Areti-Maria **Sougari**. 2003. Facing the globalisation challenge in the realm of English language teaching. *Language and Education* 17, 59-71.
- Silverstein**, Michael. 1998. The uses and utility of ideology: a commentary. In Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard, and Paul Kroskrity (eds.). *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 123-45.
- Simon**, Pierre-Jean. 1999. *La bretonnité: Une ethnicité problématique*. Rennes: Terre de Brume/Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Singh**, Ishtla. 2000. *Pidgins and creoles*. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Singh**, Parlo & Catherine **Doherty**. 2004. Global cultural flows and pedagogic dilemmas: Teaching in the global university contact zone. *Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages Quarterly* 38, 9-42.
- Skutnab-Kangas**, Tove. 2000. *Linguistic genocide in education — or world-wide diversity and human rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Skutnabb-Kangas**, Tove. 2001. The globalisation of (educational) language rights. *International Review of Education* 47, 201-219
- Sonntag**, Selma. 2003. Language politics in France, or how do you say 'junk food' in Breton? In Selma Sonntag (ed.). *The local politics of global English: Case studies in linguistic globalization*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 37-58.
- Sowerwine**, Charles. 2001. *France since 1870: Culture, politics and society*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Spradley**, James. 1979. *The ethnographic interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Spolsky**, Bernard. 2006. Language policy failures. In Martin Pütz, Joshua Fishman & Jo-Anne Neff van Aertselaer (eds.). *Along the routes to power: Exploration of empowerment through language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 87-107.
- Stephens**, Janig. 1996. *Teod, Teanga, Tafod: Language acquisition in preschool children in Brittany, Ireland, Scotland and Wales* (volume 2). Cardiff: Cardiff Institute of Higher Education, School of Environmental & Human Sciences.
- Stevenson**, Patrick & Clare **Mar-Molinero**. (eds.). *Language ideologies, practices and policies: Language and the future of Europe*. London : Palgrave.
- Strathern**, Marilyn. 2000. *Audit cultures: Anthropological studies in accountability, ethics and the community*. London: Routledge.
- Stroud**, Christopher. 2003. Postmodernist perspectives on local languages: African mother-tongue education in times of globalisation. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 6, 17-36.
- Sutcliffe**, R. & G. Ó Néill (eds.). *The Information Age, Celtic Languages and the New Millennium: 6th Annual Conference of the North American Association for Celtic Language Teachers*. Available online at http://www.csis.ul.ie/naact2000/final_proceedings.htm. (Accessed March 2003).

- Tan**, Peter & Rani **Rubdy** (eds.). 2008. *Language as commodity: Global structures, local marketplaces*. London: Continuum.
- Tanner**, Marcus. 2004. *The last of the Celts*. London: Yale University Press.
- Ternisien**, Xavier. 2008. L'entrée des langues régionales dans la Constitution suscite des espoirs. *Le Monde* 01 August 2008. Available online at www.lemonde.fr (Accessed November 2008).
- Texier**, Marcel & Diarmuid Ó Néill. 2000. *The Nominoë Study of the Breton Language*. Available online at www.breizh.nwt/icdbl/saozg/nominoe.htm. (Accessed August 2002).
- Texier**, Marcel & Diarmuid Ó Néill. 2005. The Case of Breton. In Diarmuid Ó Néill (ed.). *Rebuilding the Celtic languages: Reversing language shift in the Celtic countries*. Talybont : Y Lolfa, 152-210.
- Thomason**, Sarah G. 2001. *Language contact*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Timm**, Lenora, 2000. Language ideologies in Brittany, with implications for Breton language maintenance and pedagogy. In R. Sutcliffe & G. Ó Néill (eds.). *The Information Age, Celtic Languages and the New Millennium: 6th Annual Conference of the North American Association for Celtic Language Teachers*. Available online at http://www.csis.ul.ie/naaclt2000/final_proceedings.htm, 147-54 (Accessed March 2003).
- Timm**, Lenora. 2001. Transforming Breton: A case in multiply conflicting language ideologies. *Texas Linguistic Forum* 44(2): Proceedings from the Eighth Annual Symposium about Language and Society. Austin, April 20-22 2001, 449-456.
- Timm**, Lenora. 2003. Breton at a Crossroads: Looking Back, Moving Forward. *e-Keltoi* (2): Cultural Survival, 25-61. Available online at <http://www.uwm.edu/Dept/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol2/> (Accessed November 2003).
- Torreilles**, Claire & Mary **Sanchiz**. 2006. *Petite anthologie des littératures occitane et catalane*. Académie de Montpellier.
- Trilling**, Lionel. 1972. *Sincerity and authenticity*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Trosset**, Carol. 1986. The social identity of Welsh learners. *Language in Society* 15(2), 165-192.
- Tusting**, Karin. 2005. Language and power in communities of practice. In David Barton & Karin Tusting (eds.). *Beyond communities of practice: Language, power and social context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 36-54.
- Urla**, Jacqueline. 2001. Outlaw language: Creating alternative public spheres in Basque free radio. In Susan Gal & Kathryn Woolard (eds.). *Language and publics: The making of authority*. Manchester: St Jerome, 141-163.
- Vallée**, Frañsez. 1941. *Envorennoù eur brezhonegour*. Lambazellec: Sterenn. In Jacqueline Gibson & Gwyn Griffiths. 2006. *The turn of the Ermine: An anthology of Breton literature*. London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 436 & 438.

- Vetter**, Eva. 1999. *Plus de breton? Conflit linguistique en Bretagne rurale*. Ar Releg-Kerhuon: An Here.
- Vila**, Francesc Xavier. 1996. *When classes are over. Language choice and language contact in bilingual education in Catalonia*. Brussels: Vrije Universiteit Brussel thesis.
- Vigers**, Richard. 2006. *Memorising loss in dead and dying languages: The last speaker and other strategies*. Southampton: University of Southampton thesis.
- Vincent**, Kelly. 2002. *The decline of the Celtic languages*. Available online at <http://www.suite101.com/article.cfm/10964/92403>. (Accessed June 2002).
- Walter**, Henriette. 2001. In Pierrick Guinard (dir.). *Brezhoneg, un siècle de breton*. DVD 3: chapter 6. DVD video, France 3 Ouest/13 Productions.
- Waters**, Malcolm. 2001 (2nd edition). *Globalisation*. London: Routledge.
- Watts**, Richard J. 1999. The ideology of dialect in Switzerland. In Jan Blommaert (ed.). *Language ideological debates*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 67-104.
- Webb**, Jen, **Schirato**, Tony & Geoff **Danaher**. 2002. *Understanding Bourdieu*. Sage Publications: London.
- Wee**, Lionel. 2008. Linguistic instrumentalism in Singapore. In Peter Tan & Rani Rubdy (eds.). *Language as commodity: Global structures, local marketplaces*. London: Continuum, 31-43.
- Wenger**, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Werbner**, Prina. 1997. The dialectics of cultural hybridity. In Prina Werbner & Tariq Modood (eds.). *Debating cultural hybridity: Multicultural identities and the politics of anti-racism*. London: Zed Books, 1-26.
- Wieviorka**, Michel. 2000. *La violence à la lumière de la notion de sujet: Violences, mythes et réalités*. Paris: Adri.
- Williams**, Colin. 2008. *Linguistic minorities in democratic context*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Williams**, Glyn & Delyth **Morris**. 2000. *Language planning and language use: Welsh in a global age*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Wilson**, John & Karyn **Stapleton** (eds). 2006. *Devolution and identity*. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Wolfram**, Walt. 2002. Language death and dying. In Jack Chambers, Peter Trudgill & Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.). *The handbook of language variation and change*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 765-787.
- Woolard**, Kathryn A. 1985. Language variation and cultural hegemony. Towards an integration of sociolinguistic and social theory. *American Ethnologist* 12, 738-48.
- Woolard**, Kathryn. 1989. *Double talk: Bilingualism and the politics of ethnicity in Catalonia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Woolard, Kathryn.** 1998. Introduction: Language ideology as a field of inquiry. In Bambi Schieffelin, Kathryn Woolard & Paul Kroskrity (eds.). *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3-47.
- Woolard, Kathryn. A.** 2005. Language and identity choice in Catalonia: The interplay of contrasting ideologies of linguistic authority. Paper presented at the International Colloquium on 'Regulations of societal multilingualism in linguistic policies' at the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, June 2005. Available online at <http://repositories.cdlib.org/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1010&context=wlicmc> (Accessed November 2006).
- Woolard, Kathryn & Bambi Schieffelin.** 1994. Language ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 23, 55-82.
- Wright, Sue.** 2001. Reconciling respect for diversity and the development of a European public sphere. In Peter Nelde & Rosita Rindler Schjerve (eds.). *Minorities and language policy*. St. Augustin, Germany: Asgard, 77-94.
- Wurm, Stephen.** 1998. Methods of language maintenance and revival, with selected cases of language endangerment in the world. In Kazuto Matsumura (ed.). *Studies in endangered languages* (Papers from the International Symposium on Endangered Languages, Tokyo, 18-20 November 1995). Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo, 191-211.
- Wurm, Stephen.** 2001. *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger of Disappearing*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad.** 2003. Language Contact and Globalisation: The Camouflaged Influence of English on the World's Languages – with special attention to Israeli (sic) and Mandarin. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 16(2), 287-307.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad.** 2006. A New Vision for "Israeli Hebrew": Theoretical and Practical Implications of Analysing Israel's Main Language as a Semi-Engineered Semito-European Hybrid Language. *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 5(1), 57-71.
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad.** 2008 [forthcoming]. Hybridity versus Revivability: Multiple Causation, Forms and Patterns in Israeli (somewhat misleadingly a.k.a. 'Modern Hebrew').
- Zuckermann, Ghil'ad.** 2008. *יפה ישראלית שפה יפה* (Israeli, a Beautiful Language). Tel Aviv: Am Oved.
- Zuengler, Jane.** 1991. Accommodation in native-non-native interactions: Going beyond the what to the why in second language research. In Giles, Howard, Coupland, Nikolas & Justine Coupland (eds.). *Contexts of accommodation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 223-244.