Channelling Change: Evolution in Guernsey Norman French Phonology

Submitted by Helen Margaret Simmonds to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in French, September 2012.

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

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines evolution in the phonology of Guernesiais, the endangered variety of Norman French indigenous to the Channel Island of Guernsey. It identifies ways in which modern Guernesiais phonology differs from previous descriptions of the variety written between 1870 and 2008, and identifies new patterns of phonological variation which correlate with speaker place of origin within the island. This is accomplished through a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses of a new corpus of speech data. The relationship between the data and other extralinguistic variables such as age and gender is also explored.

The Guernsey 2010 corpus was gathered during linguistic interviews held with forty-nine adult native speakers of Guernesiais between July and September 2010. The interviews featured a word list translation task (English > Guernesiais), a series of socio-biographical questions, and a self-assessment questionnaire which sought to elicit information about the participants' use of Guernesiais as well as their responses to questions relating to language revitalisation issues. The interviews resulted in over 40 hours of recorded material in addition to a bank of written socio-biographical, behavioural and attitudinal data.

Analysis of the phonetically transcribed data revealed that a number of phonological features of Guernesiais have evolved, perhaps owing to greater contact with English or through other processes of language change such as levelling. Shifting patterns of diatopic variation indicate that south-western Guernesiais forms are spreading northwards, and this is echoed in the findings of the socio-biographical data. New evidence of diatopic variation in final consonant devoicing and word-final post-obstruent liquid deletion was also found.

This thesis concludes that there is still considerable variation in the pronunciation of modern native speakers of Guernesiais, and that this correlates with place of origin within the island. While northern Guernesiais forms have not disappeared entirely, south-western Guernesiais appears set to become the *de facto* standard for the variety, especially as the political impetus for revitalisation is generated from this area of the island.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Unless otherwise stated, all translations which appear in this thesis are by H. Simmonds.

Abbreviations used in examples: S.F.   Standard French
                                    M.N.   Mainland Norman
                                    G.   Guernesiais
                                    swG.   South-western Guernesiais

Transcription notation: vowel nasalisation

It should be noted from the outset that vowel nasalisation in Guernesiais is weaker than that encountered in standard French (cf. §2.5.6). Vowels in Guernesiais which nonetheless have a definite nasalised character are represented using the conventional tilde diacritic. Non-standard IPA notation has been employed in the transcriptions which follow in order to accurately represent the lesser degrees of vowel nasalisation which also occur in the variety: the tilde diacritic has been displaced to the right (after Coveney 2001) where nasalisation is partial, with parentheses used to indicate cases in which the nasalisation of a vowel is particularly slight.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1   OPENING REMARKS

This study examines evolution in the phonology of Guernesiais,[1] the variety of Norman French indigenous to the Channel Island of Guernsey. Central to this research is the investigation of phonological behaviour in speech data gathered from 49 native Guernesiais speakers during a fieldwork expedition undertaken in 2010, and examination of the ways in which differences observed in phonological behaviour correlate with speakers' place of origin within the island. The relationship between the data and extralinguistic (sociolinguistic) variables such as age and gender is also explored. Unusually among late twentieth and early twenty-first century treatments of Guernesiais phonology, the findings of the present study are based upon current speech data recorded from individuals from *all* parts of the island, and not just one specific area; as such, this study provides a unique snapshot of the sounds of this endangered Romance variety at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The principal hypothesis of this study is that there is considerable variability in modern Guernesiais phonology, despite the diminutive size of the speech community, and that this variation correlates with speakers' place of origin within the island. This hypothesis is founded on impressionistic comments and opinions expressed by islanders, and on observations made by the researcher during previous fieldwork carried out in the speech community (Simmonds 2008); it is also supported in the body of descriptive literature which explores Guernesiais phonology.

Accounts of pre-twentieth century Guernesiais suggest that pronunciation in Guernesiais once varied to such an extent that it was possible to tell which of the island's ten parishes an individual came from simply by his or her speech. In one of the earliest available descriptions of Guernesiais phonology, the poet Métivier, a Guernsey francophone contemporary of the exiled Victor Hugo, wrote:

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[1] Since there is no definitively established spelling system for the variety, the spelling of 'Guernesiais' varies between sources. In the present work, the convention of Jones (2008) has been adopted.

Il est à remarquer que la prononciation du guernesiais n'est pas précisément la même dans toutes les parties de l'ile. Il existe une différence bien appréciable entre la prononciation des habitants de ce qu'on appelle les basses paroisses, situées au nord de l'île, et celle des habitants des hautes paroisses situées au sud. […] Il est aussi à remarquer que des dix paroisses que renferme l'île, il n'en est pas deux qui prononcent de la même manière […].
(Métivier 1870: v)

[It should be noted that the pronunciation of Guernesiais is not precisely the same in all parts of the island. An appreciable difference exists between the pronunciation of the inhabitants of what are known as the 'low parishes', situated in the north of the island, and that of the inhabitants of the 'high parishes' in the south. […] It should also be noted that, of the ten parishes which make up the island, there are no two which have the same pronunciation […].][2]

A broad impression of the pattern of variation described by Métivier may be gained from the map which Lukis chose as a frontispiece to the revised edition of his *An Outline of the Franco-Norman dialect of Guernsey* (1981) (see Map 1-1). The map, an estimation of the linguistic situation on the island circa 1750, displays two distinct supra-parochial dialect areas which cover the north and south of the island respectively. Interestingly, however, Lukis' model interposes these with a third dialect area which corresponds roughly with the parish boundaries of Castel and St Andrew's in the centre of the island (Lukis 1981).

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Map 1-1. Lukis' tripartite model of phonological variation in Guernesiais (c. 1750).[3]

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[2] The 'low' and 'high' parishes are so named for their topography. The north of the island is relatively flat, while the island rises to a plateau in the south — the high parishes are thus quite literally higher than the low parishes in the north.
[3] Adapted from Lukis (1981).

In spite of Lukis' assertions about a historical tripartite dialect division, it is the binary model opposing speech from the island's north and south which has endured since the earliest descriptions of the variety. J. P. Collas, a scholar from Guernsey working on the variety in the 1920s and '30s, certainly perceived phonological differences between speakers of the two areas; he felt that these were the legacy of stronger diatopic patterns that would have been present in the speech of previous generations (Collas 1931: 1–22). His comments are largely confirmed by the Dictionary Committee of L'Assembllaïe d'Guernesiais, who still drew a distinction between high and low parish pronunciation as they prepared the seminal *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* in the 1960s (de Garis 1967).

Though more recent opinion as to the nature of extant variation differs, authors do nonetheless agree that geographical variation persists: Tomlinson, for instance, explicitly declares his intention to focus on the pronunciation of the island's south west in his recent descriptive grammar, implying exclusion of another form or forms (Tomlinson 2008: *i–ii*; cf. Tomlinson 1981: 23–4). Jones observes (following Lukis 1981) that the parishes of Castel and St Andrews constitute a transition zone between the north and the south, meanwhile, though her subsequent characterisation of regional phonological variation divides Guernesiais broadly between high and low parish forms (Jones 2008: 41–4). Jan Marquis, the island's first Language Development Officer, concurs:

> *Le normand du nord de l'île contraste de façon importante avec celui du sud-ouest, puis nous ajoutons que la situation est d'autant plus complexe qu'il y a continuum de diversité entre ces deux extrémités. Pourtant il est à remarquer que cette diversité ne présente aucun obstacle quant à la communication. Les locuteurs sont conscients des différences, mais ils tolèrent et acceptent cette situation comme normale.* (Marquis 2009: 79)

> [The Norman of the north of the island contrasts significantly with that of the south west, and the situation is rendered even more complex as there is a continuum of diversity between these two extremes. It should nonetheless be noted that this diversity does not present any hindrance to communication. Speakers are conscious of these differences, but they tolerate them and accept this situation as normal.]

This study aims to establish the extent of the phonological differences present in modern Guernesiais, and to assess how the variety's phonology has changed since earlier descriptions were written. This is accomplished through a combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses of a corpus of speech data transcribed from interviews held with native speakers of Guernesiais. The purpose of this initial chapter is to present the main themes of the study, and to provide some preliminary contextual

information about the variety before outlining briefly the nature of the corpus. It also summarises the intended contribution of the work, and concludes with an indication of the information contained within subsequent chapters.

1.2   THEMES AND OBJECT OF STUDY

As stated in §1.1 above, this study aims to investigate the phonology of modern Guernesiais, and to evaluate existing descriptions and models of diatopic variation using data gathered from modern speakers of the variety; the hypothesis to be tested is that there is still considerable variability in the pronunciation of Guernesiais, and that this correlates with speakers' place of origin within the island.

Guernesiais faces an uncertain future as an endangered, largely unwritten minority language. It is spoken today by a small community of ageing speakers, though efforts are now underway to ensure the variety's use by future generations (see further in Chapter 7). The fixed-term appointment of a Language Support Officer for Guernesiais in 2008 means that issues of revitalisation and language planning have recently come to the fore, and (from an official standpoint, at least) the creation of a coherent writing system is most definitely on the agenda (Martel 2008; Culture and Leisure 2008: 10). This raises a number of questions with regard to the standardisation of Guernesiais for the purposes of wider literacy, and the associated issues are echoed in current revitalisation debates elsewhere.

The principal theme of this thesis is therefore phonological variation within a small, insular variety. In order to best interpret the phonological data, this will be examined in the context of two secondary themes: the modern native-speaker community, and language revitalisation. These themes will be discussed and evaluated in the chapters which follow, where the literature will be critically reviewed and discussed in light of new data from the Guernsey 2010 corpus.

At this juncture it would be useful to define more precisely the variety which forms the object of the present study, referred to thus far by its indigenous name, Guernesiais. Differences in nomenclature are a frequent point of discussion in the literature, as the various terms used to describe speech systems are loaded with socio-political connotations (Crystal 2007: 7–9). 'Language', for example, is the term commonly

bestowed upon a variety that has national or supra-regional extent, whereas a 'dialect' is considered only to have regional significance (Matthews 1997: 96). Implicit in this distinction is the expectation that languages should have a sizeable population of users and have undergone a degree of codification, while dialects are typically thought of as being unwritten and having low status. This is not necessarily so, however, and it should be noted that many distinct languages are spoken by small, perfectly stable pre-literate speech communities.

Mutual intelligibility is an important consideration in the distinction between language and dialect. Comrie, for instance, defines language very simply as 'a speech variety that is not mutually intelligible with other speech varieties'; in contrast, he suggests that dialects of one same language should, in theory, be mutually intelligible (Comrie 2003: 19; cf. Crystal 2002: 8). Comrie does however add the caveat that intelligibility between two speech communities may not be equal in both directions; furthermore, variation across a chain of dialects may occur in such a way that the dialects furthest apart may be barely mutually intelligible, if at all (Comrie 2003: 19; cf. Ducrot and Todorov 1979: 58). Extra-linguistic factors are also important in determining the linguistic status of a variety: as Crystal states, 'purely linguistic considerations can be outranked by socio-political criteria, so that we often encounter speech systems which are mutually intelligible, but which have nonetheless been designated as separate languages' (2002: 8). It is therefore entirely possible that a variety be defined as a dialect by its linguistic properties, yet as an independent language by the people who speak and use the variety on a daily basis.

In the minds of most Guernsey people, speakers and non-speakers of the variety alike, Guernesiais is a language clearly distinct from the English they habitually use; islanders also observe that it differs noticeably from French. Despite this, attention usually returns to the similarities Guernesiais shares with its metropolitan Romance cousin: in addition to the indigenous name used thus far, the variety is known on the island as 'Guernsey French', and by the more generic French term *patois*. The ubiquitous and unselfconscious use of the latter suggests that, for many Guernsey people, the term *patois* is apparently without most of the pejorative connotations it carries on the French mainland (for an example of the term used in the local press, see Baudains 2008; cf. Dauzat 1946: 30–1). Though campaigners for the variety's revitalisation try to encourage the perception of Guernesiais as an independent language in order to avoid

unfavourable comparison of the variety with French (cf. §7.4), in purely linguistic terms the variety is considered to be a dialect of Norman, a Gallo-Romance variety spoken widely until the nineteenth century in the area of north-western France corresponding roughly with modern Normandy (Jones 2008; Spence 1984; Sjögren 1964; cf. Gilliéron and Edmont 1902–10; Collas 1921: 4; and further in §2.2).

1.3   THE SOCIO-CULTURAL HISTORY OF GUERNSEY

In order to understand the socio-cultural factors influencing present-day Guernesiais, an appreciation of the variety's historical and linguistic background is useful.   The Bailiwick of Guernsey, which consists (in descending size order) of Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, Herm and a number of smaller islands, lies a mere 30 miles off the coast of France (see Map 1-2). Yet in spite of the islanders' proximity to their Gallic neighbours, it is to the UK mainland that this British Crown Dependency turns in reference for everyday matters. Although English is therefore the language used in daily life throughout the islands, Guernsey, Sark and neighbouring Jersey occupy a unique position within the European linguistic spectrum as they host the only extant Romance tongues spoken on British soil. These indigenous varieties have been in existence for over a thousand years, and testify to strong historical links between the islands and France. Nowadays, however, the linguistic legacy of the Channel Islands' Norman heritage is fading fast it faces overwhelming competition from English.

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Map 1-2. Location map of Guernsey, Channel Islands. [4]

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[4] Adapted from http://encarta.msn.com [Accessed 23 June 2008]

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A distinct Romance variety once thrived on each of the Bailiwick's three largest islands, though today Guernesiais is the only one to endure in any significant capacity. Sercquais, which is in fact more closely related to Jersey's Romance variety Jèrriais, is now spoken only by a few isolated individuals on Sark (Jones 2012). Aurignais, meanwhile, became extinct in the 1940s and 1950s: the variety never recovered from the blow dealt by the evacuation of virtually the entire population of Alderney at the outbreak of the Second World War, a measure which irreparably fragmented the speech community (Jones 2008: 1).

'Guernsey French' and 'Jersey French' are vestigial varieties of Norman, one of the Gallo-Romance *oïl* dialects which developed from Vulgar Latin in fifth-century Gaul following the collapse of the Roman Empire (Lukis 1981: 1; Lodge 1997: 43, 54; Dauzat 1946: 19).[5] Standard French, meanwhile, developed from Francien (Lodge 1993: 85ff.). Though they bear more than a passing resemblance to the Standard French of *l'hexagone,* the Norman dialects of the Channel Islands differ from their better-known relative in syntax, morphology, and phonology.[6] While Guernesiais, Sercquais and neighbouring Jèrriais are mutually intelligible to a reasonable degree, speakers of the insular varieties cannot always make themselves readily understood to speakers of mainland French (Brasseur 1978a: 49). The Channel Island varieties are therefore separated from mainland French by a greater or lesser communication barrier as well as by the more obvious geographical boundary.

Although we cannot be certain, it is likely that the earliest indigenous islanders spoke the Celtic Gaulish of their mainland cousins. Archaeological evidence shows that the island's inhabitants thrived during the Roman period, and indeed participated actively in the Empire's trade and commerce activities. Annexed administratively to Coutances (Roman *Constantia*), part of *Gallia Lugdunensis*, Guernsey was an important stopping point on the trade route between Gaul and Britain (Marr 2001: 109–110). The prosperity that this commerce brought probably favoured the displacement of the island's native Gaulish language by Vulgar Latin, the Empire's vernacular and the traders' *lingua franca.*

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[5] See also Fagyal, Kibbee and Jenkins (2006: 220–247) for an account of the development of Classical Latin through Vulgar Latin into varieties of Gallo-Romance.

[6] Guernesiais/Norman grammar and morphosyntax are examined in detail in Jones (2008) and in Tomlinson (1981); see Chapter 2 for an overview of the phonological similarities between the two varieties.

Guernsey's insular location protected its inhabitants from the worst of the land-based incursions of warlike tribes which beset northern Gaul in the centuries following the demise of Roman rule, and the island passed relatively uneventfully into the control of the Frankish kings (Marr 2001: 217–18; Dauzat 1946: 21–2). Guernsey was not spared from the brutalities of the Viking sea-raids in the ninth century, however, and the Norse invaders confirmed their dominance of the Cotentin peninsula and the islands through the ruthless sacking and pillaging of local communities, both religious and secular (Marr 2001: 218).

Following a brief interlude of nominal allegiance to Brittany in the latter half of the ninth century, 933 AD saw Guernsey and the other islands added to the Norman lands which had been ceded to the Viking lord Rollo under the Treaty of St Clair-sur-Epte some years earlier (Marr 2001: 113, 218). The Norman conquest of England in 1066 AD changed little for the islanders, who were already subjects of the Dukes of Normandy (Marr 2001: 113). Guernsey would remain under the feudal governance of this new Duchy of Normandy for several centuries, the ties between island and mainland strengthened by shared political interests and links between Guernsey and the religious communities of Le Mont St Michel and Coutances.

The influence of the Duchy would endure even after the islands came officially under the jurisdiction of the English crown, following King John's surrender of the mainland Norman territories to the French king Philippe Auguste in 1204 (Marr 2001: 114). Despite the installation of an English warden to oversee the king's business in Guernsey, the feudal basis of the administration meant that in practice most islanders had very little contact with those beyond their immediate superiors in the community (Le Patourel 1937: 29). The people of Guernsey were insulated linguistically from their British rulers as well: though at the time of the Conquest there had been a brief vogue among socially ambitious English nobles for using Norman French as a prestige language, this faded in the centuries immediately following 1204 AD as English continued to dominate everyday communication. The islanders, who had continued to speak the Norman of their previous overlords throughout this era, were largely overlooked in their offshore home.

As the Middle Ages unfolded, so Guernsey's contact with England and English gradually increased. More and more of the fiefs (feudal holdings) on the island came into the possession of the English nobles who had been installed to represent the king, and these individuals naturally brought with them their own native tongue, customs, and more of their countrymen (Le Patourel 1937: 29–30). Although by now the island was being brought firmly under the administrative control of the English Crown, certain attempts to influence island life met with formidable opposition in the French Catholic Church. Although technically annexed at various points to the southern English Sees of Exeter, Salisbury and Winchester, the language barrier meant that France maintained a strong hand in the religious life of the island (Marr 2001: 14). It was no coincidence that the French ecclesiastical communities also had significant property interests in Guernsey: in medieval times, for example, approximately one quarter of the island's feudal land belonged to L'Abbaye du Mont St Michel (Le Patourel 1937: 34).

The French Church lost its authority on the island during the Reformation, when the Second Act of Uniformity of 1552 was enforced in Guernsey (Ogier 1996: 51–2). The wider cultural and linguistic influence of France remained, however, and accordingly the use of a French translation of the English *Second Prayer Book* was authorised on the island. Tudor Guernsey also welcomed a number of Huguenot refugees, and during this period the rising popularity of Protestantism meant that the skills of French Calvinist priests were highly sought-after to compensate for a lack of trained local preachers. This can only have reinforced the positive cultural capital held by Standard French on the island (Sallabank 2008: 122; cf. Bourdieu 1986).

As trade burgeoned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Guernsey's merchant classes came into greater contact with the world beyond the island's shores (Stevens Cox 1999: 18–19). English was an increasingly useful language to know, particularly when privateering and the smuggling of goods into England became profitable during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Marr 2001: 252). The increase in the number of British military personnel garrisoned in Guernsey during the Napoleonic era also expanded the island's anglophone community, particularly since soldiers' families often followed their menfolk to the island (Stevens Cox 1999: 65). The pivotal role of the military in the social scene enjoyed by fashionable Guernsey society meant that English began to emerge strongly alongside Standard French as a second prestige language during this period.

Up until this point in Guernsey's history, most islanders typically led a very confined life. It was common for an individual to grow up, find work, get married and be buried within a mile of where he or she had been born. Sjögren describes how '*l'importance capitale de la paroisse comme unité sociale*'[7] had favoured the development of localised sub-varieties of the island's Norman; these served as identity markers for the different population centres on the island in much the same way as British urban vernaculars demarcate inhabitants of particular cities in the UK today (1964: *xiv*). During the nineteenth century, however, there were signs that this was about to change. The island's first English-language newspaper had appeared in 1813, and a steady influx of visitors marked the beginnings of a buoyant tourism industry (Marr 2001: 374, 377). This, together with the introduction of a regular packet-boat service to England, would greatly increase the island's contact with the UK mainland (Marr 2001: 377). While the communities in the rural western parishes did not feel the effects of these changes straight away, St Sampson's and the Vale in the north of the island saw a notable influx of British immigrants to meet the workforce needs of the expanding quarrying industry at the end of the nineteenth century (Marr 2001: 366). These newcomers could not understand the 'Guernsey gibberish' of the natives, and their scorn for Guernsey's native tongue undoubtedly hastened the variety's decline in this area (Sjögren 1964: *xvi*).

This shift in Guernsey's cultural landscape was soon reflected in other aspects of life: as a result of social pressure and economic ambition, compulsory primary schooling was introduced in 1900, with English as the medium of instruction (Sallabank 2002: 220). While the people of Guernsey have never been subject to intentionally hostile language measures, this policy decision undoubtedly reinforced the promotion of English over Guernesiais. The implications of the ongoing changes were not lost on the local Guernesiais-speaking community, and a proliferation of Guernesiais vernacular poetry and literature from the late nineteenth century testifies to the concerns of a people anxious to preserve its native language (cf. Cox 2004a, 2004b; Jones 2008).

Guernsey was fortunate to be removed from the fighting of the First World War, but the island nonetheless felt its repercussions. The losses incurred by the Royal Guernsey Light Infantry (formerly the Militia) between 1914 and 1918 decimated a generation of

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[7] '…the primacy of the parish as a social unit…'

younger males, which had severe consequences for the Guernesiais speech community (Marr 2001: 282–3). The decisive blow for the variety was to come in the form of the large-scale evacuation of the island's women and children to England in 1940 prior to the German Occupation of Guernsey. Having experienced a different way of life on the mainland for the duration of the Second World War, many returning adults were reluctant to continue speaking a variety that they associated with the hardships of a rural past (cf. Kuter 1989: 79). Furthermore, many of the evacuated Guernsey children had by now spent their formative years in a completely anglophone environment. Following the Liberation, these returnees mocked the children who had remained on the island for speaking what they now perceived to be a rustic, 'foreign' language. This only served to reinforce the tacit linguistic message disseminated by the education system; faced thus with considerable social pressure both from respected adults and from their peers, those children who had remained on the island and spoken predominantly Guernesiais were compelled to make the transition to English (Sallabank 2002: 220).

Fishman (1991: 59) describes how 'social dislocation' is a typical motivation for language shift: conventions in education and the desire for social and economic betterment often cause people to acquire and transmit what they perceive to be a more 'useful' language (cf. Hornsby 2006: 133). In post-war Guernsey, a command of English (both oral and written) was essential for gaining employment in the increasing number of clerical roles, or for pursuing further training in the UK (cf. Armstrong and Pooley 2010: 250). The rise of tourism was also instrumental in encouraging local people and businesses to engage with the English language (Marr 2001: 378).

A further surge of immigration from the UK in the latter half of the twentieth century diluted the Guernesiais speech community through the increase in the number of locals marrying non-islanders. Newcomers to Guernsey are rarely inclined to learn Guernesiais, and many local people simply stopped using Guernesiais regularly if their spouses were unable to understand it. This had a domino effect on the chain of transmission to younger generations during the 1960s and 1970s: parents who had been shamed out of using their Guernesiais in their youth by their peers, or else viewed the variety as socially and economically redundant, were especially adamant that their children would be brought up speaking only English (Sallabank 2006: 146). The introduction of compulsory secondary education in the late 1950s, following the English

model, meant that there was even less chance that a local child would grow up speaking Guernesiais regularly.

The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have seen the island's traditional occupations (fishing, farming and horticulture), and indeed tourism, give way to a booming finance industry (cf. Hornsby 2006: 127ff.). Now a major offshore banking centre, Guernsey's new-found status has increased the islanders' contact with the rest of the world, and has attracted a growing number of international finance workers. Furthermore, as is the case elsewhere in Britain, the aspirations of Guernsey's young people have been raised. A significant percentage of school leavers now opt to pursue a university education, but they are obliged to leave the island if they wish to do so. Rising house prices, a limited range of jobs and the attraction of bustling mainland life mean that many young graduates choose to remain in the UK upon completion of their studies; those that do return naturally want to enjoy all of the leisure and entertainment opportunities of modern city life in the UK (cf. Armstrong and Pooley 2010: 249). Few seek to move beyond a passing awareness of the language spoken by their grandparents, and those that do have little access to suitable language learning resources (cf. §7.4).

1.4   GUERNESIAIS: ENDANGERED VARIETY?

As a result of shifting language priorities during the twentieth century, Guernsey has moved from a situation in which the majority of the population habitually spoke Guernesiais to a situation where now only a handful of elderly speakers command the variety with any fluency. This decline is symptomatic of a process common to many of the world's languages, particularly those with no fixed writing system (cf. Krauss 1992: 6; Crystal 2002: 69; Harrison 2007: 3–4). Speakers of such varieties are often socio-economically motivated to acquire a codified supra-regional language in order to participate more fully in print and mass media, access a greater range of jobs and services, and represent their own interests on the international stage; this often has drastic consequences for the 'original' variety. Hornsby observes, however, that what is popularly perceived as dialect 'death' is often really the gradual usurpation of language functions by a dominant (and not necessarily closely related) language (2006: 1–2; cf. Harrison 2007: 5). Despite outward appearances, the new, dominant language is rarely to blame: in most cases, the decline of a variety is accomplished with the

complicity of its speech community, as speakers voluntarily surrender their indigenous language for economic and social gain (Crystal 2002: 86–88).

So how critical is the situation of Guernesiais? Though several accounts note in general terms the declining numbers of speakers during the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, it is difficult to estimate the true rate at which speaker numbers have fallen because no firm figures are available for much of the period in question (Collas 1931: 22; Sjögren 1964: *xiv*). Nevertheless, it is relatively safe to assume that, despite the recent incursion of English speakers in the principal town of St Peter Port and its immediate vicinity, Guernesiais was still the variety spoken by the majority of Guernsey's 40,446 inhabitants at the turn of the twentieth century.[8]

This was to change during the decades which followed. During his fieldtrips to the island in the 1920s, Sjögren noted that the decline of Guernesiais was most pronounced in the north, commenting that he was hard-pressed to find a handful of individuals in this area who could readily understand the variety, let alone speak it (1964: *xv*). Certain anglicised features had also begun to appear in the Guernesiais spoken in those parishes which border the island's capital, St Peter Port (1964: *xvi–xviii*). While he stated that the Guernesiais of the outlying parishes (principally the island's south-west) had retained more of its essential character, Sjögren reported that the vast majority of speakers from this area were by this point bilingual with English (1964: *xviii–xix*).

Tomlinson reported that speaker numbers dwindled rapidly in the post-war years (1981: 15–16). By the 1980s, there were critical signs that the overall Guernesiais-speaking population was ageing: Spence reports that 'according to Mrs Marie de Garis of the Société Guernesiaise, 30–40 year-olds hardly ever use the dialect, so that their children are barely aware of its existence' (1984: 345). Spence nonetheless estimates that the population of Guernesiais speakers in 1984 was still above 10,000, a figure which represents around one-fifth of the total island population at that time (1984: 345).[9] Tomlinson's calculation is more modest, however, putting the figure at 6,000 in 1981 (1981: 17).

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[8] 1901 Census figure, taken from Guernsey Census statistics reported at
http://www.islandlife.org/population_gsy.htm [Accessed 1 February 2012]
[9] Calculated from 1981 Census population figure, taken from Guernsey Census statistics reported at
http://www.islandlife.org/population_gsy.htm [Accessed 1 February 2012]

There are no reported figures to tell us what happened to speaker numbers during the last two decades of the twentieth century, although we can conjecture that numbers continued to fall sharply. Neighbouring Jersey featured a language-related question in its census for the first time in 1989; the results of this question 'put [Jèrriais] speaker numbers at 5,720 out of a population of 82,909 (6.9 per cent)' (Jones 2001: 16). Though there was no comparable question in the nearest Guernsey Census, administered in 1991, the island's total population was recorded at 58,867 for that year.[10] If the proportion of Guernesiais speakers at this point in time was similar to the contemporary proportion of Jèrriais speakers in Jersey, then the Guernesiais-speaking population would have numbered around 4,000 at the start of the 1990s. At best, with Tomlinson's estimate, this represents a loss of 2,000 speakers over ten years; at worst, with Spence's figure, 6,000. If we further consider the fact that Jèrriais has been supported by the Don Balleine Trust since the 1960s, and has enjoyed a higher profile and considerably more interest from Jersey's government than Guernesiais has from its own, it becomes distinctly possible that the actual number of Guernesiais speakers at the end of the twentieth century may have been much lower (Jennings 2009: 64; cf. Jones and Singh 2005: 117–119).

*Figure 1.1. Language use question in the Guernsey 2001 Census
(States of Guernsey Advisory and Finance Committee 2001: 134).*

It was not until 2001 that the States of Guernsey included a Guernesiais-related question in its Census for the first time (see Figure 1-1). The results of this enquiry, which asked

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[10] Figure taken from Guernsey Census statistics reported at http://www.islandlife.org/population_gsy.htm [Accessed 1 February 2012]

respondents to indicate both their proficiency in the variety and their comprehension of it, were published as follows:

> 5.45 1,327 (1,262 Guernsey-born) or 2% of the population speak Guernsey Norman - French fluently while 3% fully understand the language. However most of these, 70% or 934 of the 1,327 fluent speakers are aged over 64. Among the young only 0.1% or one in a thousand are fluent speakers.

> 5.46 Those speaking and understanding Guernsey Norman-French a little are about three times the number who are fluent speakers or full of understanding. Thus 14% of the population, or 1 in 7 have some understanding of Guernsey Norman-French. However 84% of the Guernsey-born have no understanding compared to 91% for the UK born and 78% for the nearly 3000 who are European born. It seems that it is an advantage to be European if one is to understand Guernsey Norman-French.

<div align="right">(States of Guernsey 2001: 61)</div>

As projected from the earlier census data, the percentage of Jèrriais speakers in Jersey remained higher than that of Guernesiais speakers in Guernsey: in 2001 'there were 2,870 Jèrriais speakers on the Island (3.2% of the population); for 110 people this was their main language' (States of Jersey Statistics Unit 2010: 51). This represents nearly a 4% drop in Jèrriais speakers since the last census. Given the equal progression of time and similar situation of the two islands with regard to the widespread use of English and rates of population change, it is almost certain that the 2001 figures for Guernesiais represent a drop in speaker numbers as well.

The most recent descriptions of the Guernesiais speech community, by Jones and Marquis, continue to cite the 2001 Census figures as they are the most reliable count of the modern Guernesiais speaker population that we have to date (Jones 2008: 27; Marquis 2009: 73; States of Guernsey Advisory and Finance Committee 2001: 61). It should be borne in mind that the figures are calculated on self-reported data, and as such are subject to the associated caveat that the subject's interpretation of his or her usage may not reflect reality: Guernesiais speakers are often rather modest about their abilities, so it is quite possible that certain fluent speakers may have been reticent to categorise themselves as such and instead reported speaking Guernesiais only 'a little', thus distorting the statistics. We cannot, of course, know how many individuals with knowledge of the variety denied speaking Guernesiais altogether.

No census was held in Guernsey during 2011. Funding shortages mean that the existing census system is currently under scrutiny, with plans for a new, rolling electronic census

being debated by the States of Guernsey in 2012.[11] We therefore lack the means to determine present rates of decline in numbers of fluent Guernesiais native speakers. Since Jersey's 2011 Census did not include a language-related question, we cannot use the figures for Jèrriais to try to calculate an estimate for present numbers for Guernesiais.[12] It can be stated with some certainty that the number of fluent speakers of Guernesiais will not have increased since 2001, however, as the number of new additional-language speakers of Guernesiais since then (chiefly primary school children opting to attend beginner lessons during extra-curricular clubs run by volunteer teachers) will not have offset the natural decline in fluent native speakers at the other end of the age spectrum. This would bear out Jones' comment that, 'If the decline continues at the present rate, there will be no speakers of Guernesiais left by, at best, the middle of the present century' (Jones 2008: 27; cf. Marquis 2009: 73).

Several scales of language endangerment and obsolescence exist. Between the outer extremes of 'healthy' (i.e. a language with a stable or growing speaker population enjoying full vitality) and 'extinct', these typologies typically classify language varieties on a sliding scale of endangerment according to a number of different determiners. Though specific criteria vary, it is usually agreed that a variety becoming increasingly endangered experiences an increase in the average age of members of the speech community, a reduction in the contexts in which the variety is used, language shift, and non-transmission to younger generations (Crystal 2002: 16–18; cf. Fishman 1991: 87–109). All four factors are apparent in the case of Guernesiais.

Based on the high average age of most fluent Guernesiais speakers and non-transmission of the variety to younger generations, Sallabank estimates that Guernesiais ranks at 7 on Fishman's 8-point Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (2002: 219; Fishman 1991: 1). This 'lacking [of] reproductive capacity' is critical; for Krauss, it means that Guernesiais should be considered 'moribund' — a position he describes as being 'beyond mere endangerment' (1992: 4). Jones too asserts that the variety is under

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[11] Proposals feature in the States of Guernsey Scrutiny Committee's comments on Article 9 of Billet d'État XVII – July 2010:
http://www.gov.gg/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=3493&p=0 [Accessed 5 February 2012]
and record of States of Guernsey vote concerning Replacement of traditional Censuses with a rolling electronic Census:
http://www.gov.gg/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=4128&p=0 [Accessed 5 February 2012]
[12] Questions in this census were kept to a minimum, as for the first time all of the statistics were processed on-island. Cf. Jersey 2011 Census Bulletin 1: Total Population, States of Jersey (2011) at http://www.gov.je/SiteCollectionDocuments/Government%20and%20administration/R%20CensusBulleti n1%2020111208%20SU.pdf [Accessed 5 February 2012].

serious threat of extinction; indeed, her earlier discussion of neighbouring Jèrriais in the context of Bauman's (1980) criteria for language obsolescence applies equally to Guernesiais (2008: 27; 2001: 1–5). What is clear from these indices of language vitality is that, unless the revitalisation efforts currently being set in motion are successful, the prognosis for Guernesiais in the twenty-first century is not positive. Investigation of the variety's unique phonology is therefore all the more imperative.

1.5   DESCRIPTION OF THE GUERNSEY 2010 CORPUS

The corpus of speech data upon which this thesis is based was gathered during a fieldwork expedition to Guernsey in the summer months of 2010. In accordance with the primary objectives of the study, informants were sought from as wide a variety of locations on the island as possible. Native speaker competency was an important consideration in the selection of suitable individuals: informants who had learned Guernesiais in infancy or during childhood were preferred over those who had learned the variety later in life as a second, additional language (cf. §3.2.3).

The traditional triumvirate of sociolinguistic criteria, that is to say age, gender and social class, were considered during the design of the data gathering process. Owing both to the nature of the speech community itself and to the sampling technique adopted, however, there were practical limitations upon the extent to which these could ultimately be applied to the final sampling protocol (cf. §3.2.5). The number of willing potential interviewees meeting the important criteria of native speaker competency was relatively modest in number in comparison with the Guernesiais-speaking population figures estimated from the 2001 census, and it was felt that a rigid stratified sampling approach might unnecessarily exclude valuable speakers of the variety (cf. States of Guernsey Advisory and Finance Committee 2001: 61). For this reason, a more aleatory sampling approach was taken; this nonetheless resulted in a relatively balanced sample group (cf. §3.2.2).

Informants were interviewed informally by the researcher, either individually or in pairs; each informant's speech was recorded digitally for later transcription. Specific phonological forms were elicited from the informants by means of an oral, translation-based language task. Following a short biographical interview, informants were also asked to complete a written questionnaire which sought to assess their perceptions and

evaluations of Guernesiais, and of potential efforts to revitalise it. The resultant body of speech and written data, hereafter referred to as 'the Guernsey 2010 corpus/data', is therefore complemented by a quantity of attitudinal data which helps to contextualise the linguistic findings of this study in terms of current thought about the direction of the variety. The fieldwork methodology assumed for the collection of the corpus is described in full in Chapter 3, while the results obtained are presented and discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6.

1.6   SUMMARY

Guernesiais, a Norman French *oïl* variety which has been present in the Channel Island of Guernsey for over 1,000 years, is now spoken only by a small, ageing speech community. Though the variety enjoyed a thriving past, widespread immigration of English speakers to Guernsey, together with the impact of the two World Wars on the island, greatly damaged the its vitality. It is now considered to be at risk of extinction, all the more so since it has no widespread written form.

The variety nonetheless makes a very interesting subject for linguistic study. Jones observes that 'all […] extant varieties of Norman display internal variation', while other sources confirm that phonological variation has been present in Guernesiais throughout much of its history (Jones 2008: 29). The present study tests the hypothesis that there is still considerable variability in the pronunciation of modern Guernesiais, and that this correlates with speakers' place of origin within the island.

Martinet, writing in France during the Second World War, highlighted the importance of understanding the vanishing *oïl* varieties:

> *La prospection des parlers locaux parut, d'une part, la plus pressante, car, un peu partout en France, les patois sont en voie d'extinction, et, d'autre part, la plus susceptible de jeter un jour nouveau sur les affinités phonologiques des idiomes géographiquement voisins.*
> (Martinet 1945 : 5–6)

> [The surveying of local dialects seemed the most pressing concern: on the one hand, because local varieties are becoming extinct almost everywhere in France; and on the other hand, because they are most likely to shed new light on the phonological relationships between geographically neighbouring varieties.]

Dauzat, writing a year later, concurred:

> *Il faut se hâter, comme le demandait, déjà en 1888, Gaston Paris, au Congrès des Sociétés Savantes, de recueillir et de classer pieusement les principaux types de nos patois dans un grand herbier national. Beaucoup ont déjà disparu, d'autres sont ruinés par le français. Quant à ceux qui résistent, combien de temps tiendront-ils encore ?* (Dauzat 1946: 8)

> [We should hurry, as Gaston Paris was already requesting in 1888 at the *Congrès des Sociétés Savantes*, to collect and classify religiously the main examples of our local dialects in a large national specimen bank. Many of them have already disappeared, others are being ruined by French. As for those which remain, how long will they continue to endure?]

While Martinet and Dauzat's words referred principally to the mainland *oïl* varieties, they resonate in the context of the present study. Study of modern Guernesiais phonology must be carried out before the effects of an ageing population reach their inevitable conclusion: the opportunity to study these varieties in their natural setting will soon be lost.

1.7   INTENDED CONTRIBUTION OF THIS STUDY

The phonology of Guernesiais has attracted academic attention from a variety of sources during the twentieth century. Guernsey has been included in a number of dialectological surveys of Northern France and the Cotentin in particular, featuring in Gilliéron and Edmont's *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (1902–10) (henceforth referred to as the *ALF*) and in more recent surveys by French linguists such as Brasseur (1978a, 1978b). Two key studies of Guernesiais in its own right were also carried out in the first half of the twentieth century: Collas' reworking of the *ALF* interview protocol for Guernsey, undertaken as a B.Litt. project for the University of Oxford and submitted in 1931, and Sjögren's highly detailed descriptive *Lexique*. Though published in 1964, Sjögren's findings were in fact based on data gathered during a fieldwork expedition in 1926 (Sjögren 1964: *v*).

Post-war studies of Guernesiais have tended to focus on other linguistic aspects of Guernesiais such as morphological and grammatical variation (Jones 2000; Tomlinson 1981). There is also an expanding body of work which addresses the variety from an ethnographic perspective, examining language revitalisation (Sallabank 2002), sociological and perceptual issues (Sallabank 2006; 2008), and pedagogical concerns (Lukis 1981; Tomlinson 1994; 2008). Where authors have included a consideration of Guernesiais phonology in their analyses, they have tended to base their descriptions either on their own speech or else on their observations of the speech of a small handful

of individuals, often focussing on one part of the island only (Lukis 1981; Tomlinson 1981; de Garis 1983). Later accounts, such as those of Spence (1984) and Jones (2008), have instead synthesised previous findings.

Though the studies of Spence (1984) and Jones (2008) are valuable, in that they constitute the most recent, detailed descriptions of Guernesiais phonology in its entirety, the extent to which they reflect spoken Guernesiais today may be disputed: the earlier twentieth-century studies upon which Spence and Jones based their accounts describe the speech of individuals who are two or more generations removed from today's native speakers. While it is tempting to presume that current speakers will have inherited the phonological characteristics of their forebears, and that phonological innovation effectively ceased with the loss of intergenerational transmission, this is simply not the case. Though some of the older members of the speech community today will have had contact with previous generations of monolingual or near-monolingual Guernesiais speakers, some of whom were perhaps encountered by Sjögren, most will have had a bilingual upbringing. Modern speakers' use of Guernesiais has been constantly overshadowed by the omnipresence of English, and has run largely unchecked by the prescription of older and more fluent speakers. Circumstances are consequently favourable for phonological change.

It is intended that this study will contribute meaningfully to our understanding of phonological variation in modern-day Guernesiais, and will allow existing models of phonological variation within Guernesiais to be updated to reflect the realities of the speech community's usage in the twenty-first century. The findings made will therefore be of specific interest to those seeking to study the linguistic situation of the island. In addition to its value today as a document of current Guernesiais phonology, this study has historical significance in that it is the most recent linguistic survey of Guernesiais in its entirety to be based on purpose-gathered speech data since Sjögren undertook his work in the 1920s. As such, it provides a useful point of comparison for future scholars wishing to chart the evolution of the variety. This is particularly salient given Guernesiais' status as an endangered language, and the advanced age of its speech community; phonological work of the kind undertaken in this study will be impossible

in ten or twenty years' time (Sallabank 2002: 219; cf. Fishman 1991; Crystal 2002: 16–18).[13]

In providing a comprehensive body of data for a relatively rare *oïl* variety, this study should also prove of interest to scholars of the Norman dialects, and indeed of the other northern French regional varieties. Furthermore, Guernesiais' unique sociocultural circumstances and relatively small speaker population mean that the present work will serve the wider linguistic community as a case study for phonological variation within a small, island-based endangered-language speech community.

Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, it is intended that the present study contribute meaningfully to the language planning activities currently in place for Guernesiais. Previous efforts undertaken in an official capacity to render the variety in writing have met with criticism, as individual speakers feel that their pronunciation is not adequately represented.[14] Given the breadth of phonological variation in Guernesiais, the continuing lack of an island 'standard' is perhaps unsurprising (Simmonds 2008: 15, 120; see further in Chapter 7). Although this study has no pretension to offering a comprehensive solution for the successful creation of a unitary orthographic system for Guernesiais, it is hoped that the findings contained herein may in some way assist in efforts for the variety's revitalisation by giving those charged with the weighty task of creating an orthographic system for Guernesiais further data upon which to base their decisions.

1.8   PLAN OF THE THESIS

Following the introductory presentation of the study's principal aims and objectives in the present chapter, Chapter 2 examines existing accounts of Guernesiais phonology in greater detail. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology and fieldwork procedure assumed in the gathering of the Guernsey 2010 corpus of data, while Chapter 4 presents a socio-biographical overview of the Guernesiais speech community today. Chapters 5 and 6 present findings from the phonological data. Finally, Chapter 7 seeks to situate the present work in the context of current and future developments in Guernesiais.

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[13] Only 30% of the 1,327 fluent speakers recorded were under the age of 64 at the time of the 2001 census (States of Guernsey Advisory and Finance Committee 2001: 61).
[14] Opinions expressed to the researcher by the Guernsey 2010 informants in response to Question 5 of the Self-Assessment Questionnaire (cf. §3.3.5), and in comments made during interview.

2

EXISTING ACCOUNTS OF
THE PHONOLOGY OF GUERNESIAIS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Despite the fact that Guernesiais has been in existence as a spoken language for at least 1,000 years, the historical omnipresence of Standard French (and, latterly, English) as the more prestigious partner in a diglossic relationship has precluded the variety's use in more formal contexts. Consequently, no standardised written form of Guernesiais has been adopted. Since the spoken language is therefore under no pressure to conform to a unitary written standard, diatopic variation has flourished.

It would be a mistake to claim categorically that Guernesiais is an unwritten language, however, as the lack of a prescribed orthographic system has in no way diminished the Guernseyman's ability to write in his native tongue. Educated individuals such as Georges Métivier and Denys Corbet published a number of volumes of Guernesiais poetry in the mid to late nineteenth century, and there is an established tradition (which continues today) of writing short pieces in Guernsey French for publication in Guernsey's newspapers and other local literary fora (Cox 2004a, 2004b; Lewis 1895: 15; cf. Jones 2008). The literature thus available in Guernesiais fulfils a recreational role; despite interest in establishing a modern literature for Guernesiais, it has not achieved wide circulation and so the variety remains a predominantly oral language.

With only a small body of vernacular literature to draw upon, attention has naturally turned to the characteristics of spoken Guernesiais. The phonological differences between Guernesiais and its closest standardised neighbour, French, have piqued scholarly interest since the nineteenth century, resulting in a collection of texts which aim to describe the characteristic sounds of Guernesiais. These texts, spanning the late nineteenth, twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, vary widely in their approach towards the description of Guernesiais phonology: while some are unashamedly impressionistic, others are more overtly academic, seeking to explain phonological phenomena in Guernesiais in terms of the variety's development from Latin.

In the chapter which follows, we consider a number of key written accounts of the phonology of Guernesiais; we begin in §2.2 with a consideration of the relationship of Guernesiais to the other Gallo-Romance dialects. §2.3 presents a contextual overview of those accounts of Guernesiais phonology based upon original data or observations of speech, while §2.4 and §2.5 compare and contrasts these authors' descriptions of the variety through time. §2.6, meanwhile, evaluates two of the most recent summaries of the variety's phonology, those of Spence (1984) and Jones (2008), in terms of modern-day spoken Guernesiais. Finally, §2.7 considers the findings of a pilot phonological study carried out on the variety by the present author.

2.2   GUERNESIAIS AND MAINLAND NORMAN

We noted in §1.2 above that Guernesiais is an insular variety of Norman, one of the regional Gallo-Romance tongues that emerged from the dialectalisation of Vulgar Latin in Gaul between the fifth and ninth centuries AD (see Map 2-1). Influenced by the language of the Norse invaders who raided the coastline of France during the ninth century AD, and later settled in the region, Norman phonology differs from that of neighbouring dialects (and indeed from Standard French) in a number of respects.

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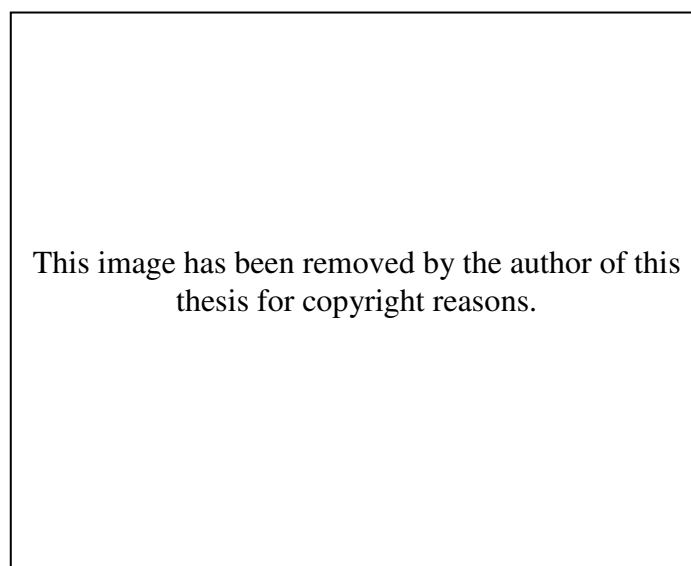
Map 2-1. The Gallo-Romance dialects (after Offord 1990 in Lodge 1993: 72).

In the nineteenth century, the French linguist Joret conducted a study by correspondence which aimed 'first, to define the features which characterized the Norman dialect, and second, to determine their geographical extension' (Jones 2008: 30). According to his findings, the Norman dialects (including the four surviving insular varieties) differ from

Standard French with regard to seven characteristic phonological features, chiefly concerning palatalisation and diphthongisation, as well as certain morphological features (Jones 2008: 30–1; cf. Spence 1984: 347).[1]

Though in many cases the Norman dialects followed the same line of phonological development from Latin as French, there are several instances in which the evolution of French continued beyond that of Norman. Joret gives the example of the diphthongisation of Latin tonic free ē and ĭ to [ej]. While this was further differentiated to [ɔj] and levelled to [wa] in what would later become Standard French, as in CREDERE > S.F. *croire* [kʀwaʀ] <to believe>, the mainland and insular Norman dialects did not undergo these later processes; instead, the equivalent sound became realised as a front unrounded mid vowel in those varieties (M.N. [kʀɛʀ], G. [krɛr]) (Jones 2008: 30; Spence 1984: 30). The development of Latin ĕ before a palatal element proceeded in a similar fashion. Says Jones: 'This originally diphthongised to [jɛ], which then combined with the yod to form a triphthong [jEj]'[2] (Jones 2008: 31). The triphthong reduced to [i] in Early Old French and in mainland Norman, resulting in forms such as LECTUM > S.F. and M.N. *lit* [li] <bed>, while the Channel Islands dialects retain the more archaic form, containing 'either a diphthong (G. [jɛt]) or traces of a diphthong' (Jones 2008: 31; cf. Spence 1984: 348). While both French and Norman at one time featured the secondary diphthong [yi],[3] which had arisen from Latin diphthongised ŏ occurring before a yod, this adapted in French to become [ɥi] (as in modern French *nuit*), while in Norman the secondary diphthongs levelled further to a monophthong of one or other of its elements (for example ACUC(U)LA > S.F. *aiguille* [egɥij] <needle>, M.N. and G. [edʒyl]; SUDIA > S.F. *suie* [sɥi] <soot>, M.N. and G. [si]) (Jones 2008: 31; Brasseur 1978a: 301–321 in Jones 2008: 31).

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[1] Note that the features are not found equally across the entirety of the Norman territory; nor do they coincide with the modern regional boundary, although this may once have been the case (Joret 1883: 140; see also Jones 2008: 32).

[2] Jones employs the symbol [E] to denote a front mid unrounded vowel of unspecified closure (Jones 2008: 31; footnote).

[3] In the evolution of sounds from Vulgar Latin to French, there are said to have been two phases of diphthongisation. According to Fox and Wood (1968: 32), 'the First Diphthongisation […] had its beginnings in [Vulgar Latin] and involved half-open **ɛ** and **ɔ** tonic free, and the Second Diphthongisation […] had its beginnings in [Gallo Romance] and involved half close **e** and **o** tonic free, and also open palatal **a** tonic free […]. The Second Diphthongisation, limited to the north of France, is sometimes attributed to the effect of the strong stress accent of the Franks, who were established in large numbers in that region.' Primary diphthongs arose from the First Diphthongisation, which 'involved the raising of the first element (**ɛː** > **eɛ** > **iɛ**; **ɔː** > **oɔ** > **uɔ**)'; secondary diphthongs resulted from the Second Diphthongisation, which 'involved the raising of the second element (**e:** > **ei**; **o:** > **ou**; **a:** > **aɛ**)' (Fox and Wood 1968: 32).

In other cases, the path of phonological evolution diverged for the two varieties at the earliest stages; this was noticeably so in terms of palatalisation. Where Latin [k] palatalized to [ʃ] before [a] in central northern French, for example, as in CAMISIA > S.F. *chemise* [ʃəmiz] <shirt>, this was not the case in Norman (M.N. [kmɛ̃z], G. [kmɛ̃z, kmɛ̃s]) (Jones 2008: 30; Spence 1984: 347–8). Similarly, where Latin [k] before a front vowel [i, e, ɛ] palatalised via [ts] to give [s] in modern central northern French, in Norman the sound instead evolved via [tʃ] to [ʃ] in words such as CENTUM > S.F. *cent* [sɑ̃] <a hundred>, M.N. and G. [ʃɑ̃] (Jones 2008: 30; Spence 1984: 347). Finally, Spence notes that while in Guernesiais the palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] simplified to [j] 'in medial position as in Standard French,' it diverged from the metropolitan standard in becoming [l] word-finally in items such as S.F. *bouteille* [butɛːj] <bottle>, G. [butɛl] (Spence 1984: 348).

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Map 2-2. Outline map showing the ligne Joret.[4]

Joret determined the particular importance of two features in distinguishing the 'true Norman' varieties from the other Gallo-Romance dialects, both of which concerned the palatalisation of Latin [k] (see discussion above). The isoglosses for these two features largely coincide, and the part of them which crosses Normandy — enclosing 'the

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northern half of the *département* of la Manche, Calvados, the northern corner of Eure and the western half of Seine-Inférieure' — now bears his name: *la ligne Joret* (Jones 2008: 32). As may be seen from Map 2-2, Joret's 1883 survey indicated that Guernesiais and the other four insular varieties lay north of this isogloss, placing them firmly into the 'true Norman' zone (Jones 2008: 32).

Writing almost a century later, both Le Maistre and Lechanteur observed that the phonological features of Norman had become eroded in many of the mainland speech communities under the ever-increasing influence of Standard (Parisian) French; the islands' isolated position had helped the insular varieties to retain a certain 'purity' from this incursion (Le Maistre 1966: *xviii*; Lechanteur 1968: 188–190). Le Maistre added, however, that the insular varieties of Norman were under far greater risk from English; today, the encroachment of English upon Guernesiais is widely evident in lexical borrowing and in certain morphosyntactic features (Le Maistre 1966: *xviii*; cf. Jones 2008: 33–5, 39; Lukis 1981: 3).

2.3 PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS OF GUERNESIAIS PHONOLOGY

2.3.1 Contextual overview

Anecdotal evidence suggesting considerable diatopic variation within Guernesiais phonology is corroborated by a number of accounts of the variety. The oldest of these dates back to the late nineteenth century, with subsequent studies appearing in roughly 30-year intervals: every generation, it seems, has had its phonology chronicled in some capacity. These accounts afford us a valuable historical perspective on Guernesiais, particularly given the paucity of all but the most recent of recorded speech material.

It should be noted that several of the descriptions of Guernesiais are far from exhaustive; instead, they serve to indicate the main points of divergence between Guernesiais phonology and that of Standard French or English in the opinion of their authors. The present section presents an overview of those accounts which are based upon original data or observations of the variety; the more recent descriptions of Guernesiais phonology which synthesise the findings of existing studies are considered separately in §2.6 below.

The earliest description of Guernesiais phonology comes from local poet Métivier's *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand ou Recueil des Mots particuliers au dialecte de Guernesey*, published in 1870. Georges Métivier was a well-known and respected figure on the Guernsey literary scene, an acquaintance of Victor Hugo and friend of local poet Denys Corbet (Cox 2004b; Lewis 1895: 8). Though he became something of a recluse in later life, he would have undoubtedly had occasion to mix with the island's elegant, French-speaking society (Cox 2004b).

The *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand* is of no little importance to the canon of published Guernesiais literature as it represents the variety's earliest bilingual dictionary, offering translations of Guernesiais words into Standard French (Cox 2004b). The *Dictionnaire* is not purely linguistic in ambit, however; Métivier draws extensively upon literary sources, providing etymologies and contextual examples for each entry. Since this was his primary focus, Métivier's description of Guernesiais is not extensive; he merely outlines the principal phonological differences between Guernesiais and the Standard French spoken by the island's literati.

It is interesting to note that one of the few remarks Métivier makes about the vernacular speech of his contemporaries concerns diatopic variation:

> *Il est à remarquer que la prononciation du guernesiais n'est pas précisément la même dans toutes les parties de l'île. Il existe une différence bien appréciable entre la prononciation des habitants de ce qu'on appelle les basses paroisses, situées au nord de l'île, et celle des habitants des hautes paroisses situées au sud. […] Il est aussi à remarquer que de dix paroisses que renferme l'île, il n'en est pas deux qui prononcent le guernesiais absolument de la même manière ; mais il serait bien difficile de donner une idée, même approximative, des nuances qui les distinguent. (1870: v)*

> [It should be noted that the pronunciation of Guernesiais is not precisely the same in all parts of the island. An appreciable difference exists between the pronunciation of the inhabitants of what are known as the lower parishes, situated to the north of the island, and that of the inhabitants of the higher parishes located in the south. […] It should further be noted that no two of the island's ten parishes pronounce Guernesiais in completely the same way; but it would be very difficult to give even an approximate idea of the nuances which distinguish them.]

Though he gave no detail of the nature of the '*différence bien appréciable*', Métivier's words nonetheless provide evidence that variation in Guernesiais was very much an established fact in the late nineteenth century. It was perhaps this variation which attracted the ear of an academic named Professor A. Marshall Elliott when he visited the island some years later; so struck was he by the unique phonology of the variety that he reported being 'impressed […] with the great importance of having a scientific work published on the subject' (Marshall Elliott 1892: *xxiv*).

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At his colleague's behest, Princeton professor Edwin Seelye Lewis undertook the first scholarly description of 'the Guernsey Dialect' from a linguistic perspective (1895). Recognising the value of a 'scientific' survey to anyone engaged in the study of *oïl* phonology, Lewis sought to provide his readers with an authoritative account of the differences between Guernesiais and French, indicating particularly where Guernesiais phonology diverges from that of 'French proper' (Lewis 1895: 9). He conducted his research during two fieldwork expeditions to Guernsey in 1889 and 1891, spending time in both the high and low parishes. Having received tuition in the variety from local poets Denys Corbet and Mr Guilbert he travelled the island in search of willing interlocutors, jotting down his observations of Guernesiais as he went (1895: 8). These were eventually published as a survey entitled *Guernsey: Its People and Dialect* (1895).

Lewis, like Métivier, observed that the pronunciation of Guernesiais was not uniform across the entire speech community. He claimed that the speech of the low parishes was 'broader and slower', a feature which he ascribes to the greater influence of Standard French in the north of the island:

> *These last examples can be easily explained when one remembers that it is in the Lower Parishes that visitors dwell mostly and that there the Guernsey people of wealth have their summer homes; this intercourse with the outside world, and with persons speaking pure French, has caused the folk to imitate French proper more closely, while the people to the South have retained their old pronunciation* (Lewis 1895: 7).

It would however appear that 'French proper' was something of a relative term in 19th century Guernsey. Says Lewis: '[…] it must be confessed that the French spoken in the courts, and in the city generally, although supposed to be correct, is, to say the least, very peculiar' (Lewis 1895: 7). Since the local vernacular was so well-ingrained, the 'good French' spoken for formal occasions was heavily coloured by Guernesiais.

Guernsey's indigenous tongue was included in Gilliéron and Edmont's turn-of-the-century *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (hereafter *ALF*), a fact which may in itself be considered significant; it indicates that the French academic community still regarded the island as being francophone at the turn of the century, and indeed underlines the common ancestry and phonological links between Guernesiais and the Norman of the mainland (Gilliéron and Edmont 1902–10; Simmonds 2008: 35). Following the *modus operandi* established during his surveys in metropolitan France, *ALF* fieldworker Edmont gathered phonological data for Guernesiais by interviewing a single individual

at his chosen *point d'enquête* (Gilliéron and Edmont 1902–10, *Notice*: 40). Unfortunately it seems that Edmont did not venture any further than St Peter Port, a parish not noted for its concentration of Guernesiais speakers. Whether this was by accident or by design is unclear; it is of course quite possible that Edmont's intention was to investigate the island's locally coloured French, most widely spoken in the island's capital, rather than its Norman vernacular. There is however evidence to suggest that the lone speaker that Edmont selected to represent Guernesiais was a particularly ill-judged choice in either case: Collas notes that the individual displays an unusually high number of Jèrriais features in his speech (1931: 9–11). By reason of this uncertainty, the *ALF* data will be disregarded in our consideration of Guernesiais phonology in the sections which follow.

Collas' *A critical examination of the Atlas Linguistique de la France as it concerns the island of Guernsey* (1931) was an effort to address the shortcomings of the *ALF* methodology as applied to Guernsey. His analyses of the phonology and morphology of the variety were carried out as part of an academic submission for a B.Litt. from Oxford University in the early 1930s, but were never published and remain in manuscript (Collas 1931). Having altered the *ALF* methodology to reflect the fact that most Guernesiais speakers were by this point acquiring familiarity with English, not French, and had very different cultural reference points from their Cotentin cousins, Collas replicated the *ALF* interview with three informants (from the Vale, St Pierre du Bois, and St Martin's) (1931: 14ff.). He selected these individuals as he deemed their speech to be suitably representative of northern, south-western and eastern Guernesiais, which would thus more accurately demonstrate the island's varied phonology (1931: 21–2).

Against the backdrop of traditional dialectological studies that had been conducted on Guernesiais thus far, based upon impressionistic observations and/or data from a very small number of individuals, the work of Swedish linguist Albert Sjögren stands out both in terms of scale and in its adoption of an observational methodology based on more scientific sampling principles. Although circumstances prevented the publication of his work until the mid-1960s, Sjögren's fieldwork was actually carried out during the summer of 1926, and thus predates Collas' work (1964: *v*). Sjögren elicited data from 67 informants representing all of the island's ten parishes, and made efforts to stratify his sample with regard to age and gender (Sjögren 1964: *xi–xxiv*; cf. Simmonds

2008: 36–38). The result is *Les Parlers bas-normands de l'île de Guernesey: Lexique Français – Guernesiais*, featuring detailed transcriptions of individual lexical items together with a comprehensive phonetic inventory of the variety. The transcriptions, together with the title he gave to his work, show that Sjögren fully acknowledged the richness of the phonological variation present in the variety.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, Sjögren's work is the only such study of Guernesiais phonology dating from the middle of the twentieth century — and then only by virtue of publication. There can be no doubt that the years following the Second World War were a particularly difficult time for Guernsey, as the community slowly recovered from the effects of the Occupation and readjusted to normal life.

In post-war Guernsey, English began to assume a more prominent role (cf. §1.3). Recognising the ultimate implications of this shift in language use for the island's vernacular, Marie de Garis, a very important local figure, championed the creation of the seminal *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* on behalf of L'Assembllaïe d'Guernesiais. The *Dictiounnaire*, first published in 1967, was the first dictionary of Guernesiais to be produced since Métivier's *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand* (1870), almost a century earlier. Importantly, it was the first such work to make Guernesiais accessible for an anglophone rather than francophone readership, reflecting the shift in language use that had taken place on the island (de Garis 1967; Métivier 1870). Yet though the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* became (and indeed remains) an important reference work for Guernesiais, it failed to precipitate widespread use of the variety in its written form. Observing this, and noting the crucial role which writing systems play in language maintenance, Eric Fellowes Lukis set out to lay the foundations for a 'revised spelling of Guernesiès [sic]' (1981: 6). He made orthographic provision for the existence of two sub-dialects, giving suggestions for transcribing the contrasting sounds (Lukis 1981: 2, 6ff.). As his primer, *An Outline of the Franco-Norman dialect of Guernsey*, was primarily intended as an educational text, however, there is little information to be gleaned about his research methodology save for the brief mention of eight informants (six female, two male) in his Acknowledgements (1981).[5]

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[5] *An Outline of the Franco-Norman dialect of Guernsey* was first published in Guernsey in 1979, and was reprinted two years later. The second edition, published in 1981, is referred to in the present work.

Tomlinson's *Étude grammaticale et lexicale* (1981), conducted as part of his doctoral submission to the University of Edinburgh, also acknowledges the phonological and lexical diversity which exists between the different parishes of the island.[6] His description of Guernesiais phonology is particular in that it describes the contemporary speech of the south-western parishes only (principally St Pierre du Bois and Torteval) which, by virtue of their distance from the island's capital and the greater historical concentrations of anglophone speaker populations in the island's north, are the most maximally divergent from English (1981: 29). Like Lukis, Tomlinson based his work on observations of a small number of speakers (chiefly his wife and in-laws), although his more general impressions of Guernesiais also informed his work (1981: 24–27).

Though the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* (1967) had included brief remarks on pronunciation, de Garis undertook to provide more extensive notes with the description of Guernesiais grammar she wrote for the journal of La Société Guernesiaise. De Garis' comments were based on her observations of usage and, since more recent studies have been based either on previous work or concerned other aspects of the language, her notes on pronunciation in 'Guernesiais: A Grammatical Survey' therefore represent the most recent original commentary on the variety's phonological system (1983).

2.3.2   Issues of transcription

Comparison of previous accounts of Guernesiais phonology is not always a straightforward matter, since the transcription conventions employed are as diverse as the authors (cf. Simmonds 2008: 41–4). Métivier (1870) notated the sounds of Guernesiais as graphemes, based loosely on the orthographic model of Standard French. He clarified his transcriptions by means of reference words in French, resorting to other languages where necessary; writing a little over a century later, Lukis (1981) adopted a similar strategy. Lewis, meanwhile, notated his observations phonetically using a

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[6] Though Tomlinson has more recently published *A Descriptive Grammar of Guernsey French* (2008), this volume essentially re-works data from his doctoral thesis. While the original submission was written in French, Tomlinson's more recent *Descriptive Grammar* has been adapted to give an account of the variety for the English-speaking layperson, and accordingly omits much of the technical explanation (2008: ii). Instead, Tomlinson relates the elements of his phonetic transcriptions to the speech sounds of English, although all of his allusions to reference words are cautiously prefaced with the disclaimer 'similar to' (2008: 1–3). Though this does not necessarily presuppose that Tomlinson's observations in his *Descriptive Grammar* (2008) are in any way compromised, analysis of Tomlinson's work will be based chiefly on the technical information supplied in the original *Étude grammaticale et lexicale* (1981) so that any potential ambiguities may be avoided.

transcription system in the same tradition as those of the International Phonetic Association and (more particularly) the *Romanistes* (Lewis 1895: 9–10; Léon and Léon 1997: 12–13). This convention was also followed in the transcriptions which appear in the *ALF* (1902–10), and later in the work of Collas (1931) and Tomlinson (1981). Though Sjögren also adopted the system of the *Romanistes*, he heavily modified his transcriptions with diacritics and superposed symbols; his *Tableau du système graphique* is therefore supplemented with explanations of the articulation of each sound (Sjögren 1964: *xxv–xxxix*).

The phonemic system of Guernesiais has yet to be definitively determined, and most descriptions of Guernesiais to date deal with the matter circumspectly. Questions of phoneme theory did not particularly concern those authors who chose to represent their comments graphemically, since they sought to present selected characteristic sounds of the variety rather than explain the system in which they operate; those employing systems of symbolic notation, meanwhile, have largely avoided the issue altogether by the simple expedient of presenting their transcriptions in italics, as per the conventions of the time, and omitting the use of square or oblique brackets (Lewis 1895; Collas 1931; Sjögren 1964). There is nonetheless some evidence that Collas (1931) and Sjögren (1964) aligned themselves with prevailing currents in theoretical linguistics: both posit vowels which are described as having a neutral position, but which can be realised in raised and lowered forms (c.f. §2.5.3) (cf. Jones 1950: 7; Matthews 2001: 42). As we shall see in §2.6, the most recent authors, Spence (1984) and Jones (2008), have been more cautious, outlining their observations as phonetic transcriptions.[7] Though he presents his transcriptions in oblique brackets, Tomlinson too describes his catalogue of the sounds of south-western Guernesiais as an overview of '*la phonétique*' (1981: 30ff.).

For the purposes of the present study, the observations made in previous accounts have been interpreted with reference to the International Phonetic Alphabet so that there is some common basis for comparison between them (cf. Simmonds 2008: 44–6). Since there is no firm consensus as to the phonemic system of the variety, this study follows Spence (1984) and Jones' (2008) lead in presenting transcriptions in square brackets.

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[7] Spence presents in oblique brackets only those sounds from older forms of the variety which are subsequently described as undergoing some alteration in Guernesiais (1984: 34 ff.).

2.4 THE CONSONANTS OF GUERNESIAIS

2.4.1 The consonants of Guernesiais: an overview

The brevity of the earliest authors' comments on the consonantal features of Guernesiais suggests that they saw very little to distinguish it from Standard French in this regard (Métivier 1870: *iv–v*; Lewis 1895: 10). The value in this is that the accounts draw attention only to those sounds which the author considered to be peculiar to Guernesiais, which offers a useful insight into features they considered worthy of investigation. It was not until the opening of the twentieth century that social factors started to promote competency in English among ordinary working-class islanders (cf. §1.3). The majority of the adult speakers encountered by Métivier and Lewis would therefore, if bilingual, have had French as a second language.

During the course of his fieldwork in the 1920s, Sjögren observed that

> *Le système phonique de la région côtière est, en principe, différent du système phonique de L'Île-de-France. A Guernesey, il y avait, en outre, dès 1926, des systèmes phoniques hybrides (normand >< anglais ; normand >< français) ; dans certaines paroisses, le système phonique anglais était plus ou moins dominant.* (Sjögren 1964: xxv [footnote])

> [The phonic system of the coastal region is, in principle, different from the phonic system of the Île-de-France. In Guernsey, furthermore, from 1926 there were hybrid phonic systems (Norman >< English; Norman >< French); in certain parishes, the English phonic system more or less dominated.]

We must assume that the particular hybrid *système phonique* employed by an individual in his or her spoken Guernesiais would have depended upon the additional languages commanded by that individual. If bilingual with English, it is likely that comparatively more lax articulations would have characterised the individual's Guernesiais; in contrast, Guernesiais–French bilinguals would have spoken with a greater *tension articulatoire*, reminiscent of metropolitan French and the mainland Norman dialects (cf. footnote to Sjögren 1964: *xxvi*).

There remains a degree of subjectivity in even the more detailed transcriptions, since phonological reference points for individual languages differ. Accordingly, we cannot be sure whether features such as the Guernesiais pronunciation of [t], [d], [n] and [l] are intended to resemble the Standard French or English articulation (typically dental, or alveolar) unless specified by the author; Sjögren's accompanying notes and the transcription conventions he employed suggest that articulation in the 1920s was apt to

differ between individuals, and this may still be the case today (Sjögren 1964: *xxv* [footnote]).

2.4.2 Plosives

The plosive consonants of Guernesiais were apparently unremarkable to the nineteenth-century authors: Métivier made no specific mention of them in his description of the characteristic sounds of the variety, and Lewis was barely more forthcoming (Métivier 1870: *iv–v*; Lewis 1890: 10). Collas, meanwhile, described a number of the consonantal symbols he used as having '*la meme valeur qu'en français*' (Collas 1931: *iv*; cf. Gilliéron and Edmont, *Notice* 1902–10: 19). Knowing that Guernesiais phonology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shared many similarities with that of Standard French, we may infer the presence of the bilabial plosives [p] and [b], [t] and [d], and the velar plosives [k] and [g] from his comments; this is echoed later in the writing of Lukis and Tomlinson (Collas 1931: *iv*; Lukis 1981: 7–9, 11–12; Tomlinson 1981: 30). Describing south-western Guernesiais, Tomlinson noted that Guernesiais [t] and [d] have the more typically English alveolar articulation, rather than the dental articulation more usual of the equivalent Standard French consonants (1981: 30).[8] He noted too, however, that [p] is '*articulée avec moins d'énergie qu'en français*'; this suggests that English pronunciation had not necessarily influenced the other Guernesiais plosives (1981: 30).[9] De Garis, meanwhile, mentions only [k] and [g] in her description (1983: 320). There is no conclusive agreement among the most recent accounts as to the articulation of [t] and [d] across Guernesiais as a whole; it therefore seems wise to keep Sjögren's comments about hybrid phonological systems in mind (cf. §2.4.1).

2.4.3 Fricatives

Lewis observed that Guernesiais featured the same pairs of voiced/voiceless fricatives as Standard French: labiodental [f] and [v], dental [s] and [z] and postalveolar [ʃ] and [ʒ] (Lewis 1895: 10, 67ff.). This is confirmed in subsequent descriptions (Métivier 1870: *v*; Collas 1931: *iv* and ff.; Lukis 1981: 7–13; Tomlinson 1981: 31–32; cf. de Garis 1983: 320). Collas, meanwhile, also notes the presence of the English interdental fricatives [θ] and [ð], not found in SF (1931: *iv*).

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[8] Note that some speakers of English and Standard French may pronounce [t] and [d] with the articulation more usually associated with the other language (cf. Coveney 2001: 29).

[9] '[…] articulated with less energy than in French.'

Sjögren identifies additional fricative sounds in Guernesiais in the context of phonetic variation: the voiceless palatal fricative [ç], and voiced velar fricative [ɣ] (1964: *xxix–xxx*). He also notes the presence of the voiceless glottal fricative [h], which is confirmed in the other twentieth-century accounts: de Garis observed that 'the h sound [in Guernesiais is] always aspirated', with Lukis noting that this feature is reminiscent of the 'old Norman practice […] prevalent in the Cap de la Hague area of the [French] Mainland' of sounding *h* (Sjögren 1964: *xxxi*; de Garis 1983: 320; Lukis 1981: 8; cf. Collas 1931: *iv*; Tomlinson 1981: 32). Tomlinson added further detail about the articulation of the sound, stating that /h/ is '*comparable avec l'anglais* 'ḥave' *mais articulée avec plus d'énergie*', with some speakers substituting the velar fricative articulation [x] (1981: 32).[10]

2.4.4   Palatalised consonants

Echoing Joret's (1883) findings (cf. §2.2), palatalisation of plosives was one of the most distinctive features of Guernesiais according to the nineteenth-century authors. Métivier and Lewis both describe the palatalisation of [t] and [d] before [j] into forms resembling [kç] and [gɟ]: Métivier represents the resultant palatalised forms with the graphemes '*ky*' and '*gy*', while Lewis gives transcriptions including '*mekje*' (probably [metʲe] or [mekje]) for G. *méquier*, and '*gjü*' ([dʲy] or [gʲy]) for G. *guiu* (Métivier 1870: *iv*; Lewis 1895: 68–69).[11] Both authors also note the presence of affricates in Guernesiais, a further point of divergence from Standard French. Métivier had observed tokens of voiceless [tʃ], while Lewis mentions the voiced affricate [dʒ] (Métivier 1870: *v*; Lewis 1895: 70).

Collas (1931: 43–4) and Sjögren (1964: *xxix–xx*x) noted that many of the palatal sounds of Guernesiais differed between speakers in degree of palatalisation. Sjögren in particular noted a range of palatalised velar plosive forms ranging from '*très légèrement mouillée*'[12] [kʲ/gʲ] to heavily affricated [kç/gɟ], noting that this was phonetic rather than phonemic (Sjögren 1964: *xxix–xxx*).

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[10] '[…] comparable with the English *have* but articulated with greater intensity.'
[11] Equivalent to S.F. *métier* and *dieu* respectively; underlining added by the present author.
[12] '[…] very lightly palatalised […].'

Sjögren was particularly interested by the affricates of Guernesiais, and suggested that differences in degree of palatalisation (for example of [t] before [j], as seen above) and the variable presence of affricates in individuals' speech reflected a generational change that was occurring in Guernesiais at the time he conducted his fieldwork (Sjögren 1964: *xx, xxix*). Where older speakers employed the voiceless affricate [tç], for example, younger speakers tended towards [tʃ] (Sjögren 1964: *xxix*).

Sjögren's 'younger speakers' of 1926 today form the older stratum of the remaining Guernesiais native speakers. If a change in the degree of affrication had proceeded as he described, we should therefore expect to find the affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] in modern spoken Guernesiais. This is certainly borne out in the writing of Lukis, Tomlinson and de Garis, who all note the presence of both affricates in their descriptions (Lukis 1981: 7; Tomlinson 1981: 32; de Garis 1983: 320). Interestingly, Lukis points out that [tʃ] does not occur regularly across the island: 'The use of the 'tch' sound depends on individual speakers as well as on regional variations' (1981: 7).

2.4.5 Approximants

Lewis noted that in certain contexts, namely following a plosive or a labiodental fricative, the lateral approximant [l] became strongly palatalised in Guernesiais. He claimed that the resultant sound would be realised either as [j], or as an intermediary between [l] and [j]: Lewis here suggests [ʎ] (1895: 74–5). He was at a loss to explain this variation, writing that 'there seems to be no fixed rule, whereby we may know when it [stop consonant + *l*] becomes *lj* (or λ*j*), and when it develops into *j*' (1895: 75). He further observed that 'the pronunciation varies with different people, the better educated being apt to retain the λ, no doubt under the influence of the orthography' (1895: 75). It is interesting to note that in his *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand*, ultimately destined for an educated francophone readership, Métivier drew attention to the presence of '*le son du véritable l mouillé des Italiens et des Espagnols*' (1870: *iv-v*). [13]

A footnote to Lewis' description suggests that [j] had become the more usual variant within the lifetime of his informants, pointing to a phonological change in progress (1895: 75). Sjögren's account records that both sounds were still present in Guernesiais

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[13] 'The true palatal 'l' sound of the Italians and the Spanish.'

at the time he carried out his fieldwork (Sjögren 1964: *xxvii–xxviii*); their presence is further confirmed by Collas (1931: *iv*), Lukis (1981: 8) and de Garis (1983: 320). Tomlinson, however, notes only the alveolar lateral approximant [l] in his description of south-western Guernesiais, suggesting a lack of phonemic contrast between the two (1981: 32).

2.4.6 Nasal consonants

Although Métivier does not explicitly describe [m] and [n], the entries in his *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand* suggest that he considered the two nasal consonants to be present in the variety (1870). This is borne out in subsequent descriptions (Lewis 1895: 10, 67ff.; Sjögren 1964: *xxvi–xxvii*; Collas 1931: *iv*; Tomlinson 1981: 30–31; cf. Lukis 1981: 9). Tomlinson further adds that, in south-western Guernesiais at least, [n] features the more English alveolar articulation noted for the plosives [t] and [d] (1981: 30–31; cf. §2.4.1).

More worthy of mention in Métivier's opinion was the presence of palatal nasal [ɲ], commonly found in Standard French;[14] later, Lewis and Sjögren would confirm the presence of this sound in their own accounts of Guernesiais (Métivier 1870: *iv*; Lewis: 1895: 10; Sjögren 1964: *xxviii*). Sjögren's description is the first to identify the velar nasal [ŋ] in the variety, meanwhile, though it is not clear whether this is symptomatic of innovation brought about by greater contact with the anglophone world (1964: *xxxi*).[15] Collas, Lukis and Tomlinson do not specifically mention either the palatal or velar nasal (cf. Collas 1931: *iv*; Lukis 1981: 8–9; Tomlinson 1981: 30–35).

2.4.7 Liquid consonant: *r*

Some ambiguity surrounds the liquid *r* in Guernesiais. Omission of this consonant from Métivier's commentary leads us to conclude that the Guernesiais *r* cannot have differed significantly from that of the French spoken on the island. Later descriptions appear to confirm this; the sound is merely represented as the grapheme *r* in Collas' inventory, and he adds no further comment to the *ALF*'s assertion that the sound has '*la meme valeur qu'en français*' (Gilliéron and Edmont, *Notice* 1902–10: 19, cited in Collas 1931: *iv*). De Garis, too, describes the Guernsey *r* as being 'as French' (de Garis

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[14] Though [ɲ] in Standard French is now receding (cf. Coveney 2001: 35ff.)
[15] NB: Sjögren's fieldwork predated Collas' (1931) dissertation by a number of years.

1983: 320). The pronunciation of *r* in Standard French is by no means fixed to one articulation (cf. Coveney 2001: 39ff.); therefore, which *r* sound(s) do the descriptions of Guernesiais evoke?

Lower-case *r* is frequently used as a cover symbol in linguistic literature pertaining to Standard French, referring variously to the apical trill [r] and uvular trill [ʀ] depending upon the intentions of the author in question. We know that apical [r] was commonly found in rural metropolitan French dialects until well into the twentieth century, but this has now been largely replaced in Standard French by [ʀ] as well as uvular and velar fricatives and approximants (Coveney 2001: 39–40).

Lukis notes that in certain Guernesiais idiolects, *r* is realised as a labiodental fricative [f] (in Jèrriais, intervocalic *r* is routinely realised as dental fricative [ð]), which would suggest a more advanced point of articulation than the French [ʀ] (1981: 8–9; cf. Jones 2001: 29). The potential ambiguity is resolved in Lewis' side comments on the effects of *r*, which he describes as being a non-lateral liquid, upon a preceding closed vowel:

> In the production of the Guernsey r, the point of the tongue is raised toward the teeth, the front or back of the tongue [would be] less tense and [be] somewhat lowered, in order to allow the point to press forward and be sufficiently loose to vibrate freely (1895: 80).

Sjögren is consistent with Lewis (1895: 80) in describing the Guernesiais *r* sound as being apical (*'apico-alvéolaire vibrante douce'*), although he is more specific in describing the types of 'vibration' in the articulation of the sound as '1–3 battements de la langue' (1964: *xxvi*). Both accounts suggest that the Guernesiais *r* is likely to be realised by most speakers as a tapped [ɾ] or else a very short apical trill, [r], rather than the uvular trill or any of the approximant variants found in modern French (cf. Coveney 2001: 43ff.). The possibility of allophonic variation within the *r*-phoneme is suggested by Tomlinson. While he states that /r/ is either '*légèrement aspirée*' or a '*consonne à battements*' in word-final or pre-consonantal contexts, he claims that the liquid occurs word initially as a '*constrictive apico-alvéolaire sonore*' [ɹ], similar to the sound employed in English (1981: 31).[16]

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[16] 'lightly aspirated'; 'a trilled consonant'; 'alveolar approximant'

2.4.8   Semi-consonants

Lewis' account describes three Guernesiais semi-consonants: the palatal approximant, yod [j], the labial-velar approximant [w] and the labial-palatal approximant [ɥ] (1895: 10). These semi-consonants, shared with Standard French, are also present in the descriptions of Sjögren (1964: *xxvi–xxix*), Collas (1931: *iv*) and Tomlinson (1981: 31). Interestingly, Lukis' account noted only two: [w] and [j] (1981: 10). While the former is referred to explicitly in the explanatory phonological notes at the beginning of his work, we must infer the presence of [j] from Lukis' transcriptions of items such as <*iaoue caoude*>, given as 'y̲o code' (1981: 10).[17] We cannot be sure of the reason for his omission of [ɥ]; though he may have considered the sound to be absent from Guernesiais, with its function fulfilled by combinations containing the other semi-consonants, the fact that he did not specifically mention [j] either suggests instead that he did not consider [ɥ] to be particularly distinctive.

2.4.9   Other consonantal features: liaison consonants

It is of interest to note here in passing Métivier's observation of limited liaison in the variety, a connected speech process implicitly acknowledged but not mentioned in any subsequent account of Guernesiais (1870: *v*). Its lack of appearance in subsequent descriptions may be due to the association of this feature with more formal speech, which sits at odds with the contexts in which Guernesiais is usually employed.

2.5   THE VOWELS OF GUERNESIAIS

2.5.1   The vowels of Guernesiais: an overview

It is perhaps among the vocalic sounds of Guernesiais that we find the more characteristic features of the variety's phonological identity. 'Owing to numerous regional and personal variations', however, describing Guernesiais' vowels was no straightforward matter for the authors (Lukis 1981: 7). Sjögren's inventory confirms that there could be quite considerable latitude in the realisation of the vowel sounds of Guernesiais (1964: *xxv–xxxix*).

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[17] Underlining added by the present author.

In considering previous descriptions of the vowels, the island's changing linguistic background must be taken into account: while Lewis' informants would have been fairly familiar, at least in theory, with a locally coloured form of Standard French, use of French became increasingly rare on the island as the twentieth century progressed, and use of English increased (cf.§1.3). This presents a difficulty in the descriptions which rely on graphemic representation rather than a system of transcription, as is the case with Métivier (1870), de Garis (1983), and particularly Lukis (1981). Though these authors provide reference words to assist the reader in gaining an impression of the sounds they were describing, the pronunciation of the reference words is itself subjective; there are certain areas in which the descriptions are very difficult to interpret with any degree of certainty (cf. Sjögren's comments about hybridised phonological systems in §2.4.1; Lukis 1981: 7ff).

Interpretation of those descriptions which feature phonetic or phonemic transcriptions of Guernesiais is not necessarily easier, owing to the fact that the vowels of Guernesiais do not in all cases map neatly onto conventional systems of symbolic notation. De Garis makes the observation that

> There are […] sounds which have no equivalents in the French language and are a peculiarity or specific quality of the Guernsey language (1983: 320).

Collas, for example, frequently uses a single base symbol as a cover sign for a single phoneme to group together sounds which are often given separate IPA symbols (cf. §2.5.3) (1931: *iv–v*). Sjögren uses conventional symbolic notation, but describes many of the Guernesiais vowels as being slightly lowered and less rounded than their Standard French counterparts (1964: *xxxiii–xxxv*).

Following Jones (2008: 31), vowels described by the authors as encompassing a number of alternative phonetic forms covering different parts of the vowel space will be represented by capitalised letter symbols which give an indication of the area they occupy. It should be borne in mind, as per Lukis' words above, that actual realisations of the sounds in question are apt to vary from speaker to speaker (1981: 7).

2.5.2   High vowels

Descriptions of Guernesiais agree that the variety contains a sound or sounds which occupy the front high unrounded vowel space, though there is some disagreement as to

precise tongue height. According to Lewis, the Guernesiais front high unrounded vowel was equivalent to that of Standard French (1895: 10). Though Collas notionally equates the *i* in his notation system to Standard French [i] too, as per the *ALF*, he noted 'variations in the tenseness of […] articulation' between speakers from different parts of the island (Gilliéron and Edmont 1902–10, *Notice*: 19 in Collas 1931: *iv*; Collas 1931: 38). There is evidence in his transcriptions of a version of the vowel in Guernesiais more closely approaching near-high [ɪ] in certain idiolects (1931: 33, 39). According to Sjögren's transcriptions, meanwhile, the Guernesiais vowel lies in the articulatory area between a lowered form of the SF vowel, [i̞], and [ɪ] (1964: *xxxi–xxxii*). Describing south-western Guernesiais, Tomlinson too speaks of a vowel which is '*plus ouverte […] avec moins de tension articulatoire*' than the Standard French equivalent (1981: 32).[18]

The corresponding front high rounded vowel, glossed as the '*u* in *tune* (lips in whistling position)' by Lukis, also differs from its SF counterpart (1981: 10). Sjögren tells us that '*la tension des muscles articulatoires et l'arrondissement des lèvres sont moindres que dans la voyelle française*', describing a sound more reminiscent of [ʏ]; the near-high articulation is also indicated in Collas' 'Characterisation of the Patois' (Sjögren 1964: *xxxii*; Collas 1931: 32, *iv*).[19] Tomlinson, meanwhile, found the front high rounded vowel to be '*comparable à [la voyelle] du mot français "plus"*' (Tomlinson 1981: 33).[20]

Collas and Sjögren indicated that the Guernesiais back high rounded vowel, glossed by Lukis as '*u* in *prudent*', occupies the vowel space between [ʊ] and [u̞] (Lukis 1981: 10; Collas 1931: 40; Sjögren 1964: *xxxv*).[21] Tomlinson concurs with their descriptions of this vowel, indicating a more open articulation with a lesser degree of lip-rounding than the Standard French [u] (1981: 3).

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[18] '[…] more open […] with less articulatory tension.'
[19] '[…] the tension of the articulatory muscles and the degree of lip-rounding are less than in the French vowel.'
[20] '[…] comparable to [the vowel] of the French word *plus*.'
[21] Despite Lukis' differentiation between 'u = u in tune (lips in whistling position)' and 'û = u in prudent', both vowels are pronounced as [u:] in Standard Southern British English (1981: 10). The preceding semi-consonant [j] in the case of 'tune' advances the tongue position, so it is probable that [y] was the sound he intended to describe here (in contrast with the [u] of 'prudent').

2.5.3 Mid vowels

Métivier and Lewis describe nineteenth-century Guernesiais as having two front mid unrounded vowels, though it is not entirely clear whether or not they perceived them to be two separate vowel phonemes (as in Standard French) or just one (Métivier 1870: *iii*; Lewis 1895: 10). Métivier did note particularly that speakers of the variety tended to favour the mid-high vowel [e], however, even in contexts where Standard French might otherwise employ [ɛ] (Métivier 1870: *iii*).

Collas and Sjögren's accounts suggest a single front mid unrounded vowel. Collas stated that certain vowels were 'neither open nor closed, but intermediary', and describes a front mid unrounded vowel (which we will designate here as [E]) with raised and lowered variants (1931: 27, *iv*, 33). There is some indication to suggest that there may be regional marking in this feature.[22] Sjögren, meanwhile, describes a front unrounded mid vowel which principally covers the mid to mid-low height range (1964: *xxxii*). He observes that the Guernesiais equivalent of the Standard French [e] is realised infrequently in the variety, which is in direct contrast with Métivier's findings (1964: *xxxii*). We cannot be sure whether Sjögren's observations reflect the consequences of contact with English, or whether Métivier and Sjögren merely had different reference points for overall vowel height.

Tomlinson's description of the front unrounded mid vowels of south-western Guernesiais echoes Sjögren's findings closely. Though the phonemic value he ascribes to the sounds is unclear, he reports two distinct vowels (1981: 33). Unlike the mid vowels of Standard French, however, he follows Sjögren's lead in describing an intermediate mid vowel [E] ('*voyelle antérieure mi-fermée, moins fermée que 'é' français*') and a mid-low vowel [ɛ] (1981: 33).[23] This supports Sjögren's assertion that the mid-high form occurs rarely in Guernesiais (Sjögren 1964: *xxxii*).

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[22] In places, Collas has notated his *Vâlais* informant's rendering of the front unrounded mid vowel as [ɪ] (cf. Collas 1931: 40). This may go some way to explaining Métivier's comments about the frequency of [e] (cf. Métivier 1870: *iii*).

[23] 'Front mid-close vowel, less closed than French 'é''.

At first sight, the front unrounded mid vowels are described with a degree of confusion by Lukis. Though he gives four separate possibilities for the 'main sounds of E', closer inspection reveals that that three of these share the same vowel in their English citation forms, albeit variously subject to diphthongisation and lengthening:

e = e in let   é = e in fey   è = ae in aero   (1981: 7, 10).

The diacritic symbols Lukis employed suggest that he was attempting to describe a range of front unrounded sounds between [e] and [ɛ] (1981: 10). The 'e in let', identified with the definite article *le* in Guernesiais, would suggest more of an intermediate mid-position, and it is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that Lukis, like Collas and Sjögren, might have conceived of the front unrounded mid vowels of Guernesiais as a single intermediate mid vowel with raised and lowered variants (1981: 10).

Descriptions of the front mid rounded vowel sounds follow along similar lines. Collas and Tomlinson both describe an intermediate mid vowel, hereafter designated as [Ø], with raised and lowered variants which roughly correspond to [ø] and [œ]; Sjögren reports that this vowel occurs most commonly in the mid to mid-low height range (Collas 1931: *iv*; 32; Tomlinson 1981: 33; Sjögren 1964: *xxxiii*). Lukis makes no specific mention of a front rounded mid vowel, but the presence of such a sound is nonetheless indicated by some of his suggestions for the orthographic transcription of items such as *fieur* <flower> and *heure* <hour> (1981: 6; cf. 1981: 2). We may therefore tentatively assume that Lukis observed front rounded mid vowels in Guernesiais, although we cannot know whether he perceived them to be contrastive.

Lewis describes the presence of two Guernesiais back rounded mid vowels, mid-high [o] and mid-low [ɔ], which are later confirmed for south-western Guernesiais by Tomlinson (Lewis 1895: 10; Tomlinson 1981: 33–34). Collas and Sjögren, meanwhile, remain consistent in their perception of the mid vowels of Guernesiais as single intermediate vowels which occur in varying forms. Collas' intermediate vowel (here designated as [O]) occurs in forms approaching both [o] and [ɔ], while Sjögren reported that the intermediate vowel he observed was most commonly produced in the mid to mid-low positions (Collas 1931: *iv*; 36–7; Sjögren 1964: *xxxv*). The fourth of Lukis' *e*

sounds, given as 'ê = a in all […]' and described as being 'quite unlike the French ê', suggests the presence of a back mid-low rounded articulation, particularly since the same reference word is also given by Lukis for one of the four *a* graphemes he lists (Lukis 1981: 7, 9–10).

2.5.4 Low vowels

Accounts vary as to the number and character of the low vowels. Métivier, for example, mentions only a low back rounded vowel occurring in the area of [ɒ]-[ɔ], described as being similar to the lengthened vocalic element in the English words 'wall' and 'awful' (1870: *iii*). Lewis, writing at a similar point in time, states that Guernesiais has both front and back low unrounded vowels: [a] and [ɑ] (1895: 10). In addition to these low vowels, Sjögren describes a '*voyelle intermédiaire entre è et à [sic]*' which is similar to the English near-low [æ] (1964: *xxxii*). There is some evidence to suggest that Collas had noted this articulation too, while Lukis later appears to confirm the sound in his account (Collas 1931: 33; iv; Lukis 1981: 7, 9).

A subsection of Sjögren's inventory is devoted to '*Les voyelles* a', and he describes three variants which cluster '*autour de* a *moyen, la voyelle "dont l'articulation se rapproche le plus de la position d'indifférence des organes"*': [ɐ] (Roudet 1910: 91, cited in Sjögren 1964: *xxxiv*).[24] These range from front low unrounded [a] to a central-back low vowel (1964: *xxxiv*). The latter does not seem to be unrounded, as in Standard French [ɑ]; rather, it occurs as a rounded sound [ɒ] which is usually lengthened (1964: *xxxiv-xxxv*).[25] This is supported by Collas' description of a sound intermediary between '*a*' and '*o*' (1931: 43). The presence of this rounded back low vowel [ɒ] is also mentioned directly in Tomlinson's description of south-western Guernesiais, while Lukis posits the existence of both rounded and unrounded back low vowels (Tomlinson 1981: 34; Lukis 1981: 7, 9).[26]

2.5.5 Central vowels

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[24] '…around mid a, the vowel "which in articulation is closest to the neutral position of the articulatory apparatus".'
[25] This sound overlaps some forms the '*a moyen*' described above.
[26] Lukis glosses these as 'a = a in what' and 'â = a in far', stating that the former is 'the typical sound of the island speech' (1981: 7, 9).

One of the few oral vowels that Métivier singles out for comment is a mid vowel which he describes as being like the 'e *sourd de* besoin' (1870: *iii*). The term *e sourd* is rather ambiguous, owing to a combination of variation, 'changing articulatory habits' and the subjectivity of phonologists investigating the phenomenon, and is used in the literature as a cover term for the spectrum of sounds between [ø] and [ə] (Grevisse and Goosse 1989: 17–18). Jenkins suggests that the term more usually equates to the front mid rounded vowels [ø] and [œ], 'with manifestations of mute-e taking on, more or less indiscriminately, the qualities of either one or the other of these two front rounded vowels' (1971: 87). Métivier's use of the term *e sourd* suggests an unstressed vowel closer to central unrounded [ə] (1870: *iii*).[27] Lewis' choice of reference word ('*le*') in the gloss for the sound he transcribes as *ë* also indicates the presence in Guernesiais of a sound approaching schwa, [ə] (1895: 10).

In his account of south-western Guernesiais, however, Tomlinson describes a '*voyelle neutre avec moins de tension labiale que 'e' du mot 'le' en français*', a description which would put the sound in question closer to the unrounded central vowel [ɜ] (1981: 33).[28] It is more difficult to determine precisely which sound Tomlinson intended by '*voyelle entre la voyelle antérieure ouverte 'a' et la voyelle postérieure mi-ouverte 'o' françaises*' (1981: 33).[29] The central near-low vowel [ɐ] seems the likeliest contender, given the positions of the other vowels mentioned, although it is possible that Tomlinson was instead positing the presence of the anglicised front near-low [æ]. The latter hypothesis would certainly make sense given that Standard French possesses both front and back low vowels, and the fact that the other accounts of Guernesiais are not predisposed to dwell upon the presence of the central vowel(s) as being a particularly noteworthy feature of the variety.

2.5.6   Nasalised vowels

When reading the descriptions of further Guernesiais vocalic features which follow, both in the present chapter and in Chapters 5 and 6, it should be kept in mind that nasalisation in the variety is typically very weak. Métivier describes how nasal

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[27] The vowel may however extend from [ə] to [ø].
[28] '[…] neutral vowel with less lip-rounding than the vowel of the French word 'le'.'
[29] '[…] vowel between the front open vowel 'a' and the French back mid-low vowel 'o'.'

consonants affect the nasality of a preceding oral vowel, reporting that the vowels in question possess a '*son nasal*', or nasal quality, rather than *being* nasalised sounds in their own right (1870: *iv*; cf. provisions for transcription of semi-nasality in Collas 1931: *iv*).[30] Tomlinson confirms that

> la nasalité dans le parler guernesiais est très réduit et dans certains cas la distinction entre la voyelle orale et la forme nasale n'est pas bien nette (1981: 34).[31]

Métivier, writing in the nineteenth century, identifies the presence of four nasalised vowels in Guernesiais. The first of these, described as '*un* a *semi-nasal, intermédiaire entre l'*a *de* chat *et l'*an *de* chant, cent', appears to be [ɐ̃] (Métivier 1870: *iv*).[32] Métivier also describes a raised version of this vowel which he represents graphemically as <èn>; this is equivalent to the Standard French nasalised front mid-high unrounded vowel [ɛ̃], albeit realised in an intermediate mid position (following the convention established in §2.5.3, we will designate this here as [Ẽ]) (1870: *iv*). In addition to this, he describes a vowel [ĩ(n)] which has '*le son de la particule* in *devant une voyelle, mais avec un son nasal qui manque entierement au français*' (1870 : *iv*).[33] Lastly, Métivier gives us a sound represented in his *Notices* by the grapheme <ùn>, which he qualifies as being '*l'*u *nasal manquant également au français*': [ỹ] (1870: *iv*).[34]

Lewis identified a front low nasalised vowel [ã], reminiscent of Métivier's [ɐ̃], which he describes as occurring in words such as <chànt> where Latin tonic *a* had become nasalised under the influence of a following nasal consonant (Lewis 1895: 23; cf. Métivier 1870: *iv*). Lewis also mentions a front mid-low unrounded nasalised vowel [ɛ̃], similar to the [Ẽ] sound Métivier described, but notes that this is principally a low-parish variant; speakers from the high parishes tend to diphthongise this sound, rendering it as the more archaic form [ɑɛ̃] or [aɛ̃] (Lewis 1895: 18–19; cf. Métivier 1870: *iv*).

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[30] While the nasalised vowels of Guernesiais will be denoted with a tilde as per IPA convention, the tilde will be displaced to the right of the vowel symbol in cases where nasalisation is described specifically as being partial (cf. Coveney 2001; see also p. 18).

[31] 'Nasality is very weak in Guernesiais, and in certain cases the distinction between the oral vowel and its nasal counterpart is not particularly well-defined.'

[32] '[…] a semi-nasalised *a* intermediate between the *a* of *chat* and the *an* of *chant*, *cent* […]'

[33] '[…] the sound of the particle 'in' occurring pre-vocally, but with a nasal sound which is completely missing in French.'

[34] '[…] the nasal *u* also lacking in French.'

It is at this point, however, that Lewis' account diverges from that of Métivier. Lewis notes tokens of back low unrounded nasalised [ɑ̃] in some of his transcriptions (for example in the initial vowel of <ensìgne>), and he also observed a nasalised back mid-low rounded vowel, [ɔ̃] (1895: 28, 43, 47). There is limited evidence of the rounded nasalised vowel [œ̃] in Lewis' work, with one attestation in <chunchìn> (SF *ceci*). Lewis mentions that this sound is deployed in Guernesiais in similar contexts to those in which it would be found in Standard French, albeit sounding as a more 'narrow' nasal (1895: 28; 51).[35] In direct contradiction of Métivier, Lewis asserts that [ỹ] is not to be found in the variety (1895: 51).

Sjögren and Collas' descriptions of Guernesiais nasalised vowels draw together aspects of the two nineteenth-century accounts. Sjögren notes both a front low unrounded nasalised vowel close to [æ̃], and a central nasalised vowel [ɐ̃] which he describes as a '*nasale neutre*' (Sjögren 1964: *xxxvii*; cf. Métivier 1870: *iv*; Lewis 1895: 23). Collas also describes a low nasalised vowel sound, 'ą̃', noting that 'its point of articulation is more velar than that of French ɑ̃ [sic], which is itself intermediary between a̱ and o̱' (1931: *v*). Both Sjögren and Collas confirm a front intermediate mid unrounded [Ẽ] which is realised by some speakers as [ẽ], but more usually rendered as a sound similar to SF [ɛ̃] (Sjögren 1964: *xxxvii*; Collas 1931: 34; cf. Métivier 1870: *iv*; Lewis 1895: 18–19).

Though Métivier describes two front high nasalised vowels, neither appear in Sjögren's observations (Métivier 1870: *iv*; Sjögren 1964: *xxxvii*; cf. Lewis 1895: 51). Sjögren instead lists a back high rounded nasalised vowel, [ũ], which he notes is rarely encountered (1964: *xxxvii*). Lewis' back low unrounded nasalised [ɑ̃] finds a parallel in Sjögren's back low rounded [ɒ̃], while the nasalised back mid-low rounded vowel [ɔ̃] that Lewis noted is perceived by Sjögren and Collas as back intermediate mid [Õ], with forms lying in the mid to mid-low range (Lewis 1895: 28, 43, 47; Sjögren 1964: *xxxvii*;

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[35] There is no further explanation as to Lewis' definition of 'narrow'; we may speculate that this refers to vowel height, and that he is describing a more close vowel.

Collas 1931: 33, 43). Sjögren also mentions front mid rounded [ø̃], which typically falls between intermediate mid rounded [Ø̃], the most frequent articulation Collas encountered, and mid-low [œ̃], the sound described by Lewis (Sjögren 1964: *xxxvii*; Collas 1931: 35; Lewis 1895: 51).

More recent descriptions of the variety are less forthcoming about the nasalised vowels of Guernesiais. Lukis mentions that partial nasalisation of oral [ɔ] occurs before a following nasal consonant, giving [ɔ̃] (1981: 2, 5, 9). He also describes 'the subtle nasal sound 'ìn'; it is unlike the French '-in' but more like a nasal '-âin' and comparable with the Portuguese '-em'' (1981: 9). This suggests the presence of a nasalised front unrounded mid vowel [Ẽ], probably occurring in a lower position than Standard French [ɛ̃] (1981: 9). Evidence later in Lukis' writing also indicates a nasalised front low vowel, though this does not feature in his descriptions of the variety's main phonological characteristics (1981). Tomlinson suggests a more simplified system, observing only two nasalised vowels in his account: a front low vowel, most probably [æ̃], and a back mid-close vowel, [õ] (1981: 34).

2.5.7 Diphthongs

Guernesiais, like English, has a number of diphthongs, a feature which sets the variety apart from Standard French. The transcription of these sounds varies a good deal between individual accounts, and in order to interpret the subtleties of the authors' assertions about diphthongisation in Guernesiais it is useful to consider the different types of diphthong which can occur.

A diphthong is 'a vowel whose quality changes perceptibly in one direction within a single syllable' (Matthews 1997: 99). The transition between the two vocalic elements is the defining feature of the diphthong, however, with the two vowels merely serving as markers of the start and end point of the sound rather than its main component. In a true diphthong, 'the glide component is so prominent that the vowel no longer has a single identifying vowel target value, even though it is still heard as a single sound' (Clark and Yallop 1990: 73). Since the glide component is itself a slightly arbitrary articulatory transition, the qualities of a glide are 'defined in terms of two vocalic targets that determine the range and direction of the glide between them' (Clark and

Yallop 1990: 73–74). While diphthongal sounds are therefore transcribed phonetically with two vowel symbols, which implies that the two vowel targets are weighted equally, in practice the relative stress and duration values of the two targets are frequently uneven. This results in either a falling or rising diphthong, 'according to which phase is more prominent' (Matthews 1997: 99; see also Builles 1998: 174).

This carries conceptual implications for some phonologists: if a diphthong is held to be the result of an equal relationship between two vowels, then a sound featuring two vocalic elements in which one is given prominence over the other cannot be a true diphthong, but may be classified as an on- or off-glide, depending on which of the component vowels features more strongly (Clark and Yallop 1990: 73).[36] This difference in perception means that while diphthong/glide sounds are often transcribed using two vowel symbols, they may also be rendered as a vowel plus a semi-consonant (Matthews 1997: 99; Clark and Yallop 1990: 73, 108; cf. Jones 2008).

Lewis, Guernesiais' earliest linguistic commentator, recorded such sounds with two vowel symbols. He frequently places a stress diacritic on the initial vowel symbol, however, indicating that he felt the initial component to be more prominent, and indeed notes on at least one occasion that the final element of the glide is 'very short' (1895: 17). Collas, writing some three and a half decades later, confirms Lewis' findings:

> Comparison [of Guernesiais diphthongs] with diphthongs in English convinced me that they were all falling diphthongs, and differences of quality concern the first and more prominent element (1931: 27).

Accordingly, Collas records his diphthongs as a single vowel symbol, accompanied by a subscript vowel to indicate the phonetic value of the second target.

Sjögren's more detailed survey contrasts a series of *diphthongues longues*, 'dont le premier élément est long', with *diphthongues brèves* 'dont le premier élément est bref *ou* de durée moyenne' — falling and rising diphthongs, respectively (1964: *xxxvi–xxxvii*). Sjögren's inventory of the Guernesiais diphthongs is the most complex to date, with over 100 combinatory phonetic possibilities listed (1964: *xxxvi–xxxviii*). It is interesting to observe that falling diphthongs outnumber rising diphthongs in Sjögren's

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[36] The second element is the main vowel target of the transition in the on-glide, whereas the off-glide begins on the main vowel target and features a transition to the second, less prominent element (cf. Clark and Yallop 1990: 73).

phonetic inventory, echoing Collas' comments (Sjögren 1964: *xxxvi–xxxviii*; Collas 1931: 27). All of Sjögren's diphthongs are notated with two vowel symbols, with a duration mark (long [ˉ] or short [˘]) on the first element to indicate its length relative to the whole (1964: *xxxvi–xxxviii*).

Tomlinson's doctoral study reduces the number of oral diphthongs in Guernesiais to four. He notates these sounds phonetically with a vowel and a subscript vowel symbol tied to it, classifying them as being '*décroissantes en aperture et durée*', with emphasis therefore drawn to the initial vowel element in each case (1981: 34).[37] Writing more recently, meanwhile, Jones does not make any specific reference to the nature of the diphthongs present in Guernesiais. She nonetheless transcribes her diphthongs with a vowel symbol plus a non-syllabic semivowel, [j] or [w] (2008). This indicates that she, too, considers the diphthongised sounds of Guernesiais to be off-glides or falling diphthongs.

The quality of the diphthongs present in Guernesiais remains an area of uncertainty. Métivier describes several diphthongs, the most characteristic of which is a transition from a low back vowel to [i] or [ɪ] (1870: *iii*). Lewis noted that this Guernesiais diphthong was inherited from the Old Norman [ɑi], and though dropped from Standard French during the sixteenth century it was still to be found in the Norman *parlers* spoken on the French mainland at the time he was writing (1895: 17–18). Métivier also describes a contrasting diphthong featuring a lengthened first element which resembles '*L*'oy *dans le mot anglais* boy' (1870: *iii*).[38] This suggests either [Oɪ] or [ɒɪ]. To these sounds, Lewis adds two further diphthongs with an initial low back unrounded vowel, [ɑʊ] and [ɑœ], noting their presence in a number of lexical items (1895: 40).

Métivier also describes two diphthongs combining a front low vowel with either a front or back high rounded vowel, [ay] and [au] (1870: *iii*). Lastly, he gives a further diphthong which is pronounced '*à-peu-pres* [sic] *comme* ow *ou* oe *dans les mots anglais* low, foe' (1870: *iv*).[39] Although in Standard Southern British English the diphthong thus described is [əʊ], it is unlikely that this articulation would have been current in nineteenth-century Guernsey: modern Guernsey English pronunciation tends to lower

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[37] 'decreasing in aperture and duration' (= falling diphthongs)
[38] '[…] the *oy* in the English word *boy*.'
[39] '[…] almost like *ow* or *oe* in the English words low, foe.'

the initial vowel in this diphthong, so [ɐʊ] is probably closer to the sound he intended (1870: *iv*). Lewis mentions no further diphthongs with initial low or central vowels. Instead, he describes three further sounds, which he transcribed as *u·e′*, *u·i′* and *ü·i″* (1895: 26, 46, 64). His use of diacritics suggests a shortened initial element in each case, with the main stress falling on the second element. This results in a series of rising diphthongs: [ᵤe], which he describes as being the sound present in G. *rouai* [rᵤe], S.F. *roi* [ʀwa] <king>; [ᵤi] in items such as G. *pouit* [pᵤi], S.F. *puits* [pᶣi] <well>; and [ᵧi] in G. *juillet* [ʒᵧilɛ], S.F. *juillet* [ʒᶣijɛ] <July>) (1895: 26, 46, 64). All bear a strong similarity to the corresponding semi-consonant + vowel forms in Standard French. Not all of the diphthongs he describes are rising diphthongs, however; he further adds two falling diphthongs, *ou·* [oᵤ] and *ɔu·* [ɔᵤ], in such items as G. *soumme* [soᵤm], S.F. *somme* [sɔm] <sum> and G. *droule* [drɔᵤl], S.F. *drôle* [dʀol] (Lewis 1895: 42–3). The lack of diacritics on Lewis' transcriptions of [ie] and [iɛ] (as employed in G. *cieil* [siel], S.F. [sjɛl] <sky> and G. *pierre* [piɛr], S.F. [pjɛʀ] <stone>), meanwhile, suggests the possibility of even diphthongs as well (1895: 29–30).

Sjögren's inventory notes both rising and falling diphthongs, and indicates that allophonic variation greatly increases the number of sounds a listener is likely to encounter (1964: *xxxvi–xxxvii*). Though subject to minor individual variations in quality, the diphthongs he observed may be grouped according to their place of articulation. He confirms a number of the diphthongised sounds identified by Métivier and Lewis, listing several combinations of transitions from front or central low vowels to high or mid unrounded vowels (with variants).[40] He includes [ɐI], [ɐE], [ɐU] and [ɐO] in his inventory, as well as the near-low vowel > back vowel transitions [æU] and [æO] (1964: *xxxvi–xxxvii*).[41] He lists two back low rounded vowel initial diphthongs [ɒI] and [ɒU], and a back high rounded vowel initial diphthong, [UI], which corroborates Lewis' interpretation of the vocalic elements of certain items as diphthongs rather than the SF semi-consonant + vowel combination (1964: *xxxvi–xxxvii*). Sjögren completes his account with four neutral mid vowel initial combinations, [EI], [EU], [OU] and [ØU] (1964: *xxxvi–xxxvii*).

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[40] The '*voyelles a*' described in his inventory (1964: *xxxiv*).
[41] Note that capital letter symbols are used here to denote the relative positioning of vowels whose precise quality is unspecified (cf. §2.5.1).

Collas particularly singles out [aɛ] as one of the most characteristic sounds of Guernesiais, distinguishing it from the other varieties of Norman extant at the time (1931: 27, 32, 53). He also notes the back low to back high diphthong [ɑu], and the pair [uɔ] and [uɒ] (forms of the same diphthong produced by his Vale and St Martin's informants respectively) (1931: 32, 35–6). Further diphthongal sounds are noted in transcriptions of the speech of Collas' St Martin's informant, but the [ei], [ou] and [øu] combinations he described are not common to all three of his speakers; near-high vowels are substituted for these diphthongs in the speech of the Vale informant, for example (1931: 39–40).

Lukis' later account of Guernesiais diphthongs is somewhat confused, not least because not all of the sounds listed as diphthongs are in fact such; some of them are digraphs, the dual vocalic aspect being found only in orthography and not in pronunciation (1981: 10–11). Among these spurious 'diphthongs' are a lengthened front mid-low rounded vowel [ɜ:], which is described as the 'u in urn (lips in whistling position)', and the 'oo in boot': [u:] (1981: 11). He also includes the digraph 'ie', which 'frequently carries an acute accent, whereas in French it would be a grave accent' (1981: 11). From the examples he provides of this sound in context, G. *derriére* <behind> and *piére* <worse>, this appears to confirm Lewis' earlier description of [ie] (Lukis 1981: 11; Lewis 1895: 29–30).

Lukis reports that Guernesiais features the diphthong found in the English word 'fey', though as we have noted elsewhere the initial vocalic element is liable to have had a more intermediate mid position than the citation form of the English diphthong, [eɪ], would suggest (1981: 10). He further notes two low back vowel to front unrounded mid vowel diphthongs: unrounded vowel initial [ɑE], and rounded vowel initial [ɒE] (1981: 10). These are complemented by a front near-low initial diphthong [æE], and a back mid vowel initial diphthong [ɔe] (1981: 11). The latter is described as being 'similar to "ói"', which Lukis later gives as the 'oy in boy' ([ɔɪ], which he also lists as one of the diphthongs of Guernesiais); this suggests that the final element in the [ɔe] diphthong has a more raised point of articulation than a UK English pronunciation for the reference word 'let' would otherwise suggest (1981: 11). Finally, Lukis also

includes a diphthong which features 'the long a in mad combined with an almost silent o': a sound close to [æɔ] (1981: 11).

Of the four diphthongs noted in south-western Guernesiais by Tomlinson, three are low-vowel initial (1981: 35–5). Tomlinson gives [æɪ], the last element of which he notes is sometimes raised to give [æy] in the speech of individuals from St Saviours, and a further low front vowel initial diphthong, [æʊ] (1981: 34–5). The trio is completed with low back-vowel initial [ɒɪ], which is the sound that south-western Guernesiais employs for the equivalent forms of the Standard French suffixes *-er*, *-ez*, *-é* and *-ée* (1981: 35). In addition to these, Tomlinson also lists [oɪ] (1981: 35).

2.5.8   Diphthongs: diatopic variation

The possibility of diatopic variation in the diphthongs of Guernesiais was first suggested by Lewis, who noted several alternatives for the pronunciation of certain diphthongs (cf. 1895: 40, 45). Several of the other authors refer obliquely to the variable presence of diphthongisation across the island, and it is certainly evident in their transcriptions (cf. Collas 1931; Sjögren 1964); Lukis, however, is the only individual to attempt a generalised overview.

Lukis particularly emphasised the 'general sound-shift between the Low Parishes (l.p.) and the High Parishes (h.p.)' (1981: 2). Although further, more specific lexical and phonological differences between individual parishes have historically been present in the variety, Lukis considered that this 'shift', which is characterised principally by the diphthongisation in the high parish *parlers* of sounds which occur elsewhere as simple vowels, was the most salient of the remaining traces (1981: 2). He summarises the characteristic sounds of the two areas as follows (low parish variants appear in the first column, high parish variants in the second):

au (o)	to âu (ow)	e.g. caud-câud, haut-hâut, iaue-iâue, biau-biâu, etc.
o, on, om	to ao, aon, aom	e.g. bito-bitao, conter-caonter, pompe-paompe, etc.
oe, eu	to ào, àe	e.g. oere-àore, veue-vàoe, leu-làe, etc.
é	to âe	e.g. destre-dâestre, finéstre-finâestre, ouél-ouâel, etc.
nasal én	to nasal ên	e.g. bién-biên, viénra-viênra, etc.
è	to à	e.g. drètte-dràtte, mèttre-màttre, sèns-sàns, etc. (1981 : 2).

The first sound contrast listed is considered to be one of the most characteristic differences between low and high parish dialects, and is often the example given by islanders when asked about the subject (1981: 10). Lukis glosses the sounds 'au (o)' and 'âu (ow)' with the English reference words 'no' and 'how' respectively, which suggests that the low parish pronunciation may have moved away from the monophthongal [o] suggested by the *au* digraph: the sounds of Guernsey English today are such that his *au* and *âu* would be more akin to [ɐw] and [aw] respectively. He also notes that high parish Guernesiais diphthongises [ɔ] to [aɔ], [œ] to [aœ], and [e] to [ae] (cf. 1981: 2).[42] Elsewhere, Lukis observed three variants for the sound he represents with the digraph *ai*: [ɔi], [ɑi] and [ɒi] (1981: 10). He states that these sounds 'are interchangeable and depend on regional and personal pronunciation', although gives no further detail as to specific socio-biographical correlates for the variation (1981: 10).

2.5.9   Nasalised diphthongs

Though Guernesiais shares a number of its oral diphthongs with English, or at least with the English spoken on the island, nasalised diphthongs are an entirely Guernesiais characteristic. In his description of early twentieth-century Guernesiais, Sjögren identified a number of nasalised diphthongs alongside their oral counterparts. These include diphthongs formed with the nasalised front unrounded intermediate mid vowel [Ẽ] as an initial vowel, [Ẽi] and [ẼU] (1964: *xxxviii*). Sjögren also lists several nasalised diphthongs beginning with front near-low [æ̃]: [æ̃i], [æ̃E] and [æ̃U] (1964: *xxxviii*). The front to central low nasalised 'a' vowels feature in diphthong combinations too, giving [ɐ̃i] and [ɐ̃E] (1964: *xxxviii*). According to Sjögren's observations, back vowel initial nasalised diphthongs are formed in Guernesiais giving [ɒ̃i], [ɒ̃E] and [ɒ̃U] where the initial vowel is low and rounded, and a range of similar nasalised diphthongs with the rounded mid-low ([ɔ̃i], [ɔ̃E], [ɔ̃U]) and mid vowels ([õI], [õE], [õU]) (1964: *xxxviii*).

Collas did not mention nasalised diphthongs at all in his opening notes, though evidence that they appear in certain idiolects may be found in transcriptions of his St Pierre du Bois informant's speech (cf. 1931: 35). Tomlinson, meanwhile, posits [æɪ̃] in south-

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western Guernesiais, noting that it is sometimes realised as [ɛ̃] by certain speakers (cf. excerpt of Lukis 1981: 2 reproduced in §2.5.8 above); he also notes a second weakly nasalised diphthong, [oɪ̃] (1981: 35). There is evidence to suggest the presence of nasalised triphthongs in the variety as well, although the omission of this feature from most of the accounts suggests that this is not typical (cf. Lewis 1895: 28, 45).

2.5.10 Phonemic vowel length

There is strong evidence to suggest that vowel length is phonemic in Guernesiais. Writing in the late nineteenth century, Lewis mentions that vowel length was being used systematically in the present indicative of certain verbs to distinguish between the first and second person and the third person singular forms (1895: 11, 24–25). The example given in Figure 2-1 below is from the verb *beire*, <to drink>, with Lewis' original transcriptions interpreted according to the conventions of the International Phonetic Alphabet.

1sg	2sg	3sg	3pl
bǝ: (beis),	bǝ: (beis),	be (beit),	bev (beivent) (Lewis 1895: 25)
[bɛ:]	[bɛ:]	[be]	[bev]

Figure 2.1: Phonemic vowel length in conjugations of the verb beire <to drink >
(Lewis 1895: 25)

No further examples of contrasting use of length are given in Lewis' work, and it is therefore unclear whether or not he had observed the phenomenon at play in other grammatical categories (for example to denote feminine adjectival endings) in addition to its occurrence in verb conjugations. Writing in the 1930s, however, Collas suggests that vowel length has further phonemic value in distinguishing the singular and plural of certain nouns (1931: 47–48).[43] Sjögren distinguished between a series of long and short vowels in his *Tableau*, while de Garis reported that 'Guernesiais vowels are […] short at times and long in [sic] others' (de Garis 1983: 320). Tomlinson was more specific, noting that the front high vowels of Guernesiais concerned occur in two contrasting lengths (Sjögren 1964: *xxxvi–xxxvii*; Tomlinson 1981: 33).

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[43] Collas confirmed that vowel length was used to differentiate between otherwise homophonic verb conjugations, explaining that 3sg forms typically have a shorter vowel (1931: 47–48).

2.6 SUMMARIES OF GUERNESIAIS PHONOLOGY

2.6.1 Introduction: the accounts of Spence (1984) and Jones (2008)

The two most recent accounts of the characteristic phonological features of Guernesiais are those of Spence (1984) and Jones (2008).[44] While previous descriptions have been based on speech data gathered on the island, and upon the authors' first-hand observations of the variety (cf. §2.3), the accounts of Spence and Jones differ in that they synthesise previous findings in the context of Joret's (1883) observations (Spence 1984: 345ff.; cf. Jones 2008: 30ff.). The description of Guernesiais phonology which features in Jones' (2008) study of the Guernesiais translations of Thomas Martin draws upon the work of Joret (1883), Brasseur (1978a; 1978b) and indeed Spence as sources of information, while Spence (1984) in turn based his account of Guernesiais upon the detailed phonological survey conducted by Sjögren (1964). The two authors' accounts provide summaries of the key phonological features present (or at one time present) in the variety, and therefore constitute a useful point of departure for further study of Guernesiais phonology in the speech of present-day speakers.

2.6.2 Characteristic features of Guernesiais phonology

In addition to the features noted by Joret (1883) (cf. §2.2), Jones goes on to summarise a number of other characteristically Guernesiais phonological features (2008: 33–37). In some cases shared with the other insular varieties and mainland Norman, this set of characteristics bears strong resemblance to the inventory of features Spence picked out from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century grammarians' accounts of the Norman dialect as it differed from French (1984: 348–350).

Most numerous are features pertaining to nasalisation: while the nasalisation of vowels is typically weaker in Guernesiais than in French (Jones 2008: 36), in Guernesiais the nasalisation of a vowel 'before a historically intervocalic nasal consonant' is maintained in many cases where it has been lost in French (in words such as S.F. *femme* [fam], G. [fãm] <woman>) (Jones 2008: 36; Spence 1984: 348, 350). Jones reports that Guernesiais features a number of nasalised diphthongs (cf. §2.5.9), and retains the distinction between Latin *an* + C and *en* + C (for example in words such as G. *gàmbe* [gɛ̃b] <leg> and *cent* [ʃã] <a hundred>); this sets Guernesiais apart from its other insular

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[44] Tomlinson's recent descriptive grammar (2010) is concerned only with description of south-western Guernesiais, and is therefore not considered here (cf. 2.3.1).

cousins (2008: 37, 36; Spence 1984: 349–350). Spence observes that 'nasal vowels are often still followed, as in the French of the Midi, by a residual nasal consonant' (1984: 350). He also notes that [ɔ] and [o] close to [u] before retained nasal consonants (1984: 348).

As is the case with mainland Norman and other neighbouring *oïl* dialects, the phonology of Guernesiais differs from that of metropolitan Standard French in certain respects. Unlike the mainland dialects, however, Guernesiais has had prolonged contact with English; this has had a number of important consequences. Perhaps most noticeably, 'Guernesiais contains three consonantal phonemes absent from […] standard French: [h], [tʃ] and [dʒ]' (cf. §2.4.3, §2.4.4) (Jones 2008: 37; cf. Spence 1984: 347, 349). In a further departure from Standard French, Jones notes that the apical trill [r] is typically used by Guernesiais speakers, whereas metropolitan French speakers use dorsal variants (cf. §2.4.7) (2008: 37–38). The use of alveolar rather than dental [t] and [d] also reflects English pronunciation (cf. §2.4.1, §2.4.2) (Jones 2008: 39; Spence 1984: 347). Jones reports that Guernesiais [a] and [ɑ] are often realised as [ɒ], a sound found in English, but not in Standard metropolitan French and, though the presence of diphthongised sounds in Guernesiais is in itself a notable divergence from Standard French phonology, 'the consistency with which diphthongs such as [ej] and [ow] have replaced lengthened close vowels in Channel Island dialects' is considered by both Jones and Spence to be particularly indicative of the anglophone influence on the variety (cf. §2.5.7) (Jones 2008: 36, 39; cf. Spence 1984: 347).

Spence, working from Sjögren's data, notes 'a strong tendency for final voiced consonants to devoice' (1984: 350). Jones reports more specifically that final [g, b, d] are frequently devoiced to [k, p, t] (Jones 2008: 37; cf. Sjögren 1964: *xx*), although Spence notes that this is 'not entirely confirmed by Sjögren's own notations' (Spence 1984: 350; cf. Jones 2008: 37). A more readily observed feature is that speakers from the north of the island are particularly prone to retaining final consonants in their pronunciation, most frequently in the case of [r] and [l] but also occasionally with [k], [t] and [s], while speakers from other parts of the island omit them (Jones 2008: 37).

Spence and Jones observe that vowel length is phonemic in Guernesiais, with lengthened vowels occurring most frequently in word-final position as a marker of

plurality or feminine gender (cf. §2.5.10) (Spence 1984: 349; Jones 2008: 35). Secondary diphthongisation is also common in Guernesiais (Spence 1984: 348; Jones 2008: 36), and the prevalence of the [aj]/[ɒj] diphthong, which occurs in words such as MARE > G. [mɒjr] <sea>, particularly distinguishes Guernesiais from the other Norman varieties as well as Standard French (Spence 1984: 349; Jones 2008: 36).[45] The [aw] diphthong also occurs frequently in the variety. While it is known locally as a marker of Torteval and St Pierre du Bois speech, this diphthong is not exclusive to the south-west of the island. Whereas French and the other Norman dialects have typically derived the monophthongs [ø] and [œ] from Latin tonic free ō and ŭ in words such as NODUM > S.F. *noeud* [nø] <knot>, these monophthongs only occur before final [r] in Guernesiais; elsewhere, informants from all parishes have the diphthong [aw] (as in G. *naëud* [naw] <knot>) (Jones 2008: 36).

2.6.3   Diatopic variation in Guernesiais phonology

Within Guernesiais, diphthongisation plays an important part in distinguishing the *parlers* of the different areas of the island. The [aw] diphthong is particularly characteristic of south-western Guernesiais, occurring in words such as CALIDUM > S.F. *chaud*, swG. [kaw] <hot> which derive from Latin *a+l+C*; speakers elsewhere on the island would typically realise the vowel in this context as a monophthong (Jones 2008: 36; Spence 1984: 348). The diphthongisation of final [ɔ̃] to [ɔ̃w]/[ɑ̃w] and secondary diphthongisation of final [o] to [ow]/[aw] are also characteristic of the speech in the high parishes (Jones 2008: 43), while the diphthongisation of [u] (from pretonic o) has been recorded in the Vale parish (and in St Martin's), but not in St Pierre du Bois (Jones 2008: 43). Certain vowels are typically lowered in the high parish dialects, so that [ɛ] becomes [ɑ] before a final consonant (especially [r] or [t]) and [ɛ̃] is rendered as [ɑ̃] in this area (Jones 2008: 43). Final consonant retention is regarded as being particularly characteristic of Vale speech (Jones 2008: 43), while the palatalisation of [k] is also variable between the north and south of the island (Jones 2008: 44; Collas 1931: 44).

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[45] Jèrriais and mainland Norman both render this as [mɛ], Standard French as [mɛʁ].

2.7 A RECENT PILOT STUDY OF DIATOPIC VARIATION IN GUERNESIAIS: PHONOLOGY: THE FINDINGS OF SIMMONDS (2008)

In a recent study of Guernesiais, Simmonds (2008) investigated geographical differences in two phonological features of the variety: diphthongisation, and the palatalisation of the affricate [tʃ]. Though based on the speech of just 15 informants, the study nevertheless highlighted key contrasts between the two major sub-dialect groupings. The data indicated that the diatopic patterning in diphthongisation outlined in Lukis (1981), Spence (1984) and Jones (2008) persists in spoken Guernesiais (cf. §2.5.8, §2.6.3). The characteristic [aj] glide was found to be present in the speech of all informants, while the stereotypical geographical distribution of [aw] in words deriving from Latin *a+l+C* was also confirmed in the data (Simmonds 2008: 98–99, 103–104, 108; cf. Spence 1984: 348–9; Jones 2008: 36). The southern parishes' propensity to realise long tonic vowels as glides was also evident (Simmonds 2008: 101–103, 108). In addition to this, Simmonds confirmed the low parish tendency to lower [ɛ] to [a] before a final consonant, noting too the variable presence of a residual nasal consonant following certain nasalised vowels (Simmonds 2008: 99, 105–106; cf. Jones 2008: 43; Spence 1984: 350).

Simmonds (2008) sought too to confirm Collas' assertion that the degree of palatalisation varied across the island (1931: 44). While pronunciation of certain items such as G. *cuisaëne* <kitchen> demonstrated evidence of strong diatopic patterning, lower incidences of palatalised forms in other items in the data suggested that this variation is in recession (Simmonds 2008: 106–107).

2.8 CONCLUSION

Existing accounts of Guernesiais phonology, which range in date from 1870 to 2008, vary greatly in style and substance. While Métivier's brief description was an adjunct to his literary dictionary, Lewis (1895), Collas (1931), Sjögren (1964) and Tomlinson (1981) approached the task of detailing the sounds of Guernesiais from a more academic perspective. Lukis (1981) and de Garis (1983), despite lacking formal linguistic training, recorded valuable phonological observations of a variety with which they were intimately familiar; the more recent accounts of Spence (1984) and Jones (2008), meanwhile, differ in that they synthesise previous findings about the variety

rather than basing their comments directly on systematic observations of contemporary speech data.

The linguistic landscape against which the descriptions were written has altered dramatically since the time of the earliest accounts. When Métivier and Lewis were writing, most people on the island spoke Guernesiais and perhaps had some competency in Standard French; this soon changed rapidly. English was fast overtaking Guernesiais at the time Collas and Sjögren made their observations, and the island's indigenous tongue had undoubtedly fallen into critical decline by the time Lukis, Tomlinson and de Garis put pen to paper. In counterpoint to this shift, the authors' references to the sounds of Standard French and English play out against a solidly Norman backdrop: though words from the two mainland languages are given as a reference for a number of the Guernesiais sounds described, these must be interpreted in the context of the characteristic Guernesiais features which colour the other languages spoken locally, and have done since at least the nineteenth century (cf. §2.3.1).

The authors generally use Standard French as a starting point for their descriptions, although a number of differences between the two varieties soon become apparent. Guernesiais contains a number of sounds which are not shared with Standard French, including affricates, consonants found in English such as [h], [θ] and [ð], and diphthongs (cf. §2.4.3, §2.4.4, §2.5.7–8). Where the sounds of Guernesiais more closely resemble those of Standard French, we see differences in articulation: English alveolar pronunciation is favoured over the typical Standard French dental in [t], [d] and [n], for example (§2.4.2); Guernesiais vowels are often laxer, or in a more intermediate position than their Standard French equivalents (§2.5.1), and nasalisation is notably weaker (§2.5.6). Guernesiais also features a number of phonological characteristics which, in comparison with Standard French and English, are entirely its own; two of the more notable are nasalised diphthongs, and phonemic vowel length (cf. §2.5.9, §2.5.10). The authors' accounts of Guernesiais are underpinned by a complex background of diatopic variation, particularly with respect to palatalisation and certain vocalic features.

Though Spence (1984) and Jones (2008) describe a number of features common to Guernesiais and the other varieties of Norman which set them apart from Standard French, they also indicate several features where the phonological development of Guernesiais deviated from that of mainland Norman. Spence (1984) and Jones (2008)

highlight a number of Guernesiais' more characteristic features, including sounds borrowed and adopted during the variety's long association with English, final consonant devoicing and diphthongisation (cf. §2.6.2). Vocalic features, final consonant retention and palatalisation are the main focus of Spence (1984) and Jones' (2008) comments on diatopic variation (§2.6.3).

It may be argued that even the most recent summary of Guernesiais phonology, that of Jones (2008), is based on early twentieth century data by virtue of the sources used even if the features reported are confirmed by impressionistic observation. Joret's (1883) study was carried out in the nineteenth century; and while Sjögren's survey was published in the mid-1960s, he had actually conducted the associated fieldwork in 1926, nearly forty years earlier (1964: *v*). Even Brasseur's observations — though more up-to-date — were made from data gathered during the mid-1970s, which makes his data a little over thirty years old (1978a: 49). Though the native Guernesiais-speaking population has changed little in terms of individual members since then, the inflow of new speakers has failed to compensate the loss of older speakers as the population naturally ages. The nature of language is such that we cannot assume the variety to have been an entirely static entity for the past thirty years; speakers have moved around the island, intermarried with speakers from other parts of the island (and indeed non-speakers), and the variety is constantly interacting with the universal presence of the island's *de facto* official language, English. The data obtained in the recent pilot study by Simmonds (2008) suggests that the key accounts of Guernesiais phonology to which the more recent scholars have recourse may no longer represent current speakers faithfully (cf. §2.7).

The account of Guernesiais phonology written by Jones (2008) (and to a lesser extent that of Spence (1984)) forms the principal framework for the present study, which seeks to establish the nature and degree of any extant variation in the phonology of the variety today. The paucity of current data will be addressed by examining the features reported by Jones (2008) and Spence (1984) in the context of a new corpus gathered from individuals from all parts of the island, thereby updating existing knowledge of Guernesiais phonology to reflect the usage of current native speakers. The rationale and fieldwork methodology assumed for the creation of the Guernsey 2010 corpus is presented in the following chapter.

3

METHODOLOGY

3.1   INTRODUCTION

Current speech data is vital to the investigation of a living language's phonology if 'an empirical basis for conclusions about the linguistic variety' is to be provided (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 21; cf. Labov 1972: 124). This holds particularly true for the present study, which seeks to examine previous accounts of Guernesiais phonology against the usage of modern native Guernesiais speakers today.

There were no pre-existing sources of phonological material which could be adopted for use in the present study. Though the recent involvement of visiting SOAS students in language documentation activities has augmented the meagre archival holdings encountered by Simmonds (2008: 63–4), these were not available at the time the present study was begun. A strong case was therefore advanced for the gathering of a new corpus specifically for the present study, a process which held several advantages. Firstly, the researcher was able to obtain the precise data required to examine the phonological features of Guernesiais outlined in Chapter 2, ensuring its homogeneity in terms of recording circumstances, content and register. Secondly, the researcher was able to control the social composition of the sample group more effectively, thereby avoiding undue bias towards a particular group of individuals or part of the island. Lastly, the researcher was able to make provision within the protocol for the gathering of additional biographical, attitudinal and behavioural data; this furnishes a fuller picture of the Guernesiais spoken in the twenty-first century.

Although certain paradigmatic methodologies exist for the purposes of data collection in all linguistic fields, the approach adopted for any particular study must be adapted both to the aims and objectives of that study, and to the nature of the speech community whose language is to be studied. Accordingly, the chapter which follows offers a presentation and discussion of the methodology assumed in the gathering of the Guernsey 2010 corpus. It begins with a consideration of the demographic and social factors which were incorporated into the sampling process in §3.2; the protocol design

is then outlined in §3.3. §3.4 is concerned with the technical aspects of recording speech data, while §3.5 describes the application of the protocol in the field.

3.2   GUERNESIAIS: SELECTING INFORMANTS

3.2.1   Preliminary remarks

Traditional dialectological studies have tended to assume the homogeneity of dialect-speaking populations, with phonological analyses typically focussing on the speech of non-mobile, older, rural males (Coulmas 2003: 564; Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 21). While this is not completely true of previous phonological studies of Guernesiais, it is to be noted that previous phonological work on Guernesiais has largely neglected the social correlates of speech; with the exception of Sjögren (1964), studies of the variety have been based upon data from a small number of individuals, or else upon the author's general observations. Though Collas (1931) made efforts to include speakers from different parts of the island in his work, only Sjögren (1964) to date has sought to represent both sexes and all parts of the island with multiple informants from each area. More recent work, such as that of Lukis (1981) and Tomlinson (1981), has relied on the authors' general impressions, and on observations made from the speech of just a handful of speakers.

Though the Guernesiais-speaking population of Guernsey is now at a fraction of its former strength (§1.4), the remaining speakers are nonetheless sufficiently diverse for the social correlates of their speech to warrant consideration; phonological data is of limited abstract value when divorced from social context (Builles 1998: 185). The section which follows outlines the process by which the researcher made contact with informants, and presents the ways in which key social characteristics including age, sex and social class, together with the informants' place of origin within the island, were factored into the selection of the Guernsey 2010 speakers.

3.2.2   Competency in the target variety

The principal objective of this study is to examine phonological features in the phonology of Guernesiais as it exists in the speech of modern native speakers of Guernesiais (cf. §1.1, 1.2). This necessarily excludes a number of individuals; though

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additional language learners of a variety may come to acquire equal or near-equal facility in a language to a person who has spoken the variety since early childhood, it was felt that few additional language learners of Guernesiais would possess sufficient ability in the variety to be able to undertake the elicitation tasks planned (Cook 2003: 495).[1] Informants were therefore primarily sought among individuals who acquired fluency in Guernesiais as infants, ideally as their mother-tongue (L1) or else concurrently with English, since members of this group were (for the purposes of this study) considered to be the most authentic proponents of first-language native Guernesiais speech.

It should also be noted that native speaker competencies can vary too, however: in the case of Guernesiais, and indeed for other obsolescent languages, the line between native- and non-native speaker status is blurred by the fact that many individuals who have spoken Guernesiais since early childhood have now lost much of the fluency they once had through their overwhelming use of English since youth. Speakers also differ in natural linguistic aptitude (vocabulary and facility with language), and may have different ideas about the acceptability (or not) of certain structures or sounds depending on their background in the variety (Davies 1991: 89–90).

In deciding which individuals would make suitable informants for the present study, reference was therefore made to the six criteria for native speakership set out by Davies (1991: 148–9). Three of these criteria were judged to be particularly relevant to the present purpose:

1. The native speaker acquires the L1 of which s/he is a native speaker in childhood,
   […]
4. The native speaker has a unique capacity to produce fluent spontaneous discourse, which exhibits pauses mainly at clause boundaries (...) and which is facilitated by a huge memory stock of complete lexical items (Pawley and Syder 1983). In both production and comprehension the native speaker exhibits a wide range of communicative competence.
   […]
6. The native speaker has a unique capacity to interpret and translate into the L1 of which s/he is a native speaker.

                                                                    (Davies 1991: 148–9).

Though it was not always possible to assess the suitability of an individual prior to interview, in practice failure to meet the above criteria meant that an individual was unable to complete the elicitation tasks (cf. §3.3), thus automatically disqualifying him or herself from the main sample. The system of sampling used, discussed in the section

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[1] See comments about provision for learning Guernesiais as an additional language in §7.4.

which follows, also helped to ensure that the majority of the individuals who were proposed as potential informants were in fact suitable candidates.

3.2.3   Sampling method

Having determined that the present study should focus on the speech of adult native-speaker informants, a suitable method of seeking out such individuals had to be established. Since fluent speakers of Guernesiais represent less than 2% of the island's population, and by virtue of their bilingualism blend seamlessly in the English-speaking community, contacting at random a selection of Guernsey people taken from a sample frame such as the electoral roll, telephone directory or other such source of data would be both time-consuming and statistically unlikely to yield enough suitable candidates (cf. Labov 1972: 111).[2] Furthermore, the proliferation of Guernsey patronyms among non-Guernesiais-speaking islanders means that even this characteristic is not a reliable indication of someone's linguistic background, and cannot therefore be used to guide a search for suitable candidates (Milroy 1987: 24–25; Feagan 2004: 35–36).

The researcher was also anxious to avoid the high refusal rate typically encountered with such sampling strategies. Owing to the negative attitudes towards the variety which prevailed during the post-war years, today's Guernesiais speakers are often reluctant to use their native tongue in public, and may be reticent to have what they perceive as 'bad French' preserved in a sound recording as a permanent record of their speech (cf. Jones 2001: 46–7). A cold call from a stranger proposing just that would therefore be greeted with the deepest suspicion; it was clear that some means of building a rapport with potential informants prior to the main contact event would be crucial.

The implicit community endorsement conferred by an introduction from a key member of the community can go a long way to reassure and persuade otherwise reluctant individuals to trust the researcher enough to accept an interview. Such was the rationale behind the 'friend-of-a-friend' sampling technique employed by Milroy (1980) in her study of speech in the working-class communities of Belfast, an effective methodology which has since been used successfully by Jones in her studies of Jèrriais (Jersey Norman French), and in previous work on Guernesiais both by Jones and by the present author (Milroy 1987: 66; Jones 2001: 45–47; Jones 2000: 78; Simmonds 2008: 68).

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[2] Figure calculated from 2001 Census (States of Guernsey Advisory and Finance Committee 2001).

This technique, whereby the researcher is introduced to potential new informants as a contact of a mutual acquaintance, pays dividends in two ways: firstly, it allows the researcher to exploit the social networks of the speech community being studied, where these aren't necessarily evident to an outsider; and secondly, it places the interviewer on more easy terms with the informants.

Despite the successes reported here, the 'friend-of-a-friend' technique does not always bear fruit: Boughton reports that she experienced difficulties in locating suitable speakers for her study of regional features in Nancy, even with the assistance of local community contacts (Boughton 2003: 48–51). In the present study, however, we were more confident of a positive outcome: the researcher comes from Guernsey, and therefore had the prior advantage of island 'insider' status (Jones 2001: 46). The researcher was also fortunate in having a number of family and personal contacts who could provide introductions to Guernesiais speakers of their acquaintance, as well as existing informant contacts from previous fieldwork on the island (Simmonds 2008). Consequently, the 'friend-of-a-friend' sampling technique was felt to be particularly well-suited to the present study.

The potential disadvantage of such a technique is that it permits very little direction in terms of the characteristics of the informants sourced by this means: informants will typically propose as potential candidates further acquaintances from their social sphere, and these individuals will in many cases be of a similar socio-economic background to the original informants themselves (cf. Jones 2001: 47). While this can prove critical in studies where the sample must represent a wider variety of socio-economic characteristics, it is considerably less problematic in the case of Guernesiais, whose speakers conform to a comparatively narrow socio-biographical profile (cf. §3.2.5). It can even prove advantageous, as informants are usually better-placed to identify suitable native speaker candidates than a researcher who has less familiarity with the speech community. Though the technique makes quota sampling difficult, an element of judgement sampling is inbuilt in the methodology as the researcher is able to follow up leads selectively, thereby helping to balance the sample in some measure (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 30).

Though the recruitment of informants in this way was largely unproblematic, the researcher did encounter an unforeseen issue which, it seems, is quite peculiar to

fieldwork in endangered language communities. There are now a number of parties conducting academic work and language documentation work on Guernesiais, particularly so since the States of Guernsey's Language Development Officer was appointed in 2008. Though the studies of Guernesiais conducted so far have been quite different in aim to the present work, and have often involved the recording of informants speaking naturally among themselves in small groups rather than undertaking specific language-based elicitation tasks, such differences are not immediately obvious to the Guernesiais speakers themselves.

Many of the informants approached for the Guernsey 2010 interviews had already taken part in some form of linguistic study during the preceding year, with some individuals having been solicited a number of times by other researchers in the past. The major inconvenience of this state of affairs was that, having already participated in other projects, several speakers considered that they had now 'done their bit' to help efforts to record and understand Guernesiais and so declined to be interviewed for the present study. It was sometimes difficult to convey the fact that the present researcher was operating independently of the other research teams/individuals who had worked on the island in the past 18 months, to explain the differences between the methods of other studies and the kind of interview the researcher was planning to administer, and to persuade the more reluctant speakers that their further contribution would be valuable. This 'interview fatigue' did have one unlikely advantage, however: while those informants who had already taken part in one or more previous studies were consequently more aware of the nature of linguistic research, and were therefore more inclined than the first-time linguistic interviewee to try to second-guess the interview tasks and 'play the game', they were also notably less suspicious of having their speech recorded (cf. §3.4.1).

3.2.4 Geographical origin of the informants

Consideration of the Guernsey 2010 informants' place of origin within the island was essential if the data gathered was to respond adequately to the principal hypothesis of the study, namely that extant variation in the phonology of Guernesiais has a geographical basis (§1.1). The nature of the sampling technique limited the extent to which the researcher could direct recruitment of individuals from specific areas of Guernsey, however, as composition of the sample with regard to place of origin within

the island was dependent upon the individuals proposed by existing informants. Ultimately, unless a prospective candidate was plainly unsuitable for the study, the researcher adopted a policy of pursuing all leads. In this way, the probability of obtaining data from all Guernesiais-speaking areas of the island was maximised.

3.2.5   Social variables – sex, age and social profile

Male-female differences in language occur in certain language situations across the world (Trudgill 2000: 61ff.; Coates 1993). Such differences can be due to a number of social and cultural factors, including differences in access to education and cultural practices (Coates 1993: 42–4). Women are usually considered to be the innovators of linguistic change as they are typically quicker to adopt more socially prestigious and supralocal linguistic forms (Labov 1990: 213, 215; cf. Coates 1993: 85–6). Males, meanwhile, are reported to use a greater number of non-standard or regionally marked variants (Labov 1990: 210). In studies of Guernesiais to date, however, no such significant differences have emerged between the pronunciation of male and female speakers (Collas 1931; Sjögren 1964; Tomlinson 1981). It was desirable that the informants interviewed for the Guernsey 2010 data should nonetheless represent the two sexes as evenly as possible. Though the composition of the sample group in this regard lay largely beyond the fieldworker's control, as the characteristics of the informants interviewed were entirely conditional upon the contacts made through other informants, a balance between the sexes was sought where possible (cf. §4.2.2).

The age range of the informants in the Guernsey 2010 sample was to be largely predetermined by the circumstances of the variety. Owing to disruption of the chain of transmission during the early to mid-twentieth century, today's Guernesiais speaker population inclines to the older end of the demographic spectrum (cf. §1.3.4). This precludes much of the generational patterning we might expect to see in healthy languages (cf. Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 151). Since the 2001 Census figures indicated that we could expect to encounter few informants below the age of 74 (States of Guernsey Advisory and Finance Committee 2001: 61), the researcher did not place particular emphasis on seeking out informants of different age groups; instead, the sampling method was relied upon to source informants with a range of ages (cf. §4.2.2).

Social class, the third of Labov's sociolinguistic variables, is also held to be an important correlate of linguistic variation (Labov 1966). The nature and circumstances of Guernesiais are such, however, that social class does not apply to this particular speech community in the way we have come to expect from other, larger languages such as English (cf. Trudgill 2000: 23ff.; Coupland, Sarangi and Candlin 2001: 236). During the nineteenth century, the language of Guernsey's administrative elite shifted from the Standard French spoken since medieval times to the English spoken today (cf. §1.3). Ordinary Guernsey people, meanwhile, particularly those working in trades such as growing, farming and fishing, continued to use the Norman vernacular as their principal language for daily communication until well into the twentieth century.[3] Since traditional occupations such as these represented the main source of employment on the island until the time of the Second World War, the Guernesiais speech community has largely remained 'an aggregate of individuals with similar social and/or economic characteristics' (Trudgill 2000: 25). The variety is regarded locally as a 'working-class' vernacular: any socially ambitious individual aspiring to improve their station through their use of language would simply reject Guernesiais for the English of more refined society.

The homogeneousness of the Guernesiais speakers' social background is further reinforced by the dense social network that binds the speech community together. Restricted naturally by its island setting, the population of Guernsey offers only a limited sphere of contacts with whom to communicate in Guernesiais, and further segregations of age and friendship groups narrow down the field of potential conversants still further. With a general lack of new speakers, it is therefore likely that a speaker (assuming that they are still in contact with other speakers) will have spoken in Guernesiais only to the same handful of people for the majority of their adult lifetime. Any younger speakers will have learned their Guernesiais from the aforementioned generation, and will have interacted principally with these individuals and their own peers. Though individual differences in social profile (level of education and subsequent employment history) were to be expected, and would become evident in the sampling as informants proposed further speakers of their acquaintance, it was anticipated that their overall social 'class' would be similar.

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[3] 'Growing' is the local term for horticulture.

3.2.6   Selection of informants: summary

The 'friend-of-a-friend' sampling technique employed successfully by Milroy (1980) and Jones (2001) was adopted for the present study as it was felt to be particularly well-suited to making contacts within a small, tight-knit insular community (cf. §3.2.3). Though the technique does not allow for quota sampling in the strictest sense (cf. Milroy and Gordon 2003: 30), the researcher was confident that a balance of socio-biographical characteristics (age, sex and social profile) would be achieved among the sample group (cf. Chapter 4).

With a suitable means of making contact with potential informants thus established, appropriate methods for eliciting the desired speech data had to be devised. Section §3.3 which follows outlines the rationale behind the methodologies adopted for the elicitation of the Guernsey 2010 data, describing the protocol adopted. The practical and ethical considerations involved in this type of fieldwork are discussed in §3.4.

3.3   INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

3.3.1   Initial considerations

In any situation where live speech data is to be gathered for the purposes of analysis, the method or methods employed to elicit the data must be chosen to suit both the research goals and the speakers who will ultimately contribute the speech data. Where possible, it is desirable to gather linguistic data from informants during the course of free spontaneous speech, as this is most representative of informants' true, unconscious use of language (Labov 1984: 33; cf. Tomlinson 1981; Eckert 1989; Dorian 1994). This is not always practical, however, particularly where specific data is required and the window of opportunity for fieldwork is limited. The disadvantage of gathering data from spontaneous speech is that there is no guarantee that the required tokens will be produced within the space of an interview; unless a longer-term participant observation study is envisaged, some form of direction is required.

The constraints of time and resources placed upon the present study were such that the data-gathering process had to be as streamlined as possible (cf. Tagliamonte 2006: 32–3). Accordingly, it was decided that a series of elicitation tasks would be

administered during the course of a one-off interview with each informant. The protocol assumed for the interviews is described below.

3.3.2 The interview

The interview is one of the most widely recognised means of gathering speech data effectively, with the protocols for many modern studies based on the paradigmatic variationist interview model pioneered by Labov (1966). Data in the standard Labovian interview is elicited during the course of conversation between the fieldworker and the informant, and through a series of reading-based tasks. Interviewing an informant for data is not a recent phenomenon, however; though many of the early dialect mapping projects made use of postal questionnaires, the data for the landmark *ALF* project was gathered by fieldworker Edmont, who completed 700 interviews over a four-year period (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 21).

Interview-based strategies have been employed previously in the gathering of phonological data for Guernesiais by Gilliéron and Edmont (1902–10), Collas (1930) and Sjögren (1964). Owing to the target speech community's low functional literacy in their indigenous language, then as now, these early studies relied exclusively on oral elicitation methods. The present study has incorporated the most successful elements of their strategies to create a protocol suited to gathering data from modern Guernesiais speakers.

In the earliest interview-based study of the variety, that of the *ALF*, the *enquêteur* proceeded by asking his informant to furnish him with the dialect or local versions of a series of lexical items and phrases; these he then transcribed by hand. The chief issue with this *modus operandi* was the length of the word list involved: the ALF list ran in excess of 1,500 items and, with transcription time factored in, the interviews were thus apt to last for a number of hours (Gilliéron and Edmont 1902–10; cf. Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 21, 23). This was clearly undesirable for the present study, particularly since the researcher wished to gather socio-biographical and attitudinal material in addition to the phonological data. An interview of such length would represent an unacceptable imposition on the informants' time, would certainly test their good will, and would prove unnecessarily tiring, particularly since some of the informants were likely to be of very advanced years.

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Collas sought to address this in his reworking of the *ALF* methodology by reducing the word list (though his edited version still exceeded 1,000 items), and by ensuring that he did not work with his informants for more than two hours at a time (1931: 15). He was well-acquainted with his three informants, however, and had the opportunity to gather his data from each of them over the course of several sessions. For the present study, which aimed to gather a specific body of data from a much larger sample of speakers who would not be acquainted with the researcher beforehand, this would not be practical. In order to make most efficient use of the fieldwork period, and to allow the researcher to engage with as great a number and variety of informants as possible, it was desirable that the Guernsey 2010 data instead be gathered during the course of a single interview with each informant — preferably with a duration of less than two hours. This would entail relatively little intrusion on people's time, thus making participation more attractive to prospective candidates.

Sjögren set aside the *ALF* word list, and created two new phonological questionnaires for his fieldwork. These were of a more manageable 300 items and 160 items in length respectively, tailored specifically to highlight the variety's phonology, and were each used with half of his informants (1964: *xii*). Sjögren did not include the questionnaires themselves in *Les parlers bas-normands de l'île de Guernesey* (1964), so there was no possibility of replicating them with present-day Guernesiais speakers in order to effectuate a comparison of modern Guernesiais phonology with that of the 1920s (cf.§2.3.1). His work nonetheless provides a useful model in terms of elicitation tool design: for the present study, the researcher aimed to gather phonological data by means of a targeted questionnaire of around 200 items in length.

The researcher was also keen to address the relative brevity of accompanying biographical information given in the *ALF* and in the studies of Collas (1931) and Sjögren (1964) by gathering a range of socio-biographical, behavioural and attitudinal material to supplement the findings from the phonological data. In addition to soliciting the usual kinds of data concerning the informants' age, education and employment, the behavioural and attitudinal data gathered would offer a means of assessing current trends of usage and opinion.

Lastly, the protocol would have to address the issue of the working language to be used between researcher and informant. At the turn of the century, the *ALF* interview protocol was administered to the Guernsey informant in Standard French. By the time Sjögren and Collas were writing some thirty years later, however, the competency of Guernesiais informants in 'literary French' could not be taken for granted (Collas 1931: 8); Sjögren administered his questionnaires in English, and Collas found the language to be the most appropriate medium for the conducting of his own interviews (Sjögren 1964: *xii*; Collas 1931: 12–14).

It was decided that informants would be interviewed either singly or in self-selected pairs, with the speech data recorded digitally for later transcription. The shorter length of the Guernsey 2010 interview protocol as compared to those of earlier studies would also be more appropriate to the age of the informants, as the researcher was anxious that the experience not prove too tiring for the more elderly individuals to be interviewed. The range of data to be gathered necessitated a combination of different types of elicitation task, and it was felt that this varied approach would also help maintain the informants' interest during the interview.

Owing to the lack of a suitable central interview location, and the fact that many of the informants had infrequent access to transport, the researcher undertook to travel out to the informants in order to conduct the interviews. In addition to reducing the time requirement placed upon the informant, the researcher hoped that being in a familiar setting would help put the informants at their ease. The majority of the interviews took place inside informants' homes, though owing to the fine summer weather two of the interviews were held outside. A further two interviews were held at informants' places of work - the first in a greenhouse at a local visitor attraction, and the second in the boardroom of the island's airport. Although the sensitivity of the recording device used was such that it often picked up the noise of passing traffic outside or aircraft passing over, the quality of the recordings obtained in the interview settings described was nonetheless perfectly suitable for phonological analysis (cf. §3.4.1).

The protocol adopted is outlined in the remainder of the section which follows (cf. §3.3.3 to §3.3.6). The individual elements which form the protocol, namely the word list task, socio-biographical information capture questions, informant self-assessment task and subsequent request for a spontaneous item of Guernesiais, are

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presented and described in further detail in the order in which they were administered. A copy of the fieldwork documents used during the Guernsey 2010 fieldwork expedition, including the word list and master copies of the interview forms, may be found in Appendices A–C.

3.3.3   The word list task

Since even guided spontaneous speech was unlikely to elicit sufficient tokens of the desired sound segments within the limited time frame available, it was decided that a more targeted approach to gathering phonological data would be needed. Owing to low functional literacy in the variety (cf. §3.3.2 above), an oral task was to be preferred. Indirect questioning is adopted in many studies, as is reduces the likelihood with which the fieldworker's own speech will influence the pronunciation of the target item (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 23; cf. Walter 1986). Though a series of 'completing' questions, of the type favoured by Walter (1986), had been considered for the present study for use in conjunction with a shorter word list, the researcher was not sufficiently fluent in the target language to be able to administer such an elicitation task effectively. The further disadvantage with this approach is that it can prove time-consuming, particularly where a long word list is involved (cf. §3.3.2). It is perhaps for this reason that direct questioning has been employed in previous phonological studies of Guernesiais.

The methodology assumed by the *ALF*, in which informants were prompted to supply their own regional terms for items which appeared on Gilliéron's extensive word list, formed the starting point for the Guernsey 2010 word list task (Gilliéron and Edmont 1902–10). Collas had a number of contentions with the way in which the *ALF* protocol had been administered in Guernsey, however, and had sought to address these in his own work (cf. §2.3.1). One of the methodological issues he raised was the choice of language for the elicitation task: we have noted that the use of Standard French was perhaps not judicious from the perspective of comprehension as many Guernesiais speakers at the time had little familiarity with the language, but Collas observed further that the *ALF* informant's responses to a number of items appeared to have been unduly influenced by the fieldworker's speech (1931: 7–8). Accordingly, though Collas was himself a Guernesiais speaker, he avoided using his native tongue where possible during

the interview; he instead presented the word list items to his informants in English, asking them to provide translations into Guernesiais (1931: 12–13).[4]

The researcher decided to borrow from Collas' (1931) methods in adopting a translation-based approach (English > Guernesiais) for the elicitation of specific words. Since virtually all Guernesiais speakers today are bilingual with English, translation between the two languages was unlikely to prove problematic. The technique had been piloted successfully by the researcher under similar circumstances, and it was noted that the concentration required to shift between the two codes was further likely to prove advantageous in distracting informants from the interview situation (Simmonds 2008: 81). Collas' (1931) word list, itself a pared down version of the list used for the *ALF* interviews, was too long to be adopted wholesale; there were many items within it that today's speakers would simply not have known, and the quantity of data generated would have been unmanageable given the sample size envisaged for the present study (cf. Milroy 1987: 79). Accordingly, the researcher decided to create a new translation word list tailored to the present study.

Though there were a number of specific phonological contexts to include, based on the accounts of Guernesiais phonology in Jones (2008) and Spence (1984) (cf. §2.6), it was also desirable to incorporate items which would provide an overview of the variety's phonology. Walter's (1982) fieldwork documents, compiled for her work in metropolitan France, were helpful in this regard as they included a full set of minimal pairs for Standard French: according to previous descriptions of the variety, these would cover many of the sounds one might expect to find in Guernesiais (cf. §2.4). It soon became apparent that Walter's list could not be adopted in its entirety for the present study, however. In some cases, as Collas (1931) had discovered with the *ALF* list, a word given by Walter either had no apparent equivalent in Guernesiais, or else had a translation in Guernesiais which bore it no morphological resemblance. In other instances, where the Guernesiais translation for an item appeared to be a cognate of the French, pronunciation of the Guernesiais word differed greatly from that of the French and in fact proved not to contain the target sound.

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[4] Collas did note that he was obliged to give French source words (and indeed descriptions in Guernesiais) for some of the word list items, particularly those pertaining to the natural world, as his informants' grasp of English was such that they were unfamiliar with the equivalent English terms (1931: 13–14).

The word list for the Guernsey 2010 fieldwork protocol is therefore based principally on that of Walter (1982), but with items themselves added from sources: Collas (1931), Sjögren (1964) and the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* (de Garis 1967) all furnished contributions. The first version of the word list ran to 204 items, composed principally of nouns but also including some verbs, and certain examples of other parts of speech. Commonplace words were selected where possible, as this increased the probability that the informants would be able to supply a translation into Guernesiais, thus successfully providing a token of the target sound. It was not always possible to find commonplace words which definitely included the particular sounds that the researcher wished to elicit, however, and so some risks had to be taken with more unusual items such as 155 - *brin* <sprig> and less obvious words such as the pronoun 78 - *li* <(=S.F. *lui*)>.

Following the seven initial interviews, the word list was evaluated and a number of modifications made (cf. §3.5). A copy of the interview word list in its final form is given in Appendix A.

3.3.4   Socio-biographical information capture

It was necessary to gather certain socio-biographical data from each informant so that the phonological data could be interpreted in context. Accordingly, a data capture sheet was designed for the present study. This was adapted from the questionnaire employed by Simmonds in previous phonological work on the same community (2008: 74), which was itself based on the *fiche signalétique* created by Walter (1982) for use in her work on metropolitan French. The questions were designed to elicit information both about the informants themselves and about their linguistic background, and they are reproduced in full in Appendix B.

The initial questions asked for the biographical information which would allow the researcher to interpret the phonological data gathered in terms of speaker characteristics such as the informants' sex, age and place of origin within the island (cf. §3.2). This information was also crucial in allowing the researcher to determine whether or not a candidate was ultimately suitable for inclusion as an informant according to the criteria outlined in §3.2.2 above, since it was not always possible to establish this in advance. Questions 4 and 5 which followed elicited more specific information about the

informants' social background. The informants' educational history was established, and an idea of their likely socio-demographic progression and status obtained through a description of their former and (if relevant) present occupation(s).

The focus moved away from the informants themselves in Question 6 and Question 7, as the researcher sought information about the backgrounds of the informants' parents. The pilot fieldwork questionnaire had also featured a similar set of questions about the informants' spouse, but it was soon found to be the case that a number of informants had spouses in a poor state of health, or else were recently bereaved; the researcher therefore decided to omit these questions from the present protocol (Simmonds 2008: 84). Question 8, meanwhile, examined the informants' linguistic background, seeking to establish the degree to which they may be considered to have native-speaker status through an inquiry as to the circumstances of their acquisition of Guernesiais, and as to which languages (if any) they speak in addition to Guernesiais and English. This established the strongest likely phonological influences on an informant's individual phonology.

The series of questions pertaining to the informant's background had the potential to be rather dry; to avoid an interrogation, the researcher therefore tried to incorporate these seamlessly into a conversation about the informant's life and past (cf. Tagliamonte 2006: 46).[5] In order to maintain the momentum of the interview, the spoken responses were recorded digitally for later transcription so that the researcher could focus solely on maintaining a conversation with the informant. The researcher was aware that the informants might be reticent to share this type of personal information with a relative stranger, and it was partly for this reason that this element of the interview protocol was administered after the word list task. The researcher hoped that ordering the tasks in this way would help to put informants at their ease, since the conclusion of the more formal word list task marked the transition to a less formal phase of the interview; it was also anticipated that the informant would by now be more accustomed to the presence of the recording device.

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[5] With the exception of Question 1 (sex of informant), which was completed by the researcher post-interview.

3.3.5   Informant self-assessment questionnaire

Since opportunities to document the linguistic behaviour and opinions of Guernesiais speakers decrease with every passing year, the researcher was anxious to take advantage of the fact that the Guernsey 2010 fieldwork would involve engaging with a significant number of these speakers by including a number of behavioural and attitudinal questions in the interview protocol for the study. The overall aim of this phase of the interview was to provide concrete data from which to assess informants' use of Guernesiais today compared with their use of the variety forty years ago, and to obtain informants' instinctive and attitudinal responses to certain language-related issues. The self-assessment task therefore comprised two components: a self-assessment element, which focussed on usage, and a series of attitudinal questions designed to gauge informants' attitudes towards writing the variety.   A copy of the self-assessment questionnaire is included in Appendix C.

The reasons for administering this part of the interview as a written questionnaire were twofold. Firstly, it provided the most efficient means of presenting qualitative questions with scaled answers to the informants. Secondly, it provided variation in the interview: since the informant would already have undertaken a fairly intense oral translation task and been asked to talk about their childhood and background, the researcher calculated that this short exercise would provide a refreshing change of direction and signal an opportunity for the potential opening of further discussion on the issues raised. It was however important that the informants were not made to feel that they were under pressure to produce a vast quantity of writing. By virtue of their age, many Guernesiais speakers have problems with eyesight and motor coordination, and so it was desirable that the quantity of writing demanded be kept to a minimum where possible.

Although anecdotal generalisations are made about the decline in the number of Guernesiais speakers, we noted in §1.4 that no recent statistics for Guernesiais use are available.   Accordingly, the first two questions of the self-assessment task were designed to investigate the matter, using questions adapted loosely from the network strength questionnaires employed by Milroy in her work in the working-class communities of Belfast (1980: 139–143). Question 1(a) features a Likert-type response to ascertain the frequency with which informants employ Guernesiais in their daily lives in the present day, with possible answer values ranging from 0 (not at all) to 5 (daily use

of the variety) (Likert 1932).[6] Questions 1(b) and 1(c), which establish with whom and for which purpose(s) informants now speak Guernesiais, follow the Milroy model more closely (cf. Milroy 1980: 139–143). The informants were given five options for each, based on the types of interlocutor and speech contexts that a modern speaker of Guernesiais is likely to encounter. In these questions, informants are requested to tick all of the criteria that apply to them. Having thus established the informants' current use of the variety, questions 2(a), 2(b) and 2(c) elicit the same information about their linguistic behaviour forty years ago. This provides a point of comparison against which to contextualise findings made about the current vitality of the variety.

Following on from the questions about the informants' usage, the final part of the questionnaire was designed to gauge informants' experience with and receptivity to writing in Guernesiais, and their willingness or hostility towards the eventual development of the variety into a written standard. The earlier questions focussed on the act of writing itself, while the remaining questions were attitudinal, asking informants to consider ideological issues connected with the language standardisation process. The informants' responses to these questions, while not of direct relevance to the phonological element of the present study, are nonetheless valuable in the context of the present revitalisation efforts and debates about the standardisation of the variety (see further in Chapter 7).

The first matter was to establish the contexts (if any) in which informants employ their Guernesiais in the written medium. Questions 3(a) and 3(b), similar in design to those above, were employed for this purpose to gather information about the frequency with which informants write in the variety, as well as the purpose and intended audience of these writing acts. With this information established, Question 4 asked the informants to interpret their Guernesiais translation of five different English items in the written medium.

Having thus focussed the informants' attention on matters of transcription and orthography, the questionnaire proceeded with a number of attitudinal questions which sought to elicit responses that would uncover any ideologically-rooted ideas that the speech community might hold about their indigenous variety. Question 5 asked the

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[6] Questions of this type can be reduced to a tick-box format, which usefully reduces the amount of writing demanded of informants.

informants how they typically decide what the correct spelling of a Guernesiais word might be, while Question 6 encouraged them to consider the likely direction of lexical expansion of the variety. Question 7, meanwhile, asked informants to consider the potentially controversial issue of who ought to be responsible for introducing new lexical items into the variety.

The final question in the Self-Assessment task sought to elicit informants' perceptions of their native variety as it relates to Standard French, the strongest of the variety's closest living relations. Arranged in a Likert-type format, Question 8 asked informants to rate how similar they think Guernesiais is to Metropolitan French using a five-point scale which ranges from 'They are completely different languages' through to 'They are the same language'. The question was deliberately worded in quite loose terms so that the informants were free to interpret the notion of linguistic similarity in their own way; further discussion of the variety often ensued.

3.3.6   Request for a spontaneous item of Guernesiais

Upon completion of the formal part of the protocol, the researcher closed the interviews by requesting a spontaneous item of Guernesiais from the informants. The request was made on a discretionary basis, with the researcher judging whether or not to make the request based on the relative success of the preceding elements of the interview. Though this data was not necessary for the present study, the rare opportunity to gather short examples of spontaneous speech from a large group of Guernesiais speakers was not to be missed.

3.4   RECORDING THE DATA – PRACTICAL AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

3.4.1   Recording equipment

One of the major shortcomings of the *ALF* protocol (and indeed of early dialectological work in general) was that the *enquêteur* was obliged to transcribe the informants' every response by hand. Though Hayes (2009: 62) suggests that this can be a useful way of overcoming the Observer's Paradox in an interview setting, the method is unwieldy if a lengthy word list is involved (cf. Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 23). It is also doubtful as to whether this technique truly puts informants at their ease: though the distraction of

the recording device is removed, live transcription necessarily diverts the researcher's attention away from interaction with the informants. This can prove equally discomfiting, particularly if the informants are aware that the researcher is transcribing their pronunciation. Since there was no possibility of engaging a research assistant to help manage the interviews (cf. Walter 1982), and since the researcher wished to be able to review and revisit the Guernsey 2010 phonological data at a later point in time, it was decided that the interviews would be digitally recorded. This had the further advantage of allowing the researcher to devote her full attention to the informants during the interviews.

When working with phonological data, it is advantageous to obtain the best possible quality recordings possible so that minute acoustic differences are clearly audible to the researcher when they later transcribe the data for analysis. For this reason, it is crucial to select a reliable and sensitive device which is capable of both recording speech and rendering it for storage in a high-quality format. Working in the twenty-first century, we have a distinct advantage over our predecessors in that we now have access to digital recording devices which are considerably smaller and more sensitive than the bulkier analogue tape recorders of three decades ago; unobtrusive recording devices are to be preferred in a field interview setting. The digital recording device ultimately selected for the purposes of the present study was a Roland Edirol R-09HR 24-bit 96kHz wav/mp3 recorder, which can save tracks in a digital .wav format. This is generally recognised to be among the most future-safe means of audio data storage currently available to the researcher, and was thus adopted here.

The researcher aimed where possible to place the recording device out of the informant's direct line of sight on a low table, or next to a pile of books. Where this was not possible, and the recorder remained unavoidably in view, it was observed that the informants tended to be more unsettled. The researcher tried to set an example by ignoring the recording device and maintaining as natural a flow of conversation as possible, emphasising the informal nature of the interview; it was hoped that this, together with the concentration required for the translation-based elicitation task (cf. §3.3.3), would help divert the informants from the presence of the recording device and the formality of the interview setting (cf. Labov 1972: 209).

3.4.2 Fieldwork: ensuring best practice

In order to protect informants, particularly in a case such as that of Guernesiais where, by virtue of their age, the target section of the speech community may be considered vulnerable, care must be taken to ensure that individuals are fully aware of the uses to which their data may be put. In any situation where personal data such as speech and biographical details may be used for analysis purposes, the data should be anonymised. It is also imperative that an informant's consent for recording and the use of their data be obtained. Failure to do so may be considered a breach of moral responsibility on the part of the fieldworker (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 81–83, Tagliamonte 2006: 33).

Accordingly, a consent form was drafted for the Guernsey 2010 informants; a copy of this document appears in Appendix D. The form outlines the context of the study, explains the tasks involved, and gives contact details for the fieldworker and a representative of the University. It was based loosely on the forms administered by Tagliamonte (2006) and by the *Phonologie du Français Contemporain* project team respectively,[7] and was compliant with the University of Exeter's guidelines for ethical research.[8] The document and project proposal were scrutinised and approved by the University Ethics Committee prior to the commencement of the Guernsey 2010 fieldwork expedition.

During the fieldwork interviews, the researcher carried University identification, and took care to ensure that every informant was made aware of the aims and objectives of the project. Written consent for participation was obtained from all participants, and where necessary from other individuals present at the time of an interview whose speech was a significant presence in the recording.

3.4.3 Metadata and data storage

A debrief sheet was filled in for each completed interview (see Appendix E). This document was designed to log metadata for future reference, including information about the way in which the informant was approached, the location and circumstances of the interview, and the nature of the acoustic conditions in which the recording was

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[7] Documents available at http://www.projet-pfc.net/?pfc-rc:outilspfc:docs [Accessed 27 June 2008]
[8] University of Exeter Ethics Policy:
http://www.exeter.ac.uk/media/universityofexeter/corporateresponsibility/pdfs/Ethics_Policy.pdf
[Accessed 21 September 2012]

made. The sheet also logged the order in which the interview tasks proceeded, and included any further relevant comments (for example noting any interruptions to the interview).

In accordance with the principles of the Data Protection Act (1998), the recordings made during the Guernsey 2010 interviews are stored labelled with the date of recording and the interview number rather than informants' personal data.[9] Equally, all paper documents pertaining to the interviews (the self-assessment questionnaires, transcriptions of the biographical information requested at interview, and metadata sheets) are labelled with interview numbers rather than with informants' names (cf. §4.1). Completed interview debrief (metadata) sheets are stored securely along with the written data obtained from the interview. The corpus as a whole is stored securely on locked premises, and data which appears in the present volume of work has been anonymised.

The consent forms for the Guernsey 2010 fieldwork are maintained in a separate storage facility to the recorded data, and are not attached to the written material to which they refer. A separate sheet outlining which data correspond to which particular informant is maintained, and kept in a different location to the remainder of the written material gathered.

3.5   EVALUATION OF THE PROTOCOL

The Guernesiais speech community is small in comparison to the island's overall population, and speakers of the variety can be elusive. The means of sourcing informants for the Guernsey 2010 study was therefore of critical importance (cf. §4.2). The 'friend-of-a-friend' sampling technique adopted, which exploits social network ties, proved invaluable. Though the researcher is native to the island, which conferred her with a certain 'insider' status, this was not always sufficient to ensure cooperation and acceptance of an interview. The more reluctant candidates were usually swayed by the endorsement of an acquaintance they trusted, however; this confirms the value of this sampling technique in fieldwork with small endangered language communities (cf. Jones 2001: 46–7).

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[9] Data Protection Act (1998):
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents [Accessed 21 September 2012]

There were further benefits to the sampling technique employed. Though the researcher was not always able to determine the suitability of a candidate prior to interview, the 'friend-of-a-friend' technique allowed the researcher to benefit from the informants' knowledge of their own speech community as they were better able to suggest individuals who met the requisite criteria. By accessing different social networks, the researcher was able to source informants from different parts of the island. Though the aleatory element of the technique is such that a balanced, stratified sample is not always guaranteed, in practice a balanced sample was achieved with very little active direction from the researcher.

Once the initial batch of seven interviews had been conducted, the researcher evaluated the performance of the interview protocol thus far and made some minor adjustments to the word list (cf. Appendix A). Certain items were removed from the list altogether (items 118, 146, 147, 184), while a number of items were consolidated to avoid repetition of a similar item elsewhere in the list (for example in item 50, the masculine and feminine of <black> were grouped together as one item). Some cue words also had to be altered when it was discovered that they were consistently eliciting alternatives to the desired item (for example 135 - <badly> replaced <bad> as the latter was eliciting the adjective *mauvais* and not the noun/adverb *mal*). Finally, a number of items were added to list to provide additional data for certain features: 205 - *kerouaix* <cross>; 206 - *nu/nue* (m and f) <naked>, 207 - *rouoge*, *rouge* (m and f) <red>, 208 – *bllu/bllue* (m and f) <blue>.

The items in the word list were all chosen as they were relatively commonplace, and the researcher anticipated that they would be readily known by the informants. This was not necessarily the case, however. The semi-speaker status of some of the informants was such that certain individuals simply did not know the Guernesiais for certain words. In other cases, fluent speakers circumvented translation difficulties by paraphrasing (for example *p'tite berbis* <little sheep> for 51 – *agné* (m)<lamb>), or by providing a parallel term (for example *djeret* for 5 - *gàmbe* (f) <leg>); while semantically correct, these responses unfortunately did not furnish the required phonological data.

Particular difficulty was encountered with the elicitation of verb forms, and of the more abstract parts of speech. Since the informants have never had cause to study their indigenous tongue formally, most are completely unused to applying grammatical notions such as person, number and tense to their productive use of Guernesiais — and this without factoring in further complicating factors such as the system of *tutoiement/vouvoiement*. While the informants are not unaware of these concepts, and indeed appear able to manipulate them successfully in conversation, they are not able to produce specific elements of grammatical constructions in isolation on demand. While the Guernsey 2010 data yielded sufficient tokens of the items concerned to permit analysis, the researcher concluded that verb forms and other abstract parts of speech would be better elicited in future as part of a complete sentence, or during the flow of natural speech.

The time taken to complete the word list task varied from speaker to speaker; while some individuals were able to provide most or all of the translations requested in around ten minutes, others took considerably longer; this was beyond the researcher's direct control. The researcher noted at the time of the interviews that the recall-based nature of the word list task was not necessarily suited to more elderly informants, as is the case with the Guernsey 2010 sample, since natural ageing processes can make this type of exercise more challenging than it would be for younger speakers. The researcher did not feel that this adversely affected the Guernsey 2010 data, however, although in future work with this speech community the elicitation of items in context might be a useful way to reduce the likelihood of this becoming a problem.

In the event that an informant was physically unable to complete the questionnaire, owing to either motor problems or poor eyesight, the researcher was able to read the questions to the informant and transcribe their responses later from the recording. Most of the informants were happy to participate in the questionnaire activity, and when handed the clipboard found ticking multiple-choice boxes and supplying short answers to questions concerning language to be an enjoyable experience. It became clear during the course of the interviews that a small number of informants were acutely embarrassed when faced with writing (and in some cases reading), however, perhaps because they had had little cause to write in daily life since leaving school in their early teens (cf. §4.2.6). This was an issue that the researcher had not foreseen, and — since it was not possible to identify those informants who would experience such difficulties

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prior to administering the task — one for which there was no immediate remedy. At the time of interview, the researcher managed the situation by downplaying the importance of the questionnaire, and by not pressing the informants concerned to finish. In future work, however, the means by which attitudinal questions are presented to informants will be reviewed: unless the data specifically relies upon the informant producing written forms, working cue questions into the natural course of discussion is to be preferred; this technique proved particularly successful in eliciting the biographical information required of the informants.

Though some small adjustments were made to the elicitation tools during the course of the fieldwork expedition, no major problems were encountered; the interviews resulted in a substantial body of recorded material which was of suitable quality for phonological work, and this was supplemented with a useful bank of biographical and attitudinal data.

3.6   CONCLUSION

The Guernsey 2010 study focuses on the speech of native speaker informants of Guernesiais, who were recruited by means of the 'friend-of-a-friend' sampling technique. The interview protocol was created with the characteristics of the Guernesiais speaker population very much in mind. Since speakers typically have low functional literacy in the variety, the data elicitation tasks were to be orally administered where possible, with only a short written component; English was decided upon as the working language of the interview. The final protocol consisted of a translation-based word list task, a series of socio-biographical data capture questions, a short written questionnaire (which comprised a series of behavioural self-assessment questions, a writing task and several questions which elicited attitudinal responses), and a discretional request for a spontaneous item of spoken Guernesiais. The informants' oral responses were recorded by digital means for later transcription.

The protocol was successfully administered to 54 Guernesiais speakers in 43 separate interviews which were conducted during a fieldwork expedition held between July and September 2010. The resultant bank of data, which includes the written questionnaire responses as well as 40 hours of audio material, forms the Guernsey 2010 corpus. This

corpus represents both a valuable document of Guernesiais pronunciation today, and a significant collection of social information on speakers of this vanishing variety. The present study considers only those elements of the data which respond to the research hypothesis outlined in §1.1; the additional data gathered has excellent potential as a resource for future research (see further in §7.5).

The Guernsey 2010 data was subjected to both qualitative and quantitative analyses, the results of which are presented in the chapters which follow. Chapter 4 describes the informants' socio-biographical background in greater detail, with the speakers' changing patterns of Guernesiais use assessed by means of the self-reported data gathered in the written questionnaire. Chapters 5 and 6, meanwhile, are concerned with the phonological data obtained from the translation-based word list task.

4

THE GUERNSEY 2010 INFORMANTS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the first of the secondary themes outlined in §1.2, namely the modern native-speaker community. It examines the socio-biographical backgrounds of the individuals who contributed data to the Guernsey 2010 Corpus, together with an overview of their responses to the behavioural and attitudinal self-assessment questionnaire. 43 interviews were conducted during the Guernsey 2010 fieldwork period (cf. §4.4 ff.), with responses gathered from a total of 54 informants: 30 male and 24 female. According to the decade-old census figures, which put the total number of fluent, Guernsey-born Guernesiais speakers at 1, 262, the informants interviewed constitute some 4% of the total speaker population (States of Guernsey Advisory and Finance Committee 2001: 61). Considering the decline in adult native speaker numbers which will have occurred since the 2001 census information was gathered, and particularly given the demographic inhabited by Guernesiais speakers, this proportion will be much greater in today's terms. This compares very favourably with the sample sizes advocated for this type of research: Milroy & Gordon suggest a 1% sample as a guideline base figure for most socio-scientific studies, although they point out that many linguistic surveys operate successfully on considerably lower figures (2003: 28).

The sampling technique employed was successful in sourcing suitable informants, but it was not always possible to determine the precise social characteristics of each informant in advance (cf. §3.2.3). Upon initial analysis of the informants' socio-biographical profiles post-interview, it was discovered that five of these individuals did not meet the essential sampling criteria established in §4.2. For this reason, the data presented in this chapter is drawn from the responses of the 49 informants who constituted the main Guernsey 2010 sample group.

In §4.2, a profile of the modern Guernesiais native speaker is established through examination of the informants' responses to the socio-biographical questions asked during the interview. Current patterns of Guernesiais use are identified in §4.3 through analysis of the informants' responses to the behavioural questions in the self-assessment

questionnaire. Elements of the final part of the questionnaire, concerning attitudes of the Guernsey 2010 informants toward a number of language planning and revitalisation issues, will be considered later in Chapter 7.

4.2   SOCIO-BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

4.2.1   Introduction

Socio-biographical information was elicited from the informants by a series of questions worked into general conversation during the interviews (cf. §4.3.4). While some informants were not particularly forthcoming, others were more so: the researcher was privileged to be told a number of highly evocative stories of the informants' youth in Guernsey, particularly with respect to the Occupation years and their early careers on the island. In a number of cases, informants' catalogues of where they had lived were quite complex, particularly during the war years. Their schooling, too, had sometimes been affected: the mass evacuation of schoolchildren and the German occupying forces' progressive requisitioning of the school buildings meant that those children remaining in the various parts of the island were often mixed together, and the schools (such as they were) were obliged to move frequently.

What is particularly striking about the data below, however, is the homogeneousness of the Guernesiais speakers with regard to social background. Though individual circumstances have altered the socio-economic trajectory of certain speakers over their lifetimes, a number of broad trends are evident across the sample as a whole. These will be examined in the section which follows.

For the purposes of certain analyses, Guernsey's ten parishes have been divided into three principal sub-dialect areas which group together parishes sharing similar socio-cultural and linguistic characteristics (see Map 5-1). These groupings were established with reference to the impressionistic historical dialect map in Lukis (1981), and following initial analysis of the Guernsey 2010 phonological data. (cf. §1.1). The Vale and St Sampson's in the north of the island, where the Guernesiais spoken is popularly regarded as being most similar to Standard French, were grouped together as the Low Parishes. St Pierre du Bois and Torteval in the south-west, meanwhile, which feature a contrasting set of sub-dialectal features, were considered in one unit as the High

Parishes. The intervening Central parishes, including Castel, St Saviour's, St Andrew's, Forest and St Martin's, form a transition zone between the two.[1]
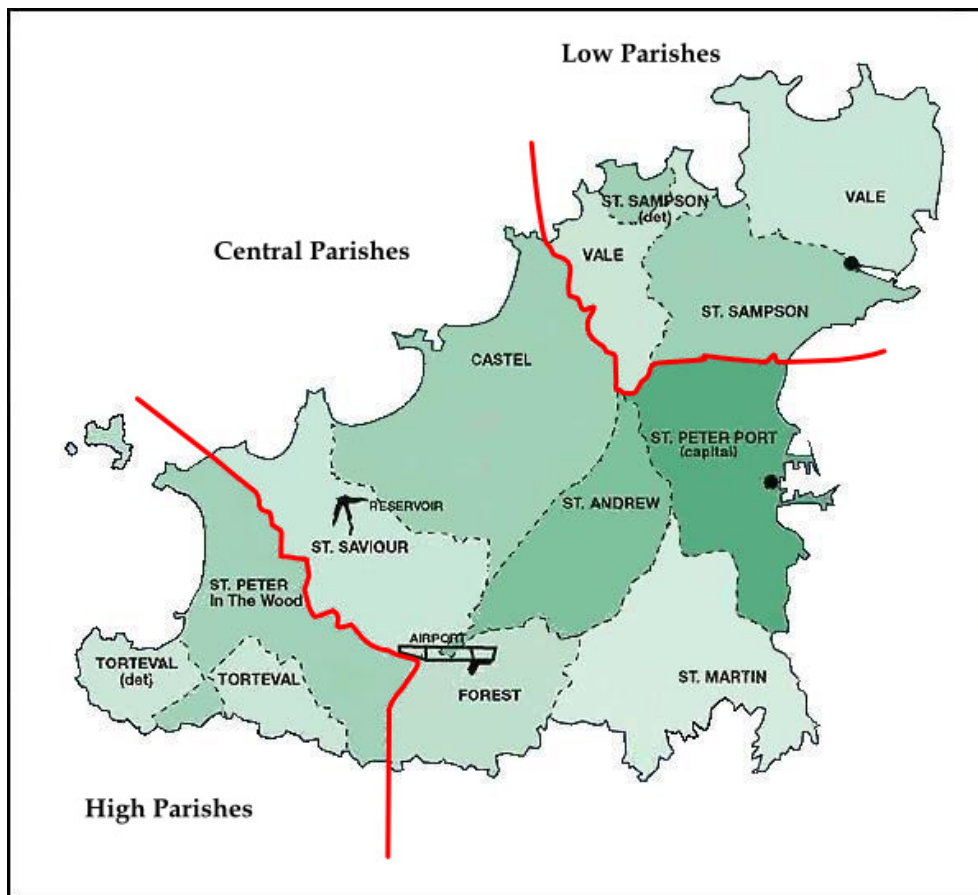
Map 4-1. Guernsey 2010 analysis: sub-dialect areas of Guernsey.

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[1] The capitalisation of 'Low Parishes', 'Central Parishes' and 'High Parishes' will hereafter serve to designate the *parler* 'zones' assumed for the purposes of this study, as distinct from the low, central and high parishes of general reference.

4.2.2   Sex and speaker age

The aleatory nature of the sampling technique employed in the present study is evidenced in the gender balance of the main sample group, which featured 28 males and 21 females (Figure 4-1).
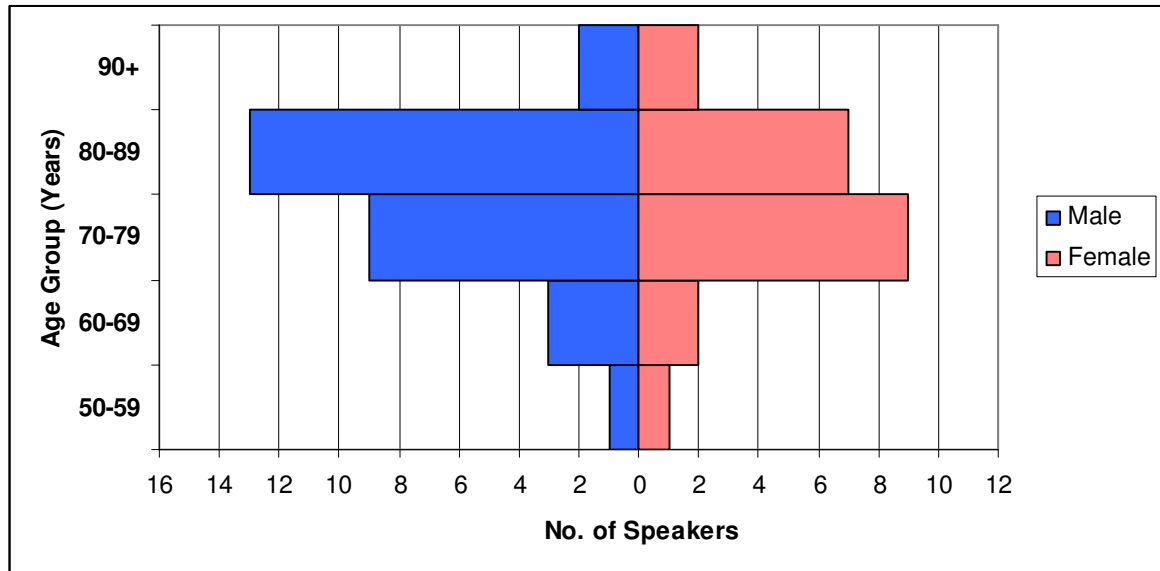
Figure 4–1. Distribution of the Guernsey 2010 informants by sex and age.

This distribution runs counter to the expected proportion of males and females, as projected from the 2001 Census data (see Table 4-1 below); the accompanying report noted that 'females continue to outnumber males', further observing that this distribution was 'almost entirely due to females living longer than males' (States of Guernsey Advisory and Finance Committee 2001: 16). The reversal of proportions in the Guernsey 2010 main sample group may instead reflect the greater readiness with which male speakers will use highly localised forms to speakers outside their immediate social network.

Table 4-1. Distribution of Males and Females by Age in the (total) population of Guernsey, 2001 Census.[2]

Age range[3]	Numbers			Percentage	
	Male	**Female**	**Total**	**Male %**	**Female %**
40-49	4,254	4,280	8,534	49.8%	50.2%
50-59	3,959	3,952	7,911	50.0%	50.0%
60-69	2,796	2,848	5,644	49.5%	50.5%
70-79	1,848	2,421	4,269	43.3%	56.7%
80+	824	1,682	2,506	32.9%	67.1%

The predictions made in §3.2.5 about the age distribution of informants were borne out in the composition of the final sample. The eldest informants interviewed were 96 at the time of interview, with the youngest members of the sample group aged 59.[4] The mean and median ages of the informants interviewed were 79, with the mode age a little higher at 82. This is consistent with the findings of the 2001 census concerning the average age of the fluent Guernesiais-speaking population (70% of fluent speakers were over the age of 64 at the time of the census in 2001) (States of Guernsey Advisory and Finance Committee 2001: 61).

Examination of the distribution of the Guernsey 2010 informants across the 37-year age range encountered reveals a swell in the frequency of informants clustered between 74 and 89 (see Figure 4-2 below). This swell in speaker numbers occurs earlier in Guernsey's demographic than the 'baby boom' described by the 2001 Census report, which began in 1947, instead concerning individuals born between 1921 and 1936 (States of Guernsey Advisory and Finance Committee 2001: 13). This inter-war swell is significant in that it represents the last substantial generation of bilingual Guernesiais speakers to be born on the island.

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[2] Excerpt of 'Table 2.5 – Male and Female Distribution in the 2001 Census', States of Guernsey (2001: 16).

[3] Allow for the age of the census data when comparing the Guernsey 2010 sample with the figures above; total population figures for 2010 will differ due to natural population decline.

[4] The youngest person to be interviewed overall was 48, although this speaker was discounted from the main informant sample as she did not meet the essential sampling criteria.
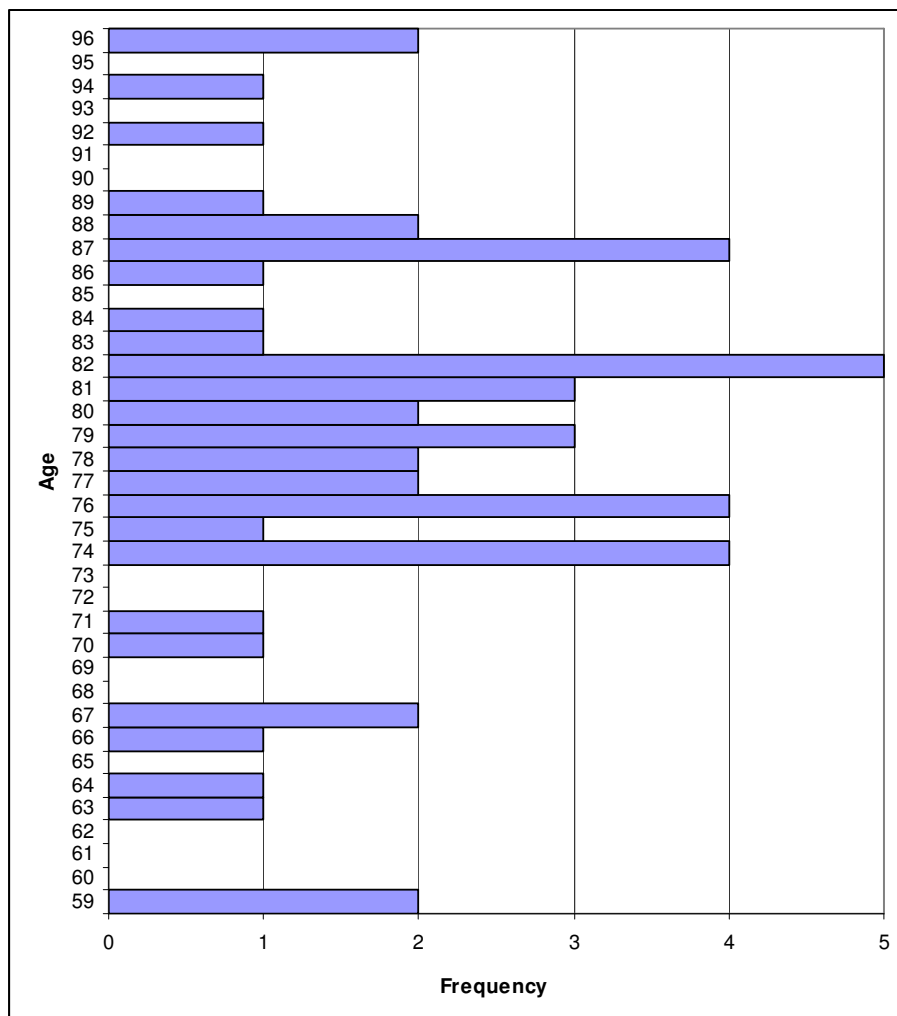
Figure 4–2. Profile of the Guernsey 2010 informants by age.

Those informants born before the swell, during the years of the 1914-18 war, are the closest contact we have with the nineteenth century monolingual Guernesiais generations known to Métivier (1870) and Lewis (1895). Though English had already begun to spread through Guernsey by this time, most local families were still using Guernesiais as their primary language of communication (cf. §1.3). The generation of Guernesiais speakers born in the early years of the twentieth century therefore grew up with a strong background in the language, and they transmitted this accordingly to their offspring.

During the inter-war years, however, island life was beginning to change. Guernsey's contact with the UK mainland was increasing, most individuals now remained in compulsory English-language education until the age of 13, and the ability to speak English was becoming ever more important in the world of employment. Those individuals born into this period typically acquired English at school, and may well

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have gone on to use it regularly in more formal spheres. Guernesiais nonetheless persisted in domestic and social settings, and use of the variety would have been reinforced by contact with older (often monolingual) family members as well as an individual's peers. The swell in the number of Guernsey 2010 speakers born around this time represents the pivotal generation who experienced the latter stages of this relatively stable period of bilingualism, but who ultimately chose not to pass the language on.

As island society set about rebuilding itself after the Occupation, a significant shift in attitudes towards Guernesiais occurred (cf. §1.3). The social stigma carried by use of Guernesiais was such that many Guernesiais-speaking parents simply didn't transmit the variety to their offspring. School children often stopped speaking Guernesiais outside the family setting, owing to the ridicule of their peers. Overall, the number of new Guernesiais speakers dropped dramatically: only those individuals with a strong family background in the variety acquired it as a matter of course. This explains in part the lower numbers of younger speakers encountered in the Guernsey 2010 data; a further consideration is that many of the younger Guernesiais speakers who experienced linguistic prejudice have become 'latent' bilinguals, unwilling to admit to knowledge of the variety.

For the purposes of analysis, it is difficult to impose a meaningful system of age grouping upon the Guernsey 2010 informants. Though the Occupation serves as a landmark event in the island's recent history, and certainly marks a shift in opinions of the variety, it would be difficult to divide the speakers using this reference point as individuals' experiences of the period are varied. From a linguistic point of view, little really changed for those speakers who had reached adulthood and had already established their use of the variety; the experiences of evacuees versus non-evacuees, meanwhile, were evidently very different. Since there is no altogether satisfactory solution to the problem, the Guernsey 2010 informants have been considered hereafter in decade age groupings (as per the 2001 Census) for the purposes of age-related analysis (States of Guernsey Advisory and Finance Committee 2001).

4.2.3   Parish of origin and degree of mobility within the island

All the informants were born in Guernsey to parents who had themselves been born on the island. They are thus all at least second-generation islanders, with a number of individuals claiming that they had managed to trace their Guernsey ancestry back several centuries. We observed earlier that previous generations rarely moved far from their parish of origin, often growing up, marrying and living out their days within a mile or so of where they were born. In Table 4-2, we can see evidence that this had begun to change by the beginning of the twentieth century.

Table 4-2. Place of origin of the Guernsey 2010 informants' parents (98 individuals).

Both parents from same parish	Parents from different parishes [Parishes share a border]	Parents from different parishes [Parishes do not share a border]	Insufficient information
11	17	10	11

Eleven of the Guernsey 2010 informants reported that their parents had married within their home parish, remaining true to the traditional pattern. A further 17 informants had parents who came from adjoining parishes.   While this could suggest increasing mobility within the island, it should be borne in mind that a number of the island's population centres lie within close proximity of each other, despite belonging nominally and administratively to different parishes. More interesting, however, is the number of informants whose parents were not from adjoining parishes: whereas a century earlier this was a rarity, this state of affairs was the case for the parents of no fewer than ten of the Guernsey 2010 informants — a little over 20%.

For the purposes of the present study, the 'parish of origin' of each informant was determined. Their parish of origin was not necessarily the parish in which they had been born, as this in itself is no indication of the phonological features an individual will acquire in later life. Instead, the researcher operationalised the theory of 'critical age', which for the present study was taken to be 14, the earliest age at which individuals were permitted to conclude their schooling (cf. Lenneberg 1964). The researcher sought to determine the parish in which the informant spent the majority of his or her formative, language-learning years by interpreting the informants' self-reported responses to Questions 3 and 4 of the self-assessment questionnaire

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(cf. Appendix C). Though the type of Guernesiais spoken by an informant's parents undoubtedly influenced an individual's idiolect, the researcher felt that the prevailing variety among the informant's school peers would have exerted a more powerful normative influence upon their speech as they grew up and socialised with other Guernesiais speakers from that area.

Table 4-3. Parish of origin of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants.

Area	Parish	No. of informants		
		Male	Female	Total
Low Parishes	Vale	3	4	7
	St Sampson's	1	1	2
Central Parishes	Castel	5	3	8
	St Saviour's	7	2	9
	St Andrew's	0	2	2
	Forest	2	1	3
	St Martin's	0	1	1
High Parishes	St Pierre du Bois	5	3	8
	Torteval	5	4	9

Table 4-3 indicates the parishes of origin of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants. The greatest concentrations of informants are to be found from the parishes along the island's west coast: the Vale, to the north; Castel and St Saviour's, and St Pierre du Bois and Torteval in the south west.[5] It is perhaps no coincidence that these parishes lie furthest from the island's capital, St Peter Port, and were thus slower to fall prey to the spread of English, introduced to the Town and St Martin's by wealthy incomers and to the northern parishes by migrant workers during the nineteenth century (cf. §1.3).

It may be noted that the number of Guernsey 2010 informants hailing from St Pierre du Bois and Torteval nearly equals the number of informants from the five Central Parishes combined; the island's south-west has a reputation as a stronghold for the variety,

[5] Though a small, detached area of St Sampson's (a former feudal holding) also lies on the west coast, the main body of the parish — including the parish church — in fact lies on the island's east coast, just north of St Peter Port.

doubtless bolstered by the dense social networks of the farming communities in these rural parishes. The concentration of Guernesiais speakers in this area becomes all the more apparent if we plot the informants' place of origin within the island graphically, as in Map 4-2. While the general inclination of informants towards the west coast may plainly be seen, there is a particular clustering of informants in the south-western corner of the island, corresponding with the parish centres of Torteval and St Pierre du Bois. A centuries-old feudal quirk means that the two parishes are divided into two separate geographical areas each, and effectively cross over each other. Central resources for both parishes lie near the intersection of the two parishes, however, and the two parish churches (together with their former parish schools) lie less than 2km apart. This geographical cohesion is likely to have had a strengthening effect on the very concentrated social networks in this area, with the attendant implications for the continued maintenance of Guernesiais.
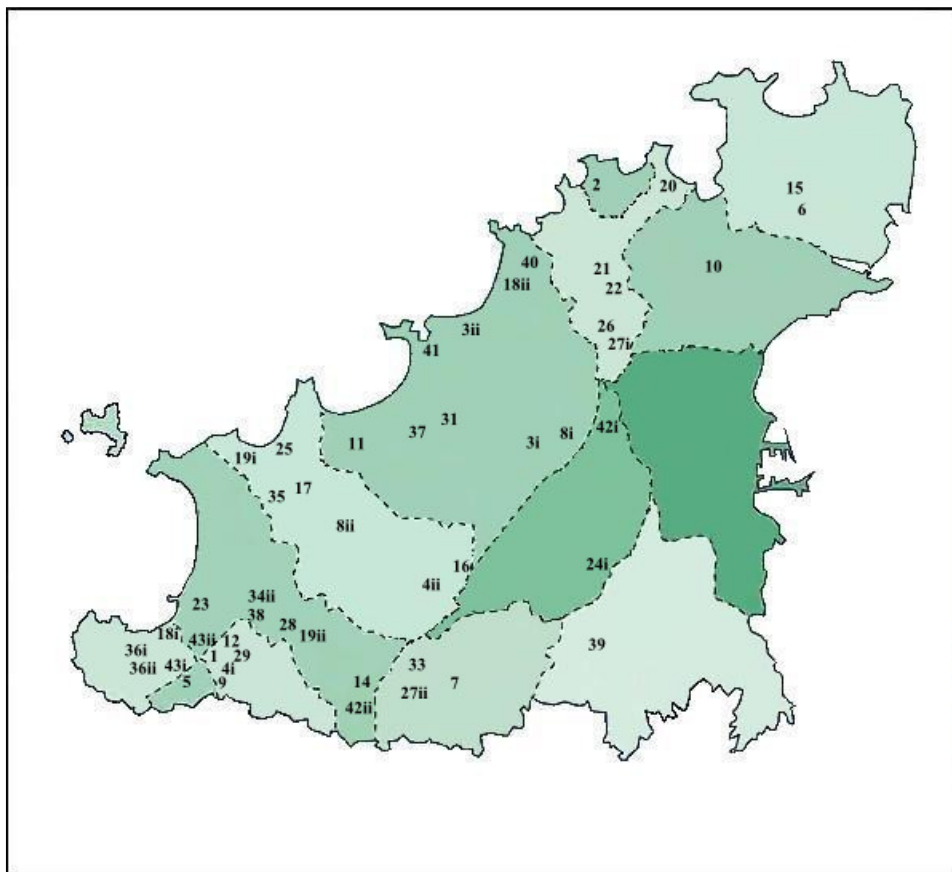
Map 4-2. Place of origin of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants.

It would appear that the trend for increasing mobility within the island has carried forward into the present generation of Guernesiais native speakers (see Table 4-4). A number of the Guernsey 2010 informants nonetheless continue to demonstrate the traditional pattern of parish residency. 17 individuals reported that they have remained

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in their home parish throughout their lifetimes; indeed, three of the informants revealed that they have always lived within a hundred yards of the house in which they were born! A further five reported that, though they have moved out of their home parish at some point during their lives, they have always remained within the same area of the island.

Table 4-4. Relative mobility of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants.[6]

Degree of mobility within island across informant's lifetime		No. of informants
Non-mobile	Has remained in home parish	17
	Has moved out of home parish, but remained in same area of island (e.g. Low Parishes)[7]	5
	Has moved out of home parish/area, but has spent a significant period of time (20–30 years) settled in a particular place	26
Mobile	Has not remained in home parish/area, and has moved regularly within the island	1

For the remaining Guernsey 2010 speakers, however, this has not been the case; these individuals have spent an extended period living in a completely different part of the island to their home parish (cf. Map 4-3). This is typically linked to marriage. Although no specific data was gathered about the parish of origin of the informants' spouses, many of the informants volunteered that they had moved away from their home parish when they got married, perhaps spending two or three years in one part of the island before finally settling in another.[8] Since the Guernsey 2010 sample group comprised a number of married couples, it is possible to confirm that the informants' choice of 'married' parish was often influenced by their spouse's parish of origin. Though some individuals continue to live in the home they bought or built when they

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[6] It should be noted that the classification above disregards moves made during 1940-45: the occupying forces requisitioned many domestic properties in addition to public buildings, and islanders had no choice but to comply. One informant reported that her family moved seven times over a two-year period in order to satisfy their demands.

[7] cf. §4.2.3 above.

[8] Although a series of questions on this topic were presented to informants during an earlier pilot study, the researcher found that this had the potential to cause distress, particularly in cases where a recent bereavement had occurred (see Simmonds 2008). For this reason, questions pertaining to informants' spouses were deliberately excluded from the interview protocol.

first married, many of the informants moved again after around 20–30 years, perhaps as a result of changing family situations. A further flurry of moves has taken place during the past 10–20 years, perhaps occasioned by retirement or bereavement. Though the Guernsey 2010 informants therefore display greater mobility within the island than the previous generation, they nonetheless display similar behaviour in adhering to a fixed migration pattern. Only one of the remaining Guernsey 2010 informants deviated from this pattern, having never settled in one place for longer than ten years.
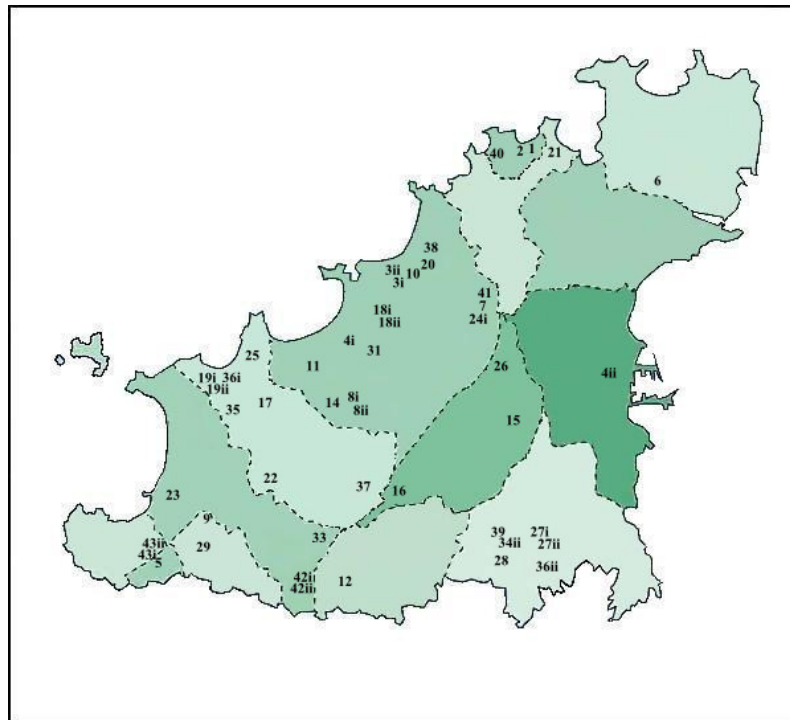
Map 4-3. Present location of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants.

4.2.4   Evacuation

Though the Occupation of Guernsey disrupted island life profoundly, it was ultimately the decision to evacuate a sizeable proportion of the island's population that proved the critical factor in disrupting the chain of language transmission for Guernesiais. Of the 23,000 people (over half of Guernsey's population) evacuated in 1940, the majority were women and children (Marr 2001: 289). Though it was inevitable that the use of English would increase throughout the twentieth century as the island became more outward-looking, it is unlikely that opinion would have shifted so seismically against the use of Guernesiais had such a significant proportion of the population not spent these critical years away from the island.

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Table 4-5. Number of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants who were evacuated from the island during 1940–45.

	No. of informants
Evacuated	10
Remained on the island	32
Born since the evacuation	7

The effect might have been lessened had the Guernesiais-speaking diaspora remained in close contact during the War; unfortunately, owing to the numbers that needed to be accommodated, the evacuees were scattered across the north of England and beyond. The ten Guernsey 2010 informants who were evacuated spent the war years in locations as diverse as Oldham, Bradford, Cheshire and Glasgow. Most of the Guernsey 2010 informants who had been born by the outbreak of war spent the Occupation years on the island, however, continuing to use Guernesiais in daily life as a useful means of encrypting communication from listening German ears (see Table 4-5).

Both evacuees and non-evacuees reported that tensions arose when the evacuees were repatriated in 1945. The evacuees found it difficult to settle back into their old lives; those that had remained behind were often mocked by children who had spent nearly five formative years with little or no knowledge of the variety, or adults who compared Guernsey life unfavourably to the faster pace of living in the UK. The fact that all of the Guernsey 2010 informants continue to use and relate to Guernesiais in some capacity suggests that these tensions did not always lead to abandonment of the variety. It is worth noting, however, that these informants have strong family and social links with Guernesiais (cf. §4.2.5 and §4.3.3), connections with the island's traditional occupations (cf. §4.2.6), and have in a number of cases married other Guernesiais speakers. These factors will have given the informants greater confidence in their sense of self-identity as Guernesiais speakers, and therefore greater ability to withstand social prejudice. In contrast, the variety was often abandoned by those speakers whose families lived in parishes where English had already gained a strong foothold, who

sought clerical work or other such 'prestige' employment where a command of English was necessary, or who married a non-Guernesiais speaker.[9]

4.2.5   Language acquisition

That the Guernsey 2010 informants continue to maintain competence in their indigenous variety despite a catalogue of adverse factors indicates that their foundations in the variety must be very firm indeed. It is therefore no surprise to discover that the 49 individuals have a critical characteristic in common: a strong family background in Guernesiais. 47 of the 48 informants who supplied information about their parents' language use reported that both of their parents spoke Guernesiais, and so it is safe to assume that the variety would have been spoken regularly in the family home. The remaining informant's father did not speak Guernesiais, but only English and French. He appears to have developed a passive understanding of the variety, however, and Guernesiais was nonetheless used as a means of communication in their household: the informant (39) reported that her father would address her mother in French, while she would reply in Guernesiais.

The Guernsey 2010 informants' reports of their parents' language use afford us a fascinating glimpse of the shifting language landscape of a previous generation. The parents of the eldest of the Guernsey 2010 informants were alive and well during the latter decades of the nineteenth century, and their generation spans forward into the inter-war years.   While the Guernsey 2010 informants all became bilingual in Guernesiais and English early on in their lives, principally as a result of compulsory anglophone schooling, this was not necessarily the case for their parents. They were born into the island at a time where education, though desirable, came second to more pressing economic concerns. In most cases, schooling was designed merely to equip a child with the rudiments of reading and writing before they began an apprenticeship in one of the island's traditional industries. Furthermore, the Guernsey 2010 informants' parents grew up in direct contact with the generations modern Guernesiais speakers refer to reverently as 'the old people' — the nineteenth-century Guernesiais speakers who knew the island when English was still a minority language.

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[9] Though we may have very different ideas as to the nature of 'prestige employment' today, in post-war Guernsey clerical work represented a move away from the demanding physical labour of agriculture and horticulture, for example, and it therefore conferred a certain degree of social status. For further discussion of the occupations held by the Guernsey 2010 informants, see §4.2.5.

Table 4-6. Languages spoken by the parents of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants.[10]

Languages spoken	Father	Mother	Total
Guernesiais	1	1	2
Guernesiais and some English	1	3	4
Guernesiais and English	13	15	28
Guernesiais and some French	0	2	2
Guernesiais and French	3	1	4
Guernesiais, some English and some French	3	4	7
Guernesiais, English and some French	11	10	21
Guernesiais, some English and French	2	2	4
Guernesiais, English and French	13	1	14
English and French	1	0	1
Information not given	1	1	2

As may be seen from Table 4-6, the combinations of languages spoken by the Guernsey 2010 informants' parents varied. Though it had not been the researcher's intention to differentiate between levels of proficiency in English and French, the informants were unexpectedly specific about their parents' language abilities at interview. This extra layer of information allows us to sketch a more detailed portrait of the linguistic situation in turn-of-the-century Guernsey. The resultant picture is very much one of a speech community in transition, with the move from French to English playing out against the backdrop of the island's indigenous tongue.

While one informant's parents spoke only Guernesiais (22), all the other Guernesiais-speaking parents had some competency in at least one other variety. Though six individuals were reported as having only limited proficiency in one other language (four in English, two in French), more substantial second language ability seems to have been

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[10] The Occupation was not without linguistic consequence for the informants' parents, and four parents (one male, three female) were further reported as having acquired some ability in German during this period.

the norm: while individuals may not have possessed both varieties fluently, 72 of the 98 parents were at least conversant in their additional language.

Among the Guernsey 2010 informants' parents, English had already gained the upper hand over French. The figures speak for themselves: while six of the parents spoke only French in addition to Guernesiais (two at a basic level, and four at least to conversational standard), 32 of the parents spoke only English in addition to Guernesiais (four at a basic level and 28 at least to conversational standard). While four of the parents spoke Guernesiais and French, as of old, and had acquired limited ability in English as a third language, it was by now more common for a speaker to be competent in Guernesiais and English and to only have a rudimentary knowledge of French; this was the case for 21 individuals. A number of the Guernsey 2010 informants' parents were also reported as spanning the two additional-language groups; while seven of the parents were described as having limited competency in both French and English, a further fourteen were conversant in both languages in addition to Guernesiais.

The differences in the number of male and female Guernesiais speakers of this generation possessing the ability to speak English are slight, with 28 female speakers to 24 males. This does not support traditional theories about female-led language shift (cf. Gal 1979). The greatest difference in numbers between male and female speakers is in fact to be found among those speakers who were reported as having proficiency in all three languages: 13 males were conversant in both French and English in addition to Guernesiais, but just one female was reported as commanding all three varieties to this level.

Given this strong background in the variety, it is little surprise that all but one of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants acquired Guernesiais in infancy (see Table 4-7 below). While 43 of the 49 informants were raised speaking Guernesiais exclusively, and described not being able to speak a word of English upon their arrival at school, five informants had a bilingual upbringing in Guernesiais and English. One informant's parents had taken particular care to speak English as well as Guernesiais to their child to ease her transition into schooling, but since many *patoisant* children started school with a group of their Guernesiais-speaking peers, most parents do not seem to have found this necessary. In other cases, this dual-language upbringing was due to one of the

informants' parents not speaking Guernesiais; one informant reported that he had spent his early years an evacuee in West Yorkshire, but had acquired Guernesiais alongside English through contact with his parents. Just one of the Guernsey 2010 informants grew up with English as her primary language of communication. This informant (02), tellingly from the heavily anglicised north of the island, acquired Guernesiais during early childhood through hearing her parents and elderly family members speaking the variety between themselves.

Table 4-7. First language acquisition among the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants.

First language spoken	No. of informants
Guernesiais	43
Bilingual Guernesiais/English	5
English	1

Many of the Guernsey 2010 informants described how, despite being initially disadvantaged at school by their lack of English, they soon rallied and overtook their exclusively anglophone classmates in French lessons. Almost all recounted fondly how French had come very easily to them when they had learned the variety at school, although one individual did mention that their teachers had to remind him frequently not to use idiomatic Guernesiais expressions in his compositions.

Table 4-8. Additional languages spoken by the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants.

Additional language spoken	No. of informants
French	30
German	4
Italian	1

As may be seen in Table 4-8 above, many of the informants reported that they continue to possess a command of French. While 15 of the informants would only own to

knowing a smattering of the language, a further 15 were confident enough to declare that they were reasonably proficient. The relationship between Guernsey and the French mainland intrigues many of the informants, and the more confident Guernesiais speakers enjoy trying to communicate with their mainland French counterparts. A number of informants described episodes where they had tried to use their Guernesiais, along with rudimentary knowledge of Standard French, to communicate while on holiday in France. This has met with varied results: while one informant spoke of a pleasant afternoon spent in Normandy making new French friends, another described in bewilderment how he had done his best to explain something in perfectly plain Guernesiais to a Breton *pâtissier* he had encountered, only to be met with an utterly blank look of incomprehension.

For fairly obvious reasons few of the Guernesey 2010 informants reported speaking German as an additional language, despite the fact that many were obliged to learn the language at school. One informant has begun to learn Italian, however; it may be conjectured that a command of Guernesiais grammar proves useful in this endeavour.

4.2.6 Education and occupations

During the first half of the twentieth century, education in Guernsey followed a three-channel system. The basis of the system was compulsory primary education in English, which had been introduced into the island in 1900 and was delivered principally through the parish schools which were scattered throughout the island (Sallabank 2002: 220). Children typically began attending at the age of five, with monolingual Guernesiais speakers soon acquiring English alongside their foundation education. Many individuals remained at the parish schools for the duration of their schooling, leaving as soon as they were permitted upon reaching their fourteenth birthday.

This was not the only route through education on the island, however. Academically promising youngsters were given the opportunity to transfer at the age of 11 to either the Boys' or Girls' Intermediate Schools, which offered better preparation for clerical work. This typically extended their studies by a year, the usual leaving age being 15. It was also possible to attend one of the island's private colleges, either by subscription or by scholarship. As the nearest equivalent to the English public schools, the colleges carried a certain social cachet on the island; many aspiring Guernesiais families sent their children there to receive a rigorous education and to mix with English-speaking

children, the better to form advantageous social connections which might serve in later life. Pupils at the colleges typically ended their schooling at 17, a full three years later than their peers at the parish schools.

In the late 1950s, the States of Guernsey made the decision to follow UK policy in adopting the system of secondary modern schools, which in Guernsey were to provide post-11 education in place of the parish schools. The first of these, Les Beaucamps Secondary School, was opened in 1959.[11] Only three of the Guernsey 2010 informants are young enough to have experienced this schooling system, which is why the number of informants who reported attending one of the parish schools for their entire education is significantly higher.

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[11] See history of Les Beaucamps School, given at
http://www.lesbeaucampshigh.sch.gg/teachingvacancies/detailsforapps.htm [Accessed 23 May 2012]

Table 4-9. Education and occupations of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants.

Type of schooling	No. of informants	Occupations of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants		Occupations of informants' parents	
		Male	**Female**	**Father**	**Mother**
Parish School Typical leaving age 14	**22** (12 male, 10 female)	Grower Farmer Builder Carpenter/painter Stonemason Baker Driver (lorry/tanker, bus, delivery) Shop assistant Civil Service Engineer Insurance broker Banker	Farmhand Housewife Childcare Nursing Carer Domestic work Hospitality Shop assistant Museum Service Telephonist Piano teacher	Grower Farmer Fisherman Builder Labourer Carpentry Milkman Driver (lorry, delivery) Road sweeper Piece work[12]	Grower Farmhand Housewife Domestic service Dressmaker/seamstress Piano teacher Piece work
Intermediate School[13] Typical leaving age 15	**15** (7 male, 8 female)	Grower Farmer Gardener Storeman Baker Grocer Butcher Salesman Motor Trade Pall-bearer Controller for Fire Brigade Admin Douzainier	Grower Farmhand Housewife Nursing Carer Domestic work Hospitality Waitress Dressmaker Upholstery Shop assistant Cashier Telegraphist Civil Service Admin Banking Museum Service	Grower Services to growing industry (e.g. fertilizer trading) Farmer Quarryman Baker Cobbler Driver (lorry) Hospitality	Grower Farmhand Housewife Domestic service Hospitality
College[14] Typical leaving age 17	**9** (6 male, 3 female)	Grower Farmer Gardener Soldier (briefly, at end of WW2) Legal Secretary Museum Service	Housewife Hairdresser Shop assistant Stenographer Telephonist Admin Civil Service Volunteer Guernesiais teacher	Grower Farmer Carpenter Book-keeper	Grower Farmhand Housewife Seamstress
Secondary School Typical leaving age 15	**3** (1 male, 2 female)	Shopkeeper/manager	Grower Shop assistant Dressmaker Courier Volunteer Guernesiais teacher	Labourer/builder Driver	Housewife

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[12] Many of the informants' parents took on 'piece work' (temporary jobs undertaken on an *ad hoc* basis) to supplement family income. This could include anything from labouring on a building site, or helping with picking in greenhouses, to scrubbing floors or taking in laundry or ironing.

[13] There were separate Intermediate Schools for Girls and Boys, which would later combine as the island's co-educational Grammar School from 1985.

[14] The colleges included Elizabeth College and The Ladies' College, which still operate today; and Les Vauxbelets College, a private boys' school which was founded during the inter-war years and operated until some years after the Second World War.

The economic situation of many local families in early twentieth-century Guernsey was relatively strained, and the nature of the employment opportunities available on the island was such that it was often financially advantageous for an individual to leave school at an earlier age and pursue a trade rather than remain in education. Pursuit of a university education was practically unheard of, as most local families simply lacked the means to send their son or daughter to England to study. Informant 08i reported that she had briefly attended Art College on the mainland during her time as an evacuee, but this was exceptional.

This general state of affairs is reflected in the pattern of the Guernsey 2010 informants' schooling, as indicated in Table 4-9: almost half the informants attended their nearest parish school, leaving at the earliest possible opportunity, while many of the individuals who transferred to one of the Intermediate Schools (or, later, attended one of the new Secondary Schools) barely remained longer in education. Attendance at one of the Colleges was an economic statement as well as an educational one, meanwhile, and correspondingly fewer informants were able to postpone the world of work and remain in education until their later teens.

Despite differences in the education they received, there is on balance surprisingly little variation in the types of employment the Guernsey 2010 informants went on to pursue.[15] As may be seen from Table 4-9, growing and farming featured highly among the occupations reported (see further below). As was the case for many other individuals born in the early to mid-twentieth century, however, the remaining occupations show a clear gender divide.

Aside from their involvement in the primary sector industries of growing and farming, the male informants also reported entering a range of secondary sector trades including construction and baking. Many of them reported that they had changed career trajectory at some point: though almost all began their working lives in very physical roles, they often switched to driving or a more office-based role in later life. It might be supposed that education at the Boys' Intermediate School or one of the Colleges resulted in greater access to tertiary sector employment (and therefore greater necessity for the use of English) for these individuals, but we can see from Table 4-9 that this was not

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[15] The occupations reported in Table 4-8 reflect the different types of employment held by the informants across their lifetimes, and are (in most cases now) *former* occupations. By virtue of the speech community's demographic, most of the Guernsey 2010 informants are now enjoying retirement.

necessarily the case. Most male school leavers from all backgrounds had some involvement with the growing industry (and to a lesser extent farming), as this was where money was to be made in mid-twentieth century Guernsey. Meanwhile, though some of the male Intermediate and College leavers reported holding administrative positions, so too did a number of the parish school leavers, who later went on to take jobs in the Civil Service, insurance and banking. For the male informants, education therefore had comparatively little bearing on their future employment: instead, the powerful financial lure of the growing industry proved to be a great equaliser.

For the female informants, however, education seems to have been a greater determining factor in the nature of their later employment. While a number of the female informants who attended the parish schools or the Girls' Intermediate School were also implicated in the growing industry, none of the female College leavers went into this area. We see a definite bias towards the caring professions in the career choices of the parish school leavers, and also to an extent among the Intermediate School leavers. In addition to these occupations the Intermediate School leavers pursued a range of other options, including skilled trades (such as dressmaking) and administrative roles. The younger female Secondary School leavers undertook similar types of employment. The three female College leavers, meanwhile, spent most of their working lives in administrative positions. Overall, therefore, the female informants were less likely to work in areas where Guernesiais was spoken in the workplace.

It should be noted that the typical career trajectory of the female informants was quite different from that of the male informants: though all of them went into employment of some description upon leaving school, most gave up work when they got married and started their families. Though some subsequently re-entered employment, this 'career break', together with the nature of the employment available in Guernsey and a strong culture of traditional gender roles, limited the types of role they could expect to undertake.

The homogeneity in the types of occupation held by Guernesiais speakers becomes all the more apparent if we look back a generation at the occupations held by the informants' parents (see Table 4-9). The gender divide is even stronger here, and the narrow range of options open to women particularly striking. Late nineteenth/early twentieth century Guernesiais-speaking women typically helped out with the family

greenhouses or farm, or went 'into service' until they got married; any subsequent employment was typically undertaken from home alongside raising a family. The range of occupations held by Guernesiais-speaking men at this time was similarly restricted. Only two of the informants' fathers held a clerical position (one managing a company which supplied services to the growing industry, the other as a book-keeper); the remaining males of this generation all followed practical careers.

Comparison between the lists of occupations held by the two generations also highlights the decline of Guernsey's traditional industries. In the nineteenth century growing, farming and fishing provided incomes for a significant proportion of Guernesiais-speaking families, and this is reflected in the considerably shorter list of alternative occupations held by the informants' parents. The greater freedom of career choice among the Guernsey 2010 generation is symptomatic of progress and widening opportunities, but this ultimately came at the expense of the island's former mainstays.

Table 4-10 below outlines in greater detail the involvement of the Guernsey 2010 informants and their parents in the three key industries of the nineteenth century, showing the number of individuals from each generation who reported having been involved in each of these industries at some point in their careers. It becomes immediately apparent that fishing is the least represented of the three. While this may be due to dwindling numbers of fishermen, it is also true that a large proportion of Guernsey's fishing fleet operated from the northern parishes and St Peter Port, areas where use of Guernesiais was relinquished earliest. Consequently, there are fewer Guernesiais speakers of the Guernsey 2010 informants' generation to be found among these fishing communities; this may explain to some extent the under-representation of fishing among the Guernsey 2010 informants and their parents.

Table 4-10. Involvement of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants and their parents in Guernsey's traditional industries: Growing (horticulture), Farming, Fishing.[16]

Type of schooling	No. of informants	No. of the Guernsey 2010 informants involved in				No. of the Guernsey 2010 informants' parents involved in		
		Growing	Farming	Fishing		Growing	Farming	Fishing
Parish School	22	8	4	0	Father	10	3	1
					Mother	8	1	0
Intermediate School	15	6	2	0	Father	9	2	0
					Mother	8	3	0
College	9	3	1	0	Father	10	6	0
					Mother	7	3	0
Secondary School	3	2	0	0	Father	1	0	0
					Mother	2	0	0

The numbers of individuals who had some involvement in farming declined across the two generations as well, perhaps reflecting the increasing influence of mechanisation. Though the numbers of individuals involved in the growing industry also appear to be on the turn, it was still plainly a boom industry during the early to mid twentieth century, when the Guernsey 2010 informants began to seek employment. The vineries demanded a lot of labour, and children were often called upon to assist their parents in working the vineries[17] while they were still at school. Younger women typically helped out in the family's greenhouses until they got married and left home, and would often be called upon to help with thinning grapes or packing flowers alongside managing everyday family life. Guernesiais speakers would customarily use their native variety while at work with their families and peers, and it is likely that the strength of the growing industry and maintenance of Guernesiais among growers' families are not unconnected.

4.2.7 Summary

The Guernsey 2010 sample group is characterised by its relative socio-biographical homogeneity. The 49 Guernsey 2010 informants, 28 of whom were male and 21 female, spanned a range of ages between 59 and 96 at the time of interview. The majority of the informants belong to the inter-war generation, which was the last complete generation of Guernesiais speakers. There are fewer older individuals, owing

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[16] Some individuals have been involved in both growing and farming during their lifetimes, and have thus been counted in both columns.

[17] In Guernsey, the term 'vinery' is used in a general sense to refer to a site where greenhouses stand, regardless of what is grown in them. Tomatoes and flowers were the main cash crops of the twentieth century.

to natural population decline, while younger speakers are equally scarce as a result of shifting social attitudes towards the variety in the second half of the twentieth century.

All the Guernsey 2010 informants were born in Guernsey, and all but one of them had two Guernesiais-speaking parents. There is at least one informant to represent each parish, excepting St Peter Port; there are notably more individuals from the parishes bordering the west coast (and particularly from St Pierre du Bois and Torteval) than from the more easterly parishes which border the Town. There is evidence of increased mobility within the island, with the Guernsey 2010 informants being more likely to have moved away from and/or married outside their home parish than their parents. Their individual migrations have nonetheless conformed largely to a fixed pattern which appears to be linked to key life-stages.

A little over three quarters of the informants who were born by the time of the evacuation in 1940 remained on the island for the duration of the German Occupation, which meant that they would have remained in unbroken contact with Guernesiais. It is likely that the ten evacuees among the Guernsey 2010 informants maintained their use of Guernesiais upon their return because of strong family ties with the variety, and (in some cases) through marrying other Guernesiais speakers. The informants had typically acquired their Guernesiais in early childhood; while most only began learning English once they got to school, a handful of the informants had a bilingual upbringing. All the speakers are now bilingual with English and, through their schooling and subsequent holidays in France, around three fifths claim to have some competence in Standard French as well.

Contrary to what we might have expected, education has not played a central role in influencing language maintenance among the Guernsey 2010 informants. The male informants tended to gravitate towards similar kinds of employment whatever their schooling, influenced strongly by the opportunities offered by the growing industry. For the female informants, education was likely to open a greater range of employment possibilities; though many of the roles they performed required the use of English, and not Guernesiais, their use of their indigenous variety was maintained through strong network and kinship ties.

4.3 BEHAVIOURAL DATA: SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES

4.3.1 Introduction

A number of behavioural questions were included in the self-assessment questionnaire (see Appendix C), as the Guernsey 2010 study presented an unrivalled opportunity to gather data about patterns of Guernesiais use among the last generation of native speakers. The informants were asked to self-report on the frequency with which they use Guernesiais, their habitual interlocutors and the purposes for which they employ the variety today compared with their perceptions of their usage forty years ago. The resultant data allows us to assess the role the variety plays in native speakers' current day-to-day lives, and also furnishes us with a past perspective from which to estimate change. The 49 informants were also asked to comment on the frequency with which (if at all) they write Guernesiais.

There are evidently caveats with self-reported data, not least that informants' perceptions of their own usage can be quite different from the reality. Informants 03ii and 03i, for example, a husband and wife, were interviewed together; while 03ii reported that he speaks Guernesiais daily with his wife, the questionnaire responses given by 03i did not corroborate his claims. In four further interviews, the researcher encountered married couples who switched frequently into Guernesiais when addressing each other during the course of the interview; yet despite the readiness with which these individuals spoke Guernesiais to each other, and indeed the hesitancy with which they conversed in English in some cases, none of these individuals reported daily use of Guernesiais with their spouse.

While it is of course entirely possible that these informants were reporting their habitual usage accurately, the evidence rather suggested otherwise. A potential reason for this misalignment between usage and reported usage may be that the ubiquity of English has made modern Guernesiais speakers less mindful of code-switching, particularly with interlocutors they encounter regularly (such as members of their immediate family): they are therefore less able to separate out their use of the two varieties in order to gauge the relative frequency with which each is employed. It may alternatively have been due to the informants' interpretation of the question: perhaps they felt that the exchange of short snatches of daily conversation in Guernesiais did not constitute significant enough speech events to warrant being considered 'daily usage'. A further

possibility is that the method chosen to elicit the data (a reading/writing-based task) had an influence over the results obtained. Certain individuals became flustered when confronted by a multiple choice selection, particularly if they felt that they were holding up the interview by reading too slowly, and thus gave up halfway down the list of options provided. This embarrassment, though inadvertently caused, may explain why fewer informants than expected reported the more frequent rates of Guernesiais usage.

In spite of these cautions, the behavioural data reported by the Guernsey 2010 informants nonetheless present a valuable insight into patterns of Guernesiais usage among modern native speakers. The data also serves to give an indication of the linguistic territory ceded to English over the last decades of the twentieth century.

4.3.2 Frequency of Guernesiais use

Question 1(a) of the self-assessment questionnaire sought to assess the frequency with which the Guernsey 2010 informants currently speak Guernesiais (see Fig. 4-3). Each individual was asked to self-report his or her usage of the variety using a six-point frequency scale from *0 – Not at all* to *5 – Daily*. The results obtained from this are displayed in Table 4-11.

1(a)	How often do you speak Guernsey French **now**? **(Tick one)**	□ 0 - Not at all □ 1 - Rarely (less than once a month) □ 2 - Occasionally (once or twice a month) □ 3 - Often (about once a week) □ 4 - Very often (several times a week) □ 5 - Daily

Figure 4-3. Question about the frequency with which the informants use Guernesiais.

Though there is variation in the frequency with which the informants employ Guernesiais, the majority (nearly 70%) of the 49 informants in the main sample group reported that they speak Guernesiais at least once a week, scoring themselves at 3 or higher on the six-point scale. The fact that age does not otherwise appear to be a defining correlate of frequency of language use in this matter may be due in part to the nature of the study itself, and thus the sampling technique employed: informants using their Guernesiais less frequently would by definition have less contact with other Guernesiais speakers, and potentially be less competent at fluent conversation in the variety, so the likelihood of their having been suggested as a potential informant for the

Guernsey 2010 fieldwork is accordingly diminished. Furthermore, though we might have expected the younger speakers from the sample to have demonstrated lower frequency scores than those from the higher age groups, we see from the data below that this is not necessarily the case. In fact, owing to the unique language situation which has arisen in Guernsey as a result of the ageing Guernesiais speaker population, the reverse is more likely to be true: if a Guernesiais speaker in their 50s or 60s persists in speaking the variety at all, it is likely to be motivated by regular contact with Guernesiais-speaking family members and friends, or perhaps involvement in cultural events such as the annual Eisteddfod (cf. §4.3.4).

Table 4-11. Frequency of use of Guernesiais by the informants.

Response	No. of informants aged					TOTAL	Gender	
	50–59	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+		M	F
0 - Not at all	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (5.56%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.04%)	0 (0%)	1 (4.76%)
1 - Rarely (less than once a month)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (16.67)	1 (5%)	1 (25%)	5 (10.2%)	2 (7.14%)	3 (14.29%)
2 - Occasionally (once or twice a month)	1 (50%)	1 (20%)	1 (5.56%)	6 (30%)	0 (0%)	9 (18.37%)	7 (25%)	2 (9.52%)
3 - Often (about once a week)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	4 (22.22%)	0 (0%)	2 (50%)	8 (16.33%)	7 (25%)	1 (4.76%)
4 - Very often (several times a week)	0 (0%)	2 (40%)	5 (27.78%)	1 (5%)	0 (0%)	8 (16.33%)	3 (10.71%)	5 (23.81%)
5 - Daily	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	4 (22.22%)	12 (60%)	1 (25%)	18 (36.73%)	9 (32.14%)	9 (42.86%)

There is some variation among older speakers, most noticeably among the octogenarians. While 13 of the 20 informants in this age group reported that they speak Guernesiais daily, or at least several times a week, a smaller subgroup of seven individuals reported that their use was occasional or rare (2 or 1 on the six-point scale). What is interesting here is the lack of middle ground: the informants in this age group either speak Guernesiais very regularly, or hardly at all. Extralinguistic factors provide us with the best chance of explaining this pattern in the data. The sampling process ensured that all the informants of the main sample group are fluent speakers; where these elder speakers differ is in the number of opportunities they have to speak Guernesiais with others. The researcher noted that those individuals who speak

Guernesiais daily or several times a week are typically married to another Guernesiais speaker, or have regular and frequent contact with Guernesiais-speaking family or friends. Where an informant has married a non-Guernesiais speaker, has become widowed or has a much smaller Guernesiais-speaking social network, opportunities to practise the variety become far fewer.

The female informants score themselves more highly than the males, on the whole, with 14 of the 21 female informants (66.67%) scoring themselves at 4 or 5 on the scale compared to 12 of the 28 males (42.85%). This said, the majority of the weakest speakers are also female, with twice as many female informants scoring themselves at 0 or 1 compared with the males. The male informants, for their part, were higher in concentration at 2 or 3 on the scale; this would suggest that for some reason males have fewer opportunities or indeed choose not to speak Guernesiais on a very frequent basis. There is no evident explanation for this apparent difference in gender patterning. Perhaps this is due to gender differences in communication practices: female informants are more likely to use the telephone to communicate with family and friends where this might not be possible face to face, for example.

Table 4-12. Parish affiliation and frequency of use of Guernesiais.

Frequency of use of Guernesiais	No. of informants			
	Low Parishes (Vale, St Sampson's)	Central Parishes (Castel, St Saviour's, St Andrew's, Forest, St Martin's)	High Parishes (Torteval, St Pierre du Bois)	TOTAL
0 - Not at all	1	—	—	1
1 - Rarely (less than once a month)	3	1	1	5
2 - Occasionally (once or twice a month)	2	5	1	9
3 - Often (about once a week)	1	6	1	8
4 - Very often (several times a week)	2	2	4	8
5 - Daily	—	9	10	18
TOTAL	9	23	17	49

As may be observed from Table 4-12, there is a clear link between an informant's parish affiliation and the frequency with which they use Guernesiais. In confirmation of the anecdotal evidence, the Guernsey 2010 speakers from the island's northernmost parishes (the Vale and St Sampson's) use Guernesiais less frequently than those from other areas. Their usage contrasts most obviously with that of the speakers from the south-western High Parishes: while only 33.33% of the Low Parish informants reported that they use their Guernesiais *Often* or more frequently, this proportion rises to 88.24% among High Parish speakers; indeed, all but three of the speakers from this area use Guernesiais *Very often (several times a week)* or *Daily*. The pattern among informants from the remaining Central Parishes is slightly less clear: while nine of the 23 informants from this area (nearly 40%) report daily use of Guernesiais, there is also a second noteworthy concentration of informants among the middle frequencies (2 – *Occasionally* and 3 – *Often*). As with the usage of the older speakers described in Table 5-11 above, the researcher noted that this is entirely linked to circumstance: eight of the nine speakers reporting daily use of Guernesiais are married to Guernesiais speakers who were also interviewed as part of the present study.[18] Conversely, the group of informants reporting middle frequencies of Guernesiais use are either unmarried, married to an English speaker or widowed, and therefore have less opportunity to communicate in the variety.
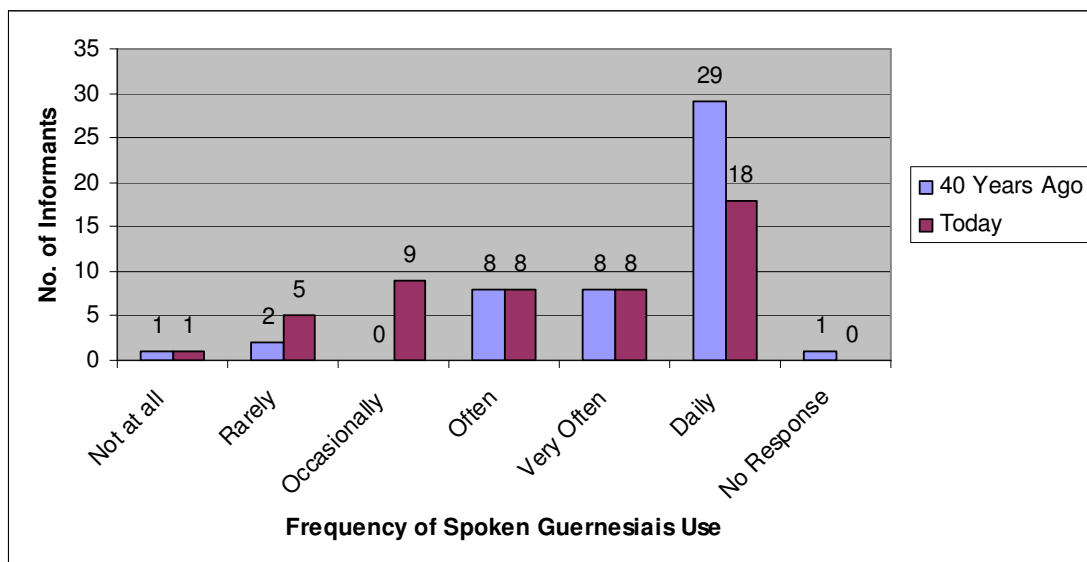
Figure 4-4. Self-reported changes in frequency of spoken Guernesiais use.

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[18] The Guernsey 2010 interview protocol did not elicit and record this information directly, though the researcher was able to note relationships between speakers as these were explained during the course of the interviews.

Unsurprisingly, the 49 informants' estimates of their past usage indicated that their overall use of Guernesiais has diminished over the last 40 years. Figure 4-4 compares the informants' self-reported usage of Guernesiais forty years ago compared with their estimations of their usage today: the number of informants speaking Guernesiais on a daily basis has, crucially, dropped, while the number of lower frequencies reported (particularly the number of 'occasional' users) has risen over time.

4.3.3 Number and type of interlocutors

In addition to reporting the frequency with which they speak Guernesiais, the Guernsey 2010 informants were asked to indicate the different kinds of interlocutor with whom they typically speak the variety. The informants were supplied with five options (see Figure 4-5), and were asked to tick as many as applied to their own situation.

1(b)	Who do you speak Guernsey French with **now**? **(Tick all that apply)**	□ Spouse □ Immediate family (parents, children, siblings) □ Extended family (aunts/uncles, cousins) □ Close friends □ Members of a club or social group (e.g. pub, church)

Figure 4-5. Question about the different kinds of interlocutor to whom the Guernsey 2010 informants speak Guernesiais.

As may be seen from the data in Table 4-13, none of the Guernsey 2010 informants could report that they encounter all five types of interlocutor when speaking Guernesiais today. Nine of the 49 informants were able to tick four of the options, while ten could tick three. The greater part of the sample group (28 informants), however, instead reported that normally they only encounter interlocutors from either one or two of the categories. Two informants, both female and from the Low Parishes, reported that they do not use their Guernesiais with any of the categories of interlocutor. Neither uses the variety with any regularity: informant 06 speaks Guernesiais infrequently, while informant 02 stated that she no longer speaks the variety at all. Informant 06 was 96 years old at the time of interview, so it seems probable that issues of mobility within the island have impacted upon the frequency with which she chances upon fellow Guernesiais speakers.

Table 4-13. Frequency of Guernesiais use and number of different types of interlocutor encountered by the 49 informants.

Frequency	No. of different types of interlocutor encountered (cf. Figure 4-5)						TOTAL
	0	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	
0 - Not at all	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
1 - Rarely (less than once a month)	1	3	—	1	—	—	5
2 - Occasionally (once or twice a month)	—	1	6	—	2	—	9
3 - Often (about once a week)	—	4	3	—	1	—	8
4 - Very often (several times a week)	—	2	2	2	2	—	8
5 - Daily	—	3	4	7	4	—	18
TOTAL	2	13	15	10	9	0	49

Though the correlation between the frequency of Guernesiais use and the number of different types of interlocutor is not particularly strong, it may be noted that the majority of informants who rated their frequency as 2 (*Occasionally*) or 3 (*Often*) most typically encounter other speakers from only one or two interlocutor categories, while the greater proportion of those who rate their usage at 4 (*Very Often*) or 5 (*Daily*) encounter a correspondingly greater range of interlocutor types.

As may be seen from Table 4-14 below, the correlation between the number of different types of interlocutor encountered by an informant and the informant's parish is somewhat stronger. Low Parish informants typically have a very limited choice of potential Guernesiais speakers to converse with, with 66.66% reporting either no interlocutors or else just one type, while speakers from the other areas of the island tend to have a more varied range of interlocutors.

Table 4-14. Parish affiliation against types of interlocutor encountered.

No. of different types of interlocutor encountered	No. of informants			
	Low Parishes (Vale, St Sampson's)	Central Parishes (Castel, St Saviour's, St Andrew's, Forest, St Martin's)	High Parishes (Torteval, St Pierre du Bois,)	TOTAL
0	2	—	—	2
1	4	6	4	13
2	1	8	5	15
3	1	2	7	10
4	1	7	1	9
5	—	—	—	0
TOTAL	9	23	17	49

The numbers of interlocutors reported by the speakers from the Central Parishes mirror their reports of usage frequency, in that there appears to be little middle ground. While seven of the speakers report encountering four of the five different interlocutor types, the more sizeable proportion of these speaker reports only one or two types. Interestingly, speakers from this area outnumber speakers from the High Parishes at the highest number of different types of interlocutor encountered: while 30.43% of the Central Parish informants report speaking Guernesiais with four types of interlocutor, the proportion drops to just 5.88% — one informant — among speakers from the High Parishes of Torteval and St Pierre du Bois. It is not altogether clear why this may be. It is possible that the more central location of informants from parishes such as the Castel and St Saviour's facilitated contact with a greater number of Guernesiais speakers during the informants' youth, particularly since Guernsey people tended not to travel around the island during the early part of the twentieth century; this may have subsequently translated into a greater range of potential interlocutors in later life. Evidently, the informants' present location within the island will also have a bearing on the number of other Guernesiais speakers they encounter.

It is also revealing to examine the usage patterns of the speakers who selected each of the five interlocutor options; this information is given in Table 4-15 below. Responses to the first of the categories, *Spouse*, were quite sharply divided. Perhaps predictably, this category was most frequently selected by those informants who stated that they speak Guernesiais every day: if both partners are fully conversant in Guernesiais, the variety is used more frequently. There were nonetheless three informants who, though speaking Guernesiais considerably less frequently, still use the variety with their spouse.

Responses to the other familial categories varied. The most frequent users of Guernesiais were also the most frequent to select both the *Immediate family* and *Extended family* categories; curiously, however, fewer informants overall selected *Immediate family* than *Extended family*. This is probably due to the fact that many of the Guernsey 2010 informants are at an age where they are less likely to have surviving parents; furthermore, informants born during the 1930s or later are less likely to have younger siblings or children who speak the variety with any degree of fluency as they grew up during the period when raising your children to be English speakers began to carry more cachet. Many informants stay in close contact with their cousins, however, which increases the number of Guernesiais speakers with whom they have contact. There is nonetheless a link between frequency of use and the informants' use of the variety with immediate family: if an informant has close family that speaks Guernesiais, it increases the likelihood that an informant would speak Guernesiais more regularly. This is reflected in the fact that the lowest self-reported usage frequency encountered for informants selecting *Immediate family* was *2 – Occasionally*, and not *1 – Rarely* (as was the case for the *Extended family* category).

Table 4-15. *Frequency of Guernesiais use and number of informants who encounter each type of interlocutor.*

Frequency	*Type of interlocutor encountered (cf. Figure 4-5)*						TOTAL
	Spouse	Immediate family (parents, children, siblings)	Extended family (aunts/uncles, cousins)	*Close friends*	Members of a club or social group (e.g. pub, church)	*No response given*	
0 - Not at all	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
1 - Rarely (less than once a month)	2	—	3	—	1	—	5
2 - Occasionally (once or twice a month)	1	5	4	6	5	—	9
3 - Often (about once a week)	—	2	4	3	5	—	8
4 - Very often (several times a week)	—	4	6	6	4	—	8
5 - Daily	11	7	10	13	7	—	18
TOTAL	14	18	27	28	22	1	

That the *Close friends* category (and indeed the *Immediate family* category discussed above) was selected only by those informants who report that they speak Guernesiais at least once or twice a month (2 or higher on the six-point scale) suggests a tentative link between network strength and frequency of Guernesiais use. Interestingly, however, though 28 informants reported that they speak Guernesiais with their *Close friends*, fewer (just 22) reported using the variety with *Members of a club or social group*. The latter category of interlocutors was defined for the purposes of this exercise as including those individuals who, though not counted among close friends, are nonetheless encountered regularly in a social context (for example at the pub, or at church). The possibility of some overlap between the *Close friends* and *Members of a club or social group* cannot be dismissed, and the dip in numbers in the final category may be due to the informants having already considered their acquaintances to be in the *Close friends* category. At face value, however, it would seem that the Guernsey 2010 informants are less likely to use Guernesiais during the course of regular social activities (where,

critically, they are more likely to encounter non-Guernesiais speakers) than they are in private communication with close friends.[19]

Table 4-16. Age profile of the informants who encounter each type of interlocutor.

Type of interlocutor encountered (cf. Figure 4-5)	No. of responses from informants aged					TOTAL
	50–59 (n=2)	60–69 (n=5)	70–79 (n=18)	80–89 (n=20)	90+ (n=4)	
Spouse	—	2	6	6	—	14
Immediate family (parents, children, siblings)	1	2	7	6	2	18
Extended family (aunts/uncles, cousins)	—	2	8	17	—	27
Close friends	2	3	12	10	1	28
Members of a club or social group (e.g. pub, church)	1	1	7	11	2	22
No response given	—	—	1	—	1	2

The range of interlocutors the informants encountered was also linked to their age (see Table 4-16 above). There are relatively few informants in the 50–59 age group (and indeed at the younger end of the 60–69 age group), which is reflected in the lower likelihood that these individuals have encountered Guernesiais speakers of a similar age to themselves. These informants are therefore statistically less likely to have married a Guernesiais speaker, or (owing to the general decline in the number of children brought up speaking Guernesiais in the 1950s) to have cousins and other relatives outside their own immediate family who spoke Guernesiais. Instead, the youngest speakers tend to use Guernesiais with members of their immediate family, close friends and acquaintances encountered during the course of regular non-family social activities.

The slightly wider choice of interlocutors among informants in the 60–69 age group reflects the different linguistic experiences of a Guernsey person born between 1941 and 1950. There is a greater probability that an informant born during this decade would have married another Guernesiais-speaking person, and will have been used to using Guernesiais more regularly in a family context. This tendency is replicated when we examine the data reported by those informants in the 70–79 age group, born a decade

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[19] Many of the Guernsey 2010 informants mentioned that they tend not to speak Guernesiais together in the presence of non-Guernesiais speakers, even when encouraged to do so, as they consider it impolite. Lingering memories of linguistic prejudice are also likely to influence this behaviour.

earlier. These informants are considerably more numerous in the Guernsey 2010 sample, which in itself suggests that the range of potential interlocutors an individual of this age can expect to encounter is greater. The number of informants citing their spouse and/or family members as Guernesiais-speaking interlocutors increases in this age group. More notable, however, is the increase in the proportion of informants from the 70–79 age group (compared with that encountered among younger informants) who report that they speak Guernesiais with *Close friends* and *Members of a club or social group*. This suggests that the use of Guernesiais is less of an isolated family experience for speakers of this age: they have grown up with and socialised more frequently with friends who also speak the variety, which has in turn influenced the likelihood with which they might use Guernesiais with acquaintances from other social contexts in adulthood.

Interestingly, the balance of responses received changes for the older informants. Though similar numbers of the informants aged 80–89 report speaking Guernesiais with their spouse or their immediate family compared with the younger speakers, a considerably higher number of the octogenarian informants report that they speak Guernesiais with their extended family. This may be a reflection of the larger family sizes which were the norm in earlier twentieth-century Guernsey, and the fact that most extended families tended to remain in one area. Fewer informants in this age group report speaking Guernesiais with close friends, however; despite this, a little over half of the informants in the 80–89 report speaking Guernesiais with acquaintances from other social contexts.

There are only four nonagenarians among the Guernsey 2010 informants, reflecting the lower number of nonagenarian speakers overall; inevitably, this translates to a more limited range of interlocutors. These individuals are less likely to have a surviving spouse or surviving extended family, although two of the informants in this age group reported speaking Guernesiais with members of their immediate family — a sibling or their children. There is an indication, too, that certain informants continue to use the language in non-family social contexts.

Table 4-17. Number of informants encountering each type of interlocutor by gender.

Type of interlocutor encountered (cf. Figure 4-5)	Gender		TOTAL NO. OF INFORMANTS (N=49)
	Male (N=28)	*Female (N=21)*	
Spouse	7	7	14
Immediate family (parents, children, siblings)	9	9	18
Extended family (aunts/uncles, cousins)	17	10	27
Close friends	17	11	28
Members of a club or social group (e.g. pub, church)	13	9	22
No response given	0	2	2

It is interesting to note that, while the female informants showed themselves to be more inclined to speak Guernesiais with either their spouse or their immediate family than the male informants, the male informants demonstrated a greater inclination than the females to speak Guernesiais with their extended family or close friends (see Table 4-17 above). Though the issues of accuracy inherent in self-reported data must be considered, at face value this data suggests that female speakers of Guernesiais are less comfortable with using Guernesiais outside their immediate domestic context than male speakers; male speakers, conversely, are more likely to use the variety outside the home in social interactions with close personal contacts.

The exception seems to be in the number of informants reporting use of Guernesiais to speak with *Members of a club or social group*; there is more of a gender balance here. It is interesting to note that the significant majority of the informants reporting use of Guernesiais in this context are engaged in Guernesiais language and/or cultural activities, either teaching the variety to primary school children on a voluntary basis or promoting the variety through Guernesiais-medium cultural displays. It would seem that similar proportions of speakers of both sexes are motivated to halt the decline of their native variety.
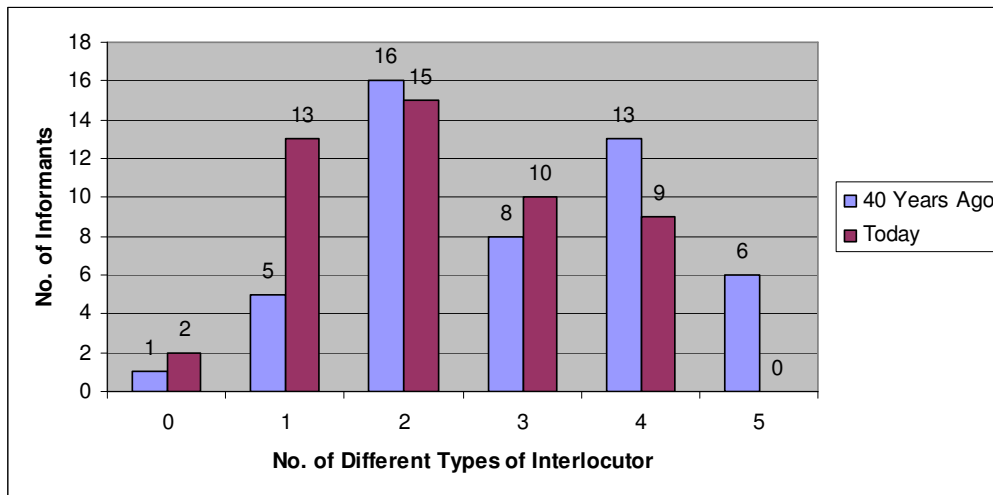
Figure 4-6. Changes in the number of different types of interlocutor encountered by the informants.

Figure 4-6 above demonstrates quite clearly that the range of potential interlocutors available to the Guernsey 2010 informants has reduced over the past 40 years. This may be attributed to a number of demographic and social factors; these include natural population decline, and the informants' relative mobility within the island now compared with previously. That such naturally occurring, demographic-linked factors are at the root of this reduction is supported by the findings in Figure 4.7, which shows that the overall profile of the types of interlocutor encountered by the informants today largely mirrors that of 40 years ago. The most notable change has occurred in the *Immediate family* category, which has seen the greatest proportional decrease over time; the *Extended family* category has also seen a slightly sharper decrease than the remaining categories.
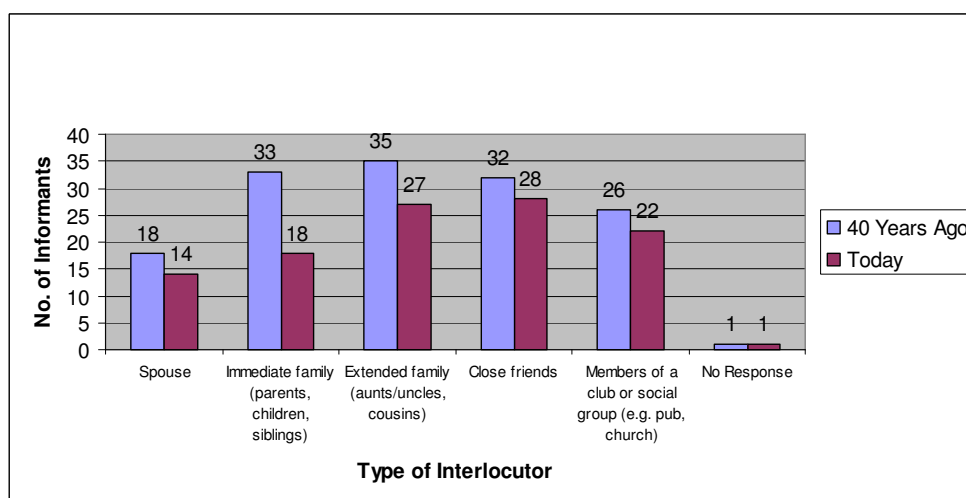
Figure 4-7. Changes in the different types of interlocutor encountered by informants.

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4.3.4 Contexts in which Guernesiais is employed

Most aspects of formal language use in modern Guernsey life have been fully usurped by English, though it is clear that the island's indigenous language endures in some contexts. Accordingly, the Guernsey 2010 informants were asked to indicate the types of context in which they would habitually employ the variety by selecting from five broad categories (see Figure 4-8).

1(c)	In which situations do you use Guernsey French **now**? **(Tick all that apply)**	□ Everyday communication □ Family gatherings □ Regular non-family social activities (e.g. club, pub, church) □ Cultural events (e.g. Viaër Marchi) □ Performance (e.g. Eisteddfod, radio)

Figure 4-8. Question about the different types of context in which the Guernsey 2010 informants speak Guernesiais.

It is immediately evident that Guernesiais has a limited sphere of application in the lives of many of the individuals interviewed, as may be seen from Table 4-18. 19 of the total sample group of 49 informants (or 38.78%) use Guernesiais in only one of the five contexts, while the number of informants employing Guernesiais in either two or three contexts was lower still: just 10 informants (or 20.41%) in each case. Despite this evidence of decline, there were nonetheless six informants (12.24%) who report using Guernesiais in four of the five contexts, and three (6.12%) who employ Guernesiais in all five of the contexts. The dwindling number of informants reporting each successive total number of contexts, however, appears to confirm that opportunities for the use of Guernesiais are becoming increasingly limited.

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Table 4-18. Number of different contexts in which the informants use Guernesiais.

No. of different types of context	No. of informants aged					TOTAL	Gender	
	50–59	*60–69*	*70–79*	*80–89*	*90+*		*M*	*F*
0	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1
1	—	1	6	9	3	19	11	8
2	—	1	4	4	1	10	8	2
3	1	2	2	5	—	10	4	6
4	—	—	5	1	—	6	3	3
5	1	1	—	1	—	3	2	1

This decline in the number of contexts does not correlate strongly with age. Given that language and dialect loss is often accompanied by a reduction in the contexts in which the variety is employed, we might have expected the older speakers to persist in using Guernesiais in a greater variety of contexts compared with the younger speakers. Instead, from Table 4-18, we see that the four informants in the 90+ age group in fact reported fewer contexts in which they would use Guernesiais compared with the other speakers. As we observed in §4.3.3 above, several demographic and social factors are at play here: individuals in this age group tend to have a smaller pool of potential interlocutors, and typically find it more difficult to access some of the contexts (for example outdoor cultural events).

The other age groups reported a greater range of situations in which they would typically employ Guernesiais. Though the majority of the 80–89 and 70–79 age groups echoed the older informants in reporting that they speak Guernesiais in only one or two contexts, a small but significant proportion of the speakers in these mid age ranges reported using Guernesiais in three or more contexts. The younger speakers were again proportionally more likely to use Guernesiais in a greater range of contexts, with only two individuals (from the 60–69 age group) reporting fewer than 3 contexts. This overall tendency reflects at once the greater range of Guernesiais-speaking opportunities open to younger informants, and the fact that, owing to the decline in the number of Guernesiais speakers since the middle of the century, younger individuals are unlikely to maintain their use of Guernesiais unless they employ the variety regularly in a

number of different contexts. The number of contexts in which current Guernesiais native speakers use the variety is therefore more or less inversely proportional to their age.

The female Guernsey 2010 informants were more likely to encounter a range of contexts in which to speak Guernesiais: 10 of the 21 female informants (or 47.6%) reported that they used Guernesiais in three or more contexts, compared to 9 of the 28 male informants (proportionally fewer, at 32.1%). More than half of both male and female informants reported using Guernesiais in fewer than three contexts, however, which suggests an overall reduction in the spheres of influence reached by Guernesiais; this is in line with what we might expect, given the endangered status of the variety.

Table 4-19 displays the number of different contexts in which Guernesiais is used, as reported by the inhabitants of each of the three parish areas. We noted in §4.3.3 that informants from the Central Parishes tended to have the greatest choice of potential interlocutors, closely followed by individuals from the High Parishes; as far as opportunities to speak Guernesiais are concerned, however, it seems that informants originating from the High Parishes have the advantage. This area has the greatest proportion of informants reporting use of Guernesiais in four or five of the contexts, and the lowest proportion of informants reporting only one or two contexts. The Central Parishes show a downward shift in the proportions of informants reporting between 2 and 5 contexts, with a greater number of informants from this area reporting use of Guernesiais in either one or none of the contexts (39.1% compared to 29.1% for the High Parishes). The figures for the Low Parishes are even more dramatic: the proportion of informants from this area who report using Guernesiais in two or more contexts nearly halves compared with that of the Central Parishes, while the number of informants reporting use of Guernesiais in either one or none of the contexts is accordingly higher.

Table 4-19. Number of different contexts in which the informants use Guernesiais by parish of origin.

No. of different types of context (cf. Figure 4-5)	No. of Informants			
	Low Parishes (Vale, St Sampson's)	Central Parishes (Castel, St Saviour's, St Andrew's, Forest, St Martin's)	High Parishes (Torteval, St Pierre du Bois,)	TOTAL
0–1	6	9	5	20
2–3	2	5	8	15
4–5	1	4	4	9
TOTAL	9	23	17	49

Evidently, there are further social factors at play here beyond the informants' place of origin.   We have mentioned the importance of mobility, and the ability of the informants to access interlocutors and Guernesiais-speaking events, elsewhere; present social circumstance (for example whether or not an individual is married to a Guernesiais speaker; whether they have surviving Guernesiais-speaking relatives; how active their social life is) also has a bearing on current patterns of use. We know that not all the informants interviewed for the Guernsey 2010 study currently dwell in the same area in which they grew up; it is nonetheless interesting to observe that the number of interlocutors an informant can expect to encounter, together with the range of contexts in which they will typically use their Guernesiais, is to some extent predestined by the informant's parish of origin.

Table 4-20. Age profile of the informants who use Guernesiais in each type of context.

Type of context (cf. Figure 4-5)	No. of responses from informants aged					TOTAL
	50–59 (n=2)	60–69 (n=5)	70–79 (n=18)	80–89 (n=20)	90+ (n=4)	
Everyday communication	0	2	11	11	3	27
Family gatherings	1	2	9	11	0	23
Regular non-family social gatherings (e.g. club, pub, church)	2	2	7	11	2	22
Cultural events (e.g. Viaër Marchi)	1	3	8	11	1	22
Performance (e.g. Eisteddfod, radio)	1	1	5	6	1	14

Table 4-20 above presents a profile of the types of context in which the different age groups habitually employ Guernesiais. There was no one context for Guernesiais use which stood out in popularity; the most frequently reported context for the use of Guernesiais among the Guernsey 2010 informants was *Everyday communication*, but even this was cited by only a little over half of the informants. Not all the Guernsey 2010 informants are in regular contact with other Guernesiais speakers (cf. §4.3.3 above), which thus limits the number of individuals who have the opportunity to communicate in Guernesiais during normal everyday life. The use of Guernesiais during *Family gatherings*, which was the second most frequently cited context for Guernesiais use, was reported by only 46.9% of the sample group. This perhaps reflects the diminishing frequency of family gatherings nowadays, as well as the more frequent use of English at such events for the benefit of younger, anglophone family members.

Equal numbers of informants (44.9%) reported using Guernesiais during *Regular non-family social gatherings* and at *Cultural events*. Several individuals interviewed are members of a Guernesiais cultural interpretation group, and so naturally use Guernesiais both for their meetings and at the outdoor cultural occasions that members of these groups normally attend.[20] While some informants not implicated in Guernesiais cultural interest groups also reported use of Guernesiais at cultural events, they were more inclined to employ the variety in *Regular non-family social gatherings*. The informants' comments to the researcher revealed that this usually involves greeting acquaintances at church or at the pub in Guernesiais, and enjoying a brief exchange in

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[20] The principal outdoor cultural events in the Guernesiais calendar are the Viaër Marchi (the Island's annual Old Guernsey Market) and the Island's summer country shows.

the variety before reverting to English as either lack of vocabulary or courtesy to anglophone bystanders dictates. Certain informants also counted teaching the variety to schoolchildren as a speech context of this kind.

Performance is, perhaps understandably, the least frequently reported context for Guernesiais use: only 28.6% of the individuals interviewed indicated this response. There is evidently some overlap between the outdoor cultural events, where a number of the informants participate in display songs and dances, and the island's popular annual Eisteddfod.[21] For the purposes of the present study, however, *Performance* was defined as any circumstance which involves practising a set piece of oral language for formal delivery to an audience; the category thus includes Eisteddfod performances, radio broadcasts and the like.

It is interesting to compare the number of informants who reported using Guernesiais for performance purposes, and the number of islanders overall who use English to similar ends. It is difficult to calculate precise figures, particularly since the two groups are not mutually exclusive. As a guideline, however, we do know that the Guernsey Eisteddfod society received in excess of 3,200 entries across all sections of the competition during the 2008 session, and that this is roughly equivalent to 5% of the island's total population.[22] Even allowing for the fact that participants may enter multiple classes, and that only two of the 17 Eisteddfod sections (Speech & Drama and Music) offer classes in which the competition criteria are directly based on the oral performance of anglophone material, we may safely surmise that the number of entries for classes involving spoken English is likely to be lower than 3,200. Even if amateur dramatists and those individuals engaged in English language teaching and television/radio performance on the island are included, the overall percentage of English-speaking Guernsey residents who regularly perform in English is likely to remain relatively low. If the number of informants reporting involvement in Guernesiais-language performance is representative for their speech community as a whole, the proportion of Guernesiais speakers involved in language performance

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[21] The Eisteddfod is an annual event, held during the early part of the year, in which islanders can compete for cups and certificates in a number of different areas — these include speech and drama, cookery and handicrafts, photography and film. There is a Guernesiais Section of the competition in addition to the English and French Sections, and this has been popularly credited with ensuring the maintenance of the variety during the last few decades of the twentieth century, when interest in Guernesiais had waned.

[22] See website of the Guernsey Eisteddfod Society at
http://www.guernseyeisteddfod.co.uk/guernsey_eisteddfod.htm [Accessed 16th November 2011]

activities is nearly six times higher than the equivalent figure for the island overall. This is not due to Guernesiais speakers being inherently more extrovert; rather, it is a reaction to the endangered status of Guernesiais. Performance is a way for individuals to actively use and preserve their native language, bringing it to a wider audience while affirming its use in the community.

The types of speech context the informants reported vary according to their age. The two youngest informants, for instance, did not report using Guernesiais for *Everyday communication* at all; for reasons outlined in §4.3.3 above, they are unlikely to have much opportunity to do so. While one did cite *Family gatherings* as being an occasion to use Guernesiais, it was quite telling that *Regular non-family social gatherings*, *Cultural events* and *Performance* were also reported. This suggests that these informants have to seek out contexts in which to use Guernesiais, rather than chancing upon them regularly in everyday life. The sexagenarian informants are most strongly represented in the use of Guernesiais for cultural events such as the Viaër Marchi, though they do not seem particularly inclined towards performance in the variety. The use of Guernesiais in family gatherings and regular non-family social gatherings appears to vary between individuals, but it is worth noting the increase in the proportion of informants in this age group who use Guernesiais daily.

The septuagenarian informants, by virtue of the generation into which they were born, are more likely than the younger informants to have a Guernesiais-speaking spouse or family members; this explains the higher proportion of informants reporting use of Guernesiais for *Everyday communication* or at *Family gatherings*. Though informants in this age group are slightly more reticent in speaking Guernesiais at non-family social gatherings and cultural events, a greater proportion of them engage in performance in the variety. A surprisingly high percentage of the octogenarian informants also perform in the variety, be it for radio, the Eisteddfod, or reading occasional church sermons in Guernesiais. Conversely, these individuals are at an age where the loss of a spouse becomes more likely. Accordingly, we see that the proportion of informants who have the opportunity to use Guernesiais daily begins to decline. More likely to be freed from the constraints of work and helping to care for very young grandchildren, but also to have Guernesiais-speaking children, more of the octogenarian informants speak Guernesiais at family gatherings, regular non-family social gatherings and cultural events

Though two of the eldest Guernsey 2010 informants continue to attend *Regular non-family social gatherings* (for example church) where they might speak Guernesiais, the more limited mobility of individuals in their ninth decade tells in the lower proportion of nonagenarian informants who attend cultural events or regular non-family social commitments. None of the nonagenarian informants report speaking Guernesiais at family gatherings. This is likely to be either because they do not attend them, or because they have outlived Guernesiais-speaking siblings and older relatives, leaving only younger anglophone (or Guernesiais semi-speaker)[23] family members as potential interlocutors in such a situation. Surprisingly, given tendencies observed elsewhere, three of the four nonagenarian informants nonetheless reported using Guernesiais for *Everyday communication* - perhaps in daily phone calls to friends or family members.

With regard to the particular types of context in which Guernesiais might be spoken, therefore, there is no strong pattern of change save in the number of informants who profess to use Guernesiais for *Everyday communication*: overall, the proportion of informants reporting this context may be seen to reduce with the informants' age (cf. Table 4-20). Table 4-21 suggests that the evidence for variation between the sexes in the type of context reported by each informant, though present, is similarly slight; there is less than a 10% difference between the two in most cases.

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[23] Semi-speakers are individuals who have partial linguistic competency in a variety. Typical semi-speakers have either acquired the target variety imperfectly, or else their once-fluent command of the variety has deteriorated through lack of use; though they retain near-native comprehension of the variety, their productive command of it is not fluent, and often deviates conspicuously from native speaker language patterns (cf. Dorian 1981: 114ff).

Table 4-21. Number of informants who speak Guernesiais in each type of context.

Type of context (cf. Figure 4-8)	Sex		TOTAL NO. OF INFORMANTS (N=49)
	Male (N=28)	*Female (N=21)*	
Everyday communication	14 (50%)	13 (61.9%)	27 (55.1%)
Family gatherings	14 (50%)	9 (42.9%)	23 (46.9%)
Regular non-family social gatherings (e.g. club, pub, church)	11 (39.3%)	11 (52.4%)	22 (44.9%)
Cultural events (e.g. Viaër Marchi)	13 (46.4%)	9 (42.9%)	22 (44.9%)
Performance (e.g. Eisteddfod, radio)	8 (28.6%)	6 (28.6%)	14 (28.6%)

A greater proportion of the female informants reported using Guernesiais for *Everyday communication* than the males, which is consistent with the finding that female informants are more likely to report employing Guernesiais with their spouse or immediate family — the most probable interlocutors for everyday speech (cf. §4.3.3). We also noted earlier that the male informants are more likely to speak Guernesiais to members of their extended family than are the female informants; accordingly, we see here that the male informants were proportionally more likely than the females to report speaking Guernesiais at *Family gatherings*.

While a greater proportion of male than female informants reported using Guernesiais to communicate with close friends in §4.3.3 above, it is in fact the female Guernsey 2010 informants who claim to employ Guernesiais in situations such as *Regular non-family social gatherings* in the greater proportion. The male informants proportionally outnumber the females where the use of Guernesiais at *Cultural events* is concerned, meanwhile, though the difference is slight. Perhaps this is due to the fact that cultural events often entail speaking Guernesiais with people outside the immediate family context, a situation in which it would appear the male informants are more comfortable. Lastly, equal proportions of the male and female informants report using Guernesiais for performance purposes.

Table 4-22. Contexts in which Guernesiais is used by the informants in each usage frequency category.

Frequency	Type of context (cf. Figure 4-8)[24]					
	Everyday communication	Family gatherings	Regular non-family social gatherings (e.g. club, pub, church)	Cultural events (e.g. Viaër Marchi)	Performance (e.g. Eisteddfod, radio)	TOTAL (FREQ.)
0 - Not at all	—	—	—	—	—	1
1 - Rarely (less than once a month)	1	3	0	1	1	5
2 - Occasionally (once or twice a month)	2	4	5	5	2	9
3 - Often (about once a week)	5	2	6	3	3	8
4 - Very often (several times a week)	4	6	4	5	4	8
5 - Daily	15	8	7	8	4	18
TOTAL NO. OF RESPONSES RECEIVED	27 (55.1%)	23 (46.94%)	22 (44.9%)	22 (44.9%)	14 (28.57%)	

Table 4-21 below examines the interaction between the type of context in which the Guernsey 2010 informants use Guernesiais, and the frequency with which they reported using the variety nowadays. Among low-frequency speakers of Guernesiais (those who reported using Guernesiais *Rarely* or *Not at all*), family gatherings were the most frequently reported context. Though one informant reporting use of Guernesiais *Rarely* stated that they would use Guernesiais in an *Everyday communication* context, the remaining responses from the low-frequency speakers indicate that these individuals' use of Guernesiais is almost entirely dependent on chance encounters at one-off events rather than regular contact with specific interlocutors. Though these informants may attend *Regular non-family social gatherings*, and may well encounter other Guernesiais speakers there, the informants appear to favour English during interaction with their acquaintances. Isolation (for example through lack of transport) must not be discounted

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[24] The informants each had the option to select more than one context in response to Question 1(c), so the table shows the number of times a particular context was reported by the informants who reported a given frequency of Guernesiais use.

as a factor which may adversely influence informants' attendance of such occasions, though it should also be noted that low frequencies of language use often correlate with lower levels of fluency and lower rates of vocabulary recall; this is likely to reduce an informant's confidence in his or her abilities to converse in Guernesiais, thus decreasing the likelihood with which they would employ the variety outside their immediate family context. It should also be noted that a number of infrequent speakers of Guernesiais have maintained their use of the language precisely because they have strong family links with the variety.

The important role that social ties play in language maintenance is indicated in the responses offered by the medium-frequency speakers of Guernesiais (those reporting use of Guernesiais *Occasionally* or *Often*). Over half these speakers reported using Guernesiais during the course of *Regular non-family social gatherings*. *Cultural events* appear to be an important forum for expression in the variety for almost half the medium-frequency informants, while slightly fewer of them (41%) cited *Everyday communication* as a context in which they would employ Guernesiais. Fewer medium-frequency speakers still reported using Guernesiais during *Family gatherings*; non-family social networks appear to be more important to these speakers. *Performance* engages the fewest informants from this group (just five of the 17), suggesting that these informants are more likely to attend cultural events or performance occasions as passive visitors, using Guernesiais if they happen to chance upon an acquaintance, rather than as active participants.

The use of Guernesiais at *Family gatherings* is more common among high-frequency speakers of Guernesiais (those who use Guernesiais *Very often* or *Daily*), with just under 54% of the speakers in this group reporting that they would employ Guernesiais in this context. The number of informants from these two frequency groups engaging in *Cultural events* is only slightly higher than for the medium-frequency speakers, at 50%, while the number of informants engaging in *Performance* remains relatively constant (at around 30%). Fewer high-frequency speakers speak Guernesiais at *Regular non-family social gatherings*, but this forms a counterpoint to the significant increase in use of the variety in *Everyday communication* reported by these individuals: 73% of the high-frequency speakers report using Guernesiais for this purpose, compared with 41% of the medium-frequency speakers and just 16% of the low-frequency speakers.

Earlier in §4.3.2 we noted that a link exists between the informants' place of origin on the island, and the frequency with which they use Guernesiais. In examining the interaction between type of context for Guernesiais use and informant area of origin in Table 4-23 below, it is interesting to note the concomitant differences between the types of context reported by informants from each area of the island. Surprisingly, it is the informants from the Low Parishes who most report themselves as speaking Guernesiais in *Everyday communication*, with the proportion of informants who reported using Guernesiais for this purpose decreasing as we move south through the island. The reverse is true for *Family gatherings*, however, which would suggest that Guernesiais-speaking family networks are stronger and/or more active in the High Parishes of the south west. The densest Guernesiais-speaking non-family social networks also appear to be concentrated in the island's south west, though unusually the Central Parishes lag some way behind the Low Parishes in this respect. The use of Guernesiais at *Cultural events* is relatively evenly reported by informants from the Low and Central Parishes, meanwhile, with a slightly higher rate among inhabitants of the Higher Parishes.

Table 4-23. Parish affiliation against types of context in which the informants speak Guernesiais.

| Type of context | No. of informants | | | |
	Low Parishes *n=9*	Central Parishes *n=23*	High Parishes *n=17*	TOTAL
Everyday communication	6 (66.7%)	14 (60.9%)	7 (41.2%)	27 (55.1%)
Family gatherings	3 (33.3%)	11 (47.8%)	9 (52.9%)	23 (46.9%)
Regular non-family social gatherings (e.g. club, pub, church)	5 (55.6%)	6 (26.1%)	11 (64.7%)	22 (44.9%)
Cultural events (e.g. Viaër Marchi)	4 (44.4%)	10 (43.5%)	8 (47.1%)	22 (44.9%)
Performance (e.g. Eisteddfod, radio)	4 (44.4%)	6 (26.1%)	4 (23.5%)	14 (28.8%)

Though we might have expected the more gregarious speakers from the south west of the island to be most likely to take part in *Performance*, it is actually the Low Parish speakers who report using Guernesiais for this kind of activity in the greatest

proportion. The unexpectedly high proportion of Low Parish informants taking part in Guernesiais performance activities compared with the proportions of informants from the other areas is probably due to the fact that Guernesiais has become so eroded in the north of the island, and that speakers from this area are appreciably in the minority: for this reason, Low Parish speakers are the most likely to feel a need to manifest their speech identity by demonstrating their vanishing variety of Guernesiais in a performance setting, thereby making their presence felt within the wider speech community.
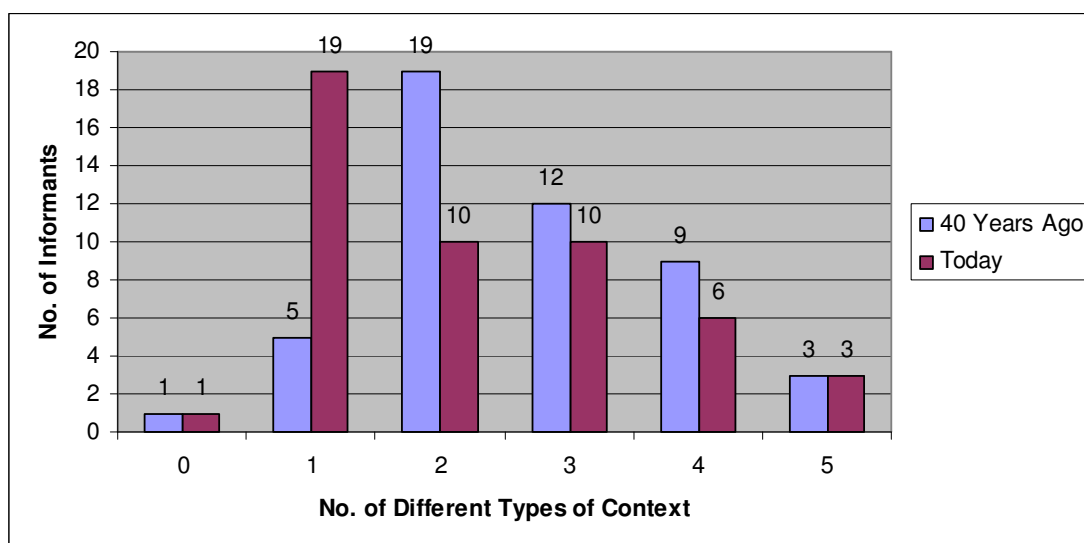
Figure 4-9. Changes in the range of contexts for Guernesiais use encountered by the 49 informants.

The self-reported data in Figure 4-9 shows that the range of contexts for Guernesiais use encountered by the informants has reduced dramatically over the past 40 years. Greater numbers of the Guernsey 2010 informants reported using Guernesiais in either two, three or four of the contexts outlined in Figure 4-8 above, while the number of speakers who report using Guernesiais in only one of the contexts today has nearly quadrupled compared with the reported figure for the 1970s.

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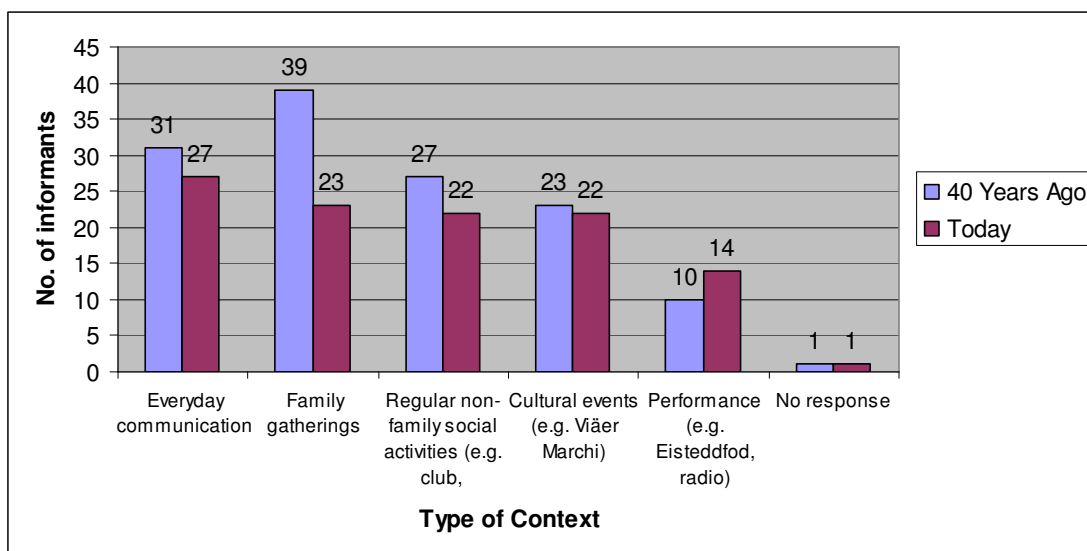
Figure 4-10. Changes in the type of context for Guernesiais use encountered by the 49 informants.

Figure 4-10, meanwhile, profiles the type of context for Guernesiais use encountered by the Guernsey 2010 informants now compared with forty years ago.[25] While the numbers of informants who reported using the variety in *Everyday communication*, *Regular non-family social activities* and *Cultural events* have remained roughly proportional, with the slight decrease over time resulting naturally from the decline in usage (cf. §4.3.2 above), the number of individuals employing Guernesiais as a medium of communication during *Family gatherings* has fallen sharply. This reflects the loss over time of the older Guernesiais-speaking generations born in the nineteenth century, as well as the increase in the use of English among younger generations of islanders since the Second World War: two facets of the same coin. It is interesting to note that the number of informants involved in *Performance* in the variety has increased over time, the only context in which this has happened. Four of the informants have evidently begun performing in Guernesiais later in life, which further suggests the importance that performance holds in the maintenance of vanishing varieties.

4.3.5   Written Guernesiais

Guernesiais, in common with many of the regional French *parlers* and the English dialects, is primarily an oral language. That is not to say that written forms of the variety do not exist: as we observed earlier in §2.1, the late nineteenth century brought

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[25] It should be noted that the self-assessment questionnaire questions pertaining to the use of Guernesiais 40 years ago do not account specifically for the fact that a number of the younger informants were in full-time employment 40 years ago, and may thus have had the opportunity to use Guernesiais regularly with their colleagues in the workplace. Since almost all the Guernsey 2010 informants are now retired, the number of informants employing Guernesiais in this setting will have decreased.

about a flourishing vernacular literature movement which continues, after a fashion, to this day. The data from the Guernsey 2010 study, however, suggest that participation in writing activities in Guernesiais among modern native speakers is in fact very limited: a point of some concern to language revitalisation activists.

3(a)	How often do you write in Guernsey French? **(Tick one)**	□ 0 - Not at all □ 1 - Rarely (less than once a month) □ 2 - Occasionally (once or twice a month) □ 3 - Often (about once a week) □ 4 - Very often (several times a week) □ 5 - Daily
	If you answer 1-5, please complete question 3(b).	
3(b)	For which purpose(s) do you write in Guernsey French? **(Tick all that apply)**	□ Performance (Eisteddfod, Press articles, poems) □ Writing at the request of others (e.g. articles, speeches) □ Communication with other Guernesiais speakers □ Diary/personal writing □ Everyday writing (notes, shopping lists)

Figure 4-11. Questions about the informants' use of written Guernesiais.

As part of the behavioural element of the self-assessment questionnaire, the informants were asked to report on the frequency with which they write in their native variety. They were also asked to indicate the purposes for which they do so (see Figure 4-11 above). The responses reveal that the majority of the Guernsey 2010 informants — 36 of the 49 individuals interviewed — do not write in Guernesiais at all (see Table 4-24 below). Of those that did report using written Guernesiais, only one professed to writing the variety with any regularity; three further informants estimated that they might write in Guernesiais once or twice a month, while for the remaining nine the use of written Guernesiais remains a rare (less than monthly) occurrence.

Table 4-24. Frequency of written Guernesiais use among the 49 informants.

Frequency	No. of Informants
0 - Not at all	36
1 - Rarely (less than once a month)	9
2 - Occasionally (once or twice a month)	3
3 - Often (about once a week)	0
4 - Very often (several times a week)	1
5 - Daily	0
TOTAL	49

The range of purposes for which these 13 informants commit their native variety to writing is, perhaps unsurprisingly, rather narrow. Eight individuals reported writing in Guernesiais for one purpose only; four reported using written Guernesiais for two of the purposes given in the question rubric, while just one individual (the most frequent and, coincidentally, one of the youngest of the Guernsey 2010 speakers) reported using written Guernesiais for three of the purposes listed (see Table 4-25).

Table 4-25. Number of different purposes for which written Guernesiais is used by the 49 informants.

No. of different purposes	0	1	2	3	4	5
No. of informants	37[26]	8	4	1	0	0

In the question concerning the purpose of the informants' use of written Guernesiais, individuals were asked to differentiate between the use of written Guernesiais to create pieces expressly designed for performance or exhibition, for example items for the island's Eisteddfod (cf. §4.3.3 above), and for more functional pieces of writing

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[26] One informant reported writing in Guernesiais, but did not specify any purposes for which they did so. It is for this reason that the number of informants reporting zero contexts is higher than the total number of informants reporting that they do not write in Guernesiais at all.

(including reports for cultural groups, or notes for speeches or sermons). They were also offered three further everyday writing contexts to choose from. The informants' responses to these options are presented in Table 4-26 below.

Performance and exhibition provide important motivation for the use of written Guernesiais. Five informants reported writing show-pieces in Guernesiais specifically for exhibition, while several of the nine informants who reported writing in Guernesiais at the request of others mentioned that they usually did so with some form of performance in the variety ultimately in mind (for example drafting a sermon). Although this ostensibly suggests that Guernesiais speakers put pen to paper to bring the variety to the attention of a wider audience, most of these written pieces are in fact intended primarily for the benefit of other Guernesiais speakers. While the island's anglophone population is receptive to the pieces entered in the Guernsey French section of the Eisteddfod, and to short stories published in the island's newspaper, these pieces are primarily written by Guernesiais speakers wishing to prove their skill at language art to their peers, or to express themselves or share experiences with other speakers of the variety. Similarly, most of the writing in Guernesiais undertaken at the request of others concerns the transactions of cultural groups, or personal notes for speeches and suchlike. Though anglophone-only islanders may take an interest in Guernsey's indigenous linguistic culture (and indeed enjoy hearing Guernesiais spoken), their appreciation of it is perforce limited by their lack of comprehension. That writing in Guernesiais is generally for the benefit of other members of the speech community is further confirmed by the six further informants who reported writing in the variety in order to communicate with other Guernesiais speakers.

Table 4-26. Purposes for which written Guernesiais is used by the 49 informants.

Purpose for which written Guernesiais is used	No. of informants
Performance (Eisteddfod, Press articles, poems)	5
Writing at the request of others (e.g. articles, speeches)	9
Communication with other Guernesiais speakers	6
Diary/personal writing	0
Everyday writing (notes, shopping lists)	0

What is striking is that, though they sometimes use the variety to reach out and communicate with other people, or to express themselves in creative writing, the 13 Guernsey 2010 informants who professed to writing in the variety do not use Guernesiais for personal writing at all. Writing in English comes more naturally to them, as the medium in which they received their education; furthermore, the use of written English has been reinforced constantly throughout their lifetimes by the pervasiveness of the language in all aspects of everyday life. Even the oldest of the Guernsey 2010 informants will have had to engage with written English in everything from product advertising to filling out official forms and documents.

As we noted in §2.1, the lack of a definitive standard for written Guernesiais has also contributed to low rates of functional literacy in the variety. Writing in a standardised variety with an established orthography is a faster and considerably more reassuring experience for a person unconfident in their own language abilities than the uncertainty of having to transcribe their indigenous oral vernacular, particularly in a case such as that of Guernesiais where the variety's phonological system does not map neatly onto those of neighbouring standardised languages. Unless a Guernesiais-speaking individual particularly wishes to express himself in his native tongue, English is thus a more economical choice of language when it comes to the written ephemera of daily life.

4.3.6   Summary

The self-reported data from the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants' responses to the behavioural questions in the self-assessment questionnaire revealed several interesting trends in patterns of Guernesiais use among modern native speakers. It should be borne in mind that, where linguistic behaviour is concerned, the Guernsey 2010 sample group was to an extent biased by the nature of the sampling technique employed: an individual who does not usually speak Guernesiais to family members or friends is unlikely to have been suggested as an informant, for example (cf. §3.2.3). Though this implies a degree of homogeneity in speaker behaviour, there is actually a range of individual variation within the data; it is interesting to note how this individual variation interacts with wider patterns of variation conditioned by social factors.

The Guernsey 2010 informants are relatively frequent users of their native variety, with a little over half reporting that they speak Guernesiais at least once a week. Individual frequencies of Guernesiais use appear to be linked to personal circumstances: more frequent speakers were often found to have access to a broader range of interlocutors than those who reported speaking Guernesiais less often. The type of interlocutor encountered by the informants was also found to be important. The most frequent speakers were often found to be married to another Guernesiais speaker, and to use the variety regularly with family and close friends; those reporting lower frequencies of Guernesiais use reported correspondingly fewer linguistic ties with members of their immediate social network. The sample group as a whole showed a considerably greater inclination to use Guernesiais with members of their family or close friends rather than with members of a club or social group, which suggests that the closest members of an individual's social network are crucial to their current patterns of use.

This significance is further confirmed by the relationship between the type of context reported by the informants, and the frequency with which they use Guernesiais: high-frequency speakers were the most numerous to report using the variety for everyday communication and at family gatherings, in addition to other social occasions and cultural events, while low-frequency speakers appear more likely to speak Guernesiais at one-off occasions. The informants' responses overall indicate that Guernesiais' sphere of use today is very limited. The number of potential contexts offered to the informants in the question rubric was already, by necessity, restricted to five; it is therefore all the more striking that around 80% of the informants reported using Guernesiais in three or fewer of the contexts, with nearly 40% of the informants overall reporting use of Guernesiais in just one. Perhaps unsurprisingly, everyday communication was reported as the most popular context overall in which today's speakers employ the variety; the total number of informants reporting use of Guernesiais at family gatherings also further underlined the role that kinship ties play in language maintenance. Regular non-family social gatherings and cultural events were less frequently reported overall as contexts in which the Guernsey 2010 informants might use Guernesiais, while performance was the least reported context of all. It should be noted, however, that despite the low figure, the proportion of the Guernsey 2010 informants engaging in performance-related activities (a little under 30%) is actually very high when compared with the equivalent percentage among the island's English speakers.

Age was found to be inversely proportional to the Guernsey 2010 informants' frequency of Guernesiais use overall. Older speakers have fewer opportunities to use the variety than their younger counterparts, while the youngest speakers' more frequent use of Guernesiais is one of the key reasons they have continued to use the variety when most individuals of their age group use English exclusively. Those informants aged 60–89 were found to have the greatest range of potential interlocutors; many of these individuals grew up within a strong social network of Guernesiais speakers, and a number married within the Guernesiais-speaking community. Informants aged 70–79 were most likely to speak Guernesiais with close friends or social acquaintances, while informants aged 80–89 showed a stronger preference for speaking Guernesiais with members of their family. The oldest and youngest speakers are alike in that both groups have fewer individuals of their own ages to socialise with in Guernesiais; this is due to the inevitable consequences of ageing in the former case, the abrupt cessation of intergenerational transmission during the post-war years in the latter.

The number of potential interlocutors available to an individual often influences the range of different contexts in which they might employ the variety. Older speakers, by virtue of their more limited contacts and reduced mobility, typically encounter fewer situations in which they might use Guernesiais than the individuals in the middle of the age range. Though the youngest individuals also encounter fewer Guernesiais-speaking interlocutors than the speakers in the middle age bands, they actually tend to employ Guernesiais in a broader range of contexts than their seniors as they have to work harder to maintain their use of the variety. The younger speakers typically use their Guernesiais at one-off events or occasions, whereas older speakers have stronger kinship and social network ties with the variety; they are therefore more likely to use Guernesiais in everyday communication, in addition to a range of other situations.

The female Guernsey 2010 informants were slightly more likely than the males to use Guernesiais frequently; they also reported using Guernesiais in a greater range of contexts than the males. While the female informants were most likely to use Guernesiais with their spouse or with close friends, the males reported using Guernesiais more frequently with extended family or close friends. This was further reflected in the contexts in which the two sexes reported using Guernesiais. The female informants use the variety more regularly in everyday communication and at non-family

social occasions, settings where they are more likely to interact with immediate family or close friends; the male informants appear more willing to speak Guernesiais with individuals outside their immediate family circle, reporting use of Guernesiais at family gatherings and cultural events more often than the females.

Table 4-27. Relationship between parish affiliation and patterns of Guernesiais use.

	Low Parishes *n=9*	Central Parishes *n=23*	High Parishes *n=17*
Frequency of Guernesiais use	Low (less than once or twice a month)	Mid to High (either monthly/weekly or daily)	High (very often to daily)
Range of interlocutors encountered	Limited (1-2 types)	Variable (either 1-2 or 4 types)	Moderate (1-3 types)
Range of contexts in which Guernesiais is used	Limited	Varies	Varies

Though the Guernsey 2010 informants no longer necessarily live in the parishes in which they grew up, it is interesting to note that an individual's area of origin within the island nonetheless exerts a degree of influence over their likely language behaviour today. Table 4-27 summarises general patterns of language behaviour among the Guernsey 2010 informants from the three different parish groupings. Informants from the Low Parishes in the north of the island are the least frequent speakers of Guernesiais, which is consistent with the pattern of Anglicisation within the island during the nineteenth century. It is no coincidence that the informants from this area are also the least numerous; this is reflected in the limited range of interlocutors Low Parish habitants can expect to encounter, and has repercussions in the limited range of contexts for Guernesiais use available to these speakers.

The Central Parish informants' use of Guernesiais appears to be more closely indexed to their individual personal circumstances. Individuals with strong network connections to the variety typically use Guernesiais frequently with a range of different interlocutors, and in a range of different situations. Those who have fewer kinship or social ties with Guernesiais tend to be moderately frequent speakers, with a correspondingly more restricted range of potential interlocutors and possibilities for Guernesiais use. The responses of the High Parish informants from the island's south west are in some

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respects similar, in that these individuals tend to use Guernesiais with a moderate range of interlocutors; the High Parish informants tend to share strong social or kinship ties with their interlocutors, however, which is reflected in high frequencies of Guernesiais use among informants from this area. The range of contexts in which the High Parish informants employ Guernesiais is also linked to their individual circumstances, and consequently varies.

The Guernsey 2010 informants' estimates of their own changing usage confirm the observation that Guernesiais is spoken less frequently today than it was forty years ago. A particular decline was noted in the number of informants who claimed to speak the variety daily. A concomitant reduction in the range of potential interlocutors has also been observed over time; this may be attributed partly to dwindling speaker numbers, both as a result of non-transmission and owing to the inevitable consequences of an ageing speaker population, and to a number of other social factors (for example loss of regular contact with acquaintances due to a reduction in mobility in later life). It was striking that the number of informants who reported using Guernesiais with their immediate family dropped sharply: it is likely that many speakers habitually used Guernesiais when conversing with their parents, but have lost this outlet over the past 40 years as they have aged, and their parents have passed away.

The loss of the older, Guernesiais-speaking generations over time is reflected in the relatively sharp drop in the number of informants who reported using Guernesiais at family gatherings today compared with forty years ago. Declining frequencies of use are reflected more generally in an overall reduction in the number of informants able to report use of Guernesiais in each of the contexts given in the questionnaire rubric. Interestingly, the only exception to this general trend concerned participation in performance-related activities, which actually appears to have increased. The Guernsey 2010 informants are evidently becoming increasingly aware of the importance of raising awareness of their native variety, particularly since it has now become overshadowed in all domains by the presence of what Grenoble and Whaley term 'the language of wider communication': English (2006: 15).

Nowhere is the pre-eminence of English on the island more evident than in the informants' responses to the behavioural questions which concerned writing in the variety. Only 13 of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants reported that they committed their

Guernesiais to writing, and only one informant claims to do so with any regularity. Though some of the respondents use their writing to engage in performance or exhibition-type language activities, which are accessible by Guernsey's wider anglophone public, most occurrences of written Guernesiais are primarily for the benefit and appreciation of other Guernesiais speakers.

4.4   CONCLUSION

The 49 informants of the Guernsey 2010 corpus were asked to report on their usage of Guernesiais now compared with their estimated usage forty years ago, and their responses reveal a general decline in the use of the variety: today, overall, Guernesiais is used less frequently, to fewer types of interlocutor and in fewer situations than before. Compared with many of their peers, however, the Guernesiais speakers profiled in the Guernsey 2010 sample group are nonetheless relatively frequent users of the variety; individual levels of use are linked to personal circumstances, including the range and type of interlocutors encountered and the contexts in which the informants typically use their Guernesiais. These factors were found to interact with age and, to a much lesser extent, sex; interestingly, despite the mobility of the Guernsey 2010 informants within the island during their lifetimes, the informants' parish area of origin was also found to influence patterns of language use. The use of written Guernesiais remains universally rare, meanwhile, and tends to be the preserve of those who are actively involved in language maintenance activities. Owing to the powerful influence of English, few of the Guernsey 2010 informants are functionally literate in their native variety.

The behavioural data gathered as part of the self-assessment questionnaire indicate that, despite certain commonalities between members of the Guernesiais speech community, the Guernsey 2010 informants' language use is apt to be influenced by socio-biographical factors including their sex and age, but more particularly their parish area of origin within the island. It is not unreasonable to suppose, particularly given the wealth of academic and anecdotal evidence to support the assertion, that these factors may equally exercise an influence over the phonology of modern Guernesiais.

In Chapter 2 we identified a number of characteristic phonological features of Guernesiais, as summarised in the work of Spence (1984) and Jones (2008). While

some were said to be present throughout the variety as a whole, setting it apart from mainland French and, in certain cases, from the other Norman varieties, other phonological features were reported to be subject to diatopic variation. It was noted, however, that Spence (1984) and Jones (2008) based their summaries upon earlier phonological studies of Guernesiais which drew on data gathered during the first half of the twentieth century.

In order to assess the extent and nature of the extant phonological variation in modern Guernesiais, new speech data were gathered from the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants by means of a translation word list task (the protocol for which is outlined in Chapter 3). Analysis of the data revealed that the observations of Spence (1984), Jones (2008) *et al* do not always accurately reflect the Guernesiais spoken today: just as the circumstances of the Guernesiais speech community have changed across the twentieth century, so too have the variety's phonological characteristics.

In Chapter 5 which follows, we will examine those aspects of Guernesiais phonology which apply universally to modern speakers of the variety. While some of these features have been present across all sub-dialects of the variety since Sjögren (1964) carried out his fieldwork in the 1920s, this chapter will also report on those features which no longer demonstrate the diatopic variation reported in earlier sources. Chapter 6, meanwhile, explores the features of modern Guernesiais phonology which do vary between the different parish areas. In addition to presenting an assessment of the ways in which existing patterns of diatopic variation in Guernesiais phonology have changed, this chapter will bring to light evidence of hitherto unreported variation.

5

CHARACTERISTIC PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF GUERNESIAIS

5.1   INTRODUCTION

We noted in Chapter 2 that existing phonological studies of Guernesiais are based upon data which was gathered in the early or mid twentieth century from adult native-speaker informants. The composition of the Guernesiais speech community has altered greatly since that time: none of the early twentieth-century speakers remain, while the community's advancing age profile reduces the likelihood with which one might chance upon once of the informants from an earlier study with every passing year. Furthermore, seismic shifts in social attitudes towards Guernesiais during the second half of the twentieth century have meant that the linguistic environment into which the current generation of adult native speakers was born has been very different to that known by previous generations. Consequently, it is probable that the variety has undergone phonological change since these studies were carried out despite the halt theoretically brought about by interruption to the chain of intergenerational transmission.

In order to test the hypothesis of this study, which is that variability in modern Guernesiais phonology persists, and correlates with speaker place of origin within the island, a body of recorded speech data was gathered according to the methodology described in Chapter 3. The findings presented here and in Chapter 6 are drawn from the 49 informants' responses to the word list task, which was outlined in detail in §3.3.3. The responses were transcribed manually by the researcher from the recordings made, and the data from individual informants was then compared. To give a general impression of the transcription process, the working transcripts for selected informants are reproduced in Appendix E.

As part of the analysis, the researcher sought to establish whether any social dimension was evident to the patterns which emerged from the data. The key criteria considered were sex, age, and geographical origin within the island (cf. §3.2, and in particular §3.2.4 and §3.2.5); in order to facilitate comparison, the informants were grouped by

decade, and according to the tripartite geographical grouping given in Table 4-3. While previous studies have considered diatopic variation in Guernesiais phonology, the present study is the first to introduce the social variables of sex and age as a basis for phonological comparison.

Since there is at present no definitive statement regarding the phonemic inventory and allophonic variation in Guernesiais, the transcriptions below have been presented between square brackets (cf. Laver 1994). It should be noted, too, that in most cases vowel length has not been specifically recorded in the transcriptions; an evident exception was made for the transcriptions to be compared in §5.3.6, where variability in vowel length was the principal object of examination.

In this chapter, we will examine those aspects of Guernesiais phonology which have been found to apply universally to modern speakers of the variety. In §5.2 we consider those features, as reported by Spence (1984) and Jones (2009), among others, which have not changed since earlier accounts were written; meanwhile, those universal features which are now realised in a different way to that reported, and which display evidence of idiolectal variation, are treated in §5.3 and §5.4 respectively. While the phonological features described in these sections have been present across all sub-dialects of the variety since Sjögren (1964) carried out his fieldwork in the 1920s, this chapter also examines one feature which has been reported to vary diatopically, but which now no longer demonstrates the variation reported in earlier sources; this feature is presented in §5.5.

5.2 STABLE PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF GUERNESIAIS

5.2.1 Alveolar [t/d]

The appearance of alveolar [t/d] in Guernesiais, as opposed to the historically recorded dental pronunciation which is also favoured (though not exclusively) in modern Standard French, is noted by Jones and Spence as an example of the influence English has had over Guernesiais over the past two generations (Coveney 2001: 29). The present researcher observed that alveolar [t/d] was employed in the speech of all 49 of the Guernsey 2010 informants, suggesting that the alveolar articulation has indeed

completely replaced dental [t̪/d̪] in modern Guernesiais speakers' phonological repertoires.

5.2.2 Retention of Latin [k] before [a]

Contrary to the developments in Standard French, Latin [k] before [a] did not become palatalised in Guernesiais; the sources claim that the variety retains the [k] in this context. The Guernsey 2010 data shows that the retention of Latin [k] before [a] is maintained in modern Guernesiais: all 49 informants from the main sample group realised the two sample words — 31 – *caud/caoud* <hot> and *cat(s)* in 149 – *aën cat, daëux cats* (m) <one cat, two cats> — with palatal plosive [k] rather than the Standard French [ʃ].

5.2.3 Latin [k] before a front vowel

Where Latin [k] occurred historically before a front vowel other than [a], Guernesiais retains a palatalised consonant, while SF differentiated further to give [s] in this context. Later borrowings, such as the Arabic <sugar>, have also been observed to pattern in the same way by analogy. This is largely confirmed by the Guernsey 2010 data, as may be seen from Table 5-1.

Table 5-1. Realisations of [k] *before a front vowel in three items by the 49 informants.*

Treatment of [k] before a front vowel	No. of tokens	Inf. no.	Parish	Examples from the Guernsey 2010 corpus		
				10 chent <hundred>	47 chucre (f) <sugar>	156 ichin <here>
[k] > [ʃ]	44	15	Vale	[ʃɔ̃]	[ʃykɾ̥]	[iʃɑ̃ᵀ]
		10	St Sampson's	[ʃɔ̃]	[ʃykɾ̥]	[iʃæᵀ]
		21	Vale (det.)	[ʃo]	[ʃykɹ̩]	[iʃæᵀ]
		08i	Castel	[ʃɔ̃]	[ʃykɹ̩]	[iʃæᵀ]
		35	St Saviour's	[ʃõ]	[ʃʁkɾ̥]	[iʃæᵀ]
		23	St Pierre du Bois	[ʃɔ̃]	[ʃʁk]	[iʃæ]
		09	Torteval	[ʃo̞]	[ʃyk]	[iʃæᵀ]
		27ii	Forest	[ʃo̞]	[ʃʁk]	[iʃæ̃]
[k] > [s] in *chent*	1	02	St Sampson's	[sõ]	[ʃykɹ̩]	[iʃæᵀ]
[k] > [s] in *chucre*	4	25	St Saviour's	[ʃɔ̃]	[s̥ykɹ̩]	[iʃæᵀ]
		04ii	St Saviour's	[ʃɔ̃̃]	[syk]	[iʃæᵀ]
		19ii	St Pierre du Bois	[ʃo]	[syk]	[iʃæᵀ]
		33	Forest	[ʃo]	[sykɹ̥]	[iʃæ̃]

The majority of informants realised [k] as the expected [ʃ] in the target items they produced. Five informants deviated from this slightly, each producing one [s]-initial form, but their remaining responses patterned according to the historical rule (see Table 5-2). The five exceptional tokens appear to be anomalous, and may probably be attributed to the influence of the Standard French equivalents.

Table 5-2. Treatments of historical [k] *before a front vowel other than* [ɑ].

Item	[ʃ]	[s]	No Response
10 *chent*	48	1	0
47 *chucre (f)*	43	4	2
156 *ichin*	49	0	0

That informant 02 is the only informant to produce [s] for *chent* appears to be symptomatic of the infrequency with which she uses Guernesiais. The remaining informants seem to have known this term readily, but to have hesitated slightly more with *chucre*. The four informants who produced [s] forms for this item are not particularly at the younger end of the scale, and their use of the variety is relatively frequent. From a sociological perspective, it is telling that this item received two non-responses: most of the informants had a portion of their childhood or youth overshadowed by the privations of the German Occupation during the Second World War, and so did not have ready access to luxuries such as sugar; for this reason, the word for this commodity has not anchored itself as strongly in their Guernesiais, which was acquired during this period. Nonetheless, most informants follow the historical rule of Latin [k] before a front vowel (other than [a]) changing to [ʃ].

5.2.4   Word-final [j] > [l]

According to the sources, [l] is pronounced word-finally in Guernesiais in items such as 85 – *fille* (f) <girl> where Standard French has word-final [j]: this gives Guernesiais [fil], where Standard French has [fij]. This observation is borne out in the Guernsey 2010 data. As may be seen from Table 5-3, all of the informants who responded to this item with the target word produced forms with the lateral approximant [l] rather than the palatal approximant [j] which features word-finally in the Standard French pronunciation. Though around half of the informants produced [l] as a regular voiced consonant, a smaller but significant group devoiced the final consonant in their responses to give [fil̥]. Final consonant devoicing has been noted elsewhere as being characteristic of Guernesiais, and is discussed in §6.4.1.

Table 5-3. Realisations of word-final [l] *in 85 –* fille *(f) <girl> by the 49 informants.*

| Item | No. of tokens | | | | | | |
	[l]	[l̥]	[lˠ]	Liquid deleted	Alternative Item	Ambiguous token	No Response
85 *fille* (f)	23	16	4	2	1	2	1

A scattering of other allophonic variants of word-final /l/ were also produced by the informants. There were four tokens of velarised or 'dark' [lˠ] in the responses, while in a further two tokens the final consonant was deleted altogether. There is no evidence in the data to link these alternative realisations of [l] to geographical and biographical factors or fluency, and the low numbers of these tokens suggest that the presence of allophonic variants of this kind is more likely to be due to idiolectal variation than to any change in progress. The data thus confirms previous reports of this feature.

5.2.5 Correspondence of Guernesiais [y] or [i] with Standard French [ɥi]

In Norman, secondary diphthongs arising from Latin diphthongised ŏ before a yod ultimately levelled to a monophthong of one or other of their elements. Accordingly, the vowel sound in 76 – *huile* (m) <oil>, 77 – *huit* <eight> and 78 – *li* <(=SF *lui*)>, which came from the secondary diphthong [yj] and is [ɥi] in Standard French, would be expected to be monophthongal [y] or [ji] / [i] in Guernesiais (Jones 2008: 31). According to the Guernsey 2010 data, however, the sound change has not proceeded in this way in all cases.

Table 5-4. Equivalents of SF [ɥ]+[i] *in three items by the 49 informants.*

Item	No. of tokens			
	[w] + front high vowel	Front high vowel	Alternative Item	*No Response*
76 *huile* (m)	47	0	0	2
77 *huit*	48	0	0	1
78 *li*	1	41	4	3

As may be seen from Table 5-4, item 78 – *li* <= SF *lui*> is the only one of the three example items to follow the expected pattern at all. Though informant 16 gave a slightly more Gallicised form [lwɪ], which replaces the labial-palatal approximant [ɥ] with labial-velar [w], as a general rule the informants produced *li* with the monophthongal form [li] resulting from the reduction of the secondary diphthong. This

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was not the case for *huile* and *huit*, however; in all of the responses received for these items, the vowel component was realised as a diphthong featuring a labial-velar approximant and a front high (or lowered-high) vowel.

As a point of comparison, it is interesting to examine the Guernesiais treatment of words which, in Standard French, are pronounced with the semi-vowel [w]. While in Standard French *huile* and *huit* are pronounced with [ɥi], as discussed above, *oui* and the archaic *ouïr* feature the contrasting diphthong [wi]. The pronunciations of the four Guernesiais equivalents, however, do not contrast; *oui* and *ouïr* typically feature similar [w] + front vowel forms to *huile* and *huit* (see Table 5-5). All 49 informants pronounced item 71 – *oui* <yes> in this way, while the lower number for item 72 – *ouïr* <to hear> is due to the number of informants offering an alternative translation for this word (most frequently the word for <to listen>, *ecoutaïr*).

Table 5-5. Equivalents of SF [w]+[a] *in four items by the 49 informants.*

Item	No. of tokens			
	[w] + vowel	Front vowel	Alternative Item	*No Response*
71 *oui*	49	0	0	0
72 *ouïr*	37	0	12	0
73 *bouais (m)*	48	0	0	1
74 *mé*	0	49	0	0

While the secondary diphthong [yj] has become [ɥi] in Standard French, but [wi] in Guernesiais, words which take [w] in Standard French appear to behave similarly in Guernesiais. The analogous example of Guernesiais 73 – *bouais* <wood>, for example, though Germanic in origin, maintains the [w] semi-vowel to become [bwe] or [bwɛ]. It is therefore noteworthy that the first person disjunctive pronoun 74 – *mé* <me> (*moi* in Standard French) is an exception to this trend, realised by all 49 informants as a monophthongal mid vowel (for example [mɛ]). Perhaps the exceptional behaviour of

the pronoun in this regard is due to the nature of the grammatical category, and the frequency with which such forms are realised in speech. It may be that these forms have become fossilised by their functionality, while the other lexical items have been more susceptible to change.

A selection of the forms produced by the informants is presented in Table 5-6. It should be noted that, though the responses adhere to the general tendencies outlined above, a degree of idiolectal variation appears to be inherent in the responses that were given.

Table 5-6. Treatment of secondary diphthongs from Latin diphthongised ŏ before a yod by selected informants.

Inf. no.	Parish of origin	Examples from the Guernsey 2010 corpus						
		76 *huile*	77 *huit*	78 *li*	71 *oui*	72 *ouïr*	73 *bouais*	74 *mé*
21	Vale	[lwi̥l]	[wɪt]	[li]	[wɐ̞ᴵ]	[wi]	[bwe]	[mɛ]
15	Vale	[lwi̥l]	[wɪt]	[li]	[wɪ]	[wɪ]	[bwe]	[mɛ]
20	Vale	[lwil]	[wɪt]	[lɪ]	[wɪ]	——	[bwe]	[mɛ]
03i	Castel	[lwi:l]	[wit]	[li]	[wæ]	[wi]	[bwɪ:]	[mɛ]
17	St Saviour's	——	——	——	[wɑᴵ]	[wɪ]	[bwe]	[mɛ]
16	St Saviour's	[lwi:l]	[wit]	[lwɪ]	[wi]	[wiɪ]	[bwe]	[mɛ̞]
11	St Saviour's	[lwi:l]	[wit]	[li]	[wæ̞]	[wi]	[bŏwɛ̞]	[mɛ̞]
43ii	St Saviour's	[lwil]	[wit]	[li]	[wæᴵ]	[wɪ]	[bwe]	[mɛ]
28	St Pierre du Bois	[lwi̥l]	[wi̞t]	[li]	[wi̞]	[wi̞]	[bwe]	[mɛ̆ᴵ]
14	St Pierre du Bois	[lwi:l̥ˡ]	[wi̞t]	[li]	[wɛ̞]	[wi]	[bwɛ̞]	[mɛ]
05	St Pierre du Bois	[wi̥l]	[wi̞t]	[li]	[wɛ]	——	[bwe]	[mɛ̞]
01	Torteval	[wi:l]	[wit]	——	[wɛ]	[wi̞]	[bwe:]	[mɛ]
04i	Torteval	[wi:l̥]	[wɪt]	[li]	[wɪ]	——	[bŭwe]	[mɛ]
33	Forest	[lwilˀ]	[wit]	[li]	[wi̞]	[wi]	[bwɛ]	[mɛ]

Though vowel length was not noted systematically in the transcriptions unless it was anticipated to be a salient feature of the analysis for that feature (cf. §6.1), any cases of particularly noticeable vowel lengthening were noted. We can see from the pronunciations of *huile* in particular (though also 03i and 01's pronunciations of *bouais*) that this is liable to vary somewhat between speakers. This is potentially a side-effect of the nature of the translation task, which asked informants to produce items in isolation rather than in context. In producing a citation form, it is possible that

informants might have lengthened the vowel, the better to emphasise its quality for the interviewer. Some final consonant devoicing was also present in certain realisations of this item.

Huit, *li* and *ouïr* exhibit comparable levels of idiolectal vowel height variation in the front-high range, with realisations typically falling in the area between front high unrounded [i] and lowered-high unrounded [ɪ]. Though *oui* ostensibly patterns in a similar fashion, it can be seen from Table 5-6 that this item is actually subject to a greater degree of variation. This is partly due to the interaction of stylistic as well as idiolectal factors: just as the Standard French *oui* [wi] is realised as [wɛ] in informal contexts, so too do realisations of the Guernesiais vary. Guernesiais is rarely used in formal contexts; at the time of interview, it was noted that a number of the informants gave their customary informal pronunciation of *oui*, only to self-correct (or indeed be corrected by a sibling or spouse) to a more formal version with a higher vowel position. Consequently, we have a range of pronunciations from [wi] to [wæ] for this item, with a number of vowels in between. Two diphthongised forms were also noted for this item, with 43ii giving [wæ̞ᵊ] and 17 supplying the more unusual back low unrounded vowel glide [wɑᵊ]. The informants' realisations of *bouais* and *mé*, meanwhile, tend to be more conservative. *Bouais* is most commonly realised with front mid-high unrounded [e], though there were some tokens of [ɛ] and one unusual instance where the vowel was raised to lowered-high by informant 03i. Though slight variation to the vowel of *mé* does occur, as demonstrated in the responses of 16, 28 and 05, this item was more reliably pronounced with the front mid-low unrounded vowel [ɛ].

5.2.6 Treatment of Latin ĕ before a palatal element

Jones reports that Latin ĕ before a palatal element 'originally diphthongized to [jɛ], which then combined with the yod to form a triphthong [jɛj]' (2008: 31). While in Early Old French this became [i], hence Latin LECTUM > SF and mainland Norman *lit* [li], Guernesiais is said to retain elements of historical diphthongisation: 83 – *llet* <bed> (Jones 2008: 31). According to the Guernsey 2010 data, this still appears to be the case: the historical glide sound is evident in the preponderance of [j]+vowel-initial forms produced by the majority of the informants (see Table 5-7). Five informants did however offer the Standard French form [li], of which more shortly.

Table 5-7. Realisations of 83 – llet *(m) <bed>.*

Realisation of 83 – llet *(m)*	No. of Tokens	Informants
[jɛ]	33	
[je]	1	18i
[jɛt]	6	03i, 06, 15, 20, 31, 41
[jæt]	4	03ii, 10, 37, 40
[li]	5	02, 07, 11, 33, 39

There is some variation in the quality of the vowel which follows [j] in the Guernesiais translations, though this appears to be idiolectal. 40 of the informants realise a front unrounded mid vowel: in most cases this is the mid-low [ɛ], although this is raised to [e] by informant 18i. The final consonant [t] is sounded by ten of the speakers, though the pronunciation of this sound may be attributed to diatopic variation (see §6.3.5); Table 5-8 reveals that all of the informants who offered pronunciations of this type came from the northern parishes of the Vale, St Sampson's and the Castel. Four informants lowered the vowel in *llet* to [æ]. This can be explained by patterns of diatopic variation in this particular vowel context (see §6.3.2): the four informants concerned mix the traditional low parish and high parish features in their idiolects.

*Table 5-8. Parish of origin and age of the 16 speakers whose realisations of
83 –* llet *(m)* <bed> *differed from those of the majority of the sample.*

Realisation of llet *(m)*	Informant No.	Parish	Age
[je]	18i	Torteval	87
[jɛt]	06	Vale	96
	15	Vale	88
	20	Vale	94
	03i	Castel	87
	31	Castel	76
	41	Castel	63
[jæt]	10	St Sampson's	81
	03ii	Castel	86
	37	Castel	75
	40	Castel	87
[li]	02	St Sampson's	77
	11	St Saviour's	66
	07	Forest	83
	33	Forest	79
	39	St Martin's	74

It is interesting to note the correspondence between the remaining five informants' use of the Standard French [li] pronunciation of this item and their relative fluency in Guernesiais. It would seem that these informants have relied upon their knowledge of Standard French to fill gaps in their Guernesiais vocabulary for this item; presumably this is because they have had more recent recourse to the Standard French form, and so this pronunciation comes more quickly to them. Indeed, informant 33 freely admitted that his more frequent use of Standard French than Guernesiais has reduced his facility with his native variety. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note in passing that, while ability in Standard French was once respected as the mark of an educated person, nowadays traces of Standard French in Guernesiais are regarded as symptoms of semi-speaker status, and are regarded with pity by more fluent speakers as an example of the deterioration of their language.

5.2.7   Retention of differences between Latin *an* + C and *en* + C: [ɑ̃] versus [ɔ̃]

Whereas Standard French and the other varieties of Norman have reduced differences between Latin *an* + C and *en* + C to the single sound [ɑ̃], this historical contrast is said to have been maintained in Guernesiais (Jones 2008: 36). Therefore, while Latin QUANDO, GAMBA, CENTUM and GENS all resulted in a low back unrounded nasalised vowel in Standard French to become *quand* [kɑ̃], *jambe* [ʒɑ̃mb], *cent* [sɑ̃] and *gens* [ʒɑ̃], in Guernesiais we would expect to see a phonological contrast between *quànd* and *gàmbe* on the one hand, and *chent* and *gens* on the other.

As may be seen from Table 5-9, this contrast persists in the modern spoken variety. Though the degree of nasalisation and vowel length did vary between the informants' responses, these have not been examined here as vowel quality was judged to be the key point of variation in this feature (cf. §6.2.2, §6.3.1 and §6.3.2 for further comments on variable nasalisation in Guernesiais). Nonetheless, we note in passing that vowel lengthening was more than usually apparent in the informants' responses to the plural noun *gens*.

Table 5-9. Pronunciation of four words deriving from Latin an + C and en + C by the 49 informants.

Item	No. of tokens							
	[ɛ⁽~⁾]	[æ⁽~⁾]	[o⁽~⁾]	[ɔ⁽~⁾]	[ɒ⁽~⁾]	[ɐw⁽~⁾]	*Alt. Item*	*No response*
4 *quànd* \<when\>	11	37	0	0	0	0	0	1
5 *gàmbe* (f) \<leg\>	8	30	1	0	0	0	10	0
10 *chent* \<hundred\>	0	0	24	24	1	0	0	0
11 *gens* (mpl) \<people\>	0	0	32	15	0	1	1	0

Some variation between [ɛ̃] and [æ̃] is apparent in the responses to *quànd* and *gàmbe*. This may be attributed to known diatopic variation, with speakers from the north of the island more likely to raise front near-low [æ̃] to [ɛ̃] in this phonological context (this is explored in greater detail in §6.3.2). It should be noted that there is some distortion in the results obtained for *gàmbe*, since 10 informants opted to give the alternative term *djeret*.[1] What is striking is that the overwhelming majority of the informants employ front mid to near-low unrounded vowels for these two items. Only one informant gave a back rounded vowel for *gàmbe*, perhaps influenced to an extent by the Standard French pronunciation. In contrast, *chent* and *gens* are very clearly associated with a back rounded mid vowel pronunciation; the one exception to this for *chent* supplied a back low rounded vowel, while for *gens* one informant advanced the back mid-low vowel to give the glide [ɐw̃]. A further informant paraphrased *gens* with *beaucoup d'maönde*, which is styled on the idiomatic Standard French *beaucoup du monde* (*beaucoup* would usually be translated by the more idiomatic *énne amas* in Guernesiais).

While the informants' responses were split evenly between the mid-high and mid-low vowels for *chent*, informants were twice as likely to produce the mid-high vowel for *gens*. It is unclear whether this is linked to plurality; certainly 30 of the 32 informants who responded with the mid-high variant also lengthened the vowel, which would suggest so. This evidence is not conclusive, however, as 10 of the 15 informants who gave the mid-low variant also lengthened the vowel in their responses.

Anglophones notoriously find it difficult to distinguish between Standard French [ɔ̃] and [ɑ̃], so it is possible that informants' knowledge of Standard French may account for the mid-low variants produced for *chent* and *gens*, in a situation where the mid-high variant is perceived as more characteristically Guernesiais. Though we cannot be certain of this, what is clear is that the historical contrast between reflexes of Latin *an* + C and *en* + C is maintained strongly in the modern spoken variety.

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[1] When questioned at interview as to the difference (if any) between the two terms, some informants posited that they might refer to a human leg versus that of an animal, or else to different parts of the leg (e.g. upper and lower). They all concluded eventually, however, that there was no real semantic difference, and that the choice of one over the other was essentially a matter of personal preference.

5.2.8 Guernesiais diphthong (French monophthong) from Latin tonic free ō and ŭ

While French and most of the Norman dialects have typically derived monophthongs from Latin tonic free ō and ŭ in words such as NODUM > Fr. *noeud* [nø] <knot>, Guernesiais speakers from all parishes are said to produce the diphthong [aw], save for contexts where Latin tonic free ō and ŭ occurred before a final [r]. If this still holds true in modern Guernesiais, then the informants' pronunciation of 119 – *faëu* (SF *feu*) <fire> and 120 – *flleur* (SF *fleur*) <flower> should differ: while the former should contain a diphthong, or traces of a diphthong, the latter should be realised consistently as a monophthong. The indications from the data gathered from the informants are that this still holds true.

Table 5-10. Vowels of 119 – faëu *(m) <fire> and* 120 – flleur *(f) <flower> in the speech of the 49 informants.*

Realisation of vowel		No. of Informants
119 – *faëu* (m)	120 – *flleur* (f)	
Evidence of diphthong	[ø]	35
Evidence of diphthong	[œ]	5
Evidence of diphthong	Evidence of diphthong	2
[æ]	[ø]	4
[æ]	[œ]	1
[œ]	[ø]	1
[no response]	[ø]	1

As may be observed from the two top rows of Table 5-10 above, 40 of the 49 informants realised the vocalic element of *faëu* with a glide articulation, but that of *flleur* with a monophthong. There was some variation in the vowel quality of the diphthongs produced: in addition to [æw], tokens of [æ^ɪ], [æ^ɛ] and [æ^ø] were also noted. The quality of the monophthongs in *flleur* was also noted to vary; though all of the monophthongs produced by these informants were front mid rounded vowels, both mid-

high and mid-low vowels were observed. The majority of these informants produced a mid-high vowel [ø], which seems to be the standard Guernesiais pronunciation, while the remaining five produced the more Gallicised mid-low [œ]. Two further informants produced diphthongised forms for both *faëu* and *flleur*. While these two informants' responses to *faëu* were confidently given, their translations of *flleur* were notably less assured. The glides produced by these individuals for that item are likely to be erroneous, due to prevarication over the pronunciation of this item.

Six of the seven remaining informants produced realisations of *faëu* and *flleur* which did not conform to the anticipated rule at all. While these informants' responses to *flleur* featured the anticipated front-mid rounded monophthongal pronunciation found elsewhere in the sample group, their realisations of *faëu* featured front vowel monophthongs. The realisation of *faëu* by five of the six with front near-low monophthongal [æ] seems likely to be due to the levelling of the [æw]-type diphthong, a process which we have observed elsewhere in the data. The five informants concerned (03ii, 11, 34ii, 18i and 12) all come from Central and Southern Parishes, and it was found that certain informants from these parts of the island demonstrated similar linguistic behaviour in a comparable context. Later, in §6.3.1, we will see that that 03ii, 11 and 12 demonstrated a tendency to reduce the nasalised diphthong [æ̃w] to a monophthong [æ̃], while 18i both reduced the diphthong and sounded an additional word-final nasal consonant. 34ii's usage was more variable, also demonstrated reduced diphthongs. The sixth informant (02), meanwhile, appears to have been influenced by the Standard French [fø] in her realisation of the Guernesiais *faëu*, producing the front mid-low unrounded pronunciation [fœ˘].

The final informant of the sample was unable to recall the Guernesiais word *faëu*, which meant that comparison between the two items for this individual could not be made. This informants' realisation of *flleur* contained an [ø] monophthong, however, which suggests that this individual's usage is in line with that of the other informants.

5.3 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES WHICH NOW DIFFER FROM PREVIOUS DESCRIPTIONS

5.3.1 The liquid /r/

Jones notes that the apical trilled [r] is used in Guernesiais rather than the SF uvular [ʀ] (2008: 37–38). Judging from the evidence presented by the Guernsey 2010 data, however, this may be something of a simplification of the present day situation.

Though the uvular trill is one of the most widely recognised phonological features of Standard French, it is in fact in recession in that variety; one of the more usual realisations by modern Standard French speakers is the fricative [ʁ] (Coveney 2001: 39). Normally, therefore, given previous accounts of the variety and the fact that English, not French, is now the dominant linguistic influence for Guernesiais speakers, it would be very surprising indeed to find tokens of the uvular trill [ʀ] in the data at all.

Informants' use of the liquid /r/ in modern Guernesiais was assessed through examination of a number of different lexical items from the word list, which when considered together gave an indication of their likely behaviour in six phonological contexts. Owing to the absence of a more appropriate item, *kerouaix* was used as an example of /r/ in an intervocalic-type context even though in practice the sound following /r/ is the labial-velar approximant [w]. It should be noted that voicing of /r/ was not taken into account for the purposes of the present analysis, though it evidently varied according to the surrounding consonants.

The results for the lexical items from the word list are presented in Table 5-11 below. Predictably, very few tokens of the Standard French-type variant occurred in the informants' responses; the three such tokens that were noted featured the uvular fricative articulation [ʁ] rather than the trill, and were all produced by a single informant, Informant 29. Yet though this informant's usage initially appears to be influenced by Standard French, at least for this feature, the uvular fricative does not appear uniformly in all of the items examined. While he realises *tcheur/coeur* as [tʃœʁ], with the uvular fricative, his pronunciation *l'herbe* takes the lowered approximant form [lɛʁ̞b̥] and his realisation of *rire* as [ɹiʁ] mixes both English and Gallic influences. His response to *roué* is particularly unusual, featuring an initial glottal fricative [hʊwɛ]. Since the forms of *r* produced by this informant in the remaining items are in line with

those produced by other informants, however, it seems likely that these unusual variants are due either to an idiolectal peculiarity, or else to anomalous usage triggered by the unfamiliarity of the interview setting and its associated tasks.

Table 5-11. Realisations of /r/ by the 49 informants.

Phonetic Context	Item	No. of tokens								
		[ʁ]	[r]	[ɾ]	[ɹ]	[ɻ̩]	R-Omission	Other pronun.	Alt. Item	No response
Initial (Pre-V)	57 *rire* <to laugh>	0	4	2	37	2	0	0	3	1
	58 *roué (m)* <wheel>	0	2	20	9	15	0	2	0	1
Post-C Pre-V	59 *crabe (f)* <crab>	1	1	8	36	0	0	0	2	1
	144 *grand* <big>	1	2	15	27	2	0	0	1	1
Post-C Pre-#	62 *cidre (m)* <cider>	0	2	2	23	0	21	1	0	0
	110 *treize* <thirteen>	0	1	1	47	0	0	0	0	0
Post-V Pre-C	54 *tcherbaön/ querbaön (m)* <coal>	0	0	35	6	8	0	0	0	0
	69 *l'herbe (f)* <grass>	1	4	9	5	26	2	0	2	0
Inter-vocalic (pre-[w])	205 *kerouaix (f)* <cross>	0	1	25	1	1	0	0	12	9
Post-V Pre-#	23 *tcheur/coeur (m)* <heart>	1	7	8	4	26	1	0	0	2
	57 *rire* <to laugh>	1	7	2	6	27	1	0	3	2
TOTAL	/539	5	31	127	201	107	25	3	23	17

Perhaps surprisingly, given the assertions of previous descriptions of Guernesiais, the apical trilled [r] was not especially prevalent in the data either. Once widely heard in mainland France, in more recent centuries [r] has retreated from the Standard spoken

language to become characterised as a feature of rural or dialectal speech, particularly in the south (Coveney 2001: 41). It would seem from the data that [r] has receded in modern Guernesiais as well; relatively few tokens of the apical trill were produced in the responses to the words sampled, with the greatest number of tokens occurring word-finally where /r/ is preceded by a vowel (as in *tcheur/coeur* and *rire*). Aside from this tendency, however, there was no particularly strong correlation between rates of [r]-occurrence and phonological context.

As may be seen from Table 5-12, the 31 out of 539 potential tokens which were realised as [r] were produced by just 12 informants, whose individual rates of [r] realisation vary. Only two of these informants are below the average sample group age of 79. The youngest of the [r]-producing informants, 41, is known to be a particularly conservative speaker (and unusually so for a speaker of her age). Age is the most salient social characteristic that these informants share, since there was no obvious patterning with regard to gender or parish affiliation. This, together with the relatively small number of tokens of [r] produced, supports the theory that the apical trill is becoming obsolescent in Guernesiais.

Table 5-12. Age range of informants who produced tokens of [r].

Informant	Age	No. of Tokens of [r]	Informant	Age	No. of Tokens of [r]
06	96	1	42i	82	1
35	96	5	27i	80	2
18ii	89	2	33	79	4
18i	87	2	36ii	79	2
23	87	5	14	74	1
40	87	2	41	63	4

We may conjecture at this point that speakers of Guernesiais have moved away from the use of [r] as it represents the last truly alien sound in the Guernesiais phonological system for modern individuals. We observe later in §5.4.1 that the other 'distinctive' consonant sounds of Guernesiais, [h], [tʃ] and [dʒ], are only truly so if we consider the

variety from a francophone point of view: these consonants have long formed part of the consonantal repertoire of English, and in that sense are unremarkable to modern Guernesiais speakers, all of whom have a fluent background in that language. Anglophones find apical trilled [r] unusual, however, and the gradual dropping of this sound from informants' personal phonological repertoires may account for the low token numbers encountered. The highest concentrations of [r] occur word-finally, perhaps since this realisation of the liquid stands out less obviously as being an 'alien' segment where the /r/ sound is prolonged at the end of a word. It may be speculated that the number of tokens of [r] would be higher in connected speech, for example in conversation; people are known to pay less attention to phonological features of their speech if they are being called upon to communicate content as well (Labov 1972). The informants would also be more likely to fully engage their Guernesiais phonological repertoire once they become fully immersed in the language. It was noted during the interviews that some informants found the constant switching between the two languages difficult at times, with elements of one variety occasionally carried over into the other until the individual realised this and corrected their own usage.

This interpretation is supported by the considerably greater number of tap articulations produced. Though similar in type of articulation to the trill, the tap or flap is less 'foreign' to anglophone ears as it occurs in various British accents (Coveney 2001: 43–4). The highest number of incidences occurred in those cases where [r] is followed by a voiced labial sound (the [w]/[u] in *roué* and *kerouaix*, and the bilabial [b] of *tcherbaön*). *L'herbe* appears to be something of an exception to this generalisation, though this may be connected to the fact that *l'herbe* often underwent final consonant devoicing in the Guernsey 2010 data. Tapped [ɾ] was also found in moderate numbers where it occurred post-consonantally and pre-vocalically in *crabe* and *grànd*, and word-finally/post-vocalically in *tcheur*, with a smaller scattering of tokens for other items. The informants seem to have felt that the English [ɹ] would not have been appropriate in these items.

Conversely, [ɹ] was clearly the most popular variant before and after a front high unrounded vowel, before a low vowel or after an alveolar consonant. High numbers of the alveolar approximant were noted for *rire* (both contexts), *crabe*, *grànd* and *treize*; more than half the sample group produced [ɹ] for each. It is likely that *cidre* would have followed suit, but the results for this item were distorted by the almost equal numbers of

informants who deleted the word final post-obstruent liquid. It is interesting to observe that the clusters involving /r/ in the items above are to be found readily in English; indeed, some of the Guernesiais words are all but identical to their English cognates. A good number of tokens of the fricative articulation [ɹ̝] were also noted in the data, particularly for *l'herbe*, *tcheur/coeur* and **rire**, and to a lesser extent in *roué* and *tcherbaön*. In as far as we can tell from the data this does not appear to be a deliberate articulation, but instead seems to be the result of asynchrony between articulation and voicing.

We have already discussed that informant 29's usage was something of an exception to the general rule, ostensibly influenced as it was by Standard French. Though the other informants largely adhered to a tap, alveolar approximant or alveolar fricative articulation of *r*, there was nonetheless a handful of further anomalous responses. While the rate of liquid deletion in the informants' realisations of *cidre* was to be expected, as the liquid occurred word-finally and following an obstruent, four informants also deleted the liquids from other items. Word-final /r/ is lost from informant 05's *tcheur/coeur*, which was realised as [tʃø], and also from 24i's *rire*, which became [ɹi].[2] Word-final context was not the exclusive prerequisite for *r*-deletion, however, since non-final /r/ was also lost in realisations of *l'herbe* by informants 17 and 18i: informant 17 supplied [lɛb̥], while 18i gave [lɛːˈb̥]. As well as these instances of *r*-deletion, some unusual articulations of /r/ were noted. In addition to informant 29's glottal fricative articulation, /r/ was variously realised as a voiced labiodental fricative by informant 38 in [vwɛ] (*roué*), and as a voiceless postalveolar fricative by informant 23 in [sitʃ] (*cidre*).

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[2] NB: This is not a case where the informant has supplied the incorrect part of the verb, as the original response was given in context of the periphrastic future form: *'M'en vais pour ri'*.

Table 5-13. Responses of informants 08i and 18ii to 10 items containing r.

Item	*Informant 08i*	*Informant 18ii*
57 **r**ire	[ɹiɪ̥]	[rir̥]
58 roué	[ɹ̝we]	[rwɛ]
59 crabe	[kɾ̥ɑb]	[kɾɑb̥]
144 grànd	[gɹɛ̃ː]	[gɹæ̃ː]
62 cidre	[sid̥ɹ̥]	[siːd]
110 treize	[tɹ̥ɛˈz̩]	[tɾ̥ɛˈz]
54 tcherbaön, querbaön	[tʃɛrbæ]	[tʃɛrbæ̃]
69 l'herbe (f)	[lɛɹ̝b̥]	[lɛːˈr̥b̥]
205 kerouaix (f)	[kɪ̥̊wɑ]	[kɛrwɑˈ]
23 tcheur, coeur (m)	[tʃœɪ̥]	[tʃœɾ̥]

As may be surmised from the very different total numbers of the tokens in Table 5-11, the Guernsey 2010 informants did not categorically produce the same variant of /r/ in every instance. Some speakers showed a tendency to incline towards one variant type or another, as we see from the responses of informants 08i and 18ii in Table 5-13 above. These informants both come from the Castel parish, and are of similar ages; female informant 08i is 81, while male informant 18ii is 89. Though they grew up in the same parish, however, their realisations of *r* differ: while 08i favours alveolar approximant and fricative articulations, older informant 18ii employs more apical trills and taps. Neither informant uses one type of articulation invariably: 08i produces a tap articulation for *crabe* and *tcherbaön/querbaön*, while 18ii gave an alveolar approximant for *grànd*. This variability is to be found to an equal or greater extent in the other informants' responses to the selected word list items.

5.3.2 Secondary palatalisation to [tj], [dj] (where Latin [k] occurred before a front vowel)

According to Collas (1931: 44), [tj] and [dj] have undergone secondary palatalisation in Guernesiais where Latin [k] originally occurred before a front vowel. Three items were chosen from the word list to examine this feature of the variety: 150 – *aën tchen, daëux*

tchens (m) <one dog, two dogs>, 36 – *tchen/tian* <yours (2s)>, and 37 – *Gyu/Dyu* (m) <God>. As may be seen from the information in Table 5-14, however, Collas' observations no longer hold true in every case; the reality is now slightly more complex. From the evidence in the Guernsey 2010 data, it would appear that patterns in secondary palatalisation of the [tj/dj] cluster in modern Guernesiais vary lexically.

Table 5-14. Realisations of [tj] *and* [dj] *(from Latin* [k] *before a front vowel) in pronunciations of three items by the 49 informants.*

Item	No. of tokens								
	[t/d]	[tʲj/dʲj]	[tj/dj]	[tʃ/dʒ]	[tʃj/dʒj]	[ʃj/ʒj]	[ç/j]	*Alt. Item*	*No Response*
150 *aën tchen, daëux tchens* (m)	0	0	0	48	0	1	0	0	0
36 *tchen/tian*	0	0	5	9	1	0	0	34	0
37 *Gyu/Dyu* (m)	1	4	18	22	1	0	0	1	2

Nouns *aën tchen, des tchens* pattern almost categorically in the way that the previous descriptions suggest: 48 of the 49 informants realise the initial consonants of these two items as the affricate [tʃ]. Only one informants deviated from this majority tendency: informant 02's rendering of *aën tchen, des tchens* as [ʃjɛ̃] was arguably the result of influence from the Standard French, *chien(s)*. Pronunciation of the remaining three items was less clear-cut, however, reflecting the interaction of phonology with a variety of different linguistic and extralinguistic factors.

The distribution of variants in *tchen/tian* is particularly striking. Nine informants produced forms which feature secondary palatalisation of the [tj] group to the affricated form [tʃ], supplying realisations such as [tʃo] (inf. 38) or [tʃɑ̃] (inf. 31), while a further informant retained yod from the original cluster to give [tʃjo] (inf. 19i). Some informants were apparently influenced by analogous Standard French forms of the pronoun *tien*, with five individuals retaining the original [tj] cluster in realisations such as [tjɔ] (inf. 23). More noteworthy here, however, is the fact that 34 of the 49 informants interviewed elected to supply an alternative item when the Guernesiais

translation of <yours (2s)> was requested — one of the highest rates of item substitution encountered for any of the word list items.

A breakdown of the alternative forms offered by the informants is quite illuminating. No fewer than 29 informants (around 60% of the sample group) produced the alternative possessive form *à té*, which suggests that this form has gained significant ground in spoken Guernesiais since most of the existing descriptions of Guernesiais grammar were compiled. The fact that it is not always an easy matter to persuade informants to produce the desired form of certain grammatical categories such as pronominal forms which are more abstract than nouns was also reflected in the three informants who produced the second person plural pronominal form *votre* or *vot'*. A further pair of informants misinterpreted the interviewer's explanations of the part of speech required, and instead gave the disjunctive pronominal forms *pour té* and *pour vous*.

Table 5-15. Age range and total number of informants employing the different realisations of 150 – tchen/tian (m) < one dog, two dogs>.

Realisation of tchen/tian	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59*	*60–69*	*70–79*	*80–89*	*90+*	
[tj]	1	1	1	2	0	5
[tʃ]	1	0	6	2	0	9
[tʃj]	0	0	0	0	1	1
Alternative form: *à té*	0	2	8	16	3	29
Alternative form: *votr'*	0	1	2	0	0	3
Alternative form: *pour té*	0	0	1	0	0	1
Alternative form: *pour vous*	0	1	0	0	0	1

*NB: Both informants in this group are aged 59.

The variation between different translations of <yours (2s)> did not appear to be diatopically motivated. The age distribution of the informants' responses, given in Table 5-15, was however interesting, suggesting that the form *à té* is well established in the idiolects of speakers of a range of ages, and has therefore been in common use for some time. Perhaps the difference between the synthetic *tchen/tian* in its different

phonetic incarnations and the periphrastic *à té* is stylistically motivated, with grammars of Guernesiais publishing the more formal possessive pronominal forms in the interests of completeness; what this means in this particular instance is that Collas' rules for [tj] where Latin [k] once occurred before a front vowel no longer necessarily apply, since change in the preferred grammatical form for the second person singular possessive pronoun has in this case reduced the number of instances in which this phonological context presents itself.

Table 5-16. Age range and total number of informants employing the different realisations of the initial consonant of 37 – Gyu/Dyu *(m) <God>.*

Realisation of consonant in Gyu/Dyu	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59*	*60–69*	*70–79*	*80–89*	*90+*	
[d]	0	0	0	1	0	1
[dⁱj]	0	1	3	0	0	4
[dj]	0	1	6	8	3	18
[dʒj]	1	0	0	0	0	1
[dʒ]	1	3	9	9	0	22
Alternative Item	0	0	0	1	0	1
No Response	0	0	0	1	1	2

*NB: Both informants in this group are aged 59.

The responses to *Gyu/Dyu* <God> in Table 5-16 demonstrate the influence that social and cultural factors have exercised over Guernesiais. While 22 of the 49 informants supply the expected Guernesiais palatalised form with initial [dʒ], 18 individuals give forms beginning with the more Gallicised cluster [dj]. This is relatively unsurprising; even into the earlier half of the twentieth century, when English was beginning to assume the higher status language functions previously assigned to French in the diglossic relationship with Guernsey's indigenous variety, French still fulfilled the function of the higher status variety in church services and other aspects of religious observance for many families. The differences between the Guernesiais [dʒy] and the Standard French [djø] are relatively slight, and it would seem that for some informants confusion exists between the two. Thus in addition to forms of these types, we also see examples of usage which combines the two clusters, as in informant 38's [dʒjø], and examples which combine the initial consonant cluster of one variety with the vowel

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typical of the other (as in informant 12's [bodjɤ] and 29's [dʒø]). While four informants showed evidence of an additional vowel sound between the consonant and yod, as in 01 and 39's [dⁱjø], one informant actually omitted traces of a palatalised consonant altogether (informant 18i, who supplied [bɔ̃dy]).

The high regard in which religion was traditionally held by Guernesiais-speaking communities revealed itself in the data in a further, unexpected way. Informants who responded to the English prompt with a translation featuring Standard French-type [dj] forms tended to give the translation word in isolation, as in 42ii's response [djø]; this was the case for 12 of the 18 such informants. Meanwhile, 20 of the 22 informants responding with the Guernesiais affricated [dʒ] form prefaced their translation of the target item <God> with an honorific, as in 08ii's [lɛbwodʒy].[3] It is interesting too that the alternative translation given for this item, supplied by informant 07, was the deferential paraphrase [not pɛɾ ɐw sjɛl]. Though this observation in itself has little immediate bearing upon phonological factors in this item, it does serve as a further example of the extent to which social and cultural norms may (and indeed do) influence language use. As we have seen in the items chosen from the word list and examined for this feature, such factors (along with linguistic motivations such as grammatical change) can interrupt predicted patterns of phonological variation and development.

5.3.3   Maintenance of nasalisation before a historical intervocalic nasal consonant

The nasalisation of a vowel before a historically intervocalic nasal consonant is said to have been retained in Guernesiais where this has been lost in SF. The word *fllàmbe* (from Latin FLAMMA) was taken as an example of this feature; the Standard French equivalent *flamme* is rendered as [flam], whereas the Guernesiais *fllàmbe* could be expected to be more akin to [fjɑ̃mb], according to prior accounts.

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[3] Equivalent to SF <u>*le bon* dieu</u> <the good Lord>.

Table 5-17. Realisations of 88 – fllàmbe *(f) <flame> by the 49 informants.*

	No. of tokens				
Item	Nasalised Vowel + [m]	Oral Vowel + [m]	Nasalised Vowel	Oral Vowel	Alternative item
88 *fllàmbe*	3	5	27	9	5

Of the eight informants who retained the historically intervocalic nasal consonant in their realisation of Guernesiais *fllàmbe* three preceded this with a nasalised vowel described in previous accounts of this feature, giving forms such as 03ii's [fjæ̃mb̥] (see Table 5-17). The remaining five produced a medial oral vowel preceding the nasal consonant [m], as in 33's [fjɑm]; in three cases (informants 3, 27i and 39) this consonant was word-final, while for informants 19i and 40 it was followed by the plosive [b] giving realisations similar to 19i's [fjæmb̥]. It would seem that retention of nasal consonant [m] in this item is not particularly common, as the eight retainers were outnumbered by the 36 informants who dropped the consonant. Of these, 27 individuals retain traces of vowel nasalisation, while 9 did not show any traces of vowel nasality in their responses. These 9 informants are not notably grouped by age, or by parish affiliation; nasality in Guernesiais is relatively weak, as has been observed elsewhere, and so omission of nasality in the vowel of *fllàmbe* does not appear to be anything other than idiolectal. The remaining five informants were unable to recall the precise translation for <flame>, and accordingly substituted synonyms. Four opted for translations of <fire>, while the fifth paraphrased the target item with *i brûle* <it's burning>.

It would appear from the Guernsey 2010 data that while relatively few informants retain the nasal consonant in this item, traces of vowel nasalisation endure in the speech of modern Guernesiais speakers. The weakness of the nasalisation of this vowel means that it is easily omitted in certain idiolects, however; this has also been observed in treatments of Guernesiais final [æ̃] (cf. §6.2.2).

5.3.4 Nasalised diphthongs

Diphthongised forms are said to be typical of the speech of individuals from the island's South West.[4] The SF -on suffix, examined in detail in §6.3.1, is most frequently realised by people from this area as front near-low unrounded vowel [æ] followed by an additional nasal consonantal sound. This articulation is also found in the more variable usage of other parts of the island, with the nasal consonant produced by 17 of the 49 informants. It is therefore quite strongly established, representing nearly two-fifths of the responses gathered for these items; in contrast, comparatively few diphthongised forms were produced.

As we can see from Table 5-18, which presents the data for items 156 – *ichin* <here>, 199 – *fin* (f) <end>, 200 – *vingt* <twenty> and 197 – *mouoins* <less>, realisations of [ɛ̃] in Guernesiais are apt to vary. Items 55 – *matin* (m) <morning> and 56 – *poin* (m) <bread>, examined in §5.4.2, seem to exhibit contrasting characteristics in the informants' speech: while *matin* is more likely to retain nasality (with 28 informants producing a nasalised sound compared with 13 who realised an oral vowel), this was not the case for *poin* (13 nasalised tokens realised versus 28 oral tokens for this item). The diphthongisation traditionally described in accounts of this sound in Guernesiais remains in both *matin* and *poin*, however, with 31 and 38 glide tokens realised respectively from a possible 49. Conversely, it was found that additional nasal consonants were very unlikely to occur in the speakers' realisations of this sound.

Since we have seen that the two nasalised diphthongs reported by Tomlinson (1981) show particular behaviours in the speech of the Guernsey 2010 informants, we might reasonably expect other items with comparable phonological components to pattern in a similar way. As may be seen from Table 5-18, diphthong articulations endure in word-final nasalised vowels; this is the most frequent articulation when compared with monophthongal tokens recorded. Vowel quality was found to vary between the informants' pronunciations of *ichin*, *fin* and *vingt* compared with their renderings of *mouoins*. While responses to the first three usually featured a final front near-low unrounded vowel [æ], the bilabial plosive and following approximant in *mouoins* has the effect of rounding, backing and raising the following vowel to an articulation more closely resembling [ɔ] or [o].

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[4] See §2.5.7, §2.5.8 and §2.5.9 for discussion of the previous accounts of Guernesiais diphthongs.

Table 5-18. Realisations of [ɛ̃] in four items by the 49 informants.

| Item | No. of tokens | | | | |
	Monophthong	*Diphthong*	*Oral*	*Nasalised*	*Additional Nasal Consonant*
156 *ichin*	14	34	8	40	1
199 *fin* (f)	25	25	9	22	2
200 *vingt*	40	40	26	22	1
197 *mouoins*	13	28	29	12	0

Nasality, however, is not strongly present. It is a weak feature in Guernesiais in any case, but the number of tokens of nasalised sounds encountered for *mouoins* (and to a lesser extent for *vingt*) tentatively suggests that nasalisation might be receding altogether in certain items. The age profile of the respondents to *mouoins* corroborates this (see Table 5-19 below): informants producing nasalised forms tend to be older, while a greater proportion of the younger speakers give forms containing an oral vowel. The age profile is more balanced for *vingt*, however, which precludes the forming of a firm conclusion about the trajectory of this feature.

Table 5-19. Age range and total number of informants employing the different realisations of 197 – mòins/mouoins <less> and 200 – vingt <twenty>.

Realisation	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59*	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
Mòins /mouoins						
Nasalised vowel/diphthong	0	1	3	6	2	12
Oral vowel/diphthong	1	3	13	11	1	29
Alternative Item	1	1	2	3	1	8
Vingt						
Nasalised vowel/diphthong	0	4	9	8	2	22
Oral vowel/diphthong	1	1	9	12	2	26
Additional Nasal Consonant	1	0	0	0	0	1

NB: Both informants in this group are aged 59.

Very few informants produced articulations featuring a final additional nasal consonant, even in those words which featured a greater preponderance of nasalised vowel responses; it would seem that this epenthetic consonant is just not common in items with final *-ìn*.

5.3.5 Realisation of [a/ɑ] as [ɒ]

According to Jones, Guernesiais speakers often pronounce [a] and [ɑ] as back low rounded [ɒ] (2008: 36). As may be seen from Table 5-20, however, the Guernsey 2010 data rather suggests that the favourite low vowel articulation among the informants is actually [ɑ]. It should be noted that this data reflects answers to a word list task where informants were requested to produce translations of single items in isolation; it is perfectly possible that connected speech processes would alter the vowel in items produced in a string context, and that a less formal setting might also yield a less careful speech style (and therefore potentially a different vowel) even in utterances of isolated items. The extent to which the interview setting actually interfered with informants' performance is debatable, however. The items in the table below were presented

sequentially to the informants as listed, and had the informants been influenced by taking notice of the minimal pairs, then we would have expected to see a decrease in the number of tokens of [ɒ] as we move further down the table. As may be seen from the data below, this is not really the case.

Table 5-20. Variable realisation of [a/ɑ] *in six items by the 49 informants.*

Item	*Vowel produced for* [a/ɑ]*: no. of tokens*						
	[æ]	[ɑ]	[ɒ]	[ʌ̠]	[ø]	*Alt. Item*	*No response*
137 *la* <*the (fs)*>	12	34	0	1	0	0	2
138 *là* <*there*>	4	42	0	1	0	0	2
139 *pas (neg.)*	0	36	11	0	1	1	0
140 *pâs* (m) <step>	0	37	5	0	0	3	4
141 *quârt* (m) <quarter>	4	40	1	2	0	2	0
142 *quat* <*four*>	0	43	4	1	0	0	1

It was noted during transcription of the data that some informants seemed to alter the quality of their vowels halfway through, rounding their low back vowels (for example Informant 20). Without further data, we cannot be sure whether this is due to self-correction, or whether this is a habitual articulatory process (cf. §6.3.1, §6.4.2).

5.3.6 Phonemic vowel length indicating plurality, verb endings or gender

Vowel length is used phonemically in Guernesiais to denote noun plurality. Elsewhere in the data it had been noted that the Guernsey 2010 informants had a tendency to lengthen the vowel in plural *gens* (see §5.2.7), so it seemed likely that we would find contemporary evidence of vowel lengthening in plural noun contexts in other items from the word list.

Table 5-21. Presence of vowel lengthening in plural nouns by the 49 informants.

Item	Singular		Plural		
	No vowel lengthening	Vowel lengthening	No vowel lengthening	Vowel lengthening	Comparison not possible
149 *aën cat, daëux cats* (m)	46	0	8	38	3
150 *aën tchen, daëux tchens* (m)	44	0	6	38	5

As may be seen from Table 5-21, the overall picture from the Guernsey 2010 data is that final vowel length is still widely used to denote plurality of a noun where the singular and plural forms of a noun would otherwise be homophonous. While the final vowels produced in singular nouns *cat* <cat> and *tchen* <dog> were of a typical length in all of the informants' responses, the final vowels of the corresponding plurals were lengthened by 38 informants in each case (though the composition of this majority was different each time). Considerably fewer informants pronounced the singular/plural dyads with vowels of equal length. In cases where an informant failed to supply one or other or both of the nouns in a pair, an effective comparison was evidently impossible; these cases have been recorded as such. The greater resemblance of *cat* to its English translation than *tchen* is likely to account for the lower number of unusable responses for the latter item.

The informants who make no distinction in vowel length between the singular and plural forms of the two items do not appear to be connected by age group, gender or parish affiliation; in fact, the demographic of the informants who produced responses of this type changes almost completely between the two items. Female informants 04ii and 43i are the two exceptions, producing responses with uniform vowel length for the singular and plural of both items. Even these informants are linked with nothing more than their gender, however; they come from non-neighbouring parishes (St Andrew's and Torteval respectively), and are separated by a little over a decade in age.

If Jones and Spence's observations on the matter remain valid, the first and third person singular forms of present tense indicative verbs should be distinguished by vowel length

in modern Guernesiais. This was not a particularly easy feature to assess in Guernesiais, however. The items featuring verb forms were among the least successful elements to be included in the word list, as the Guernsey 2010 informants were by and large unused to manipulating verb conjugations out of the context of normal conversation — something which only tends to be practised when learning a language formally. Consequently, a higher than expected number of erroneous or null responses was recorded for these items. Nonetheless, the first and third person indicative present tense of the verb *beire* (*j' beis*, *i' beit*) was included to provide an indication of whether or not informants were inclined to use vowel length phonemically to distinguish between the two forms. Owing to incompleteness or inaudibility of their responses, comparisons between verb forms were not possible for six of the informants.

Table 5-22. Presence of phonemic vowel lengthening and treatment of vowel quality in 49 responses to 151 – j' beis, i' beit <I drink, he drinks>.

Treatment of vowel length and quality	*No. of tokens*
Equal vowel length; no change in vowel quality ([ɛ])	26
Equal vowel length; change in vowel quality (1sg: [e], 3sg: [ɛ])	5
Lengthening of vowel in 1ps; change in vowel quality (1sg: [e], 3sg: [ɛ])	11
Lengthening of vowel in 1ps; change in vowel quality (1sg: [ɛ], 3sg: [e])	1
Comparison not possible	6

As may be observed in Table 5-12, many of the informants do not distinguish between the first and third person singular indicative present tense form of the verb *beire* by means of vowel length at all: 31 of the informants in total produced vowels of comparable length for both forms, compared with the 12 informants who produced a lengthened vowel in the first person form. While 26 informants make no other distinction between the two verb forms whatsoever, an interesting contrast in vowel quality emerged in some of the other responses. 16 of the informants in total raised the mid-low unrounded front vowel [ɛ] to [e] in the 1ps form, with 11 of these individuals reinforcing the contrast with an accompanying contrast in vowel length. A further informant contrasted both vowel length and quality in their response, but instead raised the vowel in the 3ps form.

Jones and Spence base their accounts of phonemic vowel length in this context on data recorded in the earlier half of the twentieth century. It is therefore reasonable to

suppose on the strength of this that vowel lengthening in the 1ps form (together with its accompanying change in vowel quality) was once common practice in Guernesiais, whereas this is not the case now (at least for *beire*). The older, more conservative form is being levelled from the variety, with a greater number of the Guernsey 2010 informants now making no phonological distinction at all between 1ps and 3ps forms of the verb. Accordingly, we might expect to see some evidence of age differentiation in the feature.

The 11 informants who lengthened and raised the vowel in the 1sg form lie exclusively in the three older age groups, though they do not form a majority in any; instead, they represent 20-30% of the total informants in each sub-group (see Table 5-23 below). It would therefore appear that age is not as salient a factor in the realisation of phonemic vowel length in verb forms as we might expect. Other social factors are scarcely more explanatory: there is no gender bias among these informants, and the pattern which emerges in their parish affiliation is not strong. With five informants from the St Saviour's area, three from Torteval and one from St Pierre du Bois, the presence of phonemic vowel length in *beire* appears biased towards the south-western parishes; the remaining two informants are competent Guernesiais speakers from the Vale, however, which weakens this potential correlation. It is possible instead that the use of phonemic vowel length to distinguish verb forms is linked to the norms of usage passed down through informants' families; this would account for the peculiarities in the geographical distribution of this feature.

Table 5-23. Age range and number of informants using vowel lengthening and contrasting vowel quality in 151 – j' beis, i' beit <I drink, he drinks>.

Realisation	No. of informants aged					No. of informants
	50–59*	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
Equal vowel length; no change in vowel quality ([ɛ])	1	5	12	6	2	26
Equal vowel length; change in vowel quality (1sg: [e], 3sg: [ɛ])	0	0	1	4	0	5
Lengthening of vowel in 1sg; change in vowel quality (1sg: [e], 3sg: [ɛ])	0	0	4	6	1	11
Lengthening of vowel in 1sg; change in vowel quality (1sg: [ɛ], 3sg: [e])	1	0	0	0	0	1
Comparison not possible	0	0	1	4	1	6
TOTAL	2	5	18	20	4	49

NB: Both informants in this group are aged 59.

The number of tokens with vowel lengthening in 1sg/3sg present indicative forms of the verb *beire* would suggest that this means of distinguishing the two verb forms is becoming lost from Guernesiais. Phonological distinction between the two verb forms is certainly no longer made by many of the younger speakers. Of the 25 speakers who were either at or younger than the average sample age of 79 at the time of interview, only four made any phonological differentiation between the two forms at all — a little under 1/5. This proportion rises to 1/3 among the older speakers: seven of the twenty-four informants over the age of 79 made some phonological distinction between the 1sg and 3sg forms. Redundancy is the most likely cause of recession in this feature, as vowel length in this context does not bear semantic weight. Guernesiais does not omit subject pronouns, so in the context of normal speech there is little potential for ambiguity between 1sg/3sg forms.

Feminine adjectival forms in Guernesiais have been reported to undergo vowel lengthening to distinguish them from the corresponding masculine forms. Though a number of adjectival forms were included in the original draft of the word list, these met with mixed success (cf.§3.5); following the initial interviews, a further three commonly known items were therefore added to better assess whether or not vowel lengthening in

feminine adjectival forms persists in modern Guernesiais. Since these items were only added to the word list protocol following the initial set of interviews, information for this feature is unavailable for the first nine informants that were interviewed. The analysis of this feature is therefore based on the data supplied by 40 informants from the main sample group.

As mentioned elsewhere, Guernesiais speakers are unused to conceiving of their native variety in abstract grammatical terms, as they did not acquire the variety formally; for this reason, outright requests for the masculine and feminine forms of a particular adjective would have met with little success. Instead, the interviewer simply asked informants to provide a translation of an English adjective. This would usually elicit the masculine form, occasionally with an accompanying noun, by way of a contextual example; the interviewer would then ask whether that word might change if a different noun were being described, giving the informant the example of a feminine noun which had occurred earlier in the conversation. In this way, by encouraging them to interrogate their own usage, informants could often be persuaded to pronounce the masculine and feminine forms in succession. In some cases, and despite the interviewer's best efforts, informants did not supply responses for both the masculine and feminine forms of the adjective in question. Since a comparison between the two forms was therefore impossible for these individuals, their responses had to be discounted.

Table 5-24. Presence of vowel lengthening in feminine adjectival forms in responses from 40 of the informants.

	No. of Tokens		
Item	*No vowel lengthening*	*Vowel lengthening in feminine form*	*Comparison not possible*
206 *nu, nue* <naked>	18	18	4
207 *rouoge, rouge* <red>	38	0	2
208 *bllu, blue* <blue>	21	14	5

It would seem from the Guernsey 2010 data that the use of vowel lengthening to mark gender in adjectives is no longer systematic in the language, as tokens where vowel length was equal in the masculine and feminine forms of the adjective equalled or outnumbered tokens where the vowel in the feminine form was lengthened (see Table 5-24). The one figure that particularly stands out is the 38 tokens where no vowel lengthening occurred for 207 – *rouoge/rouge*. That no vowel lengthening was noted in any of the valid responses for this item suggests that vowel lengthening in the feminine adjectival form only occurs where the vowel is word-final.

Evidently, this data was recorded from words produced in isolation under the artificial circumstance of the interview setting. It was noted during the interviews that the informants' concepts of 'same' and 'different' in these items generally extended towards morphology rather than vowel length; when asked by the interviewer if the feminine form for a particular adjective would be any different to the masculine, a number of the informants responded that the word would be the same, even if they subsequently lengthened the feminine form when pronouncing the words for the interviewer. It is equally possible, then, since vowel length is not necessarily at the forefront of overt linguistic awareness, that informants may have downplayed differences in vowel length in their pronunciation of the target words even if they would habitually lengthen feminine forms. Though this factor might have altered the balance of responses, all of the informants were subjected to the same bias; the distribution of the results should therefore be unaffected.

The 32 tokens of vowel lengthening in feminine adjectival forms recorded for 206 – *nu/nue* <naked> and 208 – *bllu/blue* <blue> were produced by 21 of the informants: 10 informants lengthened the feminine form in both *nu/nue* and *bllu/bllue*, while 11 informants lengthened the feminine form of only one of the two. For the two items where vowel length was observed, vowel lengthening was present in the speech of just over half of the informants. If we look at the figures in Table 5-25 below, we see that the greatest proportion of informants producing lengthened forms is to be found among the octogenarians. Around three quarters of this age group supplied such forms, while the three nonagenarian informants were similarly divided. Among the younger informants the proportion in each age group demonstrating vowel length is lower, ranging from a half to a third.

Table 5-25. Age range and number of informants lengthening one or both feminine adjectival forms in 206 – nu, nue (m and f) <naked> and 208 – bllu, bllue (m and f) <blue> in responses from 40 of the informants.

No. of tokens of vowel lengthening in feminine adjectival forms per informant	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59*	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
2	0	1	3	6	0	10
1	1	0	1	7	2	11
TOTAL NO. OF INFORMANTS SHOWING VOWEL LENGTHENING IN FEMININE ADJECTIVAL FORMS FOR THESE TWO ITEMS	1	1	4	13	2	21
TOTAL NO. OF INFORMANTS SUPPLYING DATA FOR THIS FEATURE	2	3	15	17	3	40

*NB: Both informants in this group are aged 59.

The distribution of the tokens of phonemic vowel lengthening among the age groups shows that, for these items at least, older speakers are more likely to display this feature in their speech. Neither gender nor parish affiliation had a significant impact upon the likelihood of vowel length being realised. Vowel length is quite subtle, and, since English does not habitually make comparable use of length distinction, an informant who has not acquired this feature fully in their Guernesiais owing to imperfect or interrupted learning during childhood and early youth is unlikely to acquire it simply by conversing with other Guernesiais speakers.

Since an adjective does not have gender, but simply agrees according to the noun it modifies, variable vowel length reinforces rather than carries the semantic distinction between masculine and feminine. Since this pronunciation feature is not being actively reinforced by an equivalent written form, such as the additional *-e* that marks the feminine adjectival form in Standard French orthography, it seems unlikely that vowel length as a marker of adjectival gender will be retained in future Guernesiais.

It is of interest to note in passing that the two Guernesiais pronunciations of the adjective <red> alluded to in the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* are maintained in the modern variety (1967: 160). Informants from the northern half of the island inclined towards *rouoge* with pronunciations such as (27i: V) [ɹwoʒ̊], (40: C) [ɾwɐwʒ̊] and

(31: C) [ɹwøwʒ̊], while the more southerly informants employed more Gallicised *rouge* forms such as (43ii: SSv) [ɹuʒ̊] and (28: StPdB) [ɾuʒ].

5.4 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES DEMONSTRATING EVIDENCE OF IDIOLECTAL VARIATION

5.4.1 Guernesiais consonantal sounds - [h], [tʃ], [dʒ]

Guernesiais is said to have three consonants not found in SF: the voiceless glottal fricative [h], and the two affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ]. It can be said with some certainty that all three sounds are present in the informants' personal phonological repertoires, since they feature quite prominently in English; all of the informants are fluent in this language, and many employ it as the primary medium in which they conduct the business of daily life. The question is whether or not the use of these consonantal sounds carries over into their Guernesiais, and a number of different items were included in the word list task to help answer this question.

Six items were selected to assess whether or not voiceless glottal fricative [h] is present in the phonological repertoires of the informants' Guernesiais. These were 65 – *haut* <high>, 66 – *lé houmard* (m) <the lobster>, 67 – *histouaire* (f) <history>, 68 – *l'hologe* (f) <the clock>, 69 – *l'herbe* (m) <the grass> and 70 – *l'ivaer* (m) <the winter>.

Though the Standard French orthographies of these items (*haut, homard, histoire horloge, herbe* and *hiver*) maintain an initial *h*, [h] is not pronounced in any of these words in that variety. Two (*haut* and *homard*) feature *h aspiré* owing to their Germanic etymological roots, however, which forbids the habitual liaison between *h*-initial words and any preceding liaison consonants. The equivalent Guernesiais translations are cognates, so it is reasonable to assume that *haut* and *houmard* are the most likely candidates in our selection for the presence of initial [h]. The *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* (1967) spellings for *histouaire, hologe* and *herbe*, meanwhile, suggest that [h] is quite likely to feature in these items' pronunciation as well. The final item, *ivaer*, was included for interest's sake: though de Garis transcribes the word without an initial *h*, the orthography for the Standard French cognate *hiver* retains its initial consonant. Since de Garis' *Dictiounnaire* spellings do not always match current usage exactly, it seemed possible that a discrepancy could come to light in this particular instance.

Table 5-26. The variable presence of initial [h] *in six items by the 49 informants.*

Item	[h]	Vowel preceded by elided article	Vowel	Alt. Item	No response
		Initial sound realised: no. of tokens			
65 *haut*	47	0	0	2	0
66 *lé houmard* (m)	36	0	5	9	9
67 *histouaire* (f)	10	5	19	6	9
68 *l'hologe* (f)	1	17	30	0	1
69 *l'herbe* (m)	0	47	0	2	0
70 *l'ivaer* (m)	0	47	2	0	0

The data for the Guernsey 2010 informants in Table 5-26 shows that, although the informants definitely have [h] in their personal phonological repertoire, as noted above, they do not employ it in all possible cases in Guernesiais; nor is it applied equally among informants in those instances where it is present. As predicted, the two items which feature *h aspiré* in Standard French were the most likely to be realised with a [h]-initial pronunciation. 47 of the 49 informants responded in this way for *haut*, while a smaller but nonetheless significant number gave a [h]-initial response for *houmard*. As noted in §5.4.6 below, the data for *houmard* was distorted slightly by the 18 informants who either did not respond for this item, or else responded with an alternative translation (other terms exist for <lobster> in certain parts of the island). There were a further five informants who were most probably influenced by the Standard French pronunciation [ɔmaʀ] in realising vowel-initial responses. The discrepancy in the numbers of [h]-initial tokens produced for *haut* and *houmard* may further be explained by the fact that *haut* is socially loaded as an oft-cited demonstration of north-south differences in the vowel sounds of Guernesiais, and as such is well known even among less confident speakers. Furthermore, since it is a frequently occurring item in Standard French (coming at 264th, according to Lonsdale and Le Bras 2009: 18), we can surmise that it would occur with similar frequency in Guernesiais.

The final three items in the table (*l'hologe*, *l'herbe* and *l'ivaer*) demonstrate a very clear tendency towards vowel-initial pronunciations. A number of the informants prefaced their translations of these items with the appropriate elided article; this was particularly true for *l'herbe* and *l'ivaer*, which suggests that our earlier suggestions about [h] in Guernesiais being conditional upon the presence of *h aspiré* carry some weight.

The data for the abstract noun *histouaire* were notably more mixed, however. Though this item generated a majority of vowel-initial tokens, as with *l'hologe*, *l'herbe* and *l'ivaer*, the number of [h]-initial tokens also produced stands at 10 — a number which takes on greater significance when we consider that only one [h]-initial token was produced between the three final items combined. It would seem, then, that an [h]-initial pronunciation is perfectly possible for *histouaire*. Yet if this is so, why is the number of [h]-initial pronunciations so low compared with those of *haut* and *houmard*? It would seem that the answer lies in the subconscious influence of the ingrained [h]-initial English cognate *history*, which bears considerably more resemblance to the Guernesiais translation than English *high* and *lobster* do to *haut* and *houmard*; the number of informants nonetheless producing vowel-initial translations for this item suggests that Guernesiais pronunciation follows the French pattern, however, further corroborating our theory that initial [h]-sounding in Guernesiais is linked through the presence or absence of *h aspiré* to etymological factors.

Though [h] was found to be present in the Guernesiais of all the informants, it is not a sound used equally by all members of the Guernesiais speech community; only seven of the informants realised *histouaire* as well as *haut* and *houmard* with initial [h], and only one informant realised an [h]-initial form for *l'hologe*.[5] The composition of this small group is interesting: all are male, and all seven individuals grew up in the southern half of the island (the most northerly of them, 03ii, comes from the Cobo area of the Castel). The balance of the sexes evened out in the groups of informants who produced [h]-initial forms for either two or one of the three aforementioned items respectively, with equal numbers of male and female informants in each group. When the geographical origins of the informants across all three groups are compared in Table 5-27, however, a pattern of variation can be tentatively suggested.

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[5] One of these informants, however (Informant 01), also supplied *l'hologe* with initial [h].

Table 5-27. Parish affiliation of the informants producing different numbers of [h]-*initial forms for three items.*

No. of [h]-*initial forms realised per informant in responses to* haut, houmard *and* histouaire	*Initial sound realised: no. of tokens*			
	Low Parishes (Vale, St Sampson's)	Transitional Parishes (Castel, St Saviour's, St Andrew's, Forest, St Martin's)	High Parishes (Torteval, St Pierre du Bois,)	TOTAL
3	0	4	3	7
2	2	10	8	20
1	7	9	6	22
TOTAL	9	23	17	49

We have seen that those informants who produced [h]-initial forms for all three items in question came exclusively from the Central and High Parishes; the Low Parish informants, it seems, are notably less inclined to produce [h]-initial forms. While two Low Parish informants produced two [h]-initial responses apiece, the majority of the speakers from this area (seven individuals) produced only one — the stereotyped *haut* (sometimes written as *haöut*). This was the preferred item for the production of [h]-initial forms - of the 22 informants who produced just a single such token out of the three items considered in Table 5-27, 20 of these supplied an [h]-initial response to *haut*. When the data for all three response groups (based on the number of tokens) are considered, however, the distribution pattern for informants from the Central and High Parishes in fact patterns slightly counter to what we might have expected: in terms of relative numbers, informants from the Central Parishes were actually more likely to produce [h]-initial forms than their High-Parish counterparts.

No age differentiation is apparent for this particular feature, so it would seem that variation in the realisation of [h]-initial forms in Guernesiais is diatopic in character. The Guernsey 2010 data however confirms that the difference between *h aspiré* and *h muet*, (which is only evident in the presence or absence of liaison or elision involving a preceding word in Standard French) is maintained in Guernesiais, marked by the pronunciation of a voiceless glottal fricative consonant in the case of the former, though

this is open to idiolectal interpretation: some informants realise [h] in cases where *h aspiré* is not present, and vice versa.

It is worth noting that the apparent tendency of the Low Parish speakers to avoid such forms in certain lexical items would certainly support the popular conception that the Guernesiais spoken in the north of the island more closely resembles Standard French than the island's other varieties; it would seem that this reputation may indeed be based in phonological fact.

The affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ], similarly, are known to form part of the informants' personal phonological repertoires as these sounds are also present in English. The Guernsey 2010 data presented in Table 5-28 shows that [tʃ] is present in all of the informants' Guernesiais as well, and that [dʒ] is present in the Guernesiais of 48 out of the 49 informants.

Table 5-28. Variable realisation of affricates in nine items by the 49 informants.

Item	Affricate [tʃ] [dʒ]	Other palatalised form	Non-palatalised consonant	Alt. Item	No response
14 *tchittair* <to leave>	11	0	0	36	2
23 *tcheur/coeur* (m) <heart>	49	0	0	0	0
36 *tchen, tian* <yours>	9	6	0	34	0
54 *tcherbaön/ querbaön* (m) <coal>	49	0	0	0	0
133 *bateaux* (mpl) <boats>	32	9	8	0	0
150 *aën tchen, daëux tchens* (m) <one dog, two dogs>	48	1	0	0	0
15 *guide* (m) <guide>	19	0	9	8	13
22 *aïdjer/aïguer* <to help>	48	1	0	0	0
37 *Gyu/Dyu* (m) <God>	21	23	2	1	2

Header span: *Initial sound realised: no. of tokens*

All 49 informants pronounce *tcheur/coeur* and *tcherbaön/querbaön* with an initial voiceless affricate. None of the three items examined for the equivalent voiced affricate showed comparable categorical patterning, but 48 of the 49 informants did produce [dʒ]-medial forms for *aïdjer/aïguer* (the one exception produced the alternative palatal fricative [j] for this word). Only in one other item, *aën tchen, daëux tchens*, did the informants' responses show as strong a pattern; for the others, informants were divided

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in various proportions between medial affricates and other palatalised forms, with a minority of unpalatalised consonants.

That some items pattern categorically and others less so may be due to the fact that palatalisation in Guernesiais also varies diatopically in certain phonological contexts (cf. §6.3.3). It may nevertheless be stated on the strength of the data presented above that all informants use the voiceless affricate [tʃ] in their Guernesiais, while 48 out of the 49 informants employ the equivalent voiced affricate in the three items. The one exception, Informant 23, employed alternative palatalised forms in these words; further data would be necessary to determine whether this is an established feature of her idiolect, or whether this was exceptional behaviour triggered by the interview setting.

5.4.2 Residual nasal consonant

As may be seen from the results of §6.3.1, a residual velar nasal consonant [ŋ] follows word-final nasalised vowels in the speech of certain informants, especially where the nasalised vowel was a nasalised (or partially nasalised) front near-low unrounded [æ̃].

Pronunciations of final [ɔ̃] in Guernesiais often trigger an additional final nasal consonant, particularly in the speech of individuals from the High Parishes. Not all instances of word-final nasalised vowels behave in this way, however. We see from the responses to *cousain* in §6.3.2 that the original [ɛ̃] instead becomes a diphthong with a nasalised second element such as [æ̃ʳ] in certain Guernesiais words. This treatment is not applied universally to all such items, however: the data for 55 – *matin* (m) <morning> in Table 5-29 below show that a range of other realisations are possible. Front near-low unrounded articulations are popular, though with this pronunciation the addition of a further nasal consonant is rare. The preponderance of diphthongised forms should be noted.

Table 5-29. Pronunciations of final [ɛ̃] in 55 – matin *(m) <morning> by the 49 informants.*

Item	No. of tokens				
	Oral vowel [æ]	Oral glide e.g. [æˈ], [ɑˈ]	Nasalised vowel [æ̃]	Nasalised diphthong e.g. [æ̃ˈ], [ɑ̃ˈ], [ɛ̃w]	Additional nasal consonant e.g. [æˈn], [æ̃n]
55 *matin* (m)	6	13	10	18	2

Though *matin* and *pain* share the same nasalised vowel in Standard French, this is not true in Guernesiais. The Guernesiais *pain* is realised differently from *matin*, featuring a greater tendency towards back rounded mid and low vowels (see Table 5-30). Diphthongised vowels are again the most frequently encountered articulation, but the addition of a final nasalised consonant remains relatively infrequent.

Table 5-30. Realisations of final [ɛ̃] in 56 – pain *(m) <bread>by the 49 informants.*

Item	No. of tokens				
	Oral vowel [o]	Oral glide e.g. [oˈ], [ɔˈ], [ɒˈ], [ɑˈ]	Nasalised vowel e.g. [õ], [ɔ̃]	Nasalised diphthong e.g. [õˈ], [ɔ̃ˈ], [æ̃ˈ], [ɑ̃ˈ]	Additional nasal consonant e.g. [on], [ɔˈn]
56 *pain (m)*	2	28	3	10	6

What emerges is that the degree of variation present in the realisation of final nasalised vowels differs between lexical items.   While some items are realised relatively consistently in all of the informants' speech, other items such as *matin* and *pain* above are subject to considerably more variation. This variation does not appear to be diatopic in nature, and the age distribution of the informants across the different treatments of the final vowels in both *matin* and *pain* suggests that age is not a salient factor in determining the distribution of the different forms (see Tables 5-31 and 5-32).

Table 5-31. *Age range and total number of informants employing the five vocalic variants in 55 – matin (m) <morning>.*

Treatment of final nasalised vowel in 55 – matin (m)	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59*	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
Oral vowel	0	0	1	5	0	6
Oral diphthong	0	1	6	3	3	13
Nasalised vowel	0	2	4	3	1	10
Nasalised diphthong	1	2	7	8	0	18
Additional nasal consonant	1	0	0	1	0	2

NB: Both informants in this group are aged 59.

Table 5-32. *Age range and number of informants employing the five principal vocalic variants in 56 – pain (m) <bread>.*

Treatment of final nasalised vowel in 56 – pain (m)	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59*	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
Oral vowel	1	1	0	0	0	2
Oral diphthong	0	1	10	15	2	28
Nasalised vowel	0	1	0	2	0	3
Nasalised diphthong	1	2	4	2	1	10
Additional nasal consonant	0	0	4	1	1	6

NB: Both informants in this group are aged 59.

We may tentatively conclude that, while no hard and fast rules exist as to when an additional final consonant may be expected in the pronunciation of a word, certain word-final vowels with a nasalised element (either currently, or historically) favour such an addition more than others. Lexical items with word-final [æ̃] (such as *maisaön* and *païssaön* increase the likelihood with which an additional nasal consonant may be sounded, while such an addition is possible but less probable for items like *matin* or *poin* ending in word-final diphthongs such as [æˑ] or [oˑ].

5.4.3 Palatalisation of post-consonantal [l]

Post-consonantal [l] is said to undergo secondary palatalisation in Guernesiais (Spence 1984: 349). This does not apply across the board, however; as may be seen from Table 5-33 below, the secondary palatalisation of post-consonantal [l] appears to be heavily conditional upon the situational context in which the C + [l] sequence occurs.

Table 5-33. Pronunciation of post-consonantal [l] *in four items by the 49 informants.*

Item							No. of tokens		
	[l]	[l̥]	[j]	[j̊]	[tʃ]	[y]	Liquid deleted	Alternative Item	No Response
88 *fllàmbe (f)* \<flame\>	1	0	36	0	0	0	0	5	7
89 *bllànc* \<white\>	0	0	49	0	0	0	0	0	0
90 *simplle* \<simple\>	1	15	5	4	0	0	16	2	6
203 *aönclle (m)* \<uncle\>	0	6	0	3	4	1	35	0	0

The examples that Spence gives for this feature, S.F. *clos* \<field\> and *blanc* \<white\>, both feature the C + [l] cluster in word-initial position with a following vowel (1984: 349). The first two examples from the Guernsey 2010 data in Table 5-33 feature this cluster in the same type of context, and we see that secondary palatalisation has indeed proceeded much as Spence claims in these two items: a significant majority of the informants palatalised the [l] to [j], though one individual nonetheless realised *fllàmbe* with [l] (see Table 5-34).

Table 5-34. Pronunciation of post-consonantal [l] *in two items by the 49 informants.*

Treatment of post-consonantal [l]	Examples from the Guernsey 2010 corpus			
	Inf. no.	*Parish*	88 *fllàmbe* (f)	89 *bllànc*
	10	St Sampson's	[fjæ˞ːb̥]	[bjæ̃ː]
	27i	Vale (det.)	[fjøm]	[bjæ̃]
	08i	Castel	[fjɛ:b̥]	[bjɛ:]
[j]	19i	St Saviour's	[fjæmb̥]	[bjæ:]
	05	St Pierre du Bois	[fjæb]	[bjæ]
	01	Torteval	[fjɑ:b]	[bjæ̃ː]
	33	Forest	[fjɑm]	[bjæ]
[l]	40	Castel	[flɑmb̥]	[bjæ̃]

The situation is not as clear-cut for *simplle* <simple> and for *aönclle* <uncle>, however, since in these items the C + [l] cluster occurs word-finally, and the possibility of word-final post-obstruent liquid deletion comes into play. While the [l] in *simplle* is voiced by one informant, the influence of the preceding voiceless consonant causes the devoicing of the liquid in 15 of the informants' responses. For 16 further individuals, this devoiced consonant is dropped altogether.

Table 5-35. Age range and number of informants employing the different pronunciations of C + [l] *in 90 –* simplle <simple>.

Realisation of C + [l]	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59*	*60–69*	*70–79*	*80–89*	*90+*	
Liquid deleted	1	1	6	8	0	16
[l̥]	1	1	6	5	2	15
[l]	0	0	0	1	0	1
[j]	0	0	2	2	1	5
[j̊]	0	0	1	2	1	4
Alternative Item	0	1	0	1	0	2
No Response	0	2	3	1	0	6

*NB: Both informants in this group are aged 59.

As may be seen from Table 5-35, the age profiles for both devoicing and deletion of final consonants in this context are similar; this would suggest that both forms are relatively well established across the speech community. There is no evidence to link choice of these forms with other social characteristics, however; there is no gender patterning, and the distribution of the informants concerned with regard to their place of origin within the island does not suggest diatopic differentiation. Some evidence of secondary palatalisation in this item presents itself with the five tokens of final [j] and four of the devoiced form [j̊] (see Table 5-36), but the lower number of speakers here suggests that this form is liable to be receding. This is tentatively supported (though not conclusively confirmed) by the slightly raised age profile of the informants supplying those pronunciations. In contrast, the informants unable to supply a translation for this item tended to be younger (and less linguistically experienced) members of the sample.

Table 5-36. Pronunciation of post-consonantal [l] *in 90 –* simplle *<simple> by the 49 informants.*

Treatment of post-consonantal [l]	No. of Tokens	Examples from the Guernsey 2010 corpus		
		Inf. no.	Parish	90 simplle
Liquid deleted	16	27i	Vale (det.)	[saˈmp]
		03ii	Castel	[sæmp]
		25	St Saviour's	[sæˈmp]
		08ii	St Saviour's	[sæːmp]
		38	St Pierre du Bois	[sæˈmp]
		29	Torteval	[sɑˈmp]
		07	Forest	[sæˈmp]
[l̥]	15	10	St Sampson's	[sæ̃ːmpl̥]
		37	Castel	[sæˈmpl̥]
		35	St Saviour's	[sæˈmpl̥]
		09	Torteval	[sæˈmpl̥]
		23	St Pierre du Bois	[sæˈpl̥]
		33	Forest	[sɛ̃pl̥]
[l]	1	15	Vale	[sæ̃ːpl]
[j]	5	08i	Castel	[sæˈpj]
		19i	St Saviour's	[sæˈmpj]
		43ii	??	[sæˈmpj]
[j̥]	4	21	Vale	[sæˈmpj̥]
		19ii	St Pierre du Bois	[sæˈmpj̥]
Alternative Item	2			
No Response	6			

The realisations of word-final post-consonantal [l] in *aönclle* are more strongly divided; though four informants produced devoiced [l̥] in their responses, and one produced the unusual vowel-final [ʌnky] (likely either an idiosyncratic family term or an erroneous response), 35 out of the 49 informants deleted the liquid in their response (see Table 5-37).

Table 5-37. Pronunciation of post-consonantal [l] *in 203 –* aönclle *(m) <uncle> by the 49 informants.*

Treatment of post-consonantal [l]	No. of Tokens	Examples from the Guernsey 2010 corpus		
		Inf. no.	*Parish*	*203* aönclle (m)
Liquid deleted	35	10	St Sampson's	[ɐwnk]
		26	Vale (det.)	[æwnk]
		08i	Castel	[ɐwnk]
		11	Castel	[æ̃k]
		25	St Saviour's	[ʌnk]
		17	St Saviour's	[æ̃ˀnk]
		42ii	St Pierre du Bois	[ɐnk]
		14	St Pierre du Bois	[æ̃nˀk]
		18i	Torteval	[æ̃nk]
		01	Torteval	[æ̃nk]
		27ii	Forest	[ænk]
[l̥]	6	02	St Sampson's	[ɔkl̥]
		40	Castel	[ɐwnkl̥]
		37	Castel	[æwnkl̥]
		43i	Torteval	[ænkl̥]
		36ii	Torteval	[ænkl̥]
		39	St Martin's	[ɔwnkl̥]
[tʃ]	4	15	Vale	[ɐwntʃ]
		06	Vale	[ɐwntʃ]
		20	Vale (det.)	[ɐwntʃ]
		27i	Vale (det.)	[æwntʃ]
[ʝ]	3	21	Vale (det.)	[æwnkʝ]
		12	Torteval	[ænkʝ]
		43ii	??	[ɐwnkʝ]
[y]	1	34ii	St Pierre du Bois	[ænky]

Evidence of palatalisation still exists for this item. Three tokens of [ʝ] were produced along with four of the affricate [tʃ], the latter resulting in delightful forms such as [ɐwntʃ] (see Table 5-37). These palatalised forms are definitely in the minority, and the age profile of the informants who produced them suggests that they are now used principally by speakers who are in their late seventies or older (see Table 5-38). There is no strongly distinctive geographical distribution of these features, although it would seem that the use of the affricate [tʃ] in this item is a quirk particular to the northernmost

parishes of the island (cf. §6.3.3).[6] This adds greater weight to the tentative observation made above that, while speakers continue to palatalise post-consonantal (pre-vocalic) [l] to [j], there is now a tendency to delete post-consonantal [l] where this occurs in word-final position.

Table 5-38. Age range and number of informants employing the different pronunciations of C + [l] in 203 – aönclle (m) <uncle>.

Realisation of C + [l]	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	*50–59**	*60–69*	*70–79*	*80–89*	*90+*	
Liquid deleted	2	5	12	14	2	35
[l̥]	0	0	4	2	0	6
[tʃ]	0	0	0	2	2	4
[ʝ]	0	0	2	1	0	3
[y]	0	0	0	1	0	1

*NB: Both informants in this group are aged 59.

5.4.4   Diphthongs with [j]

The [aj/ɑj] diphthong is said to be particularly characteristic of Guernesiais, distinguishing it from the other Norman varieties as well as from Standard French. This diphthong (which has been observed as [ɒj] in south-western Guernesiais) is found in many items in Guernesiais, and is often employed word-finally in items containing the equivalent of the Standard French suffixes *-er*, *-ez*, *-é* and *-ée* (cf. Tomlinson 1981: 35) (cf. §2.5.7 and §2.6.2). In order to examine this feature in modern Guernesiais, informants were asked to produce the infinitive, 2pl and past participle of the verb *oïmaïr*, along with the noun *fumaïe*. This was intended to elicit a range of contexts in which the [aj/ɑj] diphthong might be produced.[7]

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[6] This was confirmed by St Sampson's informant 10 who explained during his interview that, although he habitually pronounces *aönclle* as [ɐwnk], in the same way as his *câtelain* mother, he vividly remembers his *St Samsounnais* father using the affricated form.

[7] NB: The *-ais/-ait/-aient* endings in Guernesiais, as in the imperfect tense, are realised as [e] rather than the [aj/ɑj] glide.

Table 5-39. Variable use of the [aj/ɑj] diphthong in four items by the 49 informants.

Item	*Realisation of the [aj/ɑj] glide: no. of tokens*							
	[ɑˈ]	[ɒˈ]	[ɔˈ]	[oˈm]	[ɛˈ]	[ɑ]	Alt. Item	No response
172 *oïmaïr* <to love>	26	7	3	1	1	0	7	4
173 *oïmaïz* <you love (2pl)>	23	6	1	3	0	0	9	7
174 *oïmaï* <loved (pp)>	31	7	1	0	0	0	7	3
177 *fumaïe (f)* <smoke>	25	11	0	0	1	9	2	2

As may be seen from Table 5-39, [ɑˈ] was the most popular articulation for the final vowel in these items. A smaller but significant number produced final back rounded [ɒˈ] diphthongs, which supports earlier observations about the frequency with which [æ/ɑ] are sounded as [ɒ] in Guernesiais (cf.§5.3.5); a raised version of this glide, [ɔˈ], was also to be found in a handful of informants' speech (cf. Tomlinson 1981: 35). In addition to these anticipated realisations of the [aj/ɑj] diphthong, four tokens of word-final [oˈm] were noted between the infinitive and the 2pl forms of *oïmaïr*. The addition of word-final [m] makes the resultant morphological forms rather unusual, though the informants in question ostensibly supplied the forms requested correctly. Each of the tokens of [oˈm]-final forms was supplied with appropriate grammatical context: a periphrastic future construction was used to demonstrate the infinitive, while the three informants who produced an [oˈm]-final form for the 2pl conjugation of *oïmaïr* included the appropriate subject pronoun. It is however unclear whether these forms are erroneous, a result of inaccurate self-reporting, or whether these [o⁽ˈ⁾m]-final forms (though unusual) constitute a fair representation of the informants' idiolectal usage in these contexts. The remaining diphthong which emerged from the data, [ɛˈ], was produced by one informant apiece for *oïmaïr* and *fumaïe*, appears to be an anglicised form of the equivalent Standard French pronunciation.

In addition to the glide forms produced, nine of the informants reduced final [ɑ¹] to [ɑ] in their realisations of the noun *fumaïe*. Similar behaviour has been observed in other phonological features of Guernesiais (cf. §6.3.1). In this instance, it is interesting to note that none of the nine informants came from the south-western parishes of St Pierre du Bois and Torteval; there was a slight bias towards the northern parishes, with one informant each from the Vale and St Sampson's, and three from the Castel. The remaining three informants came from St Saviour's, the Forest and St Martin's. This tentative patterning would perhaps merit further investigation in other verbs and nouns.

Though these results are evidently limited in scope, focussing on just one vowel and one noun, the Guernsey 2010 data for this feature suggest that the [ɑj] diphthong (and its related back rounded diphthong incarnations) remains the most frequently encountered realisation of the *-aïr*-final infinitive, *-aïz* 2pl and *-aï*-final past participle forms in modern Guernesiais.

5.4.5 Latin tonic free ē/ĭ > [ej] > S.F. [wa] but Guernesiais [E]

While in Standard French, Latin tonic free ē/ĭ evolved through [ej] to give [wa], sources say that the Latin evolved into a front unrounded mid vowel in Guernesiais. Four items were chosen to illustrate this feature of the variety. The first three — 7 – *veer* <to see>, 58 – *roué* (m) <king> and 111 – *cré* <believe (1ps)>, will be considered below. The fourth, item 186 – *destre/daëstre* <right>, is considered in greater detail in the discussion of vowel lowering in §6.3.2.

It would seem from the Guernsey 2010 data that the quality of the front unrounded mid vowel derived from Latin tonic free ē/ĭ can vary and that this can be lexically or morphologically motivated, though most speakers employ a similar distribution of forms (see Table 5-40). As a general rule, the responses of the informants were relatively homogeneous for *veer*, *roué* and *cré*. Of the 49 informants of the main sample group, 41 realised the vowel of *veer* as [e] and the vowels of *roué* and *cré* as [ɛ].

Table 5-40. Pronunciations of Latin tonic free ē/ĭ in three items.

Treatment of Latin tonic free ē/ĭ in the three items	No. of tokens	Examples from the Guernsey 2010 corpus				
		Inf. no.	Parish	7 *veer*	58 *roué (m)*	111 *cré*
veer [e] *roué* [ɛ] *cré* [ɛ]	41	06	Vale	[veː]	[ɹ�fac̯ᵘwɛ]	[ʒ̊kɹɛ]
		10	St Sampson's	[ve]	[ɹ̯wɛ]	[kɹ̥ɛ]
		27i	Vale (det.)	[ve]	[ɹ̯wɛ]	[ʒ̊kɹɛ]
		41	Castel	[ve]	[ɾwɛ̝̈]	[kɾɛ]
		25	St Saviour's	[ve]	[ɾwɛ]	[kɾ̥ɛ]
		19ii	St Pierre du Bois	[ve]	[ɹwɛ]	[kɹ̯ɛ]
		18i	Torteval	[veː]	[ɾwɛ]	[kɾ̥ɛ]
		07	Forest	[ve]	[ɹ̯wɛ]	[kɹ̥ɛ]
veer [ɛ] *roué* [ɛ] *cré* [ɛ]	1	08ii	St Saviour's	[vɛ]	[ɾwɛ]	[kɹ̥ɛ]
veer (diphthong) *roué* [ɛ] *cré* [ɛ]	4	02	St Sampson's	[veˈɪ]	[ɹwɐ]	[kɹɛ]
		14	St Pierre du Bois	[vɛːˈ]	[ɾᵘwɛ]	[kɹɛ]
		28	St Pierre du Bois	[veˈ]	[ɹ̯wɛ]	[kɹ̥ɛ]
		37	Castel	[veˈ]	[ɾwɛ]	[kɹ̯ɛ]
Other variations	3	11	Castel	[vɛ]	[ɹwɑ]	[kɹɛ]
		24i	St Andrew's	[ve]	[ɹ̯wɑ]	[kɹɛ]
		42i	St Andrew's	[ve]	[ɹwæ]	[kɹɛ]

The contrastive value of [e/ɛ] has not been fully determined in this study; there is some dispute as to whether two front unrounded mid vowel phonemes exist in Guernesiais, or whether there is just the one (cf. §2.5.3). There is certainly an overall difference in quality between these 41 informants' treatment of *roué* and of *destre* (cf. §6.3.2), though this may be due to the differing grammatical categories of the two items. We have noted too that a change in vowel quality may be used to distinguish between different forms of a verb (cf. §5.3.6): here, we notice that the infinitive *veer* is realised as [e] by a majority of the Guernsey 2010 informants, contrasting with the [ɛ] of first person singular present *cré*. This phenomenon would merit fuller investigation than was possible from the Guernsey 2010 data: though translations of a variety of verb forms were requested during interviews as part of the word list task, few usable tokens were yielded as, since they are completely unused to manipulating their productive language in this way, the informants had difficulty in producing the requisite forms on demand (cf. §3.5).

A degree of idiolectal variation is also present in some of the informants' responses, however. The vowel in *veer* changes in quality to [ɛ] for informants 08ii and 11, for example, while it becomes diphthongised in the speech of 02, 14 28 and 37 (cf. c) in Geographical Features). Informants 02, 11, 24i and 42i also lower (and in some cases retract) the vowel of *roué* to give low or near-low vowels [æ], [ɐ] or [ɑ]. Interestingly, however, *cré* is pronounced consistently by all of the informants. Perhaps this is due to this form's relative frequency of occurrence in speech in comparison to the noun *roué* and the infinitive *veer*. This might also account for the variation in the other two items, as informants use the items less often and are therefore less used to producing them in isolation.

Table 5-41. Age and parish of origin of the eight Guernesiais speakers whose realisations of mid vowels in the test items differed from the majority.

Informant No.	Parish	Age
08ii	St Saviour's	82
02	St Sampson's	77
37	Castel	75
11	Castel	66
14	St Pierre du Bois	74
28	St Pierre du Bois	76
24i	St Andrew's	64
42i	St Andrew's	77

It is interesting to note that, of the eight informants who demonstrated some idiolectal variation in the quality of the vowels, the seven for whom vowel quality in one or other of the items changed more significantly from a front unrounded mid vowel to a different articulation are among the younger of the informants. As seen in Table 5-41, these individuals are among the younger informants, with ages ranging between 64 and 77.

5.4.6   Closing of [ɔ] and [o] to [u] before a retained nasal consonant

According to Spence, [ɔ] and [o] are said to close to [u] in Guernesiais before retained nasal consonants. Though neither *tomate* nor *houmard* are from Latin stock (*tomate* entered the language via Spanish from the Central American Nahuatl 'tomatl', while *homard* is from the Swedish 'hummer' or German 'Hummer'), they do present an analogous phonological context in which we can examine the extent to which historical sound changes from Latin are applied by analogy to later additions to the language.

Table 5-42. Realisations of the first vowel in 29 – tomate *(f) <tomato> and 66 –* houmard *(m) <lobster> by the 49 informants.*

Item	No. of tokens								
	[u]	[o]	[ɔ]	[ɒ]	[ɑ]	[ɐ]	[æ]	Alt. Item	No response
29 *tomate* (f)	3	1	4	3	27	1	10	0	0
66 *houmard* (m)	28	2	1	0	0	0	0	9	9

The results for these two items, shown in Table 5-42, suggest that this feature may be applied variably to items which are not Latin-based, but share similar phonological contexts. Only three informants gave translations of <tomato> which featured back high rounded vowel [u], while the number of individuals producing back rounded mid vowel forms reminiscent of the Standard French [tɔmat] was scarcely greater, at five. The employment of forms featuring [u] does not appear to have any particular parish bias since, though both 06 and 41 are natives of the lower parishes, the third informant, 14, was brought up in Torteval. The relative numbers of each token produced are enough to discredit this suggestion in any case, since a majority of 41 informants gave translations containing low vowels. Of these, the most popular was back low unrounded [ɑ], with 27 tokens of [tɑmɑt]. 10 informants produced front near low [æ] in forms such as [tæmɑt], with three tokens of back low rounded [ɒ] in [tɒmɑt] and one of the central vowel pronunciation [tɐmɑt].

The picture is quite different for *houmard*, though the results for this item are slightly distorted by the nine non-respondents and the nine instances where an alternative translation was supplied (including *chancre*, *crabe à co* and *heuv'lin*) — an occupational hazard when engaging with a speech community which has several names for the various marine fauna of their island. Again we see a handful of informants supplying back rounded mid vowel forms but this time the greater number of informants conform to the historical sound change rule, realising [u] forms such as [humaĩ̥]. This suggests that the rule may still apply in Latin-based forms, though (as has been the case with many traditionally described phonological aspects of Guernesiais) this may have become subject to erosion and therefore to greater variation in the modern language.

5.5 FEATURES WHICH WERE ONCE SAID TO VARY, BUT NOW NO LONGER DO

5.5.1 Secondary diphthongisation of [u] from Latin pretonic *o*

Item 61 - *souris* (f) <mouse> was included in the list since, although not of Latin etymology, it was considered that it might by analogy show up differences in the distribution of secondary palatalisation across the island. In confirmation of the tendencies exhibited in the pilot study, however, *souris* did not appear to vary diatopically in this regard; aside from the two non-responses to this item, all 47 of the remaining informants produced a form which showed evidence of secondary diphthongisation. Examples of some of the pronunciations produced by the informants are included in Table 5-43.

Table 5-43. Pronunciations of 61 – souris (f) <mouse>.

Informant no.	Place of origin	Pronunciation of souris
Informant 15	Vale	[swɔɪɪ]
Informant 11	St Saviour's	[swoɾi]
Informant 05	Torteval	[swɔɹi]

The responses to the second item chosen to illustrate this feature, item 44 - *pouchin* (m) <chicken>, showed a greater degree of variation. We might have expected to see the secondary diphthongisation of [u] from pretonic o in the speech of informants from the Vale and St Martin's areas, but not elsewhere on the island; the unexpected

complication with this item did reduce the number of tokens available to judge this from, however.

This particular word was selected on the basis of the entry for 'chicken' in the de Garis *Dictiounnaire*, where it was listed with variant spellings for the High Parishes, Low Parishes, and St Martin's (1967: 28). During the course of the interviews, however, it became apparent that this is quite a simplistic translation of the term. Many Guernesiais speakers have some background in agriculture, and so employ different terms for <chicken> depending on the age, laying and indeed culinary status of the bird in question. In addition to the anticipated term *pouchin*, therefore, there were also ten tokens of *poule* (f) <hen> two tokens of *poulàtte* (f) <pullet>, 12 tokens of *poulet* (m) <chicken (cooked)> and one non-response (see Table 5-44).

Table 5-44. Words for <chicken>.

Variant	No. of Tokens	Informants
pouchin (m)	24	
poule (f)	10	02, 04ii, 06, 07, 17, 19i, 21, 26, 38, 39
poulàtte (f)	2	04i, 12
poulet (m)	12	05, 08i, 08ii, 09, 10, 11, 15, 22, 24i, 25, 33, 41, 34ii
[no response]	1	

From the 24 responses obtained for the intended item, a tentative pattern emerges. While in terms of place of origin those informants whose pronunciations featured evidence of secondary diphthongisation are scattered across the Guernesiais-speaking area of the island, those pronunciations which did not feature secondary diphthongisation were concentrated in the south-western corner of the island. There was also a further variant, produced by informant 18ii, which was more reminiscent of the Standard French *poussin* <chick> - perhaps this may be explained as an idiolectal quirk.

Table 5-45. Pronunciations of 44 – pouchin *(m)* <chicken>.

Informant no.	Place of origin	Pronunciation of pouchin
Informant 20	St Sampson's (det.)	[pwoʃɑⁱ]
Informant 43i	Torteval	[puʃæᵀ]
Informant 18ii	Castel	[pusæ̃]

The number of tokens of the target word produced is insufficient here to draw any firm conclusions about the behaviour of the sample as a whole as regards this trait. Clearly, too, *pouchin* is not of Latin origin, and is therefore not the most robust indicator of the tendencies of this phonological characteristic. Indications are, however, that the boundaries of secondary diphthongisation of [u] (from Latin pretonic o), which was once particularly noted in the speech of *St Martinais* and *Vâlais* speakers, appear to have moved.

Today, there are relatively few speakers of Guernesiais from St Martins; the area of the south-east in which one might expect to find secondarily diphthongised forms has perforce changed. Parish boundaries are not absolute divisions of speech characteristics, and the western extent of secondarily diphthongised forms in the south of the island has not been noted. It is therefore difficult to determine whether the two speakers originally from the centre south of the island who produced the secondarily diphthongised pronunciation represent a western shift for the feature in this area; it is equally likely that the area has merely diminished, and that these informants demonstrate the old western boundary of this feature. Since the remaining individuals from this area offered alternative translations for this item, however, we are unfortunately unable to confirm either possibility.

What is perhaps more remarkable is the extent of the secondarily diphthongised forms in the remainder of the island. Sources give the impression that this feature ought to be found largely in *vâlais*, which would suggest that speakers from the more southern parishes such as St Saviour's (and indeed the lower half of the Castel) would have the *tortevalais* non-diphthongised pronunciation. Judging from the data for *pouchin*, this does not necessarily appear to be the case: five of the seven *câtelain* speakers who gave the target item gave a diphthongised pronunciation, so perhaps this feature is more widespread than previously indicated. Informants 28, 40 and 42i are the most obvious

exceptions to this general distribution of the characteristic. In 28's case, his use of the diphthongised pronunciation is perhaps due to the influence of his mother's Guernesiais: she came from St Saviour's, so it is possible that she would have used this form. 40 and 42i, meanwhile, use the non-diphthongised variant where we might have expected the reverse. While 40's father came from the Forest in the centre south of the island, which may explain the presence of the non-diphthongised variant, 42i's parents were both from the Castel. This gives us no such neat explanation. Both 40 and 42i profess knowledge of French, however, so the non-diphthongisation may potentially be due to confusion of the Guernesiais with the Standard French cognate *poussin*. The conclusion is therefore somewhat uncertain; further study of the pronunciation of Latin-based words would have to be undertaken in order to provide more concrete data for this feature.

5.6   CONCLUSION

The changing situation of Guernesiais over the course of the twentieth century has had a number of implications for the variety's phonology. In certain respects, events have been conducive to conservatism in the variety: the present generation of native speakers have by and large inherited the Guernesiais of their parents, and these forms effectively became fossilised during the latter half of the twentieth century as social pressures caused many speakers to abruptly cease using the variety. As we have seen in §5.2, a number of the key phonological characteristics identified in twentieth-century sources therefore persist in the variety.

This ostensibly conservative linguistic environment is balanced out by the fact that many of the present generation of native Guernesiais speakers have not spoken the variety regularly since childhood, and indeed have lacked the normative influence of older generations of speakers for much of their adult life. This, combined with the natural tendency for change inherent in any language in use, has resulted in evolution in a number of the variety's other characteristic features. Some forms have actually now been dropped by many speakers, as in the case of maintenance of nasalisation before a historical intervocalic nasal consonant (§5.3.3); other features, meanwhile, have altered in some way, and are no longer accurately described by earlier accounts (see further in §5.3).

Lack of normative pressure and dwindling rates of usage have had a further effect on some aspects of Guernesiais phonology. Where certain features were once said to be realised with the same form across the variety, there is now evidence of idiolectal variation, as outlined in §5.4 (cf. Dorian 1994). This has been further reinforced by speakers mixing across traditional parish areas, where earlier twentieth-century speakers would have tended to remain more segregated (cf. §4.2.3). Dwindling speaker numbers in St Martin's and in the island's north, meanwhile, have led to the loss of secondary diphthongisation of *u* from Latin pretonic *o*, a feature which was once associated with speakers from these areas (§5.5.1).

Not all of the phonological variation in Guernesiais may be attributed to idiolectal preference, however. In spite of the greater mobility of today's Guernesiais speakers compared with their parents, as noted in §4.2.3, the parish-based phonological characteristics of previous generations have nonetheless carried forward into their speech. Though the present generation of native Guernesiais speakers may live in a completely different part of the island to that in which they were brought up, their area of origin within the island was found to have particular salience with regard to patterns of variation. In Chapter 6 which follows, we examine a number of phonological features in Guernesiais which demonstrate diatopic variation.

6

DIATOPIC VARIATION IN GUERNESIAIS PHONOLOGY

6.1   INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, we noted that the phonology of Guernesiais has remained conservative in a number of respects. Furthermore, certain phonological features of Guernesiais which were purported to vary according to speaker place of origin within the island now no longer exhibit evidence of this variation, and have instead become universal in the variety. That is not to say that the variety's phonology has remained completely static, however; there is nonetheless evidence that a number of aspects of Guernesiais phonology have been subject to various change processes during the latter half of the twentieth century, as demonstrated in the range of features which clearly differ from those reported in previous descriptions of the variety's phonology. One of the most notable of the modern tendencies noted is the capacity of the modern variety to support a degree of idiolectal variation, and to maintain this variation with apparent stability: this certainly suggested that conditions would be favourable for the maintenance of the diatopic variation reported by previous studies as characteristic of Guernesiais phonology.

Accordingly, Chapter 6 identifies those features of modern Guernesiais phonology which vary between the different parish areas (cf. §4.2.1). §6.2 notes the maintenance of two diatopically variable features described in earlier accounts of the variety, while §6.3 outlines the ways in which a number of further diatopically variable features have altered since earlier accounts of the variety were written. Finally, §6.3 presents data which brings to light evidence of hitherto unreported diatopic variation in modern Guernesiais phonology.

Thus far in the study, we have used the terms Low, Central and High Parishes to designate the parish 'zones' to which the informants have been assigned for the purposes of analysis (cf. §4.2.1), while the lower-case equivalents have been employed to talk about different geographical areas of the island in more general terms. In this chapter, we introduce two further terms — *bas pas* and *haut pas* — to refer to the two

traditionally reported sub-dialects of Guernesiais associated with the low and high parishes respectively (cf. Jones 2008: 41–2).

6.2 PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES OF GUERNESIAIS WHICH DISPLAY DIATOPIC VARIATION

6.2.1 Reflexes of Latin *a+l+C*

Three items were selected from the phonological data to explore this feature: 31 - *caud/caoud* <hot>, 65 – *haut* <high> and 181 - *aute/aoute* <other>. Though diatopic variation in the treatment of Latin *a+l+C* across the speaker sample was anticipated, it was thought that individual speakers would employ their own localised pronunciation variant for all three items. According to existing accounts of Guernesiais phonology, the vowel sounds of all three items should show evidence of diphthongisation in the speech of informants from the island's south west, and be rendered as monophthongs by speakers elsewhere. Contrary to expectation, however, 37 of the 49 informants realised *aute/aoute* in a markedly different way to the other two items, *caud/caoud* and *haut*.

None of the 12 informants who produced the same sound for all three items gave a monophthongal pronunciation of the vocalic element. It was interesting to observe, however, that the 12 informants with uniform pronunciation were clustered around two of the island's population centres. The three Central Parish speakers (07, 39 and 42ii) who uniformly produced a central vowel diphthong [ɐw] for this sound all grew up in the centre south of the island. The childhood homes of the nine informants (09, 12, 16, 18i, 23, 24i, 29, 38 and 43i) who uniformly produced the more stereotypically south-western diphthong [æw] for all three items, meanwhile, are (with the exception of 16) located within a mile or so of Torteval Parish Church.

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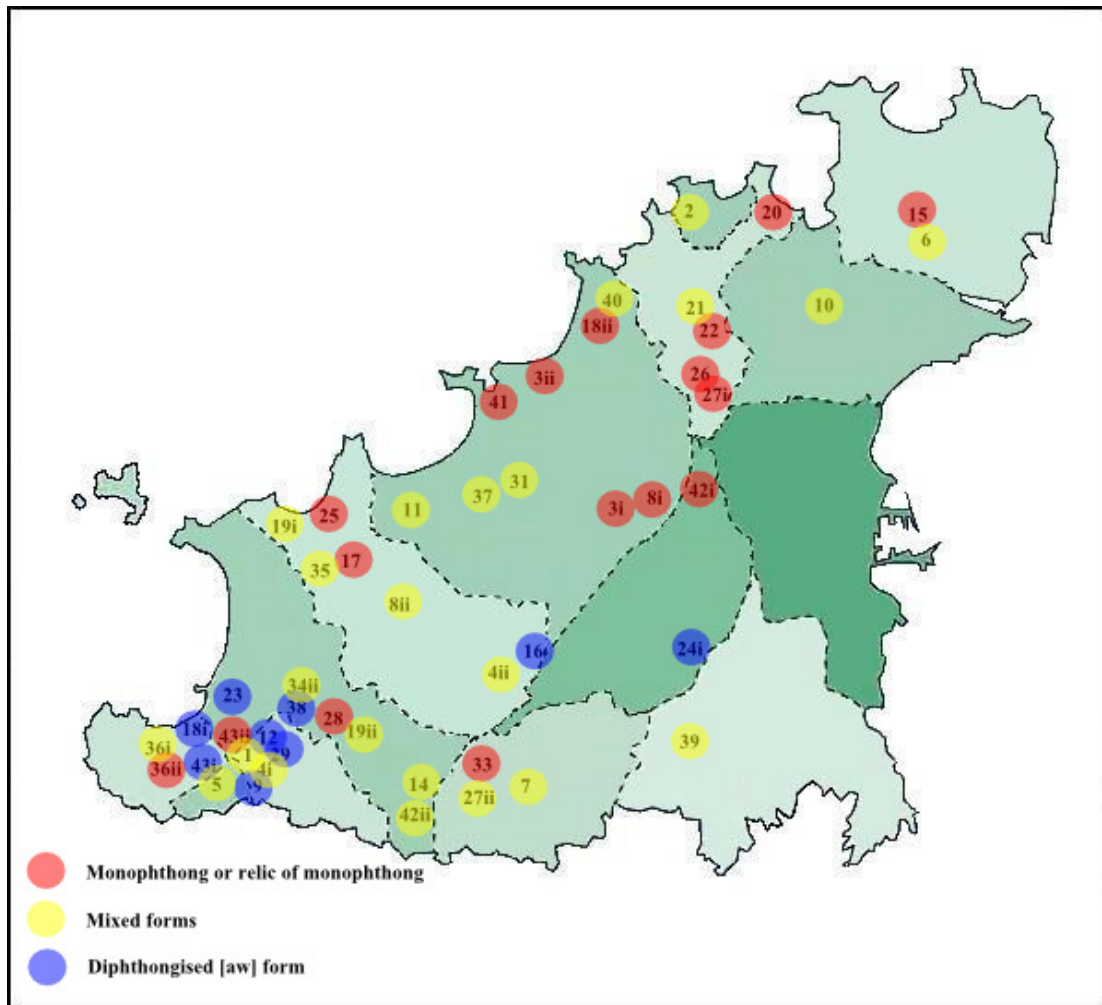
Map 6-1. Reflexes of Latin a + l + C in pronunciations of 31 - caud/caoud *and 65 –* haut *by the 49 informants.*

Among the responses to *caud/caoud* and *haut*, tokens of the [æw] diphthong are in the minority (see Map 6-1 and Table 6-1). That minority nonetheless confirms the maintenance of traditional patterns of diatopic variation in this context: seven of the nine informants who produced this variant for both items were brought up within a one-mile radius of the principal settlement near Torteval church, with informants 16 and 24ii slightly more distant. The childhood homes of the four informants who gave [ɐw] for 31 - *caud/caoud* but /aw/ for 65 - *haut* are also clustered around this south-western settlement, while the four informants who produced [ɐw] for both items all spent a significant portion of their formative years in the southern parishes.

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Table 6-1. Reflexes of Latin a+l+C in pronunciations of 31 – caud/caoud *<hot> and 65 –* haut *<high> by the 49 informants.*

Treatment of Latin a+l+C	No. of tokens	Examples from the Guernsey 2010 corpus				
		Inf. no.	Parish	Age	31 caud/ caoud	65 haut
[o] or [ow]	17	15	Vale	88	[kow]	[ho]
		26	Vale	76	[ko]	[ho]
		03ii	Castel	86	[ko]	[ho]
		36ii	St Saviour's	79	[kow]	[how]
		28	St Pierre du Bois	76	[ko]	[ho:]
		43ii	Torteval	88	[kow]	[how]
		33	Forest	79	[kow]	[how]
[o(w)] and [æw]	3	21	Vale	78	[kow]	[hæwt]
		11	Castel	66	[kæw]	[ho]
		36i	St Saviour's	74	[kæw]	[hǫ]
caud/caoud with a central vowel, *haut* with [o(w)]	2	10	St Sampson's	81	[kɐw]	[how]
		40	Castel	87	[kɜw]	[ho]
caud/caoud with [o(w)], *haut* with a front or central vowel	7	06	Vale	96	[kow]	[hᵌw]
		02	St Sampson's	77	[ko:]	[hɐw]
		19i	St Saviour's	92	[kow]	[hœw]
		35	St Saviour's	96	[kow]	[hœw]
		08ii	St Saviour's	82	[kow]	[hœw]
		04ii	St Saviour's	71	[ko]	[hæw]
		04i	Torteval	67	[kow]	[hæw]
Front mid- vowels	2	37	Castel	75	[kœw]	[hœw]
		31	Castel	76	[køw]	[høw]
Central / lax vowels	1	27ii	Forest	78	[kʏw]	[høw]
[ɐw]	4	42ii	St Pierre du Bois	82	[kɐw]	[hɐw]
		07	St Pierre du Bois	83	[kɐ̞w]	[hɐw]
		01	Torteval	74	[kɐ̞w]	[hæ̞:w]
		39	St Martin's	74	[kɐw]	[hɐw]
caud/caoud with [ɐw], *haut* with [æw]	4	34ii	St Pierre du Bois	84	[kɐ̞w]	[hæ:]
		19ii	St Pierre du Bois	82	[kɐw]	[hæw]
		05	St Pierre du Bois	67	[kɐw]	[hæw]
		14	St Pierre du Bois	74	[kɐ:w]	[hæ:w]
[æw]	9	16	St Saviour's	70	[kæw]	[hæw]
		23	St Pierre du Bois	87	[kæw]	———
		38	St Pierre du Bois	59	[kæw]	[hæw]
		12	Torteval	79	[kæw]	[hæw]
		29	Torteval	76	[kæw]	[hæw]
		18i	Torteval	87	[kæ̃:w]	[hæ:w]
		43i	Torteval	82	[kæw]	[hæw]
		09	Torteval	59	[kæ:w]	———
		24i	St Andrew's	64	[kæw]	[hæw]

The back mid-high rounded [o], together with the diphthongised form, [ow], represents the most frequent pronunciation of the vocalic element in *caud/caoud* and *haut* by the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants. It is interesting too to note that, while the 17 individuals who produced either or both of these sounds in their pronunciation of the two items come from right across the Guernesiais-speaking areas of the island, the concentration of this pronunciation is noticeably stronger in the Castel and in the more northerly parishes.   The [ow] diphthong, which appears to be a development from the monophthongal [o], is not strongly diphthongised; the emphasis is still very much on the vowel element. The diphthongisation of [o] may be a symptom of the increasing influence of English over Guernesiais; as further evidence, the front mid vowel based articulations for *caud/caoud* and *haut* produced by informants 31 and 37 are conspicuous for their proximity to British Received Pronunciation, as the speech of these individuals is otherwise marked (in English as in Guernesiais) with a strong Guernsey accent.[1]

A small number of the informants were more varied in their pronunciations for the two items. Informants 10 and 40 give a central vowel for *caud/caoud* but a back mid-high [o(w)] for *haut*, while 02, 04i, 04ii, 06, 08ii, 19i and 35 reverse this tendency, giving [o(w)] for the vowel sound in *caud/caoud* and a front or central vowel for *haut*. Though in terms of parish of origin these informants are loosely clustered in two areas in the northern and southern thirds of Guernsey respectively, this appears to be coincidental: while informants 04i and 08ii have moved from the areas in which they spent their childhoods to the Castel parish, their usage is directly comparable to that of informants 02, 06, 19i and 35, who have not migrated at all.

Mixing of the two most contrastive pronunciations may be observed in the speech of informants 11, 21 and 36i, who each gave one of the two items with [o(w)] and the other with [æw] (the distribution of the two between the items varied between individuals). There is no apparent explanation for this variability in the place of origin of the informants' parents - while 21 and 36ii's parents came from the Vale/St Saviour's and St Saviour's/St Pierre du Bois respectively, 11 was born and raised in St Saviour's. Given that the pronunciation of St Saviour's appears to incline more towards [o(w)], this would not account for the apparent acquisition of the [æw] diphthong by these informants. Nor are age and gender of any apparent significance in determining the

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[1] Both informants coincidentally come from the Kings Mills settlement of the Castel parish.

distribution of this combination of pronunciations. It should be noted that the nature of the word list task was such that the informants were required to produce the items in isolation, and so their utterances here do not necessarily reflect their pronunciation in the normal flow of speech. The 'mixed' use of variants is therefore just as likely to even out into categorical use of a particular form during the flow of natural speech as it is to be symptomatic of idiolectal variation in vowel quality. Overall, however, a pattern consistent with previous accounts of diatopic variation in this context emerges: use of the [æw] diphthong is generally confined to those individuals who were raised in the south-western corner of the island in the area of settlement centred on Torteval Parish Church, while the [o(w)] pronunciation is current in pronunciations of *caud/caoud* and *haut* elsewhere.
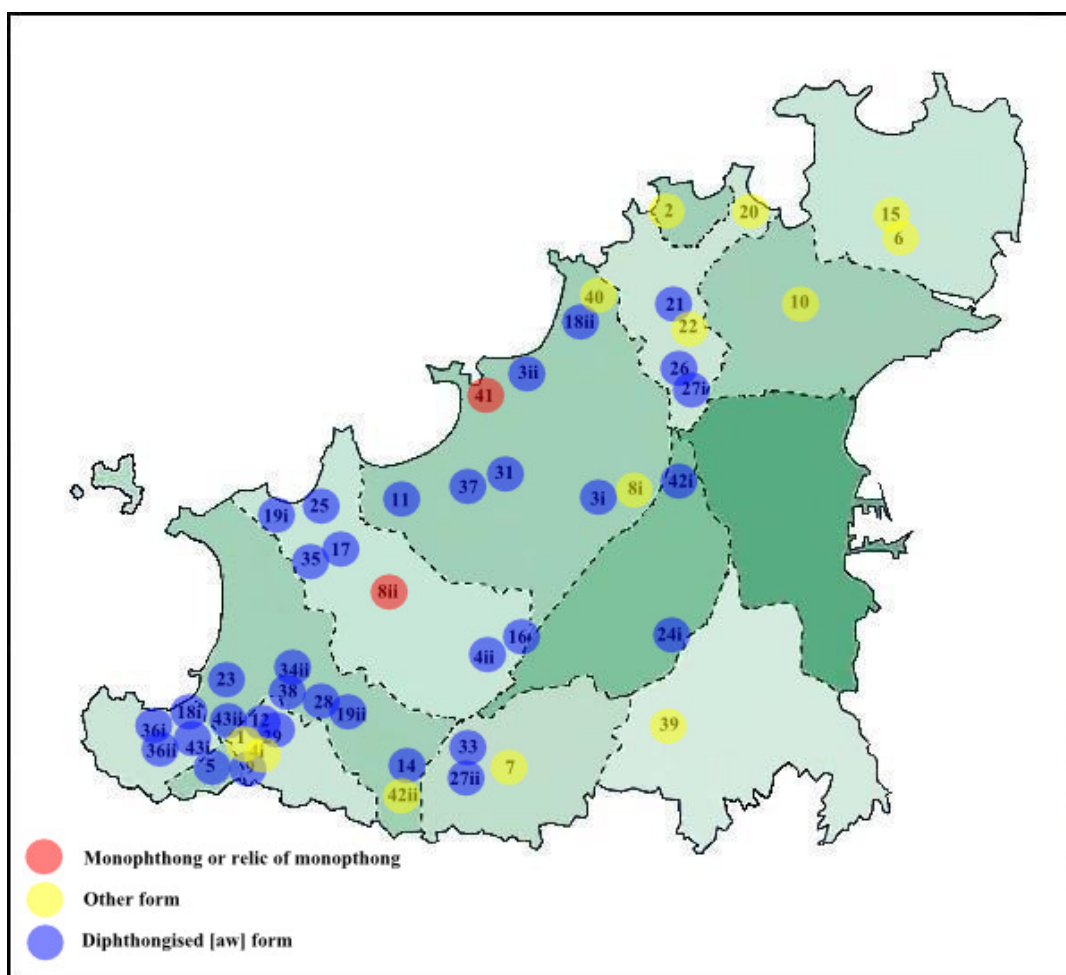
Map 6-2. Reflexes of Latin a + l + C in pronunciations of 181 - aute/aoute *by the 49 informants.*

Interestingly, however, this tendency is overturned when we come to consider the third item, 181 - *aute/aoute* <other> (see Map 6-2). Defying predictions about the likely diatopic distribution of variants, the diphthong [æw] was actually the most frequently

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produced pronunciation of the vowel in *aute/aoute* by informants from all parts of the island; a sample of the responses is given in Table 6-2. The second most frequent rendering of the vocalic element in *aute/aoute* was the [ɐw] diphthong noted above, produced by a further five informants (4i, 8i, 20, 22 and 40) for this item specifically in addition to 07, 39 and 42ii's pronunciation of this sound for all three items. As we noted for [ow] above, [ɐw] appears to be a development (probably due to Anglicisation) from the previously reported monophthongal form. While we have noted the commonality of 07, 39 and 42ii in having grown up in the centre south of the island, the other informants' places of origin are more scattered. This makes a clear diagnosis of geographically-led variation concerning [ɐw] and [æw] in this context more problematic: while 4i grew up in Torteval, informants 8i, 20, 22 and 40 came variously from the northern half of the Castel and the southern detachment of the Vale. The geographical origins of the six informants who produced central, back high or front mid monophthongal alternatives to the glides (01, 02, 06, 8ii, 15, 41) are similarly scattered across the island.

Table 6-2. Reflexes of Latin a+l+C in 181 – aute/aoute *<other> pronounced by the 49 informants.*

Treatment of Latin *a+l+C*	*No. of tokens*	*Examples from the Guernsey 2010 corpus*			
		Inf. no.	*Parish*	*Age*	*181 aute/ aoute*
[æw]	35	10	St Sampson's	81	[æᵒtɪ]
		21	Vale	78	[æwt]
		31	Castel	76	[æwtɪ̥]
		19i	St Saviour's	92	[æwt]
		05	St Pierre du Bois	67	[æwt]
		12	Torteval	79	[æwt]
		27ii	Forest	78	[æwt]
[ɐw]	8	20	Vale	94	[ɐwtɪ]
		22	Vale	82	[ɐwtɪ]
		40	Castel	87	[ɐwtɪ]
		08i	Castel	81	[ɐwt]
		04i	Torteval	67	[ӓwt]
		42ii	St Pierre du Bois	82	[ɐwt]
		07	Forest	83	[ɐwt]
		39	St Martin's	74	[ɐwtɪ̥]
[o]	2	41	Castel	63	[owt]
		08ii	St Saviour's	82	[otɪ̥]
[œ]	1	15	Vale	88	[œwtɪ]
[ɜ]	2	06	Vale	96	[ɜwtɪ̥]
		01	Torteval	74	[ɜwt]
[ə]	1	02	St Sampson's	77	[əwtʃɪ̥]

Since [æw] was produced in *aute/aoute* by informants from all parts of the island, and as there is no strong diatopic pattern to the pronunciation of non-[æw] variants here, we have cause to question the traditionally reported diatopic variation in the context of this particular item. We may accordingly be forgiven for querying whether the 14 informants who produced alternatives to this strongly marked diphthong for item 181 - *aute/aoute* might have been influenced by other factors, for example Standard French pronunciation. Ability in Standard French among the informants varies: while informant 39 has a good working knowledge of French and used the language during her working life, informant 22 professed no proficiency at the Standard French at all. Though most of the other 12 informants claim some ability in the variety as a legacy of

their schooling, from further language study and because of the many similarities between Guernesiais and French, the same is equally true of those informants who employed the more characteristically Guernesiais [æw]. This cannot therefore explain the variation present in pronunciations of this item. The researcher found a similar lack of correlation with age, fluency and patterns of migration in later life, with the 14 non-[æw] informants also differing in these characteristics.

An explanation for the apparently random differentiation present in *aute/aoute* may instead lie in the frequency with which the three lexical items examined for this feature are employed in Guernesiais. It has been noted elsewhere that commonly occurring words in Guernesiais such as 8 – *païssaön* (m) <fish> and 9 – *maisaön* (f) <house> can defy patterns of geographically marked variation (Lukis 1981: 2). Variation of this kind is relatively stable in the variety: Guernesiais speakers typically use the universal pronunciation for a particular segment in these isolated instances, but then revert to their localised pronunciation variants for other items containing the segment.

Autre is listed in one published corpus-based frequency table as the 28th most frequently used word in the French language, and we may conjecture not unreasonably that this item might come in a similar position were a comparable list to be compiled for Guernesiais (Lonsdale and Le Bras 2009: 10). Standard French *haut* and *chaud*, meanwhile, come in at 264th and 1852nd respectively (Lonsdale and Le Bras 2009: 18, 78). It is therefore possible that the apparent reduction in variation for this item is linked to the frequency with which it occurs in speech. The data for Guernesiais *aute/aoute* tentatively suggest that monophthongal pronunciations of this segment are in recession, and this finds some support in the data for the two remaining items. Though evidence of the old *bas pas* variant [o] remains, many informants now introduce a glide element to their pronunciations, which are now closer to [ow] (see Table 6-2). The compromise articulation [ɐw] is also found in the speech of a number of High Parish informants. The durability of diatopic variants alongside the universal pronunciation of segments in such items as *maisaön* and *païssaön* does rather indicate, however, that we are unlikely to see a complete eradication of the monophthongal variants among the modern native-speaker population. The results of language teaching in new speakers of the variety, of course, remain to be heard.

6.2.2 Diphthongisation of final [o] to [ow/aw]

The secondary diphthongisation of final [o] to [ow] or [aw] is said to be characteristic of *haut pas* Guernesiais, while *bas pas* speakers are said to retain the monophthong (cf. §6.2.1 above). This is one of the most frequently cited points of diatopic phonological variation in Guernesiais, and most speakers of the variety will happily produce contrastive (and heavily stylized) pronunciations of a series of stock items such as 81 – *iaoue* (f) <water> if questioned about the differences between *haut pas* and *bas pas* speech. The presence of this difference in the variety is confirmed, in early twentieth-century Guernesiais at least, by the presence of spelling dyads in the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* (de Garis 1967) for items containing this feature: alternatives are given for words such as 126 - *maoue/maue* (m/f) <sea-gull>, so that each reader may select the spelling most appropriate to his or her pronunciation. There is also some evidence that non-final [o] is realised differently in *haut pas* and *bas pas* speech, as items such as 124 – *paure/paoure* <poor> and 123 – *cone/caone* (f) <horn> attest. Yet is this diatopic difference still present in modern-day Guernesiais?
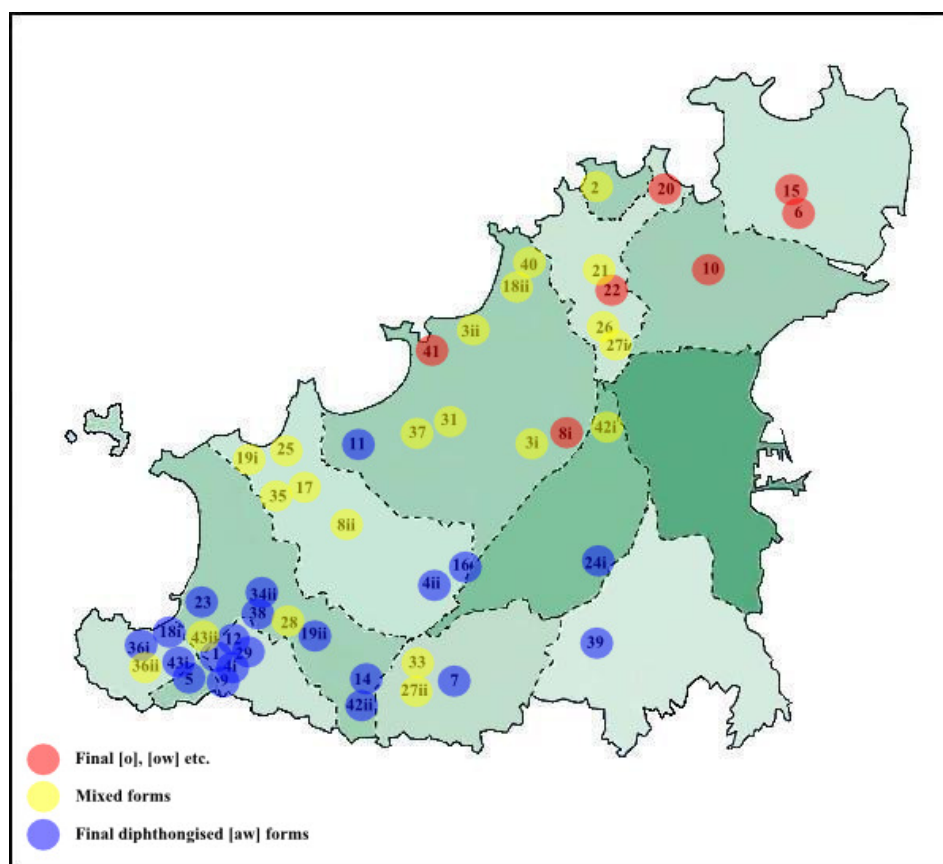
Map 6-3. Pronunciations of final [o] *in 30 –* dos *(m), 81 –* iaoue *(f), 126 –* maue/maoue *(m, f), 123 –* cône/caone *(f) and 124 –* paure/paoure *by the 49 informants.*

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As we see from Map 6-3 above the answer is yes, although the variation between *bas pas* and *haut pas* forms is perhaps not as clear-cut as existing descriptions suggest. Certainly, citing 'diphthongisation' of final [o] as the main hallmark of diatopic variation in this feature is rather misleading as far as current usage is concerned, since our informants in the northern parishes frequently diphthongise [o] (or a comparable vowel).

Table 6-3. Examples of pronunciations of [o] *by seven* bas pas *speakers.*

Informant no.	Place of origin	30 dos (m) \<back\>	81 iaoue (f) \<water\>	126 maue/maoue (m, f) \<seagull\>	123 cône/ caone (f) \<horn\>	124 paure/ paoure \<poor\>
15	Vale (Clos du Valle)	[dow]	[ju]	———	———	[pɐwɪ̥̊]
06	Vale (Clos du Valle)	[dᶾu]	[ju]	———	———	[pɐwɪ̥̊]
20	Vale	[dow]	[jow]	[mo]	[koɾn]	[pæoʏ̥]
22	Vale	[doʷ]	[juw]	———	[kowr̥n]	[powʏ̥]
10	St Sampson's	[do]	[djow]	[mo]	[kœwn]	[pæᵒr̥]
41	Castel	[do:]	[jo]	[mo:]	[kɔɾn]	[pæᵒr̥]
8i	Castel	[do]	[jøw]	[mow]	[kœwn]	[pœwɪ̥̊]

Table 6-3 displays the responses of seven informants from the Low Parishes and from the Castel. Though the Castel is being considered as a Central Parish for the purposes of this study (cf. §4.2.1 and §4.2.3), it is considered to belong to the *bas pas* sub-dialect in the traditional binary division of Guernesiais (cf. Jones 2008: 42).

Though [o] and its derivative diphthong [ow] make up just over half of the responses from these informants, we also see evidence of a number of other pronunciations of the vowel in these words. These include mid vowels (cf. 41's response to *iaoue*, or 10's to *cone/caone*), and the somewhat anglicised [ju/juw] (given by informants 15, 06 and 22 for *iaoue*). Informants 20, 10 and 41, meanwhile, all give diphthongised forms of the vowel for *paure/paoure*. These would be reminiscent of the stereotypically southern [aw], were it not for the distinct back mid-high vowel element of the diphthong which reflects these informants' use of the traditional *bas pas* form in the other items. The informants' frequent use of English could account for the apparent increase in diphthongised forms witnessed here. In addition to the similarities in their linguistic

behaviour, the informants share a number of biographical similarities. All seven, in addition to having been raised in more northerly parishes, had parents who were also from the area: informants 15, 06, 20, 22 and 41 had *vâlais* parents, while 10's father and mother were from St Sampson's and the Castel respectively. 8i is slightly more unusual in this regard as he had a *câtelain* upbringing.

If the most strongly marked of the *haut pas* Guernesiais phonological forms are said to be produced in the south-western corner of the island, then we could expect the strongest of the contrasting phonological forms to originate from the furthest geographical point from this area: the Vale, in the island's far north. Since a sizeable area of this parish was in fact cut off from the rest of Guernsey by a tidal channel until this was filled in during the nineteenth century, the phonological forms from this area should in theory have been well insulated from the encroachment of the other localised forms. Social factors, however, appear to have conspired against the variety; we see here that only four of the seven *vâlais* informants overall (included with the *bas pas* informants above) produced the expected pattern.

It is interesting to note that all bar one of the *bas pas* speakers in Table 6-3 are above the sample group's mean age of 79, with the individuals ranging from 81 to 96 years old (cf. §4.2.2). The four Vale informants who did not produce the expected *vâlais* pattern, meanwhile, 02, 21, 26 and 27, are all below the age of 80. Age certainly seems to be an important correlate in the retention of *vâlais* features in an informant's speech. Younger individuals have had less exposure to the older *vâlais* forms during their lifetimes; through this lack of exposure, the younger northern speakers (such as 02) are also likely to be less confident in their own use of Guernesiais. As a result, it seems, they have adopted more widely heard forms from other parts of the island, either while living in other parishes or as a result of having married a speaker from another parish. Informant 41, however, the final *bas pas* individual in Table 6-3, is something of an exception to this trend; at 63, she is nearly two decades younger than the other six *bas pas* speakers whose data is presented. Though she has spent much of her life in the Castel, and in theory would therefore have had less contact with older, northern fluent speakers than the older informants from this area, the strong presence of traditionally *vâlais* forms in her speech may be attributed to two factors. Firstly, both of this informant's parents came from the Vale, and used Guernesiais frequently in the informant's childhood home; secondly, this speaker is well-known in the Guernesiais-speaking community due

to her status as a (relatively rare) speaker of this *parler*. It has therefore been of particular interest to this informant to cultivate her use of *vâlais* phonological forms.

The Guernsey 2010 data therefore indicates that secondary diphthongisation of [o] to [ow] or [æw] is no longer exclusively a *haut pas* feature, since the quality of the original [o] monophthong is also now subject to variation, including diphthongisation, in the speech of certain (particularly younger) *bas pas* speakers. As may be seen from the table below, however, this variability in the treatment of final [o] is not necessarily the case elsewhere. *Haut pas* speakers are much more consistent in their responses, typically producing an [æw] diphthong for all five items. There are occasional traces of variance in vowel quality in the responses of the 21 informants whose speech patterned in this way, but this tends to be slight — for example the raising and rounding of the [æ] to [œ], as in 04ii's response to *iaoue*, or retraction to central [ɐ] as we see in 18i's *maue/maoue* (see Table 6-4).

Table 6-4. Examples of pronunciations of final [o] *by five of the 21* haut pas *speakers.*

Informant no.	Place of origin	30 dos (m) \<back\>	81 iaoue (f) \<water\>	126 maue/maoue (m, f) \<seagull\>	123 cône/ caone (f) \<horn\>	124 paure/ paoure \<poor\>
04ii	St Saviour's	[dæw]	[jœw]	[mæw]	———	[pæwʋ̥]
34ii	St Pierre du Bois	[dæw]	[jæw]	[mæw]	[kæwn]	[pæwɹ̥ʰ]
18i	Torteval	[dæ:w]	[jæ:w]	[mɐ:w]	[kæwn]	[pæwɹ̥]
07	Forest	[dæw]	[jɐw]	[mæw]	[kæwn]	[pæwɪ̥]
24i	St Andrew's	[dæw]	[jæw]	———	———	[pæjᵒɹ]

This group of speakers does not display the same age differentiation as the *vâlais* informants, with the 21 *haut pas* speakers who produced the south-western [æw] variant ranging from 59 to 87 years old. This would suggest that this variant is in a relatively stable position (though subject to some minor idiolectal variation, as outlined above), further buoyed by the stronger position of Guernesiais in this part of the island. It is interesting to note, too, that the 21 informants who produced the [aw] (or [aw]-type) glide for the five items predominantly originate from the island's south west, with their childhood homes lying in the area south of the St Saviour's reservoir and westwards of the Forest parish border. Though the childhood homes of informants 11, 24i and 39 were scattered slightly further afield, we may observe that the majority of the 21

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individuals spent their formative years in the parishes of Torteval and St Pierre du Bois, the strongest Guernesiais-speaking area on the island, where they would have acquired the *haut pas* variant as a matter of course as they mixed with other speakers from the area.

Table 6-5. Original parishes of the 21 haut pas *speakers and their parents.*

Informant no.	*Place of origin*	*Father's parish of origin*	*Mother's parish of origin*
11	St Saviour's	?	?
36i	St Saviour's	St Saviour's	St Pierre du Bois
4ii	St Saviour's	Castel	Forest
16	St Saviour's/ Torteval	Castel	St Pierre du Bois
24i	St Andrew's	?	St Pierre du Bois
39	St Martin's	St Andrew's	St Pierre du Bois
07	Forest	?	?
34ii	St Pierre du Bois	?	St Pierre du Bois
23	St Pierre du Bois	St Pierre du Bois	St Pierre du Bois
38	St Pierre du Bois	St Saviour's	St Pierre du Bois
19ii	St Pierre du Bois	St Pierre du Bois	Forest
14	St Pierre du Bois	St Pierre du Bois	Torteval
42ii	St Pierre du Bois	St Pierre du Bois	St Pierre du Bois
05	St Pierre du Bois	Castel	St Pierre du Bois
18i	Torteval	?	?
43i	Torteval	Torteval	Torteval
12	St Saviour's/ Torteval	St Saviour's	Torteval
01	Torteval	Torteval	Torteval
09	Torteval	St Saviour's	St Pierre du Bois
29	Torteval	St Saviour's	Torteval
04i	Torteval	?	Torteval

In addition, all of these 21 informants had at least one parent from the area to reinforce this usage in the home (see Table 6-5). More of those informants who spent their childhoods in the more peripheral *hauts pas* (St Saviour's, St Andrew's, St Martin's and the Forest), where local forms might be weaker, had at least one parent from the area; from the data available to us, we can see that this was more likely to be the informant's mother. In traditional Guernsey family life, as was the case elsewhere in the earlier part

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of the twentieth century, mothers kept young children at home with them until they reached school age. Children would accordingly pick up traits from their mother's speech, and these traits sometimes overrode both the informant's father's usage and the prevailing usage of the area in which the individual was brought up. The influence of the *haut pas* parents over their children's usage suggests not only that the *haut pas* form was firmly entrenched in Guernesiais speech, but that it might indeed have spread further north in the island through migration and intermarriage, had extra-linguistic factors not effectively resulted in a critical break in the chain of transmission.

Though we have identified two distinct diatopic variants in the treatment of final [o], there remain a number of informants (21 out of the 49) whose usage does not conform exclusively to one or the other. Rather, these individuals employed a mixture of *bas pas* and *haut pas* forms, using the former for *dos*, *iaoue* and *maue/maoue* and the latter for *cône/caone* and *paure/paoure*. Informants for whom this was the case come from right across the Guernesiais-speaking areas of the island, although the majority of these individuals originated from the Central Parishes (covering the area from the southern part of the Vale through to the northern half of St Saviour's). A selection of the responses from this group of informants is displayed in Table 6-6.

Table 6-6. *Examples of pronunciations of* [o] *by five of the 29 speakers using Central forms.*

Informant no.	Place of origin	30 dos (m)	81 iaoue (f)	126 maue/maoue (m, f)	123 cône/ caone (f)	124 paure/ paoure
26	Vale	[dow]	[jow]	[mo]	——	[pæwɪ̥]
03i	Castel	[do]	[jow]	[mo]	[kæwn]	[pæwɪ̥]
37	Castel	[dœw:]	[jøw]	[mow]	[kæwn]	[p̌æwɹ]
19i	St Saviour's	[dʊw]	[jøw]	[mɤw]	[kæwn]	[pæwɪ̥]
27ii	Forest	[dɤw]	[jɤw]	[møw]	[kæwn]	[pæwɪ̥]

There is very little variation here in the responses to *cône/caone* and *paure/paoure*, which follow *haut pas* usage; in contrast, vowel quality may be seen to vary more in the responses to the other three items, as it does in *bas pas* usage. The proportion of central vowel variants in the *bas pas*-type responses is not unduly high; central or lax vowels are not uncommon in the northern *bas pas* forms for this feature in any case, which therefore suggests that this central group of informants might command what Chambers and Trudgill term a *mixed* lect rather than a 'fudged' or 'scrambled' hybrid of the two (1998: 110–117).

The informants of this central group are slightly older than the *haut pas* speakers, with the ages of the 21 speakers ranging between 75 and 96; the lack of age patterning here suggests that age is not a salient factor in the adoption of this mixed treatment of final [o]. Intermarriage between speakers from different parts of the island in previous generations might reasonably be suggested as an explanation for the apparent mixing of varieties that has occurred in the usage of these speakers. If we examine the informants' biographical details in Table 6-7 below for such clues in their family histories, however, the evidence for this is not as strong as we might expect.

Table 6-7. Original parishes of the 21 Central speakers and their parents

Informant no.	Place of origin	Father's parish of origin	Mother's parish of origin
02	St Sampson's	St Sampson's	Vale
21	Vale	Vale	St Saviour's
26	Vale	St Saviour's	Castel
27i	Vale	St Saviour's	Castel
40	Castel	Forest	Castel
18ii	Castel	?	?
03ii	Castel	Castel	Castel
37	Castel	Castel	St Saviour's
31	Castel	Castel	Vale
03i	Castel	Castel	St Saviour's
42i	St Andrew's	Castel	Castel
25	St Saviour's	St Saviour's	Castel
19i	St Saviour's	St Pierre du Bois	Torteval
35	St Saviour's	?	?
17	St Saviour's	?	?
8ii	St Saviour's	?	?
36ii	St Saviour's	St Saviour's	St Pierre du Bois
28	St Pierre du Bois	St Pierre du Bois	St Saviour's
43i	Torteval	Torteval	Torteval
33	Forest	St Pierre du Bois	St Saviour's
27ii	Forest	Torteval	Forest

Mobility within Guernsey is a relatively recent phenomenon (cf. §4.2.3). Mention has been made elsewhere of the social importance of the parish communities (cf. §1.3), and this certainly held true during the early decades of the twentieth century when the informants' parents were settling down and beginning their families. While Tables 6-5 and 6-7 do show evidence of intermarriage between inhabitants of different parishes, in most instances these 'mixed parish' marriages involved inhabitants of neighbouring parishes. Few people had ready access to motorised transport before the Second World War, so potential partners were most likely to come from neighbouring communities. What this does mean is that the 'mixture' of responses for this feature is unlikely to be the product of mixed linguistic heritage (i.e. an individual having one *bas pas* speaker parent and one *haut pas* speaker parent), at least for current speakers. Instead, the

mixture of forms appears to be well established and relatively stable in the Central Parishes.

In §4.2.3, we observed that fewer speakers from the north of the island had been recruited for the study. This tendency mirrors itself in the relative numbers of informants employing each of the three forms for treatment of final [o]. It is clear that the northern *bas pas* form is very much in the minority, with only one third as many speakers as the other two forms; this makes a telling statement about the relative strength of the different diatopic variants in Guernesiais.

Table 6-8. Age range and number of informants using bas pas, *Central and* haut pas *forms of* [o].

Variety	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
bas pas	0	1	0	4	2	7
Central	0	0	9	10	2	21
haut pas	2*	4	8	7	0	21

*NB: Both informants in this cell are aged 59.

It is clear too that speakers who use the traditional *bas pas* form of [o] tend to be among the more elderly members of the speaker sample, with a considerably lower proportion of *bas pas* informants falling in the first three age categories than for the other two forms (see Table 6-3). We noted earlier that the younger northern informants have instead shown a tendency to employ the mixed form common in the Central Parishes regardless of biographical circumstances. The overall age of the informants who display the central variant nonetheless leans towards the more elderly end of the age spectrum, with all of the individuals who employ the central variant aged 75 or above. The informants employing the *haut pas* form, meanwhile, while as numerous as those demonstrating the central parishes variant, include a higher proportion of younger informants; this reverses the tendency seen in the Central Parishes.

The two youngest informants were both aged 59 at the time of interview, thus nearly qualifying for the next age group. We have noted too that the youngest *bas pas*

speaker's usage is somewhat atypical, owing to the extent of her involvement in Guernesiais language activities. If we set aside the data from these three individuals momentarily, an interesting age-related pattern emerges. It may be noted that there is a moving window of approximately a decade between the ages of the youngest informants from each of the three areas, which suggests that this phonological feature is undergoing change.

The decline in the number of *bas pas* speakers, coupled with the greater number of younger speakers in the *haut pas* territory, suggests that the southern form is the stronger of the two 'pure' forms, and might therefore have historically begun to supplant *bas pas* forms in the Central Parish mixture. The apparently stable mixture of *haut pas* and *bas pas* features in the speech of informants from the Central Parishes, meanwhile, suggests that a historical transition between non-diphthongised and diphthongised forms of final [o] was not completed in all parts of the island. Usage in the Central Parishes appears to have become fixed at a transitory point between the two.

Though it is probable that the socio-cultural circumstances of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries inhibited completion of this change, the consequences of these circumstances today may ironically bring about further change; the forms employed by the more numerous and more confident speakers from the south west continue to influence the usage of weaker and less confident speakers from other parts of the island, particularly given the greater mobility of Guernesiais speakers within the island today. Evidence for the progress of this change may be found in the usage of the younger modern speakers from the northern parishes; these individuals have adopted the 'mixed' forms of the Central Parishes in spite of their *bas pas* heritage. Language revitalisation efforts may eventually play a role in this too: it seems likely that future teachers of the variety will be drawn from the greater number of south-western speakers. These individuals will naturally pass on their own *haut pas* forms and thus, should it be deemed necessary, it is likely that these forms will be preserved if variation in Guernesiais is to be deliberately reduced in an attempt to simplify it for future second-language Guernesiais learners (see Chapter 7).

6.3   PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES IN WHICH PATTERNS OF DIATOPIC VARIATION
NOW DIFFER FROM PREVIOUS DESCRIPTIONS

6.3.1   Diphthongisation of final [ɔ̃] to [ɔ̃w/ɑ̃w]

Paralleling the diphthongisation of [o] to [ow] in south-western Guernesiais, which we examined in §7.2.2 above, the diphthongisation of final [ɔ̃] to [ɔ̃w/ɑ̃w] is said to be characteristic of *haut pas* Guernesiais. While some corresponding spelling dyads for this feature do appear in the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais*, as in the analogous example *pompe/paömpe* <pump>, the more usual convention seems to be to spell words with final [ɔ̃] consistently using *-aön* (1967). This perhaps suggests that the north/south opposition of final [ɔ̃] and [ɔ̃w/ɑ̃w] was becoming levelled in favour of the southern *haut pas* variant at the time material for the *Dictiounnaire* was being compiled. In our data, certainly, there is little evidence of diatopic variation in this feature.

Five items from the word list were chosen to illustrate this feature of Guernesiais: 8 – *païssaön* (m) <fish>, 9 – *maisaön* (f) <house>, 53 – *colimachaön* (m) <snail>, 54 - *tcherbaön/querbaön* (m) <coal> and 202 – *chànsaön* (f) <song>. What became immediately obvious upon examination of the responses for these five items was that treatment of final [ɔ̃] was apt to vary considerably between individuals, making it difficult to discern potential diatopic variation.
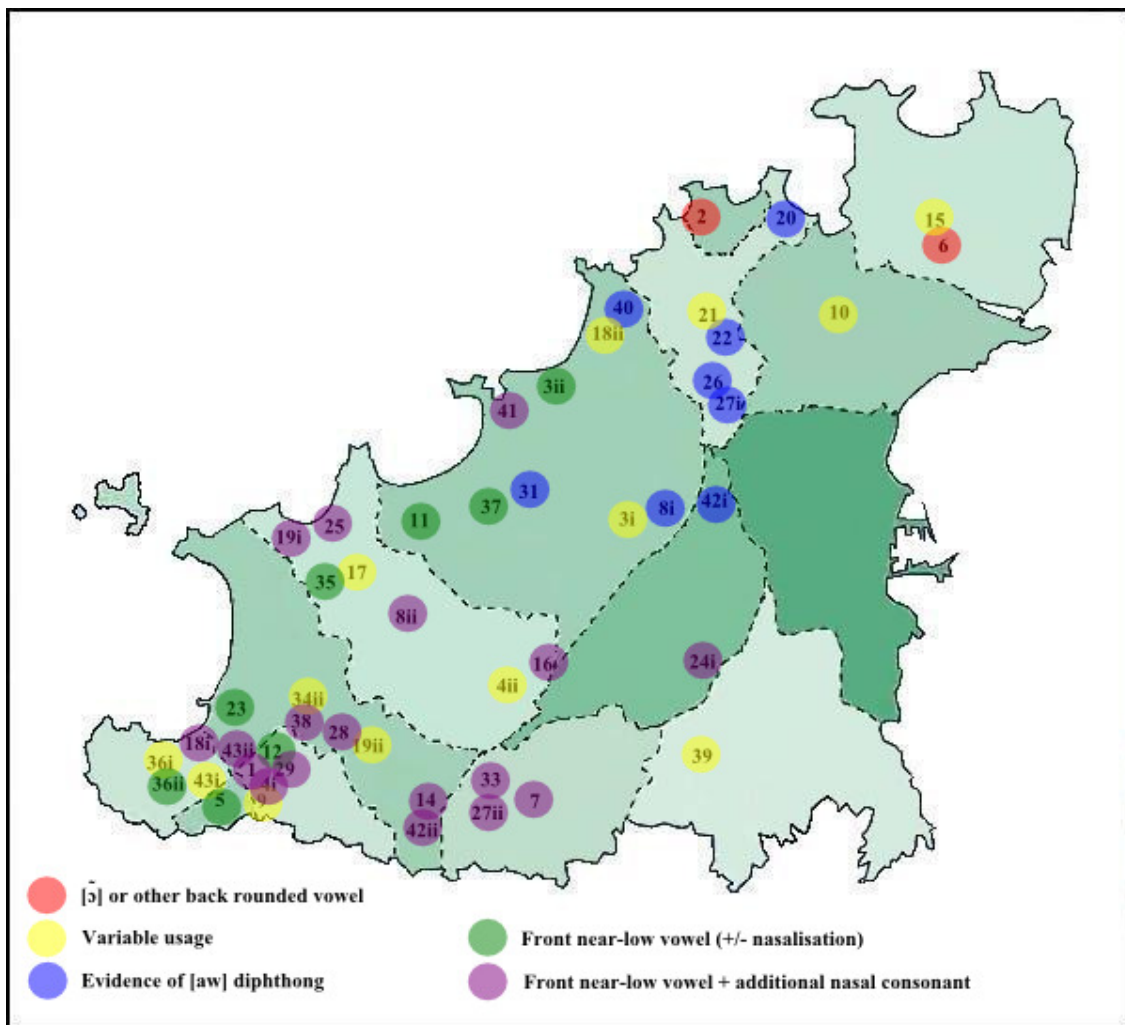
Map 6-4. Pronunciations of final [ɔ̃] *in 8 –* païssaön *(m), 9 –* maisaön *(f),*
53 – colimachaön *(m), 54 –* tcherbaön/querbaön *(m) and 202 –* chànsaön *(f)*
by the 49 informants.

If the diphthongisation of final [ɔ̃] is said to be characteristic of *haut pas* speech, then it follows that the non-diphthongised form must have been prevalent elsewhere, particularly in the northern *bas pas* parishes. It is often said anecdotally that *bas pas* Guernesiais more closely resembles Standard French than varieties from elsewhere on the island, and the presence of [ɔ̃] as a final vowel would certainly have contributed to this impression. Interestingly, however, only two of the 49 informants realised final [ɔ̃] as the expected (predominantly) nasalised back mid vowels in the majority of the items (see Table 6-9). Both of these informants came from the northernmost parishes of the island - 06 grew up in the Clos du Valle area of the Vale, and 06 lived on the west coast in the detached part of St Sampson's. While the use of conservative *vâlais* forms is perhaps to be expected of 06, who at 96 years old is one of the most elderly speakers interviewed, it is slightly unusual for 02. This speaker is nearly two decades younger

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than 06 (aged 77 at time of interview), and is considerably less confident in her use of traditional northern Guernesiais forms. In common with a number of the other Low Parish speakers, we saw in §6.2.2 above that 02 employs the more hybridised Central Parish forms for final [o]; here, this is not so.

Table 6-9. Pronunciations of final [ɔ̃] *in the speech of two* bas pas *speakers.*

Inf. no.	Place of origin	8 *païssaön (m)*	9 *maisaön (f)*	53 *colimachaön (m)*	54 *tcherbaon/ querbaön (m)*	202 *chànsaön (f)*
06	Vale	[pæˈsɔ̃]	[mɛˈzɔ̃]	——	[tʃɛˌɪbɒ ˈ]	[ʃɛ̃ˈsɔ̃]
02	St Sampson's	[pɑˈsɔ̃]	[mɛˈzɔ̃]	[kɑlimɑʃᵊɔ̃]	[tʃɛɾbɛ̃]	[ʃõwsɑ̃]

We noted in our examination of diphthongisation of final [o] to [aw] (see §6.2.2) and final consonant retention (see §6.3.4) that speakers who employ the traditional *haut pas* variant of a particular feature tend to be clustered quite strongly around the area of the main settlement in Torteval, in the south western corner of the island. Interestingly, however, this does not seem to be the case for this feature. As may be seen in Table 6-10 below, the eight informants who tended to produce forms which feature traces of the traditionally reported *haut pas* diphthong in fact come mostly from the southern part of the Vale and the northern half of the Castel parish — an area considerably further north than we might have expected from what is traditionally regarded as a south-western variant. This suggests that the boundaries for this feature may have altered substantially, a hypothesis supported by the increasing rarity of diphthong-type forms in the speech of informants as we enter the more southerly parishes.

Table 6-10. Traces of diphthongisation in pronunciations of final [ɔ̃] *in the speech of eight informants.*

Inf. no.	Place of origin	8 païssaön (m)	9 maisaön (f)	53 colimachaön (m)	54 tcherbaon/ querbaön (m)	202 chànsaön (f)
20	Vale	[pɑˈsɐ̥wn]	[mɛˈzɐwn⁽ˀ⁾]	[kɔlimɑʃʌŋᵏ]	[tʃɛɾbæɔ̃]	[ʃɛ̃ˀsɐwn]
22	Vale	[pɒˈsæwnˀ]	[mɛˈzæwn]	[kɔlimɑʃæ̃ˀw]	[tʃɛɾbæ̃]	———
26	Vale	[pɑˈsæ]	[mɛzæ(w)]	[kɔlimɑʃæw]	[tʃɛɾbæw]	———
27i	Vale	[pɑˈsɐwn]	[mɛˈzɐw]	[kɔlimɔʃæ̃ˀ]	[tʃɛɾbæ̃ˀ]	[ʃæ̃ˀsæ̃w]
40	Castel	[pɑˈsæ̃w]	[mɛˈzæ̃ˀw]	[kolimɑʃæ̃ˀw]	[tʃɛɹbæ̃ˀw]	———
31	Castel	[pɑˈsɐw]	[mezɐw]	[kolimɑʃæ̃ˀʷ]	[tʃɛɾbɛ̃ˀ]	[ʃæsɐw(n)]
8i	Castel	[pɑˈsɐwn]	[mɛˈzɐwn]	[kɔlimɑʃɐw]	[tʃɛɾbæ]	———
42i	St Andrew's	[pɑˈsɐwn]	[mɛˈzɐwn]	[kɔlimɑʃʌⁿ]	[tʃɛɹ̥ˀbæⁿ]	———

The researcher observed that the principal vowel element of the diphthong was closer to front near-low [æ] than to front low [a] or back low unrounded [ɑ] in the pronunciation of many of the speakers, a further point of difference from the long held accounts of this feature. For reasons of convenience, perhaps, previous descriptions have given the Guernesiais vowel approximating to the front low rounded position as [a], though Guernesiais vowels tend to have less articulatory tension than their Standard French equivalents. During transcription of the Guernesiais 2010 data, however, the researcher felt that the front near-low articulation [æ] more closely represented the pronunciation of the informants, whose speech showed a tendency to incline to lax and central variants in many of the features examined.

Table 6-11. Pronunciations of final [ɔ̃] as a front near-low vowel with variable degrees of nasalisation in the speech of eight informants.

Inf. no.	Place of origin	8 *païssaön* (m)	9 *maisaön* (f)	53 *colimachaön* (m)	54 *tcherbaon/ querbaön* (m)	202 *chànsaön* (f)
11	Castel	[poˈsæ̃ŋ̊]	[mɛzæ̃]	[kolimɒʃæ̃]	[tʃɛʷrbæ̃]	———
37	Castel	[pɑˈsɐwn]	[mɛˈzæ̃]	[kolimɑʃæ̃]	[tʃɛrbæ̃]	———
03ii	Castel	[pɑˈsæ]	[mezæ]	[kolimɑʃæ̃]	[tʃɛrbæ̃]	[ʃæsæ̃]
35	St Saviour's	[pɑˈsæ̃]	[mezæ̃ŋ]	[kɔlimɑʃæ̃(w)]	[tʃɛrbæ̃]	[ʃæsæ̃ˈ]
36ii	St Saviour's	[pɑˈsæŋ]	[mezæ̃]	[kolimɑʃæ̃]	[tʃɛrbæ̃]	[ʃæsæŋ]
12	St Saviour's/ Torteval	[pɑˈsæ̃]	[mezæ̃]	[kɔlimɑʃæ̃]	[tʃɛrbæ̃]	[ʃæsæŋ̊]
23	St Pierre du Bois	[pɑˈsæ]	[mezæ]	[kɔlimɑʃæ]	[tʃɛrbæ]	[ʃæsæ]
05	St Pierre du Bois	[pɑˈsæ]	[mɛˈzæ]	[kolimoʃæn]	[tʃœrbæ]	[ʃæsɑ̃ŋ]

Front near-low [æ] was found to occur frequently in the speech of eight informants who grew up in locations from the southern half of the island (see Table 6-11). Where traces of the glide element have largely disappeared from the speech of many of the speakers from the central to southern parishes, the nasalised character of the traditional *haut pas* diphthong/glide appears to have endured better. This is perhaps not surprising: though nasalisation is weaker in Guernesiais than in Standard French (cf. §2.5.6), it has been retained in contexts where it has been dropped from the larger variety (Jones 2008: 36).

In the data, the degree of nasalisation present in pronunciations of [ɔ̃] as a front near-low vowel was found to vary both between informants and within individual idiolects. While some informants such as 35 were quite consistent in their nasalisation of the final vowel, others such as 12 varied the degree of nasalisation between different lexical items. Others still (such as 23) did not nasalise the vowel at all, realising final [ɔ̃] consistently as a front near-low oral vowel [æ].

Some of the informants who appear in Table 6-11 articulated an additional nasal consonant or consonants at the conclusion of the final vowel, such as in 36ii's [pɑˈsæŋ] (see Table 6-11). This is a tendency which becomes more apparent still in the speech of 17 informants who are chiefly from the south-western parishes of the island, as may be seen from the data presented in Table 6-12. The consonants appended to the

informants' articulations of final [ɔ̃] vary, as does their treatment of the vowel itself. Some informants maintain the nasalisation of the vowel, following this with the faint articulation of a velar nasal consonant; this results in forms such as informant 16's [kɔlimɑʃæ̃ŋ]. For other informants the velar nasal consonant appears to fulfil the function of the nasalisation in the original final vowel, and so we find oral vowel + consonant forms such as 28's [pɑˈsɐn] or 19i's [mezæŋ]. Though the velar nasal is the most frequently appended consonant, there is also a small but significant number of articulations with alveolar nasal [n], as in 4i's pronunciation of [pɑˈsæn] and [mezæn]. Technically, the presence of a final consonant is a more historically conservative form; it is therefore interesting that it should appear as innovation in this context.

Table 6-12. Pronunciations of final [ɔ̃] as a front near-low vowel [æ] with an additional nasal consonant in the speech of nine informants.

Inf. no.	Place of origin	8 païssaön (m)	9 maisaön (f)	53 colimachaön (m)	54 tcherbaon/ querbaön (m)	202 chànsaön
19i	St Saviour's	[poˈsæŋ]	[mezæŋ]	[kolimɑʃæŋ]	[tʃɛɽbæŋ]	[ʃæ̃sæŋ[(k)]]
16	St Saviour's/ Torteval	[pɑˈsæŋ]	[mezæŋ]	[kɔlimɑʃæ̃ŋ]	[tʃɛrbæ̃ŋ]	[ʃæsæn]
18i	Torteval	[pɒˈsæ̃ŋ̥]	[mezæ̃ŋ]	[kolimɒʃæ̃ŋ]	[tʃɛrbæ̃]	[ʃæ̃sæ̃ŋ]
01	Torteval	[pɑˈsæ̃ŋ]	[mɛzæŋ]	[kolimɑʃæ̃ŋˀ]	[tʃɛɽbæ̃ŋˀ]	[ʃæːsæ̃ŋ̥]
4i	Torteval	[pɑˈsæn]	[mezæn]	[kɔlimɑʃæ̃ᵒ]	[tʃɛɹbæ̃]	———
38	St Pierre du Bois	[pɑˈsæŋ]	[mezæŋ]	[kɔlimɑʃæŋ]	[tʃɛɹ̥bæ̃]	[ʃæsæ̃]
28	St Pierre du Bois	[pɑˈsɐn]	[mezɐn]	[kolimɒʃæ̃w]	[tʃɛrbæ̃]	[ʃæsæŋ]
42ii	St Pierre du Bois	[pɑˈsæɔ̃]	[mɛˈzɐwnˀ]	[kolimɒʃæ̃ŋ]	[tʃœɹbʌŋ]	[ʃæ̃sæ(w)ŋ̥]
07	Forest	[pɒˈsæ̃w]	[mɛˈzæŋ]	[kolimaʃæ̃ŋ̥]	[tʃɛrbæ̃ŋ]	[ʃæsæŋ]

Though in some cases informants have clearly transferred the nasality of the vowel to an appended nasal consonant, perhaps by analogy with the Standard French, the articulation of an extra nasal consonant does not appear to be the product of a deliberate articulation in every case. This is evidenced by occurrences of faint nasalised consonants or partially voiced consonants such as in 19i's [ʃæ̃sæŋ[(k)]], 01's [ʃæːsæ̃ŋ̥], 42ii's [ʃæ̃sæ(w)ŋ̥]or 07's [kolimaʃæ̃ᵍ̥]. Rather, along with the variability in the

nasalisation of the final vowel in some speakers (as discussed above), this appears to be the result of a shift in the timing of the articulatory movements.

For a number of the speakers from the south of the island, nasalisation of the final vowel does not occur simultaneously with voicing as it would in (for example) Standard French. Where this discrepancy between voicing and nasalisation occurs only at the beginning of the sound, this can give the impression of weakened nasalisation (see Figure 6-1 below). Where there is a time lag between cessation of voicing and raising of the velum following completion of nasalisation (or *vice versa*), however, an additional nasal consonant is sounded as a result. The length of time between nasalisation of the vowel and cessation of voicing dictates the 'strength' or audibility of the consonant produced. Though the timing between voicing and nasalisation was not quantified using scientific means, software was used at the time of transcription to slow the recordings of the informants' speech in instances where this feature was felt to be salient; this permitted the observation of the time lag in practice, and allowed for the degree of nasalisation of the vowel to be transcribed accordingly.[2]

[2] Nasalisation was recorded as being either full or partial; the idea of 'full' nasalisation is of course relative, taking into account the weaker nasalisation in Guernesiais compared with that in Standard French.

Figure 6-1. Outcome of asynchrony between voicing of [æ] (from final [ɔ̃]) and nasalisation.

Interaction between nasalisation and voicing		Outcome	Examples
No nasalisation	[æ] ——————→ #	Oral vowel [æ]	Informants 03ii and 23: [pɑˈsæ], [mezæ]
Nasalisation begins and ends simultaneously with vowel voicing	~ ——————→ # [æ] ——————→ #	Nasalised vowel [æ̃]	Informant 35: [pɑˈsæ̃], [tʃɛrbæ̃]
Nasalisation begins after initial articulation of vowel, but finishes simultaneously with end of vowel voicing	~ ————→ # [æ] ——————→ #	Partially nasalised vowel [æ]	Informant 11: [mezæ̃ˀ] Informant 12: [kɔlimɑʃæ̃ˀ]
Deliberate articulation of a final nasal consonant	[æ] ——————→ [n]	Vowel plus nasal consonant [æn]	Informant 4i: [pɑˈsæn], [mezæn]
Nasalisation begins after initial articulation of the vowel, and ends after vowel voicing has ceased	~ ————→ # [æ] ————→ #	Vowel with partial nasalisation plus additional voiceless consonant [æ̃ŋ̊] etc.	Informant 07: [kolimaʃæ̃ŋ̊] Informant 42ii: [ʃæ̃sæ(w)̃ŋ̊] Informant 18i: [pɒˈsæ̃ŋ̊]
Nasalisation begins after initial articulation of the vowel, but ends before vowel voicing has ceased	~ ——→ # [æ] ————→ #	Vowel with partial nasalisation plus additional voiced consonant [æŋ], [æng] etc.	Informant 38: [mezæŋ], [kɔlimɑʃæŋ]

It is tempting to conclude from the evidence thus far that the old boundaries for treatments of final [ɔ̃] have shifted northwards, with the introduction of a new variant in the south western parishes. From the data examined above, it would seem that original final [ɔ̃] now produced by only a handful of elderly informants from the very north of the island is nearing obsolescence; traditional *haut pas* forms featuring evidence of the [ɔ̃w/ɑ̃w] diphthong, meanwhile, appear to have replaced the original *bas pas* [ɔ̃] variant in the north. The traditional diphthongised *haut pas* [ɔ̃w/ɑ̃w] form has in turn been supplanted in its original territory by near-low front vowel forms with varying degrees of nasalisation, with some individuals sounding an additional nasal consonant when realising this segment.

There is, however, a further group of 14 informants whose usage varies apparently at random between the treatments of final [ɔ̃] outlined above; examples of their responses

are given in Table 6-13. These individuals do not have any obvious affiliation with a particular part of the island, and indeed were brought up in different areas right across the Guernesiais-speaking area, from the Vale, in the north, to St Pierre du Bois and St Martin's in the south.[3] The variability between treatments of final [ɔ̃] by these speakers suggests that the distinct diatopic forms posited above are not firmly established in all parts of the speech community. This variability may even be the result of idiolectal differences.

Table 6-13. Variable pronunciations of final [ɔ̃] *in the speech of eight informants.*

Inf. no.	Place of origin	8 païssaön (m)	9 maisaön (f)	53 colimachaön (m)	54 tcherbaon/ querbaön (m)	202 chànsaön (f)
15	Vale	[pɑˈsʌn]	[mɛˈɑ̃ŋ]	[kɔlimaʃᵆɔ̃]	[tʃɛɹbæ̃w]	———
10	St Sampson's	[pɑˈsɐwn]	[mɛˈzɐŋ]	———	[tʃɛɹbæn]	———
3i	Castel	[pɒˈsæ̊ŋ]	[mezæŋ]	[kolimaʃæ̃]	[tʃɛrbɛ̃]	[ʃæsæ̃]
8ii	St Saviour's	[pɑˈsæwn]	[mɛˈzæ̃w(n)]	[kʌʷlimaʃɐw]	[tʃɛrbæ]	———
4ii	St Saviour's	[pɒˈsæn]	[mɛˈzæn]	[kɔlimaʃɔ̃]	[tʃɛ̝ibæ̃]	———
34ii	St Pierre du Bois	[pɛˈsæ̥ŋ]	[mezæ̃]	———	[tʃɛɹbæ̃]	[ʃæsæ̃ŋ]
09	Torteval	[pɒˈsæŋ]	[mezæŋ]	[kolimaʃæ̃ⁱ]	[tʃɛrbæ̃]	———
39	St Martin's	[pɑˈsɔ̃]	[mɛˈzɔ̃]	[kɔlimaʃɔ̥̃ⁿᵍ]	[tʃɛ̝ibʌ̥̃ŋ]	———

When the age profiles of the informants producing each of the different forms for final [ɔ̃] are compared, it is immediately evident that the south-western variant of [æ] + additional nasal consonant observed in the data is the most frequently encountered form, produced by 17 speakers (see Table 6-14). Since the distribution of the Guernesiais-speaking population is weighted heavily towards the south of the island, however, this in itself is not necessarily significant. That the traditional *bas pas* [ɔ̃] (or other back rounded vowel) pronunciation is adopted by only two of the potential *bas pas* speakers, meanwhile, does suggest that this variant is potentially in recession. The two-decade age gap between the two informants in this category implies that age-related change is not necessarily a factor here, something which is apparently confirmed in the relatively even age distribution in the other categories. It worth noting that the younger informants (aged 50–69) incline towards the southern variants of [æ⁽̃⁾] and [æ] plus

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[3] That more of the informants from this group may be found in the southern parishes than the north is not in itself cause for undue interest, given the proportion of speakers interviewed from the different parts of the island.

additional nasal consonant, although this is likely to be due both to the more robust influence of the Guernesiais spoken in that part of the island and the concomitant presence of more younger *haut pas* speakers.

Table 6-14. Age range and total number of informants employing the different pronunciations of final [ɔ̃].

Pronunciation of [ɔ̃]	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59*	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
[ɔ̃] or other back rounded vowel	0	0	1	0	1	2
[æw] / trace of *haut pas* diphthong	0	0	3	4	1	8
[æ⁽˜⁾] (front near-low vowel; degree of nasalisation may vary)	0	2	3	2	1	8
[æ] plus additional nasal consonant	1	3	7	5	1	17
variable usage	1	0	4	9	0	14

*Both informants in this group are 59.

Neither age nor gender correlates obviously with the patterns that have emerged. It seems that the traditional *bas pas* and *haut pas* variants have shifted north to the point where the *bas pas* [ɔ̃] has all but receded, and the forms featuring traces of the *haut pas* diphthong are now found almost exclusively in the northern half of the island. This has now been replaced by [æ] plus additional nasal consonant in the southern parishes, with what seems to be a transitional variant of [æ(˜)] (front near-low vowel with varying degrees of nasalisation) in the southern half of the Castel, St Saviour's and the western half of St Pierre du Bois. There is some suggestion that greater idiolectal variability in the treatment of final [ɔ̃] may be linked to fluency, with the 14 speakers with variable usage typically possessing a weaker command of the variety; a number of these individuals failed to supply the term for *chànsaön*, for example.

6.3.2   Lowering of [ɛ] to [æ] in *haut pas* speech

In accounts of Guernesiais phonology, the oral vowel [ɛ] is said to become [a] or [æ] before a final consonant in the speech of *haut pas* informants. *Bas pas* informants,

meanwhile, are said to retain a pre-consonantal mid vowel. Four items were chosen to explore this feature: 116 – *drette/draëtte* <straight>, 117 – *maëttre* <to put>, 145 – *saër* (m) <evening>, and 186 – *destre/daëstre* <right>. It should be noted that a number of informants were unable to recall the translation for *destre/daëstre*, resulting in a number of blank spaces in that column. The column for *saër (m)* also has a number of responses missing, though this was not necessarily due to a deficiency in vocabulary; while informants were much more likely to recall the Guernesiais for this item, many gave the alternative *seraïe* instead of the anticipated *saër* — the equivalent of the Standard French *soirée/soir*. For this reason, they were not included in the sample.
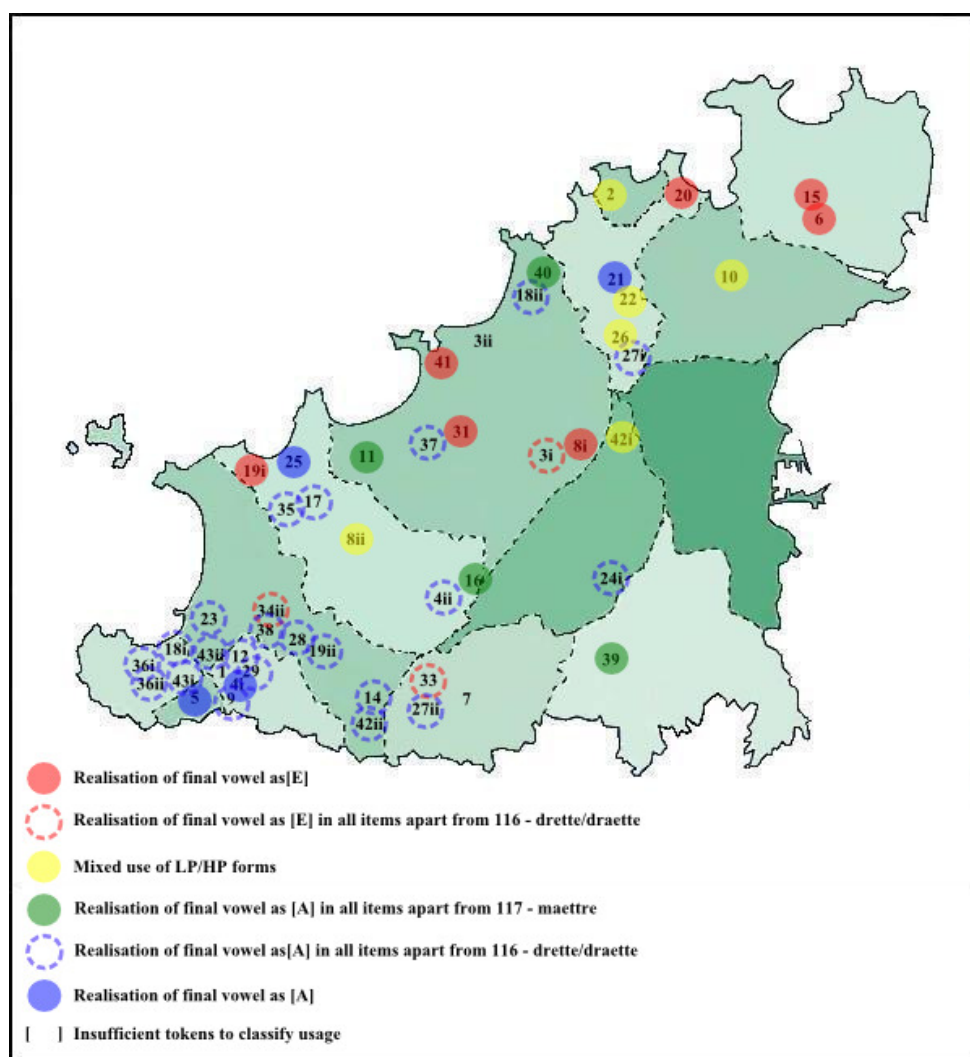
Map 6-5. Pronunciations of [ε] *before a final consonant in 116 –* drette/draëtte*, 117 –* maëttre*, 145 –* saër *(m) and 186 –* destre/daëstre *by the 49 informants.*

The data reveals that, in the modern language, the reality of diatopic patterning in pronunciations of [ε] is slightly more complex than existing descriptions allow (see Map 7-5). The three northernmost Vale informants, 15, 06, and 20, all employ front

unrounded mid vowel forms before the final consonant in these items as expected (see Table 6-15). So too, however, do informants 41, 31 and 08i from the Castel, as well as 19i from St Saviour's. This apparently anomalous usage from informants 41 and 31 can in all likelihood be explained by their parents' place of origin: both of 41's parents came from the Vale, as did 31's mother; this is likely to have been a strong influence over their linguistic development, particularly since they were raised in an area which is not particularly strongly marked by *haut pas* forms (cf. §6.2.2). We lack this information for informant 08i, however, while 19i defies this rationale of explanation with decidedly southern *haut pas* parents.

Table 6-15. Bas pas-*type pronunciations of* [ɛ] *before a final consonant by seven of the informants.*

Informant no.	Place of origin	116 drette/draëtte	117 maëttre	145 saër (m)	186 destre/daëstre
15	Vale	[dɹɛt]	[mɛˈt]	———	[dɛˈtɹ̥]
06	Vale	[dɹɛt]	[mɛˈtɹ̥]	[sɛɨ̥]	———
20	Vale	[dɾɛt]	[mɛˈt]	———	[dɾɛt]
41	Castel	[dɹɛt]	[mɛˈt]	———	[dɛˈt]
31	Castel	[dɹɛ̝t]	[mɛt]	[sɛɨ̥]	[dæᵋtɹ̥]
08i	Castel	[dɹɛt]	[mɛˈt]	[sæɹ]	[dɛˈtɹ̥]
19i	St Saviour's	[dɹɛ̝t]	[mæ̝t]	———	[det]

Bas pas-type pronunciations were not confined to these informants, however. Three further informants employed front unrounded mid vowels before the final consonant in their responses to three of the four items, only employing the more traditionally southern low/near-low vowel in *drette/draëtte* (see Table 6-16). This distribution of informants defies explanation: the three individuals grew up in different parts of the island, are not set apart by their age or gender in comparison to other speakers from similar areas, and have no obvious background tie save that 03i and 33's mothers both came from St Saviour's.

*Table 6-16. Data from three informants who pronounce 116 – drette/draëtte <straight>
with [æ] but the remaining items with [ɛ] before the final consonant.*

Informant no.	Place of origin	116 drette/draëtte	117 maëttre	145 saër (m)	186 destre/daëstre
03i	Castel	[dɹæt]	[mɛt]	[sɛ̊ɪ̯]	———
34ii	St Pierre du Bois	[dɹæt]	———	[sɛɪ̯]	———
33	Forest	[dɹæt]	[mɛt]	———	[dɛˈt]

In comparison, the informants who produced traditional *haut pas* low front vowel pronunciations of [ɛ] before a final consonant are relatively concentrated in terms of the place in which they spent the majority of their formative years. Four informants produced a low vowel in all of their responses to the items (see Table 6-17). The Vale informant is immediately notable as the exception to the geographical grouping, though this may be explained in part by the influence of this informant's *St Sauveuraise* mother upon her Guernesiais. Nonetheless, the scattered nature of the informants across the island and their comparative youth and language ability in relation to the remaining informants in the speaker sample suggests that the categorical use of the low vowel pronunciation in this context is something of an anomaly.

Table 6-17. Data from four informants who realise [ɛ] before a final consonant as a low vowel.

Informant no.	Place of origin	116 drette/draëtte	117 maëttre	145 saër (m)	186 destre/daëstre
21	Vale	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	———	———
25	St Saviour's	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæɾ]	[dwat]
05	St Pierre du Bois	[dɹɑt]	[mæt]	[sæɪ̯]	———
04i	Torteval	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæ̊ɪ̯]	———

The more popular tendency among the southern speakers was to realise [ɛ] before a final consonant as [æ] in all of the items save for *destre/daëstre*, where (as in the *bas pas* form) it was pronounced as a front unrounded mid vowel (see Table 6-18). Even among these 22 speakers, however, a division was apparent: those informants who spent their formative years in the southern parishes closest to the settlement clustered around Torteval Church tend to favour front mid-high unrounded vowel pronunciations for the vowel in *destre/daëstre*, while those who grew up further from this concentrated area

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tend to employ the diphthong [εⁱ] in this context. Perhaps the differentiation between the vowels of *drette/draëtte* and *destre/daëstre* serves to further differentiate the two words (the Standard French equivalents are homophones).

Table 6-18. Data from 22 informants who realise [ε] before a final consonant as a low vowel, but employ a mid vowel for 186 – destre/daëstre <straight>.

Informant no.	Place of origin	116 drette/draëtte	117 maëttre	145 saër (m)	186 destre/daëstre
27i	Vale	[dɹæ̝t]	――――	[sæ̝ɪ̥]	[deⁱt]
18ii	Castel	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæɾ]	[de⁽ⁱ⁾t]
37	Castel	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæɾ̥]	[dεⁱt]
35	St Saviour's	[dɹæ̝t]	――――	[sæɾ̥]	[deⁱt]
4ii	St Saviour's	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæ̝ɪ̥]	[deⁱt]
28	St Pierre du Bois	[dɹæt]	[mætɹ̥]	[sæɾ]	[deⁱt]
14	St Pierre du Bois	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæɾ̥]	[dεⁱt]
27ii	Forest	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæ̝ɪ̥]	[dεⁱtɪ̥]
17	St Saviour's	[dɹæt]	――――	[sæɾ̥]	[det]
36i	Torteval	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæɹʰ]	[det]
36ii	Torteval	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæɾ̥]	[det]
23	St Pierre du Bois	[dɹæ̝t]	[mæt]	――――	[detʃ]
38	St Pierre du Bois	[dɹæt]	――――	[sæ̝ɪ̥]	[de:t]
19ii	St Pierre du Bois	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	――――	[det]
42ii	St Pierre du Bois	[dɹæt]	[mɑt]	――――	[detɹ]
18i	Torteval	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæɾ̥]	[de:t]
43i	Torteval	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæɾ̥]	[detɹ]
43ii	St Saviour's	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæɾ]	[detɹ]
09	Torteval	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	――――	[de:tɹ̥]
12	Torteval	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	[sæɾ̥]	[detɹ]
29	Torteval	[dɹæt]	[mætɹ]	[sæɣ̥]	[detɹ̥]
24i	St Andrew's	[dɹ̝æt]	[mæt]	[sæ̝ɹ]	[det]

Though the usage of a substantial number of the speakers conformed to one of the categorisations outlined above, the remaining individuals demonstrated mixed use of the traditional *bas pas/haut pas*-type forms. It is interesting to note that these speakers generally came from the central area of the island, which has been identified in previous literature (and indeed in other areas of the present study) as a transition zone between the *bas pas* and *haut pas* dialects (cf. §1.1).

Six informants, predominantly from the southern part of the Vale and from St Sampson's, split their usage evenly between *haut pas* and *bas pas* forms, employing the typical *haut pas* near-low vowel [æ] for *drette/draëtte* and *saër (m)*, and mid vowel [ε] for *maëttre* and *destre/daëstre* (see Table 6-19).

Table 6-19. *Data from six informants who combine* bas pas *and* haut pas *pronunciations of* [ε]*before a final consonant.*

Informant no.	Place of origin	116 drette/draëtte	117 maëttre	145 saër (m)	186 destre/daëstre
02	St Sampson's	[dɹɑt]	[mεˈtɹ̥]	[swɑɹ]	——
10	St Sampson's	[dræt]	[mεˈt]	[sæɹ]	[dεˈtɹ̥]
22	Vale	[dɹæt]	[mε]	——	——
26	Vale	[dɹæt]	[mεt]	[sæ ɪ̥]	[dεˈtɹ̥]
42i	St Andrew's	[dɹæt]	[mεt]	——	——
8ii	St Saviour's	[dɹæt̪]	[mεt]	[sæɹ]	[deˈt]

A further four informants, meanwhile, employed *haut pas* front near-low or low vowels for three of the items, but not for *maëttre* (see Table 6-20). All come from areas counted among the Central Parishes, which have been identified as a potential transition zone between *haut pas* and *bas pas* forms.

Table 6-20. *Data from four informants who employ* haut pas *pronunciations of* [ε] *before a final consonant in all items but 117 –* maëttre <to put>.

Informant no.	Place of origin	116 drette/draëtte	117 maëttre	145 saër (m)	186 destre/daëstre
40	Castel	——	[mεtɹ̥]	[sæ ɪ̥]	[dæᵋtɹ]
11	Castel	[dɹæt]	[mεt]	——	[dɹæ⁽ᵋ⁾t]
16	St Saviour's	[dɹæt]	[mεtɹ̥]	——	[dɹæt]
39	St Martin's	[dɹæt]	——	[sæ ɪ̥]	[dɹwɑt]

Lastly, there were three informants usage could therefore not be classified, as they only gave responses to one or two of the items (see Table 6-21).

Table 6-21. Data from three informants whose pronunciations of [ε] *before a final consonant could not be classified.*

Informant no.	Place of origin	116 drette/draëtte	117 maëttre	145 saër (m)	186 destre/daëstre
03ii	Castel	——	——	[sæ]	——
01	Torteval	[dɹæt]	——	——	——
07	Forest	[dɹæt]	[mæt]	——	——

Examination of the correlation between the informants' treatment of [ε] before a final consonant and their age yields some interesting findings. As may be seen from Table 6-22, the traditionally reported *bas pas* proclivity to realise [ε] before a final consonant as a mid vowel in all instances has endured relatively well compared to the *bas pas* forms for some of the other features we have examined: seven informants used this form for all four items. It is striking that three of the four nonagenarian informants (informants 20, 06 and 19i) were among those who exclusively employed mid vowel forms; the data from these fluent speakers adds considerable weight to the hypothesis that the pronunciation of [ε] before a final consonant as a mid vowel, recorded in a number of older descriptions of Guernesiais, was once commonplace and might have been current in communities as far south as St Saviour's.

Table 6-22. Age range and total number of informants employing the different treatments of [ɛ] before a final consonant.

Treatment of [ɛ] before final consonant	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59	*60–69*	*70–79*	*80–89*	*90+*	
[ɛ] in all items	0	1	1	2	3	7
Low/near-low vowel for *drette/draëtte*, [ɛ] in other items	0	0	1†	2	0	3
Mid vowel diphthong for *destre/daëstre*, low vowel in other items	0	0	5	2	1	8
Mid vowel monophthong for *destre/daëstre*, low vowel in other items	2*	1	4	7	0	14
Mixture of *bas pas* and *haut pas* forms	0	0	3	3	0	6
[ɛ] in maëttre, but low vowel in other items	0	1	2	1	0	4
Low vowel in all items	0	2	1	1	0	4
Unclassified	0	0	1	2	0	3

*NB: Both informants in this cell are aged 59.
† Informant aged 79.

It is unusual, given what we know of the Guernesiais speech community's socio-cultural and demographic situation, that the traditional *bas pas* form (i.e. categorical use of [ɛ]) should prove stronger than the *haut pas* form for this feature. As it happens, both groups of categorical user are overshadowed by the number of informants who employ a mid vowel monophthong or diphthong for *destre/daëstre*, but a low vowel for the other items. The informants who employ this combination of the two forms are fairly evenly distributed with regard to age, which suggests that the mixture of forms is relatively stable.

The exception that is apparently made in the pronunciation of *destre/daëstre* is symptomatic of the type of patterning we saw for 181 – *aute/aoute* <other> in §7.2.1, but in reverse: here, it is the stereotypically 'northern', *bas pas* pronunciation of *destre/daëstre* which appears to be common to speakers from all areas of the island (34 of the 49 speakers gave this pronunciation, compared with 3 low-vowel pronunciations and 12 non-responses). In addition to the instances of categorical usage, there are some individuals who combine elements of *bas pas* and *haut pas* phonology for this feature.

Three informants from the southern half of the island produced a low or near-low vowel for *drette/draëtte* but realised [ɛ] in the three other items, while a further four from the Castel, St Saviour's and St Martin's gave [ɛ] in *maëttre* but a low vowel in the other items. With these two groups of informants, we see a similar distribution in age to the 'pure' forms: the three informants who adhered mainly to the *bas pas* [ɛ] had a mean age of 83, compared to the overall sample mean of 79, while the four who preferred to adopt the *haut pas* low vowel in most contexts had a mean age of 74. This suggests that the *haut pas* form is the stronger of the two forms, though the age distribution of the six informants who employed an even mixture of *bas pas* and *haut pas* forms suggests that this mixture is itself relatively stable. The preponderance of individuals with mixed usage from the area of the island intermediate between the Vale in the north and the south-western settlement around Torteval Parish Church, meanwhile, is consistent with the idea of a transition zone between *bas pas* and *haut pas* usage, as posited in Lukis (1981).
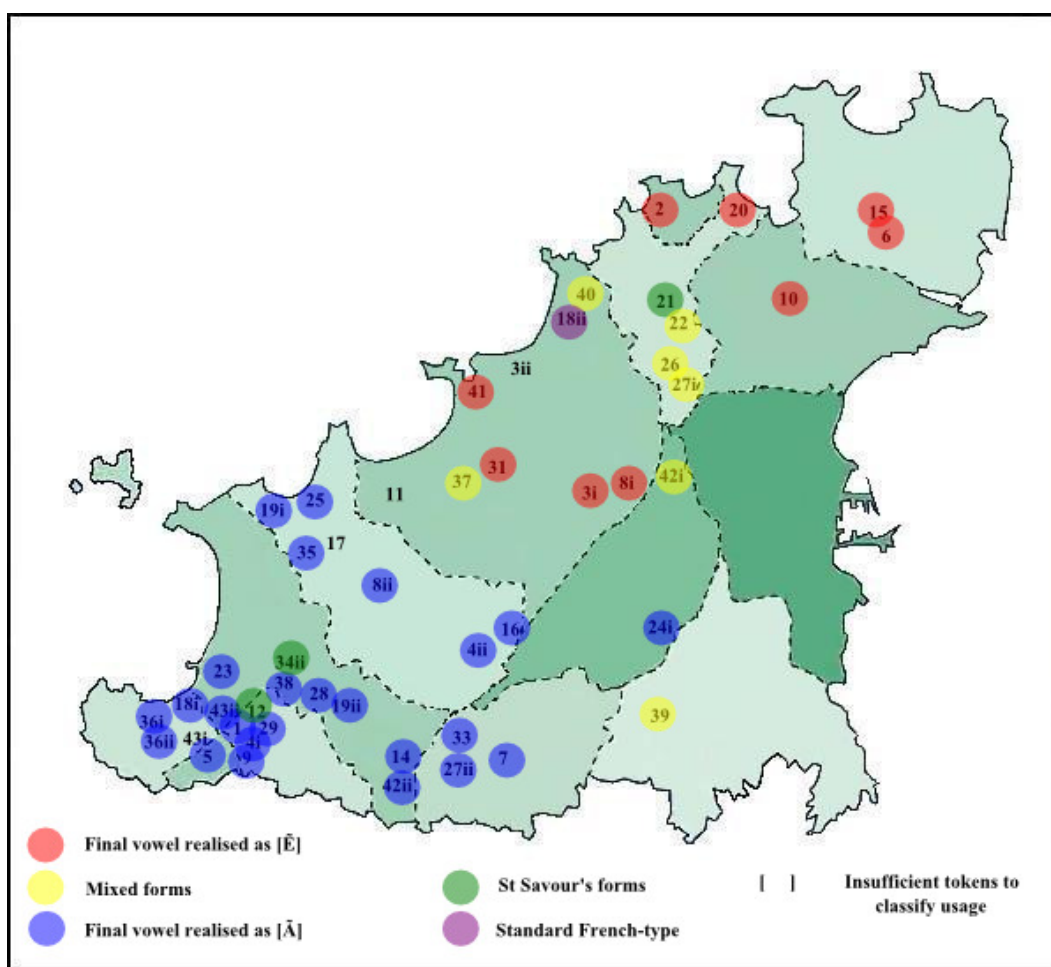
Map 6-6. Pronunciations of final [ɛ̃] *in 27 –* cousain *(m), 144 –* grànd, *and 163 –* bian *by the 49 informants.*

According to existing sources, nasalised front unrounded [ɛ̃] is also subject to vowel lowering in certain areas of the island, becoming [æ̃] in the speech of informants from the *haut pas*. The informants' responses to three lexical items from the word list were chosen to investigate this feature: 27 – *cousain* (m) <cousin>, 144 – *grànd* <big>, and 163 – *bian* <well (adv.)>. Cognate Standard French words, *cousain* and *bien* share the same front mid-low unrounded nasalised vowel [ɛ̃], while *grand* has back low unrounded nasalised vowel [ɑ̃]. In Guernesiais, meanwhile, the three words theoretically feature the same vowel. Though *bas pas* Guernesiais is anecdotally said to be closer in sound than *haut pas* speech to Standard French, it is interesting that only one of the speakers displayed the Standard French patterning of vowels in these three items: informant 18ii realised *bian* and *cousain (m)* with a front mid-low nasalised vowel, and *grànd* with a front near-low nasalised vowel (see Table 6-23). Though this individual did not profess a command of Standard French during the biographical section of the interview, it is likely that he would have had some exposure to the language during childhood through schooling and through church services or Sunday school. While this distribution of vowels in his speech may be due to idiolectal preferences, it is equally possible that the artificial formality of the interview setting caused this relatively reserved informant to draw stylistically upon the phonological inventory of Standard French, which would have been considered the more formal variety and the most appropriate for use in formal situations.

Table 6-23. Data from informant 18ii, whose pronunciations of final [ɛ̃] are comparable with the equivalent Standard French.

Informant no.	Place of origin	163 bian	144 grànd	27 cousain (m)
18ii	Castel	[bjɛ̃]	[gɹæ̃ː]	[kuzɛ̃]

The evidence from the main body of our data, however, suggests that lowering of final [ɛ̃] to [æ̃] is no longer systematic in *haut pas* speech; instead, pronunciations of original final [ɛ̃] were found to vary between lexical items. This variation is not purely

idiolectal: from the valid data tokens analysed, three principal treatments of final [ɛ̃] in the three items emerged.[4]

The more common tendency among *bas pas* informants was to pronounce *bian* and *grànd* with a front unrounded nasalised mid-low vowel, but to realise *cousin (m)* with a nasalised low vowel or low diphthong (see Table 6-24). Precise vowel quality varied slightly between informants: the three Vâlais speakers gave a back low unrounded glide for *cousin*, for example, while informant 31 raises the front near-low vowel in the same item to give [ɛ̞̃]. Both of the St Sampson's informants, meanwhile, give unusual renderings of *bian*: informant 02 gives a lower vowel for *bian* than we might expect in the context of the other responses from informants from this half of the island, while informant 10 gives a rounded partially nasalised mid vowel [œ̃] for this item. The degree of nasalisation also varies across all of the informants' responses, with partial nasalisation occurring frequently.

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[4] There were four informants who provided insufficient data for the categorisation of their usage for this feature (informants 3ii, 11, 17 and 43i).

Table 6-24. Pronunciations of final [ɛ̃] in the speech of 40 of the informants.

Variety	Informant no.	Place of origin	163 bian	144 grànd	27 cousin (m)
	15	Vale	[bjɛ̃]	[gɹɛ̃]	[kuzɑˈ]
	06	Vale	[bjɛ̃]	[grɛ̃]	[kuz̥ɑˈ]
	20	Vale	[bjɛ̃]	[grɛ̃]	[kuzɑˈ̃]
	02	St Sampson's	[bjæ̃]	[gɹɛ̃ː]	[kuzæˈ]
Bas pas	10	St Sampson's	[bjœ̃]	[gɹɛ̃ː]	[kuzæ̃]
	41	Castel	[bjɛ̃]	[grɛ̃]	[kʊzæ̃]
	31	Castel	[bjɛ̃]	[gɹɛ̃]	[kuzɛ̃]
	03i	Castel	[bjɛ̃]	[gɹɛː]	[kuzæˈ]
	08i	Castel	[bjɛ̃]	[gɹɛ̃ː]	[kuzæ̃]
	22	Vale	[bjɛ̃]	[græ̃]	[kuzɐˈ]
	26	Vale	[bjɛ̃]	[gɹæ]	[kuzæˈ]
	27i	Vale	[bjɛ̃]	[græ]	[kuzæˈ]
Central	40	Castel	[bjɛ̃]	[græ̃]	[kuzæ̃ᵉ]
	37	Castel	[bjɛ̃]	[gɹæ̃ː]	[kuzæ̃]
	42i	Castel	[bjɛ̞]	[græ̃]	[kuzæˈⁿˋ]
	39	St Martin's	[bjɛ̃]	[græ̃]	[kuzɑˈ]
	25	St Saviour's	[bjo]	[gɹæː]	[kuzɑˈn]
	19i	St Saviour's	[bjɔ̃]	[gɹæ̃ˌ]	[kuzæˈ]
	35	St Saviour's	[bjɔ̃]	[gɹæ̃ː]	[kuzæ̃]
	08ii	St Saviour's	[bjɔ̃]	[gɹæ̃ː]	[kuzɐ]
	36ii	St Saviour's	[bjɔ̃]	[græ̃ː]	[kuzæˈ]
	36i	St Saviour's	[bjɔ̃]	[gɹæː]	[kuzæˈn]
	04ii	St Saviour's	[bʲjɔ̃]	[gɹæː]	[kuzæ]
	16	St Saviour's	[bjo]	[græ̃ː]	[kuzæˈ]
	23	St Pierre du Bois	[bjɔ]	[gɹæ]	[kuzæ]
	38	St Pierre du Bois	[bjɔ̃]	[gɹæːˈ]	[kuzæˈ]
	28	St Pierre du Bois	[bjo]	[gɹæ̃ː]	[kuzɑˈ]
	19ii	St Pierre du Bois	[bʲjɔ̃]	[gɹæ̃ː]	[kuzæˈ]
Haut pas	14	St Pierre du Bois	[bjɔ]	[gɹæ̃]	[kuzæ̃]
	42ii	St Pierre du Bois	[bjo]	[græ̃]	[kuzæˈ]
	05	St Pierre du Bois	[bjo]	[gɹæ]	[kuzæˈ]
	18i	Torteval	[bjõ]	[græ̃]	[kuzæ̃ː]
	43ii	Torteval	[bjɔ̃]	[gɹæ]	[kuzæ̃]
	01	Torteval	[bʲjo]	[gɹæ̃ː]	[kuzæ̃ˈ]
	29	Torteval	[bjɔ̃]	[gʁæ̃]	[kuzæ̃]
	04i	Torteval	[bjɔ]	[gɹæ̃ w]	[kuzæ̃]
	09	Torteval	[bjɔ]	[gɹæ]	[kuzæˈ]
	33	Forest	[bjɑ̃]	[græ̃]	[kuzæ̃]
	27ii	Forest	[bjɔ̃]	[gɹæ̃]	[kuzæˈ]
	07	Forest	[bjo]	[græ̃]	[kuzæˈ]
	24i	St Andrew's	[bjo]	[gɹæ]	[kuzæ̃]

From Table 6-24, we can see that the pronunciation of *cousin* with a low vowel or low vowel diphthong is present in the speech of informants from throughout the island. This appears to be well established in Guernesiais: since even the more elderly and conservative *bas pas* speakers such as 06 employ this form, it seems likely that the southern parishes influenced the north in this matter long before the current generations of speakers acquired their language.

Yet while speakers from the Central Parishes retain the front unrounded nasalised mid vowel pronunciation for *bien*, the vowel in their pronunciation of *grànd* is typically lowered, as in *haut pas* speech, to give a front near-low vowel. *Haut pas* speakers also modify the vowel of *bien*, typically raising and backing it to give a back rounded mid vowel. Again, precise vowel quality varies between speakers: while some informants show a stronger tendency towards nasalisation in these contexts, for example, others show quite the reverse. It is interesting to note in passing that there was only one instance in which an informant produced an additional nasal consonant following the nasalised vowel (cf. 42i's pronunciation of *cousain*), and the consonant was very weakly articulated; it would seem that nasalised [ɛ ̃]/[æ ̃] does not favour this phenomenon.

Table 6-25. Treatments of final [ɛ̃] in the Guernsey 2010 data; shading illustrates the Central Parishes' overlap between haut pas *and* bas pas *forms.*

Variety	163 *bian*	144 *grànd*	27 *cousin (m)*
Standard French	[ɛ̃]	[ɑ̃]	[ɛ̃]
Bas pas	[ɛ̃]	[ɛ̃]	[æ̃]
Central	[ɛ̃]	[æ̃]	[æ̃]
Haut pas	[õ][5]	[æ̃]	[æ̃]

In this feature, perhaps more than in any other we have seen so far, the Central Parishes seem to represent a transition between *bas pas* and *haut pas* forms (see Table 6-25).

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[5] The capital [O] symbol is here used to denote back mid vowel forms where vowel height in individual realisations may vary (cf. §2.5.3).

Certainly, the Central speakers overlap in territory with the *bas pas* speakers: the northern half of the Castel and the southern part of the Vale form the area where contact between the two tendencies appears to have been greatest (cf. Map 6-6).

Though the majority of the informants (40 out of 49) fell broadly into one of the three 'area' groups outlined above, there was also a handful of informants whose usage did not adhere wholly to any of these. In addition to informant 18ii, whose data we discussed above (see Table 6-23), there were three other such individuals: informants 21, 34ii and 12 (see Table 6-26). These three informants shared similarities with the *haut pas* speakers on the one hand, with comparable pronunciations of *bian* and *cousin*; but where we might perhaps expect these individuals to follow a more intermediate route between the principal usages in employing the near-low front vowel pronunciation for *grànd*, these three individuals instead adopt the *bas pas* pronunciation with a front mid-low unrounded vowel.

Table 6-26. Data from three informants whose pronunciation of the three items did not follow one of the three main diatopic patterns (the 'St Saviour's exception').

Informant no.	Place of origin	163 bian	144 grànd	27 cousin (m)
21	Vale	[bjo]	[gʀɛ̞:]	[kuzɑˈ]
34ii	St Pierre du Bois	[bjo]	[gɹɛ:]	[kuzæˈn]
12	Torteval	[bjõ]	[gɹɛ̃:]	[kuzæˈn]

The relatively disparate locations of these informants' childhood homes (and indeed the low number of individuals concerned) preclude confirmation of this pattern as a further intermediate transitional form, although the biographical information of these individuals suggests a possible link with the parish of St Saviour's. While informant 21 grew up in the Vale, her father's home parish, her Guernesiais is likely to have been influenced during her early years by the speech of her mother, a native of St Saviour's. Informant 12 has links to St Saviour's through her paternal relatives, and spent her early childhood in the parish. Though no such family ties to the parish are apparent from the information that was available for informant 34ii, it should be noted that this informant grew up in the neighbouring parish of St Pierre du Bois, not far from the St Saviour's boundary.

Table 6-27. Age range and total number of informants employing the treatments of [ɛ̃] *before a final consonant.*

Treatment of [ɛ̃] before final consonant	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
Bas pas	0	1	2	4	2	9
Central	0	0	4	3	0	7
Haut Pas	2*	3	10	8	2	25
St Saviour's-type	0	0	2	1	0	3
[Standard French-type]	0	0	0	[1]	0	[1]
Unclassified	0	1	0	3	0	4

*NB: Both informants in this cell are aged 59.

Table 6-27 shows the age distribution of the informants employing the different pronunciations of final [ɛ̃]. The relative numbers of informants in each category suggest, once again, that the *haut pas* variant has the advantage of numbers, and therefore greater potential for survival. Unusually for the diatopically marked features we have seen so far, a number of younger speakers are present in the *bas pas* and central form categories. This indicates that the variation in the quality of the nasalised vowels produced in these contexts is a relatively stable occurrence, on the whole; the *haut pas* category does boast the majority of the individuals aged below 70, but we have noted elsewhere that this is partly due to circumstantial factors. If the St Saviour's-type use was once common in that part of the island, it would appear that it is now very much in the minority; it is therefore unlikely to withstand incursion from the more widely used variants. The usage of the single individual who gave Standard French-type responses, meanwhile, appears to be anomalous in the context of the other informants' data.

6.3.3   Treatments of [k]

The rendering of [k] as an affricate before a secondary front vowel is reported to be characteristic of the Guernesiais spoken in the island's more northerly parishes (Jones 2008: 44).[6]   Affrication of [k] is also apt to occur under other circumstances in

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[6] British phonologist David Jones organised the vowel space between the two most extreme tongue body positions, high front [i] and low back [ɑ], with the height dimension divided into four equally spaced levels. This gives eight cardinal vowels (four front unrounded vowels, and four back rounded vowels).

Guernesiais, including where [k] occurs before a palatal sound such as [j]. In order to investigate the palatalisation of [k] in modern Guernesiais, the researcher examined data from five of the word list items: 18 – *cul* (m) <backside>, 23 – *tcheur/coeur* (m) <heart>, 38 – *cllaïe* (f) <key>, 43 – *tchuisaëne/cuisaëne* (f) <kitchen> and 54 – *tcherbaön/querbaön* (m) <coal>. The results are presented in Map 6-7 below.
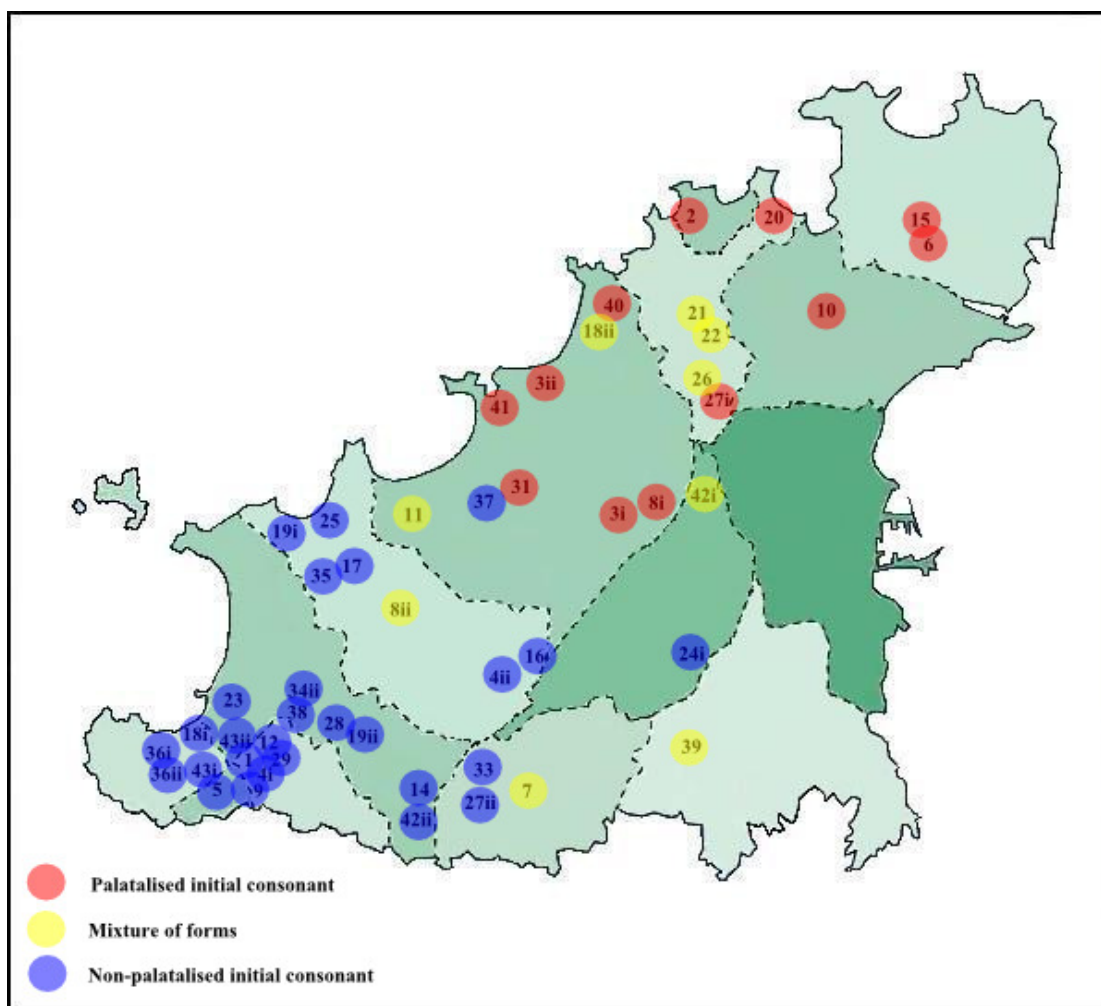
Map 6-7. Pronunciations of [k] *in 18 –* cul *(m), 23 –* tcheur/coeur *(m), 38 –* cllaïe *(f), 43 –* tchuisaëne/cuisaëne *(f) and 54 –* tcherbaön/querbaön *(m) by the 49 informants.*

The first of the items, *cul*, was pronounced with a palatalised initial consonant (the affricate [tʃ]) by all of the 16 informants who offered the target translation for this item (see Table 6-28). An unusually high number of alternative translations were offered for this item, which has to some extent affected the data; owing to the nature and register of the target word, a number of informants chose more genteel alternatives like *lé derrière* or *les fesses* so as to avoid embarrassment. It would nonetheless seem, given that the 16

The secondary cardinal vowels are obtained by using the opposite lip-rounding on each primary cardinal vowel (i.e. front rounded vowels and back unrounded vowels) (Jones 1956).

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respondents for this item came from different parts of the island, that its pronunciation is uniform across the variety.

Table 6-28. Pronunciations of [k] *in 18 –* cul *(m) <backside>, 23 –* tcheur/coeur *(m) <heart> and 54 –* tcherbaön/querbaön *(m) <coal>.*

	No. of tokens		
Item	tʃ	Alternative translation	No response
18 *cul (m)*	16	31	2
23 *tcheur/coeur (m)*	49	0	0
54 *tcherbaon/querbaön (m)*	49	0	0

Two different spellings are given in the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* apiece for *tcheur/coeur* and for *tcherbaön/querbaön*, meanwhile, which suggests that two distinct pronunciations of these items were in existence (or at least had existed within living memory) at the time that the *Dictiounnaire* was being compiled (de Garis 1967: 80, 32). New evidence from our data shows that these have now been reduced to a single form for modern speakers of Guernesiais, patterning in the same way as *cul* with an initial affricate (see Table 6-28). It is interesting to observe here that it is the *bas pas* palatalised variant, and not the *haut pas* plosive [k] pronunciation, that has become widely adopted by modern speakers. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, although it is worth noting that the palatalised forms give the Guernesiais items greater distinction from their Standard French cognates; perhaps this is the motivation behind the speech community's choice.

That the *bas pas* palatalised form has held its ground well is illustrated strikingly in the informants' pronunciations of remaining items *cllaïe* and *tchuisaëne/cuisaëne*, which were found to preserve the traditionally reported patterns of diatopic variation for this feature. In so doing, *tchuisaëne/cuisaëne* belies the tendency towards uniformity which we have observed in other items containing initial [k] and which feature a double spelling in the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* (1967); similarly, the pronunciation of *cllaïe* (unlike *cul*) is more varied than its single *Dictiounnaire* spelling might suggest.

The majority of informants from the Low Parishes are consistent in pronouncing the initial consonant of 38 – *cllaïe* as the affricate [tʃ], though there are exceptions: informant 10 palatalises the affricate further to [tçɑ¹], while informants 40 and 03ii advance the palatalisation to give a [tj–]-initial pronunciation (see Table 6-29). Treatments of the initial consonant in 43 – *tchuisaëne* are slightly more varied among the Low Parish speakers. Affrication is still a strong tendency in this item, with seven of the 12 informants producing some degree of affrication in their initial consonant. Treatments of the following front vowel vary, however. While four of the informants realise the following vowel as front high rounded [y], the remaining eight individuals give the semivowel [w] plus front high/lowered-high unrounded vowel [i/ɪ]. Three of these individuals retain the affricate [tʃ] alongside the following semivowel while, for the remaining five, the affricated consonant is reduced to [t]. The 30 High Parish informants were more consistent in the forms they produced, meanwhile, with most of the tokens of *cllaïe* and all tokens of *cuisaëne* pronounced with non-palatalised initial [k].

Following page:

Table 6-29. Pronunciations of [k] *in the speech of the 49 informants.*

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Variety	Informant no.	Place of origin	38 – cllaïe (f)	43 – tchuisaëne/cuisaëne (f)
Bas pas	15	Vale	[tʃɑˈ]	[tʃwizɑˈn]
	06	Vale	[tʃɑˈ]	[twɪ�झ̞zɑˈn]
	20	Vale	[tʃɑˈ]	[tʃyzɑˈn]
	27i	Vale	[tʃɑˈ]	[tʃyzæᵋn]
	02	St Sampson's	[tʃi]	[tˤwizæᵋn]
	10	St Sampson's	[tçɑˈ]	[twɪ̞zɑˈn]
	40	Castel	[tjɑˈ]	[tʃyzæˈnˀ]
	03ii	Castel	[tjɒˈ]	[twizæˈn]
	41	Castel	[tʃɑˈ]	[twizɑˈn]
	31	Castel	[tʃɑˈ]	[tʃyzæːn]
	03i	Castel	[tʃoˈ]	[twizæˈn]
	08i	Castel	[tʃɑˈ]	[tʃwizɛˈn]
(Mixed)	21	Vale	[kjɒˈ]	[twizæˈn]
	26	Vale	[kjɑˈ]	[tʃyzæᵋn]
	18ii	Castel	[kjɑˈ]	[twizæ̃ˈn]
	39	St Martin's	[kjɑˈ]	[tʃɣzˈn]
	22	Vale	[tʃɑˈ]	[kwizæ̃ˈn]
	42i	St Andrew's	[tʃɑˈ]	[kwizæᵋn]
	11	Castel	[kçjɒj]	[kwizæᵋn]
Haut pas	37	Castel	[kʰjɑˈ]	[kwɪzɛˈn]
	25	St Saviour's	[kjɒˈ]	[kwɪzæˈn]
	19i	St Saviour's	[kʰjɑɪ]	[kwizæˈn]
	35	St Saviour's	[kʰjɑˈ]	[kwizæˈn]
	17	St Saviour's	[kjɒˈ]	[kwɪzæˈn]
	08ii	St Saviour's	[kjɑˈ]	[kwizɑ⁽ⁱ⁾]
	36ii	St Saviour's	[kⁱjɒˈ]	[kwizæˈn]
	36i	St Saviour's	[kjɔ̞ˈ]	[kwizæˈn]
	04ii	St Saviour's	[kⁱjɒˈ]	[kwɪzæˈn]
	16	St Saviour's	[kjɑˈ]	[kwizæˈn]
	34ii	St Pierre du Bois	[kⁱjɔ̞ˈ]	[kwɪzæn]
	23	St Pierre du Bois	[k⁽ⁱ⁾jɑˈ]	[kwizæˈn]
	38	St Pierre du Bois	[kjɑˈ]	[kwizæˈn]
	28	St Pierre du Bois	[kjɒ̩ˈ]	[kwizɑˈn]
	19ii	St Pierre du Bois	[kʰjɔˈ]	[kwizæˈn]
	14	St Pierre du Bois	[kjɒˈ]	[kwizæ̃ˈn]
	42ii	St Pierre du Bois	[kjɒˈ]	[kwɪzæᵋn]
	05	St Pierre du Bois	[kjɒˈ]	[kwizæˈn]
	18i	Torteval	[kjɑ⁽ⁱ⁾]	[kwizæːˈn]
	43i	Torteval	[kjɒˈ]	[kwizæˈn]
	43ii	Torteval	[kjɑˈ]	[kwizæˈn]
	01	Torteval	[kⁱjɒˈ]	[kwizæˈnˀ]
	12	Torteval	[kjɑˈ]	[kwɪzæˈn]
	29	Torteval	[kjɒˈ]	[kwɪzæˈn]
	04i	Torteval	[kjɔˈ]	[kwɪzæˈn]
	09	Torteval	[kjɑˈ]	[kwɪzæˈn]
	33	Forest	[kjɒˈ]	[kwizæˈn]
	27ii	Forest	[kjɑˈ]	[kwiझ̞æᵋn]
	07	Forest	[kjɒˈ]	———
	24i	St Andrew's	[kjɒˈ]	[kwizæˈn]

Between these two poles, there are a handful of informants from the Central Parishes who mix palatalised and non-palatalised forms in their responses to the two items. While informants 21, 26, 18ii and 39 pronounce the initial consonant of *cllaïe* as [k], and give a palatalised *bas pas*-type form for *tchuisaëne/cuisaëne*, the reverse is the case for informants 22, 42i and 11. Though this mixture of forms might in some measure suggest a form intermediate between *bas pas* and *haut pas* conventions, we observe that these informants grew up in the northern part of the Castel and the southern part of the Vale, at some distance from the apparent interface of the two varieties. In some cases the presence of such mixed forms in these informants' speech might be more aptly explained by mixed linguistic heritage (see Table 6-30), or through the influence that the prevailing forms of places they have lived in as an adult has had on their idiolect. In the case of informant 22, for example, a solidly *vâlais* upbringing may have been overlaid by the Guernesiais this individual encountered living in Torteval and later St Saviour's for most of his adult life.

Table 6-30. Original parishes of the seven speakers who mix palatalised and non-palatalised forms of [k]*, and their parents.*

Informant no.	Place of origin	Father's parish of origin	Mother's parish of origin
21	Vale	Vale	St Saviour's
26	Vale	St Saviour's	Castel
18ii	Castel	?	?
39	St Martin's	St Andrew's	St Pierre du Bois/Vale
22	Vale	Vale	Vale
42i	St Andrew's	Castel	Castel
11	Castel	?	?

Overall we see a greater number of speakers producing the southern *haut pas* forms for *cllaïe* and *tchuisaëne/cuisaëne* (30 to the 12 *bas pas* speakers), though this is of course consistent with what we know of the demographic distribution of Guernesiais speakers throughout the island. The relatively strong number of speakers producing *bas pas* forms compared with that for other diatopically variable features suggests that the *bas pas* variant is quite durable here. The reasons for the high retention rate of *bas pas* palatalised forms are not immediately apparent, though we may speculate that Low Parish informants have successfully maintained these forms in their speech because

consonants lie more directly within their overt phonetic control than do vowels; consequently, northern Guernesiais speakers have been better able to resist the incursion of other forms with this feature.

That two spellings for words such as *tcheur/coeur* and *tcherbaön/querbaön* exist in the 1967 *Dictiounnaire* despite there being no such variation present in the speech of any of our speakers suggests that variation in these forms is likely to have become extinct a generation ago or more, and was perhaps remembered from more senior speakers born at the turn of the twentieth century (or indeed earlier) who were known to the dictionary committee at the time the work was being compiled. Certainly the non-presence of the distinction in the speech of the eldest speakers suggests that this change has been complete for some time. This feature also highlights inconsistencies in the spellings thus far adopted for Guernesiais. Though separate spellings exist for the two forms of *tchuisaëne/cuisaëne*, no such concession is made for *cllaïe* even though the pronunciations from the two areas of the island are equally distinctive. This is perhaps to be taken into consideration when questions of orthography arise.

6.3.4   Final consonant retention

Retention of the final consonant in words such as 82 - *llet* (m) <bed>, 83 - *latt* (m) <milk> and the singular noun of 84 - *aën cat, daëux cats* (m) <one cat, two cats> is popularly held to be a hallmark of *bas pas* speech. In today's Guernesiais, however, this appears to be a receding feature: only three of the 49 informants realised a word-final consonant in their pronunciation of the three items above (see Map 6-8 and Table 6-31). Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the reputation of this feature as being a particularly *vâlais* characteristic, these three individuals originated from the island's northernmost parishes: two (20 and 10) grew up in the northern half of St Sampson's, while the third, 06, came from the Braye du Valle area of the Vale. All three informants still live in or near this part of the island. It is interesting to note that these three individuals are also among the more elderly of the informants interviewed, aged 94, 81 and 96 respectively (the main sample group as a whole has a mean and median age of 79; cf. §4.2.2). The remaining informants of *Vâlais* origin come from the southern detachment of the parish (Informants 21, 22, 26 and 27i), and are slightly younger on average (78, 82, 76 and 80 respectively); more importantly, however, these individuals have moved to settle in other parts of the island during their lifetimes. It is unclear

whether age or environment is the deciding factor here, but what is certain is that these individuals, instead of retaining the final consonants for these lexical items, follow the lead of the majority of speakers from other parts of the island in not pronouncing them at all. In total, 37 of the 49 speakers in the main sample drop the final consonants for all three items.
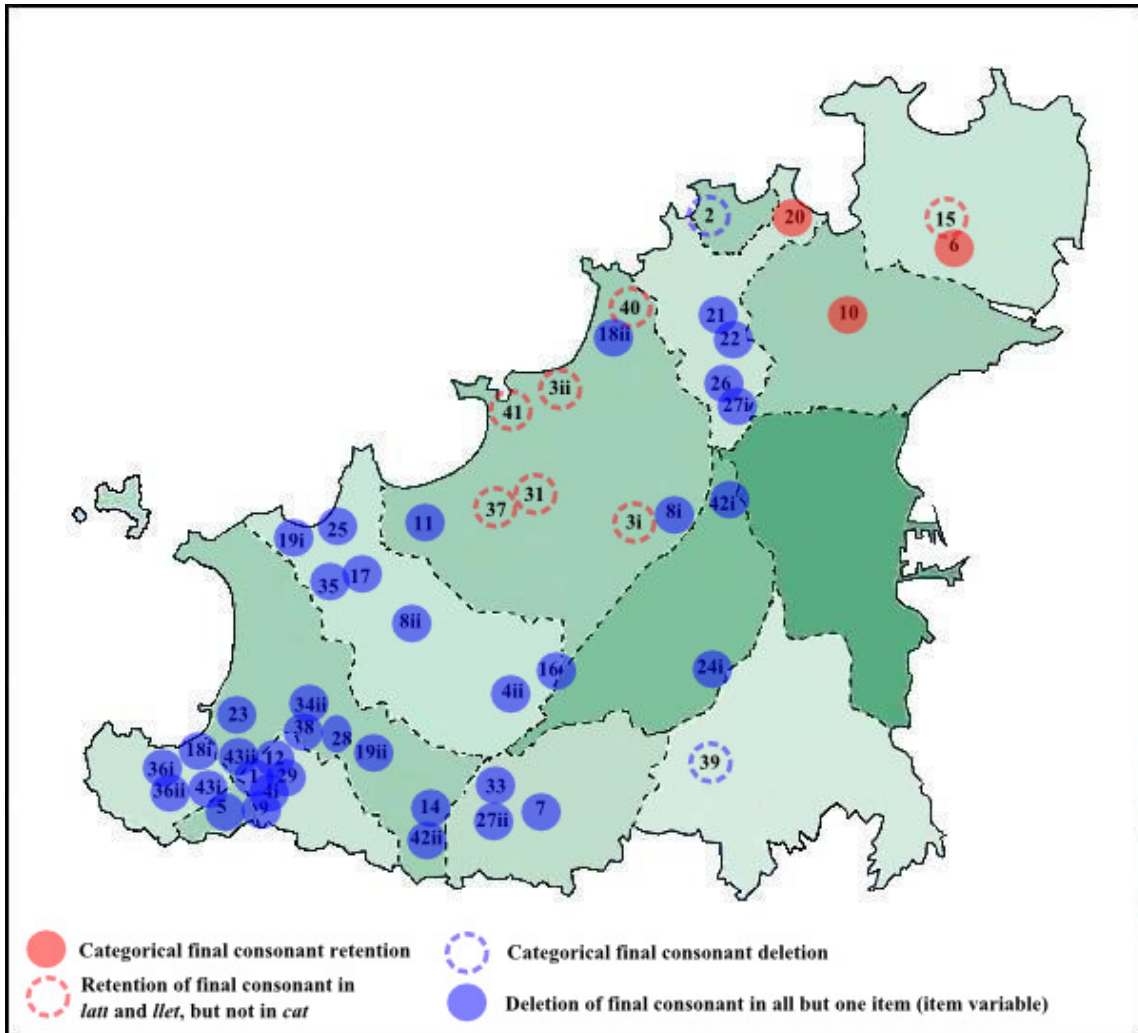
Map 6-8. Final consonant retention in 82 – latt *(m), 83 -* llet *(m) and 149 -* cat *(m) by the 49 informants.*

There is a small group of speakers who retain the final consonants of *latt* and *llet*, but not of *cat*. This might in itself be unremarkable, were it not for the fact that six of these seven individuals spent their critical formative years in the northern two-thirds of the Castel parish (the seventh grew up in the main, northern part of the Vale), and that this distribution of variants is the most common for informants from this parish (present in the responses of six of the nine *câtelain* informants).

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Table 6-31. Treatment of final consonant in 82 – latt *(m) <milk>, 83 –* llet *(m) <bed>*
and 149 - cat *(m) <cat> by the 49 informants.*

Treatment of final consonant	No. of informants
Categorical retention	7
Retention of final consonant in *latt* and *llet*, but not in *cat*	3
Retention of final consonant in only one item	2
Categorical deletion	37

Two further informants, 39 and 02, each drop the final consonant from two of the three items. While this is not particularly remarkable in the case of 39, who grew up and still lives in St Martin's, it is more so for 02, who retains only the consonant of the stereotyped *cat* out of the three possible tokens in the sample items requested. Informant 02 grew up and has lived within a one-mile radius of her childhood home on the west coast at the southern St Sampson's/Vale border for most of her life, and so we might have expected this speaker to exhibit the more typically *vâlais* tendency to retain the final consonant in all the items. It is of interest to note that, at 77, this informant is two years below the mean age for the sample group; she also reports that she is an infrequent speaker of the variety. Perhaps the infrequency with which informant 02 uses her Guernesiais and the more overt presence of Guernesiais from other parts of the island in the public domain accounts for the near-absence of this geographically distinctive feature in her speech.

The Low Parishes' retention of the final consonant in *cat* is often cited anecdotally as one of the differences between the speech of the Vale (and, more generally, northern Guernesiais) and that of the more southerly parishes. Retention of the final consonant in such items is not always favourably looked upon; it is reasonable to suppose that the perceived 'Englishness' of this pronunciation, together with the social implication this carries, may have led to the final consonant of *cat* being dropped from speech in this part of the island — perhaps even as a means of differentiating *câtelain* from *vâlais*. Such a social factor might explain why informant 15, who was brought up in the Vale but has spent many years in St Andrew's, has discarded the final consonant of *cat*: the

strong stereotype attached to this item increases the likelihood with which a *bas pas* pronunciation might attract ridicule in a part of the island where an alternative pronunciation prevailed. The fact that that informant 37, who was brought up in the Castel but has lived in St Saviour's for a number of years, has retained the final consonants of *latt* and *llet* in his speech despite living in an area characterised by consonant dropping suggests perhaps, conversely, that the pronunciation of these two items does not have the same negative social loading as that of *cat*. 42i's comment that her pronunciation of *llet* had changed over time to reflect her move from the outskirts of the Castel to the southern parishes further confirms that a change of location in adulthood can affect an informant's pronunciation.[7]

Though it is possible that age (and therefore the degree of exposure to diatopic variation present in the speech of previous generations) is a factor in whether or not final consonants are retained, informants' places of origin (linked with subsequent patterns of migration) appear to be the main deciding factors in whether or not final consonants are retained for these three items.

6.4   NEW EVIDENCE OF DIATOPIC VARIATION IN GUERNESIAIS PHONOLOGY

6.4.1   Word-final consonant devoicing (WFCD)

Word-final consonant devoicing (WFCD) is said to occur frequently in Guernesiais, with Jones reporting from Sjögren (1964) that it is apt to particularly concern the plosive consonants [g, b, d] (2008: 37). In order to examine the presence of this feature within the Guernsey 2010 corpus, the informants' responses to those items from the word list which presented the requisite conditions for word-final consonant devoicing (WFCD) were examined.

Responses to item 207 – *rouge/rouoge* <red> were not considered as part of this analysis as this item was not present in the earliest questionnaires; data for this item was therefore unavailable for certain members of the sample group. Items such as 47 – *chucre* (m) <sugar>, where we would expect the final *r* to become devoiced as a matter of course owing to the influence of the preceding voiceless consonant, were also excluded. Finally, six items where the presence of a word-final consonant was apt to

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[7] Following further consideration, 42i reported that she now habitually drops final consonants.

vary owing to the potential for word-final post-obstruent liquid deletion (WFPOLD) were identified for separate consideration (117 – *maëttre* <to put>, 142 – *quat* <four>, 181 – aute/*aoute* <other>, 186 – *destre/daëstre* <right>, 90 – *simplle* <simple> and 62 – *cidre* (m) <cider>); the interaction between WFCD and WFPOLD is examined in §6.4.2 below. Accordingly, 22 items were selected for the analysis of WFCD.

Owing to the way in which the word list task was originally conceived, the range of word-final consonants present in the items which appear in the word list is to an extent limited: there is one each item with word-final /z/, /ʒ/ and /d/, four items with word-final /b/, and 15 with word-final /r/. Though the data obtained in the present analysis is therefore not conclusive, the general tendencies observed nonetheless allow a perspective on WFCD as it presents in the speech of modern native Guernesiais speakers.

Table 6-32. Word-Final Consonant Devoicing (WFCD) in 22 items.

| Item | No. of tokens | | | |
	WFCD	Voiced Word-Final Consonant	Word-Final Consonant Deletion	Unusable Token
110 – *treize*	47	2	0	0
69 – *herbe* (m)	46	1	0	2
68 – *hologe* (f)	45	3	0	1
130 – *déhors*	45	3	0	1
120 – *flleur* (f)	40	5	2	2
23 – *tcheur/coeur* (m)	39	7	1	2
124 – *paure/paoure*	39	7	1	2
5 – *gàmbe* (f)	36	3	0	10
59 – *crabe* (f)	36	10	0	3
122 – *haëure* (f)	36	9	2	2
21 – *djère/guère* (f)	35	11	2	1
50 – *ner/nère*	35	11	0	3
70 – *ivaer* (m)	35	10	2	2
141 – *quart* (m)	35	7	3	4
6 – *frère* (m)	32	17	0	0
88 – *fllàmbe* (f)	31	5	1	12
57 – *rire*	29	13	1	6
66 – *houmard* (m)	27	4	0	18
13 – *dire*	25	18	1	5
145 – *saër* (m)	23	9	1	16
15 – *guide* (m)	19	8	0	22
67 – *histouaire* (f)	14	15	4	16
TOTAL /1078	**749**	**176**	**22**	**131**
%	69.48%	16.33%	2.04%	12.15%

We turn our attention first to the individual lexical items examined (see Table 6-32). Out of 1078 potential tokens, a total of 749 (or 69.48%) featured a devoiced final consonant pronunciation.[8] This figure alone would suggest that Jones' observations about the presence of this feature in Guernesiais may be borne out in modern speech, particularly since only 176 of the potential tokens (or 16.33%) were realised with a voiced final consonant. A number of unusable tokens were also counted (131 tokens or 12.15%).[9]

Factors beyond the direct control of the interview protocol were discovered to influence the data for this feature. 22 tokens were noted in which the word-final consonant of an item was actually deleted in pronunciation, thus precluding final consonant devoicing. Though these tokens only represent 2.04% of all possible tokens recorded for this analysis, it is nonetheless an interesting phenomenon to note, particularly in the context of final consonant deletion observed elsewhere in the speech of High Parish informants; of the 14 speakers who realised a token of this type, seven came from the High Parishes of Torteval and St Pierre du Bois, while six came from the neighbouring Central Parishes of the Castel, St Saviour's, St Andrew's and the Forest.

Though it is clear from the totals shown in Table 6-32 that the overall number of WFCD tokens produced far exceeded the number of voiced word-final consonant forms encountered, the number of WFCD tokens produced for each individual lexical item varied considerably. While 47 of the 49 informants devoiced the final alveolar fricative sound in *treize*, for example, only 14 devoiced the final liquid in *histouaire*. It must be borne in mind, however, that the lower numbers of devoiced consonants in *fllàmbe*, *houmard*, *saër*, *guide* and *histouaire* may have been due in part to the particularly high numbers of unusable tokens recorded for these items.

Though we cannot draw firm conclusions about WFCD in the variety from our data alone, a number of key observations are possible. Of the consonants identified in Jones' comments, we note that WFCD was present in more than three fifths of the informants'

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[8] Total number of tokens of the 22 items selected for this analysis, as realised by each of the 49 informants.

[9] While in some instances tokens could not be transcribed as they had been obscured by incidental background noise in a recording, in others informants offered a parallel translation or hypernym in lieu of the target item (this particularly affected 15 – *guide* and 66 – *houmard*). These issues, and further analysis of the interview protocol, are presented in greater detail in Chapter 7.

responses to items featuring word-final /b/. Since there were no items with word-final /g/ among those selected, and only one with word-final /d/, we cannot comment authoritatively on the frequency with which WFCD occurs in these segments. It is interesting to note, however, that two of the items with the highest number of WFCD pronunciations are 110 – *treize* <thirteen> and 68 – *hologe* (f) <clock>, which feature a final voiced alveolar and postalveolar fricative respectively. Though there are no further items in the present data against which we might check our findings on this matter, the early indications from the present analysis are that the devoicing of word-final fricative consonants is also relatively commonplace in Guernesiais. It is clear from the remaining items in Table 6-32, meanwhile, that final /r/ is also commonly devoiced.

Table 6-33. Word-Final Consonant Devoicing (WFCD) in 22 items in the speech of the 28 male informants.

No. of tokens of WFCD per informant	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
21						0
20		1				1
19			1	1		2
18		1	2			3
17			1	2		3
16			2	1		3
15			1			1
14	1	1		2	1	5
13			2	3		5
12				2		2
11						0
10				1		1
9				1		1
8						0
7					1	1
TOTAL	1	3	9	13	2	28

What, then, of the usage of the individual informants as regards this phenomenon? The number of tokens of WFCD produced per informant ranged between 7 and 21 out of 22 (the lower and upper extremes produced by informants 20 and 39 respectively). Of the 749 tokens of WFCD produced, 441 were supplied by the male informants, (see Table 6-33), while 338 were supplied by the female informants (see Table 6-34).

Table 6-34. *Word-Final Consonant Devoicing (WFCD) in 22 items in the speech of the 21 female informants.*

No. of tokens of WFCD per informant	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
21			1			1
20			1		1	2
19				1		1
18		1	1	2		4
17			2	1		3
16	1			1		2
15			1	1		2
14			1	1		2
13					1	1
12		1	1			2
11						0
10						0
9						0
8			1			1
7						0
TOTAL	1	2	9	7	2	21

From Table 6-33 and Table 6-34 above, we see that the overall pattern of distribution as regards age and gender is similar for both males and females. If we consider in particular the number of informants who deleted the word-final consonant from more than 15 of the 22 items examined, however, we note a greater proportion of female

speakers than male in this category (see Table 6-35 below). If we instead consider the number of informants deleting the word-final consonant from 14 or more of the items, we notice a bigger percentage rise among the male informants than among the female informants; the females nonetheless retain a higher individual rate of WFCD overall.

Table 6-35. Number and percentage of informants producing higher numbers of WFCD forms.

No. of tokens of WFCD produced[10]	Gender	No. of informants producing the specified number of WFCD tokens or greater	No. of informants producing fewer than the specified number of WFCD tokens
>15	M (n=28)	13 46.43%	15 53.57%
	F (n=21)	15 71.43%	6 28.57%
>14	M (n=28)	18 64.29%	10 35.71%
	F (n=21)	17 80.95%	4 19.05%

Table 6-36 below shows the overall WFCD rates for the sample group as a whole. If we look at the proportion of informants who produced tokens of WFCD in 15 or more of the items examined, we see that the greatest concentration of informants with higher WFCD scores per age group occurs in the 70–79 grouping (72.22%), with the 60–69 grouping (60%) following second. Though this fact in itself cannot allow us to draw definitive conclusions about the likelihood with which WFCD will occur according to the age of a speaker, it is interesting to note that the individuals in these two age groupings are among the most regular users of the variety (cf.§4.3.2).

Table 6-36. Word-Final Consonant Devoicing (WFCD) in 22 items in the speech of the 49 informants.

[10] Out of 22 potential tokens.

No. of tokens of WFCD per informant	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
21			1			1
20		1	1		1	3
19			1	2		3
18		2	3	2		7
17			3	3		6
16	1		2	2		5
15			2	1		3
14	1	1	1	3	1	7
13			2	3	1	6
12		1	1	2		4
11						0
10				1		1
9				1		1
8				1		1
7					1	1
TOTAL	2	5	18	20	4	49
% INFORMANTS PRODUCING 15 OR MORE TOKENS OF WFCD	50%	60%	72.22%	50%	25%	57.14%

There is a possibility that the distribution of higher WFCD-scoring informants according to age may be biased with regard to parish affiliation of the informants: the four nonagenarian informants come variously from the Vale, Castel and St Saviour's, for example, so there are no representatives of High Parish usage in this age group. WFCD does show evidence of variation according to parish affiliation: if we examine the data presented in Table 6-37 below, we see that a similar distribution to that encountered for WFPOLD emerges (though here, the patterning is not as strong) (cf. §6.4.3). Though there is little difference overall in the range of responses obtained for informants from each of the three areas, the concentration of informants within those

areas differs noticeably. While the main concentration of Low Parish informants typically produced between 12 and 17 tokens of WFCD, the majority of informants from the Transitional Parishes produced between 13 and 18; High Parish informants tended on the whole to produce at least 16 or more tokens of WFCD.

Table 6-37. Tokens of WCFD in 22 items against parish affiliation of the 49 informants.

No. of WFCD forms produced	*No. of informants*			
	Low Parishes	Central Parishes	High Parishes	TOTAL
21		1		
20	1	1	1	
19		1	2	
18		4	3	
17	1	2	3	
16	1		4	
15	1	2		
14		6	1	
13	1	4	1	
12	2	1	1	
11				
10		1		
9			1	
8	1			
7	1			
TOTAL	9	23	17	49

While the data obtained concerning WFCD in the data is not sufficient to support a full analysis of this phenomenon, the results obtained above nonetheless suggest that the rate of occurrence of WFCD may be linked to speaker place of origin within

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Guernesiais. Lower rates of WFCD were encountered in the speech of informants from Low Parishes compared with informants from elsewhere on the island. The Guernsey 2010 data further confirms that in Guernesiais, as in Standard French, the liquid *r* often undergoes devoicing.

6.4.2 WFCD vs. Word-final post-obstruent liquid deletion (WFPOLD)

The potential for word-final post-obstruent liquid deletion (WFPOLD) to interact with WFCD has been noted. The variable presence of a word-final liquid consonant in 62 – *cidre* (m) <cider>, 90 – *simple* <simple>, 117 – *maëttre* <to put>, 142 – *quat* <four>, 181 – *aute/aoute* <other> and 186 – *destre/daëstre* <right> means that the requisite conditions for WFCD, though existing in principle, will not necessarily occur in these items. Accordingly, the interaction between WFPOLD and WFCD in these six items was examined in the data.

The presence of a final liquid in the de Garis *Dictiounnaire* spellings of these items does not systematically equate to a pronounced word-final liquid, and vice-versa (1967) (cf. §6.4.3 below). Table 6-38 further shows that, while both liquid-final and non liquid-final pronunciations were encountered for each of the six items, the treatment of the realised word-final consonants also varied with regard to voicing. *Maëttre*, *quat*, *aute/aoute* and *destre/daëstre* all feature the word-final cluster [t(ɹ)], in which the presence of the liquid varies in speech. In these four items, the number of WFPOLD tokens exceeds the number of liquid-final tokens recorded. The margin between the two varies between items: the difference is slight in the case of *destre/daëstre* (for which it should be noted that a relatively high number of unusable tokens were recorded), but quite marked in the case of *maëttre*. The number of WFPOLD tokens encountered for *maëttre* is particularly worthy of note, since (like *destre/daëstre*) this item retains the etymological *r* in the *Dictiounnaire's* Guernesiais spelling; this ostensibly suggests a general disposition towards retention of the final liquid (1967: 155, 167).

Table 6-38. Interaction of WFPOLD and WFCD in six items.

	Item					
	117 maëttre	*142 quat*	*181 aute/ aoute*	*186 destre/ daëstre*	*90 simplle*	*62 cidre (m)*
No. of liquids realised	**6**	**19**	**19**	**15**	**25**	**25**
Voiced	0	0	0	0	5	5
Devoiced	6	19	19	15	20	20
No. of WFPOLD forms	**34**	**29**	**29**	**16**	**16**	**24**
Voiced	0	0	0	0	0	7
Devoiced	34	29	29	16	16	17
Total voiced	0	0	0	0	5	12
Total devoiced	40	48	48	31	36	37
No. of unusable tokens	9[11]	1	1	18	8	0

In all tokens of final *r* being sounded for the four [t(ɹ)]-final items, the word-final liquid consonant was devoiced under the influence of the preceding voiceless consonant, as we might expect. Where WFPOLD occurred in pronunciations of these four items, causing the obstruent [t] to occur word-finally, [t] evidently remained voiceless. In consequence, all usable responses received for these items featured devoiced word-final consonants in one capacity or another. Final consonant voicing in *simplle*, meanwhile, was more varied. 25 of the 49 informants realised the word-final liquid, but while 20 of these individuals devoiced the consonant under the influence of the preceding voiceless plosive [p], five nonetheless voiced the sound.

A number of palatalised forms with [j] were produced, consistent with the *ll* digraph in the de Garis spelling (cf. §6.4.3); some liquid [l] pronunciations were also in evidence, suggesting the influence of English and/or French upon the informants' responses. WFPOLD forms for this item naturally concluded with [p], a voiceless consonant, and so the number of devoiced forms produced overall for this item again outnumber responses featuring a voiced consonant.

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[11] NB: Informant 22 omitted the final consonant cluster of *maëttre* completely, giving the form /mɛ/. Though this was considered as a valid token of the target word in the main analysis of this item, owing to the fact that it was supplied with the appropriate surrounding grammatical context, and was therefore (in theory) not an erroneous utterance, the vowel-final nature of this segment evidently precludes analysis for WFPOLD and WFCD.

The final item of the six, *cidre*, is of particular interest for the way in which the informants treat the final consonant cluster. Since the final liquid is preceded by a voiced consonant in this item, the liquid is in theory less likely to become devoiced. We can see from Table 6-38 above, however, that this is not the case: 20 of the 25 informants who realised the word-final liquid devoiced the sound. Informants 27ii and 43ii devoiced both consonants in the cluster, giving a form such as [sitɹ]. Palatalisation of the cluster to the affricate [tʃ] was also noted in the response of informant 23. Interestingly, despite the voiced word-final plosive consonant [d] that should in theory result from WFPOLD in this item, 17 of the 24 informants who produced WFPOLD forms for *cidre* followed the lead of informants 27ii and 43ii described above and devoiced this sound too. Though this item therefore features a greater number of voiced final consonantal sounds than the other five examined here, these are still fewer in number than the tokens of word-final devoiced consonantal forms encountered.

The number of tokens of final consonant devoicing encountered among the items above lends further credence to the claims that final consonant devoicing is a characteristic phonological feature of Guernesiais. Elsewhere in the Guernsey 2010 data we have noted that there may be a delay in timing between the pronouncing of a sound and rounding or nasalisation for some speakers (cf. §5.3.5, §6.3.1); perhaps asynchrony between voicing and articulation helps to account for the high number of devoiced forms present in the variety (cf. Coveney 2001: 139ff.).

6.4.3   Word-final post-obstruent liquid deletion (WFPOLD)

Though word-final post-obstruent liquid deletion (WFPOLD) has not been mentioned specifically in any of the existing accounts of Guernesiais, the researcher noted several occurrences of this feature during the transcription of six informants' data for pilot analysis. While WFPOLD is usually analysed by identifying the frequency with which the relevant forms occur in a body of connected speech, a type of analysis which was not possible within the scope of the present project, the researcher nonetheless considered that analysis of this feature in the data might yield valuable clues about the wider presence of WFPOLD in the variety.[12]   Accordingly, the 49 informants'

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[12] Since the elicitation task employed relied on informants' ability to recall lexical items in the target language in a non-contextual setting, there are were a number of cases where an informant was simply unable to provide a translation for a particular item. It therefore follows that an informant who produced

responses to 142 – *quat* <four>, 181 – *aute/aoute* <other>, 47 – *chucre* (m) <sugar>, 62 – *cidre* (m) <cider>, 90 – *simplle* <simple>, 117 – *maëttre* <to put>, 186 – *destre/daëstre* <right> and 203 – *aönclle* (m) <uncle> were examined.

Two items received different orthographic treatment in the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* (1967) to the other words: while *chucre*, *cidre*, *simplle*, *maëttre*, *destre/daëstre* and *aönclle* all appear to have been modelled on the SF orthography, with final obstruent + liquid consonant clusters, the spellings for *quat* and *aute/aoute* do not indicate the presence of a word-final liquid consonant at all. Though the *Dictiounnaire* has met with criticism for inconsistency, which may mean that this difference in spelling is nothing more than an editorial oversight, we must also entertain the possibility that the difference was intended as a deliberate statement about WFPOLD in Guernesiais at the time the *Dictiounnaire* was compiled. Were this to be the case, we would expect WFPOLD in *quat* and *aute/aoute* to be nearly categorical in comparison to the other six items, thus differentiating the standard Guernesiais pronunciation of these items from the corresponding SF forms.

Very similar rates of WFPOLD were encountered for *quat* and *aute/aoute*, though the informants' usage did not pattern categorically for this feature as we might have expected (see Table 6-39). 28 of the 49 Guernsey 2010 informants deleted the word-final liquid in one or both of these items, with twelve informants deleting both liquids and 16 deleting one only. The 16 informants who deleted the liquid in only one of the items were divided evenly between the two items, with eight tokens of WFPOLD counted for each.

five WFPOLD forms did not necessarily produce three liquid-final responses as well; and in this sense, the present means of comparing relative WFPOLD production between individuals is limited.

Table 6-39. Tokens of WFPOLD in eight items.

	No. of tokens		
Item	WFPOLD	Liquid Realised	Unusable Token (No response, inaudible etc.)
142 – *quat*	28	20	1
181 – *aute/aoute*	29	20	0
47 – *chucre* (m)	21	26	2
62 – *cidre* (m)	21	28	0
90 – *simplle*	16	25	8
117 – *maëttre*	34	7	8
186 – *destre/daëstre*	20	15	14
203 – *aönclle*	36	13	0
TOTAL	205	154	33

Despite the addition of a final liquid in the *Dictiounnaire* spellings for the remaining six items, the rates of WFPOLD recorded for the remaining items were in fact comparable to those for *quat* and *aute/aoute*. This confirms that a written final liquid in the *Dictiounnaire* spelling does not necessarily equate to a liquid in pronunciation, and vice versa (cf. § 6.4.2) (de Garis 1967).

It may be observed from Table 6-39 that the highest rates of WFPOLD encountered were for *maëttre* and for *aönclle*: more than three fifths of the informants delete the liquid for these items. The rate of WFPOLD for *destre/daëstre* was also greater than the rate of final liquid retention for this item, though this may have been distorted slightly by the fourteen discounted tokens, the highest rate encountered for any of the

eight items examined. The word-final liquid was more likely to be sounded than deleted in *chucre*, and in *cidre*, and most markedly in *simplle*.

We can only second-guess the *Dictiounnaire* Committee's motivation for including written liquid consonants in the spellings of *maëttre*, *destre/daëstre* and *aönclle* (1967). It is certainly true that these liquids are pronounced by a number of informants, as is evident from the data above, but it is perhaps most likely that the consonants were included for etymological or literacy purposes. In allying the words with their Standard French cognates, these spellings have the advantage of making the written Guernesiais words more readily recognisable to an audience with little or no functional literacy in the variety, but with a basic working knowledge of Standard French and its morphology. The liquids can, of course, be ignored in spoken Guernesiais, as is the case with many spellings in English and in French.

The total percentage of WFPOLD forms produced out of the 392 possible tokens was 52.3% (see Table 6-40). If this is any indication of general tendencies across the speech community as a whole, then Guernesiais displays similar behaviour to other mainland varieties of French with regard to this feature. Boughton notes an average liquid deletion rate of 37.65% among the speakers she interviewed in Nancy, and a 58.3% deletion rate in Rennes (2003: 133, 134).[13] Pooley (1996: 140) gave a figure of 69% for *Chtimi*, the urban vernacular of the Lille conurbation.

Table 6-40. Total number of WFPOLD forms produced out of 392 potential tokens by the 49 informants for eight items.

No. of Tokens		
WFPOLD	Liquid Realised	Unusable Token (No response, inaudible etc.)
205	154	33
(52.3%)	(39.3%)	(8.4%)

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[13] Average calculated from the figures given for Interview Style and Word Passage Style; this approximates the level of formality of the Guernsey 2010 interviews.

Table 6-41 below presents the number of WFPOLD forms produced by the 49 informants against the age groups represented. It may be observed that the proportion of each age group producing between five and eight WFPOLD forms for the eight items investigated decreases as we move across the table from left to right, so that while all of the informants aged 50–59 and 60–69 produced at least five WFPOLD tokens, this figure falls to around 44% for the 70–79 age group, 35% for the informants aged 80–89 and just 25% for the informants aged 90+. This apparent-time evidence tentatively suggests that WFPOLD forms are becoming more widespread among modern speakers of the variety.

Table 6-41. Age range of informants producing WFPOLD forms in eight items.

No. of WFPOLD forms produced	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59	*60–69*	*70–79*	*80–89*	*90+*	
8	0	0	1	1	0	2
7	0	1	2	2	0	5
6	2	3	2	1	1	9
5	0	1	3	3	0	7
4	0	0	2	5	0	7
3	0	0	2	4	1	7
2	0	0	4	3	1	8
1	0	0	1	0	0	1
0	0	0	2	1	1	4
Total	2	5	18	20	4	49

In the literature concerning mainland varieties of French, WFPOLD is most usually linked with informal speech (cf. Boughton 2003), and it is interesting to note how issues of register interact with the changing demographic of today's Guernesiais speech community. The WFPOLD scores recorded for the Guernsey data were obtained for items pronounced in isolation, but translated from an English cue-word supplied by the interviewer; in terms of the Labovian paradigm, this context approximates reading style in the degree of formality of the language elicited (Labov 1972: 79ff.).[14] It is to be

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[14] Although the elicitation of items in isolation is more reminiscent of a word list exercise, which elicits the most formal styles of speech, the translation element of the task in the Guernsey 2010 protocol was

noted that younger individuals today have typically had little contact as adults with older generations of Guernesiais speakers, and have therefore had less exposure to correction by older fluent speakers. Younger speakers are therefore more liable to have learned lexical items imperfectly during childhood, perhaps omitting a final consonant in certain items, and to have retained these 'incorrect' forms as adult speakers. We may suppose that the older speakers are thus better able to control register Guernesiais; the apparent age difference in the number of WFPOLD forms produced might have been influenced by the older informants' greater capacity to modify their speech in response to the perceived formality of the interview context.

Examination of Tables 6-42 and 6-43 below shows that gender has little bearing on the frequency of WFPOLD forms. The female informants demonstrated a greater range in the number of WFPOLD tokens they produced than the males, outnumbering them at the extremes of the table despite being fewer in number overall. The two informants who deleted the word-final consonant in all eight of the items investigated were in fact both female speakers from Torteval (18i and 36i).

Table 6-42. Age range and number of WFPOLD forms produced by the 21 female informants.

No. of WFPOLD forms produced	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
8	–	–	1	1	–	2
7	–	1	1	–	–	2
6	1	–	–	–	1	2
5	–	1	2	1	–	4
4	–	–	1	–	–	1
3	–	–	1	3	–	4
2	–	–	–	2	–	2
1	–	–	1	–	–	1
0	–	–	2	–	1	3

The female informants were otherwise distributed relatively evenly between zero and eight tokens of WFPOLD forms; the male informants were clustered more strongly around the centre of the table, however, with the majority of individuals producing

between two and seven WFPOLD forms (the male informants' production of WFPOLD forms peaked between four and six). The same overall pattern of distribution in number of WFPOLD forms produced against age emerged for both sexes, however.

Table 6-43. Age range and number of WFPOLD forms produced by the 28 male informants.

No. of WFPOLD forms produced	No. of informants aged					Total no. of informants
	50–59	60–69	70–79	80–89	90+	
8	–	–	–	–	–	0
7	–	–	1	2	–	3
6	1	3	2	2	–	8
5	–	–	1	1	–	2
4	–	–	1	5	–	6
3	–	–	1	1	1	3
2	–	–	3	1	1	5
1	–	–	–	–	–	0
0	–	–	–	1	–	1

Male informants produced 122 of the 205 WFPOLD forms supplied by the group, which represents a little under 60% of the total. It is interesting to note that the overall proportion of male to female informants in the sample is in comparable ratio, at 57% to 43% (cf. §4.2.2). The similarities in the behaviour of the two subsets of informants with regard to WFPOLD are not, however, sufficient to suggest that gender influences the probability of realisation of WFPOLD forms.

Table 6-44. Parish affiliation of the informants producing WFPOLD forms for eight items.

No. of WFPOLD forms produced	No. of informants			
	Low Parishes	Central Parishes	High Parishes	TOTAL
8	—	—	2	0
7	—	3	2	3
6	—	5	5	8
5	—	3	3	2
4	2	4	1	6
3	1	5	1	3
2	3	1	3	5
1	1	—	—	0
0	2	2	—	1
TOTAL	9	23	17	49

Place of origin within the island proved to be the factor with the most convincing correlation to the number of WFPOLD forms produced. As may be seen from Table 6-44, a tentative pattern emerges in the behaviour of the informants from the three different areas with regard to WFPOLD. The speakers from the Low Parishes all produced four tokens of WFPOLD or fewer, while those from the Central Parishes occupy the mid range; the majority of informants in this area produced between three and seven tokens. It is interesting to note that the two apparently anomalous Central Parish cases where no WFPOLD items were produced concerned individuals who have connections with the Low Parishes: Informant 39's mother was from the Vale, while informant 40 grew up in a part of the Castel which borders the southern detachment of the Vale. All of the High Parish informants produced a minimum of two WFPOLD forms, meanwhile, with 12 of the 17 informants from this area supplying between five and eight tokens.

In studies of metropolitan French, WFPOLD has been identified as a feature of non-standard varieties such as *français populaire* and the regional Frenches (cf. Boughton 2003). Perhaps the association of WFPOLD with vernacular forms has carried over into Guernesiais as well: the lower rate of WFPOLD in speakers from the island's north may contribute to the popular impression that their speech is closer to Standard French, in contrast to the more characteristically 'local' south-western Guernesiais.

6.5   CONCLUSION

One of the most frequently remarked upon characteristics of Guernesiais is the breadth of phonological variation which exists within the variety, belying the size of the speech community. The Guernsey 2010 data shows that this variation persists in the usage of Guernesiais native speakers today. We saw in Chapter 5 that a number of the phonological features said to be present across the variety have altered in some way since the first half of the twentieth century, when the data upon which many of the existing descriptions have been based was gathered. The present chapter has demonstrated that the socio-cultural factors which have instigated this change have also influenced traditionally reported patterns of diatopic variation.

Traditional diatopic patterning is maintained in some features, for example the variable pronunciations of Latin *a* + *l* + C (cf. §7.2.1 and ff.). There is nonetheless evidence that these traditional patterns have been disrupted in the modern Guernesiais speech community, as evidence in the data of change in apparent-time suggests that many of the *bas pas* forms are now in recession. The presence of a central, 'mixed' usage has been noted in the speech of informants from the Central Parishes, and among younger Low Parish speakers (cf. §6.2.2); mixing elements of both Low and High Parish forms, this further points towards the ultimate recession of *bas pas* forms and the spread of *haut pas* variants. While in some cases the *haut pas* forms have simply spread further north into the Central and Low Parishes, we do see a number of new, innovative forms emerging to replace the older forms for certain features in the speech of south-western informants (cf. §6.3). Though the *haut pas* propensity for vowel lowering (§6.3.2) appears to be an exception, with the *bas pas* non-lowered forms ostensibly occupying a stronger position, the relative age distribution between speakers adopting the two forms (together with the increasing adoption of *haut pas* forms for other features) rather suggests that *haut pas* forms will ultimately spread to all areas of the island. The

picture of diatopic variation in Guernesiais today is, of course, further complicated by the increased migration of the present generation of native speakers within the island (cf. §4.2.3); we find hints in the data examined in §6.3.4 that this migration has decisively influenced the idiolects of some of our informants.

The data also brings to light new evidence of asynchrony between certain articulatory processes in Guernesiais. In §6.3.1, discrepancies between nasalisation and voicing in certain word-final contexts are shown to result in the pronunciation of an additional nasal consonant by certain individuals; in §6.4.1 and §6.4.2, meanwhile, differences in duration between voicing and articulation are seen to result in WFCD. While WFCD has been identified previously as a general feature of Guernesiais, the Guernsey 2010 data indicates that the presence of this phenomenon, together with WFPOLD, in fact varies according to speaker place of origin (see further in §6.3). The lower rates of WFCD and WFPOLD encountered among modern Low Parish speakers may help to account for the popular perception that the Guernesiais spoken in the north of the island is more reminiscent of Standard French than the Guernesiais spoken elsewhere. This evidence which supports this perception, together with the associated implications for the variety, will be examined in greater detail in the following chapter.

7

CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Though the 49 individuals interviewed as part of the Guernsey 2010 study are the living embodiment of a line of Guernesiais Norman speakers who have inhabited the island since the tenth century or earlier, their language and situation have changed dramatically from those of their forbears. This change has accelerated rapidly during the course of the twentieth century: in Chapter 4, we saw that today's native Guernesiais speakers have had a very different experience of the variety even from that of their parents.

Many of the informants reported that their parents and older family members, belonging to the generation(s) interviewed by Lewis (1895), Collas (1931) and Sjögren (1964), still had one foot firmly rooted in the 19th century language tradition. Though by this point English had begun to edge out Guernsey's indigenous language, the variety continued to be spoken widely throughout the island. It was still possible to find monolingual Guernesiais speakers and, though much has been made of the spread of English/Guernesiais bilingualism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Guernsey 2010 informants' comments during the interviews suggest that many members of their parents' generation had difficulty expressing themselves in English and would avoid doing so where possible.

Today's native Guernesiais speakers experienced a particularly turbulent period of the island's history, and have spent much of their lives in a climate where the use of Guernesiais has at best been regarded as something of a curiosity, and at worst been stigmatised, resulting in social disadvantage. The younger informants have only acquired Guernesiais by virtue of the fact that their parents saw fit to pass on the variety despite prevailing attitudes to the contrary; the informants as a group stand out against many of their peers in that they are actually willing to admit to speaking Guernesiais. In light of this, the tenacity of the speech community becomes all the more remarkable.

In Chapters 5 and 6, we examined phonological data from the Guernsey 2010 informants against descriptions of Guernesiais which were based on data gathered in the first half of the twentieth century. We observed that, though some features still occur in the variety as reported, others show a marked departure from previous descriptions. In §7.2, we will summarise the findings of the Guernsey 2010 study, and discuss their wider significance.

What, then, of the future? Guernesiais today is under very real threat of extinction as the chain of intergenerational transmission has been broken. In §7.3, we examine the potential impact of the Guernsey 2010 data in the context of the second of our secondary themes, language revitalisation (cf. §1.2), as we explore the efforts currently underway to mitigate the effects of an ageing speech community and plan the next chapter in the variety's history. §7.4, meanwhile, gives an indication of possible future research directions.

7.2   SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

7.2.1   Patterns of change

In spite of the threats faced by Guernesiais today, it is important to recognise that the variety is a living language, subject to variation and change. While increased migration of speakers within the island, low speaker numbers and a reduction in the age range of the speech community theoretically work to reduce the amount of variation present, this is counterbalanced by the variation introduced by speakers who no longer use the variety frequently; the more widespread presence of English in the island is an important factor. Natural intergenerational change is evident, too: modern Guernesiais differs in a number of respects from the Guernesiais described in earlier accounts. There is thus a degree of conflict inherent in the factors which influence the phonology of Guernesiais, and this becomes evident when we examine the phonological data from the Guernsey 2010 informants.

As we noted in Chapter 5, the essential character of Guernesiais phonology is preserved through a number of features. The variety retains the archaic Norman [h], [tʃ] and [dʒ] (§5.4.1), while the dual language heritage of today's speakers is evident in their use of alveolar [t] and [d] instead of the more typically French dental articulation (§5.2.1).

Modern Guernesiais also retains historical patterns of palatalisation. The variety keeps the Latin plosive [k] before [a] in items such as 31 – *caud/caoud* <hot>, where mainland French has palatalised the consonant to [ʃ] (§5.2.2); where [k] occurred before a front vowel other than [a] in items such as 47 – *chucre* (m) <sugar>, however, Guernesiais features the postalveolar fricative [ʃ] in place of the Standard French [s] (§5.2.3). Modern Guernesiais speakers continue to realise the palatalised consonant [j] as [l] word-finally in items such as 85 – *fille* (f) <girl>, meanwhile (§5.2.4.).

A number of distinctive vocalic features have also been retained. Traces of historical diphthongisation remain in modern Guernesiais speakers' treatments of Latin ĕ before a palatal element (§5.2.6), though realisations of Latin diphthongised ŏ before [j] (equivalent to Standard French reduction of the sound [ɥi]) now vary (§5.2.5). Historical opposition between Latin *an* + C and *en* + C (in items such as 5 – *gàmbe* (f) <leg> and 11 – *gens* (mpl) <people>, a contrast which is not present in Standard French) is still very much in evidence in Guernesiais (§5.2.7), and the variety retains diphthongised (or traces of diphthongised) forms in items such as 119 – *faeu* (m) <fire> deriving from Latin tonic free ō and ŭ (§5.2.8). Items deriving from Latin tonic free ē/ĭ feature front unrounded mid-vowels, as suggested by previous accounts of the variety, though the precise quality of the mid-vowel varies for individual items between mid-high and mid-low (§5.4.5). The Guernsey 2010 informants tended to be consistent as to which item featured which vowel height, which suggests that this is a stable feature of the variety.

While evidence of a number of the other characteristic phonological features reported by Spence (1984) and Jones (2008) may also be found in the Guernsey 2010 data, important differences between the present data and the earlier accounts hint at changes underway in the variety. There is evidence, for example, that modern Guernesiais speakers are settling on new forms for certain features. The Guernsey 2010 data showed that speakers tend to realise [a] and [ɑ] as back low unrounded [ɑ] rather than [ɒ] as reported by Jones (2008: 36), although this may be due to the elicitation of items in isolation rather than in connected speech (§5.3.5). While realisations of what Jones (2008: 36) describes as the [aj/ɑj] diphthong still vary, meanwhile, there is evidence that [ɑⁱ] is becoming favoured where the diphthong appears word-finally (§5.4.4).

There is also evidence of a change in progress in the pronunciation of post-consonantal [l]. Accounts of the variety to date suggest that [l] in this context should palatalise, but the Guernsey 2010 data indicates that the presence of palatalisation depends largely upon the lexical item in question; in certain items, the liquid is apt to be deleted (§5.4.3). Evidence of a vestigial palatalised form lives on in certain northern speakers' pronunciations of 203 – *aönclle* (m) <uncle>: [ɐwntʃ]. The Guernesey 2010 data suggests, meanwhile, that the closing of back mid-rounded vowels to [u] before a retained nasal consonant may no longer occur systematically in modern Guernesiais (§5.4.6). The absence of diatopic variation in the secondary diphthongisation of [u] from Latin pretonic o, reported as being characteristic of *St Martinais* and *Vâlais* speech, suggests the demise of these particular *parlers* and the resultant simplification of the variety in this matter (§5.5.1).

Earlier accounts of Guernesiais phonology suggest that the variety retains nasalisation in oral vowels which occur before an intervocalic nasal consonant, a feature which has been long since lost in Standard French. The Guernsey 2010 data shows that nasalisation in this context (and indeed in the variety in general) is comparatively weak, and as such is susceptible to being omitted from certain informants' speech altogether (§5.3.3). There was also greater variation in the informants' realisations of nasalised diphthongs than had been suggested in previous accounts, which implies that both of these features may be undergoing change, perhaps as a result of greater linguistic uncertainty among speakers (§5.3.4; see further below in §7.2.2).

The influence of English usage among modern speakers of Guernesiais is demonstrated in the informants' realisations of the /r/ phoneme, which tend to favour anglicised [ɹ] and tap articulations over the trills suggested elsewhere (§5.3.1). Palatalisation appears to be an area of instability, with variation noted in the degree of palatalisation in items containing [tj] and [dj] clusters which derive from Latin k before a front vowel (§5.3.2). A large number of affricated forms were encountered in the Guernsey 2010 informants' realisations of the items examined, which further hints at convergence with more familiar English phonological forms.

Certainly, lower rates of usage and the lack of contact with older, more experienced speakers may go some way towards explaining the apparent loss of one of the more subtle phonological features which have been said to characterise the variety. While the

use of contrastive vowel length to indicate plurality appears to be relatively stable, the Guernsey 2010 informants were considerably less likely to employ vowel lengthening to denote feminine adjectival endings or to distinguish between first and third person verb conjugations (§5.3.6). The tendencies shown for this feature may have been influenced in part by the elicitation method employed; the researcher observed that the informants were particularly unused to producing verb conjugations in isolation, so it is possible that contrastive vowel length might have been in greater evidence had the items examined been elicited in the context of continuous speech. While the informants were generally quite aware of their use of contrastive vowel length to denote plurality, however, there was very little overt awareness of the phenomenon in relation to gender or verb conjugation. This suggests, particularly given the relatively low presence of contrastive vowel length for these purposes across the sample group, that this feature of Guernesiais may not endure.

Since the phonological features described in Chapter 5 affect the variety as a whole, it is not always easy to discern patterns of change underway; though a number of the features have evolved from earlier descriptions of the variety, it is difficult to see how these changes are proceeding. The dynamic of change in modern Guernesiais is perhaps more readily demonstrated in those features which vary diatopically within the island, as the shifting borders of particular regional forms offer a clearer impression of the direction in which changes are taking place.


Map 7-1. Haut pas *and* bas pas *dialect zones after Jones (2008: 41–2).*

Jones reports that Guernsey's indigenous language falls principally into two sub-types, popularly described as *bas pas* and *haut pas* usage, and which correspond to administrative divisions created in the sixteenth century (2008: 41–2). She notes that there is a transition zone between the two, corresponding with the parishes of the Castel and St Andrew's, though this remains allied with *haut pas* forms (see Map 7-1). This overall pattern resonates with the impressionistic historical map which appeared as a frontispiece to Lukis' (1981) work (see Map 1-1), which features a tripartite division of the variety. Though Lukis notes that French was formerly spoken in the immediate environs of St Peter Port town,[1] today's native St Peter Port dwellers are monolingual English speakers, thanks to British settlement in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (cf.§1.3).

In order to respond to the hypothesis of this study, as outlined in §1.1, we must compare the patterns of distribution obtained in the Guernsey 2010 data to the models described by Lukis (1981) and Jones (2008). Dialect mapping is not always a straightforward process, particularly where there are also social correlates to be considered (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 118, 120). Here, however, it offers a suitable means for considering the positioning of certain phonological features within the island.

The demarcation of linguistic borders by means of heteroglosses or isoglosses is controversial, as they necessarily involve a degree of arbitrary interpretation on the part of the linguist. The main contention is that variation often operates along a continuum rather than being sharply defined, as a linear representation implies (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 90). Variation can also be quantitative, a matter of degree rather than a single qualitative difference, and this can be difficult to represent meaningfully in this way (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 129). Any objections to the use of dialect mapping and isogloss-type interpretations of the Guernsey 2010 data may quickly be overcome, however, if it is borne in mind that the organisation of the informants by place of origin is in itself something of an arbitrary conceit, given that many of the individuals have migrated within the island since their youth (see §4.2.3). Dialect mapping techniques will therefore be used here as a means to present the phonological variation present in modern-day Guernesiais.

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[1] An area much smaller than the extent of the parish itself, as may be seen in comparison with Map 7-1 above.

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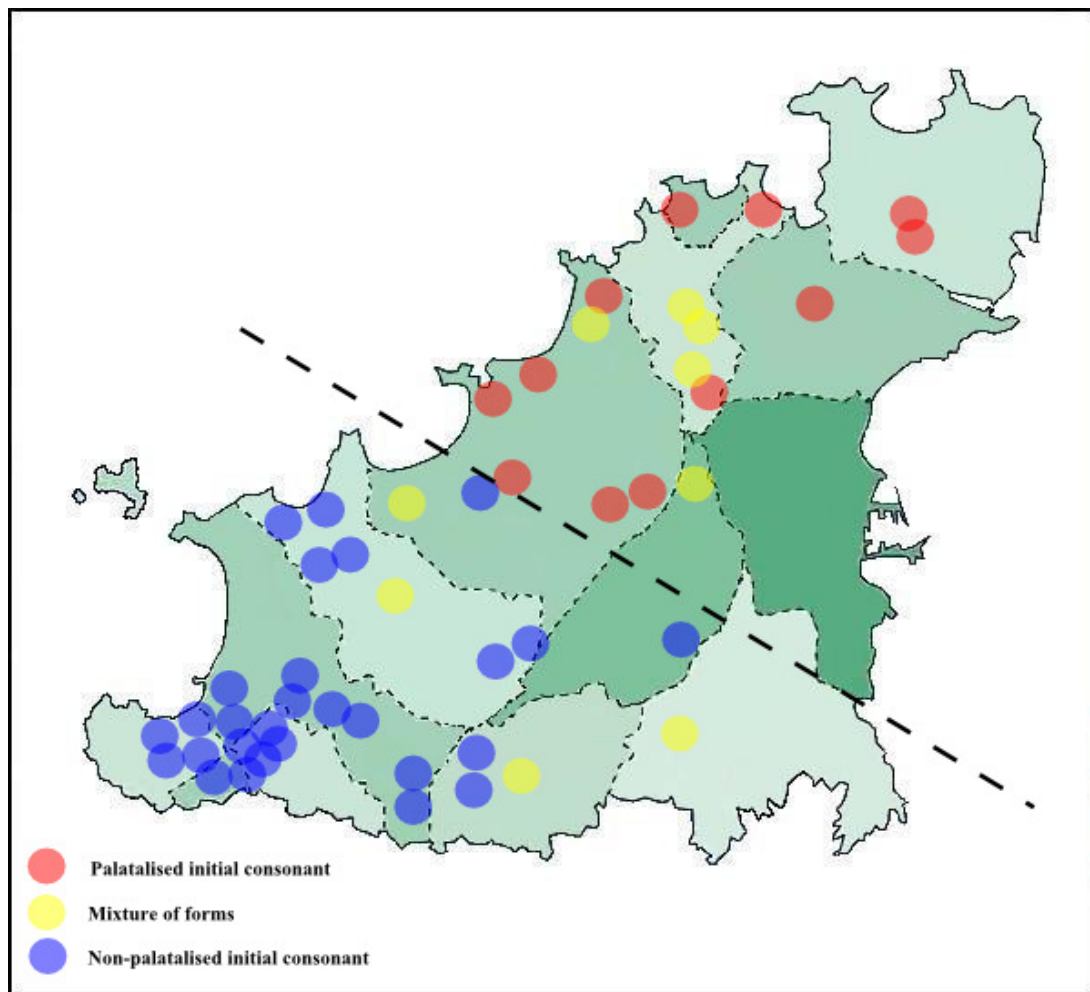
Map 7-2. Palatalisation of [k].

In a number of the features examined in Chapter 6, the traditionally reported pattern of distribution seems to remain largely intact. One feature which seems to strongly polarise the speech community is the realisation of [k] before a secondary front vowel (§6.3.3): while speakers from the south of the island typically pronounce this sound as the hard plosive [k], northern speakers palatalise the sound in a number of ways (see Map 7-2). Though there are some speakers who combine the two realisations, varying their usage between lexical items, the strong patterning here is likely to be due to the consonantal nature of the sound in question. It is more difficult to produce fudged variants of consonantal variables (or at least, more difficult to do so without sounding conspicuous to other speakers), and thus informants are obliged to favour one or the other (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 110 ff.). What is particularly striking is that the isogloss we can draw across the island for this feature parallels Joret's (1883) isogloss which crosses Normandy for the same feature (cf. Map 2-2).
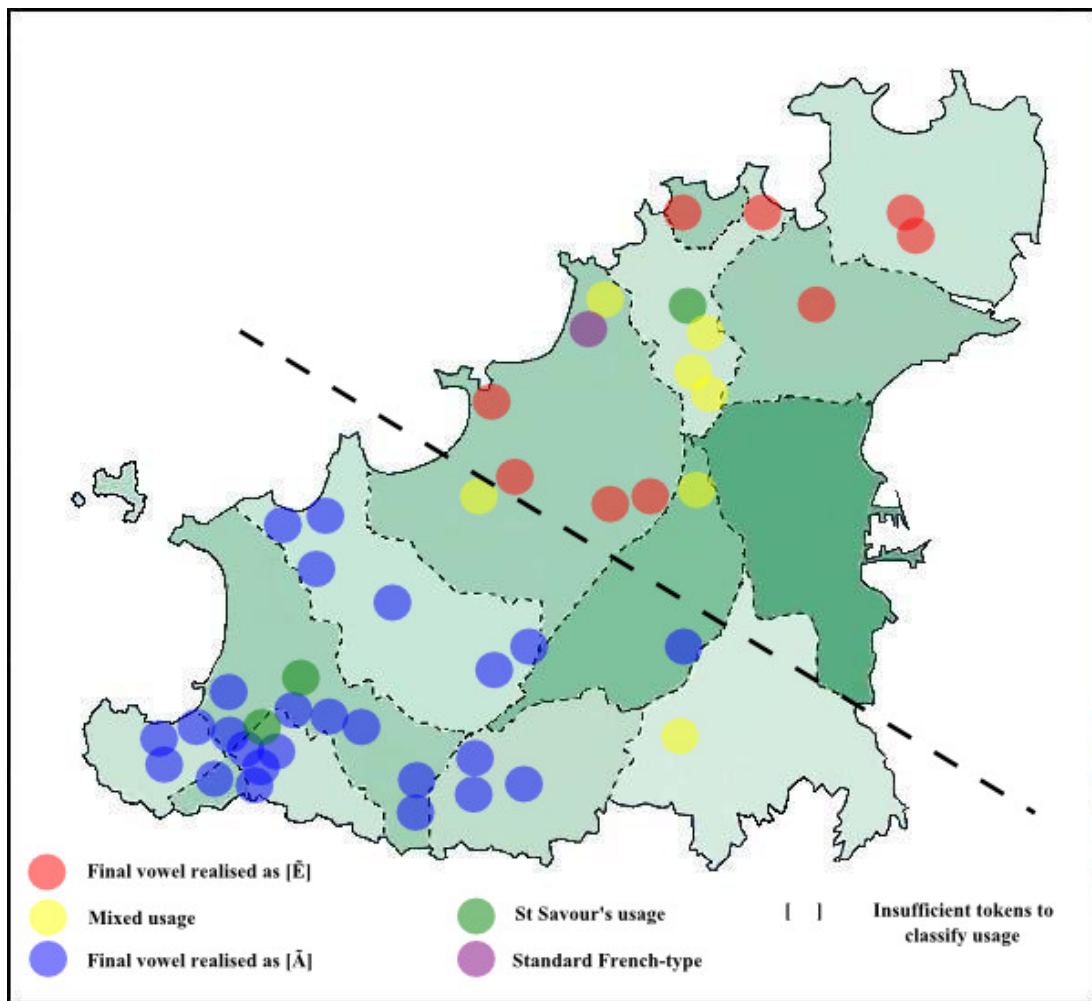
Map 7-3. Haut pas *vowel lowering of* [ɛ̃] *to* [æ̃].

The Guernsey 2010 informants' pronunciation of final [ɛ̃] patterned in an almost identical way, with the *haut pas* [æ̃] clearly prevalent in the south of the island (§6.3.2). There was greater variation evident in this feature, with a higher number of informants producing mixtures of *haut pas* and *bas pas* forms. Nonetheless, the distribution of *haut pas* and *bas pas* forms across the island was sufficiently distinct to permit the researcher to divide the island into two dialect areas along a line running across the centre of the Castel parish from Vazon, on the west coast, through the centre of the island and across to the southern limit of St Peter Port on the east coast (see Maps 7-2 and 7-3). This is largely consistent with the model proposed by Jones (2008), and with the historical map in Lukis (1981); the line suggested by the Guernsey 2010 data crosses through the centre of the Castel / St Andrew's transition zone, confirming this area as the interface between the *haut pas* and *bas pas* sub-dialects.
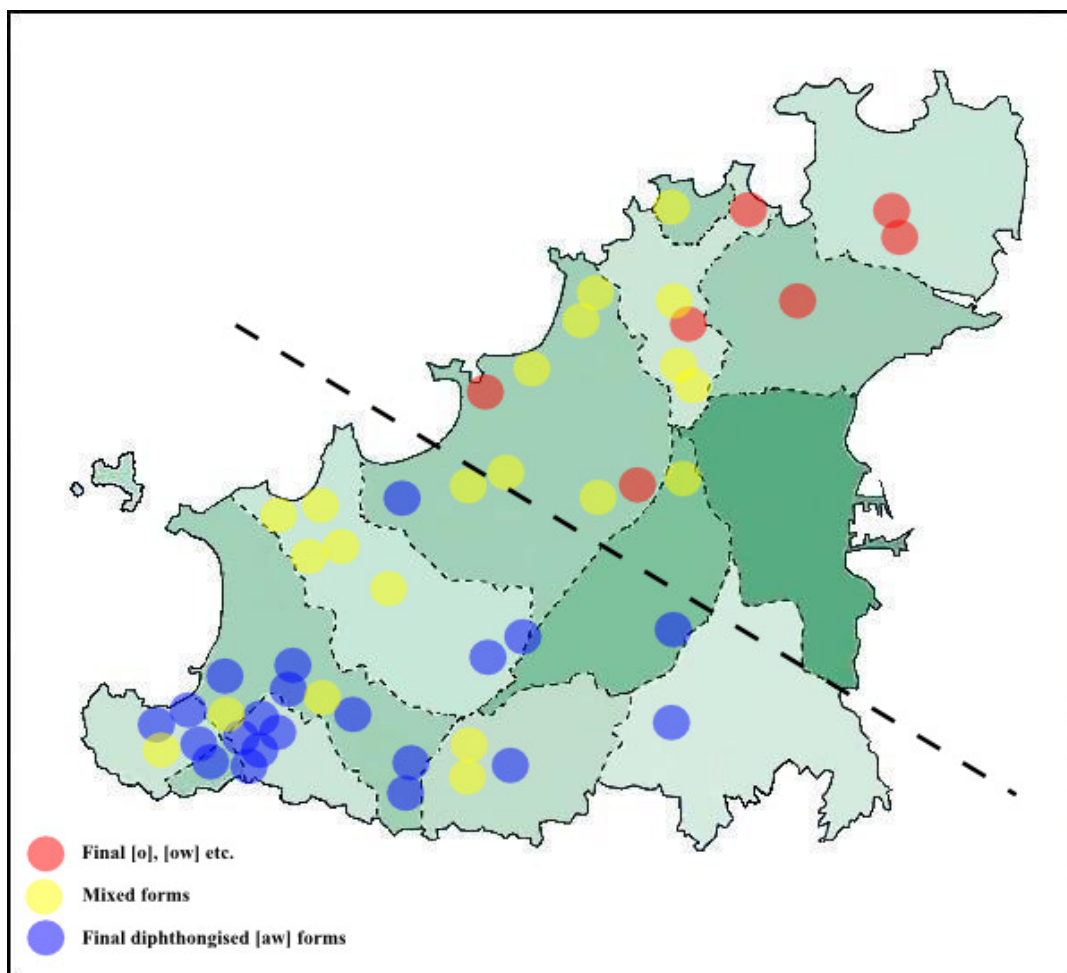
Map 7-4. Haut pas *diphthongisation of final* [o] *to* [aw].

Though the Guernsey 2010 informants' realisations of final [o] also showed clear signs
of a historical division along this axis (see Map 7-4), fewer individuals' usage patterned
categorically (§6.2.2). The prevalence of mixed usage among the informants is
suggestive of instability between the two opposing forms, which hints at change in
progress. A similar tendency was noted in the informants' realisations of final [ɛ]
(§6.3.2), shown in Map 7-5. While the *haut pas* informants demonstrated the expected
overall tendency to lower [ɛ] to [æ], their usage was far from categorical; there is
considerable evidence of lexical variation in this feature.

Legend:

🔴 Realisation of final vowel as [E]

⭕ (red dashed) Realisation of final vowel as [E] in all items apart from 116 - drette/draette

🟡 Mixed use of LP/HP forms

🟢 Realisation of final vowel as [A] in all items apart from 117 - maettre

⭕ (blue dashed) Realisation of final vowel as [A] in all items apart from 116 - drette/draette

🔵 Realisation of final vowel as [A]

[   ] Insufficient tokens to classify usage
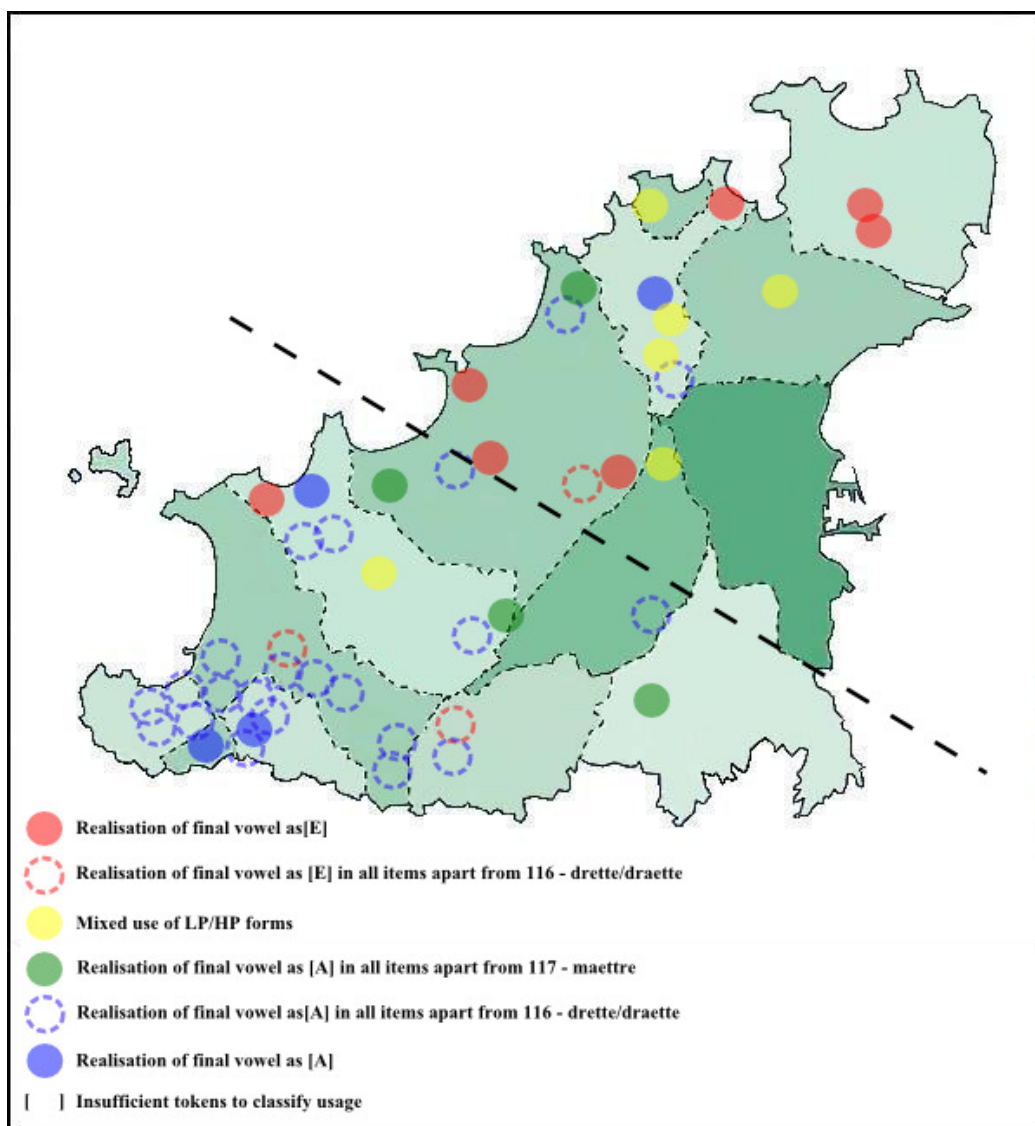
Map 7-5. Haut pas *vowel lowering of* [ɛ] *to* [æ].
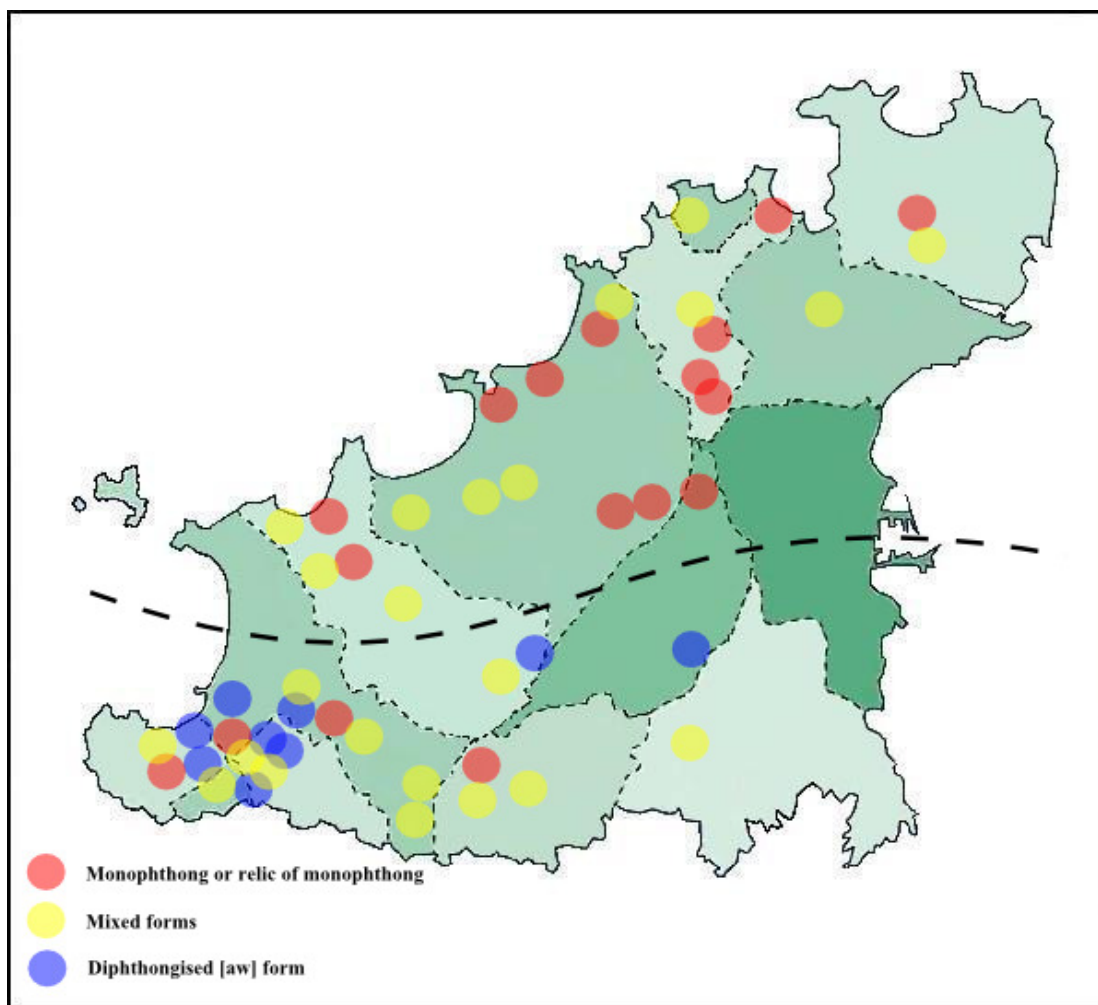
Map 7-6. Reflexes of Latin a + l + C in 31 – caud/caoud *<hot> and 65 –* haut *<high>.*

What becomes clear from the other phonological features examined is that the West-East bundle is not immutable. The pattern obtained for the informants' realisations of Latin a + l + C in 31 – *caud/caoud* <hot> and 65 – *haut* <high>, for example, might instead lead us to posit a more southerly isogloss (§6.2.2); the speakers using traditional *haut pas* forms for these items are concentrated in the island's south, while *bas pas* speakers are mainly to be found towards the centre and north of the island (see Map 7-6). The number of speakers mixing forms, together with the four *haut pas* individuals employing *bas pas* pronunciations for both items, again suggest instability. While on this basis we might be forgiven for thinking that the *bas pas* form for this feature is beginning to spread further southwards, the pattern obtained for the same segment in *181 – aute/aoute* <other> suggests that this is not the case (see Map 7-7).
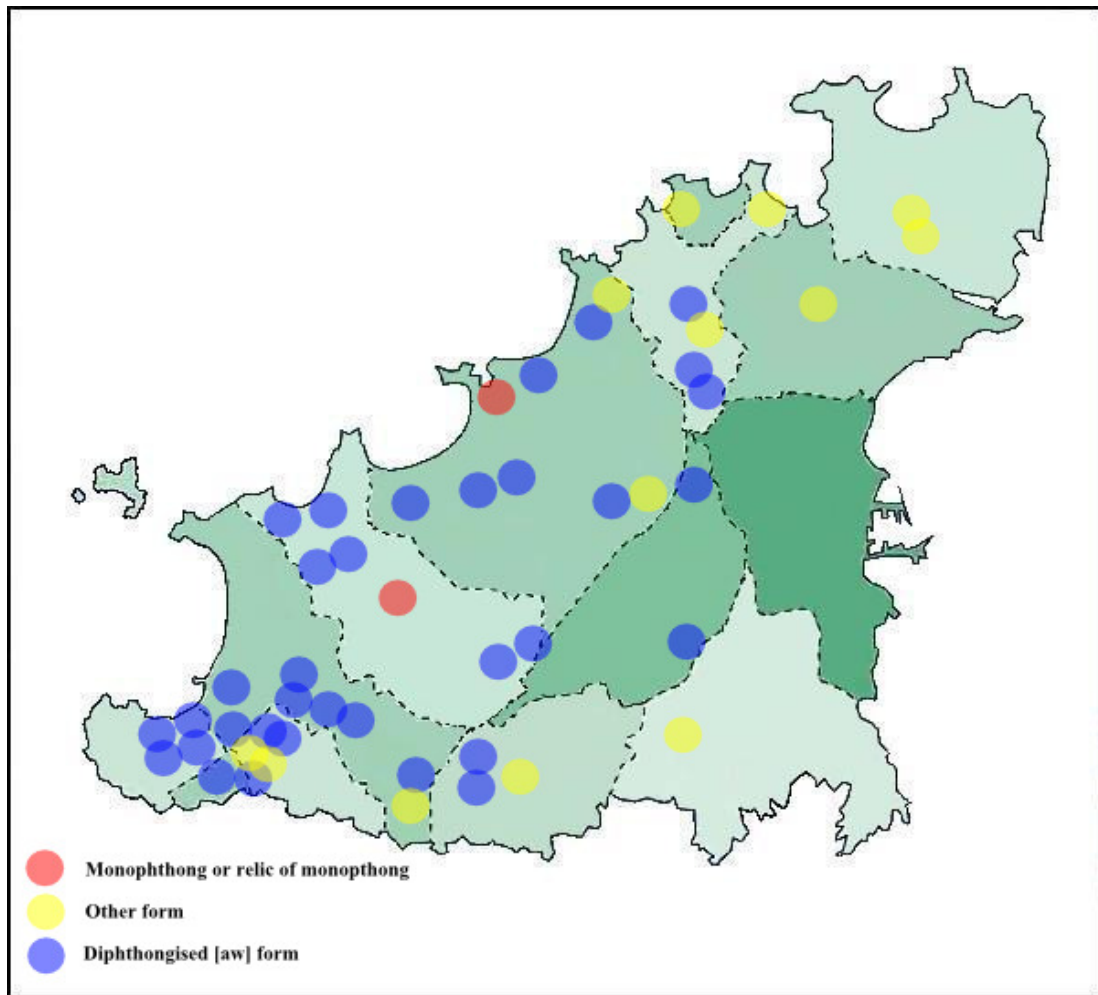
Map 7-7. *Reflexes of Latin a + l + C in 181* – aute/aoute <other>.

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A more dramatic pattern obtains when we examine the data for final consonant retention, traditionally held to be a feature of *bas pas* speech (§6.3.4). From Map 7-8, we can see that the *haut pas* propensity to delete final consonants has spread north up through the centre of the island, making inroads into the *bas pas*. Though three speakers in the north of the island preserve categorical *bas pas* usage for the items investigated, those individuals at the interface of the two usages display mixed use of forms.

Map 7-8. Final consonant retention.

[ɔ̃] or other back rounded vowel

Variable usage

Evidence of [aw] diphthong

Front near-low vowel (+/- nasalisation)

Front near-low vowel + additional nasal consonant
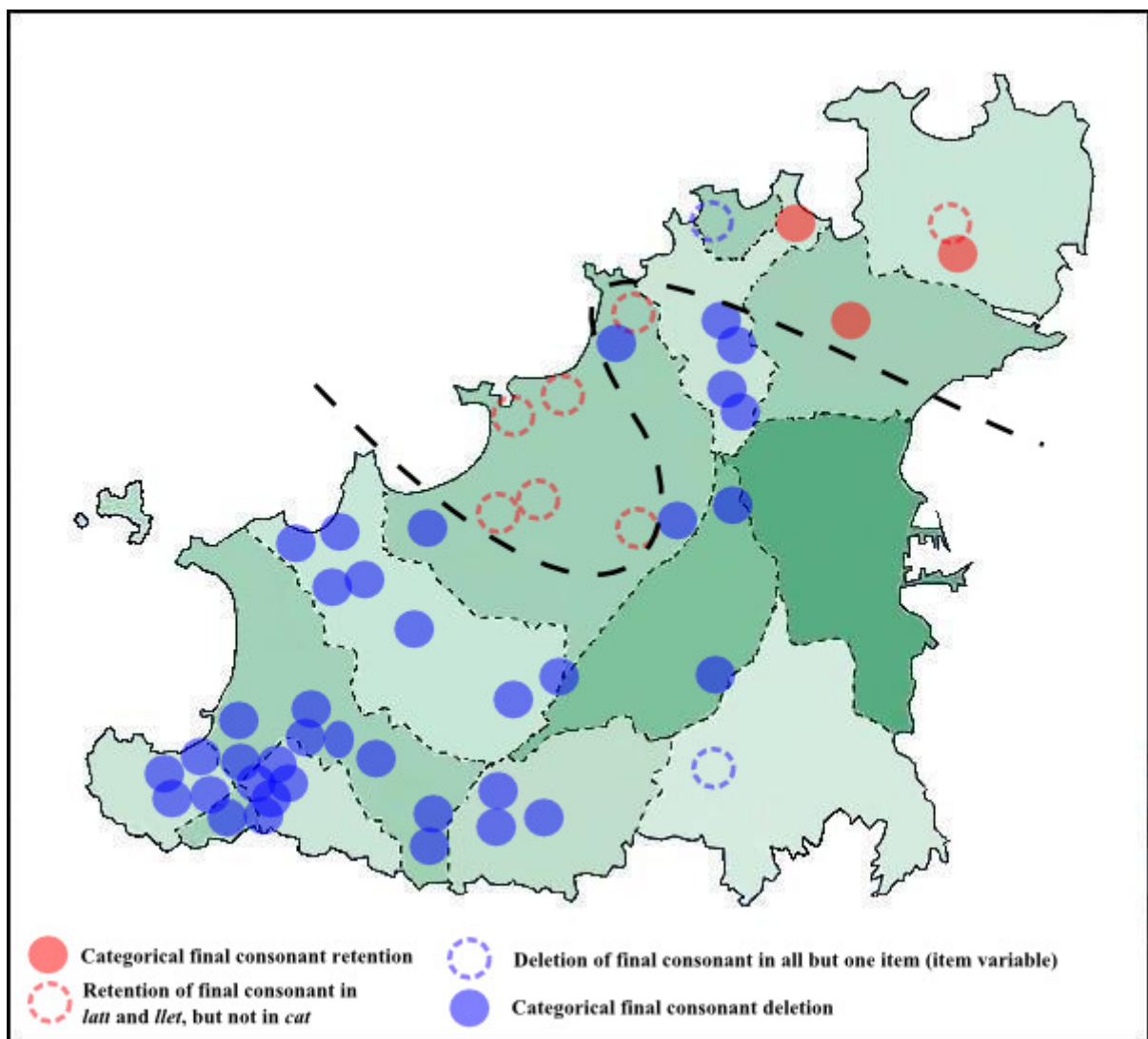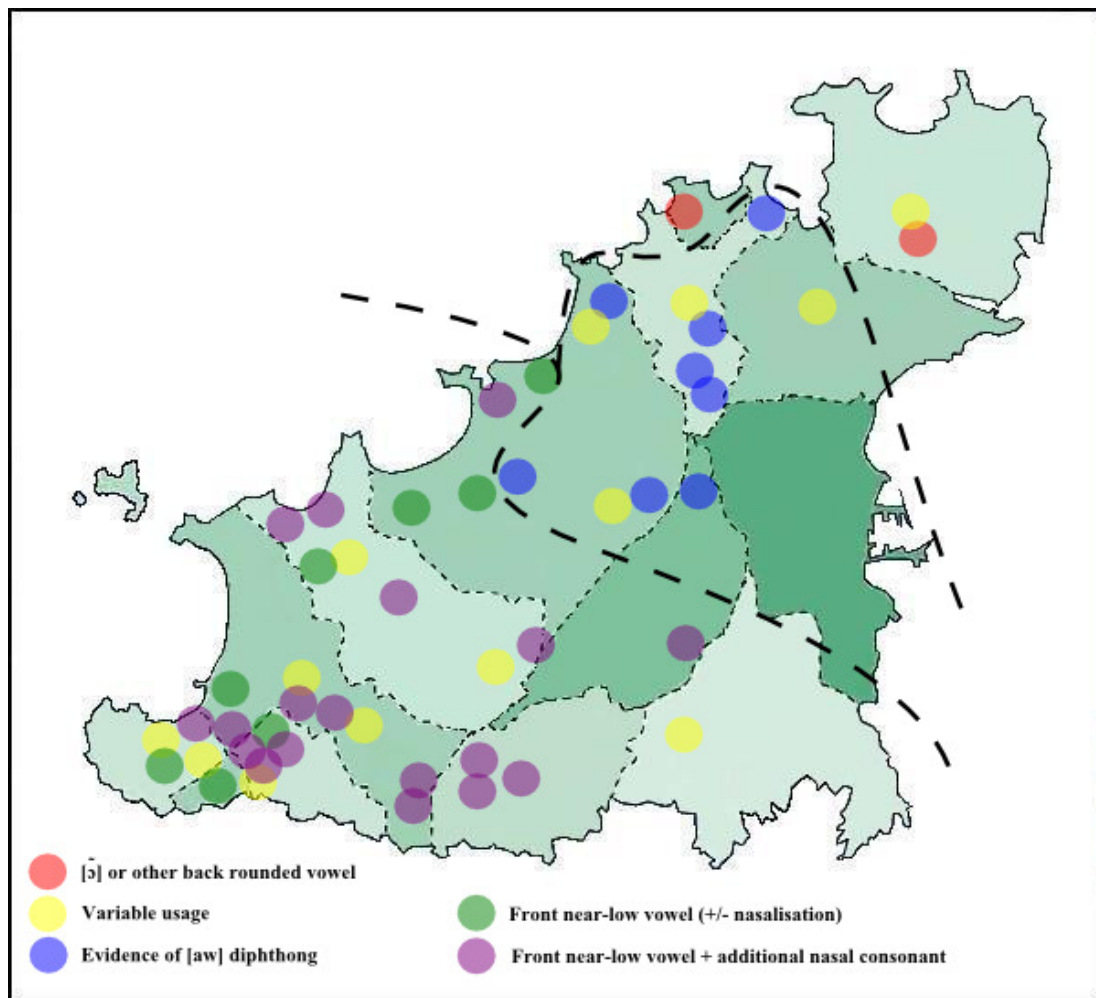
Map 7-9. Diphthongisation of final [õ] to [õw/ãw].

The picture is slightly more complicated in Map 7-8, which shows a feature which has reached a more advanced state of change. While the diphthongisation of final [õ] to [õw] or [ãw] was once considered to be a *haut pas* phonological characteristic, the Guernsey 2010 data shows that speakers from the north of the island now diphthongise final [o] to [ow] or a similar articulation too (§6.3.1). As in Map 7-9, we can see that the *haut pas* diphthongised forms have spread up through the centre of the island into the more northerly parishes. The difference here, however, is that this forward-moving wave of change is not merely extending the *haut pas* territory for this feature: instead, we find that *haut pas* forms have been replaced in their traditional territory by innovative forms, and that these in turn are beginning to spread northwards.

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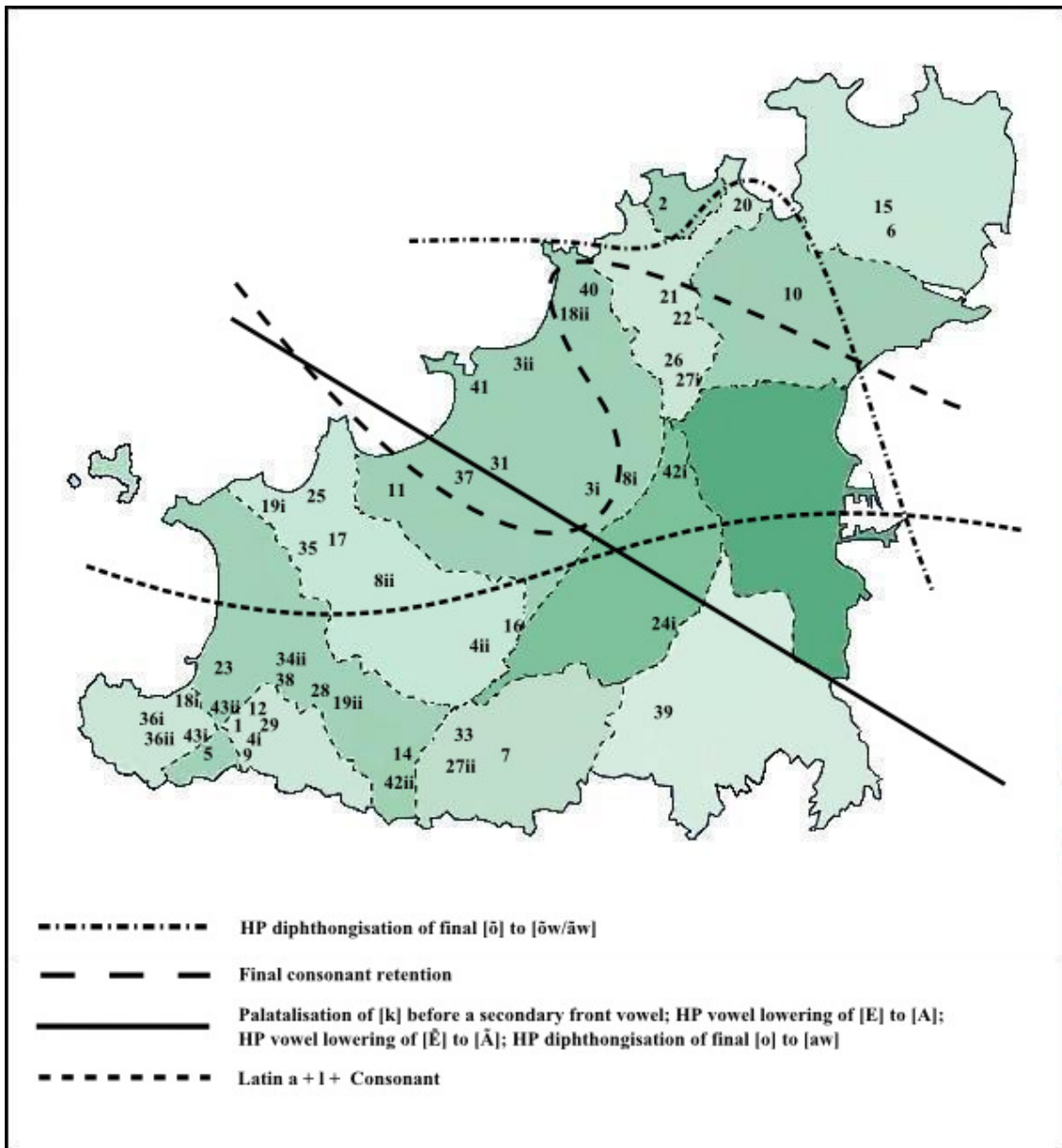
Map 7-10. Distribution of isoglosses in modern native-speaker Guernesiais.

If we plot all of the isoglosses obtained from the Guernsey 2010 data onto one map (see Map 7-10), a picture of the changing face of twenty-first century Guernesiais emerges. The speech of those informants from the island's south west, the area of the island insulated longest from the incursion of English, has changed relatively little from previous descriptions of the variety, though we have noted some innovation in certain features (cf. Hornsby 2006: 126–7). Further north, however, lie a succession of isoglosses which hint at the differing rates of progress as south-western phonological features push north into the *bas pas*. The area enclosed by the different forms does not correspond neatly with the dialect divisions posited by Lukis (1981) in Map 1-1 (cf. §1.1), nor with those suggested by Jones (2008: 41–2). The 'transition zone' extends

further south and further north than the previous accounts indicate, which suggests the erosion of the 'pure' sub-dialectal forms. The gradual invasion of *haut pas* features into the *bas pas* is not a one-sided endeavour; many of the younger *bas pas* informants demonstrate variability in their usage, which favours the uptake of the incoming forms (for reasons why this may be so, see §7.2.2 below). It should be noted too that the eastern extent of the Guernesiais-speaking territory appears to have receded: the informants' locations, as shown in Map 7-10 above, suggest that few Guernesiais speakers are to be found today from the parishes of St Martin's, St Andrew's and the Forest.

It is interesting to observe that a number of the changes appear to be making their way up through the island's spine, rather than along the coast. If we compare this map to that of Lukis (1981), we see that this is probably due to the fact that the three dialect areas fan out from the town of St Peter Port, an area considerably smaller than the parish boundary indicated in Map 7-10 above. The point of contact between *haut pas* and *bas pas* forms is therefore that much closer in the centre of the island; the central transition zone increasingly separates the two as we move closer to the west coast. It is worth considering too how speakers from the island's north and south acquired such different pronunciations from each other; though a lack of mobility in previous centuries would undoubtedly have contributed to the isolation of the parish communities, it is a remarkable degree of variation for such a small area of land. It is striking, too, that the isogloss we have drawn across Guernsey for the palatalisation of [k] before a secondary front vowel (cf. Map 7-2) mirrors the *ligne Joret* which cuts across the French mainland, separating the Norman of the upper Cotentin from the southern Norman varieties. Perhaps the patterns of variation encountered relate back to feudal settlement patterns in the eleventh century: since the fiefs in the island were at various times held by landowners (both lay and ecclesiastical) from different parts of the French mainland, it is possible that wider patterns of variation may have transferred to Guernsey (cf. Hall 2005).[2] Whatever the reason, we may conclude that the hypothesis presented in §1.1 is correct: variability persists in modern Guernesiais phonology, despite the diminutive size of the speech community, and this correlates with speakers' place of origin within the island.

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[2] The French feudal landowners did not necessarily come from parts of France which lie close to the island: in the twelfth century, for example, fiefs in St Andrew's, St Peter Port and St Martin's were variously granted to ecclesiastical powers in Coutances, Caen, Cherbourg, Evreux, Marmoutiers and Tours (Marr 2001: 69). The Monastery of Mont St. Michel was also a significant landowning presence throughout the feudal era (Marr 2001: 14–15).

7.2.2 Discussion

We have noted that age correlates with patterns of variation in certain features in Guernesiais phonology. The older speakers are typically more conservative, employing more of the traditional 'pure' sub-dialect variants; younger speakers, by virtue of the fact that they have had less exposure to the variety as they have grown up, are more likely to be semi-speakers (Dorian 1981: 114f.); as such, they tend to display mixed use of *haut pas* and *bas pas* forms. They are also more likely to be influenced by the Guernesiais of speakers around them. Evidence of gender variation in the data, meanwhile, is slight, and primarily concerns those features which are characterised by the presence or absence of a particular sound, rather than features which display variation in vowel quality. The female informants demonstrated lower rates of WFCD and WFPOLD in the items examined in §6.4.

In studies carried out on other varieties, these features are associated with less formal speech (cf. Boughton 2003). It is frequently found in sociolinguistic studies that women tend to produce higher rates of more formal forms across all levels of formality (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 61). The sounding of word-final consonants is certainly linked with formality and forms which carry higher levels of prestige in English, the language that many of the Guernsey 2010 informants use most frequently. While it could be that the female informants are merely carrying over this stylistic adjustment from English into their Guernesiais, it is of particular interest to note that a number of the Guernesiais items examined lack final consonants in their dictionary forms (de Garis 1967). The pronunciation of final consonants, especially in items where a final consonant is not recorded in spelling, therefore brings the Guernesiais forms closer to their Standard French cognates. While this might be entirely coincidental, as few of the informants have more than intermediate proficiency in French, it might also be interpreted in some measure as the preservation of the inherited Guernesiais – French stylistic continuum; perhaps the female Guernsey 2010 informants are unconsciously appealing to more formal forms heard in their youth.

The Guernsey 2010 protocol was not specifically created with the investigation of stylistic variation in mind, and consequently little attempt was made to include differing levels of formality within the elicitation tasks. It was therefore with interest that, alongside more general observations made about the distribution of phonological forms across the island, the researcher noted that the Guernesiais spoken in the north of the

island groups together a number of features which are more reminiscent of historically prestigious Standard French forms than those spoken elsewhere. Northern Guernesiais speakers are less likely to pronounce word-initial [h] than other speakers (cf. §5.4.3), do not diphthongise final [ɔ̃] (§6.3.1), and have lower rates of WFPOLD (cf. §6.4.3). That Low Parish Guernesiais resembles Standard French more closely than the other varieties has long been popular opinion (and is indeed observed by Tomlinson 1981: 24), and these findings certainly help to confirm this impression.

There are considerably fewer speakers of Guernesiais in the northern parishes than in the island's west and south west, and this is usually attributed to the earlier and more widespread settlement of English speakers there during the nineteenth century (cf. §1.3). The popular theory goes that, in addition to the indigenous population becoming more diluted in this area, Vale and St Sampson's Guernesiais speakers were often mocked by the incomers for their use of the variety; in consequence, they were shamed out of using their autochthonous tongue. Elements of this are certainly true, but this is not the only factor at play. Evidence from the Guernsey 2010 data suggests that Low Parish Guernesiais has also fallen victim to the Guernesiais spoken in other parts of the island.

One of the individuals who was interviewed, but was later discounted from the main sample group as a non-native speaker, related how he had consciously changed his Guernesiais pronunciation as a result of prejudice he encountered. This individual had set himself the task of learning Guernesiais, and proudly adopted Low Parish pronunciation to reflect the area of the island in which he had been born, and from which his family came. In order to further stretch his abilities, he recounted that he had decided to enter himself for recitation classes in the Eisteddfod. He had thought that he was progressing well and was surprised that, despite receiving no overt criticism, the predominantly High Parish judging panel never awarded his performances particularly high marks. Following an off-the-record comment, this speaker made a conscious effort to emulate a High Parish pronunciation; from then on, his performances achieved notably more success.

While this is perhaps an extreme example, it is nonetheless true that *haut pas* speakers do tend to pass comment upon *bas pas* pronunciation if the topic arises in conversation. Though no overt hostility is expressed, *haut pas* speakers clearly consider their Guernesiais to be in some way more 'authentic' than *bas pas* forms (cf. Coveney

2001: 1). This is supported by the opinions of the late Marie de Garis, a figurehead of the Guernesiais-speaking world, who opined as such in the preface to the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais*: an important reference document (1967). The assertion also has the benefit of speaker numbers to bolster the claims. Low Parish speakers, for their part, are less outspoken about their accent. When questioned about accent differences in Guernesiais, they tend to observe wryly that their Guernesiais is 'more posh' than that spoken further south; some will add as an afterthought that it is 'more like the good French'.

Aside from the partisan preference that speakers often express for their own variety, why does Low Parish Guernesiais receive such a reaction? It is quite possible that the existence of variation in the presence of Standard French-type features has drawn attention to the variation in the variety itself (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 72). Consequently the presence of French-type features in Low Parish Guernesiais may have become stereotyped, meaning that speakers from elsewhere in the island (whether consciously or unconsciously) perceive Low Parish speakers as speaking a more formal type of Guernesiais, and might have contributed to a perception that Low Parish speakers put on airs and graces (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 72, 75–6). The earlier shift of many Low Parish speakers to English in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may also have contributed to the impression that Low Parish speakers were ashamed of their roots, and were trying to distance themselves from the rest of the Guernesiais-speaking community. This stigma may have become particularly acute in the post-war years, as the social profile of Guernesiais as a whole fell. As a result, Low Parish Guernesiais has suffered both from rapidly falling speaker numbers and reverse linguistic snobbery, and the apparent-time data suggests that Low Parish Guernesiais (as once spoken in the Vale and St Sampson's) is almost completely extinct. It is unclear whether this extinction is due to change from above or change from below the level of overt consciousness. It would appear to be an amalgamation of the two: while some individuals have awareness of modifying their linguistic behaviour to lose stereotyped features from their speech, other (particularly younger) northern speakers simply adopt High Parish forms as they are not particularly confident in their abilities, and so assimilate to the most commonly heard prevailing pronunciation. This is set against the background of an ageing population which is naturally reducing the number of Low Parish speakers: in this sense, the change is outside the overt consciousness of the speech community.

In larger communities, linguistic change is very often driven by contact between different social classes and the appropriation of one group's forms by another (Chambers and Trudgill 1998: 81). In Guernesiais, however, we have noted that social class in the usual sense is not a particularly salient feature in the Guernesiais speech community (cf. §3.2.5, §4.2.6). What, then, is driving linguistic change in Guernesiais?

In many situations, linguistic change that does not appear to have a motivation in social class may instead be explained by means of other meaningful social groupings within the speech community (cf. Milroy 1980; Eckert 1989). For Guernesiais, we might look to degree of fluency of the speakers in question; the close-knit community might also cause us to consider kinship ties, or adherence to particular social networks. Alternatively, we might link innovation to participation in revitalisation activities, or the readiness with which the individual will admit to speaking Guernesiais. We might also attempt to explain the differences in terms of frequency of language use, or the informants' level of identification with the island. All of these factors, however, lead back to differences between the north and the south of Guernsey. These manifest themselves in a combination of language shift, linguistic insecurity and conflicting prestige models.

Whereas previous generations were Guernesiais speakers who spoke English, many of the Guernsey 2010 informants, even despite acquiring Guernesiais as a mother tongue during very early childhood, have actually spent most of their lives speaking English. Some transferral of English phonological features to Guernesiais is therefore likely, and has probably been enhanced by the fact that today's native Guernesiais speakers have largely lacked the older linguistic role models who would have provided examples of 'true' Guernesiais phonology to copy. Jones notes too that more and more Anglicisms are making their way into the variety in other areas such as lexis, and grammar (Jones 2002). While this is in part due to the inevitable changes Guernesiais will have to make in order to keep up with the linguistic demands of the twenty-first century, it is also symptomatic of a speech community that is fast losing the more formal variants of its language; the resultant gaps are, naturally enough, plugged with English words and turns of phrase (cf. Simmonds 2008: 83–4).

The loss of linguistic complexity reflects the increase in the number of semi-speakers of Guernesiais (cf. Dorian 1981: 114ff.).   Semi-speakership is not necessarily a phenomenon confined to those who have yet to acquire a particularly high level of competency in the variety; many of the Guernsey 2010 speakers who acquired Guernesiais fluently as a child now fall into this category, as they use Guernesiais infrequently. Where English is not used to plug gaps, a speaker may simply be unsure of his or her pronunciation. Consequently, he/she looks for a reference point upon which to base his or her own language. We have noted already that Guernesiais ostensibly lacks a prestige form, although the incorporation of Standard-French style elements may constitute the legacy of a historical stylistic continuum.

A combination of social factors has led to south-western Guernesiais becoming something of a prestige form by default. Firstly, as we noted in §4.2.3, it has the greatest number of surviving native speakers. The importance of this is twofold - it has therefore become the most commonly heard of the Guernesiais accents, and is thus the most represented in heritage groups and at cultural events such as the island's Eisteddfod; and greater speaker numbers have also helped to maintain the confidence of the *haut pas* speakers. Extended family networks of Guernesiais-speaking cousins which have spread out from the original settlements around the St Pierre du Bois and Torteval parish churches have further helped to reinforce the continued use of Guernesiais among speakers from this part of the island.

Secondly, in more recent times *haut pas* Guernesiais has accrued further social capital by virtue of its perception as the purest, most authentically 'Guernsey' of the Guernesiais accents (cf. Brasseur 1978a: 52);[3] in addition to being the most maximally deviant Guernsey *parler* from Standard French, the old prestige variety, it also has the advantage of originating in a part of the island which is still largely associated with fields and farms, offering a glimpse of Guernsey's rural past. That the north was also once home to thriving farms and vineries and picturesque granite cottages is now ignored by people susceptible to the 'grim north' prejudice, similar that found in England or France, which has arisen from population increase and greater industrialisation. Today, Guernsey's north has a reputation for being built up; in addition to the island's second town of St Sampson's, which lacks much of the quaint

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[3] This may help to explain the experiences of the additional-language learner of Guernesiais described earlier.

cobblestone charm of the capital, the north houses the island's landfill site, the power station, and the prison. Though the fields, farms, vineries and cottages are still to be found there, and many of the northern-dwelling Guernesiais speakers can trace their ancestry in the island as far back (if not further) than those from the south, the cultural damage has been done: the northern parishes cannot compete with the powerful ideology of the south west as the bastion of 'Old Guernsey'. This is reflected in the content of the island's summer shows, held annually in August: while the North Show boasts the Battle of Flowers, the West Show has a far greater emphasis on agriculture and trades on its rural roots with a costumed Grand Pageant themed around events from the island's rural yesteryear.

South-western Guernesiais speakers thus have their sense of identity (both linguistic and otherwise) confirmed in popular cultural perceptions of the High Parishes and in their greater numbers. This begets a confidence, particularly among younger speakers, which is not as easily found among their Low Parish counterparts. Though *bas pas* forms do persist for some phonological features, it is doubtful whether these will resist the spreading *haut pas* forms once the older, more conservative northern speakers are no longer there to provide a model for younger speakers' usage (cf. Hornsby 2006: 1).

7.3 IMPACT: THE SITUATION OF GUERNESIAIS TODAY

After a long period of neglect, The States of Guernsey (the island's government) has finally begun to take an interest in the future of the island's indigenous tongue. A Language Protection Officer was appointed in 2008, charged with safeguarding the variety and assisting with the creation of government strategy documents for teaching and promoting it as an important part of Guernsey identity (Marquis 2009: 75–6). Huge efforts have been made in the area of language documentation, with the island's holdings relocated to a dedicated space in the Priaulx Library, St Peter Port. A quantity of new audio-visual material has been made available to the general public, and certainly offers a more comprehensive account of the variety than was available four years ago (Simmonds 2008: 63–4). The island's traditional language heritage groups also remain active: *L'Assembllaie d'Guernesiais* holds Guernesiais language evenings, and the Eisteddfod continues to attract entries in its Guernsey French section (now with an increasing number of primary school entrants) (Ash 2009).

An important part of ongoing language revitalisation activities is status planning. As more research is carried out on the variety and the inevitable comparisons are drawn with French, the individuals involved with the documentation and revitalisation of Guernesiais have begun actively discouraging the use of the term patois so as to avoid unfavourable judgments with French, a standardised international language with a very strong ideology (Shackleton 2009). This is becoming particularly important as attempts are being made to codify Guernesiais: anxious to secure its credentials as a variety with a writing system and a literary tradition, and to increase interest in it from external sources, supporters of language revitalisation efforts in the island now seek to establish 'language' status for Guernesiais (cf. Marquis 2009). Anshen points out that 'Varieties that are regarded as distinct languages are often objects of nationalist sentiment while dialects are usually regarded simply as incorrect forms of the dominant linguistic variety' (Anshen 2003: 710). In an interview with the Guernsey Press in July 2008, for example, Dr Harry Tomlinson (a local figure actively involved in the study and teaching of Guernesiais) clearly states his position: 'In linguistic studies, patois is a useful tool, a language that doesn't have regular written forms, it's an oral language. Guernsey French is a language, not a patois' (Shackleton 2008; cf. Hall 2008: 307). This sentiment is echoed in the cover information for the recent book *Histouaires Guernésiaises* by Hazel Tomlinson, which claims that Guernesiais, though 'considered inferior to Standard French[,] […] is a far older language in its own right' (2009).

The Cultural Strategy 2010–2014 document produced by the Culture and Leisure department refers to the variety by the orthographic variant 'D'Guernesiais' (States of Guernsey: 2010). This orthography highlights the palatalised pronunciation of the initial consonant in the variety, thus emphasising this difference from the Standard French pronunciations (States of Guernsey 2009). The diacritics in other spellings encountered in official documents (for example 'dGuèrnésiais', 'Dgernésiais') further serve as a reminder of the variety's distinctness from English, and play up the idea of Guernsey having a separate ('foreign') identity from the UK (cf. Marquis 2009: 75). More recent literature has tended to refer to the variety as Guernsey Norman French, however, distinguishing it from standard metropolitan French while at the same time affirming Guernesiais' shared ancestry with Norman (see Jones 2000, 2008; also personal communication with J. Marquis).

An additional strategy is enhancing the visibility of the variety: Guernesiais now appears on the States of Guernsey website, in taglines at the bottom of States of Guernsey emails, and next to English on official signage around the island. While this is raising awareness of the variety, the latter particularly among visitors to the island, the impact that this is having upon the resident population is doubtful. In a recent campaign which encouraged the Parish Douzaines (councils) to adopt bilingual signage at entry points to their parish, only one — St Martin's — accepted the measure (BBC Guernsey 2010).

A further strand of the current revitalisation attempts, and probably most important, is education ('acquisition planning') (Jones and Singh 2005: 107). While evening classes in the variety have been in existence since the mid 1980s, these have mostly been frequented by adult learners. More recently, volunteer teachers have run extra-curricular clubs at some of the island's primary schools (Ash 2009). Current indications are that teaching activities have increased; more primary groups now exist, and the Language Development Officer has run some classes with sixth form groups (cf. Tostevin 2009). There remains no central point of coordination for curriculum or activities, however, and the lack of teaching materials has also been a critical problem.

In order to address this shortage, a new language learning primer has been published by Tomlinson, who has been strongly involved in assisting the volunteer primary teachers (Tomlinson 2011; cf. Jones and Singh 2005: 118). The States of Guernsey recently followed suit by publishing a language workbook aimed at primary age children (Marquis and Dowding 2012). These join a number of other short stories aimed at young children (Les Ravigotteurs 1999; 'Inferno' 2009). One of the main issues with these initiatives, however, is the lack of a unified orthographic system. Though the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* has remained a reference point since it was published in 1967, in practice people adapt its spellings as they see fit (see Table 7-1).

Table 7-1.   The informants' responses to Question 5 of the self-assessment questionnaire.

5. How do you decide what the correct spelling of a Guernsey French word is?

Response	*No. of informants*
Pronunciation	8
Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais (1967)	9
Dictionary (unspecified)	7
French	2
There is no correct spelling	3
Other	2
Not sure	4
No response	14

Jan Marquis underlines the importance of creating a coherent orthographic system for the variety:

> Il me semble que l'on doit considérer la création d'une seule orthographe pour utiliser dans l'éducation qui représenterait plus fidèlement la phonologie du *dgernésiais* que font les systèmes existants (Marquis 2009: 81).[4]

It is certainly true that writing is a critical part of successful language maintenance in the twenty-first century; as de Garis noted in her preface to the Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais, '*La parole se perd, mais l'écriture se conserve*' (1967: foreword).[5] As yet, however, there has been little agreement as to the system to be adopted; the spellings of the *Dictiounnaire*, though fairly well-known to the speech community, have a reputation for inconsistency.

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[4] 'I think that we should consider the creation of a single orthography for use in education which would represent the phonology of dgernésiais more faithfully than the existing systems.'
[5] 'Speech is lost, but writing lasts.'

Table 7-2. *The informants' responses to Question 6 of the self-assessment questionnaire.*

6. What do you think new words in Guernsey French should be based on?

Response	*No. of informants*
French	14
English	1
French and English	2
Existing Guernsey French	4
Norman French	1
Pronunciation	2
Not sure	3
Does not agree with innovation	4
Other	6
No response	12

Having grown up with Guernesiais, and learnt French at school, the adult native speakers of Guernesiais naturally incline towards French when it comes to innovation in their native tongue (see Table 7-2). When further questioned, however, it emerged that they can be quite resistant to the idea of codification. A strong theme that comes out of their responses in Table 7-1 above in particular is that they prize the variability of their language; though a good number of the informants have recourse to a dictionary, many rely on their pronunciation and/or delight in the fact that there is no set convention for spelling in the variety. This variability is not necessarily helpful to new learners of Guernesiais, however; furthermore, since most new learners of the variety are first-language English speakers, there are concerns that French orthographic conventions may unnecessarily complicate the learning process (Marquis 2009: 81). This is a source of conflict to which, as yet, there is no resolution; the low uptake of writing among older speakers (cf. §4.3.5) suggests that efforts at creating a writing system for Guernesiais will focus principally upon new learners, however.

The north-south divide discussed above in §7.2.2 has had an important impact in the balance of social and political influence in the Guernesiais community. Since southern speakers of Guernesiais are generally the most active in the language community, it is not surprising that this part of the island has furnished many of the activists for the revitalisation of Guernesiais, including Tomlinson and Marquis. While their favouring of their own *haut pas* sub-variety is perhaps understandable, given that it is now more widely encountered than *bas pas* forms, this has not endeared itself to those existing

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speakers of the variety who believe that their written Guernesiais should reflect their own pronunciation. It is telling that the most recent publication, a children's language learning workbook titled *Warro!* (Marquis and Dowding 2012), features the following disclaimer:

> The spelling of Guernésiais is unsettled […]. No clear standard has emerged, and this remains a topic for debate. The spelling in this book is based on traditional spelling 'conventions' in as far as they exist […]. In an attempt to reflect authentic language the authors have enquired extensively whilst drafting this book and believe that it reflects usage (Marquis and Dowding 2012: 1).

The book makes efforts to acknowledge phonological variation in the variety. Alternative spellings are given for <kitchen>, for example ('*Tchuisaene / Cuisaëne*'); it is nonetheless interesting to note that only the *haut pas* form is given in the exercise which appears at the bottom of the following page (Marquis and Dowding 2012: 13–14). Though the Guernsey 2010 data shows that *bas pas* variants have not yet disappeared entirely, this type of bias indicates that south-western Guernesiais appears set to become the *de facto* standard for new learners by virtue of the greater involvement of *haut pas* speakers in creating a writing system. In the absence of a prestige norm to select for codification, it would appear that the next logical choice is the variety belonging to the largest group of Guernesiais-speakers (cf. Haugen 1966).

The pronunciation guide accompanying the item, meanwhile, illustrates perfectly the problems inherent in transcribing Guernesiais (see Fig. 7-1). Though the *bas pas* form is given in spelling as <u>*Tchuisaene*</u>, the pronunciation guide implies that palatalisation in the initial consonant has been reduced to [tw]. As we saw in §6.3.3, however, the degree of palatalisation is apt to differ between speakers. While adult native speakers may reject the spelling, as it does not reflect their own usage, subtle variation such as this stands to be lost in the speech of new learners of Guernesiais who accept it.

Figure 7-1. Pronunciation guide to <kitchen> from Warro!
(Marquis and Dowding 2012: 13).

| Item: | **à la Tchuisaene / Cuisaene** |
| Pronunciation guide: | *a la twizaein / cwizaein* |

There can be no quick fix to the revitalisation of Guernesiais. Fluency in a variety is not acquired overnight, and nor does being native to the island confer any special ability in a variety which, like any additional language, must be learnt and practised. Though the programme of teaching in primary schools is expanding, and (with the publication of *Warro!*) receiving some government involvement in its direction, there is no follow-on programme to cater for post-primary intermediate speakers. Formal accreditation, such as the drive by neighbouring Jersey to create a Jèrriais GCSE, remains a long way off (States of Jersey Education, Sport and Culture Committee 2005; cf. Jones and Singh 2005: 119–120).

Though it is probable that a number of today's young learners will go on to become proficient in the variety, the established English-medium schooling system and the pressure to compete in an English-speaking job market are such that it is doubtful as to whether extra-curricular language learning will translate into use of the variety in all aspects of everyday life, and transmission of Guernesiais to subsequent generations. Krauss observes that 'The academic approach has its own value, but does not, by itself, produce a vital living language' (Krauss 1992: 21; cf. Fishman 1991: 67). Although post-beginner provision is undoubtedly scheduled for the near future, it seems likely that this will arrive too late to bridge the gap between current native speakers of Guernesiais and the younger generations of learners. That pronunciation guides are included for every word in *Warro!* reflects the fact that, even now, new learners of Guernesiais do not necessarily have access to a native speaker whose speech they can copy. This is a situation which will only become more acute in time (Marquis and Dowding 2012).

7.4   FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

Though the present study has been necessarily restricted by the constraints of time and resources to the examination of a limited number of phonological features in Guernesiais, further aspects of the variety's phonology warrant investigation. Several of the features examined in the present study indicated that articulatory processes such as lip-rounding, voicing and nasalisation do not necessarily synchronise with the articulation of the consonant or vowel sound they modify (cf. §5.3.5, §6.3.1, §6.4.2), for example, and it would be interesting to look more closely at this phenomenon. The word list deliberately included a greater range of items than required in order to 'cast

the net wide'; in addition to furnishing the material for the present study, the phonological data might thus usefully be exploited in a pilot study for the examination of the phonemes of Guernesiais. The conclusive definition of the variety's phoneme system should be a priority in view of the urgency with which revitalisation activities must be undertaken, and a coherent writing system established. With this in mind, it would be prudent, too, to investigate native speaker informants' intuitive grasp of writing in the variety.

We touched briefly upon stylistic issues in our discussion of the Guernsey 2010 data, examining the interaction between traditional Guernesiais forms and those which appear to be the result of the influence from Standard French (cf. §7.2.2). WFPOLD was identified as a phonological feature of the variety which could be further investigated for evidence of social variation (cf. §6.4.3). As social class is not a salient factor in the Guernesiais speech community, and since the variety has long been in a diglossic relationship with a larger language (once Standard French, now English), it has been assumed that stylistic variation is linked with code-switching (cf. Spence 1984: 346). The Guernsey 2010 data suggests that the stylistic continuum of Guernsey may in fact be more subtle; since this has been largely overlooked in descriptions of the variety, this would make an excellent area for further study. A perceptual study, of the kind undertaken by Boughton (2003) or by Kuiper (1999), would furnish information about the way in which native Guernesiais speakers perceive the accents of other speakers; this would provide further evidence that the phonology of the variety has evolved away from the stereotyped pronunciations that persist in the popular imagination.

From comments made to the researcher during the course of the interviews, it became apparent that the informants use Guernesiais productively in sentences without necessarily being able to distinguish semantically between the separate elements of a phrase. Many were unable to explain their use of *tu* and *vous*, for example; though academic descriptions of Guernesiais grammar exist (Tomlinson 1981, 2010; de Garis 1983), it would be interesting to gain an insight into how the speakers themselves conceive of their language. While the speech community remains relatively active in the variety, it would also be of interest to investigate the role that interaction in social networks plays in influencing the speech of individual informants (cf. Jones 2001: 47, Dorian 2010).

Finally, as revitalisation efforts increase, it will be interesting to examine the language of the nascent community of additional-language speakers of Guernesiais. How will the phonology of these new speakers reflect that of their teachers and of the other, older native speakers, and what innovation will they bring to the variety?

7.5   CLOSING REMARKS

The present study comes at a landmark point in the history of Guernesiais. Despite long years of relative inactivity in the matter, the States of Guernsey has finally become involved in the management of the variety's future, and is in its own way contributing to the forging of a new, independent identity for Guernesiais in the twenty-first century. The variety is now being taught on a volunteer basis to primary-age children, and there are indications that further education initiatives will be developed in the coming years. Entries to the Guernsey French Eisteddfod classes have increased, and the variety is enjoying a higher public profile than it has had for quite some time.

Yet while a new future is dawning for learners of Guernesiais as an additional language, the sun is beginning to set on the older generations of native speakers as the effects of an ageing population become more and more apparent. A number of the individuals who had been interviewed previously by the researcher were unable to participate in this work owing to poor health; over the summer of 2010, meanwhile, during which the interviews for the present study were conducted, Marie de Garis — champion of the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais*, and leading authority on Guernesiais to whom everyone defaulted — passed away at the venerable age of 100.

Guernesiais is an important part of Guernsey's identity. Says Le Maistre:

> '*La langue est plus qu'un moyen de communication, car elle est dépositaire de la vie et de la pensée d'un peuple* (Le Maistre 1966 : xiv).'[6]

Bound up in the language are myriad details, phonological and otherwise, which reflect the island's history and a way of viewing the outside world that is unique to the island. Much of this finer cultural detail stands to be lost with the last generation of native speakers, many of whom are themselves only semi-speakers of the variety, as the inflow of new primary-age speakers cannot hope to compensate for the centuries of

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[6] 'Language is more than just a means of communication; it is the repository of the lives and thoughts of a people.'

accumulated knowledge that has been perishing slowly since the early twentieth century. Though it is clear that the Guernesiais of the future will be different in many respects to the variety spoken by native speakers today, and indeed vastly different from the Guernesiais known to the last generations of monolingual speakers at the turn of the twentieth century, it is to be hoped that *les vieux gens* would take some comfort in the fact that a new generation of Guernsey people are willing to overcome the reservations of their parents' generation and actively seek out their ancestral tongue.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Working document: interview word list

Highlighting indicates adjustments made following the initial run of interviews (cf. §3.5).

Interview Word List

I	English Translation	Word	Transcription / Notes
1	low parishes	*bas pas* (m)	
2	weather	*temps* (m)	
3	in	*dans*	
4	when	*quànd*	
5	leg	*gàmbe* (f)	
6	brother	*frère* (m)	
7	to see	*veer*	
8	fish	*païssaön* (m)	
9	house	*Maisaön* (f)	
10	one hundred	*chent*	
11	people	*gens* (mpl)	
12	small	*p'tit*	
13	to say	*dire*	
14	to leave	*tchittaïr, quittaïr*	
15	guide	*guide* (m)	
16	you (2s)	*tu*	
17	some (ms)	*du*	
18	backside	*cul* (m)	
19	land	*terre* (f)	
20	December	*décembre* (m)	
21	war	*djère, guère* (f)	
22	to help	*aïdjer, aïguer*	
23	heart	*tcheur, coeur* (m)	
24	two	*daeux*	
25	garden	*gardin* (m)	
26	all	*tout*	
27	cousin	*cousain* (m)	
28	greedy	*gourmànd*	
29	tomato	*tomate* (f)	
30	back	*dos* (m)	
31	hot	*caud, caoud*	
32	late	*tard*	
33	date (time)	*date* (f)	
34	Câtel	*Câtel* (m)	
35	cake	*gâche* (f)	
36	yours (2s)	*tchen, tian*	
37	God	*Gyu, Dyu* (m)	
38	key	*cllaïe* (f)	
39	ice	*gllache* (f)	
40	to kill	*tuaïr*	
41	to produce	*produire*	
42	to reduce	*redouire*	

43	kitchen	*tchuisaëne*, *cuisaëne* (f)	
44	chicken	*pouchin* (m)	
45	basin	*bachin* (m)	
46	on	*sus*	
47	sugar	*chucre* (m)	
48	juice	*jus* (m)	
49	mother	*mère* (f)	
50	black (m and f)	*ner/naër*, *nère*	
51	lamb	*agné* (m)	
52	country(side)	*càmpogne* (f)	
53	snail	*colimachaön* (m)	
54	coal	*tcherbaön*, *querbaön* (m)	
55	morning	*matin* (m)	
56	bread	*pain* (m)	
57	to laugh	*rire*	
58	king	*roué* (m)	
59	crab	*crabe* (f)	
60	angry	*marri*	
61	mouse	*souris* (f)	
62	cider	*cidre* (m)	
63	I was running	*je courais*	
64	you will run (2s)	*tu courras*	
65	high	*haut*	
66	the lobster	*lé houmard* (m)	
67	history	*histouaire* (f)	
68	the clock	*l'hologe* (f)	
69	the grass	*l'herbe* (m)	
70	the winter	*l'ivaer* (m)	
71	yes	*oui*	
72	to hear	*ouïr*	
73	wood	*bouais* (m)	
74	me	*mé*	
75	(with) care	*souogn* (m)	
76	oil	*huile* (m)	
77	eight	*huit*	
78	to him (i.o.)	*li*	
79	peace	*paix* (f)	
80	country	*pays* (m)	
81	water	*iaoue* (f)	
82	milk	*latt* (m)	
83	bed	*llet* (m)	
84	thread	*fil* (m)	
85	girl	*fille* (f)	
86	thousand	*mille*	
87	middle	*milli* (m)	
88	flame	*fllàmbe* (f)	
89	white	*bllanc*	
90	simple	*simplle*	
91	table	*tablle* (f)	
92	yesterday	*hier* (m)	

93	February	*féverier* (m)	
94	farmer	*fermier* (m)	
95	to hide	*muchier*	
96	behind	*derrière*	
97	sky	*ciel* (m)	
98	stone	*pierre* (f)	
99	to play	*jouaïr*	
100	to know	*saver*	
101	June	*juin* (m)	
102	July	*juillet* (m)	
II			
103	island	*île* (f)	
104	friend (m and f)	*ami, amie* (m and f)	
105	he (3.s.)	*i'*	
106	hard	*dur*	
107	butter	*burre* (f)	
108	always	*terjous, terrous*	
109	three	*tré*	
110	thirteen	*treize*	
111	I believe	*cré*	
112	I believed	*creyeie*	
113	he is	*é*	
114	he was	*ésteie*	
115	and	*et*	
116	straight	*drette, draëtte*	
117	to put	*maëttre*	
118	without	*sàns*	
119	fire	*faëu* (m)	
120	flower	*flleur* (f)	
121	them (i.o.)	*iaëux*	
122	hour	*haëure* (f)	
123	horn	*cône, caone* (f)	
124	poor	*paure, paoure*	
125	basket	*ponier* (m)	
126	seagull	*maue, maoue* (m, f)	
127	clever	*malin*	
128	melon	*melân* (m)	
129	the (m.s.)	*lé*	
130	outside	*déhors*	
131	I say	*je dis*	
132	Thursday	*jeudi* (m)	
133	boats	*batiaux* (mpl)	
134	boat	*baté* (m)	
135	badly	*mal*	
136	male	*mâle* (m)	
137	the (f.s.)	*la*	
138	there	*là*	
139	(neg.)	*pas*	
140	step	*pâs* (m)	

141	quarter	*quârt* (m)	
142	four	*quat*	
143	grape	*grappe* (m)	
144	big	*grànd*	
145	evening	*saër* (m)	
146	black	*ner, naër*	
147	late	*tard*	
148	work	*travas* (m)	
149	one cat, two cats	*aën cat*, *daëux cats* (m)	
150	one dog, two dogs	*aën tchen*, *daëux tchens* (m)	
151	I drink, he drinks	*j' beis*, *i' beit*	
152	this thing [ceci]	*chen'chin*	
153	Monday	*lleundi* (m)	
154	brown	*brün*	
155	sprig	*brin* (m)	
156	here	*ichin*	
157	hunger	*faïn, fogn* (m)	
158	tomorrow	*d'maïn* (m)	
159	wine	*vin* (m)	
160	far	*llian*	
161	nothing	*rian* (m)	
162	wind	*vent* (m)	
163	well	*bian*	
164	they have	*ont*	
165	bottom	*fond* (m)	
166	long	*laöng*	
167	a (ms)	*aën*	
168	without	*sàns*	
169	blood	*sàng* (m)	
170	child	*éfànt* (m)	
171	curious	*tchuriaëux*	
172	to love	*oïmaïr*	
173	you love (2.p.)	*oïmaïz*	
174	loved (p.p.)	*oïmaï*	
175	you have (2.p.)	*avaïz*	
176	eaten (p.p.)	*mangeaï*	
177	smoke	*fumaïe* (f)	
178	cup	*coupaïe* (f)	
179	soon	*bétaot*	
180	nephew	*nevào* (m)	
181	other	*aute, aoute*	
182	voice	*vouix, vouaix* (f)	
183	half	*maïnti, mognti*	
184	two	*daëux*	
185	their	*leû, leûx*	
186	right	*destre, daëstre*	
187	window	*finéstre, finâestre* (f)	
188	father	*père* (m)	
189	yes [agreement]	*vère*	
190	eye	*ieil* (m)	

191	best wishes	*millaeux souhaits* (mpl)	
192	to fetch	*tcheure*	
193	seller	*vendeux*, *vendaëux* (m)	
194	parlour	*parlaëux* (m)	
195	ran (p.p.)	*couoru*	
196	labour (work)	*labouar* (m)*	
197	less	*mòins*, *mouòins*	
198	full	*pllòin*	
199	end	*fin*	
200	twenty	*vingt*	
201	to count	*caömptaïr*	
202	song	*chànsaön*	
203	uncle	*aönclle*	
204	good	*bouan*	
205	cross	*kerouaix*	
206	naked (m and f)	*nu*, *nue* (m and f)	
207	red (m and f)	*rouoge*, *rouge* (m and f)	
208	blue (m and f)	*bllu*, *bllue(?)* (m and f)	

APPENDIX B

Socio-biographical questions

Participant Information	**Interview No.:**	**Informant code:**
	Interview Date:	

Informant

1	Sex: □ Male □ Female
2	Date of birth:
3(a)	Place of birth:
3(b)	Places of residence (place, number of years' residence):
3(c)	Current place of residence:
4	Education (age and type of study):
5(a)	Former occupations:
5(b)	Current occupation:

Father

6(a)	Place of birth:
6(b)	Occupation:
6(c)	Languages spoken:

Mother

7(a)	Place of birth:
7(b)	Occupation:
7(c)	Languages spoken:

Linguistic Background

8(a)	Was Guernsey French the first language you ever spoke? □ Yes □ Yes [Bilingual with English] □ No [English] □ No [Specify: _____]
8(b)	If Guernsey French was not your first language, how and when did you learn it?
8(c)	Other languages spoken (when learnt; how long studied):

APPENDIX C

Participant self-assessment questionnaire

Participant Self-Assessment	Interview No.:	Informant code:
	Interview Date:	

1(a)	How often do you speak Guernsey French **now**? **(Tick one)**	□ 0 - Not at all □ 1 - Rarely (less than once a month) □ 2 - Occasionally (once or twice a month) □ 3 - Often (about once a week) □ 4 - Very often (several times a week) □ 5 - Daily
	If you answer 1-5, please complete questions 1(b) and (c).	
1(b)	Who do you speak Guernsey French with **now**? **(Tick all that apply)**	□ Spouse □ Immediate family (parents, children, siblings) □ Extended family (aunts/uncles, cousins) □ Close friends □ Members of a club or social group (e.g. pub, church)
1(c)	In which situations do you use Guernsey French **now**? **(Tick all that apply)**	□ Everyday communication □ Family gatherings □ Regular non-family social activities (e.g. club, pub, church) □ Cultural events (e.g. Viäer Marchi) □ Performance (e.g. Eisteddfod, radio)

2(a)	How often did you speak Guernsey French **forty years ago**? **(Tick one)**	□ 0 - Not at all □ 1 - Rarely (less than once a month) □ 2 - Occasionally (once or twice a month) □ 3 - Often (about once a week) □ 4 - Very often (several times a week) □ 5 - Daily
	If you answer 1-5, please complete questions 2(b) and (c).	
2(b)	Who did you speak Guernsey French with **forty years ago**? **(Tick all that apply)**	□ Spouse □ Immediate family (parents, children, siblings) □ Extended family (aunts/uncles, cousins) □ Close friends □ Members of a club or social group (e.g. pub, church)
2(c)	In which situations did you use Guernsey French **forty years ago**? **(Tick all that apply)**	□ Everyday communication □ Family gatherings □ Regular non-family social activities (e.g. club, pub, church) □ Cultural events (e.g. Viäer Marchi) □ Performance (e.g. Eisteddfod, radio)

3(a)	How often do you write in Guernsey French? **(Tick one)**	□ 0 - Not at all □ 1 - Rarely (less than once a month) □ 2 - Occasionally (once or twice a month) □ 3 - Often (about once a week) □ 4 - Very often (several times a week) □ 5 - Daily
	If you answer 1-5, please complete question 3(b).	
3(b)	For which purpose(s) do you write in Guernsey French? **(Tick all that apply)**	□ Performance (Eisteddfod, Press articles, poems) □ Writing at the request of others (e.g. articles, speeches) □ Communication with other Guernesiais speakers □ Diary/personal writing □ Everyday writing (notes, shopping lists)

4   How would you write the Guernsey French words for the following?

cold water _____

church _____

Guernsey French _____

one hundred _____

two children _____

5   How do you decide what the correct spelling of a Guernsey French word is?

_____

_____

_____

6   What do you think new words in Guernsey French should be based on?

_____

_____

7	In your opinion, who do you think should choose new words for Guernsey French?	
	_____	
	_____	
	_____	
8	In your opinion, how similar are Guernsey French and French?	□ They are completely different languages □ They have more differences than similarities □ They have about the same number of similarities and differences □ They have more similarities than differences □ They are the same language

APPENDIX D

Information and Consent Form for Research Projects

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH PROJECTS

Investigating phonological variation and the phonemes of Guernesiais

Name and title of Researcher, and Details of Project:

This interview forms part of a doctoral project being conducted by Helen Simmonds, a postgraduate researcher from the Department of Modern Languages, University of Exeter. The project, begun in October 2008, is funded by a three-year Graduate Teaching Assistantship from the University and will conclude in the autumn of 2011.

The project seeks to confirm whether or not the modern-day pronunciation of Guernesiais continues to vary between the north and the south of the island, and to discuss the implications of this for the eventual creation of a standardised variety of Guernesiais. Data for this project will be collected in interviews held between July and September 2010.

Definition of invited participants:

Participants in the interviews will be native speakers of Guernesiais from any part of Guernsey who learned the language from infancy or early childhood.

Data or information to be collected, and the use that will be made of it:

Participants will be asked to complete a single interview which will last a maximum of two hours, although it is anticipated that the interview will be concluded in considerably less time. During the interview participants will be asked to translate a series of words into Guernesiais, answer questions (both oral and written) about reading and writing in Guernesiais, and talk generally about their background experiences with the language. Their oral responses to these tasks will be recorded digitally so that they may be studied at a later date.

The information recorded will be used primarily for this project. The recordings may be used for further research, for teaching purposes or in scholarly publications (such as books, journals and websites), in which speech and other information provided during the interviews may be cited, described or analysed. Anonymity will be preserved in any situation where the information supplied in an interview is used.

How will the information supplied by participants be stored?

Following completion of this study, the recordings will be stored digitally on locked premises by the researcher. Written responses will also be stored on locked premises. An anonymised copy of the data may eventually be kept at the Priaulx Library, Guernsey for future public access.

Contact for further questions:

Researcher: Helen Simmonds (University of Exeter)
                [Contact details supplied on original form]

Supervisor: Dr Zoë Boughton
                [Contact details supplied on original form]

Contact in the case of complaint or unsatisfactory response from the above named:

Professor Graham Ley
SALL Ethics Officer
[Contact details supplied on original form]

Consent:

I voluntarily agree to participate, and agree to the use of my data for the purposes specified above. I can withdraw consent at any time by contacting the interviewer.

**Please note that your contact details will be kept
separately from your interview data.**

_____
Name (please print)

_____   _____
Signature   *Date*

_____
Preferred contact (email or telephone)

                                    _____
                                    Signature of researcher

One signed copy to be retained by the researcher, and one by the participant.

APPENDIX E

Interview debrief form

Interview Debrief	**Interview No.:**	**Informant code:**

1	**Name of interviewer:** Helen Simmonds
2(a)	**Date and time of interview:**
2(b)	**Length of interview:**
3(a)	**Site of interview:**
3(b)	**Location:**
4	**Way in which contact was made with informant:**
5	**People present at the interview in addition to the informant:**
6	**Recording quality:** □ **Excellent** □ **Good** □ **Fair** □ **Poor** □ **Unusable**
7	**Order of information in the recording:**
8	**Spontaneous item:**
9	**Other observations (e.g. lengthy interruptions due to other speakers, telephone calls...):**

APPENDIX F

Working documents: transcriptions of phonological data from selected Guernsey 2010 informants

Low Parish informants

Central Parish Informants

High Parish Informants

Informant 02
Female, 77, St Sampson's

	Participant Information	Interview No.: 02	Informant code: 02
		Interview Date: *Trans.* 4-7/03/11	

Transcription: Word List Translation Task

I	English Translation	Word	Transcription / Notes
4	when	*quànd*	——
5	leg	*gàmbe* (f)	* ʒɔmbʊ (o:o) WFCD
6	brother	*frère* (m)	fɹɛːʊ
7	to see	*veer*	vɛᶻʊ
8	fish	*païssaön* (m)	paˣsɔ̃
9	house	*Maisaön* (f)	mɛˣzɔ̃
10	one hundred	*chent*	sɔ̃
11	people	*gens* (mpl)	ʒɔ̃
12	small	*p'tit*	** ptsi̧
13	to say	*dire*	** diʊ
14	to leave	*tchittaïr, quittaïr*	tʃitɑˣ (WFPOLD)
15	guide	*guide* (m)	giːd
18	backside	*cul* (m)	tʃy
21	war	*djère, guère* (f)	dʒɛᶻʊ
22	to help	*aïdjer, aïguer*	g̊ˣdʒ
23	heart	*tcheur, coeur* (m)	tʃøɽ WFCD
24	two	*daeux*	dɾœw
27	cousin	*cousain* (m)	kuzæ̃ˣ
29	tomato	*tomate* (f)	** tamɔt
30	back	*dos* (m)	** doː
31	hot	*caud, caoud*	koː
36	yours (2s)	*tchen, tian*	∅ a tɛ
37	God	*Gyu, Dyu* (m)	(lə)djə
38	key	*cllaïe* (f)	tʃi

39	ice	*gllache* (f)	——————	
43	kitchen	*tchuisaëne, cuisaëne* (f)	ˈtʃwizɑɛn̩	
44	chicken	*pouchin* (m)	Ø pul	sˈɔu
47	sugar	*chucre* (m)	* ʃykɹ WFCD	
50	black (m and f)	*ner/naër, nère*	nɛˀɹ (m. and f.)	ʀ)
51	lamb	*agné* (m)	——————	
53	snail	*colimachaön* (m)	ˈkalimaʃ*õ	check.
54	coal	*tcherbaön, querbaön* (m)	tʃɛrbẽ	
55	morning	*matin* (m)	matæˀ	
56	bread	*pain* (m)	pæĩ	
57	to laugh	*rire*	ɹiɹ	lost ɾ).
58	king	*roué* (m)	ɹwe	
59	crab	*crabe* (f)	* kɹɑːb̥ WFCD	
61	mouse	*souris* (f)	swɑɾi	
62	cider	*cidre* (m)	siːdɹ	
65	high	*haut*	hɛw	
66	the lobster	*lé houmard* (m)	——————	
67	history	*histouaire* (f)	hi̯swɑɹ	
68	the clock	*l'hologe* (f)	* lawlewʒ WFCD	ɾ? Hortloge
69	the grass	*l'herbe* (m)	lɛˀɹb̥ WFCD	
70	the winter	*l'ivaer* (m)	livjeˀɹ	
71	yes	*oui*	wɪ	
72	to hear	*ouïr*	wiːɹ	ɾ)
73	wood	*bouais* (m)	bwɛː	
74	me	*mé*	mɛ	
76	oil	*huile* (m)	lwiːl	
77	eight	*huit*	wɪt	
78	to him (i.o.)	*li*	li	
81	water	*iaoue* (f)	loː	
82	milk	*latt* (m)	lɛ	
83	bed	*llet* (m)	li	

Informant 02

358

85	girl	*fille* (f)	fil
86	thousand	*mille*	milʳ
88	flame	*fllàmbe* (f)	* ———
89	white	*bllanc*	bjɛːʃ
90	simple	*simplle*	———
103	island	*île* (f)	il
109	three	*tré*	tɹɛ
110	thirteen	*treize*	* tɹɛːʐ ᵂᶠᶜᴰ
111	I believe	*cré*	kɹɛ
112	I believed	*creyeie*	kɹijɛᴶ
113	he is	*é*	e
114	he was	*ésteie*	(i) tɛ
115	and	*et*	ɛ
116	straight	*drette, draëtte*	dɹat
117	to put	*maëttre*	mɛᴵtɹ̥ ᵂᶠᶜᴰ
119	fire	*faëu* (m)	fœʳ
120	flower	*flleur* (f)	fjøɹ
122	hour	*haëure* (f)	ˤœɹ ᵂᶠᶜᴰ
123	horn	*cône, caone* (f)	———
124	poor	*paure, paoure*	pɛwɹ
126	seagull	*maue, maoue* (m, f)	———
129	the (m.s.)	*lé*	lɜ
130	outside	*déhors*	* dʰɔɹ ᵂᶠᶜᴰ
131	I say	*je dis*	ʒ̥diːɹ
133	boats	*batiaux* (mpl)	bɛtᵉo
137	the (f.s.)	*la*	la
138	there	*là*	la
139	(neg.)	*pas*	paʷ
140	step	*pâs* (m)	———
141	quarter	*quârt* (m)	kaɹt
142	four	*quat*	katɹ ᵂᶠᶜᴰ

Change in qual of vowel as prep. for ʟ is almost.

Informant 02

27'24

144	big	*grànd*	gɥɛ̃ː
145	evening	*saër* (m)	swɑɹ
149	one cat, two cats	*aën cat, daëux cats* (m)	ɛn kɑt, de kɑː
150	one dog, two dogs	*aën tchen, daëux tchens* (m)	æ̃ ʃjɛ̃, de ʃjɛ̃
151	I drink, he drinks	*j' beis, i' beit*	ʒbe̥ᶻɹ, i bɛᶻɥ
156	here	*ichin*	iʃǣⁱ
163	well	*bian*	bjæ̃
166	long	*laöng*	* lɒŋ
168	without	*sàns*	sɒ̃
170	child	*éfànt* (m)	lɒ̃ᵂfɒ̃
172	to love	*oïmaïr*	——
173	you love (2.p.)	*oïmaïz*	——
174	loved (p.p.)	*oïmaï*	——
177	smoke	*fumaïe* (f)	fymˣɛ̃ⁱ
181	other	*aute, aoute*	lawtʃɹ
182	voice	*vouix, vouaix* (f)	——
186	right	*destre, daëstre*	——
190	eye	*ieil* (m)	——
194	parlour	*parlaëux* (m)	——
197	less	*mòins, mouòins*	mwẽ̃
199	end	*fin*	fǣⁱ
200	twenty	*vingt*	væ̃ⁱ
202	song	*chànsaön*	ʃõwsɒ̃
203	uncle	*aönclle*	õkl̥
205	cross	*kerouaix*	
206	naked (m and f)	*nu, nue* (m and f)	N/A
207	red (m and f)	*rouoge, rouge* (m and f)	
208	blue (m and f)	*bllu, bllue(?)* (m and f)	

(n'o:'some') ?

(r)

wFCD

ɔ̥tʃ v. tɹ̥

36'04.
"That's something
we didn't have
as well."

wFCD

*   Devoicing of final C?
**   Dental or alveolar?

Informant 02

Informant 06