

8 Guernsey French, identity and language endangerment

Julia Sallabank

Department of Linguistics & English Language, Lancaster University

Introduction

This chapter examines the effects of identity on revitalization efforts in the context of a small and dwindling language community. It discusses the nature and inter-relationship of identity, ethnicity and culture, and their roles in language choice and attitudes, relating these to the ethnolinguistic vitality of the indigenous language in Guernsey.

It is often assumed that language plays a significant part in identity construction and identification, but this view is not necessarily consistent with the language shift taking place in many places around the world: Krauss (1992) estimates that 90 per cent of the world's languages will have disappeared by 2010. This chapter considers the extent to which each instance of language loss or language death entails the loss of part of group or individual identity, and the role of identity in language maintenance.

Background

The focus in this chapter is on language shift on Guernsey, the second largest of the Channel Islands, in the Gulf of St. Malo off the coast of northern France (see the map in Figure 8.1). Despite its proximity to France, its political allegiance is to Great Britain.

The main industries at present are finance (Guernsey is a tax haven) and tourism, but before World War II the economy was based on agriculture and horticulture. The Channel Islands are not part of the UK and have their own parliaments which regulate local affairs, although they are dependent on the UK for foreign policy. The Islands are only associate members of the European Community, and are not subject to European laws and agreements such as the Charter for Regional and Minority Languages. Eight hundred years of political autonomy have not increased the status of the indigenous vernacular, nor has it stopped it from declining – indeed, it might be argued that language is not a symbol of independence. Guernsey French¹ is now at around level 7 on Fishman's (1991) 8-point scale of language endangerment, i.e. most native speakers are past

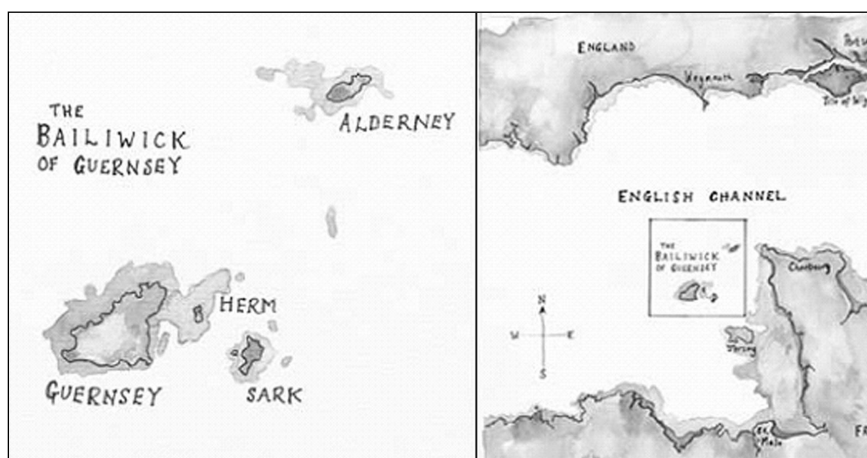


Figure 8.1 Geographical location of Guernsey. Image courtesy of VisitGuernsey www.visitguernsey.com/

child-bearing age. It has no official status and its existence is largely ignored by the island government.

Guernsey French is a variety of Norman French, related to the varieties spoken in other Channel Islands and in mainland Normandy, with which it is to a large extent mutually comprehensible. Norman has been spoken in the Channel Islands for at least a thousand years. English is a relatively recent newcomer. In the eighteenth century Methodist missionaries found very few people who understood English (Marquis 1997), and even in the first half of the twentieth century Norman French was still being used for most day-to-day purposes outside the main town. Linguistic and cultural shift accelerated in the twentieth century and the islands are now almost completely anglicized.

The Channel Islands have been a bastion of the British Crown against France since 1204, when they 'chose' to remain linked to the UK instead of mainland Normandy, which had been conquered by the French king Philippe Auguste.² The islands were heavily fortified and withstood numerous attempts at invasion from France. This inevitably had an effect on the islanders' view of themselves in terms of national identity, which may explain the rapid acceptance of English once it gained a foothold, although standard French remained the High language until the end of the nineteenth century.³

The history of immigration into the island is particularly relevant to the development of its language and identity. In the Middle Ages, Norman was an important international language and was spoken by all classes. However, from the sixteenth century onwards, standard French was promoted by the French monarchy. In the seventeenth century Protestant refugees fled to Guernsey from religious persecution in France. At that time Guernsey was ruled by a strict Puritan 'theocracy' which almost wiped out traditional songs and dances, and which welcomed Calvinist preachers who were fluent in French. According to

De Garis (1973: 260 and personal communication), standard French speakers thus gained positions of influence and introduced negative attitudes towards the indigenous vernacular. A stable diglossic relationship developed, with standard French as the ‘High’ language and Guernsey French as the ‘Low’ vernacular. Although it was often despised, it is only since the introduction of English, in the late eighteenth century, that the survival of Guernsey French has actually been threatened.

Although sizeable contingents of British soldiers were stationed in the Channel Islands during the Napoleonic wars, it was not until the start of regular steamboat services in 1824 that large-scale immigration and tourism from the UK became feasible. Well-to-do immigrants came to enjoy the mild climate, and labourers came to work in the granite quarries and, to a certain extent, in horticulture. ‘Polite society’ disdained Guernsey French and hoped that their daughters would marry British officers (Inglis 1835), while English-speaking labourers envied and resented the landed, Guernsey French-speaking farming families (Crossan, personal communication). Nevertheless, intermarriage and mass media brought English into the domestic domain and broke up the stable diglossia under which Guernsey French was the language of the home and of primary identification.

Crossan (2005) documents the rise of English in the nineteenth century through historical records and observes that it was seen as a ‘modernizing’ force, whereas those who upheld the role of French were seen as trying to maintain social barriers. This view of English as modern continued into the twentieth century, especially after World War II. Half of the population, including most of the children, was evacuated to the UK just before the Germans invaded in 1940, which led to a break in intergenerational transmission. Returnees brought back less insular attitudes which viewed the old language and culture as backward.

There is no higher education in the Channel Islands, and there is a general skills shortage. The finance industry, with its high salaries, is the first choice of career for many islanders, while young people leave for higher education and training, many of whom are never to return. A considerable proportion of teachers and civil servants have to be imported, mostly from the UK.⁴ There are, however, some native speakers of Guernsey French in the civil service, who use the language at work (unofficially of course). One told me how she had just finished a telephone conversation in Guernsey French when an English colleague came up to her and asked her what language she had been speaking. He had not even been aware that Guernsey had a language of its own. Thus, those who are responsible for policy decisions often have little knowledge of local culture. Many imported teachers are ignorant of local history and culture, which are given little space in the curriculum. Virtually the only local history taught is the German occupation from 1940 to 1945 and the evacuation of children to England beforehand. Eleven-year-olds interviewed in September 2001 did not even know the date of the Norman conquest of England. One language campaigner suspects that the lack of teaching of local language and culture in schools is deliberate, to prevent separatist sentiments from growing, and to encourage Anglicization and integration; but a more likely explanation is ‘benign neglect’ or apathy.

Guernsey is self-governing in internal matters such as education and finance, but since there is such a strong British influence in policy-making, it tends to follow a British (or, more specifically, English) model, although in education, for example, it could easily have followed a Welsh bilingual model (or any other, for that matter). Islanders are proud of the Norman legal tradition, but this aspect of Guernsey identity is also under threat. Interviewees note that property laws, one of the last extant areas of traditional Norman law, and which used to be replete with Norman terminology, are gradually being altered to follow an English model with English terminology.

Current sociolinguistic situation

According to the 2001 census, which was the first one ever to ask a language question, 14 per cent of the total population of nearly 60,000 (1 in 7) have some understanding of Guernsey French, but only 2 per cent speak it fluently. Most of these speakers are elderly, and there are relatively few second language learners due to the lack of official support and infrastructure for doing so, together with widespread negative attitudes towards the utility of Guernsey French.

The data in this paper is taken from two surveys and interviews with informants. Forty residents of Guernsey (mostly native speakers of Guernsey French) were interviewed in 2001 and 2002, and a postal questionnaire was sent out to members of a local society which used to have a philology section (now defunct). This brought in 90 replies, just under half of which were from native Guernsey French speakers. It can be said that data from postal responses may be less reliable than face-to-face data, and admittedly they allow less negotiation and discussion, but postal distribution in fact reached a more representative sample, including more isolated speakers (see below). The interviewees tended to be 'primary contacts', recruited by the 'friend of a friend' method (Milroy 1987), many of whom are active in the language revitalization movement, so their views may not be typical of speakers of Guernsey French, and even less typical of the majority population. Informants recruited by the 'friend of a friend' method are also, by definition, part of a social network. Many speakers are elderly: the people they used to speak Guernsey French with have died, and they have few opportunities to speak it now. It might therefore be possible to get a skewed picture of the pattern of use if only socially integrated speakers were surveyed. The postal responses were followed up by more interviews in 2003. As most of these informants were from older generations, visits were made to four schools to talk to young people aged 11, 13, 15 and 17.

A second survey focused on the attitudes of the majority Anglophone population towards language and identity. It was carried out in 2004, when celebrations of the 800th anniversary of independence had led to public discussion of issues of island identity, coupled with anecdotal reports of more positive attitudes towards Guernsey French. A questionnaire consisting of Likert scale attitude statements and open questions was circulated via the social and work networks of anglophone contacts. Although it is difficult to elicit responses from informants without a pre-existing interest in language issues to a survey on

this topic, 200 replies were received and the profile of the respondents matched that of the general island population in terms of the proportion speaking Guernsey French fluently (2.26 per cent) and in that a third were born outside the island. Follow-up interviews were carried out in 2005.

The core of the first survey concerned the extent and contexts of the use of Guernsey French nowadays, in order to establish baseline data. The sampling differences between face-to-face and postal respondents revealed significant variations, as is shown in Tables 8.1 and 8.2.

Table 8.1 How often do you speak Guernsey French?

	Face-to-face interviewees	Postal respondents (speakers only)
Every day	58%	3%
More than once a week	16%	19%
Less than once a week	21%	48%
Never	5%	23%

Half of the speakers who responded by post reported that they spoke Guernsey French less than once a week (not including the non-speakers). By comparison, 58 per cent of the face-to-face interviewees said that they speak Guernsey French every day; nevertheless, a quarter speak it less than once a week. There is a community of retired people who still use Guernsey French for their entire social life, for example at ‘Darby and Joan’ clubs, whist and euchre drives and playing bowls; but this contrasts sharply with the isolation felt by other elderly speakers.

Isolation is an increasing problem for endangered language communities, as the average age profile of speakers is rising, and the friends and relatives they used to speak with are passing away:

(1) ‘I’ve had nobody to speak it to since my mother died in 1995’.

In addition, they are increasingly infirm and immobile. Over two-thirds of the Guernsey French-speaking postal respondents reported having 20 or fewer Guernsey French interlocutors. In contrast, two-thirds of the face-to-face interviewees reported having ‘at least 100’, ‘about 50’ or ‘many’. As well as being important for language maintenance, the loss of social networks in a particular language may also affect self-identification as a speaker of a particular language if it is no longer used on a regular basis, especially if attrition processes have set in, as was witnessed in a number of interviews.

Since the first survey, the questions ‘who speaks what language when, and where’ (Fishman 1965) have been expanded to include *why*. A major question, which relates communities of use to questions of identity, is why some people maintain their ancestral language and transmit it to their children, while others give it up.

Table 8.2 How many people do you speak Guernsey French with?

	Face-to- face interviewees	Postal respondents (speakers only)
At least 100	11%	0
About 50	28%	6%
'Many'/'several'	28%	24%
10 to 20	6%	12%
Under 10/ 'not many'	28%	41%
None	0	18%

Language and identity among majority language speakers

As mentioned above, anecdotal reports that the negative attitudes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries might be changing instigated a survey of the attitudes of anglophones in Guernsey. On a scale of 1–5, 70 per cent of respondents reported 'agreeing strongly' with the statement 'Guernsey should maintain a unique identity of its own', with 25 per cent agreeing mildly (remembering that only 67 per cent of respondents were born in Guernsey). Only half a per cent disagreed strongly with this statement. However, respondents were more equivocal about the statement 'Speaking Guernsey Norman French is an important part of Guernsey identity', with 25 per cent agreeing strongly, 34 per cent agreeing mildly, and 25 per cent neutral; nevertheless, only 9 per cent disagreed strongly and 9 per cent mildly. On the other hand, 57 per cent agreed strongly and 27 per cent mildly that 'Guernsey Norman French is an important part of our heritage' (with only 2 per cent disagreeing strongly), and only 7 per cent agreed strongly that 'It doesn't matter if Guernsey Norman French dies out'. Comments in interviews and in answers to open questions indicated that island heritage, independence and the calmer pace of life are highly valued, and that there is increasing concern for a loss of Guernsey distinctiveness and at growing Anglicization:

- (2) 'Unfortunately [the differences] are becoming less, but the main one would be a community spirit in Guernsey, and pride in our heritage.'
- (3) 'We must maintain our independent culture and heritage.'
- (4) 'Very sad to see Anglicization [of] many aspects of Guernsey life.'

A number of respondents stressed the importance of language in local identity:

- (5) 'Guernsey French identifies the island even though I don't speak it ... necessary to keep it going to keep island identity.'
- (6) 'When I was at school (1960s), it was the perception that Guernsey French was an inferior language, a language of peasants! One was looked down upon as being 'countrified' if one was associated with the language. There seemed to be no comprehension, or if there



was, no acceptance, that Norman French was the language of William the Conqueror; that it preceded French; that it is our heritage! As such, I feel strongly that it should not be allowed to disappear ... I believe there has to be a greater effort yet to promote the language at the political level, at this eleventh hour so as to try to ensure that our own heritage is preserved.'

However, some were more ambivalent:

(7) I would be pleased if my children were able to speak or at least understand Guernsey French but there are so few opportunities to actually make use of it, the question arises how practical it would be? I would think that learning Guernsey French would help children to have a better sense of identity and understanding of the past, but I can't be sure of this since I don't speak it myself, and Guernsey may be distinct enough without the language element to provide a sense of identity.'

This will be discussed further in later sections of the chapter.

Culture, ethnicity, identity and language

Culture

It is beyond the scope of the discussion in this chapter to examine cultural theory in detail, but for its purposes a working definition of culture is 'the material and social values of any group of people ... a patterned sphere of beliefs, values, symbols, and discourses' which is autonomous and 'cannot be explained away as a mere reflection of underlying economic forces, distributions of power, or social structural needs' (Smith 2001: 3–4). Culture has close links with identity, although the latter is 'seen as a signifier at play in cultural fields rather than as a biological or psychological quality of individuals' (*ibid.*: 242).

The traditional essentialist view of culture is exemplified by Hallowell (1969). According to this view, the concepts of identity and culture are interdependent: the one cannot exist without the other. Fishman (1999: 444) claims:

Languages do not just symbolize their associated cultures ... and they are not just indexically better suited to their related cultures than are any other languages ... what is most unique and basic about the link between language and culture is that in huge areas of real life the language is the culture and that neither law nor education nor religion nor government nor politics nor social organization would be possible without it.

However, this claim does not stand up to a comparison with reality: in Guernsey, for example, most of these institutions have rarely, if ever, been conducted in the medium of the indigenous language, yet Guernsey people of all backgrounds staunchly defend their unique governmental and legal system. Atkinson (1999) calls this a 'received' view of culture, according to which cultures are seen 'in their most typical form as geographically (and quite often nationally) distinct entities, as relatively unchanging and homogeneous, and as all-encompassing systems of rules or norms that substantially determine personal behavior' (*ibid.*: 626). Atkinson advocates what he terms a 'middle ground' approach to culture



which, while accepting that an individual's identity is influenced by his/her cultural roots, recognizes that individuals have choice or what he terms 'agency', the ability to make choices about which cultural norms they accept. A 'middle ground' approach to culture thus recognizes the complex relationship that exists between an individual and his/her cultural background.

Ethnicity

It is impossible to define ethnicity in terms of quantifiable physiological differences. Jenkins (1997: 170) defines it as follows: 'ethnicity and its allotropes are principles of collective identification and social organization in terms of culture and history, similarity and difference'. There is thus very little difference between 'ethnicity' and 'culture' as defined earlier. 'Identification' is included in this definition, indicating an intimate link between ethnicity and identity. However, as will be seen below, the interface is mostly one-way: although identity is a necessary part of ethnicity, ethnicity is not an essential feature of identity.

Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982: 5) distinguish between an 'old' ethnicity based on common regional background and social networks which 'joined people through clusters of occupational, neighbourhood, familial, and political ties', and a 'new' ethnicity depending 'less upon geographic proximity and shared occupations and more upon the highlighting of key differences separating one group from another'. This latter is very similar to Tajfel's (1981: 225) definition of social identity: 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his [*sic.*] knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership'. It could be said that language shift often accompanies a shift from the first type of ethnicity to the second, which is more typical of modern societies.

Identity

There are many views on identity. Some social constructivists argue against the possibility of even studying self and identity objectively, whereas many psychologists and sociologists implicitly assume that they can be studied objectively (Jussim *et al* 2001: 5). This chapter takes the second view, and uses as a working definition that of Holland (1997: 162): 'a self-understanding or self-objectification to which one is emotionally attached'.

Many psychological texts on identity, such as Giddens (1991), Craib (1998) and Du Gay *et al* (2000), scarcely mention language as a factor. Even Gumperz (1982) does not focus on a putative link between language loyalty and culture/ethnicity, but on the communicative production of identity through discourse (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982: 1).

Nevertheless, in sociolinguistic literature a link between language and identity is often simply assumed and is treated as a given, with little discussion of its nature, and with a tendency to appeal to emotional responses (e.g. Fishman 1989; Krauss 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas 1999). Recent theoretical work on identity

in the fields of literary theory (Moya and Hames-Garcia 2000) and feminism (Bucholtz *et al* 1999, which includes a chapter on Irish language revitalization) proposes a ‘realist’ view of identity, recognizing as problematic the traditional essentialist view of identity as fixed: ‘the tendency to posit one aspect of identity as the sole cause or determinant constituting the social meanings of an individual’s experience’ (Moya 2000: 3). However, Moya also claims that deconstructionist and postmodern views of identity as an epistemologically unreliable construct are inadequate, as ‘cultural identities can be enabling, enlightening, and enriching structures of attachment and feeling ... significant modes by which people experience, understand, and know the world’ (*ibid.*: 8). Mohanty (2000: 32) maintains that there is no necessary opposition between ‘lived experience’ and ‘scientific thinking’: ‘theory-laden and socially constructed [interpretation of] experiences can lead to a knowledge that is accurate and reliable’ (*ibid.*: 36). He goes on to define identities as theoretical constructions that enable us to read the world in specific ways; they are therefore valuable and their epistemic status should be taken seriously (*ibid.*: 43). A purely functional view of the world, which ignores emotional factors, can thus miss important information. Essentialist views of language and identity are still fairly common:

(8) One’s identity I think is very tied back into one’s traditions and background – they are what make you and the culture that you exist in different to any other, in my opinion. And as a result of that if you have a language which adds and enriches that then I think that it’s very important that that be continued. ... my dearest wish is that before the language dies completely in Guernsey that it be – not resurrected but given rebirth really to some extent – people who still speak it can encourage the people who want to learn it – that’s my feeling.

The emotional link between language and identity is illustrated by a number of my informants’ responses, and will be discussed further on pp. xxx–xx.

Culture, identity and language loyalty

Language is often thought to be purely about communication, following Austin’s (1975) speech act theory and Grice’s (1989) Cooperative Principle and Maxims, which were taken up enthusiastically by the communicative language teaching movement (e.g. Widdowson 1978). We can communicate in any language; and from a purely functional viewpoint, the better known that language is, the easier communication is. This is a point of view often expressed in Guernsey by people who see the indigenous language as ‘useless’, both economically and functionally: it was ‘holding people back’. Such views tend to be held by older people whose forebears shifted language for economic reasons, or whose ancestors were immigrants. When it is suggested that Guernsey French should be taught in schools, their reaction is often that it would be more useful to teach standard French:

(9) ‘If children are going to learn another language at school they should learn proper French or German or Spanish or even an Eastern language – a language that’s widely spoken.’

These informants have no interest in the ancestral language as a marker of island identity. On the other hand, very few of them would describe themselves as English. As Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 239-40) note, feelings of ethnic identity *can* survive total language loss. Dorian (1999: 31) comments, 'Because it is only one of an almost infinite variety of potential identity markers, [language] is easily replaced by others that are just as effective. In this respect the ancestral language is functionally expendable.' Atkinson (1999) observes that individuals have various social allegiances and assume multiple social roles, which are constantly open to change; this is echoed by Joseph (2004: 8) and several of the contributors to this volume (see Omoniyi in Chapter 2, for instance). Other possible identity markers include nationality, ethnicity, parental status, class, age, gender, job, religion, personality, political persuasion and interests. Some of these factors are individual, while others express social or group membership. They are not mutually exclusive, and different identities may, at times, be more salient (Fishman 1989).

Much of the discourse on endangered languages seems rather essentialist and deterministic. The strong version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis claims that our way of thinking, and thus our cultural identity, is determined by the lexicon and syntax of our language (Mandelbaum 1949; Carroll 1956). This is the argument followed by many endangered language campaigners when they claim that when a language dies out, a unique way of looking at the world also disappears (Nettle and Romaine 2000; Baker 2002). For example, Grimes (2001) claims that the disappearance of a language means the extinction of a unique creation of human beings that houses a treasure of information and preserves a people's identity. Yet Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) stress that grammar, semantics and language variation must be seen in the light of social and political contexts:

We do not intend to claim that ideology shapes language and that since language shapes social reality there is no way out. Our main goal in this book is to show how ideology enters into face-to-face speaking practices to create an international space in which the subconscious and automatic sociolinguistic processes of interpretation and interference can generate a variety of outcomes and make interpretations subject to question (*op. cit.*: 3).

Fishman (1991) claims that one 'cannot be Xish through language Y'. However, in a survey of Jersey Norman French speakers, Skeet (2000) asked this very question and found that although most retained a strong affective attachment to and identification with Jersey Norman French, they saw in their daily lives numerous people who were adequately identified both by themselves and by others as fully Jersey without speaking the indigenous language, so were forced to conclude that speaking Jersey Norman French was not an essential indicator of 'Jerseyness'. To maintain that it is both flies in the face of observed reality, and also risks alienating the majority population. Myhill (1999) warns that the equating of language with individual identity can undermine efforts to preserve indigenous languages threatened by demographic swamping. This would seem to be particularly important at a time when majority attitudes towards the indigenous variety are softening, as confirmed by the results of the survey of Anglophones in Guernsey reported on p. xxx.

The development of efficient communications has brought more cultures into contact than ever before. The extent to which this entails cultural and linguistic change or shift depends on how confident speakers are in their local language and culture, which in turn is a reflection of their status in the society (see pp. xxx–xx). In Guernsey the effects of improved transport links to the UK and mass media (very little of which are in the indigenous language) have been accentuated by the recent economic dominance of the finance and tourism industries. As discussed above, feelings of distinctive identity are multifaceted and can outlive objective measures such as language and culture, so that a Guernsey person can still feel pride at being from Guernsey, although linguistically and culturally they may well be indistinguishable from one who is from England.

It is necessary to recognize that culture and ethnicity are by no means the only, or necessarily the overriding, factors in determining identity feelings. Mackie comments: ‘spurious arguments suggest that it is “natural” to feel closest to people of one’s own “culture”, ignoring all the differences of class, gender, and personality that operate against any notion of cultural homogeneity’ (Barker 1981, cited in Mackie 1996: 40). We must not be tempted by neat theories such as linguistic or cultural determinism to forget real life. As Craib (1998: 176) points out, ‘Neither the self or identity are simple social products, rather in the end they are areas of individual and collective freedom which are constantly threatened by the structures and ideologies of the wider society.’ Although we are influenced by social attitudes and language ideologies, these can be changed, as shown in quotes 28–29 from interviews in Guernsey. Mackie promotes a ‘reflexive’ view of self, similar to Atkinson’s ‘middle ground’, in which ‘people are still part of that cultural patterning, but they *see* their position within that patterning and how they are shaped according to it. Then they may be able to exercise choice between those aspects they wish to adopt and those they wish to overcome, jettison, or change in themselves’ (*ibid.*: 42). As humans we thus have the individuality to accept or reject roles and cultures, and to add new dimensions to our ways of thinking by cross-cultural communication and language learning. This can be a way of asserting our individual identities in the face of social pressure to conform. Some of the language shift in Guernsey is as a result of individuals rejecting the old culture, which they perceive as rigid or repressive. It is also possible to reject a culture while retaining a strong affection for the language associated with it; some of my informants have done this (see pp. xxx–xx). Mohanty claims that even collective identity can be consciously forged through re-examination of accepted cultural meanings and values, and given definitions of personal and political interests (Mohanty 2000: 56). In the context of language shift such re-examination could, conceivably, challenge accepted concepts such as ‘majority language = progress’, as has happened in Wales.

The re-forging of Guernsey collective identity to omit Guernsey French in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may not have been entirely voluntary. As Dorian (1994) notes, people are often faced with a lack of freedom in language choice and identity formation, resulting from economic necessity and internalized ideologies of language inferiority, which can lead to linguistic and cultural shift. This will be explored further in the next section.

Identity in Guernsey

Individual and group identity in relation to the wider world

The section examines to what extent do feelings of ethnic group distinctiveness affect language loyalty and shift in Guernsey. Many Guernsey people, especially older ones, are adamant that they are not English. Some even claim that England belongs to Guernsey because as part of Normandy, Guernsey won the Battle of Hastings in 1066. Guernsey identity is therefore not necessarily in conflict with Britishness:

(10) 'We are not English but we are British.'

Many Guernsey people are staunchly in favour of the British royal family; the island's loyalty is directly to the Crown, not to the British Parliament. The traditional toast is 'La Royne, not' Duc' ('The Queen, our Duke'), referring to the dukedom of Normandy. The royal family is not seen as a threat to the Guernsey French language, and on the occasion of a royal visit in 2000 a welcoming speech was read in Guernsey French.

Informants often express regret at Anglicization, but very few express outright resentment, perhaps out of politeness (a highly regarded trait in Guernsey). The resentment in the next example is directed more at rich incomers buying up country properties. English speakers tend to be equated with people of English origin by older Guernsey French speakers, no doubt because originally English was brought in by immigrants. This informant first makes this assumption, but then checks himself, recognizing that anglophones can be Guernsey people (of a sort) too:

(11) 'J'travailtais dauve mon père – et tous les vaisaoïns ch'était tout en guernesiais ... mais aucht'haeure i saoiënt tous partis ain? Aucht'haeure – ya iocque d'anglais ou pus anglais saoiïn doute – ou p'tête guernesiais saoiïn doute.'

['I worked with my father – and all the neighbours it was all in Guernsey French ... but now they've all gone eh? Now – there's only English or more English no doubt – or perhaps Guernsey no doubt.']

Some Guernsey people claim Norman French identity, on the basis of shared cultural traits rather than political grounds.

(12) I get on well with Normandy French people – they're on the same wavelength. You never know where you are with the English.

This was reciprocated by a recent arrival from Normandy:

(13) Being from Normandy, I felt very at ease with the geographical aspect of the island ("paysage"), and all the French names (streets, family names) when I first came to the island.

Of course trading contacts have always been strong: even in times of conflict between France and Britain, when Guernsey was nominally in the front line, smuggling was widespread. There has also been considerable immigration from France in Guernsey's history, especially in times of religious persecution. However, in the twentieth century contact with France lapsed, and for several years there was not even a ferry service. For most purposes, Channel Islanders have turned their backs on France. Language, food, media and religion are now almost wholly English.

As noted earlier, a link between language and national identity is often assumed in discourse on language and ethnicity, but just what the national identity is in Guernsey is not easy to ascertain. There is a strong sense of local pride, but the Channel Islands are not thought of as a nation or even as an entity. There are strong (if good-natured) rivalries between the islands,⁵ and even within Guernsey there is rivalry between parishes (see examples 14 and 29). For administrative purposes Guernsey is divided into ten parishes, each with its own character and, formerly, its own distinct dialect of Guernsey French (see the map in Figure 8.3). Nowadays they also have websites. In Figure 8.2, the Castel parish presents its view of its own identity to the world. The lack of reference to Britain could be interpreted in several ways: as a statement of separate identity, as an attempt to avoid offence by being neutral and not identifying with any external nation at all, or as a snub to Britain – but as noted above, there is little overt resentment of Britain, although most Guernsey people would probably bridle at being described as English. It is notable that this website is entirely in English and that Guernsey French is not mentioned on it at all, although Castel has a relatively high level of Guernsey French ethnolinguistic vitality. Most Guernsey French speakers are elderly and are not Internet users (with some exceptions of course).



Figure 8.2 The Castel Parish website (www.castelparish.org.gg – accessed 22 April 2003). Reproduced with the permission of the webmaster.

This emphasis on local identity influences the view of language. Many of my informants are keen to differentiate Guernsey French from standard French, and point out differences, although Guernsey French is often referred to as *frênçais*

(French). Guernsey French speakers are often at pains to point out that Guernsey French is not monolithic, and that regional differences are significant:

- (14) a I'm from St Saviour's and I'd say *ieau* /φo/ but he'd say *iaou* /φoY/ [water] and that's Torteval. Terry as well would say *iaou* you see they were St Peter's Torteval – and
 b no just St Peter's and Torteval
 a not the Forest I don't think?
 b Forest was again different
 a and I say *lâ-haut* /λaηo/ but he says *lâ-baout* /λaηoY/
 JS ah for up high

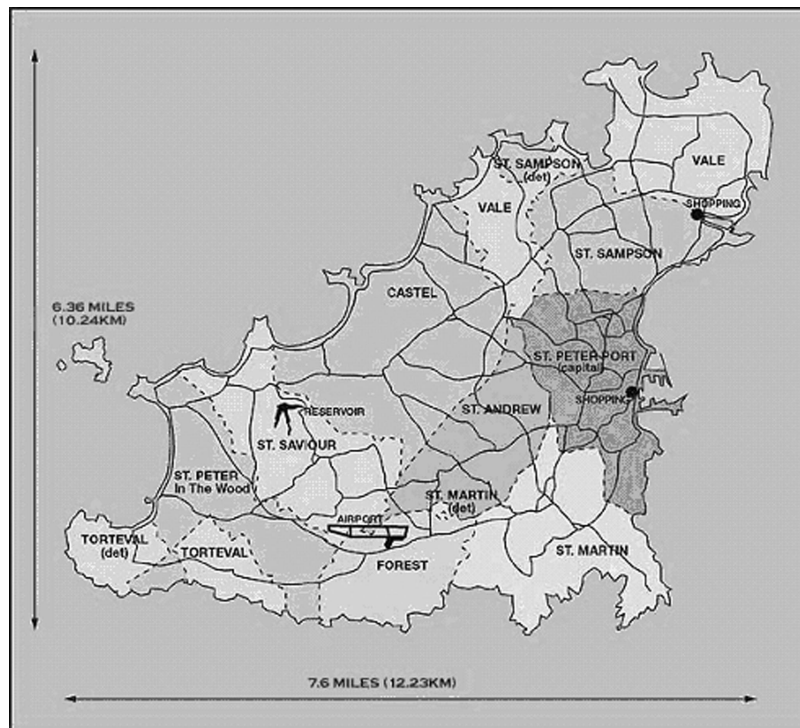


Figure 8.3 Map of Guernsey showing parishes. Image courtesy of VisitGuernsey www.visitguernsey.com/

- (15) 'That depends on where you come from [laugh] how you say it you see. Les Vâlais saoiënt aen p'tit pus sus les angiais – éiouque les sians des hautes paraisses i saoiënt pus sus l'frênçais qui fait qué nou-z oime à dire qué nou-z est aen p'tit dans l'mide les câtelandes (laugh)' ['The Vale people tend a bit towards the English – whereas those from the high parishes tend more towards French so we like to say that we're a bit in the middle the Castel people.'] (See Figures 8.2 and 8.3.)

The respondents to Pooley's (1998) survey in the Nord department of France expressed similar views, with more explanation:

Chaque village a son propre parler picard; en apprenant le patois d'un autre village, on ne retrouvera pas ses racines. (Pooley 1998: 48)
 [Each village has its own variety of Picard; if you learn the dialect of another village, you won't find your roots.]

This concern is at the root of the emphasis on local differences: if a 'unified Guernsey French' were taught in schools, as is happening with other European minority languages such as Breton or Basque, it would not be the variety which would connect learners to their roots. There is also some debate about the 'best accent', as some view the accent of many younger speakers, and of those who were evacuated in World War II, as unacceptably Anglicized.

In addition, some older speakers recognize that some of the younger activists who are campaigning for Guernsey French in schools are in fact 'semi-speakers' in Dorian's (1977) terms, and they fear for the integrity of the language. They have quite a proprietary attitude towards Guernsey French, and would almost rather it died with them than survive in a garbled, or modernized, form.

(16) 'No offence but I wouldn't say that you're good enough – that your Guernsey French is good enough to teach children – it's like the Ravigotteurs [a language revitalization organization] you see, they're going to change the language to teach it – it won't be the Guernsey French we know.'

Such an attitude could be seen as counter-productive by language campaigners, but the last fluent generation is also the repository of oral traditions which have not yet been recorded and are fast dying out; and if the language is to be documented and preserved, is important that it be in as expressive a form as possible.

Despite this strong sense of local distinctiveness, Anglicization continues. Although there are restrictions on house purchases by outsiders, English speakers continue to move in. In recent years rich Anglophones have tended to buy properties in country areas which were previously bastions of Guernsey French. Thus, a language community (and old-type ethnicity in Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz' (1982) terms) is being eroded, and opportunities for isolated older people to speak Guernsey French decrease further.

At the other end of the social scale, there is also a shortage of workers willing to take on lower-paid jobs such as hotel, catering and care work. Hotel workers are recruited from Portugal (mainly Madeira) and Latvia, originally on a seasonal basis but there has been some intermarriage and permanent settlement; there may now even be as many speakers of Portuguese as Guernsey French on the island, but the 2001 census, which asked about competence in Guernsey French, did not ask about other languages. As mentioned on p. xxx, the majority of speakers of Guernsey French are elderly, and are increasingly housed in care homes. Nursing and care workers are recruited from the UK, Portugal and the Philippines. I was told anecdotally about an old man in a home who was thought by the care staff to be mad because he was 'rambling incoherently'. It was only when someone visited who knew Guernsey French that it was realized he was

speaking coherently, in Guernsey French. This case highlights the need for policies to cater for Guernsey French speakers, especially the elderly who may forget their second language due to strokes or stress. In Wales, ambulances carry a Welsh speaker for such an eventuality.

A major strand in the literature on language and ethnic identity is the view of language as an inter-group phenomenon (Giles 1977; Tajfel 1978 and 1981; Giles and Johnson 1981; Hogg and Abrams 1988, *inter alia*). However, in the Guernsey context it is not clear where ethnic or group boundaries can be drawn. Speakers and non-speakers are physically indistinguishable, and even native-speaking campaigners for Guernsey French admit to having problems telling from the accent in English who is a speaker of Guernsey French. Although Guernsey French speakers distinguish between people of native stock and those of English descent, there has been so much intermarriage that it would cause family rifts to identify English speakers as an 'out-group'. A large proportion of my native-speaker informants have monolingual English-speaking spouses; only one claims to have no immigrants in her family. As another said:

(17) 'Al est finie la laingue pasque ya aen amas qui saoiënt mariaï ... coume mé – j'ai mariaï un angllais et i n'sai pas la laingue et i n'est intéressé'
 ['The language is finished because there are a lot [of people] who got married ... like me – I married an Englishman and he doesn't know the language and he's not interested']

It is likely that such peaceable inter-group coexistence contributes to language shift; but would conflict be preferable? When asked whether he made efforts to find opportunities to speak Guernsey French, one native-speaker informant commented:

(18) I don't make much effort to find them really apart from meeting people you know that know it – I don't go to any societies that specifically speak in Guernsey French – I didn't join l'Assemblaïe d'Guernesiais [a language preservation society] because my wife doesn't know it and I feel that it would be a division you know?

In the 2001 census, 36 per cent of the population reported being born outside the island. Of the remaining 64 per cent, a considerable proportion must have immigrant backgrounds: there has been a continuous and substantial influx of outsiders since the mid-eighteenth century (Crossan 2005). It can be generalized that descendants of immigrants are less likely to speak Guernsey French. However, non-Guernsey ancestry does not preclude an interest in the local language. I have several examples of more recent immigrants to Guernsey and Jersey, and also Ireland, attending, and even running, classes in the indigenous language, and also becoming leaders of the revitalization movement. Some immigrants from the UK have been influenced by official acceptance and promotion of indigenous languages such as Welsh and Cornish. One Cornishman who was working in Guernsey on licence was sympathetic because of this, and told me that his daughter (aged 9) was learning a Guernsey French poem for the Eisteddfod festival, and was very keen. A supply teacher overseeing the 15-year-old interviewees had not heard of Guernsey French previously, but expressed immediate interest and asked for a translation of her house name.

Language and the emotions

Much language use is not purely functional; language is not only for communication but also about establishing and maintaining relationships and expressing identity, i.e. the phatic function (Jakobson 1960). Goffman (cited in Schiffrin 1996: 309) argued that the way people choose to speak plays a crucial role in 'creating and maintaining the roles we fill, the statuses we occupy (our social identities), and the personalities we feel ourselves and others to have (our personal identities)'.

I have found evidence of profound affective attachment for the indigenous language, even among informants who do not speak it in their homes:

(19) 'Guernsey French is wonderful ... people's eyes dance when they speak it.'

(20) 'plloin /πφ ɪ)/ – it's a nice word'

(21) 'If I was kidnapped like Terry Waite or on a desert island, although I'm a Christian and I should say I'd like the Bible, what would mean the most to me would be a recording of someone speaking Guernsey French.'

Several informants have told me that when relatives were dying, they reverted to their first language. For many older Guernsey French speakers the language is connected with memories of loved ones who have now passed away – perhaps bittersweet memories make for ambivalent attitudes:

(22) 'With my brothers when we were having a fun evening we used to tell each other a lot of stories – which were really funny and I always meant for us to record it – when we were having one of those sessions – but it never actually happened – and it's lost now.'

This informant also noted that self-expression is easier in the first language:

(23) Aen caoup dans l's États je dis que si ch'était en guernesiais je pourrais mé – m'expressaï bian mus [laugh] – i riyaiant' ['Once in the States⁶ I said that if it were in Guernsey French I would be able to express myself much better – they laughed.']

Some of my informants have 'come back to their roots' after a number of years when they rejected traditional language and culture. They may be criticized by others because they did not speak Guernsey French when they were younger, but at least some are now trying to make up for lost time in their enthusiasm for the language. Unfortunately however, this 'conversion' often takes place too late to raise children speaking the ancestral language (see Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale 1991). The time of life when people are able to transmit a language to their children is also the period when they may be rejecting the old culture, or busy perfecting their proficiency in the dominant language for economic or educational reasons.

For older non-speakers, discussion of language issues, far from arousing pleasant emotions or nostalgia, can invoke anger and resentment. This might perhaps reflect the historical negative attitudes among non-speaking immigrants

but another possible explanation is guilt and resentment at having had to switch language for economic reasons. However the survey of anglophones showed that attitudes among non-speakers are becoming less negative; reasons for this will be examined in the next section.

Identity, attitudes and language maintenance

As stated above, many older speakers express an emotional attachment for Guernsey French. But it must also be remembered that it is their generation who caused its demise by not transmitting it to their children. Emotional attachment does not necessarily inspire speakers to act to save their language from dying out. Bankston and Henry (1998) agree that a strong identification with a minority language may not always correlate positively with language maintenance, in particular when it comes to transmitting a low-status variety to children.

Negative attitudes towards minority languages are well documented. It is not uncommon for such attitudes to be internalized by the speakers themselves: Labov (1966: 489) claimed that 'the term "linguistic self-hatred" may not be too extreme'. Classification of one's own language as a 'non-language' or as 'deformed French' (as opposed to 'good French', as Guernsey French and standard French are still sometimes known respectively), is indicative of a lack of confidence in traditional identity, and leads to acquiescence in language shift.

It may therefore be a mistake for language campaigners to stress the link between language and traditional culture too strongly. For many islanders, especially those whose families shifted to English, the old language and culture are associated with poverty and backwardness. For example, Guernsey French has no word for 'bathroom', because its development stopped with World War II and many pre-war Guernsey houses had no bathroom (Harry Tomlinson, personal communication). In this respect, Denison's (1977) charge of 'language suicide', and Ladefoged's (1992) assertion that many minority language speakers consciously trade their traditional language for economic gain, are quite likely to have more than a grain of truth in the Guernsey context.

But, as noted earlier, it would be ingenuous to claim that those 'choosing' language shift have free choice. Bourdieu (1991) interprets this as due to the 'cultural capital' attributed to different languages in an unequal sociolinguistic relationship which parallels their economic relationship in a 'linguistic market'. More powerful languages exert 'symbolic power' and intimidation, which individuals may not be aware of and to which they vary in susceptibility. These predispositions are acquired through a 'gradual process of inculcation in which early childhood influences are particularly important' (*ibid.*: 12). Walker (1993) supplies another explanation, using the analogy of Maslow's (1954) Hierarchy of Needs, according to which basic needs such as food and security have to be satisfied before 'higher' concerns such as esteem and self-actualization. Thus, people whose main concern is food and shelter are motivated to learn a language which they perceive as more likely to fulfill those needs – indeed, in many cases the dominant language is the only route to education and jobs. Once their descendents are economically secure, they have the leisure to regret

what they have lost. This ‘attitude shift’ is increasingly found among younger generations in minority groups (Dorian 1993; Crystal 2000: 106), and tallies with the findings of the second Guernsey survey. The following quote is from a woman in her 20s:

(24) ‘Guernsey French should definitely be taught in schools, I wish I had learnt it. ... Everyone I meet in the UK asks if I speak French/Guernsey French and sadly I speak French, not fluently though, and can’t speak Guernsey French much at all.’

But, as Crystal points out, ‘by then, without any preservation measures, it is too late.’ (*ibid.*: 106.)

The Guernsey French speakers I have interviewed are largely from former farming families. In the past, Guernsey French was seen as a low-status peasant dialect. Several speakers report being called ‘country bumpkins’: a common insult is ‘oh you come from the country you’. However, this has changed in recent years, as ‘identity’ and language revitalization come to be seen as middle-class concerns, which tallies with Walker’s analysis in some respects. This can also backfire:

(25) ‘The only people who want to save the language are intellectuals’.

(26) ‘I don’t agree with trying to revitalize something just for the kudos.’

The young people interviewed displayed a somewhat different view of language and identity to older informants. When asked about how they identified themselves, as many of the 11-year-olds said they felt English as Guernsey; one felt French and one Thai. The majority of all the school students wanted to leave Guernsey when they were older; this may just be due to general teenage disaffection and lack of local opportunities, but it also reflects feelings towards traditional language and culture, especially insularity.

Although over half of the 11-year-olds had an English parent, nearly half had heard Guernsey French, and a third had relatives who spoke it. Some said they would like to speak it with their grandparents. Most of the 11-year-olds thought it would be a good idea to learn Guernsey French in schools, but with 13- and 17-year-olds the proportion dropped to a small minority. Nevertheless, the following comment was heard independently from several young people, and may offer a way to ‘sell’ traditional language and culture to them, as they place little value on it otherwise:

(27) ‘A secret language of our own – cool’.

This too calls into doubt language revitalizers’ current strategy of focusing on festivals of traditional culture.

Linguistic pride regained?

As mentioned earlier, negative attitudes are a major factor in loss of confidence in local identity and in promoting language shift, but a sense of pride is gradually

regaining ground, with the language being reclaimed as a positive identity marker:

(28) 'I think that was the thing – that's how we started to lose it after the war er it wasn't the in thing – to speak Guernsey French and that is right that in certain company you didn't speak it – because it made you feel a bit inferior but now it's the other way round – you don't feel at all inferior if you know it, it's completely the opposite you know?'

(29) 'I was put down at school for being from the country and didn't admit to speaking Guernsey French. ... J'oïmerais bian que tout ma fomille [pâle] pasque quënd j'étais p'tite j'étais embarrassai dé lé pâlai mais ... aucht'haeure je sis aen amas fière que je peux le pâlai.' [... I'd like all my family [to speak] because when I was little I was embarrassed to speak it but ... now I'm very happy that I can speak it']

(30) 'Nou joue à bowls et nou se d'vise, nou veit des gens là qu'nou se counnit en guernesiais – et l'onnaïe passaï y'a aen haoume qui dit – huh, that foreign language! You come from the country – et je li dis yes, and all our rubbish goes down the Vale!' ['We play bowls and we speak to each other, we see people there we know in Guernsey French – and last year there was a man who said huh, that foreign language! You come from the country – and I told him yes, and all our rubbish goes down the Vale!']⁷

There has also been a shift in how Guernsey identity is presented to the outside world. In the 1960s and 1970s, the message to the banking industry and tourists (and even printed on postcards) was that there was 'no language problem'. Now the tourist board website stresses 'heritage', and boasts the only official sign in Guernsey French (see Figure 8.4).



Figure 8.4 Sign outside tourist board offices (photo: J. Sallanank)

Identity or vitality?

There is a worrying trend for campaigners to focus their attention on language as a symbol of identity, rather than on the social and economic factors which caused language shift, or on revitalization of the living language through inter-generational transmission. Fishman (1987), cited in Crystal (2000: 83), calls this trend the 'folklorization' of language: the use of an indigenous language only in irrelevant or unimportant domains. In a similar vein, Bankston and Henry (2000) describe the 'commodification of ethnic culture' amongst Cajuns in Louisiana, which involves an increased emphasis on Acadian heritage despite increasing acculturation, including a continued importance placed on the French language despite its decreasing use (Bankston and Henry 1999). Cultural festivals are a relatively uncontroversial language activity, and the only type which attracts official funding in Guernsey (from the Tourist Board rather than the Heritage Committee, which concerns itself only with buildings and monuments). Although cultural festivals are an important expression of linguistic pride and identity, and provide an opportunity for the audience to meet fellow speakers and speak the language during the event, the focus is on linguistic identity as display rather than on language as a living part of everyday life. As more non-speakers enter who have learnt set pieces without much other knowledge of the language, judges 'help' them by commenting in English, so the Guernsey French environment is further diluted. A similar process has happened in an association originally set up to preserve the language through speaking it at social events: as more non-speaking members have joined, albeit with good intentions to support the language, the medium of meetings has switched to English. So the opportunities to speak the language dwindle and even people who win prizes for their Guernsey French in cultural festivals cannot always hold a conversation in it.

Around the world, language revitalization movements are still at early stages in their development. Many ideas have been tried, some of which seem more successful than others. There are some common strands which can be identified, for example the tendency to abdicate responsibility noted, for example, by King (2001) and Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998). Language communities and campaigners find it easier to focus on getting the language introduced into the school curriculum than on changing their own and their neighbours' behaviour, although intergenerational transmission in the home is the only real gauge of a language's vitality (Fishman 1991). It may be that campaigns all have to go through this stage in order to gain acceptance and maturity. Getting the minority language accepted into the school curriculum is also an important part of status planning and thus in countering negative attitudes.

In some places language revitalization has progressed considerably further than in Guernsey, and further stages of awareness have been reached. This is particularly the case where official support has been attained, as in Wales or New Zealand. I have recently heard about a scheme to teach prospective parents their minority language some years before they have a child, focusing on childcare and child-raising language. But this was only after the community had realized for itself that school-based language teaching, even full immersion,

was not delivering long-term revitalization: children had not accepted it as a language of primary identification, were not using it after they left school, and did not know vital domestic expressions.

The main reason given by language campaigners for not using Guernsey French in their own homes is lack of confidence. It can sometimes be difficult to tell the difference between lack of confidence in language proficiency, and lack of confidence in the validity and usefulness of a low-status variety. This may help to explain the discrepancy in figures between those who reported themselves as fluent in Guernsey French in the census (2 per cent) and those who claim to be able to understand some (14 per cent). 'Understanders' (or 'latent speakers', in the terms of Basham and Fathman 2003) clearly have a good knowledge of structure and lexis, but lack the confidence to speak. I have witnessed conversations where one interlocutor speaks in Guernsey French and the other in English; this was apparently common between parents and children a generation ago.

One possible way to improve both kinds of confidence might be a scheme along the lines of the Master-Apprentice programme developed by Native American language campaigners in California (Hinton 1997), where older fluent speakers are paired with learners or latent speakers. This would also serve a useful social purpose in providing interlocutors for isolated older speakers or those in care homes.

Conclusion

Language revitalization in Guernsey still has a long way to go before it can claim the success of Welsh or Maori, and it is likely that the current older generation will be the last fluent native speakers. People are coming to recognize what is being lost, with the anglophone majority also seeing Guernsey French as an important part of heritage and distinctiveness, as well as a way of forge links to this heritage for incomers:

(31) 'I think it could be a positive way of creating an 'inclusive' Guernsey identity if a limited amount of Guernsey French was taught at school as part of a course on local culture and traditions. I am English but from a Guernsey family on my mother's side. Her mother's first language was Guernsey French but she did not teach her children and so none has been handed on to me – apart from a word or two.'

This informant is advocating 'symbolic ethnicity', as discussed at the beginning of this section. Although it raises the prestige and linguistic capital of Guernsey French, this does not necessarily promote ethnolinguistic vitality or intergenerational transmission; and identification with a language, and strong emotional bonds to it, do not guarantee its maintenance either. But it is hard to see how a minority language can be preserved without a focus on identity: it is difficult to rationalize on functional grounds alone. A major justification for minority language revitalization must therefore be to maintain links with a community's roots and identity.

Acknowledgements

This paper originated at a mini-symposium on Language and Identity at the University of Reading in February 2003, organized by Paul Kerswill, to whom I am grateful for ideas and suggestions. I would also like to thank Alison Sealey for comments which considerably improved the paper, and Sandra Lee McKay for tips on bibliographical references.

Notes

- 1 The name 'Guernsey French' is used in this paper as it is in common use in the island and is used by the informant quoted in the title. Strictly speaking, however, it refers more accurately to a form of standard French previously used in the island's parliament and for other High functions (see note 6). The term 'Guernsey Norman French' describes the variety's linguistic genus and was used in the 2001 Census for this reason to avoid any confusion, but it is not in general use. The variety has no official name and is often called 'the *patois*', French for 'dialect', but some language campaigners object to this. The majority of native speakers I have questioned prefer to call it 'Guernesiais'.
- 2 In return, they gained the political and tax privileges which form the basis of the economy today.
- 3 This in itself might be seen as remarkable given the constant political links with England (Marr 2001), but it must be remembered that French remained the court language in England until the fifteenth century, and was still used in British law until the early eighteenth century (Paradis 2005).
- 4 These incomers are nowadays only given fixed-term licences rather than full residence rights, and cannot buy property on the local market (i.e. at local prices), although some settle and marry local people.
- 5 On the radio I recently heard a weather saying recounted by a Jersey resident: 'Red sky in the morning, sailor's warning; red sky at night: Guernsey's on fire.' In both islands it is said that if you can see the other it is going to rain.
- 6 This informant was a member of the island parliament (the States of Deliberation) at the time. It is only since 1948 that government business has been conducted entirely in English, although English has been allowed since 1898. Before then the official language was standard French, although an American philologist who sat in on some debates (Lewis 1895) commented that the French used was in fact often not very standard. Unlike in the modern devolved Welsh, Scottish and Northern Irish assemblies, the indigenous vernacular is not used in parliamentary debates, and there is no provision for translation.
- 7 The granite quarries which drew immigrant labourers in the nineteenth century, especially to northern Guernsey, are now used as rubbish tips.

References

- Atkinson, D. (1999), 'TESOL and culture', *TESOL Quarterly*, 33, 625–54.
- Austin, J. L. (1975), *How to do Things with Words*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Baker, P. (webmaster) (2002), *Foundation for Endangered Languages Manifesto*. www.ogmios.org/manifesto.htm. Accessed 19 February 2003.
- Bankston, C. L. III and Henry, J. (1998), 'The silence of the gators: Cajun ethnicity and inter-generational transmission of Louisiana French', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 19, 1–23.
- Bankston, C. L. III and Henry, J. (1999), 'Louisiana Cajun ethnicity: Symbolic or structural?' *Sociological Spectrum*, 19, 223–48.

- Bankston, C. L. III and Henry, J. (2000), 'Spectacles of ethnicity: Festivals and the commodification of ethnic culture among Louisiana Cajuns.' *Sociological Spectrum*, 20, 377–407.
- Basham, C. and Fathman, A. (2003), 'Developing language skills of latent speakers', Paper given at American Association for Applied Linguistics annual conference, Arlington, Virginia, 24 March 2003.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991), *Language and Symbolic Power*, edited by J. B. Thompson and translated by G. Raymond and M. Adamson. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bucholtz, M., Liang, A. C. and Sutton, L. A. (eds) (1999), *Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carroll, J. B. (1956), *Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*. MIT Press.
- Craib, I. (1998), *Experiencing Identity*. London: Sage.
- Crossan, R. (2005), 'Guernsey, 1814–1914: Migration in a Modernising Society'. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester.
- Crystal, D. (2000), *Language Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dauenhauer, N. M. and Dauenhauer, R. (1998), 'Technical, emotional, and ideological issues in reversing language shift: examples from Southeast Alaska', in L. A. Grenoble and L. J. Whaley (eds), *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 57–98.
- De Garis, M. (1973), 'Philological Report', *Transactions of La Société Guernesiaise*, XIX, 260–1.
- Denison, N. (1977), 'Language death or language suicide?', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 12, 13–22.
- Dorian, N. C. (1977), 'The problem of the semi-speaker in language death', *Linguistics*, 191, 23–32.
- Dorian, N. C. (1993), 'A response to Ladefoged's other view of endangered languages', *Language*, 69, 575–9.
- Dorian, N. C. (1994), 'Choices and values in language shift and its study', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 113–24.
- Dorian, N. C. (1999), 'Linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork', in Fishman (ed.), 25–41.
- Du Gay, P., Evans, J. and Redman, P. (eds) (2000), *Identity: A Reader*. London: Sage/Open University.
- Fishman, J. A. (1965), 'Who speaks what language to whom and when', *La Linguistique*, 2, 67–88.
- Fishman, J. A. (1987), 'Language spread and language policy for endangered languages', in *Proceedings of the Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, pp. 1–15.
- Fishman, J. A. (1989), *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991), *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (ed.) (1999), *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991), *Modernity and Self-identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Giles, H. (ed.) (1977), *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. New York: Academic Press.
- Giles, H. and Johnson, P. (1981), 'The role of language in inter-group relations', in J. Turner and H. Giles (eds), *Intergroup Relations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Grice, H. P. (1989), *Studies in the Way of Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Grimes, B. (2001), 'Global language viability: causes, symptoms and cures for endangered languages', *Notes on Linguistics* 4, 205–23.

- Gumperz, J. J. (ed.) (1982), *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. and Cook-Gumperz, J. (1982), 'Introduction: language and the communication of social identity', in J. J. Gumperz (ed.), *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hallowell, A. I. (1969), *Culture and Experience*. New York: Schocken.
- Hinton, L. (1997), 'Survival of endangered languages: the Californian Master-Apprentice program', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 123, 177–91.
- Hogg, M. A. and Abrams, D. (1988), *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Processes*. London: Routledge.
- Inglis, H. D. (1835) (revised edn), *The Channel Islands*. London: Whittaker.
- Jakobson, R. (1960), 'Concluding statement: linguistics and poetics', in T. Sebeok (ed), *Style in Language*. Cambridge: Technology Press.
- Jenkins, R. (1997), *Rethinking Identity*. London: Sage.
- Joseph, J. E. (2004), *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Jussim L., Ashmore, R. D. and Wilder, D. (2001), 'Introduction: Social identity and intergroup conflict', in R. D. Ashmore, L. Jussim and D. Wilder (eds), *Social Identity, Intergroup Conflict, and Conflict reduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–14.
- King, K. A. (2001), *Language Revitalization Processes and Prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Krauss, M. (1992), 'The world's languages in crisis', *Language*, 68, 4–10.
- Labov, W. (1966), 'The effect of social mobility on linguistic behavior', *Social Inquiry*, 36, 186–203.
- Ladefoged, P. (1992), 'Another view of endangered languages', *Language*, 68, 809–11.
- Le Page, R. and Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985), *Acts of Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lewis, E. S. (1895), *Guernsey: its People and Dialect*. Baltimore: Modern Language Association of America.
- Mackie, F. (1996), 'The ethnic self', in A. Kellehear (ed.), *Social Self, Global Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 34–44.
- Mandelbaum, D. G. (ed.) (1949), *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir*. University of California Press.
- Marquis, J. (1997), 'La situâtion d'la langue en Guernesî depuis la Réformâtion au jour d'ognîet', *Le Viquet*, 117, 6–16.
- Marr, J. (2001), *The History of Guernsey: The Bailiwick's Story*. Guernsey: The Guernsey Press.
- Maslow, A. (1954), *Motivation and Personality*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Mohanty, S. P. (2000), 'The epistemic status of cultural identity', in P. M. L. Moya and M. R. Hames-Garcia (eds), pp. 29–66.
- Moya, P. M. L. (2000), 'Introduction: reclaiming identity', in P. M. L. Moya and M. R. Hames-Garcia (eds), *Reclaiming Identity: Realist Theory and the Predicament of Postmodernism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 29–66.
- Moya, P. M. L. and Hames-Garcia, M. R. (2003), *Reclaiming Identity: Realist Theory and the Predicament of Postmodernism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Myhill, J. (1999), 'Identity, territoriality and minority language survival', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 20, 34–50.
- Nettle, D. and Romaine, S. (2000), *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Paradis, M. (2005), 'Not in Latine or French or any other language than English...'. Paper presented at LingO: Postgraduate Linguistics Conference at Oxford University, 23–24 September 2005.
- Pooley, T. (1998), 'Picard and regional French as symbols of identity in the Nord', in D. Marley, M.-A. Hintze and G. Parker: *Linguistic Identities and Policies in France and the French-*

- speaking World*. London: Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research, pp. 43–55.
- Schiffrin, D. (1996), 'Interactional sociolinguistics', in S. L. McKay and N. H. Hornberger (eds), *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 307–28.
- Skeet, R. M. (2000), 'Remarks on Language Revival and Survival: A Case Study of Jersey Norman French'. Unpublished masters dissertation, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1999), *Linguistic Genocide in Education—Or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Smith, P. (2001), *Cultural Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tajfel, H. (1978), *Differentiation Between Social Groups*. London: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1981), *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walker, R. (1993), 'Language shift in Europe and Irian Jaya, Indonesia: toward the heart of the matter', in K. De Bot (ed.), *AILA Review 10: Case Studies in Minority Languages*. Bradford: Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée.
- Widdowson, H. G. (1978), *Teaching Language as Communication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.