VARIATION AND CHANGE IN FRANCOPROVENÇAL: A STUDY OF AN EMERGING LINGUISTIC NORM

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Abstract

This variationist sociolinguistic study investigates language change in the Francoprovençal speaking communities of les monts du Lyonnais in France, and the Canton of Valais in Switzerland. Francoprovençal is the label given to a highly fragmented grouping of Romance varieties that have long been in decline in parts of France, Switzerland and Italy. However, emerging new speakers are now leading efforts to reverse language shift: terming their varieties instead Arpitan, these speakers campaign for wider recognition, more favourable language planning policies and increased literacy. While these activists publically decry standardisation, they have also adopted a proposed pan-regional orthographical norm with a series of recommended pronunciations for learners. Speech samples collected from fifty-seven research participants in nine fieldwork sites are used to assess the extent to which language change is in progress. In particular, we ask whether or not the proposed norm is impacting upon three categories of speakers with very different routes of acquisition. In Chapter 1 we give a brief overview of Francoprovençal, and outline the parameters of the study. Chapter 2 presents an overview of where Francoprovençal has come from and why it is so controversial. Beginning with its origins, we give a brief history of dialectalisation for our fieldwork areas, before discussing Francoprovençal as an exceptional case in the Romance linguistic literature. Case studies on language maintenance and shift are presented in Chapter 3, where we

contextualise our study on Francoprovençal and the emergence of the revitalisation movement. We argue that Francoprovencal does not quite fit the mould of other multidialectal contexts such as Breton or Corsican. Chapter 4 outlines the methods employed in undertaking the empirical and ethnographic fieldwork for the study. In Chapters 5, 6, and 7 we examine each of the linguistic variables in the study in relation to a number of extra-linguistic factors. Our findings indicate that, while older traditional speakers produce localised dialectal variants in a more monitored speech style, there is significant variation. Conversely, the new speakers not only show substantial linguistic divergence from other speakers in the sample, but also from each other. We present evidence to suggest that the pan-regional norm is having some impact on language use. In Chapter 8 we focus specifically on the Arpitan movement and its effects, asking in what ways a commitment to the revitalisation cause is driving change for some participants in the study. A novel Arpitan Engagement Index is employed to assess the extent to which speakers are connected with the movement and how this correlates with language use: we focus on the social significance of a series of 'new' Arpitan forms. We terminate with our conclusions in Chapter 9, where we advance a number of hypotheses in relation to language change in the communities under investigation. In particular, we suggest that convergence is taking place in the direction of both national and regional norms. Lastly, we suggest avenues for future research trajectories.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Opening considerations

Today, few commentators would argue that the regional and minority languages (henceforth RMLs) in contact with Standard French (henceforth SF) in France are not in 'terminal decline' (Hornsby 2009: 158). Francoprovençal, a RML which is in contact with not one but three dominant languages (French, German, and Italian), is no exception. Francoprovençal (ISO 639-3 *frp*) is the glottonym (language label) assigned by linguists to a set of varieties spoken traditionally in parts of France, Switzerland, and Italy. Diasporic communities are also reported to maintain the use of Francoprovençal in parts of Canada and the United States (see Nagy 1996; 2011). In France, the territory over which Francoprovençal is spoken stretches across the departments of the Loire, Rhône, Ain, Isère, Savoie, Haute-Savoie, and parts of Jura and Franche-Comté; Francoprovençal still persists too in isolated rural pockets around the periphery of the cities of Lyon and Geneva. In Switzerland, the greatest concentration of speakers are found in the Canton of Valais. Unlike in France, where in some regions the increased rate of language shift has led some to describe speakers' practices as purely 'post-vernacular' (Pivot 2014: 26-29), in Valais, Francoprovençal is still very much part of everyday life. Moreover, in one or two isolated mountainous regions of Valais, such as the municipality of Évolène, inter-

generational mother-tongue transmission still takes place (Maître and Matthey 2008: 76). Francoprovençal is also still maintained in rural isolated parts of Neuchâtel, Lausanne, and Fribourg, where the Gruérien varieties formed part of a recent speaker survey (Meune 2012a). In spite of these signs of resistance, numerous parts of Switzerland *have* undergone complete language shift. For example, while Francoprovençal was once spoken in the Canton of Vaud, Meune reports that 'il ne compte très vraisemblablement plus aucun locuteur natif' ('there are in all likelihood no native speakers left') (2012b: 3) at the time of writing in 2012.

(Figure 1.1.1 Francoprovençal speaking zone, taken from Bert *et al.* 2009: 14)[1]

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[1] In spite of the traditional linguistic borders illustrated for Francoprovençal in Figure 1.1.1, it is important to highlight that, in reality, such boundaries 'on the ground' are much more vague, and will hold little or no meaning for speakers themselves (see Costa and Bert 2014: 186-205).

In Italy, Francoprovençal is still maintained in the remote towns of Faeto and Celle, but Nagy (1996) has reported that these varieties are in rapid decline. That said, the semi-autonomous region to the northwest of Italy known as the Aosta Valley holds something of a fabled status as the 'Eldorado' (Meune 2009: 2) or 'citadel' (Favre 2011: 10) for remaining Francoprovençal speakers. Here, the Valdôtain dialects of Francoprovençal are spoken. Lastly, to the South of the Aosta Valley lies the region of Piedmont, where Francoprovençal is also spoken alongside Piedmontese and other Italo-Romance varieties.[2]

Regarding vitality, there are a range of estimates for remaining speakers of Francoprovençal, but no reliable census data exists. Ball (1997: 68) for example used figures by Kloss and McConnell (1984) and Kloss et al. (1989) to suggest that just 30,000 speakers remained in France at the time of writing. However, more recent figures by Moseley et al. (2007: 246) put speakers at 35,000 in the Savoie region alone, with 25,000 residing in other parts of the Francoprovençal speaking zone in France. Salminen (2007) has added that 28,000 speakers are thought to be left in Italy; this includes the Aosta Valley, Piedmont and parts of Faeto and Celle di St. Vito. In general, Martin (1991; 2002) and Tuaillon (1993b) have argued that between 120,000 to 150,000 and 200,000 Francoprovençal speakers remain overall, where Tuaillon states more specifically that between 50,000 and 60,000 are thought to be left in France (1993a: 7; 1993b: 142); this is reiterated more recently by Judge (2007: 106). Meune (2009: 1-2) makes use of census figures from 2000 to illustrate that roughly 16,000 people are thought to speak Francoprovençal in Switzerland. Further he suggests that census figures from the Aosta Valley, dating from 2001, show that 23%

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[2] In the literature, it is not uncommon to find Piedmontese labelled as a dialect of Francoprovençal. However Romance linguists maintain that Francoprovençal, as a grouping of Gallo-Romance varieties, are structurally distinct from Piedmontese (*e.g.* Agard 1984: 251; Cerruti and Regis 2014: 84)

(or 27,600) of the population of 120,000 use Francoprovençal 'on a weekly basis' (2009: 3). Earlier figures by Tuaillon (1988: 204) suggested that there might have been as many as 70,000 speakers in Italy at the time of writing. This contrasts with Salvi (1975: 106), reproduced in Nagy (1996), who suggested that the number would have been closer to 90,000. There is, therefore, significant disagreement over precise speaker numbers. The problem with these sources, however, relates to what is meant by terms such as 'speaker', as an identifiable 'proficiency continuum of speakers' (Dorian 1981: 114) is a hallmark of obsolescent languages. From the figures cited, there is no reported distinction between disparate speaker types, with varying levels of proficiency. Data published most recently by Bert *et al.* (2009: 49-51) also highlight these problems.

1.2 Motivations for study

Clearly, then, for some time, Francoprovençal has been losing ground to the dominant languages with which it is in contact. While for the most part native speakers (also called 'traditional speakers') quietly lament the demise of Francoprovençal, other types of social actors are engaged in language revitalisation strategies that might stem (or even reverse) the tide of gradual language shift towards the dominant language. As we will see, in the conventional revitalisation literature, the models that have arisen as a result of such strategies tend to prescribe language standardisation at the expense of variation. In this respect, however, Francoprovençal activists face a unique problem, for in their case the very term 'Francoprovençal' is dogged with controversy and enjoys little language loyalty among its speakers. While the Breton language may

be fragmented, speakers have no difficulty identifying Breton varieties; in the case of Corsican, the geographical boundaries within which the language is spoken are clearly defined, neither assumption can be safely made in the case of Francoprovençal. Ever since it was first introduced into the Romance linguistic literature (Ascoli 1874 [1878]), the notion of Francoprovençal has been called into question, and there has long been little agreement over its linguistic borders or the linguistic criteria used in demarcating it along the Romance continuum. As late as 2007, scholars continue to ask: 'le francoprovençal existe-t-il ?' ('does Francoprovençal exist?') (Tuaillon 2007: 9). The label 'Francoprovençal' too is problematic and confusing, for it suggests a hybrid of both French and Provençal (a set of varieties belonging to Occitan). Perhaps most importantly, however, is the fact that native speakers – who only ever refer to Francoprovençal as 'patois'[3] – have never knowingly felt to be part of the same linguistic unit nor shared in a common linguistic identity (Tuaillon 1993: 142). It comes as no surprise, then, that Francoprovençal has been called 'une langue méconnue' ('an unknown language') (Stich 1998: 7) or 'une langue oubliée' ('a forgotten language') (Tuaillon 1988: 188).

However, a new movement is determined to promote and protect this unknown and forgotten language. Activists have emerged in the Francoprovençal-speaking region with aims and ambitions geared towards wider recognition, more favourable language planning policies, and increased literacy. However, this movement is not made up of native speakers as one might expect, but, rather, consists of L2 speakers, who term the language instead *Arpitan*. For *Arpitanistes*, the problem

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[3] The label 'patois' is used generally by laypeople throughout France and Switzerland to refer to RMLs. 'Patois' is not geographically locatable or classifiable in any linguistic sense (Wolf 1972: 173). It is sometimes used by linguists working on Francoprovençal, given that most speakers are more likely to recognise 'patois' rather than 'Francoprovençal' (*e.g.* Tuaillon 1993).

of promoting a language which enjoys little recognition among its speakers is compounded by those familiar to activists elsewhere, most notably the issue of whether or not, in the face of severe fragmentation, to promote a 'standard' variety which might not be accepted by native speakers themselves. To achieve wider literacy, the movement has adopted a proposed pan-regional orthography that differs markedly from traditional phonetic-based spelling systems. Although the movement claims that they do not seek to standardise Francoprovençal (a motive much resented by native speakers), this orthography, as we will see, is peppered with 'recommended' forms for a 'standard francoprovençal' (Stich 1998: 78). Therefore, we will argue that a *de facto* standard for Francoprovençal is being introduced instead by the back door; in particular, we will ask what impact the standard might be having linguistically on speakers themselves.

This study contributes to sociolinguistic research on language variation and change in a set of varieties that have hitherto received very little attention in the traditional Romance linguistic literature. Further, this study is the first of its kind, in that it employs quantitative variationist methods across both the phonological and morphological levels of linguistic description in Francoprovençal, where empirical data will come from varieties spoken in two French speaking states: France and Switzerland. This study will also draw influence from social network theory in sociolinguistics (*e.g.* Milroy 1987) to enhance the analyses of linguistic variability.

1.3   Research questions

Owing to the evidence of language obsolescence and a committed revitalisation movement, a number of questions need to be asked regarding the direction of change.

Our focus will be on Francoprovençal users themselves in two broad areas, and by looking closely at four linguistic variables, we will attempt to determine whether local norms are being maintained or, if not, what the direction of change is. To what extent are these 'standard' Arpitan forms being adopted? Or is Francoprovençal usage showing signs of convergence with SF, as observed, for example, for urban Picard varieties by Hornsby (2006)? Lastly, if change is indeed observable, then who is appearing to lead it?

1.4   Outline and structure of the study

In Chapter 2 we give a detailed overview of where Francoprovençal has come from and why it is controversial. Beginning with its origins, we give a brief history of dialectalisation in a geographical area that today forms parts of France, Switzerland and Italy, before discussing Francoprovençal as an exceptional case study in the Romance linguistics literature. In particular, we focus on the historical narrative, where we discuss the controversies surrounding the language as outlined in §1.1. This necessarily requires that we briefly explore its linguistic features, which also provides an opportunity to introduce the linguistic variables for analysis in the study (the subject matter for Chapters 5, 6, and 7). In Chapter 3, we contextualise the case study on Francoprovençal and the emergence of Arpitan by outlining the socio-political context. We therefore begin with a brief history of the decline of RMLs in France, starting with the Revolution of 1789, and culminating with present day glottopolitics (language politics, following Adrey 2009). This will then be contrasted with the context of Switzerland and Italy. Thereafter, we introduce a taxonomy of language standardisation models. The latter part of this chapter will then be dedicated to an

examination of well-documented attempts at revival and revitalisation in other typologically-dissimilar languages. A number of case studies will be presented of minority varieties that share common problems with Francoprovençal. In light of these discussions, we then turn to the particular context of Francoprovençal in order to establish in macro-linguistic terms how Arpitan fits into the picture, before examining in micro-linguistic terms what speakers are doing themselves. Chapter 4 outlines the methods employed in undertaking the empirical and ethnographic fieldwork for the present study. Notably, the methodology design focuses on three kinds of speakers (native speakers, late speakers, and new speakers; see Chapter 4), whose acquisition routes differ significantly. In general, the methods employed in this study are adopted from standard practices within the variationist sociolinguistics paradigm (*e.g.* Milroy and Gordon 2003). However, it must also be stressed here that the operationalisation of these methods have been called into question when it comes to sociolinguistic studies of endangered regional languages rather than dominant languages, and so a number of important departures from standard variationist norms are also outlined and elaborated on. In Chapters 5, 6, and 7 we examine each of the linguistic variables chosen for analysis in the study, where we focus on the language use of our sample of speakers. In Chapter 8 we focus specifically on the Arpitan movement and its effects, asking in what ways a commitment to the revitalisation cause is driving change for some speakers. Lastly, we terminate with our conclusions in Chapter 9, where we also suggest avenues for future research.

Chapter 2.   On Francoprovençal

2.1   Introduction

We began in Chapter 1 with the premise that the ancestral dialects and RMLs spoken within and around the Hexagon have been losing ground to the dominant languages with which they are in contact for some time. However, we also suggested that Francoprovençal, as a severely endangered RML, does not quite fit the mould of, for example, Corsican, Breton etc. Therefore, we need an overview of where Francoprovençal has come from, why it is controversial, and why it is different to other cases. In this chapter we begin with a brief history of dialect diversification in a geographical area that today forms parts of France, Switzerland and Italy, before discussing Francoprovençal as an exceptional case study in the Romance linguistics literature, and the controversies surrounding these varieties. Thereafter, we explore its linguistic features, and introduce the variables for analysis in the study.

2.2   Origins: dialectalisation in Romance

The fragmentation of Latin into the Gallo-Romance vernaculars is traditionally attributed to the linguistic 'interference' (Lodge 1993: 20) Latin underwent from the languages with which it came into contact following the Roman campaign into Gaul in the 2nd century B.C., and, concomitantly, its downfall from the 5th century A.D onwards. This linguistic interference is traditionally interpreted through the notion of '*adstratum* influences' ('occurring when two languages exist side by side in more or less permanent contact', Lodge 1993: 20). It is a matter of some debate as to whether or not the substratum influence (those languages spoken in Gaul prior to the arrival of the Romans) had more of an impact upon the fragmentation of Latin by comparison with the Germanic superstratum influence (languages present following Barbarian migrations into Gaul after the fall of the Roman Empire), or *vice versa* (see for example Brun 1936; Wartburg 1967). In this section we outline the series of events that led to the gradual linguistic upheaval in Gaul following the incursion of the Roman Empire in the 2nd century B.C. It is not the intention of this chapter to give a concise history of the linguistic history of Gaul: a wealth of literature already exists on this topic (*cf.* for example Brunot 1933; von Wartburg 1965; Rickard 1989; Lodge 1993). Rather, in this section, an introduction will be offered on the dialectalisation of Latin more generally, with a focus directed towards both social and linguistic change in Roman Sapaudia: a region that today forms a large part of the Francoprovençal-speaking zone.

2.2.1 Gaul before the Romans

Whatmough has suggested that there were no less than five linguistic substratrum varieties present at the time of the Roman invasion: Ligurian, Iberian, Greek, Germanic, and Celtic (1970: 36). Among the largest population were the Celts, an Indo-European people, who had begun to migrate from central Europe into Gaul in the 3rd century B.C. During this period the Celts are thought to have displaced other groups found in the region, such as the Iberians, who were driven towards the south-west, and the Ligurians, who were driven towards the south-east (see for example Whatmough 1970: 18; Rickard 1989: 1). Large regions of northern Gaul were also inhabited by the *Galli* (or indigenous Gauls), and the *Belgae*, a largely Germanic or heavily germanised population who had migrated across the Rhine. Whatmough (1970: 46) suggests that, while these semi-disparate groups shared similar druidic faiths and spoke related dialects, they were far from cohesive in a communal sense. Largely then, there were many disparate communities inhabiting these lands, with no real internal cohesion. There existed also at this time numerous Greek settlements along the Mediterranean coast. In the 2nd century B.C. these Greeks, who were in constant conflict with the Gauls, looked toward the Roman Empire for assistance. This prompted the first Roman campaign into Gaul, dating from 154 to 125 B.C. (Rickard 1989: 1), and would culminate, in 51 B.C., with the last of the Gallic campaigns nearly a century later.

2.2.2 The Romanisation and Latinisation of Gaul

The Romanisation of Gaul (the term we give here to social assimilation of the occupied peoples of Gaul) was a vast and, for the most part, a relatively slow social

process. The indigenous populations found themselves before a superior invading army. The incentives and rewards for quickly assimilating both culturally and linguistically would be great. As the Romans invaded from the South into Gaul, a number of fortified *civitates* ('cities') were established around four large provinces, which would act as focal points for the subsequent Romanisation of the surrounding regions. This began in the 2nd century B.C. with the establishing of the *Provencia Narbonesis*, for which the *Metropolis civitas* (or capital) was Narbonne (James 1981: xvi). This initial invasion provided a route from (what is now) Italy into conquered Spain and onwards into Gaul, from the Alps to the Pyrenees (Lodge 1993: 41). *Narbonensis*, as a characteristically Mediterranean region, saw a swift transfer to a modern civil Roman life (Whatmough 1970: 57-67). Conversely, the Romanisation of the rest of Gaul was a slow and uneven process. From *Narbonensis*, Roman advances proceeded west through the region of Toulouse to Bordeaux into the province of *Aquitania*, there founding the cities of *Biturigum* (Bourges) and *Burdigalensium* (Bordeaux). Germane to our account is the founding of the key *Metropolis civitas* of *Lugdunum* (to become the modern regional capital of Lyon, and the Francoprovençal region's biggest city), which was a major staging post for the subsequent Romanisation of the North. *Lugdunum* was founded as a political centre in the region in the 1st century B.C. It is thought that *Lugdunum* acted as an important transport and trading hub, with a system of five major routes directed towards the mouth of the Garonne, the Channel coast, the Rhine frontier, the Po valley, and the Rhône (Lodge 1993: 49). As the area north-west of *Lugdunum* was of little strategic importance, scholars hold that the Romans also used the south-eastern region of *Lugdunum* as a springboard into the northern territories occupied by Germanic tribes. Through a lexical study based on the *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Gallo-Roman

corpus, Müller (1974: 13-22) has suggested that a channel can be mapped from *Lugdunum* to the Rhine along the north-east of Gaul, illustrating the importance and centrifugal force of *Lugdunum* as a base for further Romanisation; Lepelley had called this channel the 'couloir romanique' ('Roman corridor') (2001: 123-6). Socio-politically, then, it is clear that *Lugdunum* (now the city of Lyon) was an important regional centre for Romanisation.

The 'Latinisation' (or linguistic assimilation, Lodge 1993: 29) of Gaul was also a very slow and uneven process, which can be characterised by centuries of language contact, diglossia, and bilingualism, as a result of the varying degrees of Romanisation in each of the provinces detailed above. The linguistic outcomes of this uneven spread are highlighted by Müller:

> Le Midi jusqu'à la Loire, romanisé beaucoup plus intensément que le Nord, a reçu et conservé un latin plus archaïque, plus soigné, plus universel; le Nord, par contre, romanisé tard, d'abord par l'intermédiaire de Lyon, puis par l'effet d'irradiation de centres plus septentrionaux, a adopté un latin plus avancé, plus diversifié et par là, plus provinciale. Les deux vagues de la romanisation, l'une venant du Sud-Ouest, l'autre de l'Est et du Nord-Est, se sont rencontrées, comme deux bras de tenailles, sur la Loire, et c'est là que les divergences se sont cristallisées[…] (1974: 11-2).

> [From the Midi to the Loire, which underwent much more intense Romanisation than the North, conserved a more archaic, conservative, and universal form of Latin. The North, by contrast, which Romanised much later via Lyon, and then later, via other northern centrifugal centres of diffusion, adopted a more fragmented, more diversified, and, thus, more provincial form of Latin. The two waves of Romanisation, from the South-west and from the East and North-east, came together around the Loire, and it's there where differences crystallised]

Whatmough has gone as far as to suggest that the degrees of Latinisation between the Mediterranean *Narbonensis* and the rest of Gaul were so disparate that the process was not complete in the latter until the 6th century A.D. (1970: 29). Irrespective of this, Latin had become the common language of Gaul by the 3rd or 4th century A.D., and was diffused primarily through the teachings of Christianity, and through the establishing of academic institutions. The Celts had traditionally resisted committing their language to writing, and the vast majority of the speech communities were illiterate. Therefore, there was no common practice for writing prior to the introduction of the Roman alphabet. At what point the inhabitants of Gaul fully abandoned their varieties in favour of Latin is a topic of some debate, but again, the process was very slow. Taking for example the Celts, traditional estimates for a gradual cessation of Celtic is commonly accepted to be between the 5th and 6th century A.D. (*cf.* Whatmough 1970: 76; James 1981: 14; Rickard 1989: 15).

2.2.3   From Empire to Kingdom: The fall of Rome

With the 5th century came the slow demise of the Roman Empire, which paved the way for an influx of Barbarian migrations into Gaul. It is generally held that 406 A.D. began the period of great unrest in Gaul, as this date marks the first major Barbarian invasion that led to nearly a century of conflict (Rickard 1989: 16). By 500 A.D. the Roman political power had vanished, and Gaul had been divided out between three Germanic peoples: the Visigoths, the Franks, and the Burgundians (James 1981: 15), all of whom, it is reported, spoke typologically similar but significantly divergent Germanic varieties (for details, see Keller 1964).

The Visigoths first migrated into Gaul in 413 A.D. but were forced back by the Romans. Upon their defeat, the Romans brought them back into Gaul in 418 to be settled in the Garonne valley (James 1981: 15-6).[3] The destruction of the Visigothic Kingdom was subsequently brought about by invading Franks from the North in 507 A.D. The Franks held large numbers predominantly in the North near the Rhine. More is generally known about this period from the Frankish perspective, as the Christian Church, which survived this great period of unrest, succeeded in converting these largely heathen peoples to Christianity. In this case, the Church and the Franks formed an allegiance that would keep in check the Visigoths and the Burgundians – who at this point largely occupied the valleys of the Rhône and the Saône around *Lugdunum* (Rickard 1989: 17). The Burgundians were therefore a large Germanic people who settled in an area that forms part of the modern-day Francoprovençal-speaking zone. We turn our attention next to the Burgundians and the south-eastern regions.

2.3   Dialectalisation in the south-east

In this section we set the scene in our area of linguistic interest – the south-eastern-most part of the *Provencia Lugdunensis*. It is here where Francoprovençal takes its roots, but there have long been a number of unresolved issues in the traditional literature surrounding its origins, its status, and its borders. We outline these below, beginning with a brief account of the Burgundian people's arrival into Gaul.

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[3] Rather than destroying the enemy, the Romans employed a defensive strategy known as *foederati* ('federates'), whereby the Romans would actively recruit tried-and-tested opponents into the ranks, and position them in defensive outposts to supress any other potential enemy in return for generous incentives (James 1981: 15-6).

We have seen that, by the end of the 4th century A.D., Roman control over Gaul had witnessed its tipping point, which paved the way for the first of a wave of mass Germanic migrations across the Rhine in 406 A.D. Further, it has been suggested that, throughout this period of intense contact, the peoples of Gaul had become accustomed to states of long term bilingualism, through language contact, and which, eventually, would lead to language shift. It is a matter of some debate as to when exactly the written Classical Latin (henceforth CL) began to diverge sufficiently from the spoken Vulgar Latin (henceforth VL) so as to create a situation of mutual unintelligibility (Lodge 1993: 89), from which Latin would then fragment into Proto-Romance.[4] Moreover, the Celtic substratum likely had little influence over the fragmentation of CL. Conversely, however, some Romance scholars have put great emphasis on the influence of the Germanic superstratum in explaining the fragmentation of VL. Among them, Wartburg is perhaps most notable for presenting his hypothesis on the evolution of the Romance languages through successive publications (*cf.* 1941; 1965; 1967). In short, Wartburg argues that each of the Romance varieties came to be distinguished by the manner in which they diphthongised stressed Latin vowels in an open syllable, and that any variation in the diphthongisation of these vowels was, primarily, a result of Germanic influence.

While Wartburg's narrow argument is today considered to be rather dated, his theories on the origins and evolution of Francoprovençal are germane to the present study, for they form one of two competing theories: broadly, these views form what is referred to in the literature as 'le problème burgonde' ('the Burgundian problem') (Schüle 1971: 27). On the one hand, Wartburg (1967: 81-93; 1968: 82) argues that Francoprovençal came about as a direct result of a Burgundian superstratum

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[4] To make sense of this, we adopt here Pulgram's (1950: 462) 'two-norm' theory, which postulates the establishing of a diglossic situation between the two very early on in Gaul.

influence. On the other, Gardette (1970: 295) has suggested that *Lugdunum* played the decisive role in both the Latinisation of Gaul, and concomitantly, the fragmentation of Latin in the region following the Barbarian migrations. By focusing on the prestige and importance of *Lugdunum*, he argues that a unique variety of VL may have emerged, from which the Francoprovençal varieties have developed. In other words, we might consider the variety of Latin spoken in *Lugdunum* around this period to be a *koiné*, described in the modern literature as a variety that emerges as a result of a 'type of language change that takes place when speakers of different, but mutually intelligible language varieties come together, and which may lead to new dialect or koiné formation' (Kerswill and Williams 2005: 1023). In essence, these two views can be considered as competing theories for the emergence of Francoprovençal. Both views are explored below.

2.3.1 Roman Sapaudia and the Burgundian 'problem'

Upon their arrival in the south-east, in an area that the Romans named 'Sapaudia', it is thought that the Burgundians represented but a small proportion of the population inhabiting the region (between 10,000-25,000 according to Haas 1985: 41), which was made up, for the most part, of Celtic tribes. Among these tribes, the *Allobroges* were known to have settled in Savoie and Isère; the *Vocontii* were a Gaulish people found in the Drôme; and the Caturiges and Segusini were found in the Hautes-Alpes (Perrin 1968: 305-6). Following successive defeats, the Burgundians were settled in Sapaudia in 443 (Perrin 1968: 287-89; Musset 1975: 63; Haas 1985: 41).

(Figure 2.3.1.1 Burgundians in Gaul in the 5th century, after Walter 1988: 47)

(Figure 2.3.1.2 Traditional dialectal boundaries, after Walter 1988: 49)

Historically, there has been some confusion over the precise boundaries of Roman Sapaudia, as no administrative text has been passed down detailing the sub-division of this region, and so several different demarcations have been proposed (Perrin 1968: 291). For example, Walckenaer (1839: 358) had suggested that Sapaudia likely included both modern departments of Savoie, as well as parts of Isère, the Drôme and the region between Lakes Neuchâtel and Léman. This is reiterated by Haas who has argued that Geneva effectively formed the centre of a 'Burgundian state' (1985: 41) during this period (*cf.* Figure 2.3.1.1 and 2.3.1.2, above). Musset (1975: 63) sees Sapaudia as the French-speaking region of modern Switzerland, including the South of the French Jura around Geneva. Perrin states that the Burgundians were relocated beyond the Rhône 'dans le pays adjacent à la *civitas* de Lyon' ('in an area adjacent to the *civitas* of Lyon') and so included the Savoie regions (1968: 290). Further, he holds that, while sometimes not unanimously accepted, Burgundian toponyms provide further evidence as to the demarcation of Sapaudia (usually betrayed by toponyms ending in *–ingos,* French *–ens* or *–ans*, Musset 1975: 64), which would include the current departments of Savoie, Haute-Savoie, Hautes-Alpes, and the northernmost part of the Drôme (*cf.* Figures 2.3.1.1, 2.3.2.1) (*cf.* Perrin 1968: 297; Walter 2012: 107).

What then can we surmise about the Burgundian social and/or linguistic influence? It has already been suggested that the Burgundians were profoundly influenced by the prestige of Roman political and religious practices. Indeed, their theocratic democracy was entirely abandoned in favour of a Roman-inspired form of governance. Further, scholars have suggested that the Burgundians were also demonstrably loyal to the Roman Empire (*cf.* Perrin 1968: 114-25; Musset 1975: 64). It would, therefore, seem that social assimilation was taking place within the

Burgundian camp. How, then, could the linguistic superstratum influence have been profound enough to have impacted upon the development of Francoprovençal, if there was an incentive to adopt Latin early on in their settlement in Sapaudia? Can we speak of a 'Burgundianisation', in the same sense as a Latinisation?

In general, very little is known of the Burgundian language, beyond the few existing attestations that have come down from chroniclers at the time. Despite their likely Scandinavian origin (see Perrin 1968 for details), Perrin has suggested that the Burgundian language was distinctively Gothic, and provides several untranslated lexical items from the *Lex Burgundionum* (or 'Burgundian Law'), which shows similarities with the Gothic Wulfila variety (1968: 381-3). In spite of a poverty of information on the Burgundian superstratum, the view that the development of Francoprovençal is the result of Burgundian settlement is traditionally assessed through three scopes: (i) influence at the phonetic level, (ii) the lexical level, and (iii) the onomastic level (*i.e.* the study of place names).[5] However, much of the literature focuses almost exclusively on the lexical level. At the lexical level, Wartburg (1967: 81-92) was able to identify 74 items that have survived into modern varieties of Francoprovençal: this was later extended to 77 in his *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. However, most of these items, Tuaillon claims, appear to be attested in just a few varieties, and they are rarely diffused across the entire Francoprovençal-speaking region (2007: 143). Moreover, others have suggested that, among the lexical items that form Wartburg's list, many consist of 'des hypothèses de travail plutôt que des certitudes' ('working hypotheses rather than absolute certainties') (Schüle, 1971: 32). At other linguistic levels, no convincing evidence has been presented of any phonological evolutions that may have come directly from the Burgundians, or any

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[5] For an overview of Burgundian toponyms, see for example Haas (1985: 42).

obvious phonetic traits, and Gardette (1974: 300) seems convinced that no such evolutions can be found. This is attributed to the fact that (i) Francoprovençal is considered to be distinctively Latin conservative in its characteristics by comparison with the *langue d'oïl* (northern French) varieties (where a greater number of Germanic influences can be found), and (ii) the short period in which the Burgundians were settled in the region, prior to their defeat at the hands of the Franks in 534. This view is reiterated by Tuaillon, who holds that:

> Les burgondes ont, comme tous les autres Germains, imposé des mots nouveaux, mais le bilinguisme né de leur faible présence n'a pas été assez fort pour créer des conditions favorables à d'importantes modifications linguistiques (2007: 160).
>
> [The Burgundians had, like all other Germanic peoples, imposed new words, but the bilingualism born of their weak presence was not strong enough to create the conditions favourable for important linguistic changes]

Nevertheless, it has been suggested by Musset that the Burgundians continued to use their language in Gaul as late as the 7th century (1975: 64), and, certainly, their social impact was far from negligible. For example, early 6th century attestations suggest that 'Burgundia' came to be used to describe the south-eastern portion of the Merovingian kingdom, and, by the 7th century, 'Burgundian' was employed to describe all peoples living in the south-eastern provinces (see James 1981: 24; Lodge 1993: 70). In spite of their impact elsewhere in Gaul, however, and for lack of any clear linguistic evidence, it appears that the attribution of a Burgundian influence to the development of a third linguistic zone covering parts of modern France, Switzerland and Italy, would seem to be unfounded.

While no single influence led to the dialectalisation in the south-east, which would have involved a combination of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors (as

argued by Lodge 1993), an alternative hypothesis to the emergence of the modern Francoprovençal-speaking zone has been advanced by Gardette (1970: 295; 1983: 207-8), who has argued that it was the city of *Lugdunum* that played the decisive role.

Commentators have long stressed the importance of *Lugdunum* as a key regional metropolis in the early Latinisation of Gaul. *Lugdunum*, as we have said, was the hub of a system of five major roads directed into the rest of Gaul, and several commentators have alluded to the likelihood that the varieties of Latin diffused across the *Lugdunensis* were very different from those disseminated in the South (*e.g.* Gardette 1962: 71; Lodge 1993: 49). We have also seen that Romanisation and Latinisation of the North may have followed via a north-eastern corridor emanating directly from *Lugdunum* (Müller 1974: 13-22; Lepelley 2001: 123-6). Further, it is known that, prior to the Roman invasion, the region was populated by both Celts and Greeks (Gardette 1983: 207). By the end of the 1st century A.D., it is estimated that 24% of the population of *Lugdunum* were Greek, and, moreover, it has been suggested that the first Christian Church established was also that of the Greeks (Gardette 1971: 17). Following, then, the founding of *Lugdunum* as a capital of Gaul at the turn of the millennium, along with the introduction of Latin, it would seem that the conditions of a linguistic melting-pot would be hospitable enough for the development of a new prestige variety (a *koiné*) to flourish. That said, evidence in the lexicon of modern-day Francoprovençal suggests that it remained Latin conservative (*cf.* Gardette 1962: 86-9; 1971: 4; 1974: 296); this is betrayed too by some phonological features, such as the retention of Latin Ū, which palatalised from [u] to [y] very early on in the rest of Gaul (Tuaillon 1972: 205-30).

Evidence has also emerged of Lyon's centripetal nature, where, during the long process of Latinisation, it has been suggested that *Lugdunum* not only acted as a

centre of innovation, but also as a stopping point for developments emanating from Paris (Chambon and Greub 2000: 147-81). It is generally held that influence of the *langue d'oïl* certainly had an impact on the development of Francoprovençal, and that this influence can be attributed to five phonological changes in particular:

(i)   the diphthongisation of stressed Latin mid-vowels;

(ii)   the evolution of Latin tonic free A;

(iii)   the palatalisation of Latin A when preceded by a palatal consonant;

(iv)   the opening of intervocalic consonants;

(v)   the palatalisation of Latin C and G + A (Gardette 1974: 299).

Yet, Gardette has illustrated that some of these features are also found to stop at Lyon, and change dramatically further east away from the regional centre. For example, concerning the diphthongisation of stressed Latin mid-vowels, evidence is provided which suggests that this evolution did not make it as far as the region around Grenoble until the late 13th century, despite being attested in the work of scribes in Lyon (1974: 299-301).[6] Evidence also suggests that Lyon as a modern conurbation has continued to resist innovation emanating from the North. For example, consider the palatalisation of Latin C + A in Romance. In SF, Latin C + A in items such as VACCA palatalises to [ʃ] synchronically, giving [ˈvaʃ] 'vache' ('cow'). This palatalisation is commonly found at the western periphery of the Francoprovençal-speaking zone, where an isogloss can be traced from the tip of the northern Loire valley, through parts of the Rhône occupied by Lyon, and into south-western Isère. East of this isogloss, the interdental [θ] variant is more or less categorically found in the Latin C + A context (see for example *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du*

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[6] It must be stressed that written works passed down from scribes are not always reliable in their account of the variation of linguistic features at the time (or indeed place) of writing (see for example Ayes-Bennett 1996: 2-6).

Lyonnais [ALLy] Gardette 1950-1956; Tuaillon 2007). It would appear, then, based on the above evidence, that *Lugdunum* likely played a far more important role in the Latinisation of the surrounding regions and hinterlands by comparison with the Burgundian superstratum, where little evidence remains.

So far we have shown that the literature focuses on three prominent forces in the development of Francoprovençal:

(i)   Latinisation in the south-east;

(ii)   *Lugdunum* as a stopping point for linguistic features emanating from the North;

(iii)   And the prestige of *Lugdunum* as 'un centre innovateur' ('an innovation-diffusion centre') (Gardette 1974: 301).

However, we have not yet considered possible substratum influences. Lévy holds that, in the *Provencia Lugdunensis*, the Celtic language was maintained for a long period of time (1929: 57-61), while Polomé (1983: 530) has suggested that Celtic survived in (what is now) Switzerland through the 5th century, and, possibly, even persisted as late as the 8th century (Falc'hun 1977: 55). Irrespective of this, very little evidence exists as to the definitive impact that Celtic made on the fragmentation of Latin in the region. Brunot has suggested two possible phonological influences: the first relates to the nasalisation of vowels, and the second to the palatalisation of Latin Ū, as mentioned above, which, he claims, seems to be a constant feature exclusively wherever Celtic settlements are found (1933: 54). However, Brunot himself concedes that the former evolution is unlikely to be directly attributed to the Celts, given the late development of some of the nasal vowels, and, as we have seen already, concerning the latter, the pronunciation of Latin Ū as [u] has been maintained in Francoprovençal from Latin. Other scholars have since argued that the palatalisation

of Latin Ū took place too late to be considered a Celtic influence (1989: 3). Further, Brunot later acknowledges the minimal impact that Celtic is likely to have had on the development of Gallo-Romance (1933: 54-56).

In summary, we have seen that the development of the Francoprovençal varieties can be attributed to a combination of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, that have accordingly aided in maintaining its rigid Latinate characteristics (more so, it has been suggested, than the southern Occitan varieties, Gardette 1974: 302). Having elaborated on dialectalisation in our area of linguistic interest, the discussion will now turn to a more contemporary debate, where we aim to introduce the reader to a further 'problem' (Wartburg 1956: 127; Bleiker 1963: 13; Lodge 1993: 71) associated with Francoprovençal: the issue of its modern borders.

2.4   Francoprovençal: the demarcation 'problem'

One of the principal concerns of traditional dialect geography (as outlined by Chambers and Trudgill 1980: 15-34) is that of demarcation, where the establishing of isoglosses, when bundled together, are said to form a hypothetical dialect boundary containing a discrete linguistic variety or sets of common varieties. While this methodology has its critics in sociolinguistic theory (*cf.* for example Kretzschmar 1992: 227; Lodge 1993: 72-3; Milroy and Gordon 2003: 19-20), the argument over demarcation is particularly relevant to our discussion, for many scholars have, since its inception, called into question the legitimacy of Francoprovençal as a discrete linguistic system. The quarrel, Gardette remarks, 'd'une unité francoprovençale nettement caractérisée et délimitée' ('of a clearly characterised and demarcated unit

labelled Francoprovençal') has never truly been settled (1973: 143). As a result, in the traditional literature, Francoprovençal is often referred to as some overarching 'problem' (Wartburg 1956: 127; Bleiker 1963: 13; Lodge 1993: 71) or 'question' (Jochnowitz 1973: 1) waiting to be solved. This 'problem' is traditionally attributed to Francoprovençal's boundaries, and the criteria used for demarcation.

It has been suggested that the terms *langue d'oc* (southern French and Occitan varieties) and *langue d'oïl* are at least as old as 1284, when the poet Bernart d'Auriac first used them to describe variation in the speech of France (Plazanet 1913: 167). The recognition of Francoprovençal, however, as distinct from the northern *oïl* and southern *oc* varieties only came about from the end of the 19th century, when the Italian dialectologist G.I. Ascoli proposed, in 1874 (later published in 1878), a grouping of the Gallo-Romance varieties towards the south-eastern regions of France. Ascoli provides the following definition:

> […] un tipo idiomatico, il quale insieme riunisce, con alcuni suoi caratteri specifici, più altri caratteri, che parte son comuni al francese, parte lo sono al provenzale, e non priviene già da una tarda confluenza di elementi diversi, ma attesta bensì la sua propria indipendenza istorica non guari dissimile da quella per cui fra loro si distinguono gli altri principali tipi neolatini (1878: 61).

> [[…] a linguistic system which reunites its own specific characteristic features with other defining features partly common to French, and partly common to Provençal, and which do not already come from a late confluence of different elements, but rather which attest to its own historic independence not very dissimilar from the one for which the other main neo-Latin types are different from each other]

Ascoli's definition, as we will come to see below, centers around a methodology designed to seek out a 'particular combination' of phonetic features (Tuaillon 2007: 15). However, his original criteria are seldom accepted as a working method to clearly demarcate the zone from northern *oïl* and southern *oc* varieties, and several other linguistic commentators have since attempted to elaborate upon his work. Moreover, the division itself of a third linguistic frontier along the Gallo-Romance continuum has long been disputed, with both 'continuators' and 'separatists' (Lodge 1996: 72-73) remaining divided over whether or not Francoprovençal merits individual status on conventional linguistic atlases. We examine below each of these arguments in turn.

2.4.1   Francoprovençal and her borders: Ascoli's criteria

Beginning then with Ascoli's own criteria for demarcating the boundaries of the Francoprovençal-speaking zone, his particular combination of phonetic features is based solely on the development of Latin tonic free A. In delimiting Francoprovençal from the northern *oïl* varieties, when preceded by a non-palatal consonant, Ascoli holds that, in Francoprovençal, Latin A is conserved as /a/, while in SF Latin tonic free A gave rise to either /e/ in open syllables, or /ɛ/ in closed syllables, as in (1) and (2) below:

(1) PRATUM > /pʀe/ (SF), /pʀa/ (Francoprovençal) ('field');

(2) PATER > /pɛʀ/ (SF), /ˈpaʁə/ (Francoprovençal) ('father').

Further, in distinguishing Francoprovençal from Occitan, Ascoli states that when the same vowel is preceded by a palatal consonant (*i.e.* those consonants that resulted from the palatalisation of Latin C + A), Latin A is raised to [ie], [i] or [e] in

Francoprovençal, while in Occitan /a/ is maintained (see for example (3) and (4) below; for additional examples, see Wartburg 1965: 82; Gardette 1973: 147; Martin, 1990: 674).

(3) MANDUCARE > [ˈmãʒaʁ] (Occitan), [ˈmiʒie] (Francoprovençal) ('eat');

(4) VACCA > [ˈvaka] (Occitan), [ˈvaʃĩ] (Francoprovençal) ('cow').

While those *francoprovençalistes* that have been active in the debate acknowledge the importance of Ascoli's own criteria in first demarcating the boundaries of Francoprovençal, following the publication of the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (ALF) (Gilliéron and Edmont 1902-1910), it soon became apparent that the first of his two principles was problematic, for the ALF unearthed a much greater patchwork of variation than was first thought, with many parts of the Francoprovençal-speaking zone, as demarcated by Ascoli, not sharing this feature. We turn here to other methodologies that have since arisen in attempting to define the linguistic borders of Francoprovençal.

Tuaillon (1967: 292-96; 2007: 32-37) argues convincingly that the first principle cannot be applied to two particular regions within the Francoprovençal-speaking zone: Bresse and Franche-Comté. Within the region of Bresse, the varieties of Francoprovençal spoken in the communes of Louhans, Lons-le-Saunier, and Pontarlier (Franch-Compté, Doubs) all demonstrate the characteristics outlined above, except for the maintenance of /a/ when preceded by a non-palatal consonant, where instead the SF variants /e/ and /ɛ/ are found (see Tuaillon 2007:32-3 for summary). This led Tuaillon to conclude in his earlier work that, instead of being described as a 'transitional zone' (Hall 1949: 3), Francoprovençal should perhaps instead be viewed as a 'zone de fermeture des timbres A' ('zone where Latin tonic free A is raised') (Tuaillon 1967: 295). In the wider Franche-Comté region, however, a more complex

situation arises, whereby certain *oïl* varieties, spoken on the periphery of the northern-most border of the Francoprovençal region, have undergone (it is thought) a cyclical evolution of Latin tonic free A. Here, Latin tonic free A had raised to /e/ and /ɛ/ as elsewhere in the North, but then, following a further evolution in the vowel, had lowered to /a/ once more, thereby refusing the SF evolution of A > /e/ and /ɛ/ (on this phenomenon see Grammont 1901: 91; Burger 1971: 64; Dondaine 1973: 227-36). Owing to the difficulty posed by both of these instances in accurately demarcating the northern-most region of the Francoprovençal zone, other linguistic commentators have since abandoned the criterion for Latin tonic free A, and proposed instead alternative criteria.

The most widely cited and accepted method for demarcating Francoprovençal from *oïl* French has been advanced by Hasselrot (*cf.* Tuaillon 1967: 296; Burger 1971: 56; Lüdtke 1971: 71; Martin 1990: 673), whose early definition, for all varieties that form the Francoprovençal region, relies instead on the preservation of Latin atonic A, which exhibits the same linguistic phenomena when preceded by a palatal consonant: 'l'ensemble des parlers où A final précédé de palatale devient *i* (é, ə) mais se conserve dans tous les cas' ('in these varieties atonic A preceded by a palatal becomes *i* (é, ə) but is preserved in all cases') (1938: 80). This was later extended to include specific word-final syllables: 'Est francoprovençal, tout parler où –AS, –AT > *e*, -a > *a*, palatale + a > *i* et où –o est conservé' ('Eastern Francoprovençal, all varieties where –AS, –AT becomes *e,* -a > *a*, palatal + a > *i* and where –o is preserved') (1966: 258). Further, particular importance is placed on the presence (or not) of vowel final [i] as a contextually conditioned variant of /a/ in his methodology, which he claims, is exclusive to Francoprovençal (see 1966: 258; 1974: 266). According to Hasselrot's criteria then, each variety of Francoprovençal should be

marked by their preservation of final vowels, whereas in *oïl* French 'la décadence du vocalisme final [...] a commencé dans le haut Moyen Age' ('the downfall of word final vowels […] began in the Late Middle Ages') (Tuaillon 1988: 193).

An alternative and much more expansive set of criteria for demarcation has come from Tuaillon, who argues (from among a list of thirteen possible phonological features, see *e.g.* 1973: 174) that Francoprovençal can be distinguished from the *oïl* varieties based on his principle of 'oxytonisme généralisé' (Tuaillon 1967: 296; 2007: 37-8). In short, given the distinct lack of unstressed final vowels in either the northern *oïl* varieties, or SF, the syllable stress pattern in French is distinctively oxytonic. However, in Francoprovençal the stress can be either paroxytonic or proparoxytonic.

Si l'on songe que le français se distingue, face aux autres langues romanes, par son oxytonisme généralisé, on admettra plus volontiers qu'une délimitation importante soit fondée sur ce principe (1967: 296).

[If we imagine that French is distinguished from the other Romance languages by its tendency to stress final syllables, then it might be best to delimit based on this principle]

However, more recently, Costa and Bert (2014: 195) have argued that paroxytonic syllable stress is being levelled out in northern Francoprovençal varieties in contact with *oïl* French, and therefore the traditional boundaries associated with Francoprovençal have been out of kilter with reality for some time.

Turning next to the principal criteria demarcating the Francoprovençal region from the southern Occitan varieties, as paroxitonic syllable stress is a feature of both Francoprovençal and Occitan, it is not necessarily the preservation of Latin A (be it tonic free or atonic) that is important, but rather the phonetic realisation of the vowel. To reiterate, it was mentioned above that, when the Latin tonic free A is preceded by

a palatal consonant, it raises to [ie], [i] or [e] in Francoprovençal, while in Occitan [a] is maintained. Conversely, Latin atonic A will only raise to [i] or [e] and does not diphthongise in Francoprovençal, whereas again in Occitan [a] is maintained. Therefore, delineating the boundaries of the Francoprovençal region from Occitan is considered a much easier and largely unproblematic endeavour (see Gardette 1973: 147-51 for summary).

2.4.2   The 'separatists' and 'continuators' debate

While the traditional division between northern *oïl* and southern *oc* French has long been accepted by Romance philologists, skepticism and confusion have clouded any agreement on the demarcation of the regions to the south-east of this great divide. In demarcating the Francoprovençal-speaking zone, Ascoli opened the door to a long 'continuator/separatist' debate (Lodge 1993: 72-73) over its recognition as a major dialect area of Gallo-Romance, which is 'often treated on par with Francien and Provençal as forming a third group of dialects co-equal with the other two' (Hall 1949: 1). We summarise below the arguments for and against.

Meyer (1875: 295), who always opposed the notion that Romance varieties should be split along a continuum, was the first to lend his criticisms to this new grouping:

Le nouveau groupe proposé par M. Ascoli, groupe qui [...] n'offre aucune unité géographique, échappe-t-il du moins l'inconvénient de réunir des dialectes fort dissemblables ? Pas le moins du monde: il réunit des dialectes qui offrent (et encore est-ce toujours bien sûr ?) un très petit nombre de faits que M. A[scoli] a choisis entre beaucoup, comme particulièrement spécifique. Il est de toute évidence que le dauphinois ressemble plus au provençal qu'au franc-comtois et

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au lorrain, et pourtant le lorrain, le franc-comtois et le dauphinois sont englobés dans le nouveau groupe de M. A[scoli], duquel est exclu le provençal. Ces incohérences sont inévitables, quoi qu'on fasse, et c'est pourquoi je suis convaincu que le meilleur moyen de faire apparaître sous son vrai jour la variété du roman consiste non pas à tracer des circonscriptions marquées par tel ou tel fait linguistique, mais à indiquer sur quel espace de terrain règne chaque fait.

[Does the new dialect grouping proposed by Ascoli, which has no clear geographical boundaries anyway, at least get away with the inconvenience of unifying strikingly disparate dialects? Not in the slightest: he brings together dialects that offer only a very small number of features that Ascoli has chosen among many as particularly specific to the grouping. It is entirely obvious that Dauphinois more closely resembles Provençal than Franc-comptois or Laurrain, and yet Laurrain, Franc-comptois and Dauphinois are collectively included under Ascoli's grouping, which excludes Provençal. These inconsistencies are however an inevitability of the methodology, and this is why I am convinced that the best way to expose a variety of Romance in its true colours is not to trace constituencies based on one linguistic feature or another, but rather to indicate where each feature is found over geographical space]

   Meyer's argument, which supports the views echoed by both Paris (1888: 3) and Gilliéron (1890: 20), brings focus to the perspective that Ascoli's definition appears particularly arbitrary. Essentially, a specific set of criteria have been chosen, from among many, to determine these varieties' characteristics, and, accordingly, has allowed for the establishing of dialect boundaries separating Francoprovençal along the Gallo-Romance continuum. However, the views expressed by Meyer and his colleagues are also indicative of the hostilities at the time towards the demarcation of dialects:

Et comment, je le demande, s'expliquerait cette étrange frontière qui de l'Est à l'Ouest couperait la France en deux en passant par des points absolument fortuits ? Cette muraille imaginaire, la science, aujourd'hui mieux armée, la renverse, et nous apprend qu'il n'y a pas deux Frances, qu'aucune limite réelle ne sépare les Français du Nord de ceux du Midi, et que d'un bout à l'autre du sol national nos parlers populaires étendent une vaste tapisserie dont les couleurs variées sur tous les points en nuances insensiblement dégradées (Paris 1888: 135).

[And how, may I ask, do we explain this strange boundary that cuts France in two between East and West based on a fortuitous clustering of features? This imaginary wall is broken down by today's better armed science, which evidences to us that there are not two Frances, that no real boundary separates the varieties of the North from the varieties of the Midi, and that from one corner of the nation to the other, the common varieties stretch out to form a vast tapestry, over which the colours vary at each point in imperceptibly nuanced shades]

While it is not the intention here to enter into an epistemological debate on what is meant by 'dialect', it is reasonable to add that these comments have long since been argued as pushing logic to the absurd by demarcating as many varieties along a continuum as possible, so as to render the exercise meaningless (*cf.* for example Jaberg 1936; Martinet 1956), and many linguistic commentators (including those who would likely label themselves as 'continuators') would acknowledge the existence of dialects, framed perhaps within the wider notion of a 'geographical dialect continuum', as defined by Chambers and Trudgill (1980: 6-8). Despite this Parisian school of thought with regard to both dialects, and the notion of Francoprovençal, some early studies were accepting of Ascoli's views, and adhered to the methods he outlined, include Odin (1886), who attached to the Francoprovençal zone the Swiss Romance varieties that exhibited the same features (taken from Martin 1990: 671).

Other notable Ascolian contributions from the same period include Morf (1887), Gauchat (1890; 1898), and Philipon (1887; 1911) who attempted to delimit what he instead called 'la domaine rhodanien'.

Among those linguistic commentators who were quasi-acceptant of Ascoli's method, whilst maintaining certain reservations, include Meyer-Lübke (1890-1902), who, in his *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, acknowledges the existence of a discrete linguistic system, but suggests instead that it should be referred to as 'français du sud-est' ('a French of the South-east'), which, he claims, is more accurate in both geographical and linguistic terms (taken from Martin 1990: 672). Further studies demonstrating similar concerns include Suchier (1888), who retraces the boundaries of Francoprovençal while maintaining Ascoli's methodology, but, again, relabeling the zone 'le moyen rhodanien' ('Middle Rhodanian') (taken from Martin 1990: 672). As is clear to see, a further 'problem' for these *francoprovençalistes* relates to what these varieties should in fact be called (see below).

Beyond these early remarks, and for much of the 20th century thereafter, there is 'almost no dissent from the threefold division of France made by Ascoli' (Jochnowitz 1973: 32), that is, until the publication, in 1949, of Hall's paper entitled 'The Linguistic Position of Franco-Provençal', in which he brings to light once more the debate surrounding the status of Francoprovençal, and appears to take the position adopted by Meyer (1875: 295) (see *contra* Lahti 1951). In 1971, following the publication of conference proceedings entitled *Colloque de dialectologie francoprovençale* (September 1969), the debate surrounding the legitimacy of Francoprovençal as a coherent linguistic system was again opened up to dialogue when Lüdtke declared that:

Le terme de francoprovençal ne désigne pas une donnée (ou un ensemble de données), mais plutôt une notion. Cela veut dire que le francoprovençal a les frontières qu'on lui assigne, à titre de définition. Le francoprovençal tout court n'existe pas [...] Si l'on ne veut [...] pas renoncer à discuter sur le francoprovençal, il ne faut jamais oublier qu'il s'agira d'une discussion qui ne porte pas immédiatement sur des données mais sur des notions [emphasis is my own] (1971: 70).

[The label Francoprovençal does not designate a fact (or an ensemble of facts) but rather designates a notion. This is to say that Francoprovençal has a set of borders that we assign to it, based on a definition. Francoprovençal, in short, does not exist […] If we do […] not want to renounce discussion on Francoprovençal, we should never forget that such a discussion is not immediately based on fact, but is based instead on a notion]

This reinvigoration of the debate provoked a response from Martin (among others), whose rebuttal (1976) highlights those arguments already made above, and attempts to show how the Francoprovençal region has refused those forms emanating from the northern French, in favour of other variants. As late as 2007, Tuaillon attempted to close the book on this debate with two tomes entirely dedicated to the demarcation of Francoprovençal as a discrete linguistic system; he died before his work was complete.

It is clearly therefore beyond the scope of this thesis to settle a contentious debate on the status of Francoprovençal. However, given that it shows a high degree of internal variability, it seems appropriate for our purposes to view Francoprovençal as a grouping of varieties with some common features. We use the term 'varieties' throughout given the well-known, long-established difficulty of distinguishing language and dialect (Meyerhoff 2011: 32).

It has been demonstrated then, that, by delineating the Francoprovençal region as distinct from the two other grand axes that make up the Hexagon, Ascoli had set in motion a long drawn-out debate, that would challenge the very notion that he was arguing for. It is entirely probable that the name given to these varieties – 'franco-provenzali' (Ascoli 1878) – in no way helped his cause, and we have also seen that several commentators since Ascoli have attempted to redraw the borders of the Francoprovençal-speaking zone according to their own linguistic criteria, and assigning to these linguistic borders their own glottonyms. Despite nearly 150 years having passed since Ascoli first suggested the name Francoprovençal, it remains largely unchanged (see Kasstan 2016 on the history of this glottonym).

So far, this chapter has given an account of dialect diversification in Gaul, and the socio-historical context that we have deemed important for the emergence of a third dialectal divide along the Gallo-Romance continuum. Moreover, we have examined a number of 'problems' that are traditionally attributed to Francoprovençal. We have seen that, quite unlike the other RMLs of France, Switzerland or Italy, Francoprovençal has been dogged with controversy. After over a century of debate, as late as 2007, linguists feel the need to legitimise its existence (Tuaillon 2007). Later still, in 2012, commentators have argued that there is 'little overall sense of Francoprovençal unity or identity', and that such sentiments, if they do exist are only to be found at the local level (Grinevald and Bert 2012: 278). It seems then that, while a Breton speaker might identify as being a *bretonnant*, a speaker of Francoprovençal would be unlikely to claim to be *francoprovençaliste*.

2.5   Arpitan and the 'new speaker' movement

As a language clearly undergoing what Campbell and Muntzel (1989: 182-6) term gradual death, Francoprovençal faces many problems similar to other RMLs spoken in and around the Hexagon. While Lyon might have once been home to a prestige variety of Gallo-Romance, today there is no obvious prestige variety of Francoprovençal to select from for the purpose of standardisation, and intergenerational mother-tongue transmission is no longer reported in any but a minority of cases (*cf.* Bert *et al.* 2009 in France; Nagy 1996 and Pannatier 1999 in Switzerland in Italy). This has led to a dwindling speaker base: as we have seen, there is no consensus on remaining speakers, but between 50,000 and 60,000 are thought to remain in France, with roughly 16,000 in Switzerland, and 28,000 in Italy, where the vast majority reside in the Aosta Valley. Generally, estimates range from between 120,000 to 200,000 speakers or < 1% of the total regional population (*cf.* Martin 1990; 2002; Tuaillon 1993). Francoprovençal is classified as 'severely endangered' (Salminen 2007).

However, calls are now coming from a galvanised militant-speaker movement for wider recognition and increased literacy. This 'Arpitan' movement is predominantly made up of *learners* whose socio-economic indices are in no real way comparable to those of native speakers of Francoprovençal. Quite unlike native speakers who acquired Francoprovençal from birth, these 'new speakers' (*cf.* O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013) have largely all acquired the minority variety as an intellectual exercise 'in the context of revitalization programmes and activities' (Grinevald and Bert 2011: 52). The variants employed by these speakers can therefore be significantly removed from the norms associated with native speakers, as are their

views on language, revitalisation, and identity (see Chapter 3). In this section, we briefly review the history and aims of the movement.

2.5.1 Arpitan: History, aims, and ambitions

The language movement takes its name from the glottonym 'Arpitan', a concurrent to 'Francoprovençal', which is now particularly prominent on the Internet and enjoys a significant presence on social media websites. 'Arpitan' was introduced by language militants in order to respond directly to the confusion brought about by Ascoli's problematic label. Rather than following the common derivational process from which many glottonyms are formed, whereby the formation follows from an ethnonym, which in turn is usually derived from a corresponding toponym: toponym → ethnonym → glottonym (e.g. France → (*un*) *français* → *français*; Laurendeau, 1994: 162), 'Arpitan' is derived from the proper noun 'Harpitanie' (glossed below), and taken from a 1970s Marxist group called the *mouvement harpitanie,* from the Aosta Valley[7], whose manifesto was very explicit in its call for linguistic unification in the region:

> La langue ethnique […] de la région […] est la langue franco-provençale qui […] existe sous forme de nombreux parlers […] L'unification de ces parlers sera le but du mouvement populaire harpitan [...] de la fusion entre les langues, sortira une langue « nouvelle » : la LANGUE HARPITANE [emphasis in original] (Harriet 1974, 65-7).

> [The ethnic language [….] of the region […] is the Francoprovençal language which […] exists in the form of a number of varieties […] The unification of

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[7] For details on the *mouvement harpitanie*, see Josserand (2003: 51).

these varieties will be the goal of the Harpitan movement […] A "new" language

will emerge from this unification called the HARPITAN LANGUAGE].

Despite the political rhetoric on display here, the borrowing of 'Harpitan' and adaptation to 'Arpitan' offers an interesting example of a glottonym derived for largely ideological purposes. First, the root *arp-* is itself ideologically loaded and anchored in a historical context: meaning 'alpine pasture', it is a common root form for many toponyms that surround Mont Blanc (see arpitania.eu).[8] Secondly, there is a clear similarity between 'Arpitan' and 'Occitan', and it has been suggested that this is because Arpitan activists wish Arpitan to emulate Occitan's success in revitalisation (Meune 2012b: 20). Thirdly, along with its corresponding toponym 'Arpitania', and the introduction of a pan-regional flag, which is used particularly for the purposes of commodification (see Johnstone 2009 on the significance of commodification for dialect enregisterment), the glottonym 'Arpitan' forms part of an ideological construct that attempts to build a transnational *arpitaniste* identity for all Francoprovençal speakers. What is also striking about Harriet's statement is the link between a unified single 'people' (termed here Harpitans), and a common language. Unlike the vast majority of native speakers, these *arpitanistes* favour instead a pan-regional identity, and campaign actively to diffuse the term Arpitan as widely as possible.[9] More important perhaps is the fact that these new speakers have also adopted a proposed pan-regional orthography, termed *Orthographe de référence B* (Reference Orthography B) (Stich 2001; Stich *et al.* 2003)[10] (henceforth ORB), which they see as vital to the future of the language. However, it is noteworthy that ORB does not

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[8] Language militants in the region believe that the root *harp-* is derived from the Proto-Indo-European forms *kar- and *pe- (Harriet, personal communication). However, there is little (if any) evidence for this claim, which is disputed elsewhere (see 'alp, *n.*', OED). The omission of word-initial 'h' in 'Arpitan' is likely a deliberate distancing strategy from any extremist political discourse.

[9] 'Arpitan' has supplanted 'Francoprovençal' on Ethnologue: ethnologue.com/language/frp.

[10] A succession to *Orthographe de référence A* as proposed by Stich (1998).

command universal acceptance. As a pan-lectal orthography, it has been criticised for its dramatic simplification of a number of complex local and supralocal phonetic-spelling systems, as well as the considerable influence drawn from SF (see Martin 2002). In this respect, ORB can be likened to Simons' (1977) notion of a *multidialectal* orthography, with a one-to-many correspondence between graphemes and phonemes; Stich labels this orthography 'une orthographe supra-dialectale ou *globalisante* ou encore un *standard*' ('A supra-dialectal, or *globalising*, or even *standard* orthography') [emphasis in original] (2001: 34).

Interestingly, the Arpitan movement explicitly denies wanting to standardise Francoprovençal, or to erode any local variation. This is made abundantly clear on the movement's central web page http://www.arpitania.eu: 'il n'existe pas de 'prononciation supradialectale, l'ORB ne sert pas à standardiser la langue dans ses formes orales' ('No supra-dialectal pronunciation exists, ORB is not meant to standardise the language in its oral forms'). Instead, Stich and the Arpitan movement are consistent in stressing the need for native speakers to pronounce ORB graphemes in their own fashion (Stich 1998: 39), despite the fact that there exists *in the same volume* a 'prononciation recommandé' ('recommended pronunciation') for each supra-grapheme, that is aimed at learners (Stich 1998: 79; 2003: 181). In theory, the arguments in favour of such a model for a highly fragmented set of varieties such as Francoprovençal are logical, but there are also drawbacks. We summarise briefly below the principles of ORB, and how these differ from the conventional Francoprovençal orthographies.

2.5.2   A reference orthography for Francoprovençal

Just as there is no prestige variety of Francoprovençal, there is too no written standard (Martin 2002: 77). Where Francoprovençal is written, highly localised phonetic-spelling systems have long been the preferred for speakers (Tuaillon 2004). However, adopting phonetic-spelling systems for such a highly fragmented set of varieties raises a number of issues, not least for pan-regional intelligibility (see for example the exposition by Stich 1998: 35). There are a few existing regional orthographies that have appeared over the years which do attempt to form some cohesion. Schüle (1980) proposed an orthography based predominantly on the Valdôtain varieties of Francoprovençal, while the *Graphie des Conflans* (proposed by the association *Amis des patois Savoyards* in the 1970s) is based on the Savoyard varieties (see Martin 2002 for an overview). The *Glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande* too follows the same phonetic principles: 'la prononciation seule détermine l'orthographe, à l'exclusion de toute considération grammaticale ou étymologique' ('it is the pronunciation alone that determines orthographical form at the expense of all other grammatical and etymological considerations') (cited in Martin 2002: 79). These systems are designed 'to transcribe texts in a manner faithful to pronunciation', but these too have been criticised as they cannot take account of variation beyond the borders where they were devised (Judge 2007: 106). These criticisms have also been raised by Martin, who has suggested that 'même avec un système d'inspiration phonétique, la difficulté [pour certains patois] est immense' ('even with a system based on phonetics there would still be immense difficulties for some varieties'). and concedes that 'il me semble difficile de refuser a priori des propositions de normalisation graphique' ('it seems difficult to me to refuse normalising orthography'), where 'la graphie du francoprovençal devrait largement s'inspirer du

système graphique français' ('a Francoprovençal orthography should be inspired by the French orthographical system') (Martin 2002: 82). Instead of opting for an orthography that is based on highly localised phonetic forms, then, a rather different orthography – Reference Orthography A – was proposed by Stich (1998), later becoming ORB (Stich 2001; Stich *et al*. 2003), which takes its inspiration from SF and Occitan. ORB is a multidialectal orthography (for details, see example Simons 1994), that is based principally on etymology. Before looking at some examples, it is important to stress that this orthography does not command universal acceptance amongst linguists and speakers, but its advantages have been outlined elsewhere (Matthey and Meune 2012: 107-8). Such an approach allows, for example, for the transcription of local texts for a much wider audience. The importance of this point cannot be overstated, given that speakers of Francoprovençal will often claim not to be able to understand other speakers from the same region, let alone across national borders (this issue is reported in Pannatier 1999 and Martin 2005). The orthography can also be used in conjunction with other regional efforts at orthographic standardisation, such as the *Graphie de Conflans* mentioned above, to more faithfully transcribe highly localised variants. This, quite clearly, has far reaching implications for applications such as language planning policy. Further, in spite of the criticisms levelled at ORB, it is beginning to make ground. For example, ORB has been adopted most recently by Martin in both of his *langue de poche* manuals (2005; 2006), which take influence too from SF, and which are recognised for ease of understanding, as all readers will likely at the very least be familiar with the SF orthography.

To begin, let us look at some examples of this orthography in practice. If we take the CL form CLOCCA > 'cloche' (SF) ('bell'), there are a number of forms in Francoprovençal, based on just a few orthographies: *closé* (Savièsan), *hlötse*

(Bagnard), *lyochi* (Bressan), *clochi* (Lyonnais). The localised phonetic realisations of these forms are also diverse: [ˈkjɔʃi] (St.Martin, Lyonnais); [ˈtjɔθi] (Toussieu, Lyonnais); [ˈklɔθe] (Habère-Poche, Savoie); [ˈɬɔts] (Nendaz, Valais); [ˈklʲosə] (Ollon, Valais); [ˈkluse] (Savièse, Valais); [ˈkʎotse] (Valsavarenche, Aoste). As we can see, for the obstruent + lateral cluster /kl/ alone, there are at least five different variants present in our examples, reflecting the different pronunciations of /l/ following palatalisation in the Latin CL cluster (see §2.6.1). Rather than acknowledging these disparate orthographical forms (and their correspondingly diverse phonetic variants), ORB employs a unique supra-dialectal grapheme that attempts to account for this linguistic feature: <cll>, where the double <ll> cluster is devised to reflect the phenomenon of /l/-palatalisation depicted in some of the examples above, whereas the <c> reflects those varieties that maintain an initial /k/. Interestingly, the recommended pronunciation for this <ll> grapheme is the palatal lateral approximant [ʎ], which has supposedly been chosen as it is supposedly the 'prononciation majoritaire' ('majority pronunciation') (Stich 1998: 78). Therefore, the cluster <cll> has the recommended pronunciation [kʎ], although as we have said native speakers are advised to pronounce this grapheme according to their own varieties.

Based on what we have seen above, to suggest, therefore, that the goal is not the erosion of local variation might be naïve, for it has been suggested elsewhere that '[…] variation across dialects can in fact be eliminated through the use of standardized orthographic conventions' (Holton 2009: 259). Further, it is significant that this approach to language planning is currently not supported by a vast majority of native speakers, who tend to view such efforts as tantamount to standardisation, and an erosion of local variation. These efforts may therefore risk isolating native speakers from the new speaker movement, as has been argued elsewhere (Matthey

and Meune 2012). As recently as 2013, scholars continue to argue that speakers prefer the freedom to write in their own local phonetic spelling systems rather than conforming to some supra-local norm (see Kasstan 2014 for an overview).

To summarise what we have said, Francoprovençal has never known any linguistic unity, its borders have long been disputed in the traditional literature, and the notion of a Francoprovençal identity appears to be a moot-point for the few remaining speakers. However, in spite of this gloomy outlook, L2 speakers are now rallying to calls for language revitalisation. These speakers, which we have termed 'new speakers', as we will see in Chapter 3, are very different in socio-economic terms from the native speakers of Francoprovençal. Further, their adoption of a pan-lectal orthographic standard, with a set of recommended pronunciations for learners, might bring about new vernacular forms within native speaker communities. Before we begin to approach this subject matter, however, we must first develop a better picture of the linguistic features associated with Francoprovençal, beyond the one or two that we have seen so far. In the following section, we provide a brief linguistic introduction to Francoprovençal.

2.6 Francoprovençal: a brief linguistic introduction (phonology)

This chapter will be useful to the reader in interpreting the findings from the present study's data, to be found in subsequent chapters. Owing to the nature of the study, we focus here primarily on the phonological level of linguistic analysis. It must also be stressed here that there is no 'standard' Francoprovençal, and very few thorough descriptions of the language exist. Therefore, to give the broadest possible picture, the

following introduction is adapted from Stich (1998); Nagy (2000); Martin (2005; 2006); Tuaillon (2007) and most recently Kasstan (2015).

2.6.1 Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Alveolar	Affricate	Post-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular
Plosive	p b			t d				k ɡ	
Nasal	m			n			ɲ		
Trill									ʀ
Fricative		f v	θ ð	s z	ts tʃ dz dʒ	ʃ ʒ		x	ʁ
Lateral				l			ʎ		
Lateral fricative				ɬ					
Approx.	w						j		

Figure 2.6.1.1 The consonant phonemes of Francoprovençal (adapted from Stich 1998; Nagy 2000; Martin 2005; Tuaillon 2007; Kasstan 2015)

As Figure 2.6.1.1 illustrates, the consonantal inventory of Francoprovençal is, broadly, very different to that of SF. Concerning its features, Walter writing in Stich *et al.* (2003: viii) remarks that 'on peut dire qu'il s'en distingue justement par sa résistance à [des] évolutions qui ont marqué le français' ('we might say that it distinguishes itself precisely by its resistance to changes that occurred in French'), for example:

(a) In Francoprovençal, there is wide-ranging variation in the realisation of sounds that have come from the palatalisation of Latin C + A. For

example, in the northern region near Jura and parts of Switzerland, Latin C + A is realised as [ʦ] in items such as VACCA > 'vache' ('cow') [ˈvaʦi]. However, in the central region towards Savoie this becomes [θ] > [ˈvaθi], and to the West, near Lyon, [ʃ] is common > [ˈvaʃi]. Further, South into the Occitan region, Latin C + A remains /k/, as in [ˈvaka].

(b) The palatalisation of Latin G + A/E ultimately gave rise to /ʒ/ in SF. However, in Francoprovençal, post-alveolar fricatives and affricates are again very commonly found. In the Jura, the Canton of Valais, and the Aosta Valley regions for example, Latin G + A/E becomes [ʥ] in items such as MANDUCARE > 'manger' ('eat') [ˈmiʥi], towards the central region this becomes [ð] > [ˈmiði], and from Lyon towards the west [ʒ] > [ˈmiʒi] is common.

(c) Perhaps the most striking feature of Francoprovençal is the variation to be found in the palatalisation of obstruent + lateral onset clusters, where for /k, g, b, p, f/ + /l/ a large number of disparate forms have been attested (see §2.7, below). For example, for the Latin form CLOCCA > 'cloche' ('bell') (SF), the onset cluster can be realised as [kj] in Lyonnais, [kl] towards the Loire, [tj] further East into Savoie (where [k] becomes [t]), and [kʎ] in certain parts of the Canton of Valais in Switzerland. However, this is not the full story, and we return to this feature for a fuller discussion below.

(d) Deletion of consonants in final and even in central position is a common feature in Francoprovençal, particularly for /r/ and /l/, *e.g.* AURA > 'orage' ('storm') [ˈɔaʒə]. Moreover, in western varieties of Francoprovençal, /r/ frequently becomes [ð], *e.g.* AURA > [ɔðaʒɔ].

2.6.2 Vowels

Regarding vowel phonemes, the varieties of Francoprovençal can have rather disparate vowel inventories. That said, we can illustrate the vowel phonemes of Francoprovençal, generally, as in Figure 2.6.2.1, below:

Nasal vowels:

[ĩ] [ɛ̃] [ɔ̃] [ɑ̃]
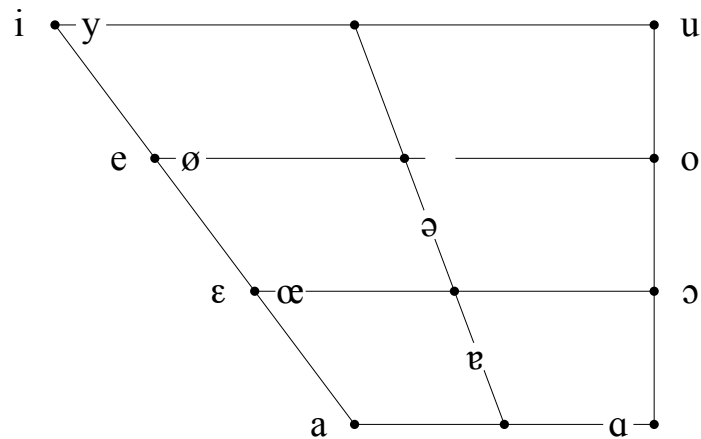
Figure 2.6.2.2 The vowel phonemes of Francoprovençal (adapted from Stich 1998; Nagy 2000; Martin 2005; Kasstan 2015)

Concerning remarks that can be made on the features of vowels in Francoprovençal, we can consider the following to be especially common:

(a) We have already seen that the development of Latin tonic free A in Francoprovençal is a oft-cited feature (see §2.4, above), where a number of variants of /a/ are possible depending on the consonant that precedes it.

(b) Tuaillon notes that 'la décadence du vocalisme final français a commencé dans le haut Moyen Age' ('the downfall of final vowels in French began in the late Middle Ages') (1988: 193). However, Francoprovençal has preserved Latin atonic A, *e.g.* TABULA > 'table' ('table') [ˈtʀɔbla] (SF [ˈtabl]), which

is also raised to [i] or [e] when following a palatal consonant, *e.g.* VACCA > 'vache' ('cow') [ˈvaʃi] (and [ˈvaʃ] in SF).

(c) Latin Ū is preserved as [u] in Francoprovençal, instead of fronting to [y] as in the northern *oïl* and southern *oc* varieties, *e.g.* [ˈvønu] ('venu') ('came').

(d) Broadly speaking, diphthongs in Francoprovençal are formed by the glides /w/ and /j/ + a syllabic nucleus, where both rising and falling diphthongs are permissible. Some Latin vowels which developed into diphthongs in SF, such as Ē, Ĭ > /wa/ and Ĕ > /je/, often monophthongise in Francoprovençal, *e.g.* DĬGITUM > 'doigt' ('finger') [ˈdwa] (SF), [ˈdɛ] (Francoprovençal); PĒDEM > 'pied' ('foot') [ˈpje] (SF), [ˈpi] (Francoprovençal).

Briefly, it is also worth mentioning the stress pattern of Francoprovençal. We saw above that Francoprovençal can be contrasted with SF, which is rigidly an oxytonic language. However, given that Francoprovençal retains a number of Latin atonic vowels word-finally, like Occitan, it is a paroxytonic language, where stress can either fall on the antepenultimate, penultimate, or final syllable (*e.g.* for example 'cela' ('that') [səˈla], and 'chaise' ('chair') [ˈsøla]).

2.7   Selection of linguistic variables

So far in §2.6 we have seen that Francoprovençal is highly fragmented, and maintains a remarkably disparate set of traditional phonological features. However, we have also seen in §2.5 that the proposed Francoprovençal ORB orthography has recommended a series of 'standard' or 'supralocal' forms, which the author argues are

'fondée sur la *prononciation majoritaire* […]' ('based on a majority pronunciation') [emphasis in original] (Stich 1998: 78). For example, we have seen that the grapheme <ll> has the recommended form [ʎ], rather than other traditional forms such as [j]. Owing to the existence of these competing forms, we outlined in Chapter 1 that it is the intention of this study to examine whether or not these 'new' forms are catching on in any way. In what follows, then, we now outline the linguistic variables that have been chosen for the present study. These linguistic variables have been chosen according to the following criteria:

(i)   For each variable there is a recommended ORB form;

(ii)   Historical evidence is available that has come from linguistic atlases or early descriptive studies that provide a baseline for assessing change;

(iii)   The variables are sufficiently frequent so as to allow for testing across different registers, and across a range of speakers with varying levels of fluency.

2.7.1   Phonological variable (l): /l/-palatalisation

Historically, in a number of Romance languages, lateral approximants undergo palatalisation in onset consonant clusters containing the obstruents /k, g, p, b, f/ + /l/, where synchronically the variants [j] or [ʎ] are common; some examples are given in Table 2.7.1.1, below (adapted from Müller 2011: 98):

Table 2.7.1.1 Examples of /l/-palatalisation cross-linguistically

Etymon	Occitan	Francoprovençal (Lyonnais)	Standard French	Gloss
CLĀRAM	[ˈkjaʁa]	[kjɔʁ]	[klɛʁ]	'clear'
GLACIĒM	[ˈɡjasa]	[ˈɡjasi]	[ɡla]	'tolling bell'
PLĒNUM	[pjɛ̃]	[plɛ̃]	[plɛ̃]	'full'
BLADUM	[bla]	[blo]	[ble]	'wheat'
FLŌREM	[fʎoʁ]	[flø]	[flœʁ]	'flower'

Table 2.7.1.1 presents a selection of examples of /l/-palatalisation in Francoprovençal by comparison with Occitan and SF. For example, the CL form GLACIĒM, which in VL became *glacia* (Pope 1954: 309), is realised as [ˈɡjasa] in Provençal ('mirror'), and [ˈɡjasi] in Lyonnais, but [ˈɡla] in SF, as SF does not palatalise lateral approximants in consonant clusters. It is noteworthy that, in some non-standard spoken French varieties, plosives can become yodicised 'before all front vowels, before fronted approximants and in rarer cases before nasals /ɔ̃/ and /ɛ̃/' (Jamin 2005: 119), e.g. '*cartier*' ('neighbourhood') [kʲaʁtʃʲe], 'gare' ('train station') [ɡʲaʁ]. It is also noteworthy that this feature has been observed predominantly among young speakers of Maghreb descent (e.g. Armstrong and Jamin 2002), and in some cases has come to be identified as a stereotype variable (Jamin *et al.* 2006; Gasquet-Cyrus 2009). However, this distinctive assimilatory process – a centralisation of the articulation towards the hard palate – is not found in the spoken French of the sample under study, and is historically unrelated to the phenomenon of /l/-palatalisation described here, which involves only sound changes coming from Latin obstruent + lateral clusters.

In most varieties of Francoprovençal, as with other Romance varieties, there are various linguistic phenomena associated with /l/-palatalisation in obstruent + lateral clusters, 'including loss of one of the elements of the cluster or change of place or mode of articulation for either element' (Müller 2011: 99). Therefore, it is not

uncommon to find evidence of, for example, consonantal weakening or deletion of the initial segment. These developments in the obstruent + lateral cluster render a number of geographically marked linguistic variants in Francoprovençal. This is so much the case that Duraffour has described /l/-palatalisation as 'le fait le plus largement répandue et sous les aspects les plus divers et les plus curieux dans nos parlers' ('the most widespread feature with the most diverse and curious forms') (1932: 238) (see for example Stich 1997: 47-50, reproduced in Table 2.7.1.2, below).

Table 2.7.1.2 Variants of /l/ in /C/ + /l/ clusters (after Stich 1998: 47-50)	
Type of cluster	*Possible Francoprovençal variants*
/kl/	[kl], [kʎ], [tj], [ʎ], [j], [çl], [çʎ], [ç], [tl], [θ]
/gl/	[gl], [gʎ], [ʎ], [j], [ð]
/pl/	[pl], [pʎ], [pj], [pθ], [pf]
/bl/	[bl], [bʎ], [bj], [bð], [bv]
/fl/	[fl], [fʎ], [çl], [çʎ], [ç], [θ]

As can be seen from the above Table, Stich reports a very wide variety of attested forms for /l/-realisation in different types of consonant clusters. Owing to the vast transnational geographical space over which Francoprovençal is spoken, as well as the fact that the dialect grouping is in contact with Italian, Piedmontese, French, Occitan varieties, Swiss German and Romantsche, this is not surprising. Not only are there a wide variety of attested forms in the obstruent + lateral clusters, including fricatives and approximants, but also subsequent developments indicating a change in place and manner of articulation, that affect both segments in the cluster (as we saw above, among these variants, Stich holds that the most common are the /Cʎ/ sets).[11]

Despite the fact that /l/-palatalisation is attested to take place in all five possible clusters (*i.e.* /k, g, b, p, f/ + /l/), it is important to highlight that clusters

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[11] The palatal lateral approximant is often transcribed in traditional phonetic texts as *ļ* and is classified as *l mouillé* (*e.g.* Martinet 1956: 64). See Straka (1979: 377) for an articulatory description of *l mouillé*.

containing velars are found to undergo palatalisation much more often than labials, which appears to be a common finding cross-linguistically (Müller 2011: 97). However, this is not always the case, and early dialectological surveys report variation in this rule. For example, in his short essay on the Savoie region, Gilliéron reported that, of the five possible clusters, only the varieties of Francoprovençal spoken to the West of the *département* of Haute-Savoie would show evidence of /l/-palatalisation in the velar *and* labial + lateral sets, whereas in Chambéry (Savoie) he found no case of palatalised /l/ in any of the clusters (1890: 215). Conversely, Martinet's study of Hauteville (Savoie) showed that /l/ palatalised to [ʎ] in the velar /k, g/ + /l/ clusters but not in the labials (1956: 64). This variation between one region in close proximity to another is, as will become clear, especially characteristic of Francoprovençal.

Largely, then, previous studies on this variable indicate that where velar + lateral clusters undergo /l/-palatalisation, so too can the labial + laterals sets (but this is not always the case). Moreover, we will not find instances of labial + lateral sets undergoing palatalisation without the velars. What then does the literature suggest that we should find in the present study's own fieldwork areas?

2.7.1.1 /l/-palatalisation in les monts du Lyonnais

Following the publication of the ALF, the body of work on dialect geography for the Lyonnais region came from Gardette with the publication of the ALLy (1950-56), and from Tuaillon and Martin with the *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du Jura et des Alpes du Nord* (ALJA) (1971-81). Between both atlases, data are available on a large area of the *département* of Rhône-Alpes that clearly show the phenomenon of /l/-palatalisation. For example, ALLy maps 428 'des glands' ('acorns') and 905 'clocher'

('bell tower') show palatalised variants for the velar + lateral sets at data points close to our fieldwork sites (see Chapter 4 for details). There are far fewer palatalised variants in the labial + lateral sets in les monts du Lyonnais generally, although they are attested in a small number of cases (*e.g.* Borodine 1958: 87), and none are found close to our fieldwork sites (see Appendix V). Looking further East however, away from Lyon, and into Ain, /l/-palatalisation in the labial sets is documented by the ALJA consistently (see Table 2.7.1.1.1, below).

Table 2.7.1.1.1 /l/-palatalisation: comparing atlas data

Cluster	ALLy map (gloss)	Form (data points: 40, 41, 42, 50, 51, 52)[12]					
/kl/	'clé' ('key')	[ʧjo]	[kjo]	[kjɔ]	[klo]	[kjɔ]	[klɔ]
/gl/	'glas' ('tolling bell')	[ʧjots]	[jɔʁ]	[gjo]	[glo]	[gjɔ]	[gjɔ]
/pl/	'pleuvoir' ('rain')	[ˈmɔji]	[ˈmoji]	[ˈmɔji]	[ˈmɔji]	[pluvr]	[plɔvr]
/bl/	'table' ('table')	[ˈtʁobla]	[ˈtʁobla]	[ˈtʁobla]	[ˈtʁobla]	[ˈtʁɔbla]	[ˈtʁobla]
/fl/	'flambée' ('blaze')	[ˈflãbo]	No data	[ˈflamo]	[ˈflãbɔ]	No data	[ˈflãbɔ]
Cluster	ALJA map:	Form (data points: 32, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69)					
/kl/	'clé' ('key')	[tjɔ]	[klɔ]	[klɔ]	[tja]	[ta]	[tja]
/gl/	'glas' ('tolling bell')	[tɔ]	No data	[glɔ]	[tjɑ]	[tɑ]	[glɔ]
/pl/	'pleuvoir' ('rain')	[pjy]	[ˈplovʁə]	[ˈpløvʁə]	[ˈplovʁə]	[ˈplovʁə]	[ˈplovʁ]
/bl/	'table' ('table')	[ˈtʁɔbja]	[ˈtɔbla]	[ˈtɔbla]	[ˈtɑbla]	[ˈtɑbla]	[ˈtabla]
/fl/	'flambée' ('blaze')	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data

The few available studies pursuing a phonetic analysis of varieties of Francoprovençal spoken in and around Lyon have come largely from Gardette, following his publication of the ALLy. In his work on the Lyonnais and Forézien varieties (1941: 75; 1973: 161), he illustrates for the /kl/ set that the variants [kl, kj, t, tj] are common. These [kj, tj] variants, which were still found to be produced most recently in Kasstan (2010: 34-36), *e.g.* CLAVEM > ('key') [ˈkjɔ] (St Martin-en-

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[12] Data points are taken from ALLy and ALJA atlases to give an idea of the variability of this feature. Data points 40, 41, 42 are closest in proximity to this study's own fieldwork sites (*cf.* Figures 4.2.2 and 4.2.2.1, Chapter 4).

Haut), [ˈtja] (Toussieu)[13], illustrate a further sound change in the velar + lateral clusters known as the 'velar-to-alveolar' (Müller 2011: 122) or 'KL > TL' (Blevins and Grawunder 2009: 267) sound change. This phenomenon, which involves the fronting of the velar consonant to an alveolar stop is not attested in Occitan but is found in some Norman varieties spoken in France, and in general is commonly found cross-linguistically (Blevins and Grawunder 2009: 286). In Francoprovençal, the variants /kl/ > [tj] and /gl/ > [dj] are also attested in the commune of Vaux-en-Bugey (Ain) (Duraffour 1932: 238), but are by no means common to many other varieties in the Francoprovençal-speaker zone. Gilliéron also documented the velar-to-alveolar sound change without subsequent palatalisation of /l/, *i.e.* /kl, gl/ > [tl, dl], in the Haut-Savoyard communes of Bernex, le Biot and Brethonne, adding that this change only occurred in the velar + lateral sets (1890: 215). This would suggest that the KL > TL change has evolved independently of palatalisation in the same cluster. Interestingly, an examination of Table 2.7.1.1.1 reveals that the recommended ORB form [ʎ] is *not* a feature of Lyonnais Francoprovençal.

2.7.1.2 /l/-palatalisation in the Canton of Valais

While France has long benefited from a tradition of dialect geography, comparable resources available to the linguist for regions of interest to this study in Switzerland are few, and, until recently, included no large-scale linguistic atlases besides Gilliéron's (1880) *Petit atlas phonétique du Valais roman*. However, since 1994, scholars at the *Centre de dialectologie et d'étude du français régional* (Université de

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[13] What is interesting about the findings from Kasstan (2010), as it relates to what we have seen in the chapter so far, is that the [kj] variants were only found to the West of the city of Lyon, whereas the [tj] were only found to the East of the city (and yet the fieldwork sites were no more than 25 kilometres away from the centre of Lyon).

Neuchâtel) have been developing the *Atlas linguistique audiovisuel du francoprovençal valaisan* (henceforth ALAVAL): a web-based audio-visual and interactive linguistic atlas with both audio and video recording. However, as the material remains incomplete and unpublished at the time of writing, historical evidence to be used in comparison with empirical data from the present study will come instead from available descriptive studies on the varieties of Valaisan under investigation.

Regarding the types of variants that might be expected for (l) in this part of the Francoprovençal-speaking region, Jeanjaquet (1931: 39-40) describes how the geography of Valais can be divided into two broad dialectal areas East and West of the Morge river (3 kilometres West of Sion); these regions are referred to as the *Valais savoyard* and the *Valais épiscopal* respectively. This divide separates varieties of Francoprovençal where the obstruent + lateral clusters underwent further sound changes following /l/-palatalisation (West of the Morge), from those varieties that only underwent palatalisation of the second segment (East of the Morge) (*cf.* Figure 2.7.1.2.1, and Table 2.7.1.2.1 for commonly attested variants).
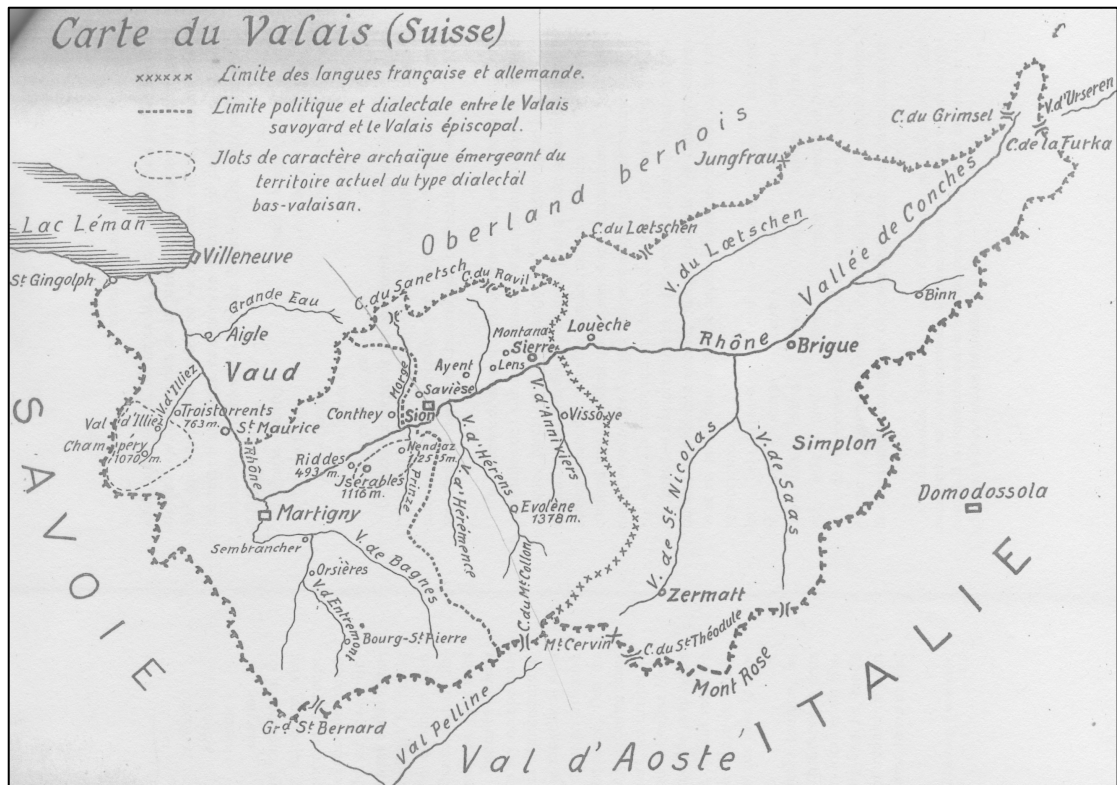
(Figure 2.7.1.2.1 Canton of Valais illustrating dialectal divide by *Valais savoyard* and

Valais épiscopal, taken from Jeanjaquet 1931: 23)

Table 2.7.1.2.1 Diatopic variation in for Valais (after Jeanjaquet 1931: 40)		
Cluster	*Variants West of the Morge*	*East of the Morge*
/kl/	[çʎ], [ç], [θ], [f]	[kʎ], [kl]
/gl/	[çʎ], [ç], [ð], [v]	[gʎ], [gl]
/pl/	[pθ], [pf]	[pʎ], [pl]
/bl/	[bð], [bv]	[bʎ], [bl]
/fl/	[çl], [ç], [θ]	[fʎ], [fl]

First, as can be seen from Table 2.7.1.2.1, unlike in the Lyonnais area, in Valais

/l/-palatalisation can take place in all five possible clusters.[14] Secondly, the obstruent

+ lateral clusters West of the Morge have undergone further sound changes in

addition to the palatalisation of /l/, which have resulted synchronically in various

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[14] It is noteworthy that Müller (2011: 100), following others, has argued that the varieties of Francoprovençal spoken in Lyon (including the Dauphiné, a region peripheral to Lyon), and those of Valais *only* palatalise in velar + lateral clusters. Based on the historical evidence that we have seen in §2.7.1.1-2, this does not appear to be the case.

types of fricative articulations. It is also noteworthy that the velar + lateral sets are phonetically similar to the labiodental + lateral set; this tendency is reported more broadly in the *Suisse romande* region by Burger:

> Le group CL a des aboutissements très variables qui se confondent assez largement avec ceux de FL: Vaud plaine et Fribourg: çʎɑ: « clé » comme : çʎ̃ɑma « flamme », Bas-Valais θo, comme θɑ̃ma, Jura bernois nord : tja, ʃɛ, sjɛ, comme : tjɑm, ʃɛm, sjɛmm etc (1979: 264).

> [The CL cluster has very variable linguistic outcomes which are often confused with those variants from the FL cluster: Vaud plains and Fribourg: çʎɑ: « clé ('key') » like: çʎ̃ɑma « flamme ('flame')», Bas-Valais θo, like θɑ̃ma, Nothern Jura: tja, ʃɛ, sjɛ like: tjɑm, ʃɛm, sjɛmm etc]

Towards the bottom of the valley (Bas-Valais), and into the Val de Bagne, another commonly attested variant, which is often transcribed orthographically as <hl>, also exists for the labiodental + lateral set: 'En Bas-Valais, on trouve *hl-* pour *fl-* comme dans *hlanma* < FLAMMA (fr. flamme), où *h* est prononcé comme *ch* dans [allemande] *ich*' ('In Bas-Valais, we find *hl-* for *fl-* as in *hlanma* < FLAMMA (fr. flamme, 'flame'), where *h* is pronounced like the German *ch* in *ich*') (Knecht 1985: 136). However, the phonetic quality of <h> as [ç] (presented in Table 2.7.1.2.1) is disputed by Bjerrome, whose linguistic description of the Bagnard variety argues that the grapheme <hl> in fact represents a phone of the quality 'latérale sourde et forte [mais qui] s'articule exactement au même endroit que *l*' ('voiceless fortis lateral which is articulated in exactly the same place as *l*') (1957: 42-3). In Bagne at least, it is therefore possible that <hl> does not represent the phonetic form [ç] or [çl] as suggested by Jeanjacquet in Table 2.7.1.2.1 above, but perhaps resembles more closely a devoiced lateral approximant, or even a lateral fricative. Table 2.7.1.2.1 also shows that the variant [ʎ] can be expected in western Valaisan varieties. Therefore,

the recommended ORB form *is* present as an attested variant of /l/ for the Valais area, unlike in the Lyonnais area. Lastly, we can see that the eastern Valaisan varieties maintain comparatively far fewer variants for obstruent + lateral according to Jeanjacquet, where /l/ is either maintained as [l] or undergoes palatalisation to [ʎ]. However, at the time of writing, Jeanjacquet concedes that, in these eastern varieties, 'cette mouillure tend à disparaître' ('palatalisation is tending to disappear') (1931: 40), indicating that /l/-palatalisation was perhaps in the process of undergoing phonological levelling in the early 1930s.

Broadly then, we can expect in our own data a very disparate set of linguistic forms for /l/-palatalisation in obstruent + lateral onset clusters. In the Lyonnais area the historical evidence suggests that we should expect [j] as a palatalised variant of /l/ in the velar + lateral sets only. Conversely, in Valais, we can expect palatalisation in all five clusters, but with a wider range of possible variants. The ORB form [ʎ] should not occur in Lyon, but should occur in Valais. This variable, which will be called (l), will be explored in Chapter 5. So that findings emerging from this study can be compared with historical atlas data, Appendices V and VI provide examples from the available linguistic atlases for the regions explored in this study.

2.7.2 Phonological variable (a): Latin tonic free A

We saw in §2.4 and §2.5.2 that Francoprovençal can be distinguished from the northern *oïl* varieties and the southern Occitan varieties based on the development of Latin tonic free A. In SF, Latin tonic free A is raised to /e/ in open syllables and /ɛ/ in closed syllables. Conversely, Francoprovençal, just like Occitan, has retained /a/ in both contexts (see examples presented in Table 2.7.2.1, below).

Table 2.7.2.1 Development of Latin tonic free A

Etymon	Francoprovençal (Lyonnais)	Standard French	Gloss
PRATUM	[ˈpʁa]	[ˈpʁe]	'field'
NASUM	[ˈna]	[ˈne]	'nose'
BLADUM	[ˈbla]	[ˈble]	'wheat'
MATER	[ˈmaʁ]	[ˈmɛʁ]	'mother'
PATER	[ˈpaʁ]	[ˈpɛʁ]	'father'
FRATER	[ˈfʁaʁ]	[ˈfʁɛʁ]	'brother'

Later sound changes have also taken place, which have resulted synchronically in the raising and rounding of /a/ for a number of varieties of Francoprovençal that stretch from the westernmost periphery of the Loire within the zone, to the easternmost part of the Savoie region. Tuaillon (2007: I) has used atlas data collated from a variety of sources to argue that, within this space, phonetic variants ranging from [ɑ] and [a] to [o] and [ɔ] are common. The date and origin of the raising and rounding of /a/ is a source of some contention (see Bert 2001: 282). However, Gardette seems convinced that this sound change can be attributed to the variety spoken in *Lugdunum* (1941: 177).

The reasoning that has been advanced for the raising and rounding of /a/ relates to (i) the deletion of final Latin consonants (forcing Latin A to word final position), and (ii) to the type of segment that precedes the vowel, typically of the type 'dentale ou […] labiale' ('dental or labial') (Bert 2001: 286) (see examples (1) and (2) below, taken from Gardette 1941: 178).

(1) PRATUM > *pratu* > [ˈpʁɔ] ('field');

(2) BLADUM > *bladu* > [ˈblɔ] ('wheat').

The picture is further muddied if we consider those parts of the Francoprovençal-speaking territory where Latin tonic free A is raised to [e] or [ɛ]: these realisations of /a/ are found particularly in parts of Bresse, Jura, and Doubs (a peripheral area of the zone in contact with northern French varieties). Rather than

dismissing this feature as a direct result of contact with SF, Tuaillon (1967: 292-96; 2007: 32-33) argues instead that this case has resulted independently of SF, as evidenced by the fact that *all* cases of Latin A have followed suit, be it tonic free, tonic blocked or even syllable initial (*cf.* examples (3), (4), and (5) below, taken from Tuaillon 2007: 33).

(3) PRATU > [ˈpʀe] ('field')

(4) VACCA > [ˈvɛʃ] ('cow')

(5) MARTIS DIEM > [ˈmɛdʒi] ('Tuesday')

Although Tuaillon makes the claim here that the emergence of the variants [e] and [ɛ] is *not* the result of contact with SF, it is certainly interesting to point out that, in these varieties, we do not see evidence of vowel final [i] in the item VACCA ('cow') (*cf.* for example (3) above with §2.5.2.1, below) or even syllable metathesis in the case of (5), where the form for 'mardi' ('Tuesday') is instead [ˈdʒimɔ] in numerous varieties of Francoprovençal (see for example Kasstan 2015). In spite of this apparent French-like evolution in the development of Latin tonic free A at the periphery of the zone, these variants Tuaillon (2007: I) suggests, are not to be found as far south as the Lyonnais area.

2.7.2.1 Latin tonic free A in the Lyonnais area

In les monts du Lyonnais, Gardette has argued that speakers strongly favour the rounded variant for Latin A (1941: 177). This would appear to be backed too by atlas data published in the ALLy (reproduced in Appendix V). However, a pilot study conducted by the author (Kasstan 2010) found that speakers in the Lyonnais area commonly oscillated between [a] and [ɔ] in items such as PRATU > [ˈpʀɔ] ('field') or

['pʀa], or NASU > ['nɔ] or ['na] ('nose').[15] However, it is noteworthy that in (what was once known as) the Forez region (a former province of France located in the modern Loire), Gardette (1941: 179) found that speakers distinguished between singular and plural forms for items such as PRATU using different vowels word finally (*cf.* (6) and (7) below).

(6) PRATU > ['pʀɔ] SG ('field').

(7) PRATOS > ['pʀa] or ['pʀe] PL ('fields').

In short, a number of variants that have come from Latin tonic free A are to be expected in the Lyonnais area, including: [a], [o] and [ɔ]. We should also note at this point that the recommended ORB form for Latin tonic free A, which is represented orthographically as <â>, is the back unrounded [ɑ]. Again, as we can see from the historical evidence presented in Appendix V, no such variant is recorded for this part of the Francoprovençal-speaking zone.

In addition to the above dialectal forms, perhaps one of the most striking features of Francoprovençal is the tendency for Latin A to be raised to [ie] (realised most often as the monophthong [i]) when following a palatal consonant; some examples are given in Table 2.7.2.1.1, below:

Table 2.7.2.1.1 Double evolution in development of (a): /a/ → [i] (Tuaillon 1990: 674)			
Etymon	*Francoprovençal*	*Standard French*	*Gloss*
CANTARE	[θɑ̃ˈta]	[ʃɑ̃ˈte]	'sing'
MANDUCARE	[mɑ̃ˈði]	[mɑ̃ˈʒe]	'eat'
PORTAM	[ˈpɔʀta]	[pɔʀˈte]	'door'
CARRICARE	[tsɑʀˈʥi]	[ʃaʀˈʒe]	'charge'

As can be seen from the above table, when Latin tonic free A is found in a suffix of the type –ARE followed by a non-palatal consonant, such as Latin T, it does

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[15] While [o] is commonly attested in the ALLy (see for example map 1072 'le nez' ('nose')), Kasstan (2010) argued that [ɔ] was much more common. Moreover, Tuaillon (2007: I) argues that [ɔ] and [o] are both found in this region. Therefore, there is likely to be variation in the realisation of back rounded vowels for Latin A in the Lyonnais area, broadly speaking.

not undergo raising to [i]. However, when –ARE is found preceding consonants such as Latin C, then /a/ is raised to [i].

2.7.2.2 Latin tonic free A in the Canton of Valais

For the purposes of the present study, it is worth highlighting that varieties spoken in Valais treat Latin tonic free A rather differently to those varieties on the French side of the border. We have been saying that Francoprovençal broadly maintains Latin A (realised as either [ɑ], [a], [o] or [ɔ] phonetically), unless A is preceded by a palatal consonant, in which case it is raised to [ie] or [i]. In Valais, we have already discussed the further distinction that must be made between varieties spoken to the East and West of the Morge River. Regarding Latin tonic free A, dialectological surveys by the likes of Gilliéron (1880) have illustrated that this boundary can also demarcate those varieties that maintain Latin A as, what Gilliéron (1880: i) labels, [ɑ] to the East of the Morge River, from those varieties that maintain a distinction between –ATREM and –ATUM nominal suffixes to the West (see below examples (6) and (7) taken from Gilliéron 1880: i-vii, and reproduced in Appendix VI).

(6) PATREM > [ˈpɑʀ] ('father'); PRATUM > [ˈpʀɑ] ('field') (East of the Morge)

(7) PATREM > [ˈpiʀ] ('father'); PRATUM > [ˈpʀo] ('field') (West of the Morge)

These differing variants are effectively contextually conditioned. While the raising and rounding of Latin tonic free A to [o] most often occurs when Latin A is followed by T, V or L (consonants that later underwent lenition in intervocalic position; see Jeanjacquet 1932: 39), Latin A is also raised to [i] for these same segments, *but only* when T V and L do not form part of the same Latin syllable (see Table 2.7.2.2.1, below).

Table 2.7.2.2.1 Variants of /a/ in the Valais savoyard (after Bjerrome 1957: 219-11)			
Etymon	*Francoprovençal*	*Standard French*	*Gloss*
MATREM	[ˈmiʀ]	[ˈmɛʀ]	'mother'
BLADUM	[ˈblo]	[ˈble]	'wheat'
PATREM	[ˈpiʀ]	[ˈpɛʀ]	'father'
PRATUM	[ˈpʁo]	[ˈpʁe]	'field'

When Latin tonic free A occurs following Latin C, then A is raised to [ie] (see Jeanjacquet 1932: 24). However, this diphthong too has a tendency to monophthongise, most often to [e].

To briefly summarise, an overview of the literature suggests that very disparate forms can be expected for Latin tonic free A, depending on whether the varieties in question are spoken on the French or Swiss side of the border. In our area of linguistic interest in the Lyonnais area, the forms that we have seen are [a] or [ɔ], and, when the vowel follows a palatal consonant, [i] appears to be most common (see Appendix V). In Valais, we have seen that [ɑ] is a common variant of /a/ to the East of the Morge, whereas the contextually conditioned variants [o] and [i] occur to the West (including the Bas-Valais area); following a palatal segment, Latin A is raised to [e]. Lastly, it is interesting to note that the ORB recommended form [ɑ] is, again, not attested in the Lyonnais area, but is found in Valais. This variable, which we call (a), will be explored in Chapter 6.

2.7.3 Morphological variables (SG) and (PL): Vowel final alternations in feminine singular and plural nouns

The final variable that has been chosen for the present study can, in fact, be considered two linguistic variables, and they will be called (SG) and (PL)

respectively. These variables relate to vowel-final alternations in feminine singular and plural nouns.

Latin feminine nominative singular forms ending in Latin atonic A are generally maintained in Francoprovençal; some examples are provided in (8), below:

(8)

Fem. Sg. (Lyonnais examples, after Martin 2005)

TABULA > trâbla[16] [ˈtʁɔbla] 'table' ('table')

FLAMMA > fllama [ˈflɔma] 'flamme' ('flame')

FENESTRA > fenétra [fəˈnetʁa] 'fenêtre' ('window')

As we can see from the examples in (1), these regular nominal forms ending in Latin atonic A have the orthographical form <a>, and can be realised phonetically as [a]. There is, however, also variability in the realisation Latin atonic A. When Latin atonic A is preceded by a postalveolar fricative or affricate, [a] is not maintained, but instead is raised to [ie], which, as we have seen above, is then monophthongised to [i] for varieties spoken in France, or [e] for varieties spoken in Switzerland. This raising of [a] to [i]/[e] before a postalveolar fricative or affricate is marked orthographically in ORB with <e>, rather than <a>. Some examples are given in (9), below:

(9)

Fem. Sg. (Lyonnais and Valaisan examples, after Martin 2005)

CLOCCA > clloch**e** [ˈkjɔʃi] 'cloche' ('bell')

VACCA > vach**e** [ˈʁtse] 'vache' ('cow')

In other words, the feminine singular word final A (orthographically <e>) in items such as *vache* ('cow') is phonologically conditioned in that it is realised as [i] when following a postalveolar fricative (this is the case for varieties spoken in

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[16] For consistency, the ORB orthography is used here to represent these forms morphologically.

France), and [e] when following an affricate (in the case of Switzerland). Regarding linguistic-internal constraints, then, the variability of feminine nouns therefore rests on two linguistic contexts: where the Latin word-final morphemes –CA are present, we find high vowels, and where Latin A does not follow C we find low vowels (*cf.* FLAM**MA** > *fllama* [ˈflɔma] ('flame'); VAC**CA** > *vache* [ˈvaʃi] or [ˈʋtse] ('cow')). These alternations are therefore phonologically conditioned.

In the feminine singular, these alternations between [a], [i] and [e] promote an interesting problem from the perspective of ORB, for, as we have seen, lexical items coming from the Latin –CA context have the orthographic form <e>. While ORB recognises that 'dans certains parlers, les féminins singuliers après consonne palatale […] ont gardé la prononciation originelle [i]' ('in certain varieties, feminine singulars following a palatal consonant […] have maintained the original pronunciation [i]') (Stich *et al*. 2003: 182), orthographical word final <e> has the recommended pronunciations [e] or [ə]. Therefore, while ORB recognises that Latin –CA can be raised to [e] (as in the Swiss examples), many varieties where [i] is maintained are not represented by the recommended forms.

We have now established a number of possible dialectal forms for Latin atonic A in the feminine singular form: [a], [i] (for varieties spoken in France), and [a], [e] (for varieties spoken in Switzerland), as well as the corresponding recommended Arpitan forms [a], [e] and [ə]. We must next outline the linguistic phenomena that occur in the feminine plural form. As the linguistic phenomena associated with noun pluralisation in Francoprovençal are both complex and extremely variable, this study narrows its focus specifically to the pluralisation of Latin feminine nominative singular forms ending in Latin atonic A only. Consider the below examples in (10) and (11):

(10)

Francoprovençal spoken in France (Lyonnais)

Fem. Sg.	*Fem. Pl.*
clloche [ˈkjɔʃi] 'cloche' ('bell')	clloches [ˈkjɔʃ] 'cloches' ('bells')
fllama [ˈflɔma] 'flamme' ('flame')	fllames [ˈflɔmə] 'flammes' ('flames')
trâbla [ˈtʁɔbla] 'table' ('table')	trâbles [ˈtʁɔblə] 'tables' ('tables')
vache [ˈvaʃi] 'vache' ('cow')	vaches [ˈvaʃ] 'vaches' ('cows')

(11)

Francoprovençal spoken in Switzerland (Valaisan)

clloche [ˈklose] ('cloche')	clloches [ˈklos] ('cloches')
fllama [ˈflɑ̃ma] ('flamme')	fllames [ˈflɑ̃me] ('flammes')
trâbla [ˈtɐbla] ('table')	trâbles [ˈtɐble] ('tables')
vache [ˈɐtse] ('vache')	vaches [ˈɐts] ('vaches')

As the examples in (10) and (11) show, we have two contexts to consider: lexical items ending in Latin –CA (represented orthographically as <e>) and items ending in Latin A (represented orthographically as <a>). Items such as 'bell' *clloche* < CLOCCA exhibit vowel final deletion in the plural form, and items such as 'table' *table* < TABULA do not. We must therefore revise our prediction of possible variants to account for the feminine plural forms: in the context of Latin –CA we can expect a zero realisation in the plural, and in a non–CA context we can expect either schwa or a mid-high vowel. The variants exhibited in both sets of varieties are comparable in that we can narrow our analysis to the type of segment preceding the final vowel, as well as the quality of final vowel in the singular and plural form. We should also stress at this point that the ORB orthography marks plural forms orthographically in the same way as SF for regular nouns, with –*s* (*cf.* CLOCCA > *clloche* (sg.), *clloches*

(pl.) in ORB, and *cloche*, *cloches* in SF), and so ORB does not reflect the linguistic phenomena that occurs in the plural feminine form, as we have seen. The introduction of word-final –*s* has been heavily criticised by Tuaillon in particular, who argues that its introduction in Francoprovençal would mean a loss of all kinds of basic morpho-phonological distinctions (see 2004: 9 for examples).

2.8   Summary

We said in Chapter 1 that Francoprovençal does not quite fit the mould of other RMLs to be found in and around the Hexagon. Not only is there no standard or prestige variety (this is not uncommon for RMLs), but we have seen that Francoprovençal suffers from rather unique problems too.

We have discussed a number of the oft-cited problems relating to the emergence of Francoprovençal in the literature, particularly relating to its linguistic borders, and the criteria used to demarcate them. We found that, despite nearly 150 years since its introduction into the Romance linguistics literature, as late as 2012, scholars continue to question its existence as a discrete linguistic system. Few, if any, RMLs spoken in adjoining regions face quite the same issues (*e.g.* Occitan; Rumantsch).

Having established both sides of the argument relating to Francoprovençal as a discrete linguistic system, the latter part of this chapter then focused on a brief linguistic introduction to Francoprovençal (at the phonological level), contrasting its most salient features where necessary with SF and Occitan. From here, we have identified three linguistic variables suitable to the present study: while a number of

traditional dialectal forms are attested in each case, an emerging set of competing 'recommended' forms have also emerged in the context of a proposed pan-regional orthography. This orthography, as we have seen, is being peddled by a type of social actor that is very different to the native speaker of Francoprovençal: these L2 learners label their varieties instead Arpitan, and they militate for wider recognition and increased literacy. Our principal line of inquiry in this study is the extent to which these learners differ both socially and linguistically from other speakers of Francoprovençal. Do they opt for traditional dialectal forms as outlined in §2.6, or instead for forms that we might associate as more Arpitan-like? However, first we must contextualise the case study on Francoprovençal by situating it in the context of other RMLs; this will be the focus of Chapter 3. Thereafter, we turn our attention to Francoprovençal's status today: who continues to speak the language? Is the socio-political context beginning to change?

Chapter 3. Regional Minority Language Politics

3.1   Introduction

In Chapter 2 we saw that since Francoprovençal was demarcated along the Romance continuum, as a major dialect zone sandwiched in between the traditional, accepted boundaries separating the *langue d'oïl* from the *langue d'oc*, scholars have been at pains to explain away its arguably artificial borders and criteria for demarcation. Even the name 'Francoprovençal' has been viewed as problematic, and, although many alternatives have been proposed, none have been adopted. While these problems might be viewed as unique to Francoprovençal, the language is also faced with many more common problems similar to those of other RMLs spoken in Europe. For example, as we have seen, there is no spontaneous or obvious standard variety to select from for the purpose of standardisation, and inter-generational mother-tongue transmission no longer takes place in the vast majority of regions within the Francoprovençal-speaking zone.

However, we have also seen that the situation on the ground is beginning to change. A galvanised new speaker movement has emerged that campaigns actively for more favourable language planning policies and wider literacy. These speakers, who differ markedly from the native speaker of Francoprovençal, term their variety instead 'Arpitan'. What is more, they militate in favour of a *pan-regional* linguistic

identity rather than rigidly defending a local norm. We have seen this is most clearly expressed through their proposed reference orthography. It has also been noted that the *arpitanistes* do not claim any interest in standardisation. These social actors, who are well aware of the problem posed by 'unrealistically severe old-speaker purism' (Dorian 1994: 479), advocate instead that local pronunciations should remain untouched, but that some normative approach to spelling is required, if only to foster greater literacy.

In this chapter we will now contextualise the case study on Francoprovençal and the emergence of Arpitan. To do so, we must first outline the socio-political context in which these varieties are found. We therefore begin with a brief history of the decline of RMLs in France, starting with the Revolution of 1789, and culminating with present day glottopolitics. This will then be contrasted with the context of Switzerland and the Aosta Valley (the two other regions where Francoprovençal is traditionally spoken). Thereafter, we introduce a taxonomy of language standardisation models. The latter part of this chapter will then be dedicated to an examination of well-documented attempts at revival and revitalisation. A number of case studies will be presented on minority varieties that share common problems with Francoprovençal. In light of these discussions, we then turn to the particular context of Francoprovençal in order to establish how Arpitan fits into the picture, before we begin to examine what speakers are doing themselves.

3.2   Language, nation and state in France

For more than a century, ideas of linguistic homogeneity have predominated in French-language policy discourse at the expense of France's RMLs. Some scholars suggest that France's one-language-one-nation ideology is so clearly formulated that the RMLs spoken within the Hexagon are viewed simply with an 'unusual intolerance' (Grenoble and Whaley 1999: 5). Such policies have come from decades of centralisation and the growth of a strong national identity. We explore below a brief account of this development.

While the Royal doctrine of the *Ancien Régime* enforced divide and rule, with the French Revolution of 1789 came the ideology of nation-statehood in France. The (largely rural) population were to experience a particularly strong degree of centralisation, reinforced by the unification of the people under one common language. French was to become the sole language of the state at the expense of linguistic diversity. However, this would be no easy task, for, in just five years following the establishing of the new Republic, the Abbé Grégoire, in his *Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'anéantir les patois et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue française*, would report that just 'three quarters of the people of France knew *some* French', although levels of competency varied tremendously (Weber 1979: 71). In fact, Grégoire's findings would reveal a much greater degree of ignorance of French than this: from a total of 49 participant responses (most of which were doctors, clerics or other religious figures), he concluded that barely 3 million people (out of a population of 28 million) used French as their everyday spoken language, while roughly 6 million spoke no French at all (Certeau *et al.* 1975: 302). While no census data is available before the Revolution, official figures thereafter report that, in 1863, 8,381 of France's 37,510 communes spoke no French, which amounted to a quarter of

the population at the time; a quarter of a million children (ages seven to thirteen) were found to speak no French at all (Weber 1979: 67). Further, in those departments that did speak French, acquisition was uneven, since many schools were found to be teaching in a RML.

While such a grand linguistic patchwork posed no great concern for the former monarchy, whose French-speaking (partly bilingual) elites dominated the uneducated underclasses, for the Republic, the situation was both dangerous and unacceptable. If the new regime was to be successful as a cohesive machine – one that would rely on the dissemination of information and the participation of its peasants, who had now become citizens – the population would need to become French speaking (Certeau *et al*. 1975: 11-12). Following Grégoire's report, the new Republic acted to abolish RMLs in France, for fear that they might ultimately be used as tools of sedition. This important milestone would mark the beginnings of a long history of linguistic oppression, which would culminate in a one-nation-one-language ideology that would be applied throughout the Hexagon with great intolerance for diversity, not just towards other varieties, but also towards any sentiment of regional autonomy or political freedom (Ager 1990: 65). This intolerance manifested itself in many ways, but was enforced largely through the public stigmatisation of any language that was not French:

> Tout gasconisme vient du patois du pays […] les enfants parlent le patois avant de parler français […] Quand quelqu'un ouvre les yeux des Gascons et leur fait remarquer les fautes qu'ils font, ils les reconnaissent avec surprise : ils sont étonnés d'avoir parlé ridiculement toute leur vie […] (taken from Certeau *et al*. 1975 : 51).

> [All Gasconisms come from the patois of the country […] the children speak patois before speaking French […] When someone opens the eyes of the Gascon

people and makes them realise the errors that they make, they respond with surprise: they are shocked to have spoken so ridiculously all of their lives […]]

Such prejudices were reinforced as early as possible, particularly at the school level, where the chastising of children who dared to speak a RML in the playground was common-place (*cf.* for example McDonald, 1989: 46-7; Jones, 1998: 297 on Breton and the use of the *symbole* ('symbol') or *objet* ('object')). The impact of these socio-political pressures had resulted in a deep sense of linguistic insecurity amongst the largely-rural population, which would ultimately trigger a move away from any maintenance of bilingualism, and progressively towards gradual language shift. RMLs were forced from the cities to the periphery, and they lost ground too in traditional domains of usage. Today, those RMLs that would have enjoyed at least some prestige in these domains are now typically banished to but a few intimate settings. As a result, 'few if any monolingual dialect or regional language speakers remain, and diglossia is maintained, for the most part, by the elderly' (Hornsby 2009: 162).

One of the major changes in the nature of the power of the state had emerged from France's Revolution, 'the old tradition of political centralisation was maintained, but the reality of political power was transformed' (Lodge 1993: 213). The birth of a powerful national identity, peddled by a highly centralised nation-state, would now dwarf any and all regional identities, and, by extension, their RMLs (Lodge 1993: 209). Although 'the usefulness of a common "national" language as an auxiliary for state building was understood at an early stage' (Adrey 2009: 110) in France (see Lodge 1993: 126-7 on the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539), it was not until after the Revolution that French became the language 'through which the sovereignty of the nation could finally be embodied in the institutions of the Republic, *une et indivisible*' ('…one and indivisible') (Adrey 2009: 114).

Language and state building go hand in hand. Indeed, Haugen has remarked that 'nation and language [are] inextricably intertwined' (1966a: 927), and Fishman sees the relationship between language and nationalism as a 'central topic' to language problems generally, but specifically within developing nations (1968: 39). Scholars have long identified language as a significant marker of identity, within both the spheres of nation-state and social networks. This sense of group belonging has been likened to that of ethnicity (*cf.* Edwards 1985; 23-46; Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 3). Within the borders of those nations with strong nation-state sentiments, it is often the case that language represents 'a uniquely powerful instrument in unifying a diverse population and in involving individuals and subgroups in the national system' (Kelman 1971: 21). However, Fishman (1968: 43), Kelman (1971: 21) and others have suggested that this power can at the same time generate disintegration and promote internal conflict: '*deliberate* use of language for purposes of national identity may – at least in a multi-ethnic state – have more disruptive than unifying consequences' (Kelman 1971: 21). Indeed, many case studies on minority varieties demonstrate how minority-group members, whose language (and therefore identity) is often perceived as being at risk (usually from the forces of language contact and gradual language shift), are much more likely to stress their uniqueness by comparison with those speakers of the dominant variety; these speakers will often find the notion of nationalism unpalatable (Edwards 1985: 46). No surprise then, that such treatment of RMLs in France would inspire some resistance to nationalism.

Such opposition has taken many forms across France over the years, ranging from demands for more rights on behalf of minority languages, to demands for local autonomy, and, further still, to demands for full independence (Lodge 1993: 219). To take an example from our own region of linguistic interest: in Savoie, a movement

known as Savoie Libre ('Free Savoye') has found popularity (mostly via dissemination of information via the Internet) in its call for independence, citing the existence of an alpine identity and ethnicity, as well as the Savoyard variety of Francoprovençal (termed *le savoyard* rather than *patois*), as reasons, among many, meriting a separation from the state. These voices, however, remain for now in a distinct minority, though it is noteworthy that such a group exists in the region, for they appear to be at odds with the Arpitan movement, who militate instead for a pan-regional identity 'tout autour du Mont Blanc' ('across the whole Mont Blanc area').[15] It would seem, therefore, that there are to a certain extent competing views regarding the process of identity construction surrounding Francoprovençal. To summarise what we have said so far, since the Revolution in France, language has become a tool of socio-political integration, and intolerance towards RMLs has long been a prominent part of the discourse. We focus next on the sorts of language planning policies that have been introduced in more recent times, and the implications that these policies have had for RMLs.

The *loi Deixonne* ('Deixonne Law') of 1951 was heralded by many as an important landmark, for it accorded, for the first time, official recognition to the right of existence of RMLs. Principally, the law allowed for an expansion of RMLs in the public sphere, by sanctioning the teaching of Breton, Basque, Occitan and Catalan in state schools. Following nearly 200 years of linguistic oppression in the classroom, where only French prevailed, RMLs were henceforth permitted, or at least tolerated. However, the *loi Deixonne* can be characterised equally by its many failings, for it only authorised one to two optional hours a week of teaching in the minority languages listed under the law, which is very short (see McDonald, 1989: 52-54 for

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[15] http://arpitania.eu/index.php/langue-arpitan-francoprovencal

details). The *loi Deixonne*, now abrogated, was replaced with the *loi Bas-Lauriol* of 1975, which, itself, was succeeded by the *loi Toubon* in 1994. Both were, however, enacted so that France could 'engage in language management strategies for use of French in and beyond the public space' (Blackwood 2011a: 112), and, as a result, represent something of a backward step, for they were not in any way proactive in advancing the cause of RMLs, but, rather, were explicitly protective of French.

The big hope for the defence of RMLs came with The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which has been widely acclaimed for providing a structured framework on which language policy *vis-à-vis* RMLs can be built through the Europe member-states (Council of Europe 2016). Ratification of the Charter commits the state to 'base their policies, legislation, and practices' on the objectives and principles set out in the Charter, which include the recognition of local languages, and official agreement to promote their use, in both speech and writing, and in both private and public domains. Further, Part II of the Charter provides specific guidelines about the rights of speakers to be educated in these languages (European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, Strasbourg, 5 Nov., 1992). However, nearly twenty years following its initial adoption, France is yet to ratify the Charter. This unwillingness of the French state to commit to the Charter, it is argued, is the result of a perceived view that, to do so, would fundamentally conflict with France's Constitution, where in Article 2 it states 'La langue de la République est le français' ('The language of the Republic is French'). Further, the general provisions that called for recognition of minority group rights and the use of RMLs in state matters would also be viewed as unconstitutional (see Oakes 2011 for a summary). In general, Oakes has argued that there is a political unwillingness to enter into a debate on constitutional amendments (2011: 75). As a result of a stall in potential amendments,

as recently as the 3rd June 2014 during a round table discussion at the *Assemblée nationale*, the *Comité consultatif pour la promotion des langues régionales* reported that ratification of the Charter would lead to incoherence within the Constitution (see Hawkey and Kasstan 2015 for a summary). The state's unwillingness to ratify the Charter continues to contribute to the tide of gradual language shift away from RMLs and towards French. Although state-level recognition of minority varieties does not guarantee success alone in language revitalisation, the symbolic effect of recognition can constitute a very powerful perceptual force (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 27).

In spite of this state of affairs, we do not wish to portray the view here that no progress has been made at all, and some notable shifts in favour of RMLs have emerged. For example, Cerquiglini's (1999) report to the Minister of Culture and the Minister of Education officially recognised many regional varieties that had previously been omitted from the *loi Deixonne* and subsequent laws that followed; this included the listing of Francoprovençal under 'langues parlées par des ressortissants français' ('languages spoken by French nationals'). Blanchet and Armstrong have also remarked that 'French official institutions have now begun considering varieties as 'full *langues*, distinct from French, which is […] politically the only way of promoting them alongside French' (2006: 252). Such views are beginning to emerge, in particular, at a regional level, where, in Rhône-Alpes for example (a department in which Francoprovençal is spoken alongside Occitan) the regional council has begun to show much more interest in the languages spoken within the territory, with a view to carving out a distinctively regional 'rhonealpins' identity (*cf.* Bengio 2011: 8; Costa and Bert 2011: 45). The financing of a two-year study was authorised in 2007-8 into the use of Francoprovençal and Occitan spoken in the region. This culminated in 2009 with a motion passed through the council on the

9th of June 2009, which called to *Reconnaître, valoriser, promouvoir l'occitan et le francoprovençal, langues régionales de Rhône-Alpes*. The study itself recommended a number of steps that could be taken by the regional council to effectively promote this linguistic diversity, and, ultimately, to encourage language revitalisation and language planning strategies (*cf.* Bert *et al*. 2009).

To summarise this brief history on the struggles faced by RMLs in the Hexagon, we have seen that the state has long aimed at unifying France under one language, which constitutes a powerful symbol of identity, and, further, that, in recent years, legislation passed through in an effort to recognise and, possibly, promote said varieties has done little to reverse the tide of gradual language shift. That said, initiative may now rest with those holding power at a regional level, away from Paris, where greater success may follow; it is still too early to tell. Ultimately, however, France faces an uphill struggle in advocating the status quo of a one-nation-one-language policy if it seeks to remain a pillar-state of the European Union, as E.U. policy in recent years has increasingly moved towards the acceptance of interculturalism and multilingualism as fundamental rights for its citizens. This obviously stands in sharp contrast to France's centralist policy regarding language.

3.2.1   The view next door: Switzerland and Aosta

As this study concerns itself with a language that is spoken transnationally in parts of France, Switzerland and Italy, it is pertinent to briefly compare and contrast these disparate linguistic contexts from a glottopolitical perspective.

Francoprovençal enjoys varying levels of status between these states. In France, we have just seen that Francoprovençal was only recognised by the Ministry

for Culture and Communication in 1999 as a 'language of France', but, at the same time, it does not constitute one of the handful of regional languages protected by law that are permitted in the education system, unlike Breton or Basque which are sufficiently different, in the state's view, from French (Bron 2011: 7). The status of Francoprovençal varieties spoken in Switzerland is rather different to this one-nation-one-language perspective, where instead the state has long defended 'la diversité des langues et des cultures dans un seul état' ('the diversity of languages and cultures in one state') (Camartin 1985: 253).

In Switzerland, multilingualism is safeguarded by Article 116 of the Constitution, which stipulates that German, French, Italian and Rumantsch 'sont les langues régionales de la Suisse' ('are the regional languages of Switzerland') whereas German, French and Italian are 'langues officielles de la Confédération' ('official languages of the Confederation') (Camartin 1985: 253). This differentiation between 'regional languages' on the one hand and 'official languages' on the other has important implications for the level of prestige associated with the former. For example, Rumantsch is not an official language, and therefore it cannot be employed in parliament, in administration, in the judicial process, or in secondary or higher education (Di Luzio 1977: 219). Interestingly, Francoprovençal is distinctively absent from the Article, and therefore has no official status at all. That said, Article 4 guarantees that 'le droit de s'exprimer dans sa propre langue est un des droits de l'homme : personne ne peut être discriminé pour son appartenance linguistique' ('the right to express oneself in one's own language is a human right: no one can be discriminated against based on affiliation with a linguistic group') (Camartin 1985: 254). Therefore, while provisions for Francoprovençal are not explicitly guaranteed by the Swiss Federation, there is a much greater tolerance towards linguistic diversity

in Switzerland in general. Further, the individual Swiss Cantons have significant autonomous oversight when it comes to regional languages. In the case of the Canton of Valais, where the vitality of Francoprovençal is generally much higher than anywhere else in Switzerland, provisions are afforded by the *Conseil d'Etat*.[16] Moreover, unlike in the case of France, there are no laws forbidding Francoprovençal in the public domain or in the media, and television programmes with a component in Francoprovençal are regularly found on *Canal 9* (*La chronique des patois*).

In stark contrast to the French and Swiss contexts, in the Aosta Valley (northern Italy), which enjoys an autonomous status, Francoprovençal is not only protected under Federal law, but is also used in schools at elementary and maternal level (Josserand 2003: 113). Moreover, Francoprovençal is still used in a host of different public spheres: '[…] le francoprovençal se maintient relativement bien dans les lieux publics, en particulier dans les magasins d'alimentation, les cafés et restaurants, chez le coiffeur, avec le prêtre ainsi qu'à la mairie' ('Francoprovençal is well maintained in public spaces, in particular it is found in supermarkets, cafes and restaurants, at the hairdressers, in religious spheres and in city councils') (Josserand 2003: 130). As a result, it is very often the view that the Valdôtain varieties of Francoprovençal are in a less obsolescent state than those varieties spoken in Switzerland and France. According to Meune (2009: 1-2), speaker numbers for the Aosta Valley are thought to be in the region of 27,000 (out of the population of 120,000). Earlier figures by Tuaillon (1988: 204) suggested that there might have been as many as 70,000 speakers in Italy overall at the time of writing. For a region of this size, these proportions dwarf those of Switzerland and France as a whole, where between 50,000 and 60,000 are thought to be left in the latter, or < 1% of the total

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[16] http://www.patois.ch/docs/textepdfpatois.pdf

regional population (Tuaillon 1993a: 7; 1993b: 142), while roughly 16,000 speakers may be left in the former (Meune 2009: 1-2). In general, Aosta is viewed as the 'citadelle du francoprovençal' ('Francoprovençal citadel') (Favre 2011: 10).

We have to some extent clarified the current socio-political context of Francoprovençal across the three regions in which it is spoken, and the problems posed by Francoprovençal from the perspective of the Arpitan movement are becoming clearer. In addition to the fact that there exists no real consensus concerning its linguistic borders, criteria for demarcation, or what it should be called, between France, Switzerland and Italy, its official status is at best ambiguous. Further, what has become evident is that, transnationally, some parallels can be drawn: speaker numbers continue to fall, and there is no appropriate norm that can be used for pedagogical purposes. No wonder then that some have commented that Francoprovençal varieties 'n'a[…] jamais connu d'unité historique, géographique, politique ou culturelle' ('have never known any historical, geographical, political or cultural unity') (Stich 1998: 35). Grinevald and Bert take this a step further in stating that there is 'little overall sense of Francoprovençal unity or identity', and, that such sentiments, if they do exist, are only to be found at the local level (2012: 278).

From the perspective of language revitalisation, the Arpitan movement is faced with a number of significant problems, and in what follows, the discussion turns to the types of models and methods found in the language revitalisation literature that might be pertinent to the context of Francoprovençal. We begin with a brief overview of some key concepts in the literature, before moving on to a number of case studies of RMLs that exhibit similar problems to those outlined above.

3.3   Language revitalisation: models and methods

In its broadest sense, 'language revitalization' refers to:

> […] the development of programmes that result in re-establishing a language
> which has ceased being the language of communication in the speech
> community and bringing it back into full use in all walks of life' (Hinton 2001:
> 5).

Therefore, language revitalisation has as its main aim to counteract the main forces contributing to language shift. For Fishman, reversing language shift (or simply 'RLS') implies '[…] the establishment of *stability*' between the 'weaker' (usually minority) variety and the 'stronger' (usually dominant) variety', such that the minority variety 'becomes at least intergenerationally transmissible in as many […] functions as there is a reasonable chance can be attained' (1991:86). It would appear, then, that intergenerational mother-tongue transmission is the central concern in Fishman's model to RLS; this is confirmed by the body of literature dedicated to language death theory generally, where any halt in language transmission is regarded as a key indicator of language obsolescence (*cf.* for example Denison 1977: 21; Edwards 1985: 50), the end point of obsolescence being *language death*.

It is noteworthy that 'no theory of language death' currently exists (*cf.* Sasse 1992: 7; Baylon 1996: 136; Crystal 2000: 19; Josserand 2003: 57; Dal Negro 2004: 22-23). Despite the growing body of – largely European – case studies that reflect upon language death theory, influenced most notably by the works of Dorian (1973; 1978; 1981) on East Sutherland Gaelic, the number of studies in the area remains small, and, therefore, insubstantial as an 'empirical basis for a theory of language death […]' (Sasse 1992: 9). Instead, classifications of endangerment and typologies of language death scenarios have been developed to rank the extent to which any given

variety can be considered obsolescent (*e.g.* Bauman 1980: 9; Wurm 1998: 192; Tsunoda 2005: 9-13). We might for example take Fishman's Graded International Disruption Scale. This scale, which constitutes eight tiers, illustrates that the higher the rating, the lower the rate of transmission, and, accordingly, the lower the prospects for successful language maintenance (see Fishman 1991: 87-109 for summary). In addition to indicating the extent to which a given variety is obsolescent, the degree of vitality is equally seen as a baseline indicator used in determining the appropriate type of language revitalisation and maintenance programme needed (Grenoble and Whaley 2006: 3). 'Vitality' here refers to 'structural' vitality, *i.e.* how much structural attrition can be measured in the language; structural attrition is often reported in language contact and gradual language shift scenarios, but this is not always the case (see for example Dorian 1978: 608). Other classifications of endangerment can range from a three-tier model (*e.g.* 'safe', 'endangered', 'extinct' as in Crystal 2000: 20) to a typical five-tier model. For example, Bauman (1980: 6) matches five categories of language status with an appropriate language-retention strategy, as in Table 3.3.1, below (*cf.* also Bauman 1980: 9-10; Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 182-186; Wurm 1998: 192; Tsunoda 2005: 9-13).

Table 3.3.1 Bauman's classification of endangerment (1980: 6)

| *language status* | flourishing | enduring | declining | obsolescent | extinct |
| *retention strategy* | prevention | expansion | fortification | restoration | revival |

While these models are helpful from the perspective of the outsider looking in, they do little to inform on speaker attitudes towards their own varieties. This is significant, for scholars have remarked that such perceptions, be they negative or positive, have important implications for revitalisation, and, in particular, language maintenance strategies (*cf.* Trudgill 1983: 129; Dorian 1987: 63; Fishman 1991: 174; Blackwood 2004: 312). Moreover, it is often the case that the speech community is

far from homogeneous in their attitudes towards the RML, with some favouring planning or maintenance to some extent, while others will actively seek standardisation and its implementation into the education system, and, further, will militate to see this end come to fruition. Such aims are typical of language movements, which often take to the received view in language revitalisation generally that 'the survival of minority languages invariably depends […] upon the ability to shift the language into new domains of language activity' (Williams 1992: 133), and this will often include education. However, as we have seen above, the education system in France has, historically, been very successful in pushing RMLs to the periphery of society (both socially and geographically).

Linguists have often remarked that there are only a handful of success stories in the language revitalisation literature, and that, in most cases, language revitalisation programmes have resulted in failure (*e.g.* Tsunoda 2005: 169; Grenoble and Whaley 2006: IX). If a language is to successfully revitalise, it is the conventional view that efforts geared towards language revitalisation should be centred around the development of a *standard*.[17] Jones defines standardisation as the process 'whereby the speech community is once again generally reunited by the adoption of one dialect as the Standard' (1998: 261). The process of standardisation itself is very much multifaceted, although linguists tend to distinguish four broad processes, following Haugen (1966b), as in Table 3.3.2, below:

Table 3.3.2 Haugen's (1966b) model for language standardisation

	form	*function*
society	selection	acceptance
language	codification	elaboration

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[17] Emphasis is added to 'standard' here in reference to Milroy and Milroy's 'ideology of the standard' (1985: 22-3), which is summarised by Lodge as '[…]a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent' (1993: 25). See most recently Armstrong and Mackenzie (2013: 23-7) on the role of standard language ideology as compared to actual language use.

Broadly speaking, the first stage in standardisation involves the selection of one form as a prestige variety; the adoption process rarely involves linguistic attributes, but, rather, is largely socio-political in nature. It is only after a norm has been selected that linguistic codification takes place. The prestige variety will then be manoeuvred to marginalise its competition from as many functional domains as possible, whilst being introduced to new functions in new domains. Finally, the speech community is left with the choice of accepting this prestige variety as the code of widest currency; at this stage 'the standardized dialect often becomes synonymous with the concept of a national language and serves as a strong unifying force within a region, a symbol demarcating one community from another (Weinreich 1953: 100, cited in Jones 1998: 262). Very often the selection of a norm is an obvious one, but standardisation in a multi-dialectal context with no obvious prestige variety is much more problematic; as this sort of context relates most clearly to the Francoprovençal case study, additional commentary is needed.

Tsunoda suggests that 'there are at least three ways to tackle a […] multi-dialectal situation' (2005: 182), and in Table 3.3.3, below, we elaborate on these models and methods, with some additions from other sources.

Table 3.3.3 Models of standardisation (adapted from Tsunoda 2005: 182)	
Model	*Action*
Prestige norm	The selection of one dialect above all others for revitalisation; if this choice is not an obvious one, this model can be considered both ideologically loaded and extremely problematic (Dorian 1994: 485)
Unified norm	The creation of an artificial standard which will incorporate dialectal features from many, if not all, of the original varieties; again problematic for what basis are some selected over others? There will likely be resistance on behalf of the speech community (Dorian 1987: 59)
Divide and conquer	Attempt to revitalise all existing dialects; most likely programme to be accepted by the speech community, but would likely result in the development of numerous orthographies, a problem noted in the context of several minority variety studies (Jones 1998: 309)
Polynomia	We add to Tsunoda's (2005: 182) typology the 'polynomic model', which again favours no single variety, but instead promotes sociolinguistic diversity, and rejects linguistic hierarchy (Marcelleci 1989: 170)

As the above Table illustrates, when it comes to a multi-dialectal context, there are a number of options available where some kind of norm (whatever form it might take) can arise. In sections §3.3.1-2, below, we present a series of case studies on typologically dissimilar multi-dialectal contexts where we consider examples of the possible standardisation models proposed above. As we will come to see, despite how diverse these examples will appear, a series of common problems unites them all. In §3.5, we then turn our attention to the specific case of Francoprovençal, and whether or not these models bear any resemblance to the case of Arpitan and the emergence of ORB.

3.3.1 Unified standardisation

Prestige varieties are very often associated with elite social groups (Lodge 1993: 130). However, in the context of a minority variety, particularly a multidialectal one, there may be no obvious single spontaneous norm. In such contexts, it is very often the case that a unifying standard is devised (*e.g.* Dorian 1987). Before we begin with a series of case studies, some commentary is first needed on the notion of unified standardisation.

Sallabank remarks that, 'in domain-expansion-based language planning', it is common for a 'unified', modernised standard to be developed for use in education (2010: 314). This approach is known to have two destabilising effects. First, Haugen has suggested that choosing '[…] any one variety as a norm means to favour the group of people speaking that variety. It gives them prestige as norm-bearers and a head-start in the race for power and position' (1966b: 18). Therefore, norm selection

inherently suggests a hierarchy of varieties (Joseph 1987: 58). It is very likely that the speech community would have to accept an arbitrary selection of forms over their own traditional variants. Secondly, a unified standard used in education can diverge dramatically from traditional norms, thereby marginalising those dialect speakers from a largely educated militant movement who have acquired the unified variety as an academic exercise, rather than via traditional family transmission. This can often lead to linguistic insecurity on both sides of the fence. For the native speakers, they feel that they do not speak the 'correct' variety of the language, and therefore find themselves at the margins of these language movements. Conversely, for the unified-variety speakers, they often feel that their speech is by no means authentic enough, and so will often manoeuvre to import 'grass roots' forms into their variety at all linguistic levels. Alternatively, if the unified norm belongs to an elite group, then sentiments of linguistic superiority might emerge. It would seem, then, that there is a certain interplay between the dichotomy of *purism* and *compromise* in this type of language revitalisation model, where 'incompatible conservatism can separate educated revitalizers interested in historicity, from remaining speakers interested in locally authentic idiomaticity' (Dorian 1994: 479), while compromise necessarily means abandoning certain forms in favour of others, for the 'greater good'.

3.3.1.1 Irish

The first case study illustrating the unified standard model will be on Irish. As a case study on language revitalisation, Irish constitutes one of the very few examples where it is the state that has propelled itself to the forefront in the protection and reification

of the minority variety (Fishman 1991: 122). Before entering into a discussion on the modern day socio-political context of Irish, some historical narrative is first necessary.

Irish could be considered very early on as something of a success story. Prior to the 12th century, Irish as the dominant vernacular was already established as a medium suitable for literary, ecclesiastical and political communication (*e.g.* Edwards 1985: 53; Maguire 1991: 20-1). However, in spite of this, the Irish speakers have since suffered a long history of socio-political and linguistic oppression (for an overview, see Hindley 1990: 1-12). Many regions in Ireland were populated with Irish monoglots as late as 1700. While English was radiated from the major conurbations, assimilation was infrequent and slow. However, it is generally held that Irish ceased to be the dominant language of the home (the most intimate of functional domains) by 1750 (Hindley 1990: 8).

From 1800, the upper echelons of society had assimilated entirely to the English language, and it is noted that, by this date, most eastern and central regions of Ireland were entirely English speaking (Hindley 1990: 8). Edwards remarks that this shift came as a result of several societal changes. For example, by 1800, the Church had shifted to English for sermons, and the National School system (established in 1831) excluded Irish: 'every school child in Ireland will tell you that […] the Catholic clergy and the National Schools […] killed the Irish language' (Wall 1969: 81). In addition, the Great Famine of the 19th century played a pivotal role in emigration out of the rural areas and into new cities (Edwards 1985: 54). However, where there were clear Catholic majorities in the speech community – a people who are noted to have been relegated to the lowest social strata, and who were largely excluded from all but the most unskilled employment – Irish would have persisted into the early 20th century for lack of incentive to acquire English (Hindley 1990: 10). By 1800, then,

acquisition of the English language went hand in hand with social elevation, whereas Irish had become a symbol of the socially disadvantaged (Maguire 1991: 23).

While Ireland has, in its history, traditionally been an agricultural country, the emergence of modern-factory industry in the late 18th century played an important role in creating demand for labour in the Catholic underclass (Hindley 1990: 11). Hindley remarks that, as a result, a perceptual shift in the attitudes of the population towards their language was triggered, 'the maintenance of linguistic separation from English speaking Britain […] was no longer practicable and found no significant support' (1990: 12). The 'tip' (Dorian 1981: 51) towards the dominant language had effectively begun to take place. Following the acquisition of English by the upper classes, prestige and economic incentive had become synonymous with English, as it had come to be used in an increasing number of domains, thereby initiating long periods of bilingualism. This precipitated what Hindley has called 'the mass abandonment of Irish', taking place via transitional stages of bilingualism, 'on the way from an Irish-speaking Ireland to an English-speaking Ireland' (1990: 12). Hindley's statement highlights that intergenerational mother-tongue transmission was interrupted, as negative perceptions towards the indigenous variety took hold in the family home. From 1850 onwards, parents are noted to have seen Irish as a hindrance to social mobility, and thereafter English was inevitably seen as the preferred language of education (Hindley 1990: 13). The significance of this break in transmission of the language cannot be overstated, as its importance has already been noted as a sure sign of linguistic obsolescence.

Although the 19th century can been seen as pivotal in the decline of the Irish language, Macnamara remarks that Irish nationalism in fact flourished during this period, where sporadic efforts were made in an attempt to stem, or even reverse the

tide of language shift (1971: 66-7). The single most important body to emerge from this embryonic renaissance (see Maguire 1991: 25 for an account of others) was the 'Gaelic League' (*Conradh na Gaeilge*), which grew out of 'The Society For The Preservation Of The Irish Language' (founded in 1893). The Gaelic League charged itself not simply with the revival of Irish as a spoken language, but with the grander task of elevating it to the status of dominant official language of the state (Ó hAilin 1969: 94-5). This vision of a revitalised Irish came to envelope much of the political will of the coming decades into the 20th century.

In 1922 the Irish Free State was founded, and with it language policy was very much at the forefront of the political agenda (Breatnach 1956: 129). Ireland was to witness periods of heavy language revitalisation and language planning on a national scale, whether the population wished for it or not:

> A quarter of the population had rejected the idea of political independence. Of the three-quarters who chose freedom only a tiny minority had proved themselves convinced adherents of the ideal of an Irish-speaking Ireland (Breatnach 1956: 129).

However, all the political good will in the world would not negate the fact that, through the series of historic events that had taken place in the 18th and 19th century, the population of Ireland had consciously chosen to abandon Irish in favour of a more prestigious variety: 'English had become the language of patriotism, of politics, of religion and of the secret life of the home' (Breatnach 1959: 130). They were now being asked to renounce these sentiments in order to take up the language that they had since left behind. In effect, the government was attempting to turn three million native speakers of English into as many bilinguals as possible. Perhaps this is why

scholars have remarked that the degree of language planning undertaken by the State essentially set itself up to fail (*cf.* Breatnach 1964: 28; Dorian 1987: 65; Ó Riagáin 1988: 5).

As of 1922, Irish was recognised as the official language in Ireland (Maguire, 1991: 27). This landmark brought with it a sense of urgency in the need for standardisation of Ireland's three main disparate dialects: the Munster dialect (South), the Connaught dialect (West), and the Ulster dialect (North) (Ó Baoill 1988:111). As we saw in §3.3, above, 'the starting point of linguistic standardization in most communities is the selection of one dialect as a prestige variety […] thus the dialect of the powerbase is often selected' (Jones 1995: 426). However, in the case of Irish, the process of norm selection was problematic. Prior to its downfall in the 1800s, Irish had a long written tradition dating back to the 5th century. The last great period of the written language, known as Early Modern Irish, or Classical Irish, had flourished 200 years before this date (Ó Baoill 1988: 109). Therefore, no single orthography stood out as an obvious norm. Further, the orthography of Irish, of the period, was based on dialectal phonology, and spellings had changed very little since the Classical Irish period (1200-1650): this Irish would bear no resemblance to the Irish of 1922 (Ó Baoill 1988: 112). Secondly, as none of the three dialects of Irish had any obvious superiority in prestige or number of speakers, it was not feasible to select one over any of the other two as a norm (Ó Baoill 1988: 111). Therefore, compromise was necessary, although, the result was 'inevitably artificial' (Dorian 1994: 485).

As one of the principal aims of the new National Government was the development of Irish in the education system, a standardised spelling and grammar was necessary. Accordingly, the *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú Gaeilge* ('The Grammar and Spelling of Irish') was published in 1958, which promoted a great deal

of structural simplification (see Ó Baeoill 1988: 112-113 for details). This artificial standard has led to, what has been called, *Gaeilge B'l' Ath'*, ('Dublin Irish' or 'New Irish): a synthetic norm constructed by the state for official publications, and which was promptly transplanted into schools outside of the Gaeltacht. *Gaeilge B'l' Ath'* is described by scholars as a noticeably unnatural written *koiné* (*e.g.* Panza 1956: 34; Breatnach 1964: 20; Hindley 1990: 60). Chief among the criticisms levelled at the standard is the fact that it does not 'agree in any systematic way' with the largely oral dialects (Ó Baoill 1988: 117-119). Further, it is no coincidence that this variety was chosen in the drafting of 'The Report of the Commission on the Restoration of the Irish Language', adding credence and official recognition to this variety by the state, and, by consequence, rejecting all other forms as sub-standard.

In the 1970s, the Irish government came under increasing pressure from language-activist movements over the growing fear that the state was no longer fully committed to revitalisation. This was compounded by the results presented from The Report of the Committee on Language Attitudes Research (1975), which suggested that a clear majority of the population still believed in the Irish language as crucial to the national identity, and supported government legislation to continue its promulgation (Tovey 1988: 54-57). As a result, the Irish government began a process of policy reconstruction, and, in 1975, introduced a four year plan that would attempt to further revitalise Irish and encourage wider usage. Further, the 'Action Plan for Irish', published in 1983, was intended to promote Irish on a national level, and focused on four areas of society: the Gaeltacht, education, the state, and the community, where a set of initiatives were implemented. Interestingly, the overarching goal of the plan was not the 'restoration' of Irish, but, rather, its 'survival

into the 21st century' (Tovey 1988: 64), perhaps indicating recognition on behalf of the state that their plans for an Irish-speaking Ireland might have been too grand.

As Ireland's political and social climate has surely changed since the introduction of its revival legislation many decades ago, the big problem that now faces the Irish government, *vis-à-vis* standardisation, is the readjustment of its policies to guarantee Irish revitalisation. Ó Riagáin remarks that the future success of revitalisation will hinge very much on the successful introduction of new initiatives, with the abandonment or modification of those currently in place, for, although there has been some limited success in RLS, 'the long term future of the Irish language is not any more secure now than it was nearly a century ago' (1988: 5-7). Further, it is surely significant that the Irish government has not recommended Irish as a co-official language of the European Community, a move undertaken by many other states associated with 'indigenous lesser used languages' (Fishman 1991: 143).

In summary then, the revitalisation of Irish has been seen by many as an unqualified failure. While there has been some success on maintaining the fringe Gaeltacht communities through policies of protectionism and full-immersion programmes for avid learners, the distinct lack of a concentrated urban-Irish speech community has severely hindered the primary aims of the government's RLS programme, as well as the development of a widely accepted norm. This is because it is often remarked that 'a standard is usually based on the variety used by an urban intelligentsia' (Joseph 1987, taken from Sallabank 2010: 314). However, paradoxically, 'urban varieties of endangered languages typically disappear at an early stage, leaving the choice of a prestige variety unclear (Sallabank 2010: 314). In knowing that no one variety of Irish could be selected as a basis for standardisation, the method employed by the state was one of compromise: artificial standardisation of

a unified variety. However, through promotion of this 'Dublin' variety in the public sphere, those speakers of dialectal Irish have been marginalised, their varieties bearing no resemblance to the urban norm.

3.3.1.2 Breton

The traditional dialects of Breton belong to the Brythonic chain of Insular Celtic languages, which had resulted from the colonisation of the region of Gaul known as the Armorican peninsula, from the 4th century, by those inhabitants fleeing Anglo-Saxon persecution in Britain. The peninsula would eventually form a linguistic divide, with the western regions retaining the Celtic varieties, and the eastern regions retaining Gallo-Romance varieties (Ager 1990: 64).

The Breton language consists of four main dialects: Cornouaillais (spoken in Kerne), Léonard (spoken in Leon), Trégorrois (spoken in Treger), and Vannetais (spoken in Gwened). The former three are often referred to as a dialect grouping dubbed 'KLT', for they share many phonological similarities; the latter dialect (Vannetais) is said to have a separate identity, with a Gallicised lexicon (Jones 1998: 298).

The Breton language has long been regarded with a particular disdain in France, in both public and educational spheres. Brittany was one of the few regions where this disdain was extended to Breton culture in general (see Kuter 1989: 80-1 for a summary). Jones remarks that Breton had little to fear from the *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts* (1539), for Latin was the language of all legal and administrative documents in Brittany at the time (1998: 296). While Brittany enjoyed considerable autonomy in juridical and ecclesiastical matters following unification with France (1532), its privileges were largely eroded following the Revolution in 1789, where the

new Jacobin establishment would no longer tolerate such regional autonomy, and, in the case of Breton, this intolerance continued well into the 20th century. In the public domain, calls were often made for the abolition of the Breton language: in 1925, the Minister for Education stated that 'pour l'unité linguistique de la France, la langue bretonne doit disparaître' ('for the sake of linguistic unity in France, the Breton language must disappear'). Further, in §3.2 above we have already seen that the reinforcement of linguistic oppression was particularly severe at school level, where children were beaten, punished, and humiliated for speaking the dialect on school grounds; they were 'taught that their language was both inferior and barbaric' (Ager 1990: 65). In many Breton schools, this included the use of the *symbole* (McDonald 1989 : 47): an object (usually a large piece of wood) was worn around the neck of any pupil caught speaking Breton. Any pupil wearing the *symbole* could only pass it on to one of their peers by catching them speaking Breton themselves; the child possessing the *symbole* at the end of the day was punished (Jones 1998: 297). This is not to say, however, that the *official* position on Breton in schools was entirely negative (the state seemed to condemn such punishment), and, indeed, pedagogical materials on Breton existed well into the 1830s for primary schooling programmes. McDonald suggests that, officially, the state was aware of the level of monolingualism in Brittany, and plans were even suggested for a phased transition from Breton to French via the teaching of both in schools. However, there was very little consensus at a regional level in Brittany. For example, this measure was rejected outright by the *Comité d'Instruction Primaire* following a request for its review by the Prefect of Finistère, who claimed that this would only set back the acquisition of French in the rural areas, and, further, questioned whether or not it would, in fact, be better to 'encourage the impoverishment and the corruption of Breton?' (cited in McDonald

1989: 45-6). Younger generations soon came to terms with the notion that, for the purposes of social advancement, it would be better to disregard any markedness of Breton; success was invariably equated with mastering French (Kuter 1989: 82). This ideology was aided by the common assumption that 'Breton is a language incapable of expressing modern ideas or technology or scientific knowledge' (*cf*. Kuter 1989: 82; Person 1973: 110-111) – an oft-cited perception of RMLs (see Hornberger and López 1998: 234).

Today, speaker numbers are estimated to be around 500,000, out of a population of roughly 2,598,000 (*cf*. Hagège 1992: 251; Broudic 1999: 7), though this figure stands in stark contrast to an 1886 recording, where numbers were estimated at 1,322,300 – indicating long-term language shift. However, the consensus on speaker numbers who make use of the language in day-to-day life is much lower. In citing Press (1986: 1) and Ternes (1992: 376), Jones has suggested that the number is, in fact, between 50,000 – 100,000 and 400,000 at the time of writing (1998: 298), while LeRoy (1983, cited in Ager 1990: 71) has suggested 300,000. Although it is highly likely that most, if not all, of these speakers will be bilingual, recent surveys have suggested that, while the number of Breton speakers has become stagnant, the vast majority of speakers are now over the age of 60; Broudic (1999: 29-33) suggests that this figure could be as high as 67%.

The position of Breton within the school framework was clarified from 1951, with its inclusion in the *loi Deixonne* of 1951. Essentially, teachers could now, under law, use Breton to assist with the transmission of French (McDonald 1989: 53). Moreover, Article 3 of the law allowed for one hour of teaching per week in Breton; Article 4 encouraged teachers to promote Breton culture in the classroom; Article 5 instituted courses for student-teachers at the *Écoles Normales* to study RMLs and

folklore literature; all of which were entirely optional, and advertised as 'external to the normal syllabus' (McDonald, 1989: 54). The *loi Deixonne* also allowed for Breton as an option in the *baccalauréat*, and the number of applicants rose dramatically from 150 to 933 between 1965-1975 (McDonald 1989: 54). Further, in 1977, the *Diwan* programme was set up, where Breton is taught and used as medium of instruction at pre-primary and primary school level; this service now receives public financing (McDonald 1989: 55). It is now also possible to read for a degree in Breton at Rennes University, along with the *CAPES* teaching qualification (Ager 1990: 71-2). The contrasts here with the context of Francoprovençal are striking, where no such provisions exist:

> Depuis des dizaines d'années de demandes sont adressées au ministère de l'Éducation nationale pour que le francoprovençal puisse être choisi par les élèves comme option aux examens comme le Diplôme national du brevet ou le Baccalauréat […] les Savoyards ne sont pas entendu (Bron 2011 : 7).
>
> [For decades, demands have been put forward to the Ministry for National Education so that Francoprovençal can be chosen as an option at exam level by school children, such as the Brevet National Diploma or the Baccalaureate […] the Savoyard people continue to be ignored]

There can be no doubt, then, that, for all its failings, the *loi Deixonne* provided an important lifeline for Breton and its implementation into the education system, where, a century beforehand, an official report had condemned the use of Breton in teaching French in schools, citing the caveat that the language was fragmented, with substantial internal variation, and no fixed orthography (see McDonald, 1989: 48 for summary). How then has standardisation been achieved in the Breton case? Before this question can be addressed, it is first necessary to examine the current socio-political context of Breton.

As McDonald (1989: 73-88) suggests, 'the Breton movement' is not one monolithic entity, but, rather, it is made up of various groups of militants who are interested, not just in the revitalisation of the language, but also in the recognition of Breton culture. In some cases, these militants can take a particularly hard line, and insist on members speaking entirely in Breton, to be considered a proper member. Further, McDonald writes that 'The Breton movement is, in its militant aspect […] dominated by, and largely made up of, educated and sophisticated people […] (1989: 88). In stark contrast to native Breton speakers, these members are typically educated to university level and maintain 'white-collar' professions. Jones has termed these speakers 'néo-bretonnants' (1995: 428), who she identifies as having acquired a unified, artificial standard of Breton as an L2 via the education system, rather than via the home. As a result, their speech is said to bear no resemblance to the traditional dialect, but instead 'shows a great deal of French influence in every area except perhaps the lexicon', which largely constitute 'complex polysyllabic creations' (Jones, 1995: 428). These speakers have come to be categorised most recently as 'new speakers' (Hornsby 2013: 75), and we explore these individuals in detail below in the context of Francoprovençal. In the context of Breton, these militants are well aware that their variety is in fact an artificial *koiné*, rather than a 'home-grown variety', and, as a result, they will actively pick and choose 'authentic' variants from all corners of the Breton peninsula. Jones has termed this variety a Breton 'xenolect' for the lack of resemblance that it bears to the traditional dialects (1995: 430-433).

It was suggested in §3.3 that the default starting point of standardisation usually involves the selection of a spontaneous prestige norm. However, much like the context of Francoprovençal, Breton has no obvious powerbase, where no one dialect has held enough prestige, for a significant enough period of time, to be

propagated as a possible standard variety (Jones 1998: 299-300). Breton revitalisers have since embarked upon an artificial process of standardisation, where they have attempted to unify the dialects for use at an academic level, as well as to introduce Breton pedagogy in order to bolster wider literacy. Although spoken Breton has never been standardised (Jones 1998: 313), the orthographical unification of Breton has been a subject of debate dating back to 1907 (Jones 1998: 306). The two major spheres of this orthography 'war' (KLT and Vannetais) were first unified in 1941 under a compromise orthography, which could then be used in pedagogy and taught in schools. However, Jones remarks that, due to the speed with which this 'superunified' orthography was introduced, the new standard was rife with problems at several linguistic levels, and proved very unpopular with native speakers (1998: 307). Following the introduction of *Deixonne* in 1951, the *orthographe universitaire* (OU) was agreed upon, and in 1975, the *orthographe interdialectale* emerged as a 'middle ground' between KLT and Vannetais. However, today, Modern Breton now has as many as four different proposed orthographies, which have arisen out of internal conflict amongst those that have charged themselves with the task of standardisation, including the KLT orthography, the *orthographe unifiée*, the OU, and the *orthographe interdialectale* (*cf.* Jones 1995: 432; 1998: 305). Further, each of these orthographies are favoured by different social actors. For example, Jones remarks that the *orthographe universitaire* is favoured by the University of Brest, whereas the University of Rennes and the *Diwan* programme favour instead the *orthographe unifiée*, whereas the political party *l'Union Démocratique Bretonne* opt for the *interdialectale* variety (1995: 432). While it can be argued that a lack of compromise in the case of Breton has led to multiple orthographies that render the issue of schooling and pedagogy problematic, some compromise has been advanced

on behalf of those publishing Breton dictionaries, where, although the *orthographe interdialectale* is favoured, other forms are also published alongside it (see Jones 1995: 432 for summary).

In comparing the standardisation of Breton with that of Welsh, Jones (1998) suggests that, while the unified model appears to have worked in the context of Welsh, where speaker numbers now remain stable, and Welsh is introduced into an increasing number of domains, Breton appears to be experiencing the opposite of this case, where speaker numbers are consistently falling. This seems to be the result of a number of polarised extra-linguistic factors. First, as we have seen, Breton activists have not successfully rallied under the common cause of revitalisation, and have instead remained divided. Secondly, Bretons do not feel attached to 'an entity called Brittany': native speakers tend to affiliate only with their own varieties of Breton, as opposed to embracing Breton as a whole. Lastly, Standard Breton is seen as having been created by academics (much like 'Dublin Irish' described above), behind closed doors, away from the traditional speech community (1998: 325-330). We might therefore suggest that standardisation cannot work unless disparate social actors are all involved in the process, if indeed that is what they want. In other words, input from the speech community is essential to reversing any negative connotations towards possible standardisation. Ultimately, the message appears to be that compromise is necessary for the language's survival. Linguistically, we have seen in the Breton case that a lack of compromise promotes disintegration and linguistic insecurity amongst various different speaker types.

3.3.1.3 Rumantsch Grischun

The Rumantsch varieties of Grisons are a Rhaeto-Romance grouping spoken in Switzerland, which is made up of five traditional dialects: *Sursilvan*, spoken in Surselva (a region bordering the Rhine); *Sutsilvan*, spoken in Sutselva (a western region of Grisons); *Surmiran* (eastern Grisons); *Upper Engadinois* (also known as 'le puter', found in south-eastern Grisons); and *Lower Engadinois* (also known as 'le vallader', in eastern Grisons). The five dialects differ more in phonology than they do in terms the lexis, morphology, or syntax. As a result, spelling can differ quite dramatically (Di Luzio 1977: 211-217). Roughly 38,000 inhabitants are thought to speak one of these varieties within the Canton of Grisons, with a further 12,000 speakers residing beyond its borders. However, given that these varieties have been in long-term language contact with both German and Italian, such figures could well be overestimations, for data reported by Di Luzio (1977: 208-211) suggest that, since the end of the 19th century, speakers numbers have been falling year on year, despite a substantial growth in migration into the region. It would appear, then, that gradual language shift towards the dominant language(s) has been taking place for some time, and this has been attributed to two socio-political factors in particular. First, although Rumantsch is the fourth official language of Switzerland, proceeding German, French and Italian, it was not named as such until as late as 1938, one full century after the other three, which were recognised in 1848. However, as we have seen in §3.2.1, Rumantsch is not recognised at a 'federal' level, where German, French, and Italian are permitted (Holker 1990: 97). As a result, administration, schooling, commerce and industry take place largely in German. Further, we have also seen that there is a high degree of regional autonomy in Switzerland when it comes to RMLs. Each Canton has the freedom to set its own language and education policies, and, as a result, in

Grisons, each of the five varieties enjoys some status in public and educational spheres; the language itself is protected under governmental constitution (Holker 1990: 97). Secondly, the Canton has seen an exponential jump in tourism over just four decades: Di Luzio (1977: 216) reports that lodging rose dramatically from 1,985,000 in 1940, to 12,231,000 in 1972. It would seem then, that, given the influx of tourism, and the prestige associated with German – a European language of wide currency – the socio-economic incentives to shift from Rumantsch to Germans have been substantial.

Rumantsch has been in place in the school curriculum, within Grisons, since the 1970s, where the medium of instruction is Rumantsch up until the 3rd school year. From the 4th year, teaching takes place in German, and, thereafter, Rumantsch is taught as a separate subject for up to two hours per week. At a pre-school level, Di Luzio reports that, at the time of writing, eight schools in the Canton taught ages three to six in Rumantsch (1977: 222). The take-up on behalf of adults is far lower, where, out of 30 communes, only 400 adults were recorded as taking Rumantsch classes between 1968-1970. Pedagogy is, generally, produced in all five Grisons varieties, although Di Luzio highlights that, for secondary school level (and higher), practically no teaching materials exist in Rumantsch (1977: 222-3).

Rumantsch in Grisons could be considered obsolescent, as it has increasingly lost out to German in those domains of everyday usage critical to its propagation. Moreover, productivity in word-formation is a problem. There is only one official body that is charged with the creation of neologisms for use in new domains – the *Lia Rumantscha* (LR), the body responsible for the protection and development of Rumantsch. However, as those neologisms produced by the LR rarely penetrate the speech community in strong enough numbers for daily usage, speakers will often

resort to German wholesale borrowings (Di Luzio 1977: 226-7). As the loss of productivity in word-formation has been described as one of the earliest signs of decay in obsolescing languages (*cf.* Schlieben-Lange 1976: 382; Dressler 1977: 84-85; 1981: 10), this may be yet more evidence that the tip towards German is now firmly underway.

Although the notion of a standardised form of Rumantsch has been contemplated since the early 19th century, where attempts were made to unify varieties through a simplification of forms, and an arbitrary selection of dialectal features (see Holker 1990: 99-101 for a summary), in the 1970s, scholars began to seriously examine the prospects of a possible standard orthography. However, as early as 1977, some were already warning that an artificial hybrid (or 'interromanche') would not be accepted by native speakers, where calls came instead to opt for norm selection, and to favour the *Sursilvan* variety in the local media, in an effort to develop 'une langue compromise de façon quasi naturelle' ('a quasi-natural compromise language') (Cathomas 1977: 104, cited in Holker 1990: 99). In the case of Rumantsch then, amongst native speakers at least, the selection of a norm was favoured over artificial standardisation. In spite of these calls, the LR appointed the linguist Heinrich Schmid to develop an artificial standard orthography for Rumantsch.

'Rumantsch Grischun' is founded on three of the five Grisons Rumantsch dialects: *Sursilvan*, *Vallader*, and *Surmiran*. Holker points out that the first two varieties were chosen for integration as they hold the highest numbers of speakers in the Canton of Grisons, and they are the most similar, whereas the *Surmiran* variety was chosen because it is considered an intermediary variety between *Sursilvan* and *Valladar* (1990: 102). The basic principle that was adopted for the standard orthography highlights its arbitrary and artificial nature: each form selected for the

orthography constitutes a middle-ground between the *Sursilvan* and *Vallader* varieties, and, where there is a conflict (for whatever reason), the form attributed to the *Surmiran* variety is taken; Holker (1990: 102) provides the following examples:

Table 3.3.1.3.1 Standardisation in Rumantsch (adapted from Holker 1990: 102)

Sursilvan	*Vallader*	*Surmiran*	***Rumantsch Grischun***	*Gloss*
romontsch	rumantsch	rumantsch	**rumantsch**	'Rumantsch'
tudestg	tudais-ch	tudestg	**tudestg**	'German'
febra	feivra	fevra	**fevra**	'fever'

Table 3.3.1.3.1 demonstrates this principle, where the Rumantsch variant is quite visibly either an intermediate form, or the most common denominator. However, in some circumstances this methodology has proven problematic, in that the expected Rumantsch variant would be identical to another lexical item of the same form, from a different dialect, with a different semantic value. In the event of such a occurrence, an alternative form is selected through Schmid's (1982: 6) 'principe d'élimination d'homographes entre le rumantsch grischun et une des langues de départ' ('principle of elimination of homographs between Rumantsch Grischun and one of the input languages') (Holker 1990: 103). Some examples are given in Table 3.3.1.3.2:

Table 3.3.1.3.2 Standardisation in Rumantsch (adapted from Holker 1990: 103)

Sursilvan	*Vallader*	*Surmiran*	***Rumantsch Grischun***	*Gloss*
meil	mail	meil	***meil > mail**	'apple'
neiv	naiv	neiv	***neiv > naiv**	'snow'
mèl	meil	mêl	**mèl**	'honey'
nev(s)	neiv	nev	**nev**	'nephew'

A further example of the problems that can arise in the artificial standard relates to phonology. For example, the Rumantsch dialects represent the phoneme /ʧ/ orthographically in a number of ways. In Sursilvan and Surmiran, the affricate is represented by <tg>, whereas in Valladar it is represented by <ch>. According to the

principle that has been outlined above, <tg> would therefore be chosen as the standard form. However, as an affricate in initial position is much rarer in Sursilvan than in the other two varieties, <ch> was chosen as the standard form, but only preceding <a> and <o>, whereas <tg> was reserved before <e> and <i>, as <ch> before <e> and <i> is reserved for /k/ in the two main dialects (Furer 1987: 56). The obvious implication here is that preference is being shown for those varieties with the largest speaker numbers. This inherently promotes problems for those speakers who do, in fact, produce *tg* word initially. Based on the evidence presented above, it would seem logical to conclude that the *Sursilvan* variety seems to be winning out with its forms being transported into Rumantsch Grischun.

The above brief analysis of the standardisation of the Rumantsch varieties of Grisons demonstrates how the language movements have quickly reacted to the encroachment of the dominant language, by viewing standardisation as key to the survival of the minority variety. However, again, the 'unified' model is prone to problems here, in that the variety with – what is perceived to have – the widest currency, or largest speaker numbers, appears to win out in the process of standardisation, at the expense of other varieties with fewer speakers. Rumantsch then serves as another example of a case where unified standardisation has been pursued, despite the reservations on behalf of the native speaker communities.

3.3.2 Polynomia

First coined by the sociolinguist Marcellesi (*e.g.* 1989: 170), *polynomie* refers to a pluralistic ideology of language, in which diversity is embraced, and the selection of

norms or any preference of variety is shunned. Marcellesi defines a polynomic language as:

une langue à l'unité abstraite, à laquelle les utilisateurs reconnaissent plusieurs modalités d'existence, toutes également tolérées sans qu'il y ait entre elle hiérarchisation ou spécialisation de fonction. Elle s'accompagne de l'intertolérance entre utilisateurs de variétés différentes sur les plans phonologiques et morphologiques, de même que la multiplicité lexicale est conçue ailleurs comme un élément de richesse (1989 : 170).

[a language the unity of which remains abstract and to which its users recognise several modalities of existence, all equally tolerated without establishing any hierarchy or functional specialisation. Its existence rests upon its speakers' mutual tolerance for varieties differing phonologically and morphologically, and lexical multiplicity is seen as a token of its richness] (translation taken from Adrey 2009: 207-8).

This model of standardisation, as is clear to see, runs counter to those so far explored. Far from showing preference for a particular variant, norm, or variety, *polynomie* allows for the use of any form, with a preference for none, thereby eliminating the need for hierarchical norm selection. The 'polynomic' model, developed originally for the expansion of Corsican into the school curriculum would appear then to be quite radical in that it prescribes no standard forms. However, can an all-encompassing model, that advocates variation, and shuns rigid standardisation in the traditional sense, really function as it intends? We introduce below two case studies to assess this question.

3.3.2.1 Corsican

The island of Corsica was annexed to France in the late 18th century, and, following the French Revolution of 1789, was bound by its laws. French would become the official language of the island in all legislative domains, 'assuming the functions of administration, the civil service and the judicial system'; what schooling present on the island took place largely in Tuscan Italian, which is traditionally viewed as having prestige (Blackwood 2004: 308).

Corsican is the name given to a set of Italo-Romance varieties, which became recognised in the 1980s. Due to both the proximity and the traditional political ties with Italy, Corsican is heavily influenced by central and southern Italian varieties, and in particular Tuscan and the Genoese dialects (Ager 1990: 77); internally, each variety is considered mutually intelligible (Blackwood 2004: 309). Since the introduction of French, Corsican has been ousted from many of its traditional domains (Weber 1979: 85), and, by the second half of the 20th century, speaker numbers had plummeted. Ager, citing INSEE surveys in Gauthier (1982), remarks that 79% of Corsicans spoke the language in 1979 (of a population of roughly 300,000), and that, by 1985, this had dropped to between 80,000 and 100,000 – although (as always) these figures are considered to be an overestimate (1990: 78). However, due to heavy levels of militant language activism and continued efforts in language revitalisation, Corsican has made some ground in the public sphere, particularly in local councils. However, French is still the only language used for official written documents (Ager 1990: 78).

As the *loi Deixonne* did not include any support for Corsican, teaching of the RML, in an optional sense, was not introduced until 1974. That said, its introduction into the curriculum was not without its controversies (see Ager 1990: 78 for details).

In spite of this, the teaching of Corsican is now a reality at both primary and secondary level.

In 1999, further efforts on behalf of revitalisation movements were set to introduce the teaching of Corsican at secondary-school level as a compulsory part of the curriculum. Jaffe has remarked that this was a much fought for measure on behalf of revitalisation movements: 'bilingual education on Corsica is explicitly intended to change the language ecology on the island; specifically, to counter the effects of language shift' (2008: 225). However, such measures were not entirely welcomed by the speech community: surveys developed by Blackwood (2004) and Jaffe (2001) seem to support the inclusion of mandatory Corsican teaching in schools by some, but the wider majority view still favours a non-obligatory approach. Further, given the status of Corsican as a dialect grouping, its introduction into the school curriculum is problematic. There is no single form of Corsican, or a particular prestige variety on which to base any kind of standard for pedagogical materials. Blackwood remarks that 'public examinations are [therefore] less credible as regional variation permits a variety of different answers, which are theoretically correct' (2004: 309). As a result, Corsica's revitalisation movements and language planning circles have been heavily influenced by the framework offered by 'polynomie' (Jaffe 2008: 226). However, although Marcellesi *et al.* have suggested that *no* linguistic forms can be excluded from being legitimate (2003: 285), at the same time 'polynomie does not mean that everything or anything is acceptable, especially not blends of Corsican' (Sallabank 2010: 318). Further, Sallabank reports that there is a particular disdain for variation as a result of contact phenomena, where French influence is rejected outright (2010: 318). Therefore, while variation is accepted as the norm, new vernacular features that might be perceived as being too French are still stigmatised.

In advocating polynomia, Jaffe argues that this 'abstract unit' is not implied in a linguistic sense, but more as a communal function, in that it is the community that applies the label of 'language' to its own set of linguistic practices (2008: 227). Concerning pedagogy, though, can polynomia work? The notion of polynomia has been shown to be (at least partially) realistic in the classroom setting, for Jaffe (2008: 228) has demonstrated how both pupils and teachers use different spoken and written variants in their own practices, and, equally, how pedagogical materials are published with interchanging forms. However, Sallabank has argued that children were also found to perceive the variety adopted by the teacher, in general, as a correct norm (2010: 317).

We therefore see in the context of Corsican a very different approach to language revitalisation as described in the Irish, Breton or Rumantsch case. However, what the Corsican case study has in common with our other contexts above is that attempts to implement sound language maintenance programmes seem to be coming from academic circles, as opposed to the native speakers of the language. While (as we have seen) this is not uncommon in the language revitalisation literature generally (*cf.* for example Macnamara 1971: 85; Edwards 1985: 55; Dorian 1994: 490; Jones 1995: 429; England 2003: 734), the approaches adopted by academics can often hinder efforts, just as often as they can assist.

For example, those at the forefront of language revitalisation now appear to be engaged in 'distanciation' strategies (Blackwood 2004: 233), whereby language planners seek to distance Corsican from the dominant language on the island. This is most clearly reflected in the lexicon, and is achieved by firstly forming distinctively Corsican neologisms for use in current or modern domains (*e.g.* technology), and then

rejecting any lexical items that might in any way resemble SF, including borrowings (examples that come from Thiers 1993: 265 are given in Table 3.3.2.1.1, below).

Table 3.3.2.1.1. Lexical distanciation in Corsican (adapted from Thiers 1993: 265)

Gallicized Corsican	Distanciated Corsican	Standard French	Gloss
differenza	sfarenza	différence	'difference'
aviò	aeriu	avion	'plane'
abbunamentu	arrugamentu	abonnement	'subscription'

We can see from the above Table that distanciated lexical items are extended to include those borrowings from SF that have long been in use amongst native speakers. There are clear parallels here with the Breton context, where so-called 'néo-Breton' forms are often preferred by new speakers over borrowings that exist in the traditional dialects, despite the fact that native speakers have long been using them. However, distanciation does not halt at heavy relexification, but, rather, has also extended to modifications across all linguistic levels; the syntax, morphology and phonology of Corsican all betray signs of distanciation (for examples, see Blackwood 2004: 235). This has led Thiers to suggest that such exercises result in formations which 'will find no echo in the linguistic practices of the masses' (1993: 265). This method of revitalisation has led scholars to distinguish between two types of Corsican: Blackwood for example distinguishes between 'Gallicized Corsican' and 'distanciated Corsican' (2004: 252). Such distinctions however, he maintains, are not necessarily made by native speakers. For all their good intentions, then, we find language revitalisation movements to largely exclude the native speaker in their efforts to maintain the language. This, as we have seen, has been a common theme throughout the case studies explored.

3.3.2.2 Problem cases: Guernésiais and Provençal

We have seen so far that the Corsican model stands in stark contrast to the conventional wisdom that has been assumed from processes of standardisation. For example, as Sallabank points out, 'standardised orthographies are usually a pre-requisite for acceptance into the mainstream school curriculum' (2010: 312). However, in the case of Corsican, this appears to have been achieved without the selection of a norm. Might the implementation of a polynomic model therefore be applicable to other minority-variety contexts with similar problems? Sallabank (2010) assesses the applicability the polynomic model to another minority-variety island context: Guernésiais, a variety of Insular Norman spoken on the island of Guernsey. Like many of the cases that we have explored in this chapter, Guernésiais has seen a sharp drop in speaker numbers, and a cut off in intergenerational mother-tongue transmission. Owing to the current status of these varieties, Sallabank suggests that they fulfil Marcellesi's definition of a 'polynomic' language, as 'acknowledgement of variation is combined with awareness that Guernésiais can be distinguished as one language', with a desire by the speech community for no single prestige variety (2010: 320). At present, Guernésiais is not included in the school curriculum on the island. However, some teaching does take place in the context of weekly 30 minute voluntary extra-curricular sessions, in a handful of schools (Sallabank 2010: 322). Ultimately, Sallabank concludes that the polynomic mode does not work in the context of Guernésiais, which constitutes more a case of revitalisation than one of maintenance, as not only do the L2 learners 'need a model to aim for', but this wish has also been expressed on behalf of native speakers too (2010: 325).

It has also been suggested that polynomia could also be fruitfully applied to Provençal (which falls under the umbrella of Occitan varieties). Since September 2002, the *Declaration of Briançon* has stated that Provençal is a polynomic language:

Les mouvements provençaux soussignés réunis à Briançon le samedi 21 septembre 2002 […] affirment que la langue provençale est une langue polynomique dont les variétés sont d'égale valeur ; […] que la pleine dignité donnée ainsi à chaque variété de la langue provençale confirme qu'il n'y a aucune hiérarchie entre ses variétés […].

[The undersigned Provençal movements reunited in Briançon on Saturday 21 September 2002, affirm that the Provençal language is a polynomic language whose varieties are of equal worth; […] that the full dignity given thus to each variety of the Provençal language confirms that there is no single hierarchy between these varieties]

In spite of this statement, to name Provençal a polynomic language would appear to be based on little linguistic evidence. For example, we have seen above that both Corsican and Guernésiais both lack a norm to begin with. Provençal does not suffer from the same problem: there is instead a multiplicity of norms, with varying degrees of prestige. Provençal has several orthographic standards; a long literary history; deep seated sentiments towards various norms, with a historical divide between the East and the West of the Occitan region dating back nearly two centuries (*e.g.* Ager 1990: 37-9). Costa (2011) has gone as far as to suggest that polynomia cannot work in the case of Provençal, and that polynomia is, perhaps, only best suited to the unique socio-political context found on Corsica. This would appear to be confirmed given the overview of Guernésiais, above. However, both the Corsica and Guernésiais cases have clear parallels: these varieties are found on islands, which no doubt helps in a clear demarcation of linguistic borders, and reinforces internal

networks. To compare this with the context of the present study, we have seen in Chapter 2 that Francoprovençal's borders are far from clear; they are in fact disputed.

In summary, the polynomic model as a method of standardisation, or, perhaps, 'quasi-standardisation', has been developed by a circle of academics, where no single norm is favoured, and instead variation and diversity is encouraged. While this might well appear highly idealistic, some evidence suggests that *polynomie* can work, although, at the same time, doubt has been cast over the model in general; how can *polynomie* realistically be implemented in the long term, with a mandate that discourages any form of linguistic hierarchy? School children for example have been shown to exhibit preference for variants adopted by their teacher; this is still normative. Further, our overview of polynomia above appears to indicate that this model is only befitting of the specific socio-political and linguistic context of Corsica.

3.4   The 'new speaker' of regional and minority languages

In Chapters 2 and 3, we have referred on a number of occasions to the emergence in the revitalisation literature of the 'new speaker'. Further, in §3.3.1.2 above, we discussed the implications of néo-bretonnants in the context of Breton revitalisation. In this section we briefly outline the concept of the new speaker, and its relevance to the current study.

In the language death literature, reference is very often made to Dorian's 'Proficiency Continuum of Speakers' (1981: 114), where atypical speaker groups of varying proficiencies can arise in environments undergoing gradual language shift. Dorian distinguishes between three speaker types on her continuum: 'older fluent speakers', 'younger fluent speakers', and 'semi-speakers' (1977: 23-32; 1981: 114-

117). As some sort of linguistic 'attrition' is often characteristic of so-called semi speakers, this latter category of individuals are viewed conventionally as 'potential harbingers of "language death"' (Jaffe 2015: 23). Building on Dorian's continuum of proficiency, various other speaker typologies have since been developed that delimit additional categories of speakers in different linguistic environments (*cf.* for example Campbell and Muntzel 1989: 185; Grinevald Craig 1997: 259-260; Hornsby 2007: 76-78; Bert 2009: 25-38). However, so-called 'new speakers' have begun to emerge in the context of typologically dissimilar minority varieties 'as a result of community efforts and more favourable language policies' (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013: 287). As Jaffe suggests, these speakers evoke 'an upward movement away from language shift […] rather than an inevitable downward slope' (2015: 23).

As we saw in §3.3.1.2, new speakers are now well-documented in the context of Breton. While native speaker numbers have been slowly dwindling for some time, attempts to revitalise Breton have lead to the development of a learner variety, termed *néo-Breton*. These new speakers have been described as an *urban intelligentsia*, in that they are predominantly middle-class, urban-dwelling, well-educated and highly politicised (*cf.* Jones 1995; 1998; Hornsby 2005). In sharp contrast to native speakers, these individuals typically acquire the minority variety via some education system, as an academic exercise, rather than via the home. As a result they speak a standardised, pan-Brittany variety of Breton, which is reported to be largely incomprehensible to native speakers (Jones 1998: 428). The level of linguistic insecurity felt by both native speakers and new speakers can therefore be very acute when contact between the two occurs, and where mutual intelligibility is said to be impossible. As we have now seen, these speakers tend to favour artificially standardised, often 'distanciated' (Thiers 1993: 265) linguistic variants.

Following the observations made on emerging new speakers with similar characteristics in other RML contexts, such as Athabascan (Holton 2009) Galician (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013), or Belarusian (Woolhiser 2007), we can summarise the speaker attributes as follows, based on Jaffe's (2015: 25-30) new speaker definitional criteria: emerging largely where traditional linguistic practices are in a state of flux, the new speaker is often found to acquire the minority variety as an intellectual exercise, as opposed to via more traditional means. The variants employed by these speakers can be significantly removed from the norm associated with native speakers. New speakers often tend to be concentrated in urban areas that may be very different in social and socio-economic terms from the traditional rural communities. Owing to underlying sociolinguistic differences between both L1 and L2 speakers, these groups can sometimes perceive themselves as being socially and linguistically incompatible.

Owing to the similarities between the new speakers described above and the Arpitan learners that we have been describing in the context of Francoprovençal, we borrow here the notion of the new speaker to describe these learners for the present study.

3.5   Revitalisation and standardisation in Francoprovençal

Based on the above models and methods that we have explored in the context of a number of different languages, it is now necessary to establish where the Francoprovençal/Arpitan context fits in to this wider picture.

First, we saw in Chapter 1 that speakers of Francoprovençal have been dwindling for a long time. As there has never been any socio-political or linguistic unity between the regions where Francoprovençal is spoken, speakers have never knowingly felt to be belong to a 'Francoprovençal region', the borders for which, as we have seen, remain disputed:

> L'ensemble des dialectophones du domaine francoprovençal n'ont pas du tout conscience d'appartenir au même groupe linguistique ; ce sentiment d'appartenance porte sur des espaces plus restreints : fribourgeois ; valaisan ; valdôtain ; savoyard ; bressan. Donc, quelle que soit la réponse […] sur le francoprovençal comme unité linguistique romane à part entière, on est sûr de ne pas révolutionner le peuple des locuteurs francoprovençaux : ce peuple n'existe pas (Tuaillon 1993:142).

> [All of the Francoprovençal speakers taken together have never knowingly felt to belong to the same linguistic group; this sentiment of belonging is found instead at the more local level: Fribourgeois; Valaisan; Valdôtain; Savoyard; Bressan. So, whatever the answer […] on the question of Francoprovençal as a discrete linguistic system along the Romance continuum, it wont change things on the ground for the population of Francoprovençal speakers: this population does not exist]

Quite unlike the Irish or Corsican contexts then, where linguistic borders are very clearly defined, and where individuals found within said borders would affiliate as belonging to these linguistic systems, the same cannot be said for Francoprovençal. Owing to this lack of unity, a further problem relates to the level of official support accorded to Francoprovençal. While in the context of Irish we saw that the state fully backed revitalisation programmes and language-planning strategies, we have seen in the context of Francoprovençal that no clear provisions are made in the French

speaking states. As a result, revitalisation programmes in these regions have long been, and remain, embryonic.

From the perspective of standardisation, we saw in Chapter 2 that a number of traditional phonetic-based spelling systems have long existed for Francoprovençal, but no unifying norm. However, more recently, a proposed pan-regional orthography, termed ORB, has emerged which has been adopted by a language revitalisation movement whose members term Francoprovençal instead 'Arpitan'. Despite the fact that ORB has only emerged in recent years, it is noteworthy that it there is already significant distrust and criticism associated with the orthography (*e.g.* Flückiger 2004; Tuaillon 2004). As a pan-lectal orthography, it has been criticised for its dramatic simplification of complex, local and supralocal phonetic spelling systems, as well as the considerable influence drawn from SF. For example, we saw in Chapter 2 that plural noun forms are marked with an orthographic <s> in the same way as SF for regular nouns, where Francoprovençal is traditionally marked with combinations of vowel-final alternations. In many ways, we have also seen that ORB is similar to Simons' (1977) notion of a *multidialectal* orthography, with a one-to-many correspondence between graphemes and phonemes; Stich labels this orthography 'une orthographe supra-dialectale ou *globalisante* ou encore un *standard*' ('a supra-dialectal, or *globalising*, or even a *standard* orthography') [emphasis in original] (2001: 34). What is interesting about this context is that ORB has been adopted wholesale by a revitalisation movement who deny wanting to standardise Francoprovençal, or to erode any local variation (see §2.5.1). From the perspective of the movement, then, there is some understanding that native speakers must be kept on side: for native speakers, highly localised variation is very much an 'obsessive interest' (Dorian 1982: 31). Instead, Stich (the principal author of ORA and ORB) is consistent

in stressing the need for native speakers to pronounce graphemes according to their own dialects (Stich 1998: 39), despite the fact that there exists *in the same volume* a 'recommended pronunciation' aimed at learners for each supra-grapheme (Stich 1998: 79). It is also interesting to note, as we have seen in Chapter 2, that ORB claims to select variants of the widest currency (Stich 1998: 79). However, at the same time, we might also suggest that ORB betrays signs of influence from certain dialects that are perceived as being prestigious, for lack of a spontaneous norm. For example, we noted in Chapter 2 that /l/-palatalisation in obstruent + lateral onset clusters (the (l) variable) is represented orthographically with the grapheme <ll>, where phonetically the variant has a number of possible realisations, with diverse local spellings[18], such as the following in Table 3.5.1.1 for the lexical item *clloche* ('bell'):

Table 3.5.1.1. Phonetic forms and local orthographies (after Bjerrome 1957; Stich 1998; Viret 2006)		
Phonetic form	Local orthography	Region
[ˈkjɔʃi]	*clochi*	St.Martin, Lyonnais
[ˈklɔθe]	*klotye*	Habère-Poche, Savoie
[ˈkluse]	*closé*	Savièse, Valais
[ˈɬɔts]	*hlötse*	Bagnard, Valais
[ˈkʎotse]	*cllotse*	Valsavarenche, Aosta

What is interesting about (l) as an example is that the *recommended pronunciation* for <ll> happens to be a variant common in the Aosta Valley – the palatal lateral approximant [ʎ]. Is it the case then that this variant has been selected because Aosta is viewed as the 'citadel' of the Francoprovençal region, as we saw in §3.2.1? It is certainly true that most native speakers of Francoprovençal have an idealised view of the Valdôtain varieties. Pannatier (1999) for example has reported that the Valdôtain varieties are often viewed by speakers themselves as being particularly mutually intelligible. Indeed, in the present author's own experience,

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[18] The reader is also referred to Appendix III, which contains additional examples of local spelling compared with ORB.

dialect speakers across France and Switzerland much sooner align similarities of their own varieties with Valdôtain than they would with neighbouring varieties just a few kilometres away: 'En Valais, que l'on soit de Montana, de Vissoie d'Évolène, de Nendaz ou de Bagne, tout le monde affirme parler le même patois que les Valdôtains' ('In Valais, irrespective of whether one is from Montana, Évolène, Nendaz or Bagnes, everyone maintains that they speak the same patois as the Valdôtains') (Pannatier 1999: 157). Whether or not this is the case, the selection of [ʎ] as the recommended form for <ll> is clearly arbitrary, and is most certainly *not* the variant of widest usage for /l/-palatalisation. Even a cursory examination of either the ALLy or the ALJA for a signification proportion of Francoprovençal-speaking regions in France reveals that [j] is far more common (example data points are given in Appendix V). Therefore, while the aims and ambitions expressed by the language revitalisers here would (on the surface at least) seem pure in intention, in reality there is also an understanding that hard choices need to be made. Is it the case then that a *de facto* standard is emerging by the back door? On the one hand, backers of ORB state that speakers are free to pronounce each form as they wish, so long as the orthographical norm is conformed to. On the other, however, there is at least some arbitrary selection of linguistic forms, and this selection of forms is recommended as 'standard' (Stich 1998: 79).

What is most interesting about the case studies that we have examined above is that there are linguistic consequences associated with standardisation, whatever form it might take. In the context of Breton, for example, we found that L2 speakers were adopting forms that have been described as neo-variants, unrecognised by native speakers. In the case of Corsican, we found that 'distanciated' variants were adopted by academic middle-class speakers, and these again differed from traditional norms. It

is now time to ask whether or not we can identify any linguistic features in the speech of Francoprovençal speakers that we might characterise as distinctively 'new' or 'Arpitan-like'. For example, to return to /l/-palatalisation, will we find that [ʎ] is present in the speech of research participants, where we traditionally might have expected [j]? Or will we find something altogether different? If so, how might we account for these disparate linguistic forms? This will be the subject matter for the following chapters in the study. However, first, it is necessary to outline how the data for the study were collected; this will be the focus of Chapter 4.

Chapter 4.   Methodology

4.1   Introduction

This study subscribes to the ideal that 'the researcher has a duty to the scientific community to produce an accurate report of the results of the work and to contextualize the findings by presenting the methodology used to arrive at the results' (Di Paolo and Yaeger-Dror 2011: 20). This chapter thus outlines the methods employed in undertaking the empirical and ethnographic fieldwork for the present study. In general, these methods are adopted from standard practices in variationist sociolinguistics (*e.g.* Milroy and Gordon 2003). However, it must also be stressed here that the operationalisation of these methods have been called into question when it comes to sociolinguistic studies of endangered RMLs rather than dominant languages (see most recently Rau 2014: 101-4). Therefore, where fieldwork methods and other aspects of the methodology design differ from conventional variationist norms, they will be signposted with further discussion.

4.2   Sampling universe and fieldwork sites

The first important practical concern to be considered here relates the boundaries of the 'sampling universe' (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 26) delineated in the study. In Chapter 2, we outlined that Francoprovençal is in contact with a number of dominant languages and other RMLs, as it is spoken transnationally between France, Italy and Switzerland. Moreover, we have also seen that the few remaining dialect-speaking communities that continue to maintain the use of Francoprovençal tend to be both tight-knit and isolated geographically. Owing to the complex practical dimensions involved in studying such minority populations, the decision was taken to limit the sampling universe to those Francoprovençal-speaking communities that are in contact with SF. Therefore, the sampling universe was limited to France and Switzerland, where a number of fieldwork sites were explored. As fieldwork was undertaken transnationally, this study distinguishes between 'fieldwork area' – that is, the Lyonnais region in France, and the Canton of Valais (henceforth Valais) in Switzerland – and 'fieldwork site' – locations within the areas where fieldwork was undertaken, *e.g.* the commune of Saint-Martin-en-Haut, located in les monts du Lyonnais. The discussion turns next to a breakdown for both fieldwork areas by basic geographical and demographic information, along with the motivations for the selection of each fieldwork site.

The fieldwork phase of the study was undertaken over an eight week period between July-September 2012, and included a total of fifteen fieldwork sites across les monts du Lyonnais and the Valais (see Figure 4.2.1).

(Figure 4.2.1 Francoprovençal-speaking area with data points illustrating fieldwork sites for France and Switzerland)

The first phase of the fieldwork was undertaken in and around the conurbation of Lyon, within the administrative department of Rhône-Alpes (France). The fieldwork sites included: the *communes* of Rontalon, Saint-Martin-en-Haut, and Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise to the West of the city of Lyon (this region is more commonly known as les monts du Lyonnais). Sampling research participants within the city of Lyon itself was much more challenging, as, perhaps unsurprisingly, so few speakers remain. Just one suburb was explored during the fieldwork expedition in Lyon, though for simplicity we refer to this fieldwork site simply as 'Lyon'. Fieldwork sites for the Lyonnais area correspond approximately to data points 40, 41, 42 of the ALLy (*cf.* Figure 4.2.2 and 4.2.2.1 below).
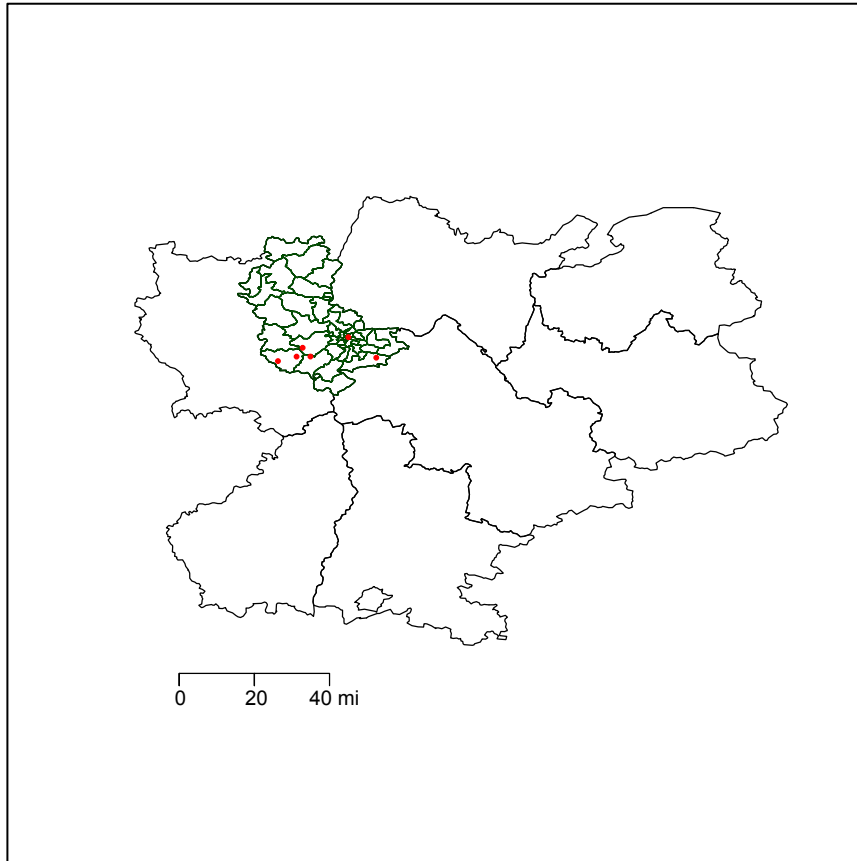
(Figure 4.2.2 Map of the Rhône-Alpes administrative region, with Lyonnais data points given in red)
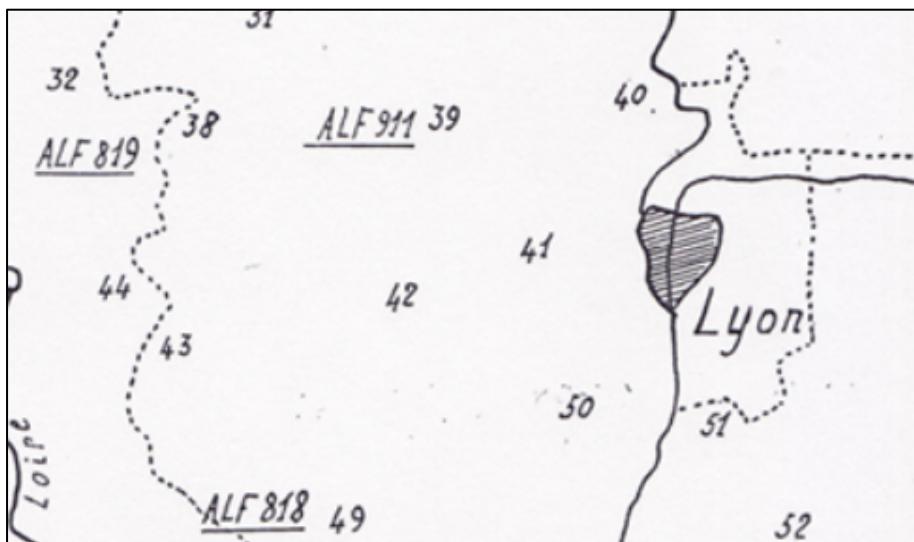
(Figure 4.2.2.1 Data points recorded for the ALLy, after Gardette 1950-1956)
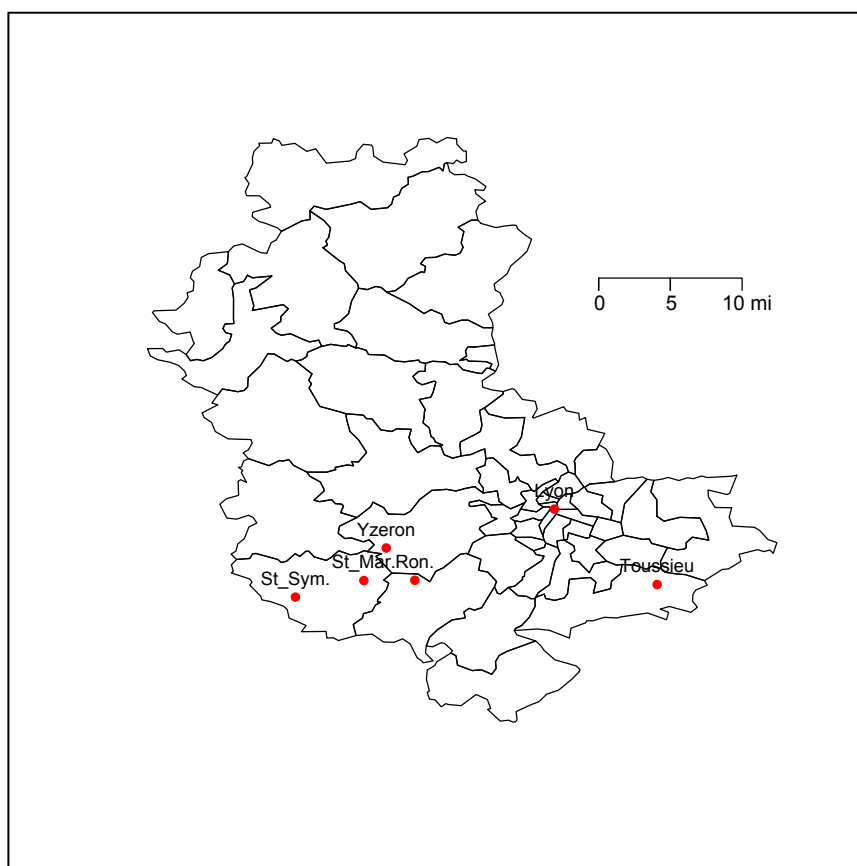
(Figure 4.2.3 Map of department of Rhône, with Lyonnais data points given in red from left to right: Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise, Saint-Martin-en-Haut, Yzeron, Rontalon, Lyon)

There were a number of practical and theoretical considerations that prompted the decision to select the Lyonnais area as a primary location for the first phase of fieldwork. We saw in Chapter 1 that the present study has as one of its main aims to assess whether or not 'new' linguistic forms are emerging in the context of a hypothetically emergent Arpitan norm, based on our observations of new speaker behaviour in Chapter 3, and the disparate forms found in the new speaker ORB orthography. Further, we have seen that these new speakers, who form a theoretically novel analytical category of speaker type (see Chapter 3), are few in number, and tend to sit outside of native speaker networks in the context of Francoprovençal. Therefore,

the sampling universe necessarily included different types of speakers (see below), made up of very different socio-economic profiles.

Geographically speaking, the Lyonnais sites are of cogent interest to the present study. An argument was advanced in Chapter 2 that *Lugdunum*, the regional metropolis of Gaul, later becoming France's second city, had, for some time, played a very early and important role in the development of Francoprovençal. Not only has it been shown that *Lugdunum* was to become a regional metropolis with very distinctive varieties of Gallo-Romance, but also, given its position as a political and social hub for the Roman Empire inside Gaul, *Lugdunum* acted too as a centrifugal force. Owing to the pulling-power of this great metropolis, scholars have long argued that Lyon has played an important role in language contact and language change, not only as a driving force for linguistic diffusion, but also acting as the stopping point for the development of linguistic features emanating from Paris (Greub and Chambon 2000: 147-81; Lepelley 2001: 125-26). While Francoprovençal (in one form or another) might once have been a common language spoken in *Lugdunum*, today it is found in but a few isolated pockets to the West and East of the city Lyon, particularly in the western mountainous region (les monts du Lyonnais), and to East in *communes* such as Mions, Toussieu and Chaponnay. These western and eastern areas, which lie no more than 25 miles from the centre of Lyon, are all easily accessible via public transport.

From a theoretical perspective, the Lyonnais area makes for an interesting case study. A number of new speakers were identified that reside in the city of Lyon, whereas those that have been classified as native speakers or late speakers (for a discussion, see §4.3.2) largely only tend to reside in the *communes* peripheral to the city. Therefore, as one of the present study's main aims is to test for divergent

linguistic patterns between different types of speakers, or the spread of what might be called an Arpitan identity, then examining peri-urban regions would appear to be the best place to look. From a purely practical perspective, the *communes* so far mentioned above were all well-known to the author, and a number of key contacts had already been made and maintained in Rhône-Alpes prior to beginning the fieldwork phase of the study.

The second phase of the fieldwork was undertaken in Switzerland. Valais is the south-western-most canton that is situated in the Rhône Valley, and it is one of a number of cantons that make up the modern federal republic of Switzerland. Valais is formed of thirteen communes (some of which are highly isolated geographically) with Sion as its regional centre. Geographically speaking, Valais is made up of steep mountainous terrain with major dialect boundaries running along the rivers of the Morge, the Rhône and the Prinze (see Figure 2.7.1.2.1). Unlike in the case of les monts du Lyonnais, where public transport to and from the city was regularly accessible, public transport around much of Valais was non-existent. While transport North from Sion to municipalities such as Savièse was possible, transport links between the municipalities and small *communes* were too infrequent to be relied on, or were simply not present. As a result, most (if not all) of the potential Francoprovençal-speaking communities to be explored in Valais were to be found in highly isolated geographical terrain.

Regarding geography, the parallels between both fieldwork areas are therefore clear: in both les monts du Lyonnais and Valais we find a number of isolated speech communities located around a regional centre. The Valaisan fieldwork sites included the following *communes* and municipalities: Bagnes, Conthey, Évolène, Fully,

Grimisuat, Hérémence, Nendaz, Ollon, Savièse, and Sion (*cf.* Figures 2.7.1.2.1, 4.2.3 and 4.2.4).
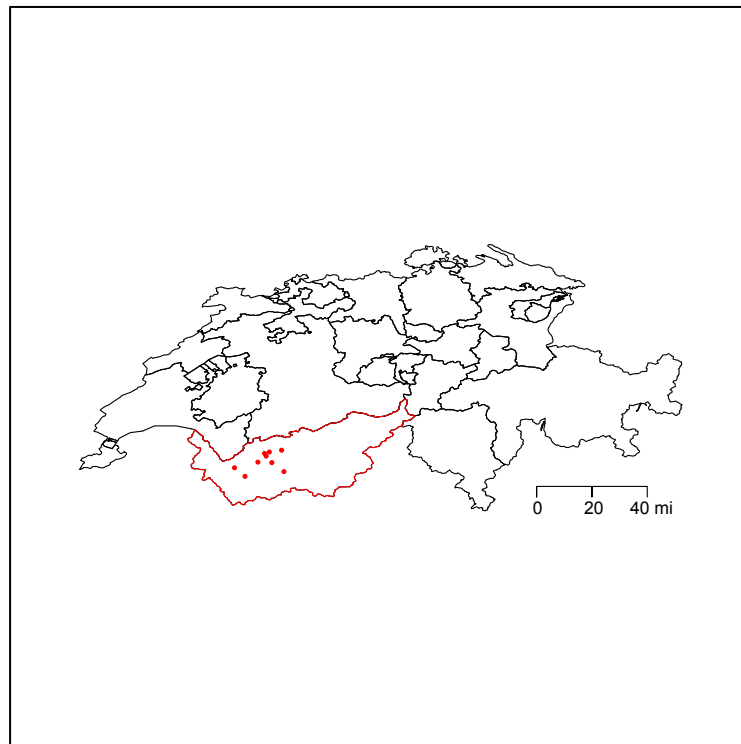
(Figure 4.2.4 Map of Switzerland, with the Canton of Valais and fieldwork sites highlighted in red)
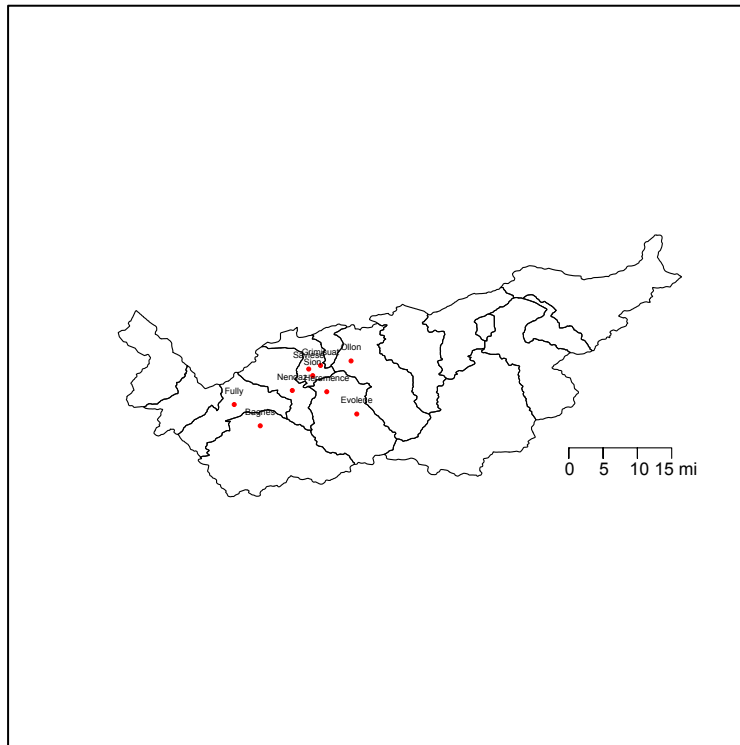
(Figure 4.2.5 Map of the Canton of Valais and fieldwork sites highlighted in red)

The decision to centre the second phase of the fieldwork expedition on Valais hinged on a number of theoretical and practical concerns. First, as with the varieties of Francoprovençal examined in the Lyonnais area, the varieties under study in Valais are all in contact with the same dominant language, French: this provided the first point of comparison. Secondly, a number of new speakers were known to the author to be living in Valais at the time the fieldwork was to be undertaken. As with Lyon, then, it was hypothesised that these speakers would form ties with native speakers in the area. Moreover, a number of key members belonging to the Arpitan movement were also known to be living in Valais. Thirdly, as described in Chapter 3, the level of vitality of Francoprovençal in this part of Switzerland is much higher than in other cantons (such as Vaud or Fribourg where virtually no native speakers remain), and so it was envisaged that the greatest chance of securing a sample of research participants and reliable data would come from Valais. Further, as there are generally higher

levels of vitality for Valaisan varieties of Francoprovençal by comparison with varieties found around Lyon, which converge on a major French city, a further level of comparison presents itself: to what extent would 'new' variants associated with a hypothetically emergent Arpitan norm have penetrated isolated areas, which are generally held to be more linguistically conservative?

4.3 The research participants

The following sub-sections provide details on research participant sampling techniques, relevant demographic characteristics of the participants, and the final sample in both fieldwork areas.

4.3.1 Sampling techniques

As 'fieldwork-driven studies of minority varieties often encounter problems in securing a sample that is both large enough and representative enough of the speech community to make the results meaningful' (Jones 2001: 45), it was neither possible nor appropriate to employ stringent sampling techniques such as, for example, the random sampling methods advanced early on in the Labovian tradition (for an overview, see Milroy and Gordon 2003: 24-26). As it was assumed that Francoprovençal speakers in both fieldwork areas would be 'geographically and socially distributed amongst the population in a non-random way', as Milroy (1987: 24) for example found with her Belfast samples, more relevant and meaningful strategies to sampling were adopted. Instead, judgement (or quota) sampling was

deemed best suited to the needs and objectives of the present study. According to this approach, which is commonly deployed in sociolinguistic investigations involving endangered languages, 'the researcher identifies in advance the types of speakers to be studied and then seeks out a quota of speakers who fit the specified categories' which should be based on a 'defensible theoretical framework' that is 'rational and well-motivated' (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 30).

In order to test the research questions advanced in Chapter 1, it was necessary to secure both a sample of native speakers – that is, who had acquired Francoprovençal as an L1, but who in all likelihood would also be bilingual (see §4.3.2.1 below) – and a sample of, what we have been calling, new speakers (see §4.3.2.3 below). Moreover, as this study is also inspired by social network studies as a means of enhancing the analyses of linguistic variability (see §4.4), rather than focusing purely on the interaction between the classic macro-level social categories and linguistic variables, stringent stratification of the sample was not deemed relevant or necessary. Instead, attention was paid to the research participants recruited using Milroy's (1987: 66) 'friend-of-a-friend' sampling technique. This method, which Milroy used so successfully in Belfast to penetrate close-knit communities, was employed for the present study so as to maximise the chances of recruiting participants. A secondary advantage to this technique relates to the way the researcher is viewed in the field. Milroy and Gordon, for example, have argued that this approach diminishes the researcher's academic status, and therefore is less likely to be seen as an 'outsider' (2003: 75). More recently, Nichols has used her own experiences in the field to argue that researchers should, as far as possible, immerse themselves in their communities of linguistic interest, so as to expose themselves to the widest possible range of language use in the course of the research participants' daily lives

(2013: 87-90). Owing to time constraints on the fieldwork phase of the study, it was not possible to mirror this approach. However, the principle of immersing oneself within the community under study was followed as far as possible, and the author spent the fieldwork period living with a number of research participants; this approach formed part of a larger unstructured ethnographic survey of the fieldwork areas. In addition to the above techniques, local Francoprovençal associations were also contacted in the hopes of securing research participants. This approach was not necessary for the Lyonnais area, where contacts had been maintained from previous fieldwork expeditions (see Kasstan 2010), but was essential for fieldwork undertaken in Valais.

Overall, sampling in Valais was more successful than in other fieldwork sites (see §4.3.3). First, research participants were successfully recruited in advance, and these participants were more forthcoming in sharing details of other friends within their own networks. In general group interviews in Valais yielded much richer speech samples than in France. Secondly, there are generally higher levels of vitality for Francoprovençal spoken in Switzerland by comparison with the fieldwork sites investigated in France. Owing to the region's general isolation and mountainous terrain, it was frequently explained by speakers themselves that the *âge de rupture* ('cut off point') for the acquisition of Francoprovençal (that is intergenerational mother-tongue transmission) in Valais in general was around the early 1950s – much later than in France (see Weber 1979 for details). The only exception to this estimate was found in Évolène, where in one participant's estimates the *âge de rupture* was closer to the early 1970s for most (but not all) speakers.[20] Lastly, the author was fortunate to have been guided around a number of *communes* in Valais by one new

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[20] Évolène is lauded by speakers in Valais as a *commune* of Valais where intergenerational mother-tongue transmission *does* still take place (Maître and Matthey 2007: 76).

speaker, who had formed and maintained contacts with a number of close-knit native-speaker networks. The fact that the author was introduced into these communities by trusted individuals greatly facilitated the recruiting of participants in Valais in general. In Valais, often a familiar surname alone was enough to recruit new participants into the study.

4.3.2 The samples

As we have now outlined in previous chapters, for the purposes of the present study, three types of speaker have been identified that feature in the samples for both fieldwork areas: native speakers, late speakers, and new speakers. Since Dorian's (1981) landmark study into East Sutherland Gaelic, studies undertaken on obsolescing regional or minority languages have consistently identified, what she has termed, a 'proficiency continuum of speakers' (1981: 114) within the same speech community. However, there is no consensus on a detailed typology of such speakers, and numerous terms for similar speaker types exist (see §3.1.1 for an overview). For the purposes of the present study, the most relevant typology comes from Bert (2009: 28-34), who has proposed a model for distinguishing endangered language speaker types based on findings from the Pilat region of Rhône-Alpes – an area that sits on the periphery of the Francoprovençal and Occitan speaking borders to the South-west of Lyon. This model is borrowed for the present study, but with some modification, as no room is made within the framework for the classification of new speakers along an obsolescent-language proficiency continuum. Most recently, Jaffe (2015) has proposed a theoretical framework for the inclusion of new speakers within minority language discourse. The three speaker types identified for the present study are outlined in §4.3.2.1-4.3.2.3, below.

4.3.2.1 'Native' speaker category

Participants labelled 'native' speakers (also called traditional speakers) are defined here as having acquired Francoprovençal from birth through either the home or village environment. These speakers correspond to Bert's 'locuteurs traditionnels' ('traditional speakers') (2009: 30) and Dorian's 'oldest fluent speakers' (1981: 116). The distinction between 'home' and 'village' is made here due to the fact that speakers would often play down the presence of Francoprovençal in the family home, and, during interviews, frequently claimed that they acquired Francoprovençal from other members of the community, such as a grand-parent, or through daily village life. In fact, many of the Lyonnais native speakers sampled claimed that their parents still spoke Francoprovençal to each other in the home, but not to the participants as children. This evidence would suggest that the *renversement linguistique* – that is, the period during which the dialect is no longer transmitted to the next generation (Bert 2009: 28) – was already advanced for these speakers as young children. In this respect, they can also be compared with Bert's 'locuteurs tardifs âgés' ('aged late speakers') whose linguistic practices are 'presque similaires à celles des locuteurs traditionnels et, comme eux, ils ne souffrent pas particulièrement d'insécurité linguistique' ('almost similar to those of traditional speakers, and, like traditional speakers, they do not suffer from any particular linguistic insecurity') (2009: 31).

4.3.2.2 'Late' speaker category

Participants labelled 'late' speakers correspond to Bert's 'jeunes locuteurs tardifs' ('young late speakers') (2009: 31), and Dorian's 'younger fluent speakers' (1981: 116), who were born after the cut-off point for transmission of the dialect, and were

raised as French-speaking monolinguals. For these speakers, acquisition of Francoprovençal began passively, where later in life (typically as teenagers), they began to engage in regular use of the dialect, often with close members of the family; these speakers are very typically male. Bert describes them as speakers whose 'langue présente des évolutions et des simplifications, et certains champs du lexique leur sont inconnus' ('language use evidences changes and simplifications, and words from certain semantic fields are unknown to them') (2009: 31). However, these speakers can be especially fluent, too. For example, one of the two late speakers sampled for Lyon was a linguist, who demonstrated an excellent command of Francoprovençal, and was particularly proficient at producing neologisms – a compensating strategy that native speakers were most often unwilling to employ.

4.3.2.3 'New speaker' category

New speakers make up the third category of speakers that have been identified for the present study. As we have seen in Chapter 3, new speakers are characteristically very different from the native and late speakers described above. New speakers are often documented as having acquired the minority variety as an intellectual exercise, rather than through intergenerational mother-tongue transmission or daily life. The variants employed by new speakers can be significantly removed from the norm associated with native speakers. New speakers often tend to be concentrated in areas that may be very different in social and socio-economic terms from the rural communities so far described. Owing to underlying sociolinguistic differences in comparison with native speakers, new speakers have even been documented in the context of other RMLs as perceiving themselves as being 'socially and linguistically incompatible' (*cf.* Jones

1995; Holton 2009; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013). A recent survey on the usage of RMLs in Rhône-Alpes – the *Étude FORA: Francoprovençal et Occitan en Rhône-Alpes* (henceforth FORA) (Bert *et al.* 2009) – does report on emerging new speakers, but few details are given. In the context of the FORA study, they are defined as 'locuteurs ayant acquis, par une démarche volontariste, la langue hors du cadre familial ou local, en contexte scolaire ou dans des cours adultes' ('speakers who have acquired the language on a voluntary basis, in an academic context or in adult classes, rather than within the family or village setting') (2009: 42). For the purposes of the present study, these speakers can also be characterised particularly by their commitment to a pan-regional Arpitan identity, language militancy, and their practising of Francoprovençal predominantly on the Internet. Owing to the method of acquisition, there is a great deal of variation in individual speaker-proficiency.

4.3.3 Final sample

The fieldwork phase of the study ended in September 2012 with a total of 57 research participants recruited and interviewed across the Lyonnais area and Valais (see Table 4.3.3.1 below). Relevant demographic information for each participant is given in Appendix I.

Table 4.3.3.1 Final participant sample for the Lyon area and Valais						
	Native	%	Late	%	New	%
Lyonnais area	16	28%	2	4%	3	5%
Canton of Valais	24	42%	8	14%	4	7%
Total	40	70%	10	18%	7	12%

4.4   Participant demographic characteristics and networks

Owing to a number of important differences in the social make-up of each of the fieldwork areas explored, the following sub-sections give an overview of socio-economic characteristics for both the Lyonnais and Valaisan samples. In addition, some discussion on the procedures adopted for outlining and populating the networks of both the Lyonnais and Valaisan samples is required.

This thesis draws inspiration from social network studies in bilingual minority/majority variety contexts (*cf.* §4.4.1). While a fully-fledged network analysis is beyond the scope of this study, some principles have been adhered to that might help illuminate the social significance of any trends that may emerge in our data. Two methods were adopted for this process inspired by sociolinguistic studies that have applied the social network framework. First, the concept of *sociometrics* was applied during the fieldwork process, which involved questioning each member of the network about their relationships to other participants. This required including questions in the 'sociolinguistic interview' (Labov 1984: 32, see §4.8) that related directly to a speaker's 'daily associations' (Chambers 1995: 71). Examples include questions such as 'où est-ce que vous parlez le patois ?' ('where do you practice patois?') and 'vous parlez le patois avec qui quotidiennement ?' ('who do you speak in patois with on a daily basis?') (see example questionnaire provided in Appendix II). This approach, which was coupled with ethnographic observations by the author, would 'put the social structure of the network into perspective' (Chambers 1995: 75). Once the responses from these questions had been tabulated for each research participant, it was possible to render a sociogram depicting the network structure for each of the samples in the study; these are illustrated in Figures 4.4.2.1 and 4.4.3.1 below.

In addition, it is common practice in network studies to define the social features that form the *multiplexity* of the network; that is, the nature of the relationships between individuals in the network (*e.g.* Chambers 1995: 71-5). As Chambers outlines, 'the kinds of links that constitute multiplexity must be specified for each study', but can include 'kinship, workplace associations, proximity of residence' etc. (1995: 72). However, in more recent studies on bilingual communities where the language of interest is an RML, it has been suggested that one must 'adjust the various approaches to the social network model in such a way that it will adequately reflect the characteristics of the community under investigation'. In other words, 'to keep data comparable, researchers need to maintain a balance between established social network models and community specific network properties' (Matsumoto 2010: 144). This is typically achieved by applying to each research participant in the sample under study a set of criteria that form an integration index (see for example Cheshire's 'vernacular culture index', 1982: 97-102), where participants are assigned a score which determines how strongly integrated they are into the network. The challenge for the present study was to establish an integration index for both the Lyonnais and Valaisan samples, that was not only sensitive to the socio-economic factors of each fieldwork area, but which could also account for three different types of speaker (*i.e.* native; late; new), as well as the unique sociolinguistic context of Arpitan (*i.e.* the emergence of a standard orthographical norm and a pan-regional identity for Francoprovençal).

4.4.1   Arpitan Engagement Index

As we have just suggested, a number of different social network models have been proposed in accordance with the disparate sociolinguistic contexts that these models are applied to (for an overview, see Li 1996). Moreover, it is recognised that there is 'no standardised way of recording the information about networks' (Boissevain 1969: 11). Therefore, this study draws its motivations from former social network studies on bilingual minority/majority variety contexts (*e.g.* Li 1994; Matsumoto 2010). An index score was given to each participant on the basis of responses to the sociolinguistic survey at the start of the interview. For each of the 57 participants in the final sample, an index ranging from 0-6 has been calculated *post-hoc* based on the following *Arpitan Engagement Index* (henceforth AEI) indicators:

(1) labels their variety 'Francoprovençal or Arpitan' rather than 'patois';

(2) acquired Francoprovençal in an educational setting;

(3) reads Francoprovençal literature from other regions;

(4) uses Francoprovençal on the Internet;

(5) engages in language activism;

(6) participates in the Arpitan movement.

On the basis of these index factors, all participants were then categorised according to (i) a score of 0-2, constituting a low engagement index, (ii) a score of 3-4, constituting a mid-way engagement index, and (iii) an independent category labelled as 'ARP' (Arpitan), which is taken here to be a 'highly self-conscious' network, 'whose shared attitudes, repertoires, and discourses are largely predicated on the other components of the […] index' (Woolhiser 2007: 16). In this case, speakers fitting into the ARP category will in all likelihood be new speakers (see illustration of

integration status presented in Table 4.4.1, below). A tabulated outcome of each participant's integration into their respective networks is presented in Appendix VII.

Table 4.4.1.1 Guttman scale for criteria of *Arpitan engagement index*

Participant	Age band	Sex	1	2	3	4	5	6	Integration status
#1	45-70	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	low
#2	20-45	M	+	+	+	+	+	+	ARP
#3	20-45	M	+	+	+	+	+	+	ARP
#4	70-80+	M	+	+	+	-	-	-	mid-way
#5	70-80+	M	+	-	-	-	-	-	low
#6	70-80+	F	+	-	-	-	-	-	low
#7	45-70	M	-	-	-	-	-	-	low
#8	45-70	M	+	+	-	-	-	-	low
#9	70-80+	M	+	+	-	-	-	-	low
#*n*	45-70	M	+	+	+	+	-	-	mid-way

For each of these three groupings (low; mid-way; ARP), aggregate scores will be calculated for participants based on the linguistic forms that they produce, which we examine in Chapter 5, 6, and 7.

4.4.2   Lyonnais network

As can be seen from the demographic information presented in Appendix I, participants from the Lyonnais sample were all located in *communes* within ten miles of each other in les monts du Lyonnais. Accordingly, not only were the varieties of Francoprovençal mutually intelligible (based on the author's own ethnographic observations and through discussions with speakers), but the native speakers as a whole demonstrated very little socio-economic differentiation. All native speakers sampled in the Lyonnais area had lived in les monts du Lyonnais through childhood and adulthood, all shared in the same ethnicity and educational background, and all had worked in the agricultural sector through to retirement. This socio-economic homogeneity is an ideal context for the application of the social network framework.

Conversely, in the two late speakers sampled in the Lyonnais area, there were some exceptions to these characteristics: speaker C12-01 moved to a suburb in the city of Lyon later in life to follow his profession as a university professor, living intermittently between homes in Lyon and Yzeron, a *commune* of les monts du Lyonnais where his grandmother – a native speaker not sampled in the study – taught him Francoprovençal. Conversely, speaker L16-18 grew up in les monts du Lyonnais but did not begin to acquire Francoprovençal until later in life, having spent his time working in factories, rather than in the fields. That said, all native and late speakers were born in the largest commune in les monts du Lyonnais – Saint-Martin-en-Haut. The new speakers are characteristic of the features outlined in §4.3.2.3 above. Although all three new speakers were sampled in the city of Lyon, only two of the three (A18-23 and D20-25, both university educated) began taking lessons in Francoprovençal in 2008 from speaker C12-01, who organised evening classes designed for prospective learners. Conversely, speaker S07-24, who was not enlisted in evening classes, began acquiring Lyonnais through available learner grammars such as the *Langues de Poche* series (Martin 2005; 2006).[21]

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[21] Both learner grammars are heavily influenced by the ORB orthography described in Chapters 2 and 3.
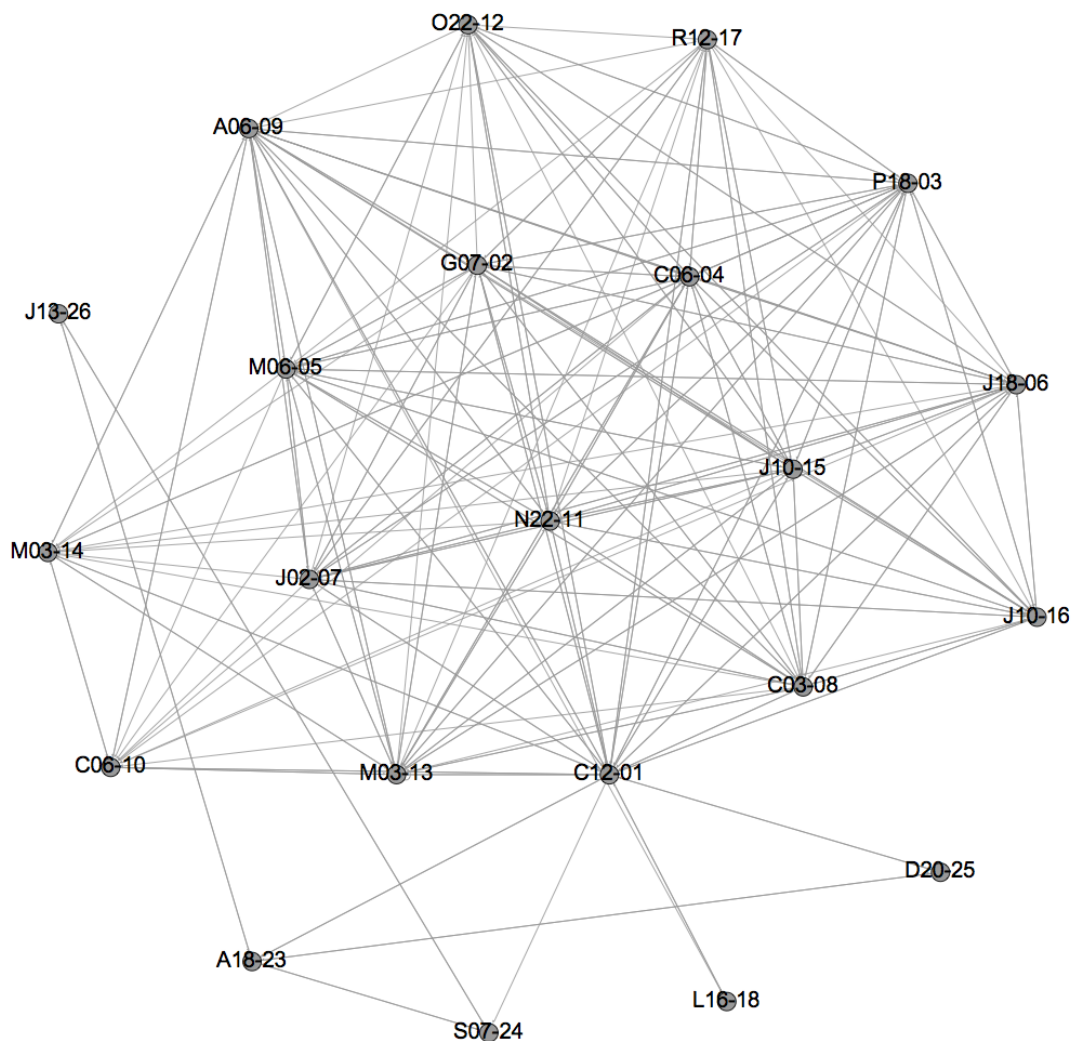
(Figure 4.4.2.1 Sociogram depicting the structure of the Lyonnais sample)

To give a rough indication of network density for the Lyonnais sample, Figure 4.4.2.1 illustrates that the network is very dense amongst the native speaker nodes. The late speaker C12-01 is also very densely connected to this network, and this should be expected given that he is the head of the Francoprovençal association in les monts du Lyonnais. Late speaker L16-18 is however not as densely connected to the network, indicating that he maintains fewer contacts with the community; this is perhaps not surprising for a late speaker. Conversely, the new speakers maintain only low-density networks, and are connected to other types of speakers in the sample

through just one speaker: C12-01. In addition, speaker J13-26 (a new Valaisan speaker) is present in this sociogram as he is the only speaker that connects the Lyonnais participants to the Valaisan participants; *i.e.* only the new speakers are connected across the two fieldwork areas in these samples. It is noteworthy that there is no clustering of speakers here by fieldwork site, and this is because all native speakers sampled were able to identify each other in the network.

4.4.3 Valaisan network

As we saw in Chapter 3, France has long viewed its RMLs with an 'unusual intolerance' (Grenoble and Whaley 1995: 5). This is not the case for Switzerland, where multilingualism is safeguarded by the constitution (see Camartin 1985: 253), and, in stark contrast to the Lyonnais area, what is perhaps most characteristic about Valais is the salient nature of the cultural heritage and tradition of the region, where Francoprovençal sits at the centre. Language festivals and theatre performances are common, and the regional government is generally favourable to revitalisation strategies (as we have seen, Francoprovençal can even be found in the regularly scheduled programming of the Swiss television channel *Canal 9*). As a result, perhaps the greatest indicator of these differences between both fieldwork areas can be seen in the *âge de rupture* for Valais, which is generally much higher than Francoprovençal-speaking regions in France. Accordingly, concerning demographic information, we find in Valais that native speakers of Francoprovençal come from a more diverse range of socio-economic backgrounds. For example, while the agricultural sector has been very important in the economic development of the region, where many of the participants in the study owned or worked on vineyards through their adult lives, we

find too in the sample a number of scholars, regional politicians, and tertiary-sector businessmen. Moreover, what is perhaps most surprising about the varieties of Francoprovençal spoken in the region is that, broadly, mutual intelligibility is more of a problem than in the Lyonnais area. Therefore, if we consider network structure, we would expect to see in a sociogram a greater number of disparate parts in the network that would be more loosely connected to the whole, and this is indeed the case for the Valaisan sample (see Figure 4.4.2.1 below).
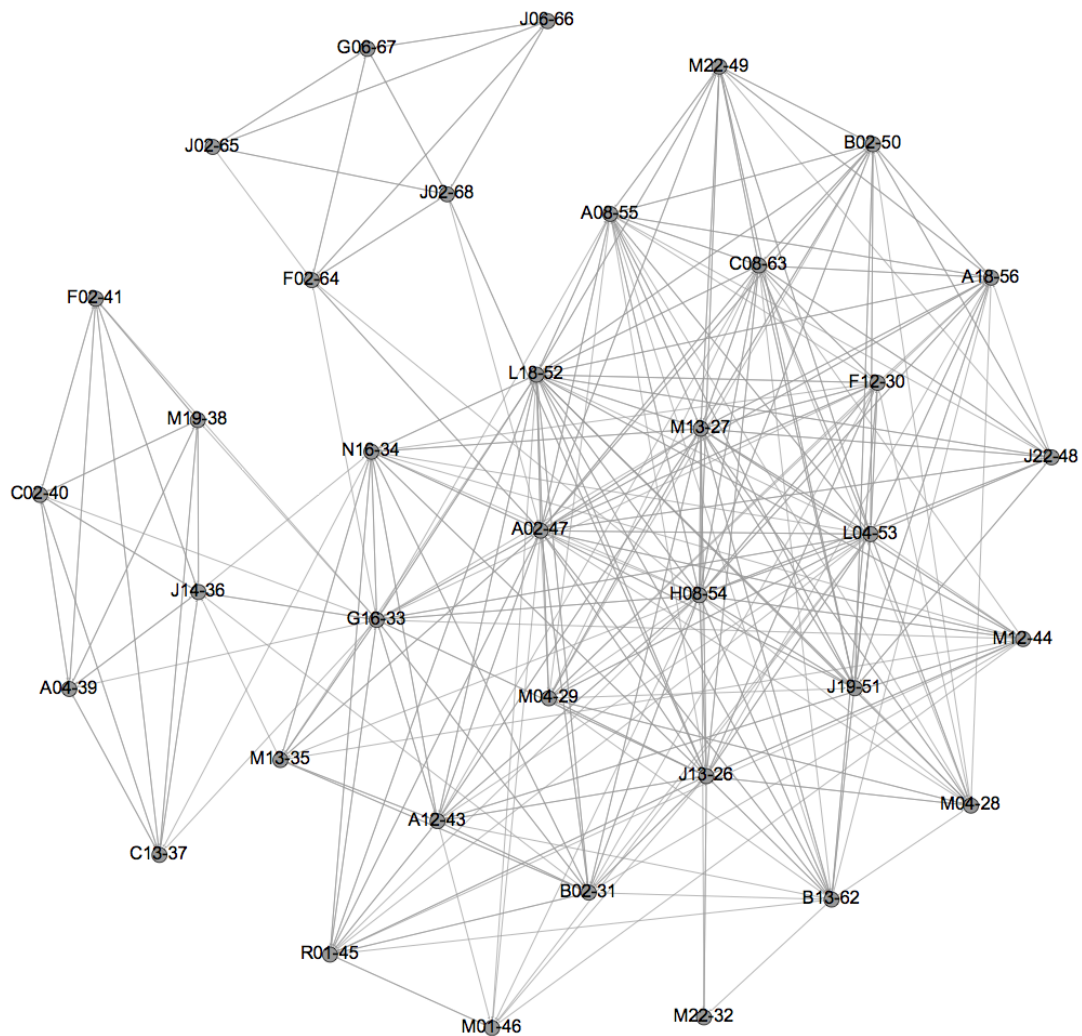
(Figure 4.4.3.1 Sociogram depicting the structure of the Valaisan sample)

As the Figure above illustrates, we find a very different level of density across the three categories of speakers in the Valaisan sample. First, there is a greater degree of clustering around the more disparate dialects to be found in Valais. For example, participants #64-68 are a mix of native speakers and new speakers (top left of the sociogram) who all reside in the *Val de Bagne*. While these speakers are densely-connected to each other, they are loosely-connected to the larger network. The same is true of participants #36-41 who come from Hérémence. Figure 4.4.3.1 can be further distinguished from Figure 4.4.2.1 by the fact that the Valaisan *new* speakers are much more strongly integrated into the larger network than in the Lyonnais area, and we explore the linguistic correlates of these traits in the following chapters.

4.5   Interview characteristics and structure

Interviews undertaken with the final sample were conducted either in groups or on a one-to-one basis. In the former, the concept of *participant observation* was followed as closely as possible – that is, blurring the distinction between a community-insider and outsider, and 'retreating to the fringes of the interacting group' (Milroy 1987: 43). Group interviews were to be the basis for (a) recording samples in a casual speech style, and (b) building a profile of local attitudes towards the dialect, as well as a structure of local networks and relationships that would be crucial to any network analysis (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 76). In accordance with the methodology borrowed from Milroy (1987), the researcher avoided any rigidly planned interview structure such as the *conversational network modules* devised by Labov (1984: 35-39), and instead opted to begin the discussion between participants, and, at the earliest

opportunity, retreat into the background, allowing them to speak freely. For the most-part, this approach to data collection was successful. However, in the periods where conversation was slow to develop between participants, a basic list of questions was devised, which focused primarily on the participants themselves, such as what they did/do for a living, which allowed further opportunity to collect basic socio-economic data.[22] For the Valaisan group interviews, new speaker participant J13-26 was frequently present, and was happy to guide conversations in Francoprovençal on behalf of the researcher (see Table 4.5.1, below for details on interview pairings between L1~L2 speakers). The group discussions ranged from between 40-80 minutes each, although code-switching between Francoprovençal and French within this timeframe was very common.

Table 4.5.1 New speaker ~ native/late speaker interview pairings[23]

Lyonnais

Native	Late	New
A06-09, P18-03, R12-17	C12-01, L16-18	A18-23
P18-03	-	A18-23
J10-15, J10-16	-	A18-23

Valais

Native	Late	New
N16-34	-	J13-26
A12-43, M12-44	-	J13-26
J02-65, F02-64	-	J13-26, J02-68
J06-66, G06-67	-	J13-26, J02-68
M22-32	-	J13-26
-	R01-45, M01-46	J13-26
A08-55	-	J13-26
L18-52	-	J13-26

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[22] Anecdotally, it is noteworthy that Labov's well-known *Danger of death* module (Labov 1984: 35), which was attempted several times during phase one of the fieldwork by combining the topic with the Algerian War, had an unforeseen effect on the interview process. On all occasions where this approach was tested, participants would consistently code-switch to French.

[23] Where each row represents one interview; dash means no speakers presents.

In the context of the one-to-one interviews the structure was much more controlled. The interviews were conducted for the most part in French, and began with a set-list of questions designed to elicit important socio-economic data from each participant, including age, place of birth, a location timeline, who they would speak in dialect with etc. (see Appendix II for details). Following these key questions, participants were then asked to undertake a set of structured tasks, including a translation exercise (§4.91) and a reading exercise (§4.9.2) – all requiring the use of Francoprovençal. These tasks would provide the data for the more self-monitored (or formal) speech styles.

4.6   Setting of data collection

In undertaking sociolinguistic fieldwork in an RML context, one of the major practical hurdles relates directly to the setting in which the data collection takes place (see most recently Whalen and McDonough 2015). Owing to the fact that the vast majority of the target population sampled for study fit within an age range over 70+ (see Appendix I), it was neither possible nor appropriate to seek out a laboratory for the recording of linguistic data. Instead, interviews were all conducted either in the research participants' own homes, or – in cases of large group interviews of three to five speakers – suitable quiet public spaces such as the local *mairie* or *bureau communal*. Such quiet work spaces were sought out in advance during the course of the ethnographic portion of the fieldwork expedition. An inherent advantage to interviewing participants in a familiar setting was that participants were much more relaxed as the interviews began. This went some way to mitigating the effects of the

'observer's paradox': 'to obtain the data most important for linguistic theory, we have to observe how people speak when they are not being observed' (Labov 1972: 113).

4.7   The recorder

Speech samples were recorded using a TASCAM DR-1 Portable Digital Recorder, which recorded with a built-in twin-head stereo electret-condenser microphone, enabling omnidirectional recording. An electret-condenser microphone was chosen given its reliability as the 'dominant microphone in sociolinguistics fieldwork' (Cieri 2011: 29). As a result of financial constraints and the large number of research participants present in the group interviews, it was not possible to make use of Lavalier microphones. Instead, a single hand-held device with a high sampling rate was seen as both preferable and suitable for the study. The speech samples were recorded in the standard WAV (wave form audio) format, across two audio channels (*i.e.* twin-head microphones) that were automatically combined into one signal, so as to allow for further acoustic analysis of the speech signal. The WAV format, which does not make use of data compression, was preferred over other available compressed formats to reduce the chance of data becoming lost in the speech signal (see Cieri 2011: 33). However, as WAV format does not make use of data compression, the group interviews – often running between seventy and eighty minutes – frequently required the recording device to be set to record on more than one sound file; each sound recording recorded up to fifty minutes of speech samples. The recordings were sampled in a 24-bit format with a sampling frequency of 44.1 kHz to preserve as much of the speech signal as possible.

4.8   The data: styles

As described in §4.4, the methodology adopted for interviews bridged participant observation with structured exercises in the form of semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews. The central aim of the fieldwork methodology was to successfully elicit a range of speech styles from participants that would include conversational data, wordlist data, and reading passage data, so as to be able to assess whether or not systematic differences would arise in the production of four linguistic variables: (l), (a), (SG) and (PL) (see Chapter 2 for details). An additional motivation for the selection of these elicitation tasks lies in the fact that stylistic variation in Francoprovençal spoken in France and Switzerland remains entirely undocumented. As far as possible, all three styles were analysed for the present study, although, as outlined in §4.4, it was not possible to elicit all three styles from every participant in the final sample, and so the data are somewhat fragmentary. This is however to be expected of research undertaken on RMLs, and is a recurrent problem in the sociolinguistics literature more generally (see for example Jones 2001).

4.8.1 Casual speech

We have already seen above that the standard semi-structured sociolinguistic interview allows for the relatively free structure for discussion to develop between research participants. Owing to the nature of the sampling procedures, which necessarily meant that participants who were grouped together for interview knew each other well and belonged to the same dense and multiplex networks, very little

direction was required from the researcher during the interview process. Group interviews with participants varied greatly in timeframe, but a minimum of forty minutes were recorded in each instance. Typically, the first five-to-ten minutes were spent capturing basic demographic information on research participants before free discussion began. The author was fortunate in that on many occasions where group interviews took place, at least one participant was present who was willing to guide the discussion: this was actively encouraged.

4.8.2 Lexical retrieval task

As well as the group interviews, elicitation tasks were designed for individual participant-research interviews. As these tasks had to be designed for speakers of an RML who would also be bilingual in the dominant language, the standard data collection methods deployed in modern sociolinguistic studies would not have been appropriate (see Rau 2013: 102). Instead, methods were devised following inspiration from other sociolinguistic studies on minority varieties in contact with French (*e.g.* Jones 2001). The first of two tasks designed for the study involved a lexical retrieval task (otherwise known as a 'word list' task). Participants were asked in French to provide a direct translation of 14 sets of phrases (*e.g.* basic Noun Phrases and Verb Phrases) and 58 individual lexical items. The phrases and items selected for the exercise were subject to a set of selection criteria. First, each phrase or item needed to elicit an instance of either (l), (a), (SG) or (PL). Secondly, each phrase or item needed a corresponding ORB form in the event that L2 speakers were found to diverge from L1 norms. Lastly, as far as possible, each phrase or item needed to be recorded in either the ALLy or the ALJA to serve as a base-line for comparison. In addition, the

lexical retrieval task was peppered with a short list of filler words to prevent participants from noticing any trends in the items used. Further, these fillers also included a small set of modern lexical items that had no corresponding Francoprovençal form, but which *did* have a corresponding neologised ORB form: these were taken from Stich *et al*. (2003: 421-64). Phrases and items fulfilling these criteria were chosen for the task, which would provide the more careful speech style (an example questionnaire is given in Appendix IV).

4.8.3 Reading passage task

Along with the casual and word-list styles, to elicit an additional speech style from participants, it was decided that a reading exercise should be built into the methodology design. The reading exercise served a dual purpose: (a) to elicit an additional careful-speech style from participants, and (b) to establish the extent to which the ORB orthography is accessible to native speakers of Francoprovençal. Two reading passages were therefore required. The first part of the exercise required that participants read aloud a text written in a traditional Francoprovençal orthography. Three paragraphs from an 18th century Lyonnais story entitled *Le sonneur d'Albigny* (Villefranche 1891: 204) were chosen for this exercise, which depicts a siege on the city of Lyon following the Revolution of 1789. These first three paragraphs of the text (reproduced in Appendix III) are transcribed in a traditional *franc-lyonnais* dialect, and were shown to the participants first. Speakers were first asked to examine the text in their own time (timing was not an independent factor under investigation). They were then asked specifically to read the text allowed in a variety of Francoprovençal that they felt comfortable with. The second part of the exercise then required that

participants read the same three paragraphs again, but with the text transcribed using ORB. While this exercise was broadly successful with the Lyonnais participants, in that all speakers were able to complete the reading exercise in either dialect or ORB, the same exercise saw very little success amongst the Valaisan sample. While it was thought that keeping with the Lyonnais text for the Swiss participants would allow for a more reliable comparison of data between the two samples, few if any participants were able to read the passage of text in the traditional Lyonnais orthography. However, participants were broadly able to read the ORB portion of the exercise, given the parallels between the multidialectal orthography and SF (for an overview, see Kasstan 2014: 25-6).[24] Two different types of reading passage were therefore accounted for in the analysis: (a) <Dialect> for the traditional Lyonnais text, and (b) <ORB> for the reference orthography. In addition, during a number of interviews, some participants would insist on reading their own texts allowed; these tokens were labelled <Other>.

4.9   The tokens

The number of tokens elicited in total and according to each linguistic variable (as outlined in Chapter 2) and speech style can be found in Table 4.9.1 below.

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[24] Example speech samples as well as a phonetic transcription of a portion of the ORB text can be found in Kasstan (2015).

Table 4.9.1 Number of tokens per linguistic variable, per style				
	(l)	(a)	(SG)	(PL)
Casual speech	394	342	114	31
Wordlist	774	597	266	387
Reading passage	191	90	NA	NA
TOTAL	1,359	1,029	380	418

For (l), a total of 1359 tokens were recorded across all fieldwork sites in both areas (Lyon: N=466 and Valais: N=893). The data come from a combination of group interviews (N=669), and individual interviews (N=690). Overall, the number of tokens for L1 speakers totalled 802, while tokens for late speakers totalled 295, and new-speaker tokens 262. Between sexes, male tokens totalled 1092, and female tokens 267. For (a), 1029 tokens were recorded (Lyon: N=436 and Valais: N=593) across group interviews (N=461), and individual-speaker interviews (N=568). Overall, the number of tokens for L1 speakers totalled 659, while late-speaker tokens totalled 143, and new-speaker tokens 227. Between sexes, male tokens totalled 769, and female tokens 260. For both (SG) and (PL), 798 tokens were recorded (Lyon: N=422 and Valais: N=376), across group interviews (N=145), and individual-speaker interviews (N=653). The number of tokens for L1 speakers totalled 536, late-speaker tokens totalled 164, and new-speaker tokens 98. Between sexes, male tokens totalled 492, and female tokens 220.

Concerning selection criteria and discounting of tokens from analysis, for the structured elicitation tasks (*i.e.* word list and reading passage) no rigid selection criteria were employed as participants were being asked to produce specific responses to questions posed; false starts were discounted. In casual speech however, the principles of the Labovian paradigm were adhered to, in that the recording of tokens did not start until ten minutes into the recording. Allowing some time between the start of the interview and the recording of tokens attempts to mitigate any effect of the

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research participant's self-consciousness *vis-à-vis* the formality of the interview/recording context (see Labov 1984).

4.10   The factors

To correctly account for the 'envelope of variation' (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 180) in the case of each of the four linguistic variables explored in the study, the following factors were considered:

(1) part of speech (*e.g.* noun, verb, adjective);

(2) phonetic environment (*i.e.* onset, intervocalic, coda);

(3) type of initial segment and its distinctive features;

(4) type of following segment and its distinctive features;

(5) speech style (*i.e.* casual, wordlist, reading passage).

Further, for each dependent variable, one context-specific parameter was required:

(1) for variable (l) it was necessary for each instance of /l/ to record the type of /l/ variant (*e.g.* palatal lateral or palatalised lateral, see Chapter 5);

(2) for (a), the type of /a/ variant (*e.g.* [a] or [i], see Chapter 6).

In addition, the following social factors were also accounted for:

(1) sex;

(2) age;

(3) speaker type (*i.e.* native speaker, late speaker, new speaker);

(4) place of birth;

(5) place of residence at the time of interview;

(6) whether the session was a group interview (*i.e.* L1 and L2, L1 and L1) or single interview (*i.e.* one-to-one).

All factors outlined here were measured for the present study. Lastly, for each token recorded, the corresponding Francoprovençal form and ORB form was also recorded. This allowed for a comparison with atlas data, as well as any differences in linguistic forms that might arise between the different types of speakers. Each of these factors were coded into a comma separated values (.csv) document, (termed a *token file*), and standard variationist protocols have been followed (see Tagliamonte 2006: 164-5).

4.10.1 Auditory analysis and acoustic analysis

As has long been standard practice in sociolinguistic work (*e.g.* Foulkes *et al*. 2010: 720), the coding of variants for the present study was done primarily on an auditory basis. In most cases, this approach was sufficient for reliable coding of the tokens elicited during the interview process. However, where doubt arose between, say, two possible forms, the coding of each variant in the corpus was also backed up by spectrogram readings.

WAV recordings were imported into the Praat (version 5.3.1.7), where the speech samples were first analysed. Praat spectrogram settings were kept to a frequency view range of 6000 Hz, with a dynamic range of 50.0 dB, which was deemed acceptable for the measurement of vowel F1/F2 formants for variables (a), (SG) and (PL), and palatal lateral approximants in the case of (l), where F1/F2/F3

formants were considered. While formant analysis is not always conclusive, an assessment of F1/F2/F3 provided a reliable indication of subtle differences between the variants outlined in Chapter 2. Tokens were then coded into a .csv document; audible transcriptions were made with a pair of Creative HN-900 Headphones. The token file was then imported into R (version 3.0.2) for further analysis. All coding and analysis was undertaken on the operating system OS X (version 10.8.5).

4.11 Statistical analysis

To describe and understand the variability of the data presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, some statistics will be used. As the very fragmentary data to be presented in these chapters come from a small (and for the most part relatively homogeneous) sample of speakers, we focus on general patterns within the data. It is not the intention here to extrapolate the results of the analyses to a wider more general population. In the analyses that follow, then, we make use of descriptive-frequency statistics, which are commonly used in variationist sociolinguistics (*e.g.* Johnson 2013). Owing to the size of the corpus, we will be focusing in particular in Chapters 8 and 9 on individual behaviour, and drawing general patterns of co-variation with external-linguistic factors and the AEI.

4.12 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for the study was sought from the University of Kent's Research Ethics Advisory Group to the Faculty of Humanities, and approval was granted in 2012. Research participants were required to sign a consent form before any recording or interviewing took place. The consent form, which is based on the *Phonologie du Français Contemporain* (PFC)'s own *consentement de participation* (Delais-Roussarie *et al*. 2002 : 22-3), can be found in Appendix VIII.

Chapter 5. Phonological variable (l): /l/-palatalisation

5.1 Introduction

So far we have seen that Francoprovençal has long been losing ground to French. Speaker numbers continue to dwindle, and there is no prestige variety to choose from as a basis for standardisation. However, we have also seen in Chapter 3 that the so-called 'new speakers' of Francoprovençal are now emerging in the context of revitalisation movement. These speakers were seen in Chapter 3 to be rather different in socio-economic terms from the native speakers. Further, we have seen that an orthographical norm (termed ORB) has been making ground among these new speakers, and evidence was presented in Chapter 3 that suggested proponents of the standard would be more likely to produce linguistic variants that might differ from traditional norms. This then raises the question: are new speakers influenced more in their speech by forms which align with the ORB 'standard'? To tackle these questions, we have set out in Chapter 2 a number of linguistic variables to analyse. This chapter presents the findings for the first of these variables, which will be called (l), and which relates to variation in the palatalisation of the voiced lateral

approximant /l/ in obstruent + lateral consonant clusters (henceforth termed /l/-palatalisation).

In Chapter 2 we saw that lateral approximants in Francoprovençal can become palatalised in onset consonant clusters containing the obstruents /k, g, p, b, f/ as the first segment + /l/, where a number of variants are possible (see Tables 5.1.1, below).

Table 5.1.1 Possible variants in /C/ + /l/ clusters (adapted from Stich 1998: 47-50)

Type of cluster	Possible variants
/kl/	[kl], [kʎ], [tj], [ʎ], [j], [çl], [çʎ], [ç], [tl], [θ]
/gl/	[gl], [gʎ], [ʎ], [j], [ð]
/pl/	[pl], [pʎ], [pj], [pθ], [pf]
/bl/	[bl], [bʎ], [bj], [bð], [bv]
/fl/	[fl], [fʎ], [çl], [çʎ], [ç], [θ]

As can be seen from Table 5.1.1, we found in the literature that /l/-palatalisation in Francoprovençal can take place in all five possible consonant clusters. We can see too that, in addition to the variants [l], [ʎ] and [j], we also find a number of fricatives, such as [θ], [ð], [f], [v], [ç].[25] However, we have also seen that not all varieties palatalise in the same environments, and not all variants are to be expected in each variety of Francoprovençal.

Table 5.1.2 /l/-palatalisation in Lyonnais Francoprovençal (after the ALLy)

Etymon	Francoprovençal	Standard French	Gloss
CLARAM	[ˈkjɔʁ]	[ˈklɛʁ]	'clear'
GLACIEM	[ˈɟjasi]	[ˈglas]	'mirror'
PLENUM	[ˈplɛ̃]	[ˈplɛ̃]	'full'
BLADUM	[ˈblɔ]	[ˈble]	'wheat'
FLOREM	[ˈflø]	[ˈflœʁ]	'flower'

Table 5.1.2 for instance gives examples of /l/-palatalisation in the Lyonnais varieties of Francoprovençal, as outlined in the ALLy, and compares them with SF. As we can see, the Classical Latin (henceforth CL) form GLACIEM is realised as

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[25] See Chapter 2 on the fricativisation of sounds in these obstruent + lateral clusters.

['gjasi] synchronically in these varieties, but ['glas] in SF. As the table illustrates, according to the ALLy, /l/ is palatalised to [j] when following a velar consonant, but not a labial; /l/-palatalisation is therefore only contextually conditioned by initial /k, g/ in les monts du Lyonnais but not in other regions of the Francoprovençal-speaking zone, such as the Canton of Valais, where palatalisation is extended to the labial sets. Therefore, there is a degree of diatopic variation in the palatalisation of /l/. How then, does this relate to the research questions outlined above? We have seen that the context in which /l/-palatalisation occurs is not only dependent on linguistic-internal factors (*e.g.* the type of initial consonant in the cluster), but is also constrained by other extra-linguistic factors, such as region. Moreover, Table 5.1.2 also shows that the dominant language in contact with Francoprovençal does *not* palatalise in obstruent + lateral clusters. This therefore makes (l) an ideal variable to tackle the questions outlined above. Our speakers have a number of directions that they can move in for (l): do they produce traditional forms that correlate with historical data; do they produce forms that are instead more SF-like; or do they do something altogether different? Might we, for example, find evidence of the 'recommended' ORB pronunciation for /l/-palatalisation (*i.e.* [ʎ]) in the speech of our participants?

Having briefly reviewed /l/-palatalisation in Francoprovençal, the discussion turns next to an analysis of the data collected for the present study. As the behaviour of this variable has been shown in §5.1 to depend to a considerable degree on the type of initial segment in the consonant cluster, this linguistic constraint will be considered first.

5.2   Linguistic-internal constraints on (l) and distribution of variants

As we have seen in §5.1, the literature outlined in Chapter 2 led us to suggest that an important linguistic-internal constraint associated with /l/-palatalisation is the type of initial segment in the consonant cluster (*i.e.* /k, g, p, b, f/). We have also seen that a number of variants have been attested. These variants can be split into two types: the laterals [l], [ʎ] and [j] on the one hand, and the fricatives [θ], [ð], [f], [v], [ç] on the other. So, what do the data from the present study reveal?

Figure 5.2.1 Distribution of (l) variants by initial segment
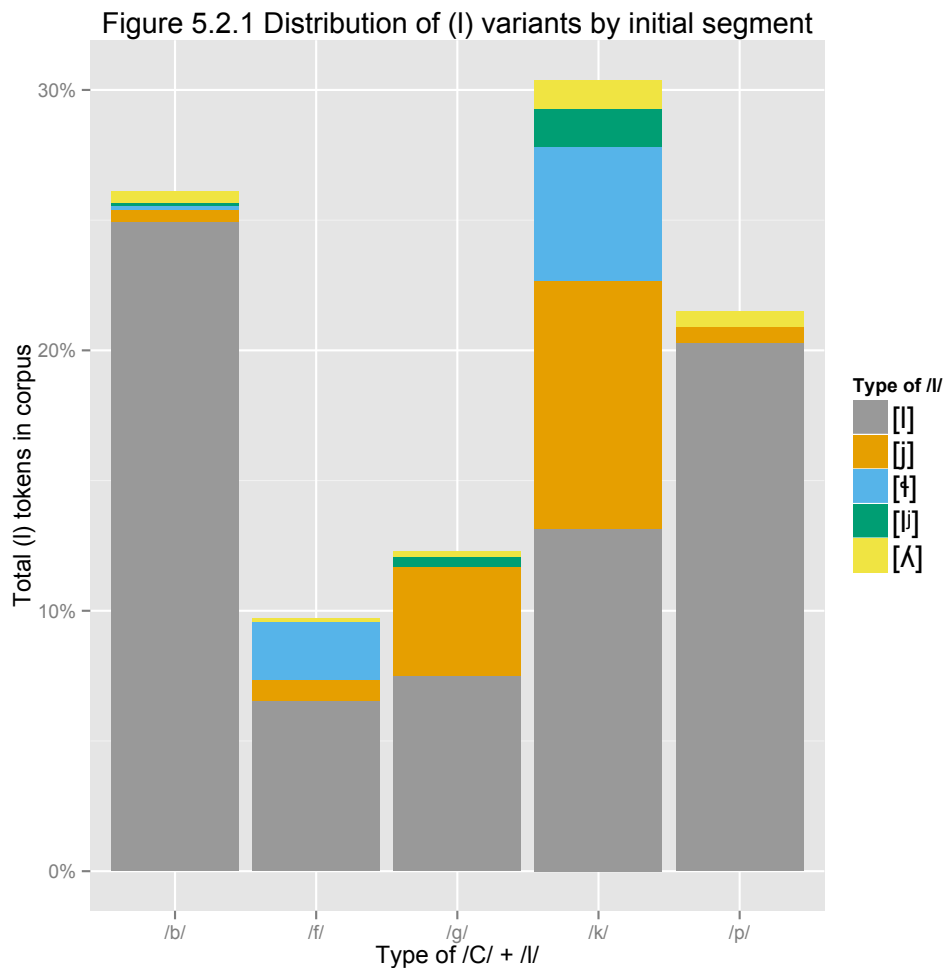
First, a snapshot of the data as a whole reveals that /l/-palatalisation occurs in all five possible obstruent + lateral clusters. However, it is important to note that there is also variation. For example, Figure 5.2.1 shows that, while we find the greatest

concentration of palatalised variants in the velar + lateral sets, we also find a significant proportion of [l] tokens too. Secondly, far from the plethora of possible forms outlined in Table 5.1.1 above, we find in our data five possible variants: [l], [ɫ], [lʲ], [ʎ] and [j]. Further, what is most striking about these data is that two of the variants identified *are not* present in the attested forms outlined in Chapter 2 or §5.1 above: the lateral fricative [ɫ] and the palatalised lateral [lʲ]. Concerning their distribution, the five variants identified in the data are not found in all five clusters. For example, the palatalised lateral [lʲ] is found in the /bl/ set, but not in the /pl/ set, nor is it found in the /fl/ set.

Owing to the fact that a number of variants are possible for (l), for convenience, we have labelled these from (l)-1 to (l)-5 (see Table 5.2.1, below).

Table 5.2.1 Variants of (l) elicited by type of /C/ + /l/ cluster					
	/kl/	*/gl/*	*/pl/*	*/bl/*	*/fl/*
(l)-5: [l]	43.34% (179)	61.08% (102)	94.52% (276)	97.13% (339)	67.42% (89)
(l)-4: [ɫ]	16.95% (70)	0.00%	0.00%	0.57% (2)	22.73% (30)
(l)-3: [lʲ]	4.84% (20)	2.99% (5)	0.00%	0.57% (2)	0.00%
(l)-2: [ʎ]	3.63% (15)	1.80% (3)	2.74% (8)	1.72% (6)	1.52% (2)
(l)-1: [j]	31.23% (129)	34.13% (57)	2.74% (8)	2.41% (6)	8.33% (11)

While the initial segment in the consonant cluster has been identified as playing a major role in /l/-palatalisation, we saw in Chapter 2 that far less attention has been devoted to the following segment in the phonetic environment. Therefore, we will consider next how these variants pattern according to what segment follows the /Cl/ cluster.

Figure 5.2.2 Distribution of (l) variants by following segment
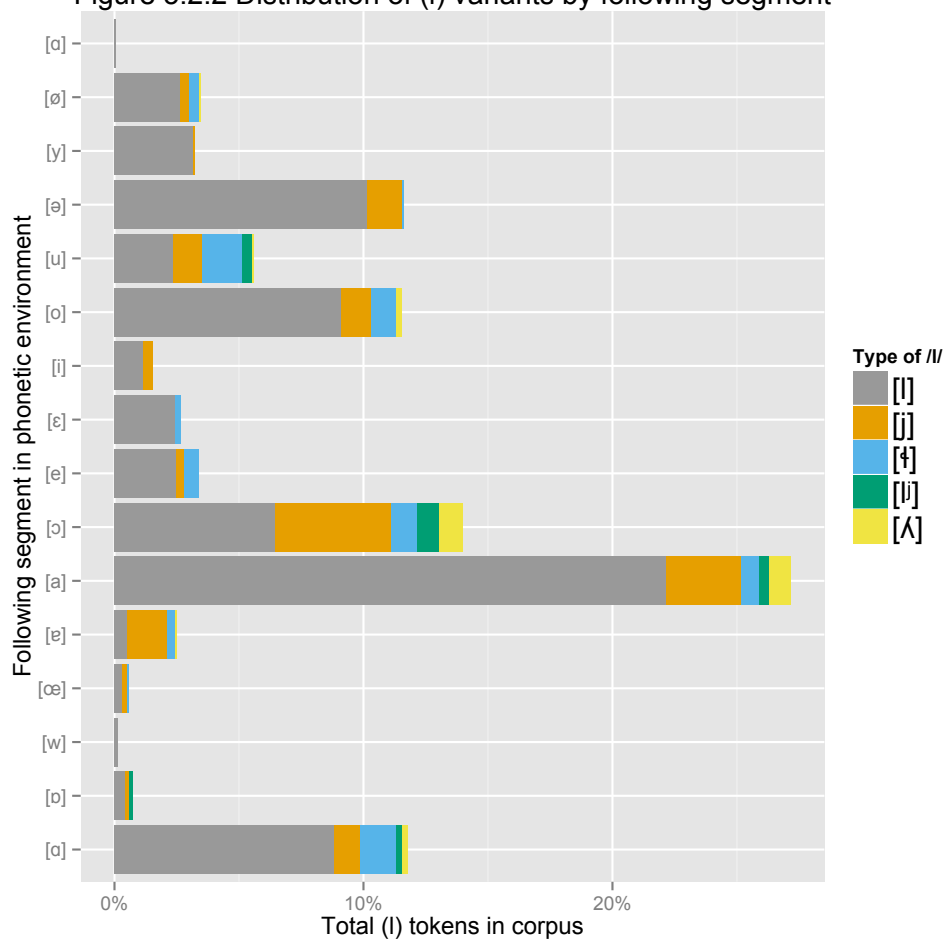
Unlike the first linguistic-internal constraint, where /l/-palatalisation depended on the occurrence of five possible obstruent consonants word initially, we find in Figure 5.2.2 a less obvious pattern, where /l/ can undergo palatalisation irrespective of the type of segment that follows. This in itself however is a finding, for what is perhaps most revealing about the data illustrated here is that /l/-palatalisation can take place when preceding both front vowels and back vowels. While we saw in Chapter 2 that this is not so unique a feature to Francoprovençal in that it can occur in other Romance languages too (*e.g.* Occitan), it is perhaps noteworthy that 44% of all palatalised lateral tokens in the corpus occur preceding a mid-back rounded vowel. This observation is interesting as it has been claimed elsewhere that palatalised laterals can be typically associated with front vowels (e.g. Nance 2014: 4). That said,

Jamin (2005: 130) does report that dental plosives (and not velar plosives) were found to undergo palatalisation before /u, o, ɔ̃/ in a very small number of cases in his Paris sample. However, as we have said in §2.7.1, this feature of some spoken French varieties is historically unrelated to the phenomenon of /l/-palatalisation described here, which involves only sound changes coming from Latin obstruent + lateral clusters. The following segment in the cluster, then, does not appear to play an important role in /l/-palatalisation or the distribution of the palatalised variants that are found in the data.

In summary, we have begun to explore (l) by looking at two linguistic-internal constraints: (i) the initial segment in the consonant cluster, and (ii) the segment immediately following the consonant cluster. Regarding the first of these constraints, the data reveal palatalised tokens for each of the five consonant clusters under consideration. However, we have also seen a great degree of variation that requires further discussion (*e.g.* we find [l] very often in velar + lateral sets). Moreover, we have identified in the data five possible variants, two of which ([ɫ] and [lʲ]) were not expected based on the literature review outlined in Chapter 2. Upon analysing the second linguistic-internal factor, it has become apparent that the following segment in the phonetic environment does not appear to constrain /l/-palatalisation to anywhere near the same degree, as the phenomenon can occur in the context of front vowels, back vowels and the glide [w]. Now that the linguistic constraints on (l) have been considered, and the variants have been established, the discussion can advance next to how these variants pattern according to the linguistic-external factors (as outlined in Chapter 4). We will also need to remain mindful of the linguistic-internal constraint of initial segment throughout, given the variation so far outlined.

5.3 Distribution of variants by fieldwork area

We saw in §5.1 that region appears to be an important factor for the type of consonant cluster that undergoes /l/-palatalisation (*i.e.* velars and labials or just velars, as with Table 5.1.2 above). Therefore, diatopic variation will be considered as our first extra-linguistic factor. Figure 5.3.1 (below) illustrates the distribution of variants and cluster contexts for each of the fieldwork areas explored.

Figure 5.3.1 Distribution of (l) variants by fieldwork area
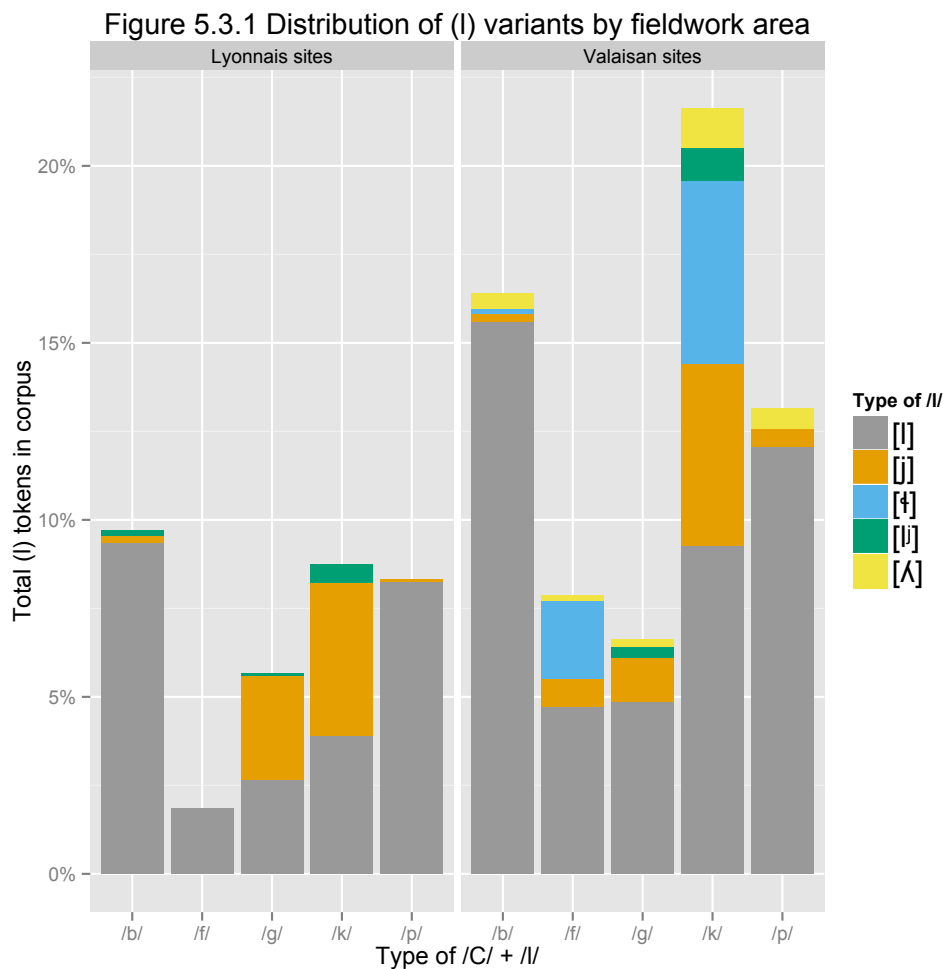
Looking at the figure, a number of observations can be made in relation to the types of variants elicited from participants. First, as we have seen above, /l/-palatalisation does take place in all five possible clusters, but *only* for the fieldwork sites explored in the Canton of Valais. There were no recorded palatalised tokens for

the /fl/ context in the Lyonnais fieldwork sites, but a number of palatalised tokens *do* occur in the /b, p/ + /l/ clusters. This observation is surprising and constitutes an important finding, for it provides counterevidence to the historical data presented in Chapter 2 from the ALLy, where we saw that only the /k, g/ + /l/ clusters showed palatalisation for les monts du Lyonnais. Secondly, where /l/-palatalisation does occur, it is most often found in the velar + lateral sets. Thirdly, if we compare Figure 5.3.1 with Table 5.3.1 (below), we can see that the most common variant is a non-palatalised clear [l], which accounts for 76% of the Lyonnais tokens, and 71% of the Valaisan tokens. This finding is interesting, and relates directly to our research questions, for we can see that even in the velar + lateral clusters, there are a large number of non-palatalised tokens where we would otherwise expect palatals in both fieldwork areas.

Table 5.3.1 Frequency of variants by fieldwork area

Variant	% of total Lyonnais tokens	% of total Valaisan tokens
(l)-5: [l]	75.75% (353)	70.77% (632)
(l)-4: [ɬ]	0.00%	11.42% (102)
(l)-3: [lʲ]	2.15% (10)	1.90% (17)
(l)-2: [ʎ]	0.00%	3.81% (34)
(l)-1: [j]	22.10% (103)	12.09% (108)

In addition to [l], the second most frequent variant in the corpus is [j], which accounts for 22% of the Lyonnais tokens, and 12% of the Valaisan tokens. Recalling the examples outlined in Chapter 2 and Table 5.1.2 (above), both variants were to be expected in these data. However, as we have already outlined, a number of other forms of /l/ are also presented here. When comparing both fieldwork areas, what is most surprising about these findings is that, in addition to [l] and [j], [lʲ] is *also* present in the Lyonnais data, which, again was unexpected, as we saw in Chapter 2 that [lʲ] is not a traditional dialectal variant in les monts du Lyonnais. The absence of

the ORB variant [ʎ] is also interesting. Conversely, we observe in the Valaisan data a larger number of variants, including the lateral fricative [ɬ], which, while strictly speaking is not *palatalised* in an articulatory sense by comparison with [j] or [ʎ], does occur word initially for obstruent + lateral sets (*cf.* Table 5.3.2, below).

Table 5.3.2 Valaisan variants of (l) and their environments					
Type of /l/	*Type of /Cl/ cluster*				
	/bl/	*/kl/*	*/fl/*	*/gl/*	*/pl/*
(l)-5: [l]	+	+	+	+	+
(l)-4: [ɬ]	+	+	+	-	-
(l)-3: [lʲ]	+	+	-	+	-
(l)-2: [ʎ]	+	+	+	+	+
(l)-1: [j]	+	+	+	+	+

Lastly, it is also noteworthy that, in Bagne, we do not find the lateral fricative occurring in both the voiced and unvoiced velar sets whereas elsewhere both velar sets carry a palatal or fricative segment. However, as we saw in Chapter 2, this phenomenon is attested in the literature for the Bagne area.

To briefly review our findings so far, then, the data reveal a greater range of possible variants for (l) than was first suggested in our review of the literature in §6.1. This is especially the case for the Lyonnais sites, where the presence of [lʲ] was very much unexpected. Moreover, the data also reveal that there are a greater number of palatalised contexts for the Lyonnais sites when compared with Table 5.1.2, as the labial + lateral clusters also appear to undergo palatalisation here. Conversely, we have seen that in Valais there are also a greater range of possible palatalised variants than was first expected, including [ɬ] which was suspected to be a possible variant in the *Val de Bagne* region (see §2.7.1.2); this is discussed further in §5.5, below. In short, the data reveal that /l/-palatalisation in Lyon is occurring in new environments (*i.e.* not just velar + lateral sets but labials too), whereas in Valais palatalised variants can occur in all five contexts but with a great degree of variation. Moreover, two new

variants of /l/ seem to have been identified. It is now necessary to ask who is using them, in which clusters, and when.

5.4   Distribution of variants by speaker type

So far, then, the data reveal a more complex patterning of variants than was first expected. In the case of Lyon, we see that the labial + lateral clusters that in the atlas data do not show /l/-palatalisation now do, and we have also found a previously unattested form in the Lyon context: [lʲ]. We have also uncovered an unattested variant in Valais too: [ɫ]. It is next pertinent to ask where the unexpected forms have come from, and so next we focus on the research participants themselves (see Figure 5.4.1, below).

Figure 5.4.1 Distribution of (l) variants by speaker-type and site
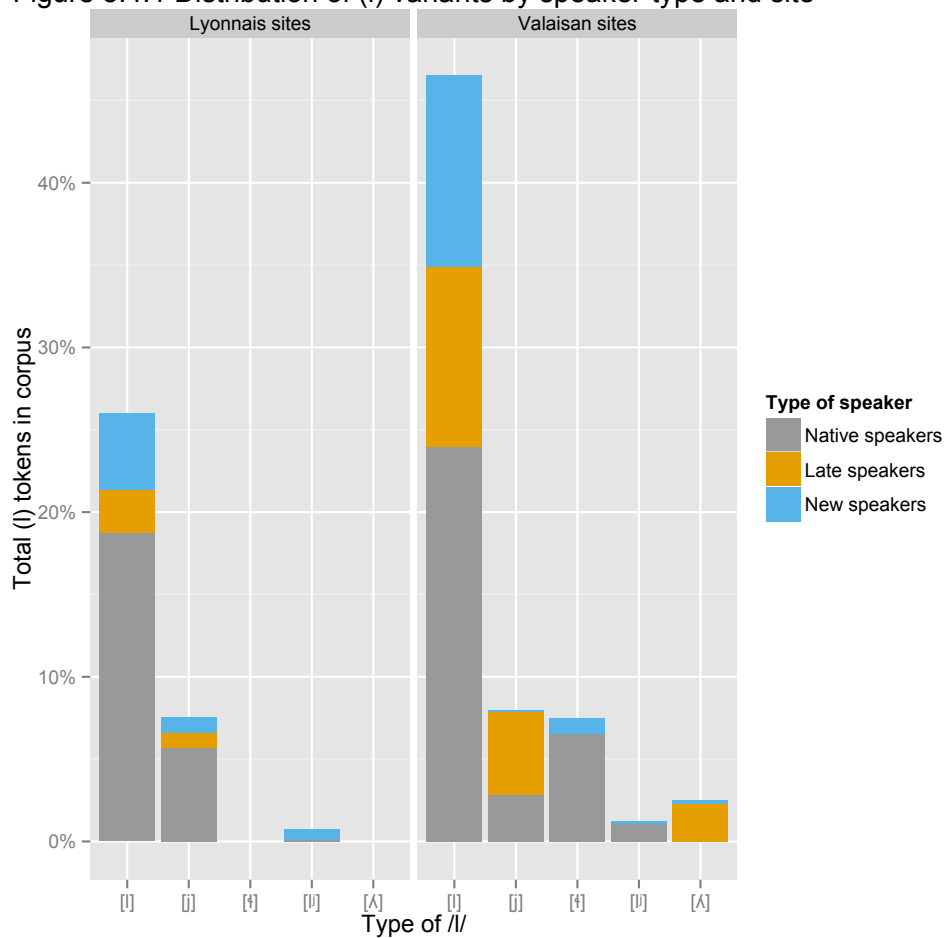
As can be seen from Figure 5.4.1, the diatopic variation illustrated above is more nuanced when speaker type as a factor is introduced. Looking first at the Lyonnais data, we can see that our three speaker categories do not produce the same variants for (l) (*cf.* Table 5.4.1, below).

Table 5.4.1 Breakdown of variants by Lyonnais speaker type

	Native speakers	*Late speakers*	*New speakers*
(l)-3: [l]	76.58% (255)	72.92% (35)	74.12% (69)
(l)-2: [lʲ]	0.30% (1)	0.00%	10.59% (9)
(l)-1: [j]	23.12% (77)	27.08% (13)	15.29% (13)

While there are very few recorded tokens for [lʲ], the data reveal that it is largely only the new speakers who produce this unexpected form, in addition to [j] and [l]. This can be compared with both native and late speakers, who largely only

produce [j] and [l] (with the exception of one native speaker [lʲ] token). This, again, is

a revelation, as the historical data produced in Chapter 2 (reproduced in Appendix V)

attests to both [j] and [l] for les monts du Lyonnais, but not [lʲ]. Moreover, we have

gone some way to unpacking the questions outlined in §5.1, as we have identified [lʲ]

(a previously unattested variant of (l) in the Lyonnais area) to be exclusively a new

speaker variant. While new speakers do produce native speaker forms (*i.e.*

palatalisation of /l/ to [j]), it appears that they have also produced a variant that is

largely unique to this speaker type.

Turning to the Valaisan data, a number of observations can be made. First, we

can see that while [l] and [j] are produced by all three types of speakers, [ɫ], [lʲ] and

[ʎ] are not. In fact, the Valaisan data reveal that, unlike the native speakers and late

speakers, the new speakers in the Valaisan sample were the only participants to

produce the entire range of variants identified above (*cf.* Table 5.4.2 below).

Table 5.4.2 Breakdown of variants by Valaisan speaker type			
	Native speakers	*Late speakers*	*New speakers*
(l)-5: [l]	69.51% (326)	59.92% (148)	89.27% (158)
(l)-4: [ɫ]	18.98% (89)	0.00%	7.34% (13)
(l)-3: [lʲ]	3.20% (15)	0.00%	1.13% (2)
(l)-2: [ʎ]	0.00%	12.55% (31)	1.69% (3)
(l)-1: [j]	8.32% (39)	27.53% (68)	0.56% (1)

This latter point is again both very interesting and entirely unexpected, as it

shows that the repertoire of variants available to the new speakers in *both* fieldwork

areas is larger than both native speakers and late speakers. This extended repertoire

for (l) is clearly of interest, and will be a focal point for discussion in Chapter 8.

However, a number of points must also be made in reference to the Valaisan data.

First, as we saw in Chapter 2, highly localised phonological variation is especially

characteristic of the Valaisan fieldwork sites under investigation here, and so it is

possible that some of the variants given in Table 5.3.2 above do not occur in all fieldwork sites explored. Second, not all sites contain both native speakers and late speakers, but very often just one or the other (see Chapter 4). As it was not possible to source all three types of speakers from each of the Valaisan fieldwork sites explored in the study, the data will also need to be broken down by speaker type and place of residence. Beforehand, however, we must also consider which speakers are palatalising in which contexts across both the Lyonnais and Valaisan samples.

Figure 5.4.2 Distribution of (l) variants by Lyonnais speaker-type
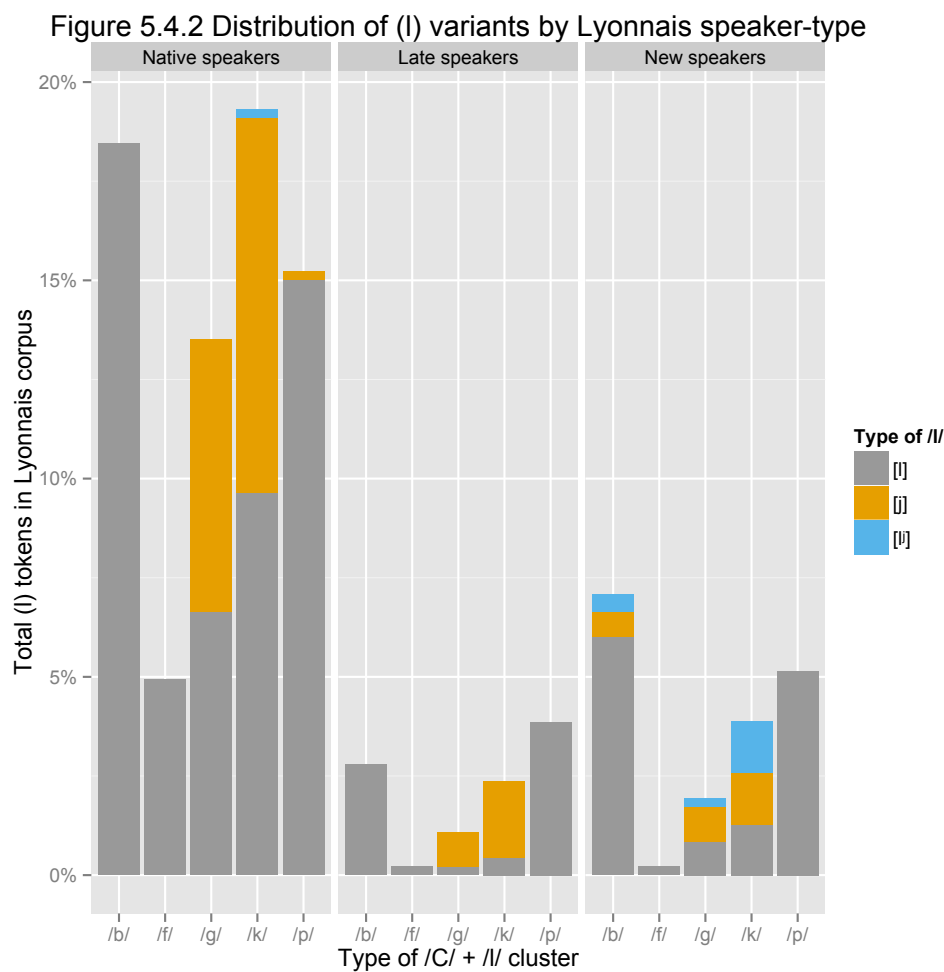
Beginning with the Lyonnais data, we can see that the native speakers and late speakers largely pattern as expected from our overview of this variable in §5.1 above, in that palatalisation only occurs for these speakers in the /k, g/ + /l/ sets. However, we also notice that, within these clusters, there are a large number of [l] tokens too,

indicating that palatalisation is far from categorical. This is not the picture that is painted by the atlas data (see Appendix V). Further, it is also perhaps noteworthy that there are two instances of [lʲ] and [j] from among the native-speaker data in both the /kl/ and /pl/ sets respectively (*cf.* Tables 5.4.3 and 5.4.4 below).

Table 5.4.3 Breakdown of variants by Lyonnais native speakers

	/kl/	/gl/	/pl/	/bl/	/fl/
(l)-3: [l]	50.00% (45)	49.21% (31)	98.59% (70)	100.00% (86)	100.00% (23)
(l)-2: [lʲ]	1.11% (1)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
(l)-1: [j]	48.89% (44)	50.79% (32)	1.41% (1)	0.00%	0.00%

Table 5.4.4 Breakdown of variants by Lyonnais late speakers

	/kl/	/gl/	/pl/	/bl/	/fl/
(l)-3: [l]	18.18% (2)	20.00% (1)	100.00% (18)	100.00% (13)	100.00% (1)
(l)-1: [j]	81.82% (9)	80.00% (4)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

The new speakers too show evidence of having acquired the velar + lateral pattern, but crucially they also differ from the other speaker types here, as both [j] and [lʲ] are produced not only in the /kl, gl/ sets, but /l/-palatalisation is extended to the /bl/ set too (*cf.* Table 5.4.5).

Table 5.4.5 Breakdown of variants by Lyonnais new speakers

	/kl/	/gl/	/pl/	/bl/	/fl/
(l)-3: [l]	33.33% (6)	44.44% (4)	100.00% (24)	84.85% (28)	100.00% (1)
(l)-2: [lʲ]	33.33% (6)	11.11% (1)	0.00%	6.06% (2)	0.00%
(l)-1: [j]	33.33% (6)	44.44% (4)	0.00%	9.09% (3)	0.00%

In short, then, it is the Lyonnais new speakers who are producing [lʲ] and extending palatalisation to the labial + lateral sets. We might also note in the new-speaker data that palatalisation of /l/ in the velar sets is also variable, with a number of non-dialectal, SF-like [l] tokens present too.

Figure 5.4.3 Distribution of (l) variants by Valaisan speaker-type
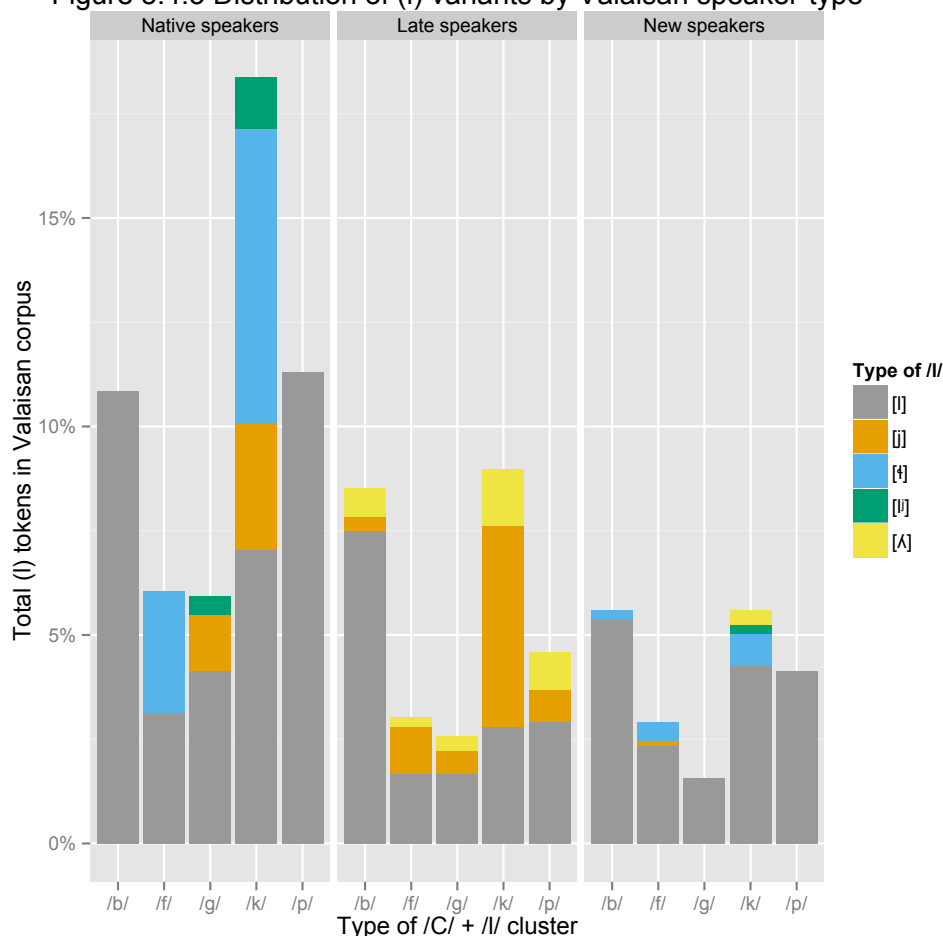
Turning to the Valaisan data, again the picture becomes more nuanced, as /l/-palatalisation takes place before all five obstruents, but not for each speaker type. Looking at Figure 5.4.3, first, we can see that, this time, it is the late speakers who palatalise in all five possible clusters, where, in addition to [l], two palatalised variants occur: [j] and [ʎ] (*cf.* Table 5.4.6).

Table 5.4.6 Breakdown of variants by Valaisan late speakers

	/kl/	/gl/	/pl/	/bl/	/fl/
(l)-5: [l]	31.25% (25)	65.22% (15)	63.41% (26)	88.16% (67)	55.56% (15)
(l)-2: [ʎ]	15.00% (12)	13.04% (3)	19.51% (8)	7.89% (6)	7.41% (2)
(l)-1: [j]	53.75% (43)	21.74% (5)	17.07% (7)	3.95% (3)	37.04% (10)

Conversely, in the native speaker category, we find palatalised tokens in the /k, g, f/ + /l/ sets only (see Table 5.4.7, below).

Table 5.4.7 Breakdown of variants by Valaisan native speakers

	/kl/	/gl/	/pl/	/bl/	/fl/
(l)-5: [l]	38.41% (67)	69.81% (37)	100.00% (101)	100.00% (97)	51.85% (28)
(l)-4: [ɫ]	38.41% (67)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	48.15% (26)
(l)-3: [lʲ]	6.71% (11)	7.55% (4)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
(l)-1: [j]	16.46% (27)	22.64% (12)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

However, it is important to stress that there is an inconsistent distribution of variants across these clusters (*i.e.* only lateral fricatives in the /fl/ cluster, and only [j] or [lʲ] in the /gl/ cluster), and we have suggested that this is most likely due to a degree of highly localised variation, in that some variants might be patterning onto just one or two sites.

Again, the new speakers produce all five variants for (l), but, as Figure 5.4.8 shows, these are also distributed unevenly across the different /Cl/ clusters, and, in contrast to the native speakers and late speakers for Valais, palatalisation does not occur *at all* in the /gl/ set.

Table 5.4.8 Breakdown of variants by Valaisan new speakers

	/kl/	/gl/	/pl/	/bl/	/fl/
(l)-5: [l]	76.00% (38)	100.00% (14)	100.00% (37)	96.00% (48)	43.75% (21)
(l)-4: [ɫ]	14.00% (7)	0.00%	0.00%	4.00% (2)	54.17% (26)
(l)-3: [lj]	4.00% (2)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
(l)-2: [ʎ]	6.00% (3)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
(l)-1: [j]	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.08% (1)

In summary so far, then, our data show different patterns of behaviour among the different speaker types. First, we have established (a) an expected context and an unexpected context in which /l/-palatalisation has been shown to take place in the data, and (b) expected and unexpected variants of (l), as a result of palatalisation. When we introduced the extra-linguistic factor of geographical location, we observed that the variants that have been elicited from participants do not correspond to the historical evidence outlined in Chapter 2 for each fieldwork area explored in the

present study. For example, we find in the Lyonnais area that palatalisation of /l/ occurs in the /bl/ cluster as well as the velar clusters. Moreover, upon introducing speaker type as a further factor, we have established in §5.4 that it is the new speakers who appear to be producing a greater number of unexpected palatalised forms compared with the other speaker types across both Lyon and Valais. Further, in the case of Lyon, we also found that the new speakers have then extended /l/-palatalisation to the labial + laterals sets, which was very much unexpected given the historical evidence. Regarding the variants, while we have established for the Lyonnais sites that the [lʲ] can be linked directly with the new speakers, the Valaisan data are more nuanced, and require further discussion.

5.5   Distribution of variants by place of residence

Owing to the variability of (l) as it has been outlined so far, in this section we will consider individual fieldwork sites (*i.e.* speaker's place of residence) as a possible factor determining variant selection for (l).

Figure 5.5.1 Distribution of (l) variants by place of residence
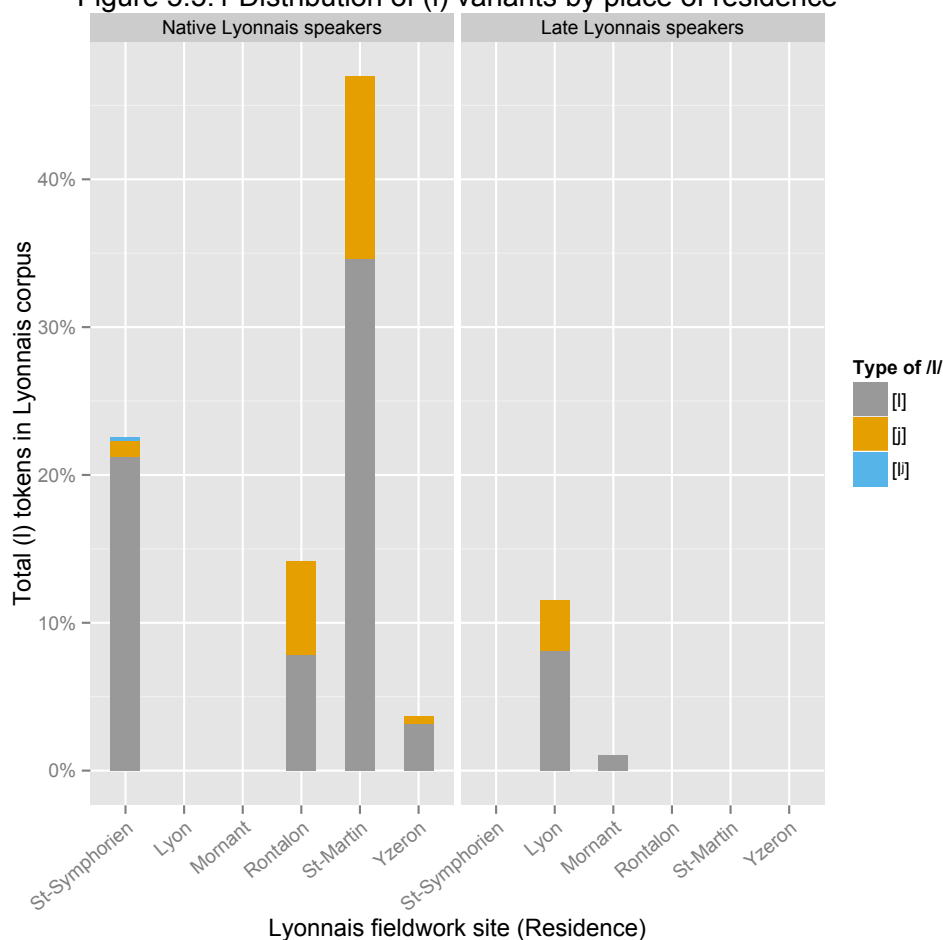
Beginning with the native speakers and late speakers from the Lyonnais sample, we can observe in Figure 5.5.1 the patterning of variants that we have come to expect for Lyon by fieldwork sites explored (*i.e.* /l/-palatalisation before velars, but not labials). First, we can see that the lateral approximant [l] occurs far more frequently than [j] for each of the sites explored, which suggests that /l/-palatalisation in the velar clusters is far from categorical in les monts du Lyonnais (*cf.* Figure 5.5.2, below). However, it is noticeable that in the site of Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise, there are far fewer instances of palatalised forms by comparison with, say, Saint-Martin-en-Haut or Rontalon. Further, if Figure 5.5.1 is compared with Figure 5.5.2 (below), then we can observe another interesting finding:

Figure 5.5.2 Distribution of (l) variants by place of residence
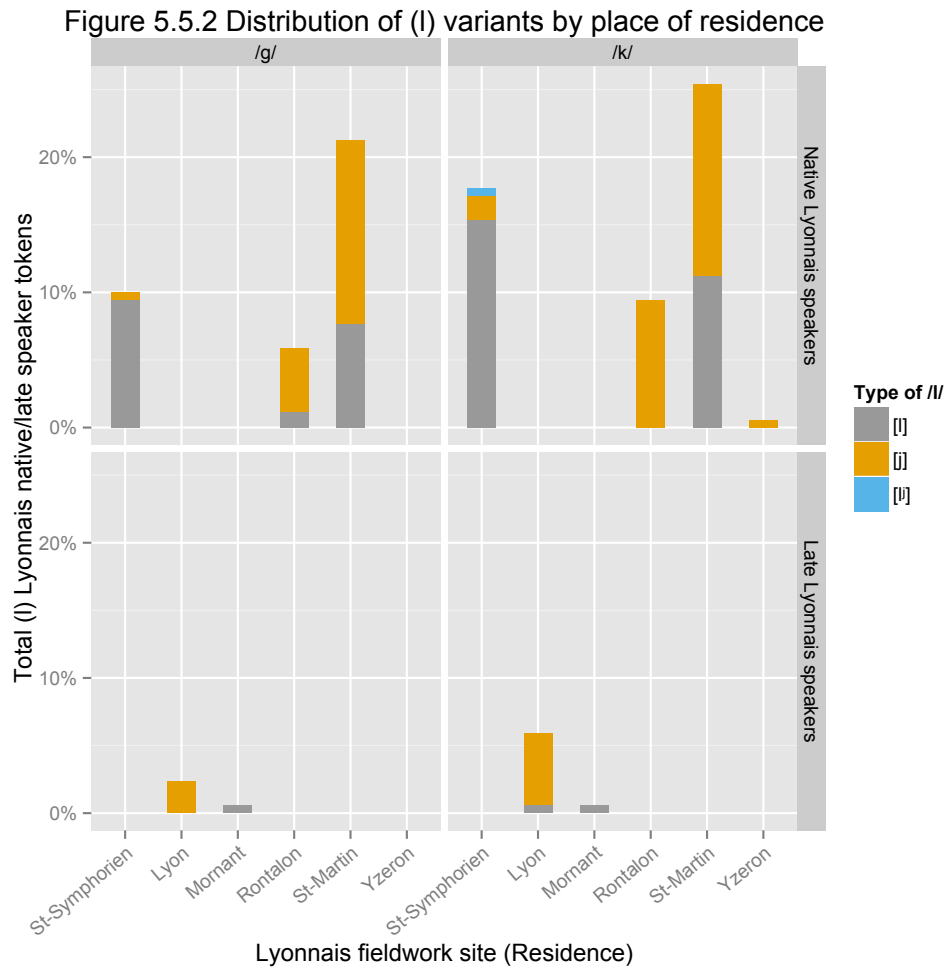
Figure 5.5.2 illustrates a breakdown of the Lyonnais native-speaker and late-speaker data according to place of residence and /Cl/ cluster where /l/-palatalisation occurred (*i.e.* /kl, gl/).[26] A number of interesting comments can be made here. What is most revealing about these data is that (i) palatalisation in the velar clusters is variable, and (ii) the native speakers of Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise palatalise far less frequently than speakers from any of the other fieldwork sites explored in Lyon, and this is true of both the voiced and unvoiced contexts. Owing to the fact that Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise sits at the periphery of Francoprovençal-speaking Lyonnais area, we might tentatively suggest at this point that some convergence might be taking place with northern French.

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[26] This excludes the single palatalised lateral token that was found in the /pl/ set (*cf.* Tables 5.4.3 and 5.4.4).

Turning to the late-speaker data in particular, while the tokens elicited here are far fewer in number, it is nonetheless a noteworthy finding that /l/-palatalisation for our late speaker sampled in Lyon is much higher than the participant sampled in Mornant, who exhibits zero palatalised tokens. Why one late speaker residing in the city centre shows near categorical /l/-palatalisation while another residing in les monts du Lyonnais shows zero /l/-palatalisation (albeit with very few tokens as a basis for evidence) may be the result of the speaker's individual profiles, as C01-12 organised evening classes for the new speakers sampled in Lyon, and was the most fluent of the two. Conversely, L16-18 had much less contact with Francoprovençal speakers, and was much less fluent (see Figure 4.4.2.1, Chapter 4).

Figure 5.5.3 Distribution of (l) variants by Lyonnais new speakers
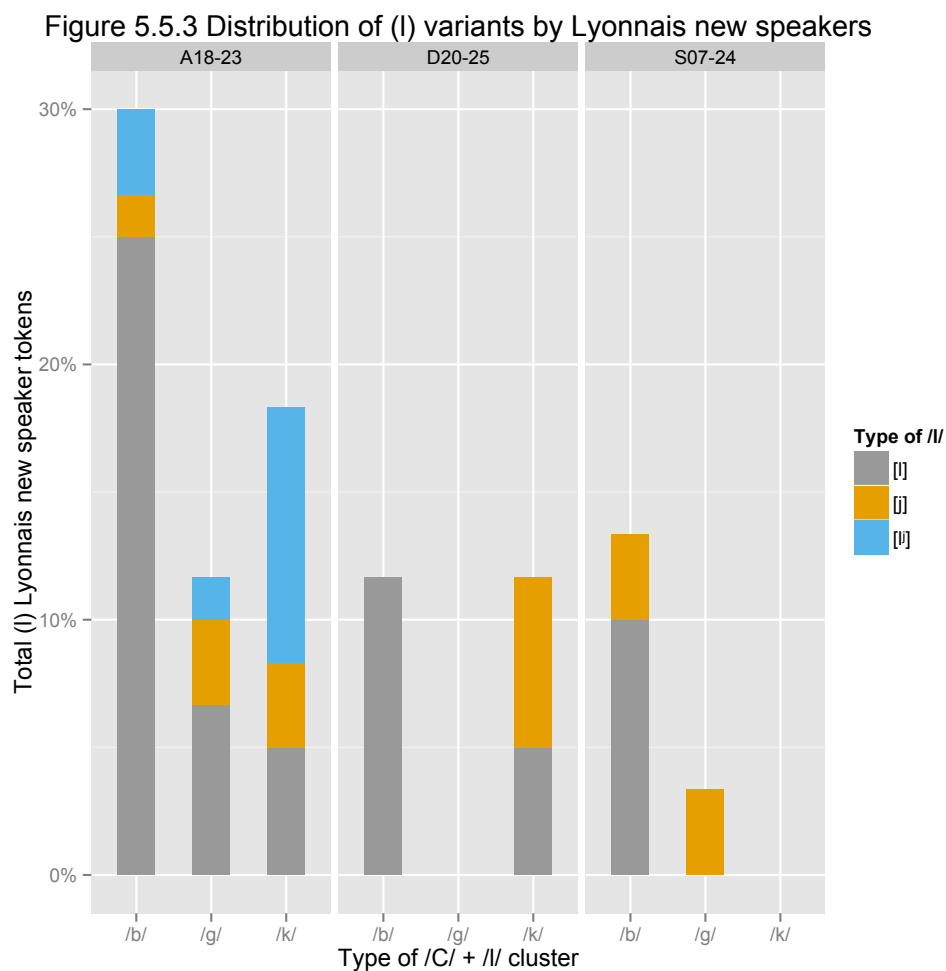
The discussion turns next to the Lyonnais new-speaker data. Figure 5.5.3 illustrates the new-speaker data by individual participants, as all three speakers were sampled in the Lyon site (see Chapter 4). As the data show, the [lʲ] variant is only present in the speech of one of the three participants: A18-23 (*cf.* Table 5.5.1, below).

Table 5.5.1 Distribution of (l) variants by Lyonnais new speakers			
Variant	*Research participant*		
	A18-23	*S07-17*	*D20-25*
(l)-3: [l]	74.07% (40)	66.67% (8)	78.95% (15)
(l)-2: [lʲ]	16.67% (9)	0.00%	0.00%
(l)-1: [j]	9.26% (5)	33.33% (4)	21.05% (4)

It is interesting to note that not only is participant A18-23 alone in producing [lʲ], but also that this participant produces more tokens of [lʲ] than the median approximant [j], which, as we have seen in Figure 5.5.2 above, is the variant that one would expect for this region, based not just on the data elicited in this study, but also based on the historical evidence from the ALLy as presented in Chapter 2. A key avenue of inquiry for our research questions in Chapter 8 will therefore be on the origin and sociolinguistic significance of [lʲ] as a new-speaker variant. Moreover, the finding that the other two new speakers in the sample do *not* produce [lʲ] for (l) is equally of central interest to this study. Both points will be raised in Chapter 8.

Figure 5.5.4 Distribution of (l) variants by place of residence
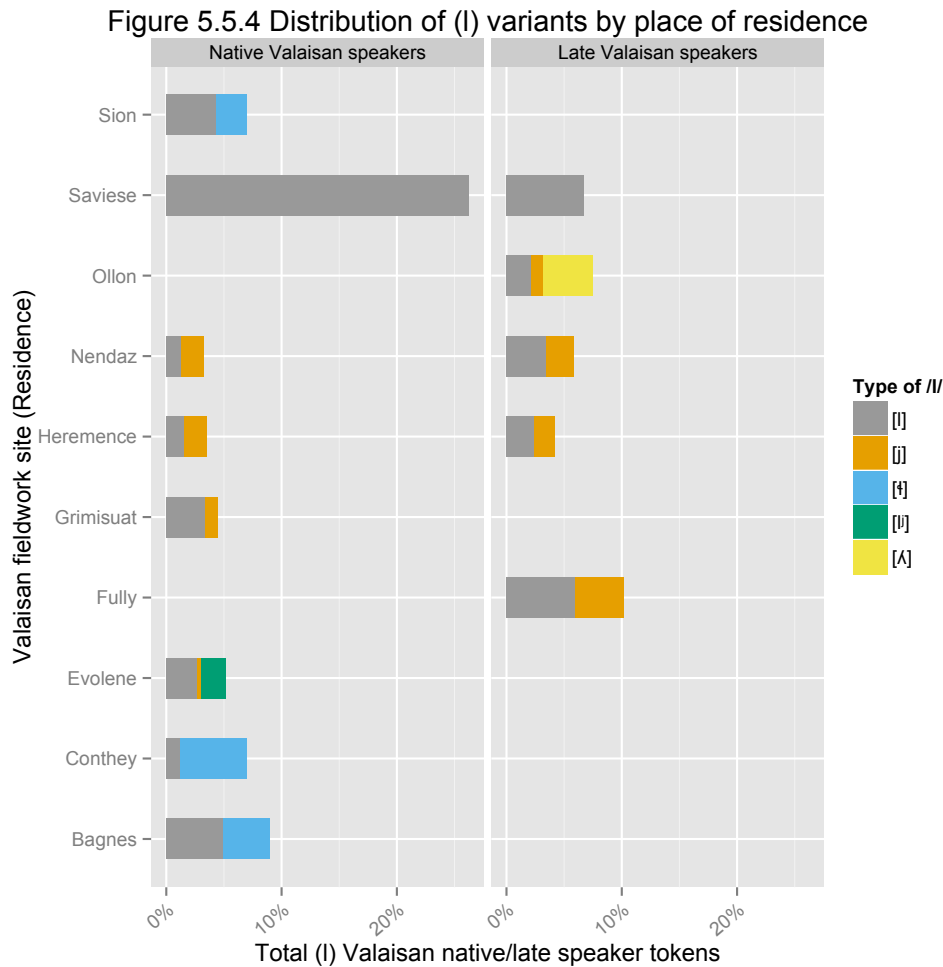
As for the Valaisan data, native-speaker/late-speaker findings are compared against place of residence in Figure 5.5.4, above. As we can see from the Figure, the dialectal differences are much more diverse in Valais by comparison with the Lyonnais area, and in Chapter 2 we saw that such disparate dialectal forms correspond to a geographical boundary separating Valais on two sides of the Morge river. Owing to the nature of the geography in the Canton of Valais, with its highly isolated communes, steep mountainous terrain, and natural internal boundaries, the traditional literature paints a picture of Francoprovençal speakers maintaining a remarkably disparate set of variants for (l); the data illustrated above appear to confirm this. For example we can see in Figure 5.5.4 that the variety of Francoprovençal spoken in Savièse is categorically non-palatalising, but Sion – the

commercial centre in Valais (just a few kilometres below Savièse) shows that other variants are possible in the obstruent + lateral clusters. While this might seem unusual, this finding can in fact be explained by the speaker's socio-economic profile: this participant is originally from Conthey, and, as we can see in the figure below, we expect the lateral fricative in this part of Valais.

Figure 5.5.5 Distribution of (l) variants by place of residence
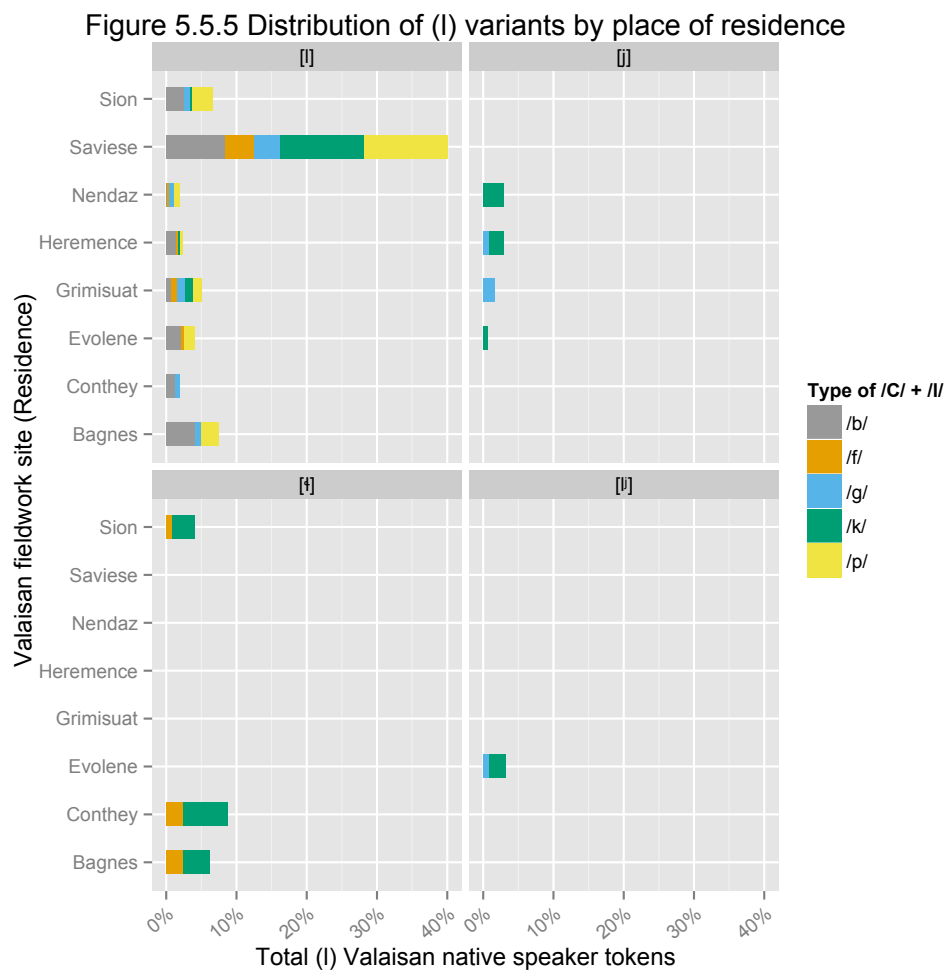
When accounting for our linguistic-internal constraint, we can see that amongst the native speakers in the Valaisan sample there are four possible variants for (l) (*cf.* Table 5.5.2).

Table 5.5.2 Breakdown of variants by Valaisan native speakers

	/kl/	/gl/	/pl/	/bl/	/fl/
(l)-5: [l]	38.41% (63)	69.81% (37)	100.00% (101)	100.00% (97)	51.85% (28)
(l)-4: [ɫ]	38.41% (63)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	48.15% (26)
(l)-3: [lʲ]	6.71% (11)	7.55% (4)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
(l)-1: [j]	16.46% (27)	22.64% (12)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Interestingly, the above figure also suggests that where we expect palatalisation in those sites that lie to the West of the Morge, we also find a large number of [l] tokens. Like the Lyonnais data, then, this may indicate that palatalisation is variable where it is expected, and this might evidence further that change is taking place. Recall that, for (l), the Morge separates varieties of Francoprovençal where the obstruent + lateral clusters underwent further sound changes following /l/-palatalisation (West of the Morge), from those varieties that only underwent palatalisation of the second segment (see Chapter 2 for details).

Moreover, we can also point to some surprising developments based on our own data. For example, in the top left facet of Figure 5.4.5, the one speaker sampled in Nendaz was born and raised in the commune Hérémence, where one of the frequently attested palatalised variants which should have been expected from the data in the present study is [ʎ]. However, our findings here show instead an increased rate of [j] and no evidence of [ʎ] amongst these native speakers. This is significant as we saw in Chapter 2 that, for the commune of Hérémence, early studies by the likes of De Lavallaz (1899: 110) attest to the palatalisation of /l/ in the velar + lateral sets, which should result in the outcome of [ʎ]. This does *not* appear to be the case here, and may indicate that change is taking place; we return to this point in Chapter 9.

Figure 5.5.6 Distribution of (l) variants by place of residence
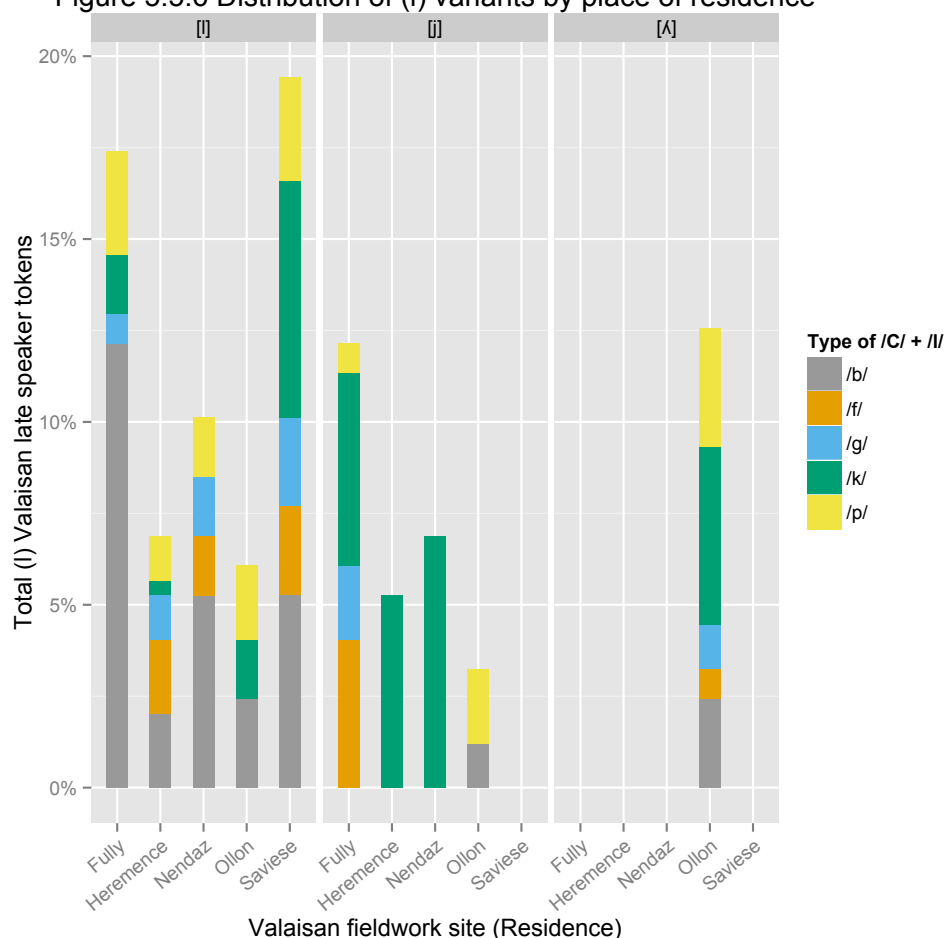
Turning next to the Valaisan late-speaker data, and broadly the dialectal divisions West and East of the Morge are maintained amongst these speakers too (*cf.* Table 5.5.3).

Table 5.5.3 Breakdown of variants by Valaisan late speakers

	/kl/	/gl/	/pl/	/bl/	/fl/
(l)-5: [l]	31.25% (25)	65.22% (15)	63.41% (26)	88.16% (67)	55.56% (15)
(l)-2: [ʎ]	15.00% (12)	13.04% (3)	19.51% (8)	7.89% (6)	7.41% (2)
(l)-1: [j]	53.75% (43)	21.74% (5)	17.07% (7)	3.95% (3)	37.04% (10)

In spite of this, we might note that the late speaker data from sites such as Hérémence and Fully also show a move away from [ʎ] and towards [j] (again [ʎ] was expected in these communities given the historical data presented in Chapter 2). Those participants (one male, one female) sampled in Ollon (West of the Morge) are

the only speakers amongst the native or late samples in the entire study to produce tokens of the palatal lateral [ʎ]. Lastly, we can also add that, for sites such as Fully, Hérémence, Nendaz and Ollon, where /l/-palatalisation is expected, there are also a large percentage of tokens for these sites in the /kl, gl/ sets that remain [l], rather than undergoing palatalisation.

Considering next the Valaisan new speakers, as four new speakers were sampled from different fieldwork sites in Valais, we can meaningfully compare place of residence as a factor against the sorts of variants that were elicited (see Figure 5.5.7 below).

Figure 5.5.7 Distribution of (l) variants by place of residence
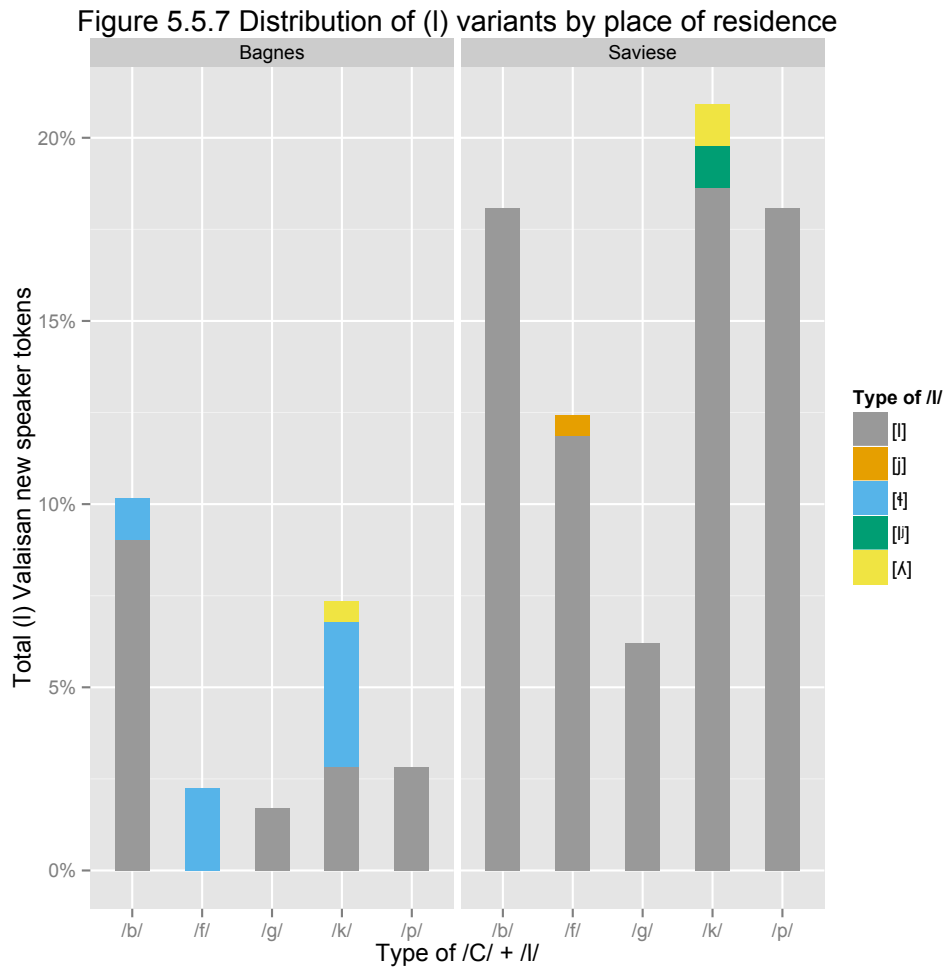
As the Figure shows, new speakers were sampled from both the *Val de Bagnes* and Savièse, and the data reveal two noteworthy points. First, while Savièse has been shown in Figures 5.5.4 and 5.5.5 amongst the native speakers and late speakers to be a site where there is categorically no /l/-palatalisation (a change that was noted in the literature to have been underway in studies emerging in the 1930s: see Chapter 2), we find here a number of palatalised tokens in the new speaker data. Conversely, in the Bagnard data, the new speaker participants produce [l], [ɫ] and [ʎ] as variants of (l), whereas we saw above that the native speakers only produced the unpalatalised laterals. We can see then that the native speakers in the sample do not appear to stick to localised norms; we also found this to be the case for the Lyonnais data. At this

point, it may be fruitful to compare these data on an individual-speaker level, to ascertain who exactly is producing these forms (*cf.* Table 5.5.8 below).

Figure 5.5.8 Distribution of (l) variants by place of residence
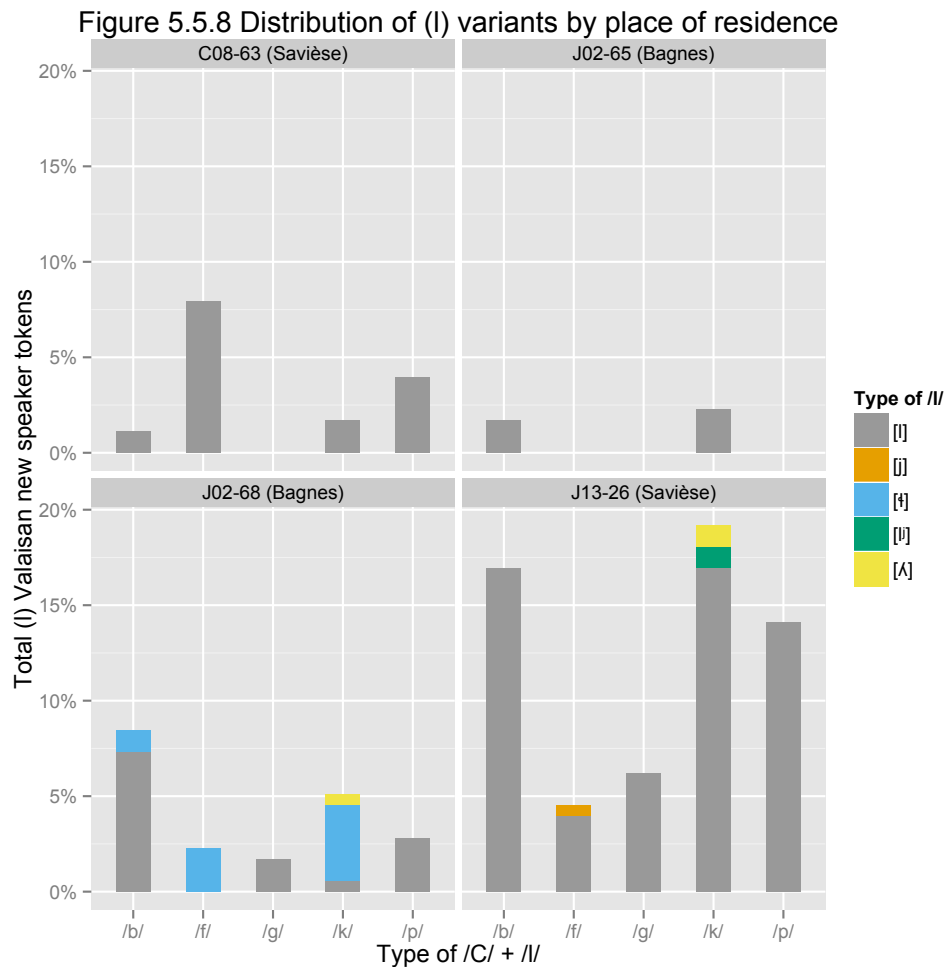
As we can see from Figure 5.5.8, an interesting pattern emerges in that, in both Bagnes and Savièse, just one of the two speakers sampled for these sites produces palatalised forms (J02-68 and J13-26), whereas the other two do not. This suggests that, within the same speech communities, new speakers diverge from each other linguistically for (l). If these linguistic features can be mapped according to the AEI index outlined in Chapter 4, linking the participation of these speakers to a wider Arpitan movement, then that might suggest some social significance for the linguistic divergence from the traditional forms that we find here.

In summary, then, a number of interesting findings have been observed when examining place of residence as a factor constraining the variability of (l). First, we observed in the Lyonnais sites that, broadly, amongst the native speakers and late speakers, /l/-palatalisation to [j] is maintained in the sites explored. However, we have also seen that, in peripheral *communes,* such as Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise, there is a much lower rate of /l/-palatalisation in the velar + lateral clusters, and we suggested that convergence with SF forms might be a cause. However, caution should also be taken here (and throughout) when consider place of residence as a variable, given that unequal numbers of participants were sampled in all fieldwork sites, and that it was not possible to interview all participants under the same conditions (as stressed in Chapter 4). Moreover, it was also interesting to see that for our late speaker sampled in the city of Lyon, /l/-palatalisation is near-categorical, compared with the late speaker sampled in les monts du Lyonnais. Amongst the new speakers, two interesting findings were observed. First, two of the three participants interviewed had shown signs of extending /l/-palatalisation from the /kl, gl/ sets to /bl/ too; this finding was not observed in the native-speaker/late-speaker data. Secondly, it was in just one of the participant's results where the variant [lʲ] was found, and this remains a major avenue of discussion in Chapter 8.

The Valaisan data revealed a remarkably diverse set of variants for /l/: while some of the forms were attested in the literature, [ɬ] was a surprising finding. Further, in the commune of Hérémence for example, the data appear to show that speakers have moved away from [ʎ] and towards [j] as a palatalised variant of /l/; this was observed in both the native-speaker/late-speaker data. Moreover, [ʎ] as a variant of /l/ was only recorded in one site under investigation. This is most interesting, as Stich argues [ʎ] to be the 'prononciation majoritaire' (1998: 78) for /l/-palatalisation, which

is used as justification for the selection of this form to represent the grapheme <ll> in ORB; our data appear to suggest that it is in fact a pronunciation *minoritaire*. Lastly, we observed in the Valaisan new-speaker data a pattern whereby two participants from Bagnes and Savièse showed signs of /l/-palatalisation, whereas the other two speakers in the category did not. This was a surprising finding in light of the fact that palatalised forms are not attested in either of these *communes*. This leads us to ask why palatalisation has been observed in the speech of both of these new speakers. We return to this discussion in Chapter 8.

5.6   Distribution of variants by speech style

We observed in the previous section that a number of cases of /l/-palatalisation were not patterning as we might have expected: we found for instance that a large number of tokens in the velar + lateral sets were not undergoing palatalisation in les monts du Lyonnais. Might it be the case that this is a stylistic effect? The discussion turns next to style as a factor in variant selection. To briefly summarise from Chapter 4, three speech styles are under analysis in the present study, covering a spectrum of formal and informal speech. Interviews undertaken with both L1 and L2 speakers (*i.e.* group interviews) were designed to elicit the casual/informal speech, whereas the one-to-one interviews allowed for the collection of a more formal speech style through structured elicitation tasks, of which there were two: wordlist translation, and a reading exercise. As with previous sections, we begin this section with a snapshot of the data as a whole covering all speech styles explored in the study.

Fig. 5.6.4 Distribution of (l) variants by speaker-type, speech style
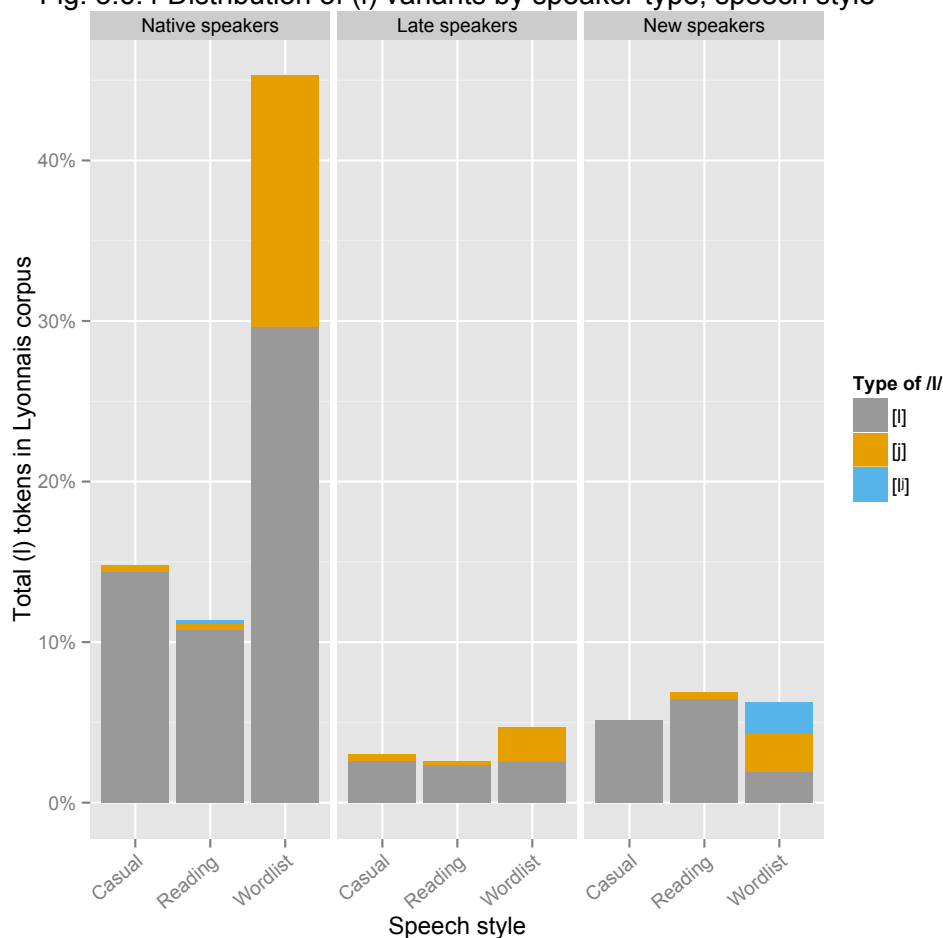
For the Lyonnais sample, when we compare speech style against different speaker types in Figure 5.6.4 we find that /l/-palatalisation is much more likely to take place in a more scripted speech style than in casual speech (*cf.* Tables 5.6.1-2, below).

Table 5.6.1 Lyonnais Native speaker /l/-palatalisation frequencies		
	/kl/	*/gl/*
Wordlist		
[j]	59.42% (41)	57.14% (32)
[l]	40.58% (28)	42.86% (24)
Casual		
[j]	5.56% (1)	0.00%
[l]	94.44% (17)	100.00% (7)
Reading (D)		
[l]	100.00% (1)	0.00%
Reading (ORB)		
[j]	50.00% (1)	0.00%
[l]	50.00% (1)	0.00%

This pattern is clearest amongst the new speakers, who exhibit zero palatalisation in casual speech. What is perhaps more interesting, however, is that the new speakers extend palatalisation to the /bl/ set (as we have previously said) in the reading exercise, but only for the ORB text. This can be contrasted with the native speaker and late-speaker data where this isn't the case, and, moreover, does suggest a link between an orthographical norm and the production of the palatalised lateral.

Table 5.6.2 Lyonnais New speaker /l/-palatalisation frequencies			
	/kl/	/gl/	/bl/
Wordlist			
[j]	35.71% (5)	66.67% (4)	60.00% (3)
[l]	21.43% (3)	16.67% (1)	40.00% (2)
[lʲ]	42.86% (6)	16.67% (1)	40.00% (2)
Casual			
[l]	100.00% (1)	100.00% (3)	100.00% (10)
Reading (D)			
[l]	0.00%	100.00% (1)	100.00% (9)
Reading (ORB)			
[j]	50.00% (1)	0.00%	14.29% (1)
[l]	50.00% (1)	0.00%	85.71% (6)

It is also interesting to note that, when new speakers are grouped together with native speakers (*i.e.* casual speech in group interviews), their tendency to palatalise drops. We return to this point in Chapter 8.

Owing to the fragmentary nature of the Valaisan data, they cannot be reliably compared against the Lyonnais findings. Therefore, below, we highlight some of the broader patterns that emerge in relation to (l) and style.

Fig. 5.6.6 Valaisan speakers: place of residence and Casual style
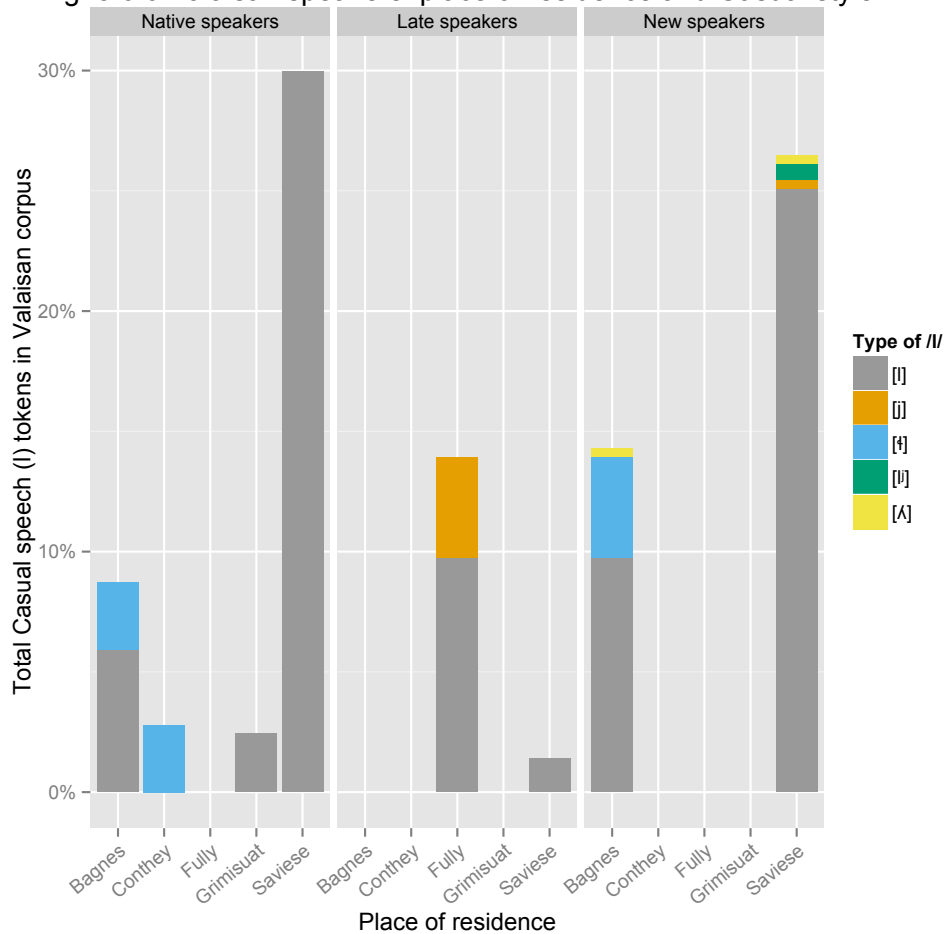
First of all, we have already said that East of the Morges, in Savièse and Grimisuat, we find zero palatalisation amongst the native speakers and late speakers; this contrasts with the new-speaker data for Savièse, where we have found palatalised variants of /l/. Further, to the West of the Morges, in Bagnes and Conthey, we have found lateral fricatives among the native speakers and late speakers; the new-speaker data however also exhibit [ʎ]. However, do we find a similar stylistic effect to that observed in the Lyonnais area? An examination of Figure 5.6.7, below, shows that, in the more formal speech style, we actually find more non-palatalised forms among those native and late speakers, West of the Morges, as well as fewer instances of /l/-palatalisation amongst the new speakers. Therefore, we find the converse pattern in the Valaisan data than we first saw in the Lyonnais data. However, we do need to

recall that our Valaisan data are fragmentary, so these observations must be weighed with care.

Fig. 5.6.7 Valaisan speakers: place of residence and Wordlist style
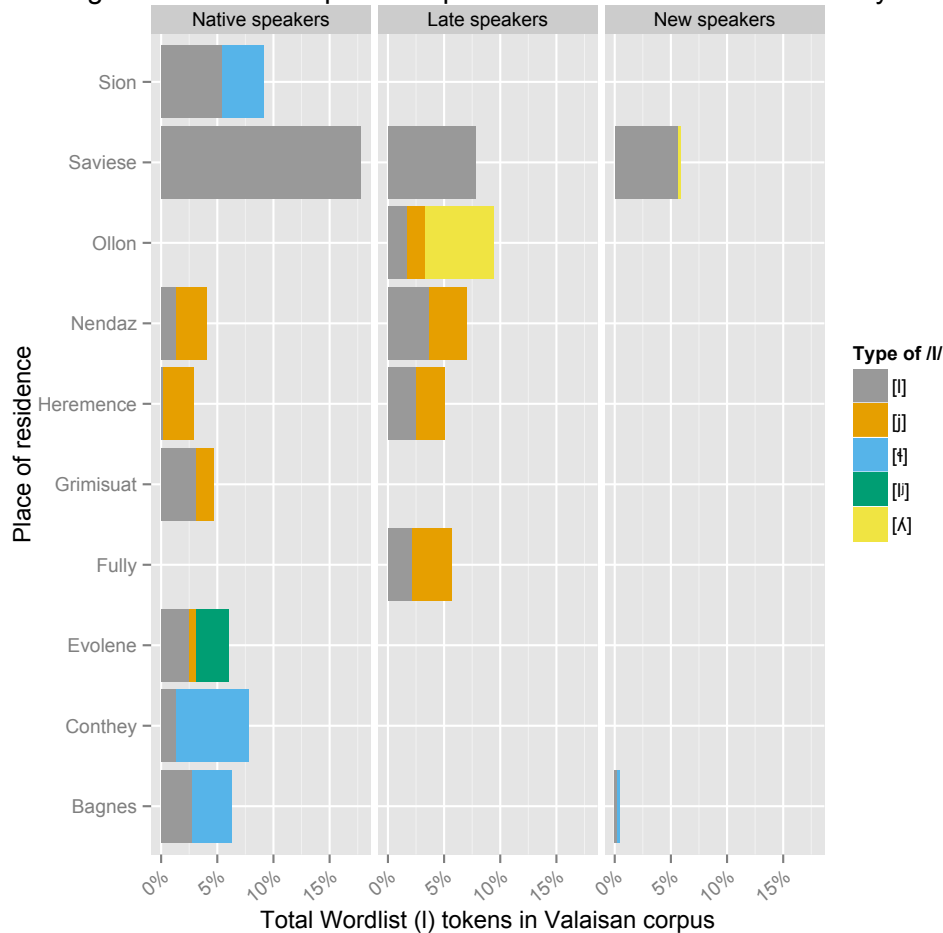
In summary then, we have seen in the Lyonnais data that, as the speech style becomes more monitored, so too is there an increased rate of /l/-palatalisation and a more diverse range of palatalised variants for (l). As the speech style becomes more casual, we have the converse effect in that the frequency to which /l/ is palatalised is reduced; the new speakers in particular evidenced zero palatalised tokens in casual speech. However, we observed the converse pattern in the Valaisan data, where, instead, /l/-palatalisation is more frequently found in casual speech. Interestingly, we also found this to be the case in the new-speaker data, which again can be contrasted with the Lyonnais new-speaker sample, where we found A18-23 to produce

palatalised laterals in a monitored speech style, and lateral approximants in a casual-speech style, when other speakers were present. An examination of the Valaisan new speaker data in Figure 5.6.8 (below) shows palatalised segments emerge for J02-68 and J13-26 in both casual *and* wordlist styles:

Fig. 5.6.8 Valaisan new speakers: speech style
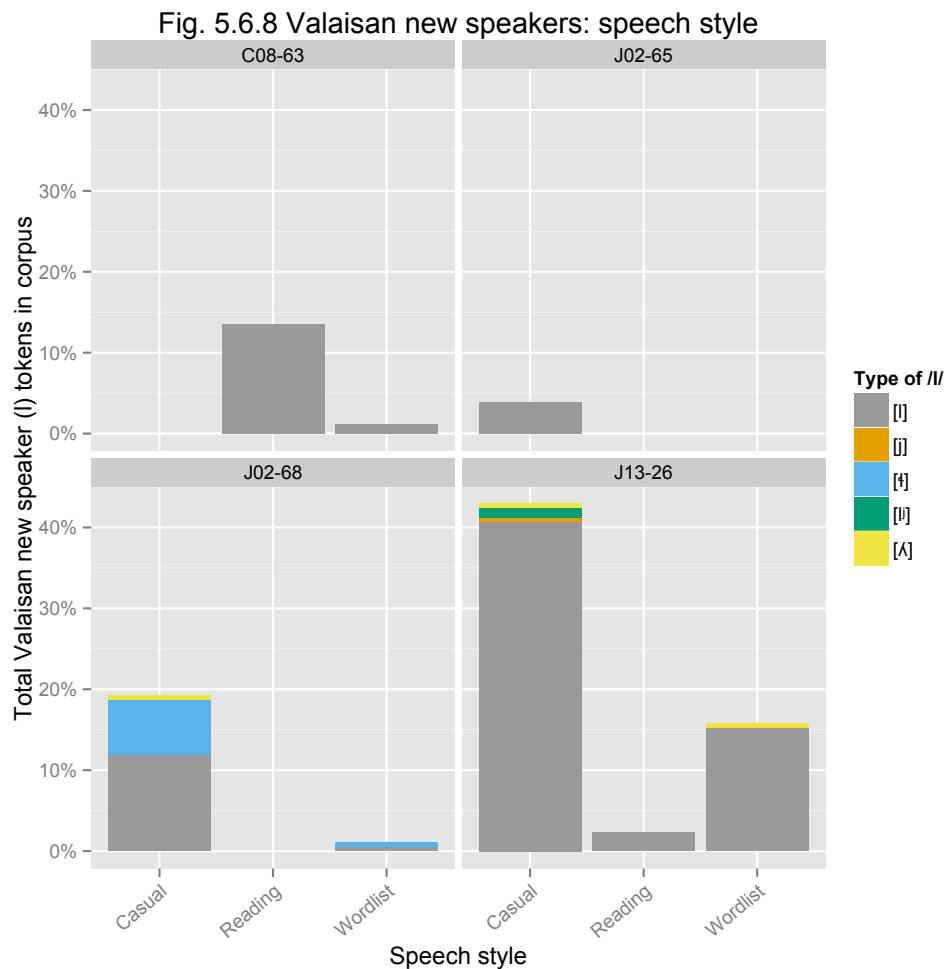
What is most interesting about this observation is that these palatalised tokens were elicited from both speakers in the same interview. In other words, when new speakers come together, our data suggest that these non-local forms emerge. Conversely, in the Lyonnais data, A18-23 was the only new speaker interviewed with other speaker types. Why these new speakers should palatalise /l/ more frequently in casual speech by comparison with those new speakers sampled in Lyonnais is at this point unclear, and will remain a discussion point for Chapter 8.

In summary, our data reveal that casual speech appears to be a determinant in variant selection for (l) in Lyon and in Valais. Broadly, native and late speakers produce a greater frequency of palatalised forms in scripted speech by comparison with unscripted casual speech. This may indicate that some convergence with SF is in progress, given that we have observed /l/-palatalisation to be categorical according to atlas data. We further observed in the new-speaker data that, while in Lyon the new speakers did not produce the Arpitan-like palatalised laterals, in Valais they did, and an effect relating to style has been observed here too.

5.7 Distribution of sex

We have observed so far that there is certainly variation in the realisation of (l) between our different speaker categories. However, we have not yet looked at sex as a possible factor driving variant selection within these categories. The discussion continues here with the patterning of findings according to sex. We begin first with an examination of Lyonnais data (see Figure 5.7.1, below).

Figure 5.7.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (l) variants by sex
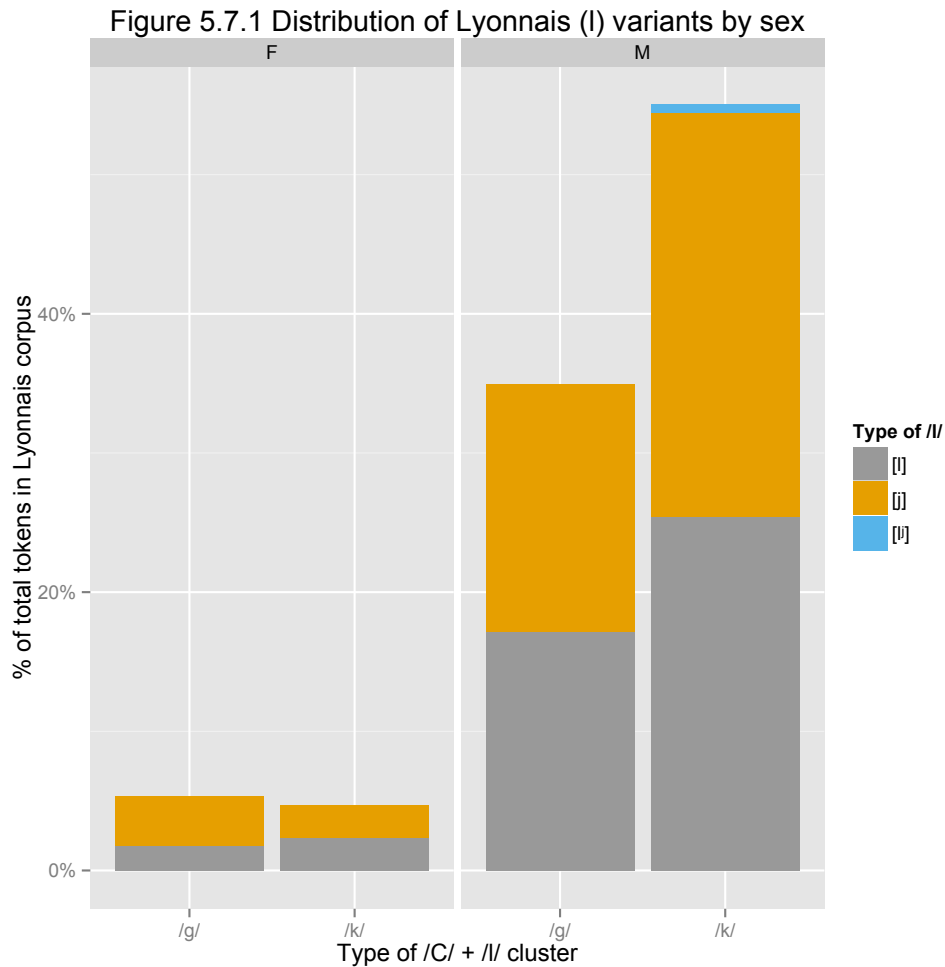
As can see seen from Figure 5.7.1, there are far fewer tokens elicited from females than males in the Lyonnais corpus, where females were only sampled in the native-speaker category (see Appendix I). Nonetheless, it is clear to see that there is no obvious interaction between (l) and sex: males and females both pattern as expected (*i.e.* palatalisation to [j] only takes place in the velar sets, but variably so, as [l] tokens are present too). New speakers are excluded from this analysis as there were no female new speakers sampled in Lyon.

Turning to the Valaisan data, as we outlined in Chapter 4, across the fieldwork sites in Valais very few female native and late participants were sampled, and, further, even fewer female participants took part in both a group interview and the structured elicitation tasks. Moreover, the greatest concentration of females were sampled in

Savièse: a fieldwork site where we have seen palatalisation does not take place amongst the native or late speakers. Therefore, a meaningful comparison of the data with sex as a factor cannot be made. Further, we have already compared the new-speaker data for this site, where just one male and female participant was sampled, and we have already seen that this female participant stuck to local norms, in contrast to J13-26, who has been found to produce palatalised forms. Owing to the fact that no females in Savièse across all three speaker categories were found to be producing palatalised forms, we have determined that speaker profile is a more reliable predictor for variant selection than sex.

5.8   Summary of findings

In this section we briefly summarise the findings that have emerged from Chapter 5. Recall that our principal interests here relate to the direction in which our sample of speakers are moving for (l): do they opt for traditional Francoprovençal forms, or do they do something different?

Having identified the linguistic-internal constraints on (l) in §5.2, we turned our attention to the first of our extra-linguistic factors: fieldwork area. Beginning first with the Lyonnais area, the evidence that has come from the ALLy suggested that our speakers should only palatalise /l/ in the velar + lateral sets, where [j] is expected. However, to our surprise we found that, in our data, speakers appeared to extend palatalisation to labial clusters too, and, moreover, that in addition to [j], [lʲ] also emerged as a possible variant of (l). Neither of these findings were expected given our overview of the variable in Chapter 2. In §5.4, we then turned our attention to the

speakers themselves, and what variants they were producing. Concerning the Lyonnais data, first, we found that the native speakers and late speakers were producing the anticipated [j] form in the velar + lateral sets. However, we also noted a significant number of [l] tokens in the velar sets too (in other words, not all velar + lateral clusters were undergoing palatalisation). Secondly, we found that [lʲ] appeared to be exclusively a new speaker variant, and moreover, it was the new speakers who were extending palatalisation to the labial + lateral sets. In addition, new speakers were also producing [l] in the velar clusters, like the native speakers. Having also identified in Chapter 2 that highly localised variation is a hallmark of Francoprovençal, we further examined the data according to specific fieldwork sites in §5.5. We found this to be less helpful for our analysis, given that, for all sites explored, [j] was the only anticipated variant when palatalisation takes place in the velar sets. However, in the preceding section we also noted that a significant number of [l] tokens were also present in the velar + lateral sets. In seeking an explanation for this, our analysis in §5.5 did reveal that /l/-palatalisation in the velar sets was less likely in the Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise site than any other area explored in Lyon. We suggested that this might be due to its proximity to northern French varieties, where /l/-palatalisation is not a feature. Concerning the late speakers, although only two participants were sampled, we noted it of interest that the late speaker from the city of Lyon palatalised /l/ consistently, whereas the late speaker from Mornant produced no [j] tokens at all. As for the new-speaker data, as all three participants were sampled in Lyon, we instead examined each speaker's language use. We found that [lʲ] was only to be found in the speech of participant A18-23, as were all the palatalised /bl/ clusters. While participant S07-24 was also found to produce a handful of palatalised tokens in the labial + lateral sets, we noted that the other new speaker

(D20-25) showed no evidence of the palatalised lateral nor did he exhibit palatalisation to [j] in the labial sets. That within the new-speaker category we were finding markedly different linguistic forms is clearly of relevance to the study. We noted above that a large number of [l] tokens were found in velar + lateral sets, where we ordinarily would have expected [j]. To illuminate further on this variation, we turned to speech style as a possible factor. Although the token numbers remained much smaller in the casual-speech/reading-passage styles, we found in the Lyonnais data that /l/-palatalisation occurred much more frequently in the wordlist style than the casual-speech style, and there were very few tokens at all in the reading style. Moreover, the new speakers specifically were found to not produce any palatalised tokens at all in the casual-speech style, but palatalised much more often in the one-to-one wordlist task. Broadly, we suggested that the more monitored the style, the more likely we were to find palatalised segments. Lastly, we also looked at sex as a possible factor in explaining the variability of (l). However, we noted no link between sex and language use in the Lyonnais data: both males and females produced [j] in the velar + lateral sets.

Concerning the Valaisan data, we expected a wider range of possible variants than in Lyon, given our overview in Chapter 2, and we also expected palatalisation to occur in all five obstruent + lateral clusters. This is indeed what we found. What was not expected however was the emergence of [ɫ] as a possible variant. Further, we also found that there was a discrepancy within the velar sets in that in certain sites where /kl/ underwent palatalisation but not /gl/: we found this to be unusual given that voicing is not a constraint on /l/-palatalisation. Interestingly, we identified this in the new-speaker data but not the native or late-speaker data. Regarding residence as a factor, we found examining the Valaisan data in this way to be problematic, as very

often only one or two participants were sampled for the nine sites explored. However, we did note some interesting phenomena. First, concerning the native speakers, we noted that, of the sites explored, Savièse was the only *commune* where /l/-palatalisation did not take place in either the native or late-speaker categories, and this was found to be in line with the historical evidence (see Appendix VI). However, when we turned to the new-speaker data we found that some palatalised segments were recorded: both the palatal lateral approximant and the palatalised lateral. Broadly then, the new speakers in both Lyon and Valais were found to be producing different forms to the native speakers in Valais too. The Hérémence data were also found to be of interest: while the literature review for this region showed that [ʎ] was to be expected, we noted no signs of this variant amongst our native speakers, who instead produced tokens of [j] only. The Bagne data too turned out to differ from what we had anticipated, for palatalised lateral tokens were also recorded here amongst the new speakers, but not the native speakers. Regarding style, unlike in the Lyonnais data, we found in the Valaisan new speaker data that palatalised tokens occurred very often too in the casual-speech style. As for sex, we noted that a meaningful comparison of the data would be difficult to achieve, given the fragmentary nature of the Valaisan data.

In general, then, our findings for (l) appear to suggest that native speakers and late speakers do produce traditional variants when prompted to do so. However, in a more unmonitored speech style, there is variation. Further, we have noted it significant that the new speakers are producing palatalised segments that do not map onto their fieldwork sites. The origin of these variants are therefore of clear interest to the present study. We turn next to an assessment of our second linguistic variable, which relates to the development of Latin tonic free A.

Chapter 6. Phonological variable (a):

Development of Latin tonic free A

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 outlines the findings for the second phonological variable in the study, which will be called (a), and which relates to the development of Latin tonic free A in Francoprovençal.

To briefly revisit (a) from Chapter 2, recall that Latin tonic free A in Francoprovençal has remained [a] in stressed syllables. We can compare this with SF, where Latin A is raised instead to [e] in open syllables and [ɛ] in closed syllables (see Table 6.1.1, below).

Table 6.1.1 Double evolution in the development of (a): /a/ ➔ [a] (after the ALJA)			
Etymon	*Francoprovençal*	*Standard French*	*Gloss*
PRATUM	[ˈpʁa]	[ˈpʁe]	'field'
NASUM	[ˈna]	[ˈne]	'nose'
BLAD	[ˈbla]	[ˈble]	'wheat'
MATER	[ˈmaʁ]	[ˈmɛʁ]	'mother'
PATER	[ˈpaʁ]	[ˈpɛʁ]	'father'
FRATER	[ˈfʁaʁ]	[ˈfʁɛʁ]	'brother'

The examples in Table 6.1.1, which come from the ALJA, show that in Francoprovençal /a/ is retained as [a]. However, it must be stressed that there can be considerable variation in the realisation of /a/ phonetically, where, as we saw in

Chapter 2, vowel qualities ranging from [a] to [ɑ] are common. Further, we have also seen that, in a number of Francoprovençal varieties stretching from the Loire, and the Rhône into the Savoie region, later sound changes have taken place which have resulted synchronically in the backing and rounding of /a/. For example, in Chapter 2 we found that in les monts du Lyonnais there is variation in the realisation of /a/, where speakers commonly vary between [a] and [ɔ] or [o], as in (1) and (2), below:

(1) PRATUM > [ˈpʀe] (SF), [ˈpʀɔ] or [ˈpʀa] (Francoprovençal)

(2) NASUM > [ˈne] (SF), [ˈnɔ] or [ˈna] (Francoprovençal).

Further, we have also seen that a number of contextually conditioned variants exist for /a/ in Francoprovençal. When Latin tonic free A is preceded by a palatal consonant, it is raised to [ie], which is commonly monophthongised to [i] or [e] depending on the variety (see §2.6.2). By 'palatal consonant', we mean here those consonants that have resulted from Latin C + A palatalisation, which have given in SF the post-alveolar fricatives [ʃ] and [ʒ], but which in Francoprovençal have also resulted in interdental fricatives and affricates (for examples see Table 6.1.2, below).

Table 6.1.2 Double evolution in development of (a): /a/ → [ie], [i] (Tuaillon 1990: 674)			
Etymon	*Francoprovençal*	*Standard French*	*Gloss*
CANTARE	[θɑ̃ˈta]	[ʃɑ̃ˈte]	'sing'
MANDUCARE	[mɑ̃ˈði]	[mɑ̃ˈʒe]	'eat'
PORTAM	[ˈpɔʀta]	[pɔʀˈte]	'door'
CARRICARE	[tsɑʀˈdʑi]	[ʃaʀˈʒe]	'charge'

We can see from Table 6.1.2 that in the context Latin C + A we find contextually conditioned variants, where for the etymons MANDUCARE and CARRICARE, /a/ is raised to either [ie] or [i], whereas in the context of Latin T + A, /a/ remains [a].

As with (l), then, our speakers have a number of directions in which they can move for (a), and in this chapter we intend to examine whether or not speakers

produce traditional variants of /a/ so far outlined (*i.e.* [a], but also [ɑ], [ɔ], [o], and the conditioned variants [ie], [i], and [e]), or whether they produce instead for SF forms. This picture is further muddied by the form prescribed by the Arpitan ORB orthography, where (a) is represented orthographically as <â>, and for which the 'recommended' (Stich 1998: 79) or 'standard' (Stich *et al.* 2003: 181) pronunciation is [ɑ].

However, before a discussion of the speakers' linguistic usages can take place, we must first establish the variants from the present study. As we have just seen that the behaviour of (a) depends to a considerable degree on its phonetic environment, we begin our assessment of the data with linguistic-internal constraints.

6.2   Linguistic-internal constraints on (a) and distribution of variants

First, our assessment of the literature review presented in Chapter 2 for (a) has suggested that we can expect [a], [ɑ], [ɔ], [o] as variants of /a/ following a non-palatal consonant, and [ie], [i] or [e] following a palatal consonant. Secondly, as this variable is only concerned with stressed syllables, unstressed syllables have not been factored in for analysis here. Regarding linguistic-internal constraints, this section will therefore need to take account of two phonetic contexts: (i) the type of segment preceding /a/ in the syllable, and (ii) type of segment following /a/. Again, what we have gleaned so far from the literature review in Chapter 2 is that while much emphasis has been placed on the former, very little has been placed on the latter. An assessment of both factors will allow us to establish the distribution of variants for (a). However, first, we begin by outlining the variants observed in the data:

Table 6.2.1 Variants of Latin A variants for (a) in the corpus

Type of /a/	N=	% (of total)
(a)-7: [i]	14	1%
(a)-6: [e]	48	5%
(a)-5: [a]	385	37%
(a)-4: [ɐ]	163	16%
(a)-3: [ɑ]	70	7%
(a)-2: [ɔ]	310	30%
(a)-1: [o]	39	4%

As Table 6.2.1 reveals, that there are several possible variants of (a) present in the corpus. The variable has been ordered for the purpose of the present study from 7-1, ranging from high-front unrounded (a)-7: [i], to mid-back rounded (a)-1: [o]. The ordering of the variants reflects the positioning of the active articulators in the vocal tract, beginning with a high-front position, to low-front, low-back, and mid-back. In light of the observations presented in Table 6.2.1, some initial comments can be made.

First, regarding the low vowels, while both [a] and [ɑ] have been anticipated as possible phonetic variants of /a/ in our review of this variable, it is noteworthy that that the central near-open vowel [ɐ] is also present in the data. There therefore seems to be a wider range of possible variants for (a) than first suggested. Among the more common variants, we can see that [a] and [ɔ] are very frequently occurring, comprising 67% of the total number of tokens, and we have already seen that both rounded and unrounded variants are commonly attested for /a/. In addition, [ɑ] accounts for 7% of tokens here, but it is as yet unclear whether or not this variant can constitute an 'Arpitan form': as we have said, [ɑ] is the recommended pronunciation for Latin tonic free A in ORB. Second, there is an absence of the [ie] diphthong in the corpus, which was an expected variant based on the overview of (a) in §6.1. We have however said that speakers have tendency to monophthongise [ie], and this would

appear to be backed by the study's own data, where both [i] and [e] *are* present in the corpus, and which count for 6% of the tokens overall. These variants, as we have seen, should be contextually conditioned by a preceding palatal consonant; we assess this in Figure 6.2.1, below:

Figure 6.2.1 Distribution of (a) variants by initial segment
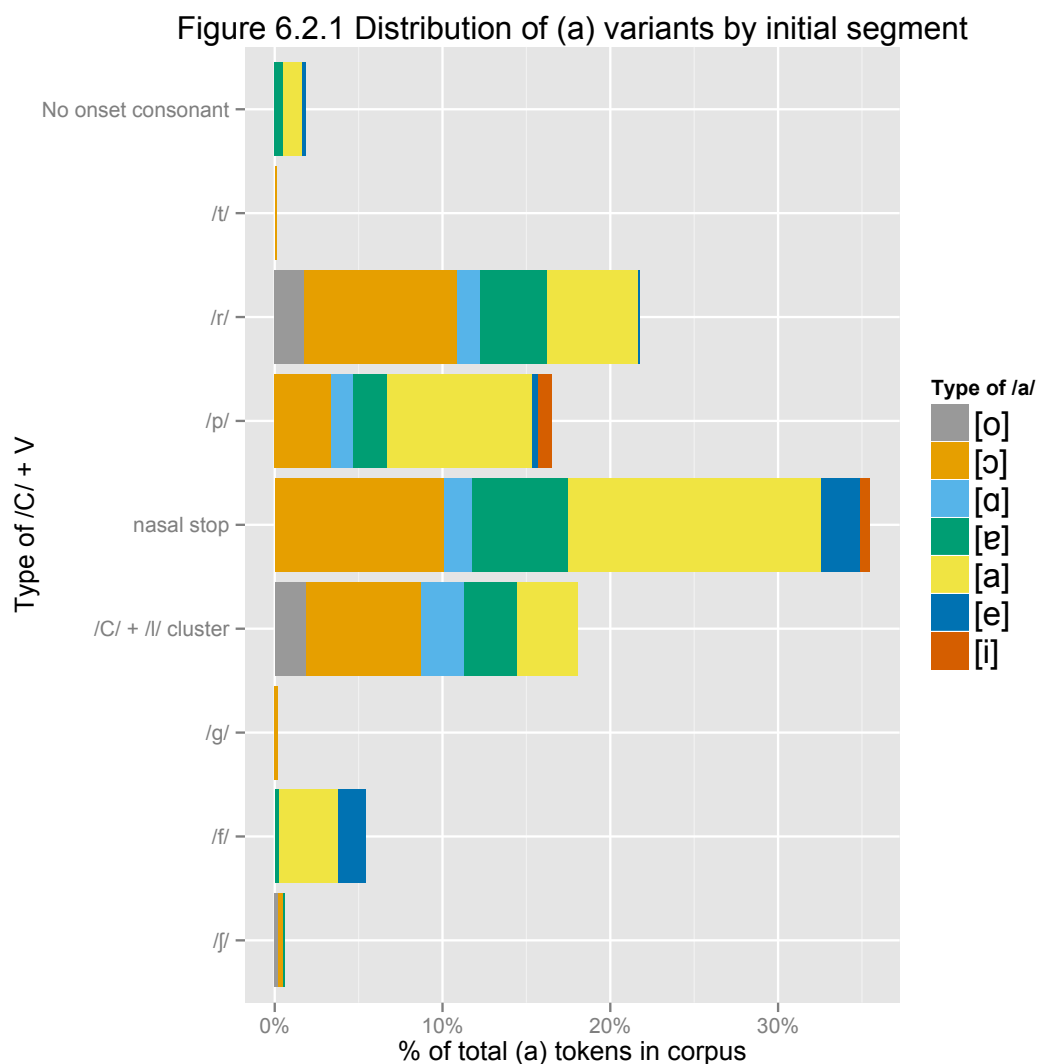
Figure 6.2.1 illustrates on the y-axis which segments precede (a) in the data. As we can see, it is interesting to note that neither [i] nor [e] occur before a post-alveolar fricative or affricate, as we expected from §6.1, but instead we find these variants before consonants such as /m/, /f/ and /p/ (*cf.* Table 6.2.2, below). This finding is discussed further in §6.4, below.

Table 6.2.2. Distribution of [i] and [e] variants in the corpus by initial /C/

	[e]	[i]
/f/	35.42%	0.00%
/m/	50.00%	42.86%
/p/	8.33%	57.14%
/ʀ/	2.08%	0.00%
∅	4.17%	0.00%

We have already noted in Chapters 2 that Latin tonic free A is a low frequency variable, and instances of Latin tonic free A following a palatal consonant were very rare in the corpus. As for other variants for /a/ in the corpus, Figure 6.2.1 illustrates quite clearly that the preceding syllable does not raise any other obvious patterns of distribution. For example, the variants [a], [ɐ], [ɑ] and [ɔ] all occur following fricatives, plosives and nasals in varying places of articulation. We turn next to the second linguistic-internal constraint: the type of segment following (a) (see Figure 6.2.2, below).

Figure 6.2.2 Distribution of (a) variants by following segment
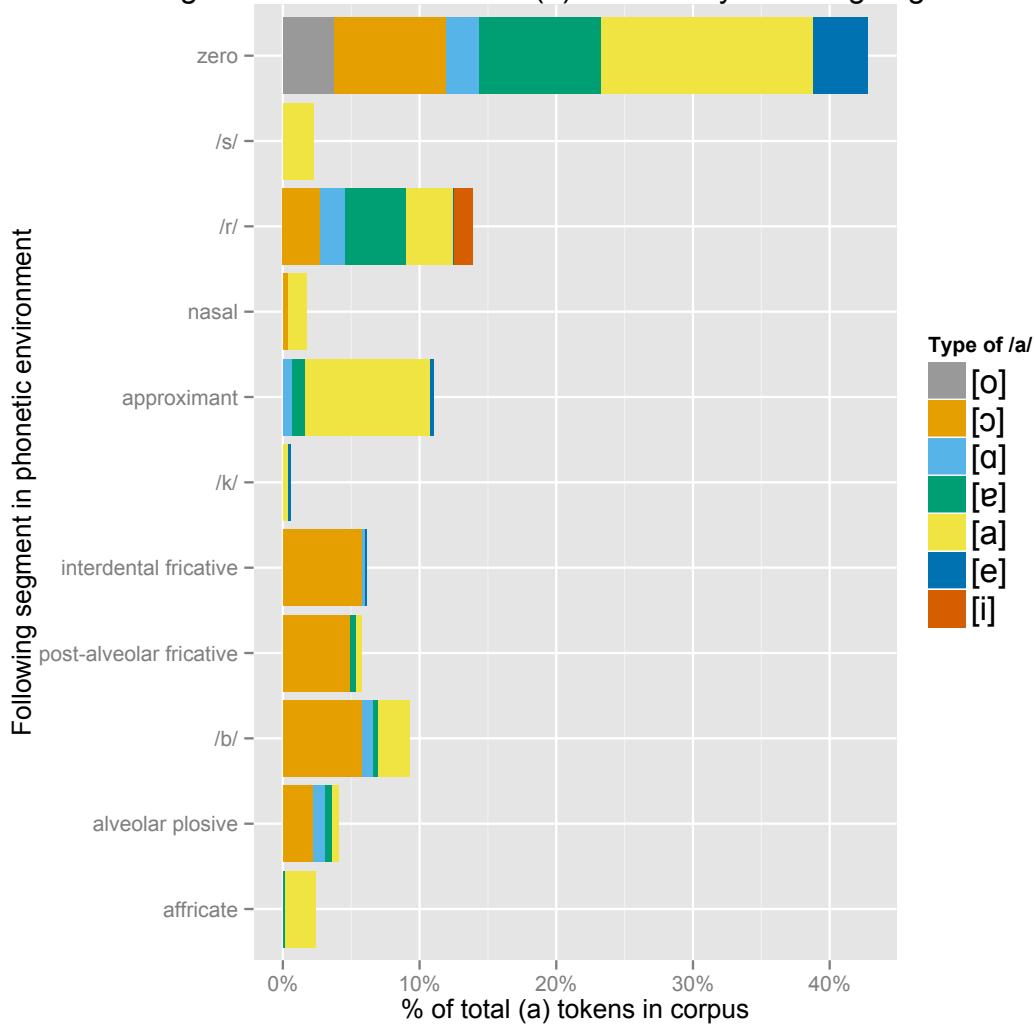
Figure 6.2.2 illustrates on the y-axis which segments follow (a) in the data. As we can see, there is no obvious patterning of variants according to specific segments that follow the vowel. In fact, given the data illustrated above, it is only possible to claim firmly that the only pattern arising from this factor is that most tokens for this variable occur word-finally.

To summarise what we have said so far, a broad range of variants have been observed for Latin tonic free A in the corpus. While these were all largely expected, given our review of the variable in §6.1, it was noteworthy that [ɐ] was also found to be present in the data. In addition, [ɑ] has too been observed in the corpus, though it is as yet unclear who is producing this form. Recall that we might expect this to be an

Arpitan variant, given our overview in §6.1. Having examined the first linguistic-internal constraint (segment preceding the vowel), we have reported a further two findings. First, the contextually conditioned allophony that we expected for [i] and [e] is not present here. While it was anticipated that these vowels should occur following a post-alveolar fricative or affricate (*cf.* §2.4.1), we instead find these vowels following labials. Second, no obvious distribution can be found between the remaining variants and the preceding segment. For example, there is no link between the segment preceding (a), and the distribution of rounded and unrounded vowels. We then assessed the impact of the following segment in the phonetic environment, where, again, we found no obvious distribution: the variability of (a) is not determined by the following segment. We have now established the variants in the study, and we have accounted for the linguistic-internal constraints. We turn next to a discussion of the data according to our extra-linguistic factors as outlined in Chapter 4.

6.3   Distribution of variants for the Lyonnais area

In Chapter 2, we outlined that a number of variants of Latin tonic free A are possible in les monts du Lyonnais. For example, according to the ALLy, to the West of the city of Lyon (where our fieldwork sites are found), the back rounded variants [ɔ] and [o] are much more common than the low front [a] (*cf.* for example ALLy maps 2 'pré'; 1072 'nez'; 706 'table' in Appendix V). Further, where a palatal consonant precedes /a/, in les monts du Lyonnais, the ALLy suggests that we find [i], as in map 296 'donner à manger'.

Figure 6.3.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants
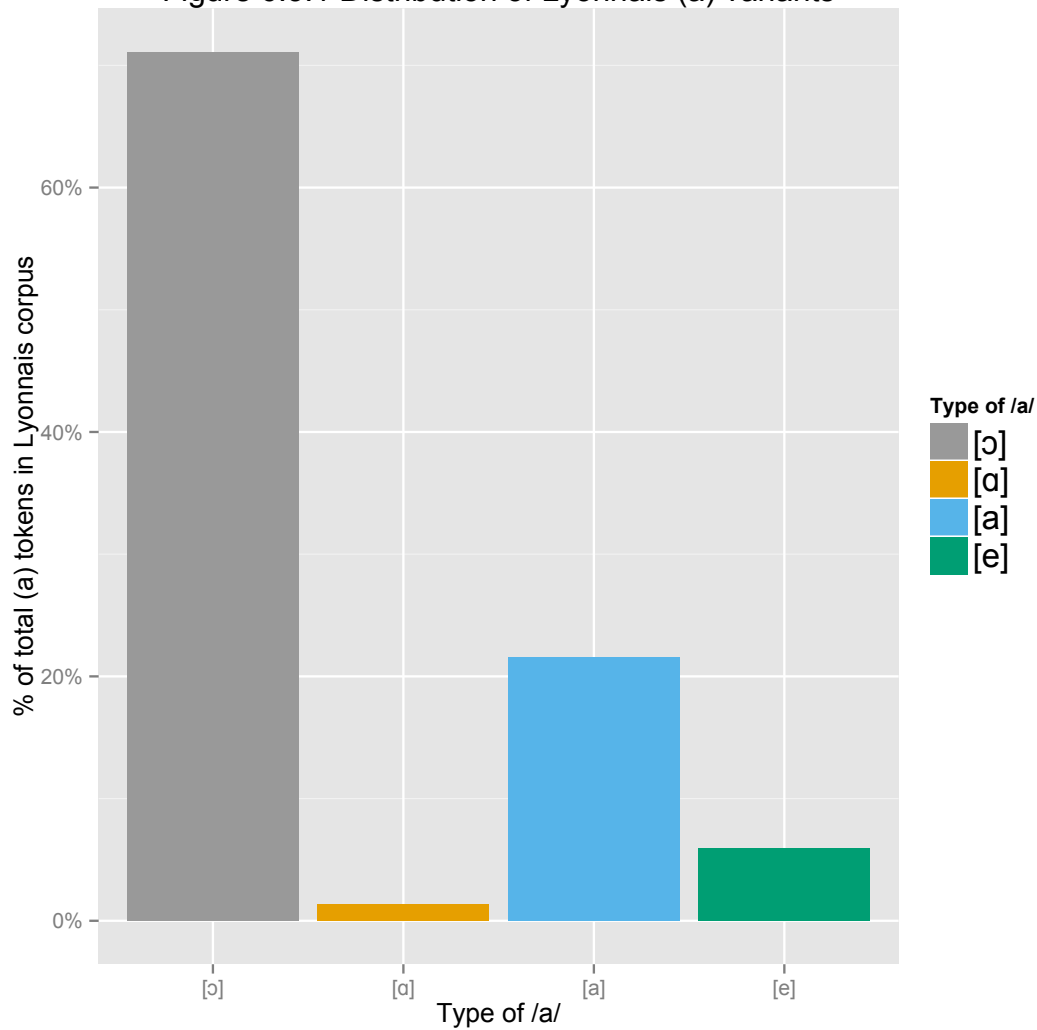
Table 6.3.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants

Variant	*N=*	*% (of total Lyonnais tokens)*
(a)-6: [e]	26	6%
(a)-5: [a]	94	22%
(a)-3: [ɑ]	6	1%
(a)-2: [ɔ]	310	71%

The distribution of Lyonnais variants reveal that only four of the seven possible variants that we outlined in §6.1 are recorded for Lyonnais sites: [ɔ], [ɑ], [a], and [e]. Beginning with [ɔ], a number of remarks can be made. First, [ɔ] accounts for 71% of the tokens recorded for (a). This finding is interesting, as we might describe [ɔ] as a near-categorical realisation of (a). However, 22% of the tokens in the

Lyonnais corpus also give [a] as a possible variant. While we have seen that the atlas data for these regions have largely evidenced only back rounded variants for (a) (see Appendix V for examples), we also highlighted in Chapter 2 that the backing and rounding of Latin A is not evident in all environments where it might have been expected (in other words this is an indication of lexical diffusion). Moreover, a further assessment of the Lyonnais data appears to suggest that, in a handful of lexical items, both [ɔ] and [a] are in fact possible, whereas in others there is no oscillation between the two (*cf.* (3) and (4), below).

(3) CLARUM > [ˈklɛʀ] (SF), [ˈkjɔʁ] or [ˈkjaʁ] (Lyonnais FP)

(4) CLASSICUM > [ˈɡla] (SF), [ˈɡjɔ] (Lyonnais FP)

Concerning [ɔ] and [a] then, this may indicate that other factors, such as style, might be influencing the variability of (a), and we explore these factors below.

Turning to the other variants for the Lyonnais area, [ɑ] makes up 1% of the tokens in the Lyonnais data. This finding is interesting for, as we saw in the literature review for (a) in Chapter 2, the backing of /a/ to [ɑ] is not a traditional feature of the Francoprovençal varieties spoken in les monts du Lyonnais. Therefore, we also need to ask below which speakers are producing this variant?

Lastly, [e] accounts for 6% of the Lyonnais tokens. We saw in §6.1 that Francoprovençal speakers very often monophthongise the contextually conditioned variant [ie] to [i] and [e]. However, it might also be the case that [e] is a SF realisation, given that in SF, Latin tonic free A can either be realised synchronically as [e] or [ɛ]. As we have just seen that no instances of [i] or [e] occur before a palatal in the corpus, this may be an indication that those [e] tokens that we have observed here represent a shift towards a SF norm: we explore this possibility below.

6.3.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants and speaker type

We now have some indication of the types of variants observed in the Lyonnais corpus: while [ɔ] and, to a lesser extent, [a] were anticipated variants for this region, [ɑ] and [e] were not: these are not attested in the literature for the Lyonnais region. We must now assess which speakers are producing which variants. Figure 6.3.1.1 and Table 6.3.1.1 below illustrate the distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants according to the three speaker categories outlined in Chapter 4.

Fig. 6.3.1.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants by speaker-type

Table 6.3.1.1 Distribution of (a) variants by Lyonnais speaker type
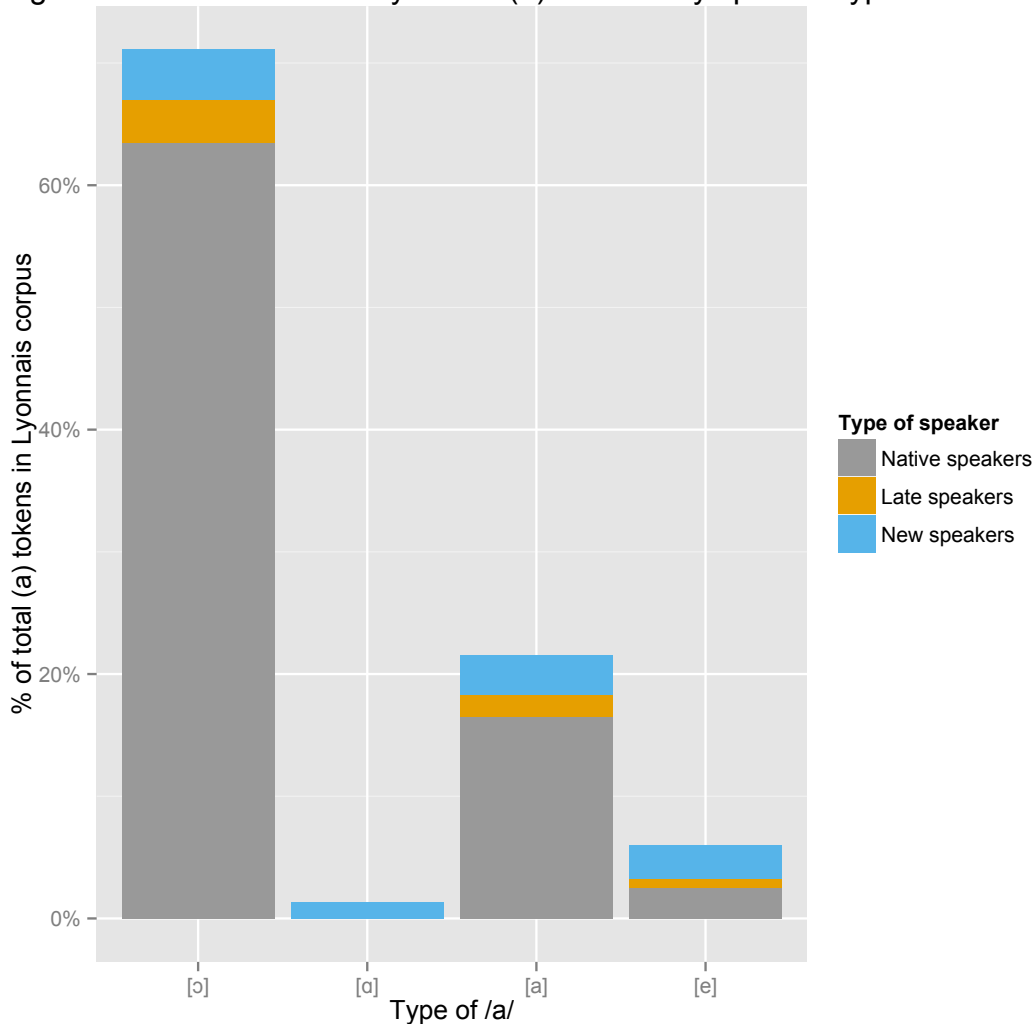
	Native	*Late*	*New*
(a)-1: [ɔ]	76.9%	57.7%	36.0%
(a)-2: [ɑ]	0%	0%	12.0%
(a)-3: [a]	20.0%	30.8%	28.0%
(a)-4: [e]	3.1%	11.5%	24.0%

Examining first the native-speaker data, Figure 6.3.1.1 and Table 6.3.1.1 reveal that these participants produced [ɔ] in 76.9% of the Lyonnais tokens. However, there seems to be variation in the realisation of Latin A too, as 20% of the (a) tokens show the variant [a]. The late speakers also exhibit a similar pattern of variability in that 57.7% of tokens exhibited [ɔ] and 30.8% show [a]. Further, in both native and late-speaker datasets, a significantly smaller number of [e] variants are also present, although they are more frequent in the late-speaker data. Interestingly, it is only in the Lyonnais new-speaker data where the low back unrounded vowel [ɑ] is found. This observation is significant, for we have seen in §6.1 that /ɑ/ is the 'recommended' (Stich 1998: 79) or 'standard' (Stich *et al*. 2003: 181) pronunciation for Latin tonic free A. That no other speakers other than new speakers have produced this form in the Lyonnais data is noteworthy. We should stress, however, that [ɑ] is the least frequent variant among the new speakers (12% of tokens), and there are greater numbers of tokens for both [ɔ] and [a] (36.0% and 28.0% respectively). Lastly, as with the native and late-speaker data, [e] is present too in the new-speaker data. As we have already ruled out the possibility of these [e] forms being contextually conditioned by a palatal segment (see §6.2 above), we will explore this variant in greater detail below.

To summarise what we have said so far, the Lyonnais data illustrated in Table 6.3.1.1 show that there is a clear preference for the back rounded variant [ɔ] across all three speaker types. As a dialectal feature for the Lyonnais region, this finding was to be expected from the native speakers, and, to a lesser extent, the late speakers,

following the literature review for this variable in Chapter 2. However, that the new speaker data also exhibit the use of [ɔ] for (a) (*i.e.* a traditional dialectal form for this region) as well as the [ɑ] variant (*i.e.* a non-local feature) is of some significance to the study, for it appears to suggest that both distinctively local and distinctively non-local features are present in their speech; a selection of examples from the new-speaker data are given in Table 6.3.1.2, below. It is pertinent to ask why the [ɑ] form is present in the Lyonnais new-speaker sample, and we return to this question later.

Table 6.3.1.2 Selection of lexical items from Lyonnais new-speaker data

Etymon > FR (gloss)	Form given	ORB
CLARUM > 'clair' ('clear')	[ˈklʲɑʁ]	cllâr
NASUM > 'nez' ('nose')	[ˈnɑ]	nâs
MATER > 'mère' ('mother')	[ˈmɔðə]	mâre
TABULAM > 'table' ('table')	[ˈtʁɔbla]	trâbla
MAGIS > 'mais' ('but')	[ˈma]	mâs

6.3.2   Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants and place of residence

We now have a better understanding of the distribution of (a) variants for the Lyonnais area, as well as some evidence for which speakers are producing which variants. Further, we have also seen that a number of unexpected variants of (a) are present in the data: namely [ɑ] and [e]. In this section, we ask how much of the variation that we have observed between the different speaker types of speakers is highly localised to specific fieldwork sites.

Fig. 6.3.2.1 Distribution of (a) by Native Lyonnais speakers
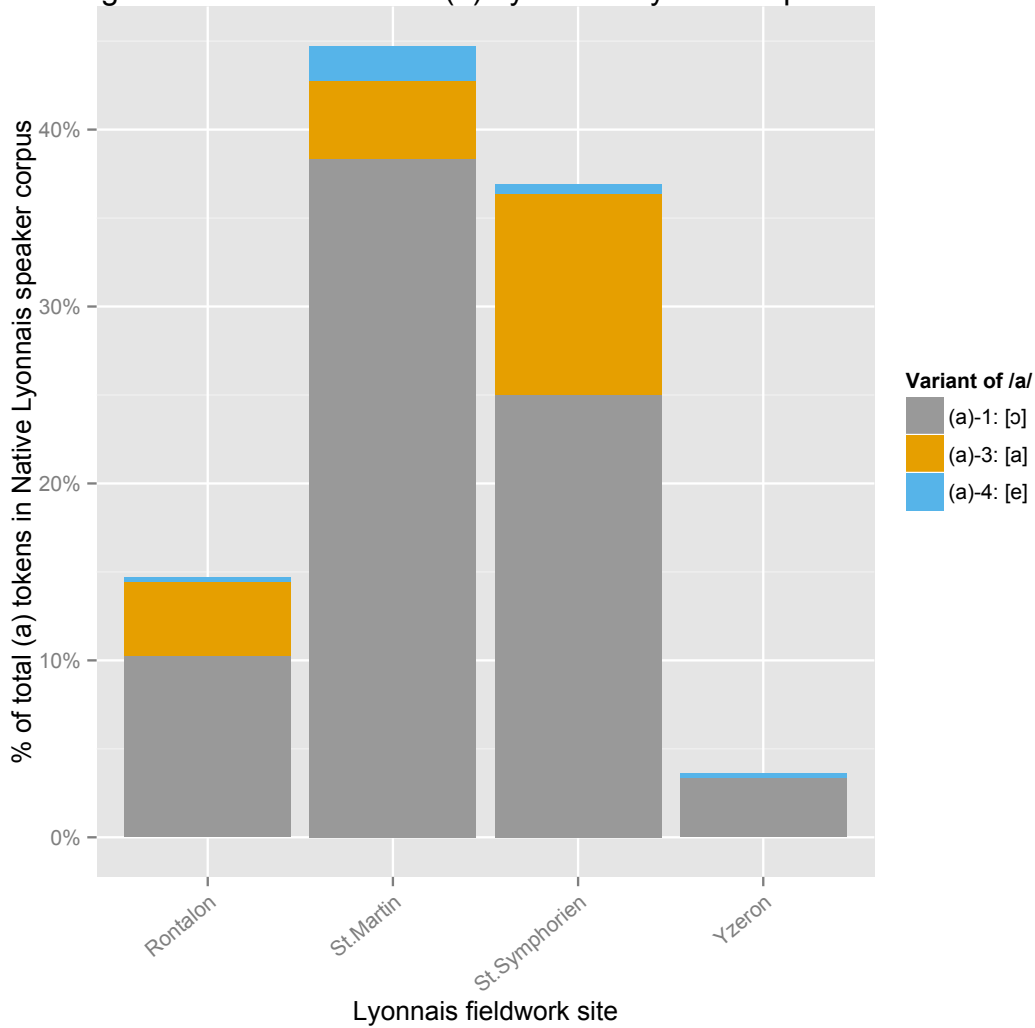
Table 6.3.2.1 Distribution of (a) variants by Native Lyonnais speakers, residence

	Rontalon	*St.Martin*	*St.Symphorien*	*Yzeron*
(a)-1: [ɔ]	69.8%	85.7%	67.7%	92.3%
(a)-3: [a]	28.3%	9.9%	30.8%	0.0%
(a)-4: [e]	1.9%	4.3%	1.5%	7.7%

Beginning first with the native speakers, Figure 6.3.2.1 illustrates the near-categoricity of [ɔ] in all fieldwork sites explored (excluding the Lyon site, where no native speakers were sampled). Looking specifically at the Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise data, it is noteworthy that there is a greater realisation of the [a] than in any other site in the Lyonnais fieldwork area. It is perhaps noteworthy that, among the fieldwork sites investigated, Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise is closest to the Loire

valley, where Francoprovençal borders a number of Occitan varieties that do not have [ɔ] as a variant of Latin tonic free A. Conversely, looking at the Yzeron data, which is roughly equidistant between Saint-Martin-en-Haut and Rontalon (see Chapter 4), there is near-categorical usage of the back-rounded vowel. However, as the data come from just one speaker who only contributed thirteen tokens to the Lyonnais corpus (nine of which were elicited from the lexical items 'père' > [ˈpɔðə] and 'frère' > [ˈfʁɔðə]), the lack of [a] here is likely to be the result of a lexical bias. Lastly, the variant [e] is evident in all fieldwork sites to a greater or lesser extent: the analysis has so far not revealed the context in which [e] is bring produced over other forms. In short then, amongst the Lyonnais native speakers, there is no obvious distribution of the (a) variants according to specific fieldwork site. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that the closer the site is located to the Occitan-speaking Loire, the higher the rate of [a].

The discussion turns next to the late speaker data (illustrated in Figure 6.3.2.2 and Table 6.3.2.2, below).

Fig. 6.3.2.2 Distribution of (a) by Late Lyonnais speakers
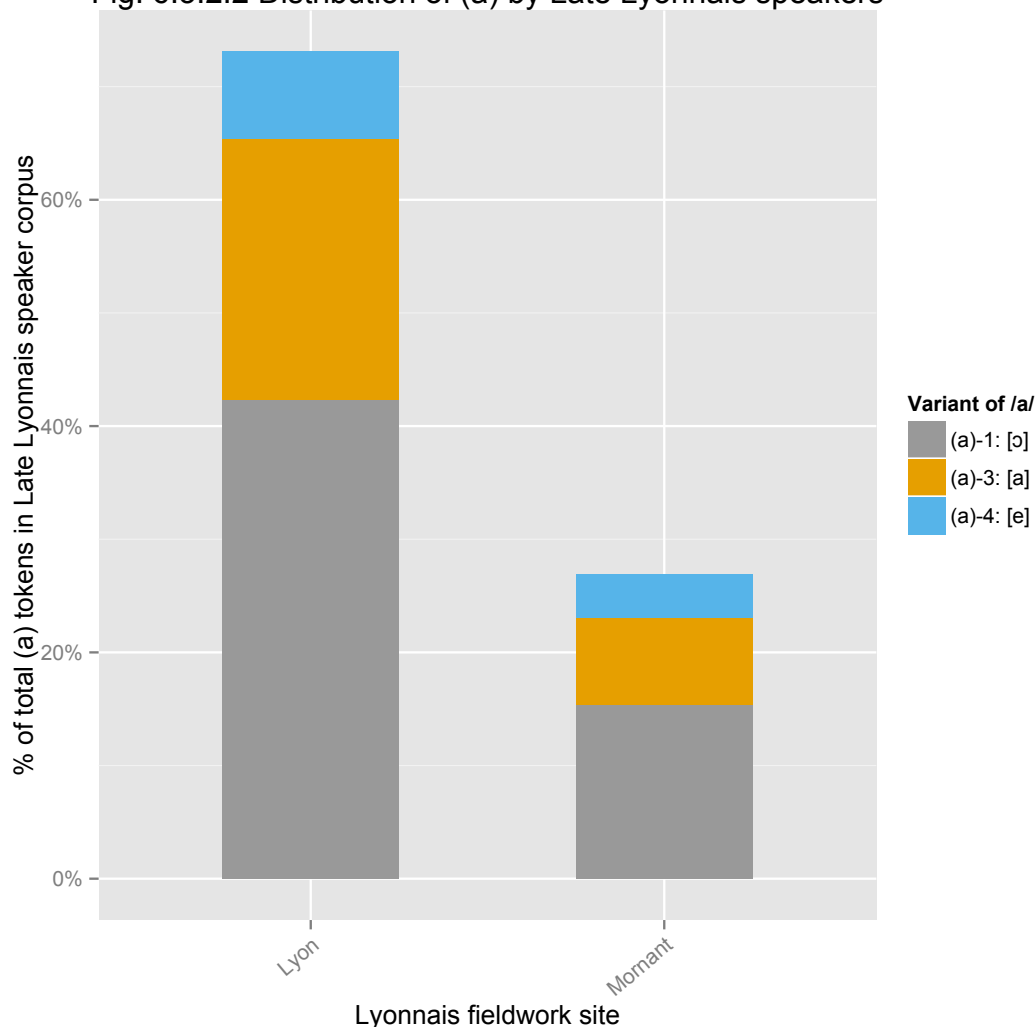
First, as there are only two late speakers in the Lyonnais sample, both of whom are male with very different socio-economic profiles (the Lyon resident being a retired university professor, and the Mornant resident being a factory worker), any conclusions derived from this speaker category alone must be taken with care.

Table 6.3.2.2 Distribution of (a) variants by Late Lyonnais speakers

	Lyon	*Mornant*
(a)-1: [ɔ]	57.9%	57.1%
(a)-3: [a]	31.6%	28.6%
(a)-4: [e]	10.5%	14.3%

In general, the above data illustrate a similar pattern to the native-speaker data depicted in Figure 6.3.2.1. There is a high realisation of rounded back vowels, albeit

with a comparably higher rate of [a] forms compared with the native speakers. Further, there are also a number [e] tokens present too. In all, there are just 26 recorded tokens for the late speaker sample, but despite the relative poverty of data, these speakers do appear to approximate to their reference group (the native speakers) in their realisation of (a), in that the local variant [ɔ] appears most often in the late-speaker data.

Figure 6.3.2.3 Distribution of (a) by New Lyonnais speakers
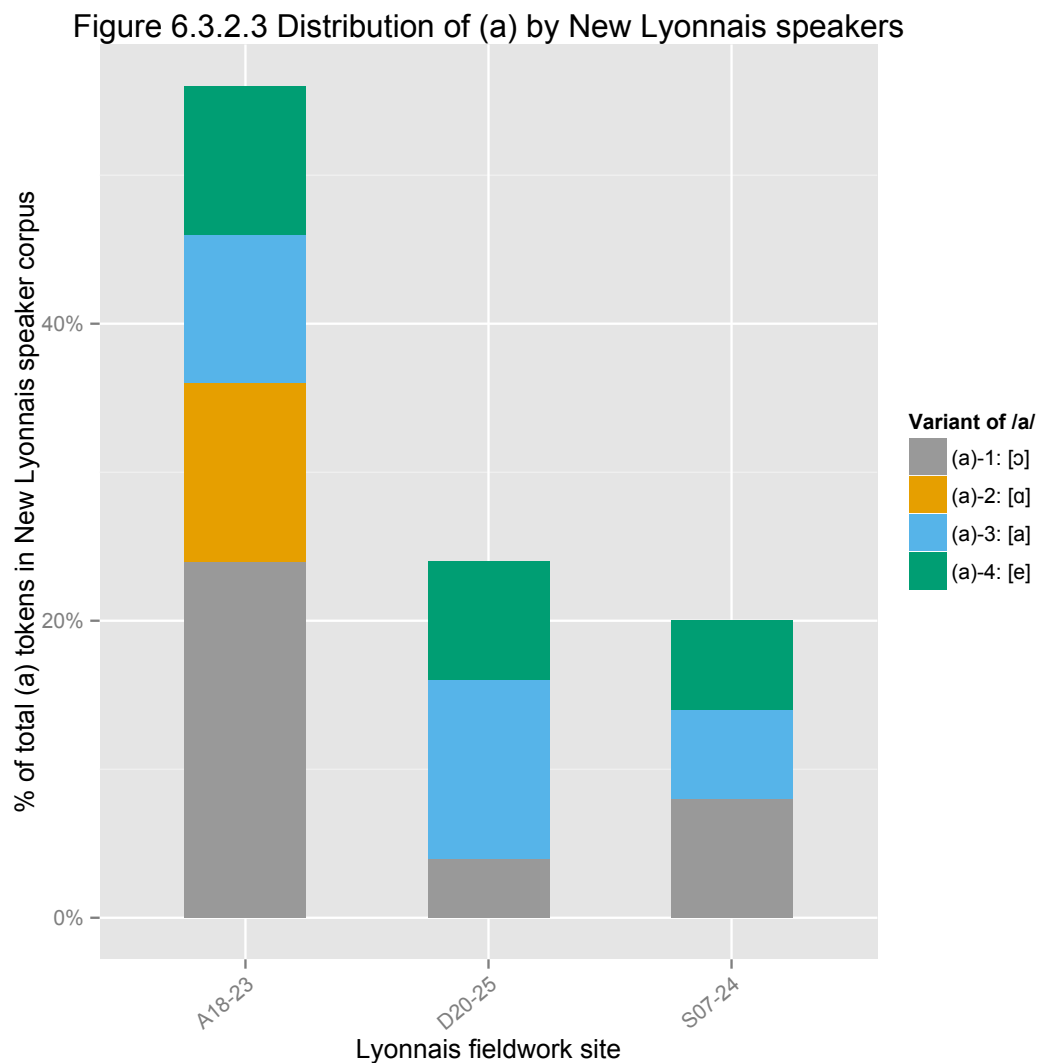
Turning to the new-speaker data, as with (l), we find that the picture is more multi-faceted, with a broader range of variants present in their speech. As the speakers categorised as 'new' show more diversity in their realisation of Latin A, and as all

three speakers were sampled in the city of Lyon, the data are plotted according to individual participants on the x-axis, rather than by residence.

Table 6.3.2.3 Distribution of (a) variants by New Lyonnais speakers

	A18-23	*D20-25*	*S07-24*
(a)-1: [ɔ]	42.9%	16.7%	40.0%
(a)-2: [ɑ]	21.4%	0.0%	0.0%
(a)-3: [a]	17.9%	50.0%	30.0%
(a)-4: [e]	17.9%	33.3%	30.0%

The above Figure and Table reveal a number of points. First, from among the new-speaker data, the [ɑ] variant is only present in the speech of participant A18-23, who produces more tokens of [ɑ] than [a] and [e] respectively, though, interestingly, not more than [ɔ]. Why this speaker should have acquired [ɑ] as a variant of (a) at all is clearly of interest to the study: A18-23 is native to the city of Lyon, and began acquiring Francoprovençal as a learner through evening classes provided by C12-01 (our Yzeron resident, with categorical-[ɔ] realisation). However, we have also identified A18-23 as a member of the Arpitan movement, and there is surely some significance to the finding that [ɑ] represents 21.4% of the tokens elicited for this participant. This will be a focus point for discussion in Chapter 8. Equally, the fact that new speakers D20-25 and S07-24 have *not* produced the same variant is also of interest, and, again, will need to be discussed further. It may, for example, be necessary to further distinguish within the new-speaker category between those participants who actively seek to subscribe to an Arpitan norm, and those who do not. Secondly, all three speakers have produced the variant [ɔ]. Again, the fact that this variant (which we have identified as a local Lyonnais feature) has been acquired by new speakers might suggest that this dialectal variant is somehow salient or important to learners. Lastly, as with the native speakers and late speakers, the fact that [e] is

also present in the speech of the new speakers is also worthy of further discussion. As language activists, we might, for example, have expected these speakers to distance themselves from forms associated with SF in the same way as those speakers of Breton and Corsican identified in Chapter 3 avoid SF forms; we return to this finding in Chapter 8.

6.3.3 Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants and sex

So far, we have seen that among the native and late speakers for the Lyonnais area, there are higher realisations of [ɔ] than [a], with a much smaller number of [e] variants. Might it be the case that there is a patterning of variants according to sex? As all females sampled in the Lyonnais area belonged only to the native-speaker category, a true comparison across the three speaker types is not possible.[27] However, we nonetheless present some observations according to sex here (see Figure 6.3.3.1, below).

Table 6.3.3.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants by Sex (Native speakers)		
	Female (% of total Lyonnais F tokens)	*Male (% of total Lyonnais M tokens)*
(a)-1: [ɔ]	74.68%	77.58%
(a)-3: [a]	18.99%	20.28%
(a)-4: [e]	6.33%	2.14%

The data presented in Table 6.3.3.1 reveal there to be no differentiation in the distribution of (a) by sex for the Lyonnais sample. While females only appear in the native-speaker sample, and while there are fewer female participants (N=6) than male participants (N=16), the evidence indicates that females and males show very similar

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[27] We outlined in Chapter 4 that late speakers tend to be very typically male.

patterns in the distribution of the [ɔ] and [a], with comparable levels of usage for both rounded and unrounded forms, as well as for [e]. Sex therefore does *not* seem a important determinant of variant selection for these speakers.

6.3.4 Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants and style

To briefly summarise, we have seen in the Lyonnais data that [ɔ] is most frequently employed as a variant of Latin A across all three speaker types, with [a] occurring in much smaller numbers. However, we have not been able to account here for the contexts in which [a] is produced over [ɔ]. Further, a number of [e] tokens continue to occur in the data, and no explanation has, so far, been advanced for why this might be the case. In addition, we have seen that [ɑ] appears to be exclusively a new-speaker variant in the Lyonnais data, but we have so far not observed the contexts in which this variant occurs; we only know conclusively that this is not a Lyonnais feature. In this section, we examine the variability of the Lyonnais (a) variants with consideration for speech style, which will be the last of the factors to be considered here, and we begin first with a consideration of the distribution between [ɔ] and [a] (see Figure 6.3.4.1, below). As not all speakers in the Lyonnais sample underwent all three structured exercises (as outlined in Chapter 4), it is necessary to highlight here that the data presented in Figure 6.3.4.1 (below) is restricted to just two native speakers (P18-03; A06-09), one late speaker (C12-01), and one new speaker (A18-23). As the Lyonnais native-speaker/late-speaker samples have been shown to be relatively homogeneous concerning the variability of (a), this was done so as to allow for a more meaningful comparison of the data across each of the three styles explored.

Figure 6.3.4.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants by speech style
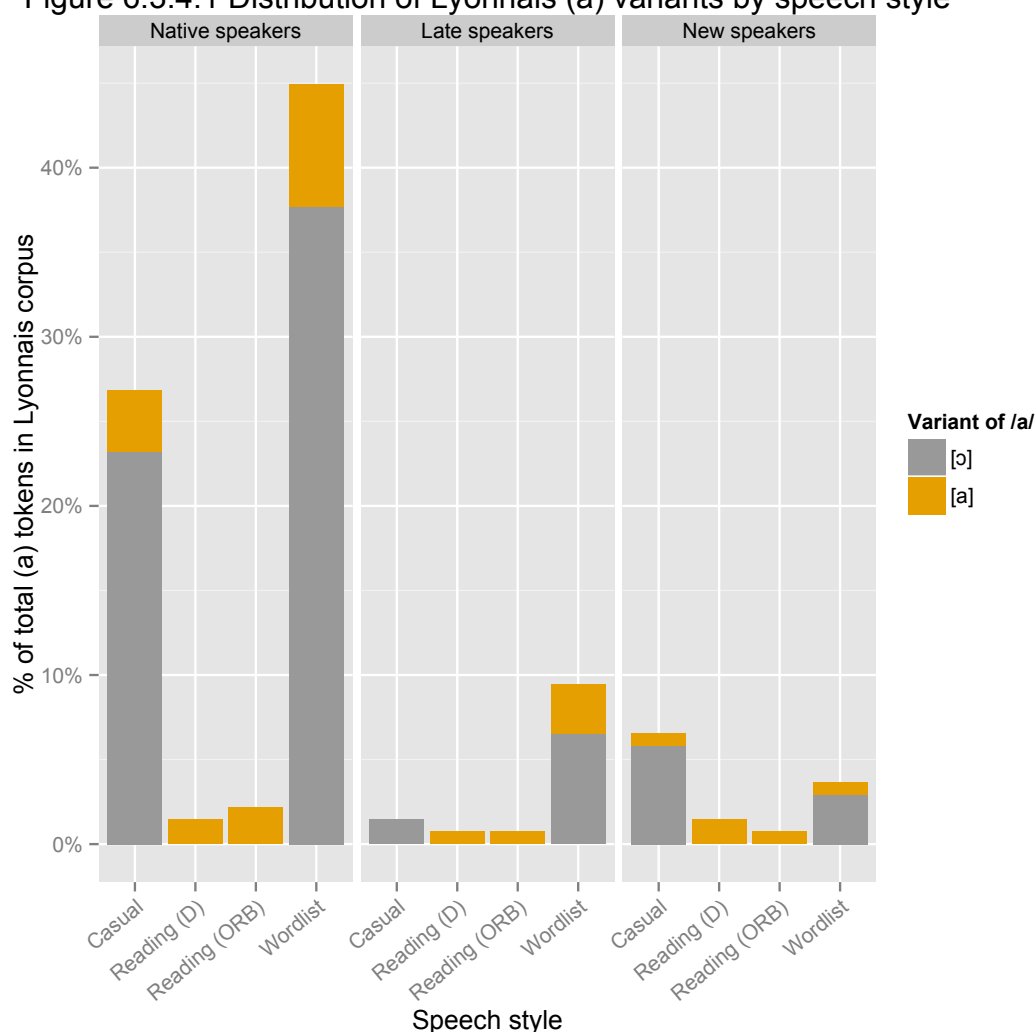
As the Figure reveals, we can see that between the casual speech style (*i.e.* the group interactions) and the wordlist task, there are comparable realisations of [ɔ] and [a], where the rounded vowel is much more frequently produced. However, it is noteworthy that no [ɔ] forms are present in the reading-passage data for this sample, by comparison with the casual and wordlist data (*cf.* table 6.3.4.1, below);

Table 6.3.4.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants by style: [ɔ] and [a]

	Casual	*Reading (all)*	*Wordlist*
(a)-1: [ɔ]	87.50%	0.00%	81.25%
(a)-3: [a]	12.50%	100.00%	18.75%

Of the eight possible instances in the reading passage task for participants to produce a dialectal variant of (a) (see Appendix III for an example reading exercise), no tokens for the back rounded vowel were recorded among the sample of participants named above, and just one token was recorded in the Lyonnais sample as a whole. Although the data are fragmentary in that not all participants were able to complete (or even begin) the reading task (see Chapter 4), it appears that style does have some effect on the variability of (a). There is, however, a more simple explanation to offer here. While we can see clearly from the wordlist task that there is a very strong tendency to produce the back rounded variant in a more self-monitored style, it is entirely plausible to argue that the participants were very likely influenced by the orthography during the exercise (where Latin tonic free A is represented orthographically, and inconsistently, as <a, é, o> in dialect, and <â> in ORB).

Why [a] continues to occur in the data, and why speakers oscillate between the two still remains unclear. A further examination of the lexical items in which [a] occurs does not reveal any specific patterns, though it is noteworthy that no nouns in the data for these four participants occur with [ɔ], and this is a reflection of the Lyonnais data as a whole (*cf.* Table 6.3.4.2 and 6.3.4.3, below).

Table 6.3.4.2 Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants by POS: [ɔ] and [a] (4 informants)

	Adjective	*Noun*	*Verb*
(a)-1: [ɔ]	50.00%	100.00%	51.06%
(a)-3: [a]	50.00%	0.00%	48.94%

Table 6.3.4.3 Distribution of Lyonnais (a) variants by POS: [ɔ] and [a] (all informants)

	Adjective	*Noun*	*Verb*
(a)-1: [ɔ]	54.35%	94.62%	56.92%
(a)-3: [a]	45.65%	5.38%	43.08%

We might therefore ask, for example, why we find two forms for items such as CLARUM > 'clair' (adjective), *i.e.* [ˈkjaʁ] or [ˈkjɔʁ], and not in nouns such as CLASSICUM > 'glas' [ˈɡjɔ] in les monts du Lyonnais? Both lexical items occur in the wordlist style, so it is safe to conclude that style is not having an effect on the variability of (a) in this sense.

Turning to the [e] variant for the four speaker sub-sample that we have outlined above, this variant only occurs in eleven tokens, and all of these tokens occur for just one item: the conjunction 'mais' < MAGIS, where the SF form [ˈme] is given. It is noteworthy that seven of these tokens occur in the reading exercise, where each speaker has produced [e] in both the dialectal text (the orthographic form being <mé>) *and* the ORB text (where orthographically instead we find <mâs>); this includes the new speaker.

Lastly, we must take stock of the context in which the [ɑ] variant is arising in the data. We saw in Table 6.3.2.3 above that this back-unrounded variant was only present in the speech of the new speaker A18-23. Although this variant occurs in just six tokens, we can observe from among the different styles that it occurs in both the wordlist and ORB reading-passage data, but, crucially, not in casual speech.

Lastly, as a general observation, if we examine the reading-passage data for the sample as a whole (given in Tables 6.3.4.4 and 6.3.4.5, below), broadly, we can see that all types of speakers exhibit similar patterns. In neither case do the speakers show preference for the back rounded vowel over [a] or [e]. It is especially interesting to note that, in the case of the ORB reading exercise, the new speakers produce no tokens of the dialectal form [ɔ].

Table 6.3.4.4 Dialect Reading exercise and speaker type

	Native speakers	*Late speakers*	*New speakers*
(a)-1: [ɔ]	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
(a)-2: [ɑ]	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
(a)-3: [a]	44.44%	50.00%	66.67%
(a)-4: [e]	55.56%	50.00%	33.33%

Table 6.3.4.5 ORB Reading exercise and speaker type

	Native speakers	*Late speakers*	*New speakers*
(a)-1: [ɔ]	11.11%	0.00%	0.00%
(a)-2: [ɑ]	0.00%	0.00%	16.67%
(a)-3: [a]	33.33%	50.00%	50.00%
(a)-4: [e]	55.56%	50.00%	33.33%

We can safely conclude from these observations that, when our new speaker is tested in a formal setting, the Arpitan form emerges, however in casual speech (the group interviews), it does not. Further, regarding the reading exercise, the Arpitan variant only emerges in the context of the ORB text, and not the dialectal text. This is clearly also significant for it suggests that ORB is reinforcing a non-local Arpitan form; we return to this point in Chapter 8.

6.4   Summary of findings for the Lyonnais area

In our discussion of (a) so far, we have made a number of observations in relation to the findings from the Lyonnais data. First, we have seen that [ɔ] is most frequently employed as a variant of (a) across all three speaker types, with [a] occurring much less frequently. Further, when we accounted for speech style, we found that while the back-rounded variant was near-categorical in the casual/wordlist styles, [a] was near-categorical in the reading-passage style. Further, we found a number of SF [e] forms in the data too, and we have since established that these largely all occur in just one

lexical item: the conjunction 'mais', which again is largely only present in the reading-passage data. Perhaps our most important finding so far relates to the [ɑ] variant, which in the context of the Lyonnais data we have identified to be a new-speaker form. Having observed the context in which it occurs, we found that our new speaker only produces this form in the structured exercises, but most importantly not in the casual-speech style. In Chapter 8 we will pursue this line of inquiry further.

6.5   Distribution of variants for Valais

Just as with les monts du Lyonnais, we saw in Chapter 2 that a number of possible variants for Latin tonic free A occur in Valais. In addition to the broad overview of the variable outlined in §6.1, the literature review in Chapter 2 revealed that a further distinction must be made for Valais between varieties spoken to the East of the Morge River (a major dialect boundary), where [a] and [ɑ] are very common, from those varieties that maintain a distinction between –ATREM and –ATUM nominal suffixes to the West of the boundary (as in the below examples), where [i] and [o] are contextually dependent variants of Latin tonic free A (*cf.* (1) and (2); see Chapter 2 for details):

(1) PATREM > [ˈpɑʀ]; PRATUM > [ˈpʀɑ] (East of the Morge)

(2) PATREM > [ˈpiʀ]; PRATUM > [ˈpʀo] (West of the Morge)

What then do we find in the present study's corpus?

Table 6.5.1 Distribution of Valaisan (a) variants

Type of /a/	N=	% (of total (a) tokens)
(a)-7: [i]	14	3%
(a)-6: [e]	22	5%
(a)-5: [a]	291	67%
(a)-4: [ɐ]	163	37%
(a)-3: [ɑ]	64	15%
(a)-1: [o]	39	9%

First, Table 6.5.1 shows that there are a greater number of possible variants for (a) in the Valaisan data by comparison with the Lyonnais data: although the low-back [ɑ] has long been attested for this part of the Francoprovençal-speaking zone, it is the low-front vowel [a] which is most frequently occurring over other variants in the corpus (accounting for 67% of tokens). In addition, there is a further low vowel to be observed here: the near-low central [ɐ]. Interestingly, this form was not outlined in our overview of the variable in Chapter 2. Secondly, concerning rounded vowels, while [ɔ] is not present in the data, [o] accounts for 7% of the tokens in the Valaisan corpus. The fact that [o] is present here is not surprising, as we have just seen, but at this stage it is too early to state whether or not these [o] forms are highly localised to sites West of the Morge. Thirdly, unlike in the Lyonnais data, in Valais, the high-front vowel [i] *has* been recorded, and accounts for 2% of the total tokens in the Valaisan corpus. In the context of Valais, this variant is, as we have also just seen, not the result of a constraint following a palatal consonant, but, rather, is the result of further evolution in Latin A. Lastly, as with the Lyonnais data, a small number of [e] tokens (5%) can also be observed in the Valaisan corpus. However, it is pertinent to point out here that while [e] as a variant of (a) might have been the result of conditioning following a palatal consonant, we saw in Figure 6.2.1 above that no such contexts occurred in the corpus as a whole, and therefore (as with the Lyonnais data) these [e]

forms might well be forms that approximate instead to SF forms; this will be assessed further below.

To summarise what we have said so far about Valais, while a number of traditional forms for this region have been observe in the data ([a], [ɑ], [i] and [o]), we also find a set of unexpected variants: [ɐ] and [e]. Now that some patterns have begun to emerge by region, the discussion turns next to speaker variation, where we ask which research participants are producing which variants?

6.5.1   Distribution of Valaisan (a) variants and speaker type

Figure 6.5.1.1 below illustrates the findings for (a) according to the three speaker types under analysis in the present study.

Fig. 6.5.1.1 Distribution of Valaisan (a) variants by speaker-type
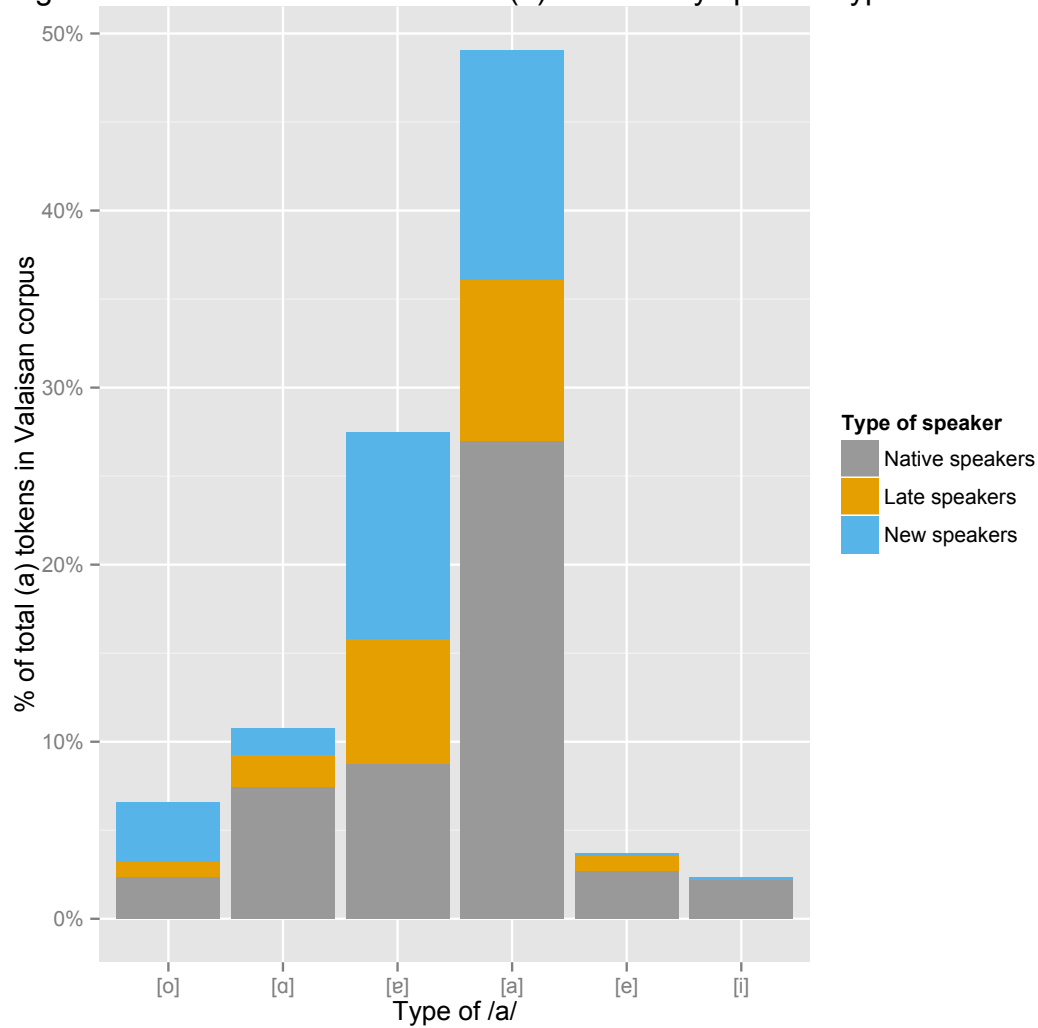
Table 6.5.1.1 Distribution of (a) variants by Valaisan speaker type

	Native	*Late*	*New*
(a)-1: [o]	4.7%	4.3%	11.3%
(a)-2: [ɑ]	14.7%	9.4%	3.2%
(a)-3: [ɐ]	17.4%	35.9%	39.0%
(a)-4: [a]	53.5%	46.2%	43.5%
(a)-5: [e]	5.4%	4.3%	0.6%
(a)-6: [i]	4.3%	0.0%	0.6%

From the above Figure and Table, we can make a number of observations. First, unlike in the Lyonnais data, we find that both [a] and [ɑ] are present across all three categories. In the context of Valais, then, the back-unrounded vowel is a traditional variant, unlike in the Lyonnais context, where we established this to be a

new-speaker variant. Secondly, it is interesting to remark that the [e] form is barely present in the new-speaker data by comparison with the native/late-speaker data. Further, the new speakers outperform both the native speakers and late speakers regarding production of the central [ɐ] form. In addition, it is also noteworthy that both [o] and [i] are found in the new-speaker data too, although at this point we have not established which new speakers are producing these variants.

6.5.2 Distribution of Valaisan (a) variants and place of residence

We now have a better understanding of the distribution of (a) variants for Valais, as well as some evidence for which speakers are producing which variants. Further, we have already seen that a number of unexpected variants of (a) are present in the data (namely [ɐ] and [e]), alongside the traditional variants. In this section, we ask how much of the variation that we have observed between the different speaker categories is highly localised to specific fieldwork sites.

Fig. 6.5.2.1 Distribution of (a) by Native Valaisan speakers
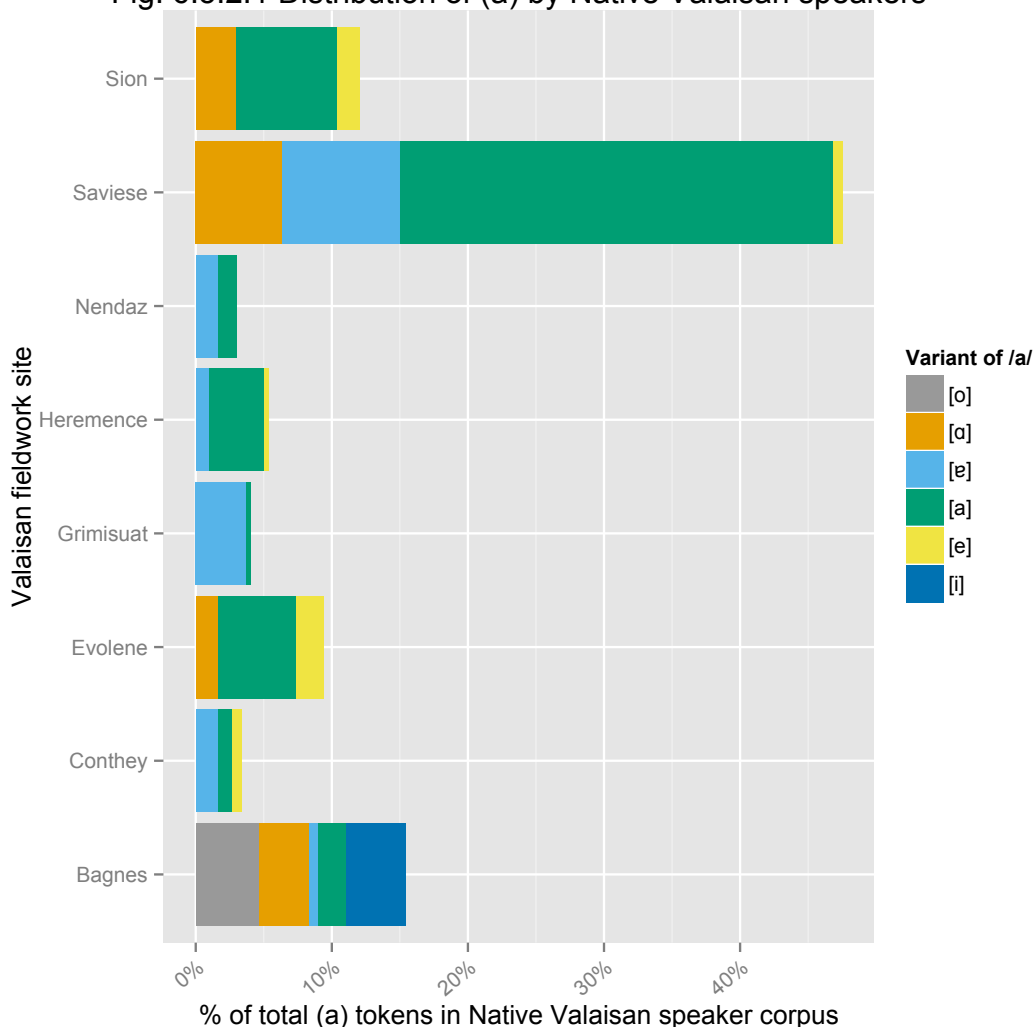
Table 6.5.2.1 Distribution of (a) variants by Native Valaisan speakers

	(a)-1: [o]	(a)-2: [ɑ]	(a)-3: [ɐ]	(a)-4: [a]	(a)-5: [e]	(a)-6: [i]
Bagnes	30.43%	23.91%	4.35%	13.04%	0.00%	28.26%
Conthey	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	30.00%	20.00%	0.00%
Évolène	0.00%	17.86%	0.00%	60.71%	21.43%	0.00%
Grimisuat	0.00%	0.00%	91.67%	8.33%	0.00%	0.00%
Hérémence	0.00%	0.00%	18.75%	75.00%	6.25%	0.00%
Nendaz	0.00%	0.00%	55.56%	44.44%	0.00%	0.00%
Savièse	0.00%	13.38%	18.31%	66.90%	1.41%	0.00%
Sion	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%	61.11%	13.89%	0.00%

From the native Valaisan speaker data alone, we can see that there is a much greater degree of diatopic variation by contrast with the Lyonnais sample. It is first noticeable that both [o] and [i] are only present in the Bagnes site. As the *Val de*

Bagnes forms part of the region known as the *Valais Savoyard* (*i.e.* West of the Morge), this was to be expected given our overview above. That said, given that the commune of Conthey also forms part of the *Valais Savoyard*, it is surprising that neither [o] nor [i] is not found in the data for this area too. However, this can be explained by the sociolinguistic profile of speaker N16-34 (the sole participant sampled from this site) who was born and raised East of the Morge (where these variants are not attested), later moving to Conthey as an adult. For the remaining variants, in general, there is no obvious patterning in the production of either [a], [ɐ] or [ɑ] that can be gleaned from specific fieldwork sites alone, although it is perhaps noteworthy that no back-unrounded variant is present in the data for the Nendaz, Hérémence or Grimisuat sites. Lastly, Figure 6.3.4 also illustrates that the [e] variant is recurrent in most of the fieldwork sites for Valais, with the exception of Bagnes, Grimisuat, and Nendaz. We must at this point reiterate that the Valaisan data are very fragmentary in that only a handful of participants were sampled for each of the fieldwork sites explored (see Appendix I), and in numerous cases, a number of these participants could not sit the structured tasks. We must therefore draw conclusions with care.

Turning to the late-speaker data, we only find this type of speaker in five of the eight Valaisan fieldwork sites explored, where our variants largely pattern in the same way as the native-speaker data, above (see Figure 6.5.2.2, below).

Fig. 6.5.2.2 Distribution of (a) by Late Valaisan speakers
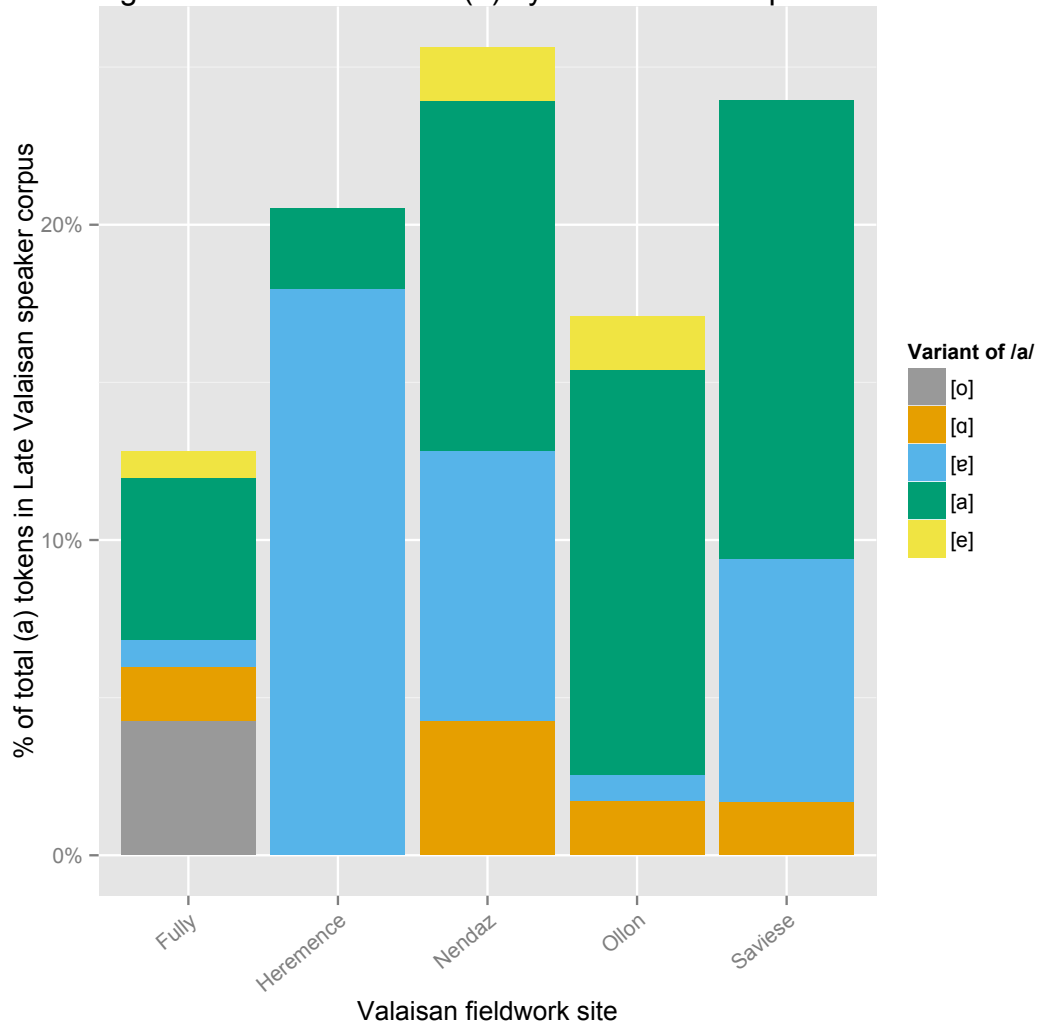
Table 6.5.2.3 Distribution of (a) variants by Late Valaisan speakers

	(a)-1: [o]	(a)-2: [ɑ]	(a)-3: [ɐ]	(a)-4: [a]	(a)-5: [e]
Fully	33.33%	13.33%	6.67%	40.00%	6.67%
Hérémence	0.00%	0.00%	87.50%	12.50%	0.00%
Nendaz	0.00%	16.67%	33.33%	43.33%	6.67%
Ollon	0.00%	10.00%	5.00%	75.00%	10.00%
Savièse	0.00%	7.14%	32.14%	60.71%	0.00%

There is again a clear patterning of the data for the Valaisan late speakers between fieldwork sites East and West of the Morge. We can see for example that, in Fully, (a) can be realised as [o]. Conversely, in Hérémence, Nendaz, Ollon and Savièse, the variants remain unrounded, as we would expect. From among these sites,

the Hérémence data show a general preference for near-central [ɐ]; these data come

from two late speakers.

Figure 6.5.2.3 Distribution of (a) by New Valaisan speakers
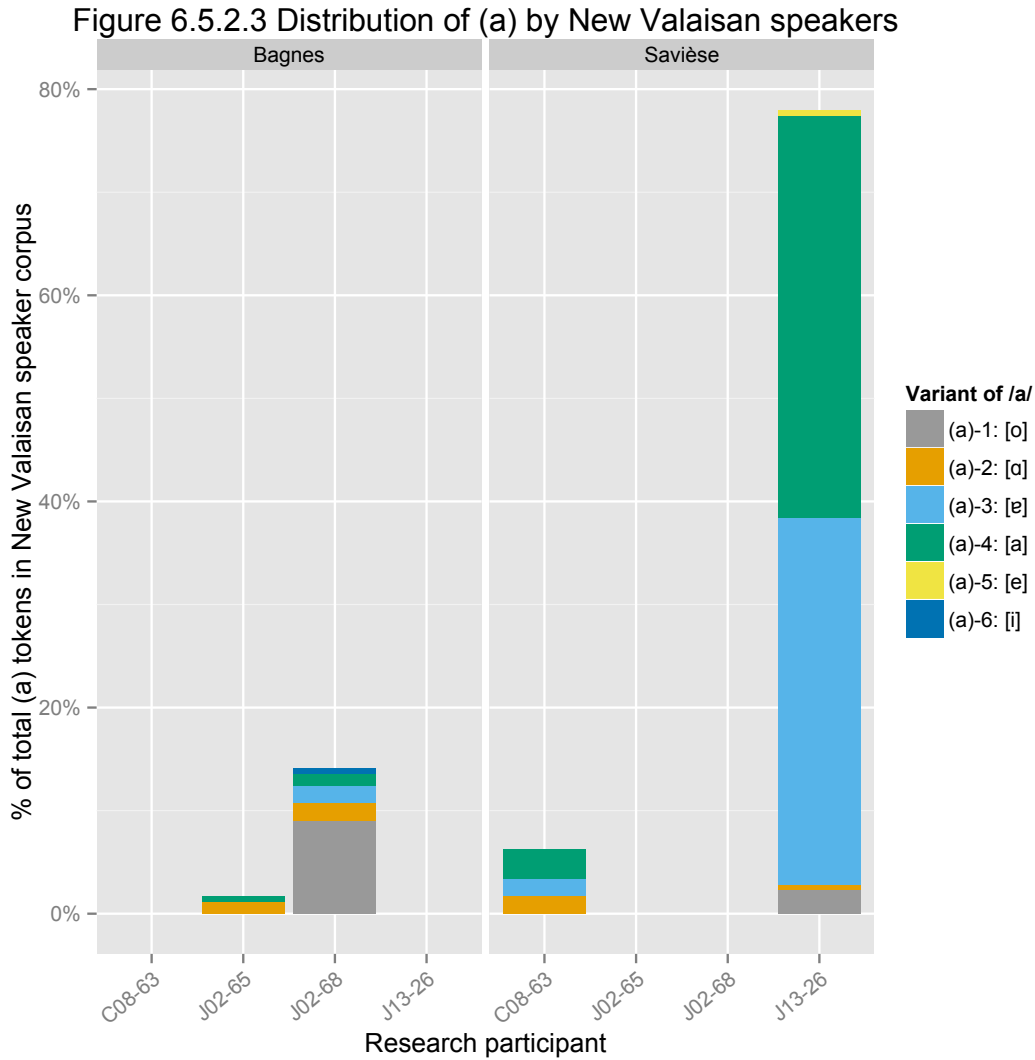
Table 6.5.2.4 Distribution of (a) variants by New Valaisan speakers

	(a)-1: [o]	(a)-2: [ɑ]	(a)-3: [ɐ]	(a)-4: [a]	(a)-5: [e]	(a)-6: [i]
J02-65	0.00%	66.67%	0.00%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%
J02-68	64.00%	12.00%	12.00%	8.00%	0.00%	4.00%
C08-63	0.00%	27.27%	27.27%	45.45%	0.00%	0.00%
J13-26	2.90%	0.72%	45.65%	50.00%	0.72%	0.00%

Figure 6.5.2.3 illustrates that four new speakers were sampled from two

different fieldwork sites in Valais: Bagnes and Savièse. As can be seen from these

findings, the data are skewed by the fact that 78% of the tokens in this category come

from just one participant: speaker J13-26, who is the most fluent among the new speakers sampled in Valais. However, it is noteworthy that this speaker, who resides in Savièse (*Valais épiscopal*), has produced a number of [o] variants, despite having acquired a Savièsan variety where (a), as we have seen, does not undergo rounding (*cf.* Figure 6.5.2.1). Moreover, J13-26 has produced an almost equal number of tokens for [a] and [ɐ] (50.00% and 45.65% respectively), which might be viewed as peculiar for a Savièsan speaker. For example, for the native/late-speaker data above, a very different pattern is presented in Savièse, where [a] is largely favoured over [ɐ] and [ɑ]. Again, the fact that J13-26 has produced a comparatively much larger number of [ɐ]-like variants might reflect the willingness on the part of this speaker produce forms that approximate away from a highly localised Savièsan norm.

The second greatest number of tokens come from participant J02-68, who was raised in Saxon (a region just above the *Val de Bagnes*) later moving to Bagnes as an adult. It is noteworthy that, as a learner, J02-68 has acquired a range of variants that we have seen too in the native-speaker data for this area: namely [o] and [i].

For the latter two speakers, drawing a meaningful comparison of the data is more complex: participant J02-65 was only present in a single group interview, and so has not undertaken the structured tasks, whereas C08-63 undertook the tasks, but did not contribute towards a group interview. In spite of this fragmentary data, it is noteworthy that – between all four new speakers – the [e] variant accounts for just 0.17% of the new-speaker data overall in Valais. This can be compared with the native speaker data (at 2.70%) and the late speaker data (at 0.84%).

To summarise what we have said so far, the Valaisan data have revealed a number of findings. First, it was evidenced that in spite of the fragmentary nature of the data so far presented, the findings reveal that the diverse range of variants for (a)

have largely been maintained in the Canton of Valais. However, it is the new-speaker data that so far have been most interesting. As with the Lyonnais data above, we have seen in the Valaisan data that, within the category of new speakers, there appears to be a trend whereby certain participants have stuck to highly localised linguistic forms that coincide with historical evidence, whereas others produce a range of different variants for Latin tonic free A that do not map on to their place of residence. For example, we have seen that speaker J13-26 has produced a number of non-local features in his speech. These findings are clearly important to the study: while native speakers and late speakers have been shown in both fieldwork areas to produce highly localised forms, the new speakers in both areas have been found to buck this trend. Moreover, within the category of new speaker, we have seen that not all participants behave uniformly, and we shall explore the variation within this speaker category in Chapter 8.

6.5.3   Distribution of Valaisan (a) variants by sex

Owing to the fact that so few female participants were sampled across the diverse fieldwork sites explored in the study, as well as the issue that even fewer female participants took part in both a group interview and the structured tasks, it has been decided that a systematic analysis of this sociolinguistic variable would be both unreliable and problematic.

6.5.4   Distribution of Valaisan (a) variants by style

Having now accounted for linguistic-internal constraints, region, and speaker type as factors in the variability of (a), we turn next to style. However, as we continue to be confronted by the problem of highly localised phonological variation and a greater range of variants for (a) when compared with the Lyonnais fieldwork sites, in what follows we assess each style according to those Valaisan fieldwork sites where both group interviews and structured tasks were carried out. We begin first with the native-speaker data only (Figure 6.5.4.1, below); the sites include: Bagnes, Conthey, Grimisuat and Savièse.

Fig 6.5.4.1 Distribution of Native Valaisan (a) variants by speech style
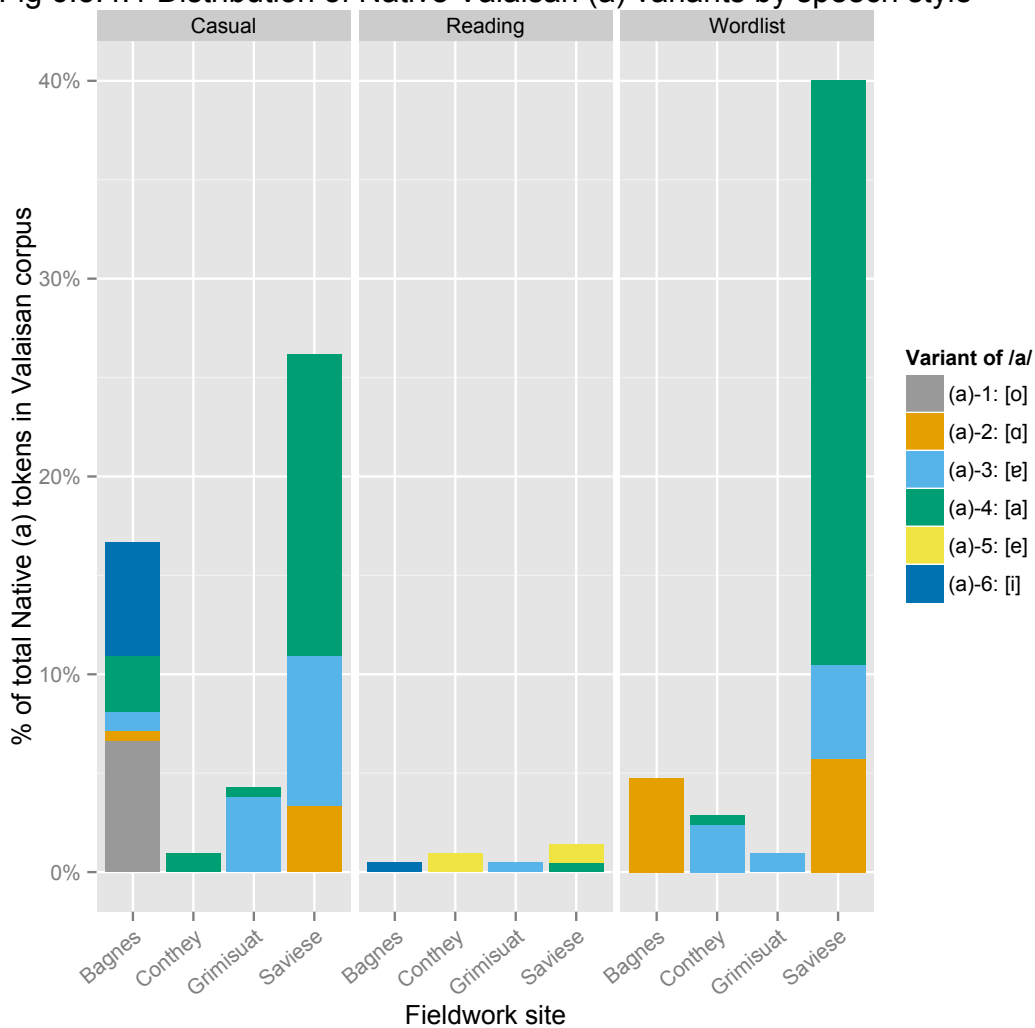
First, we need to highlight that the reading-passage data (Dialect, ORB, Other) have been merged here as so few tokens were elicited in all fieldwork sites as a whole. Further to this, Figure 6.5.4.1 shows that, in the four fieldwork sites present here, there is a reduction in the number of variants for (a) across the board for the reading exercise. When we examined the Lyonnais data, we suggested that our participants were heavily influenced by the orthography, and so the variability of (a) decreases markedly, and indeed this is where we also find a concentration of [e] forms for the Valaisan sample too.

Next, we can see in the casual and wordlist styles that, broadly, there are no real significant patterns. The Conthey and Bagnes sites do show more variability in (a) in the casual style than in the wordlist style, but we have already noted that, in Bagne, (a) is very heavily contextually conditioned, and the Conthey data only consists of ten tokens here, and so they cannot be reliably contrasted.

Fig. 6.5.4.2 Distribution of Late Valaisan (a) variants by speech style
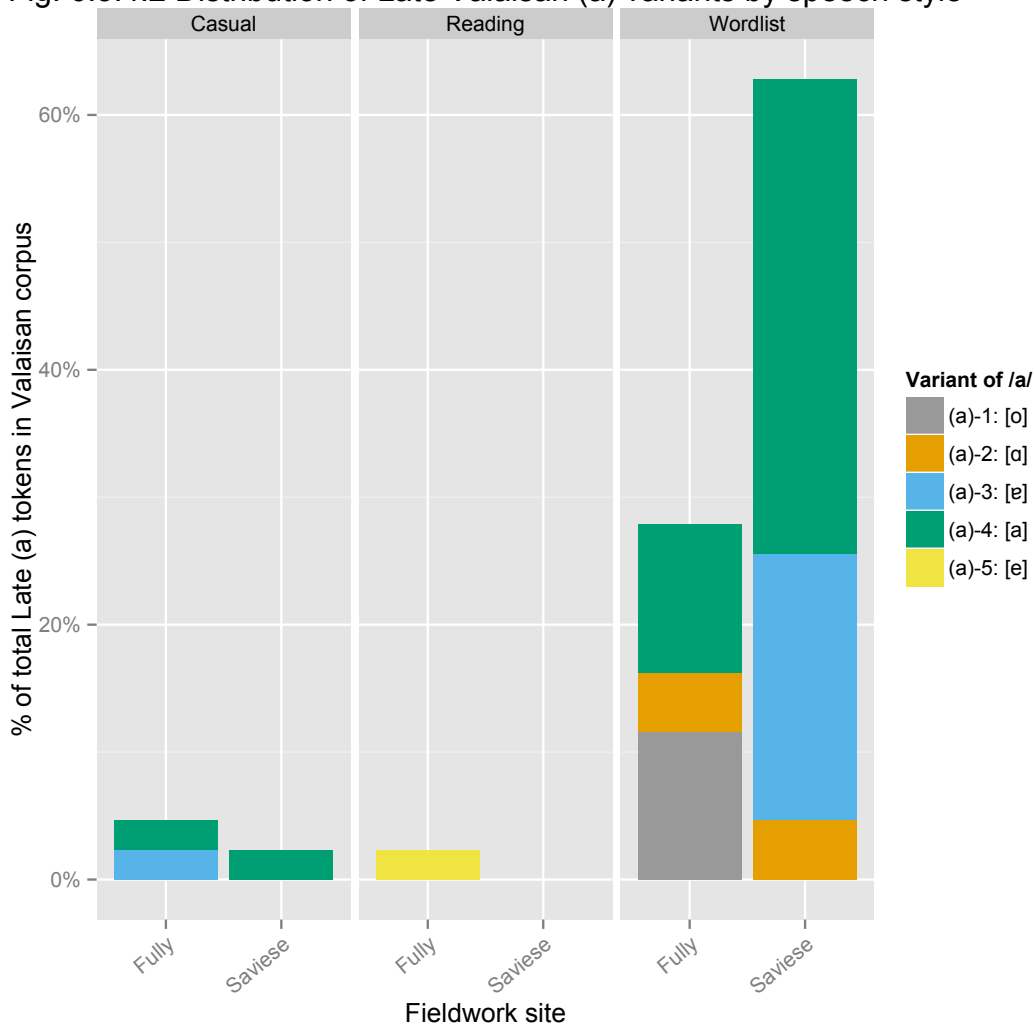
The late-speaker data here are too fragmentary to draw meaningful conclusions from. The Fully data come from just one speaker who contributed a total of fifteen tokens for this variable, just two of which occur in casual speech, whereas the Savièse data come from two speakers, where only one participated in a group discussion. Nonetheless, we do see in the Fully data that the [o] variant is found in late speaker speech too.

Fig 6.5.4.3 Distribution of New Valaisan (a) variants by speech style
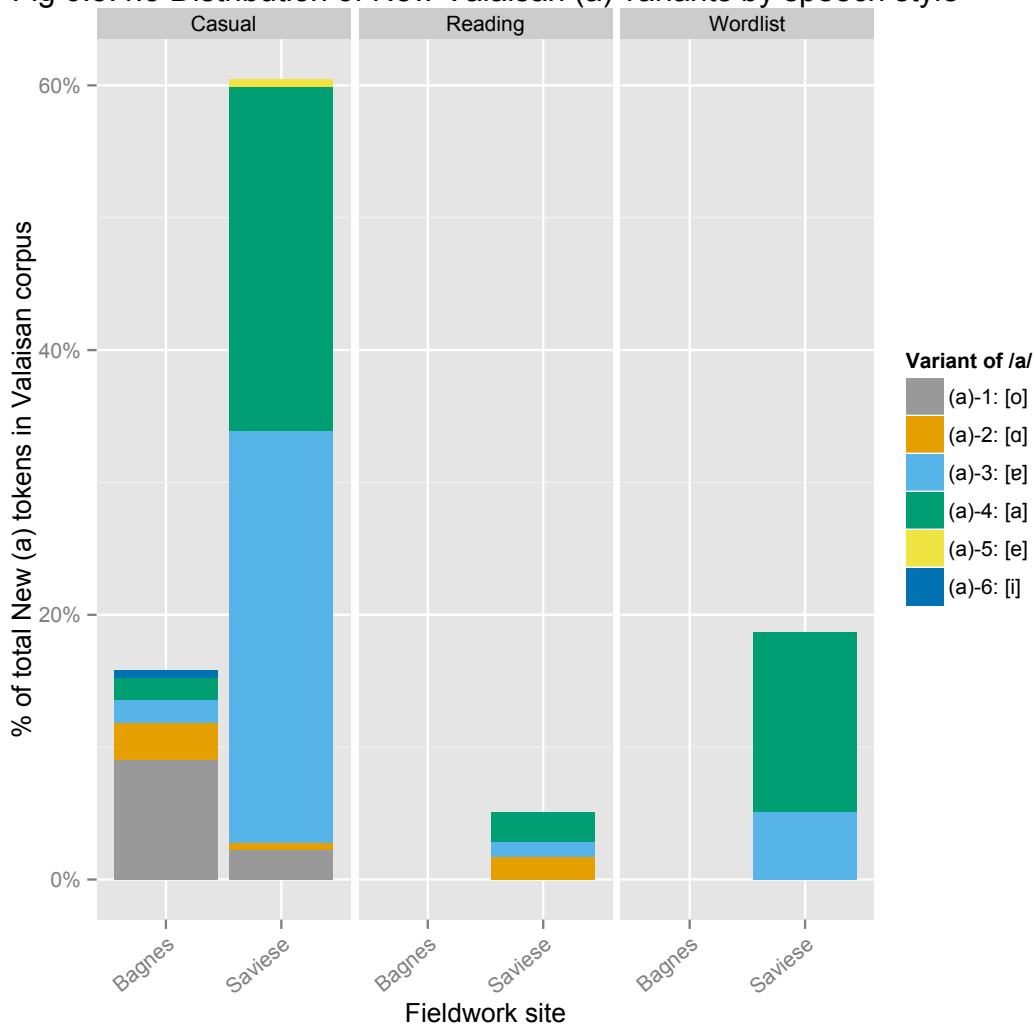
The same problem presents itself for the Bagnard data in the new-speaker category; both participants took part in a group discussion, but did not sit the elicitation tasks. However, we do have more reliable data for the Savièse new speakers, where both speakers undertook both group discussions and elicitation tasks; their data are reproduced in Table 6.5.4.1, below:

Table 6.5.4.1 Distribution of (a) variants for Savièsan new speakers

	(a)-1: [o]	(a)-2: [ɑ]	(a)-3: [ɐ]	(a)-4: [a]	(a)-5: [e]
C08-63	0.00%	27.27%	27.27%	45.45%	0.00%
J13-26	2.90%	0.72%	45.65%	50.00%	0.72%

In examining Table 6.5.4.1, it is noticeable that participant J13-26 (the most fluent new speaker in this category) produces a greater range of variants in casual speech than he does in either of the other tasks. Interestingly, this is in contrast to the Lyonnais data, where we find the converse effect (our Lyonnais new speakers largely employed traditional variants in group interaction). Further, we can see that participant C08-63 produces instead local forms (there are for example no instances of [o] or [i] by comparison with J13-26's data) and we have already commented on the need in Chapter 8 to assess the extent to which these new speakers are integrated into the Arpitan movement, and how this effects their speech production. Regarding our research questions then, the data appear to suggest that new speakers identifying as *arpitanistes* might be more likely to produce a variety of local and non-local forms, whereas those that do not will produce instead for local forms only: we explore this in Chapter 8.

6.6   Summary of findings

The objective of in Chapter 6 has been to examine the variability of (a) through the scope of a number of internal and external-linguistic constraints. Recall that we are interested here in which direction our speakers move for (a): do they opt for localised variants? Pan-regional variants (in other words, is the effect of an Arpitan norm having an impact)? Or do they move in the direction of SF?

We began with linguistic-internal constraints to establish the distribution of the variants for (a), where we found that (a) in both fieldwork areas is subject to contextual conditioning. However, the following segment in the phonetic environment

appeared to play no part in the distribution of (a), and so we have focused exclusively on the preceding segment as a linguistic-internal context. In total, six possible variants of (a) were established, and these were ordered from 1-6.

Following on from our discussion of internal-linguistic constraints, we moved on to the extra-linguistic factors, and we began with a breakdown of the data for the Lyonnais area first. In our discussion of (a) for les monts du Lyonnais, we made a number of interesting observations. First, we saw that [ɔ] is most frequently employed as a variant of (a) across all three speaker types, with [a] occurring much less frequently. Further, when we accounted for speech style, we found that while the back-rounded variant was near-categorical in the casual and wordlist styles, [a] was near-categorical in the reading passage data. What is more, we found in the data a number of tokens that we suggested might approximate to the SF form [e] too, and we have since established that these largely all occur in a very narrow lexical range, and appear to be restricted to the reading-passage data only. Therefore, while some SF-like forms do occur, they only appear to so in the reading style.

In examining the data according to different speaker types, we found that while [ɔ] and [a] were expected variants given the historical evidence from the linguistic atlases, we found that the [ɑ] variant (a non-local form) was only present in the speech of one new speaker (A18-23). This was interesting for a number of reasons: first, it evidenced that linguistic features not belonging to a local norm have occurred in the speech of our most innovative speaker group. Secondly, as we also observed that the context in which [ɑ] occurs was restricted to the elicitation tasks only – including the reading-passage exercise – then this may evidence that the ORB orthography is having some impact. Thirdly, this variant did not occur in the speech of our new speaker within the casual style (*i.e.* the group interview), where instead

this speaker was found to approximate more towards local norms. It was also interesting to note that other new speakers sampled in Lyon did not exhibit the same linguistic phenomena. In other words, some new speakers will opt for local norms only, whereas others will produce non-local forms too. This finding is clearly of cogent interest to our study, for it appears to suggest not only that there are 'new' forms emerging where they have not previously been recorded, but also that an Arpitan norm is competing with a local set of norms, and we have seen evidence of this too in the previous chapter. The question, however, of where this back-unrounded variant has come from requires further discussion, as well as why only some new speakers are producing these different forms; this will be an avenue of inquiry in Chapter 8.

Owing to the highly fragmentary nature of the Valaisan data, clear patterns regarding the distribution of (a) were not so easily evidenced. In §6.5 we found that there was a larger range of possible variants for (a) in Valais by comparison with the Lyonnais data (where our speakers were more linguistically homogenous). Moreover, in addition to the traditional forms that we expected for this more diverse Francoprovençal-speaking region, we found a set of unexpected variants: [ɐ] and [e] (where [e] was found not to be a variant of Latin A in the traditional sense, *i.e.* following a palatal consonant). While the native/late-speaker data did not evidence any real significant findings, it was noteworthy that a third low vowel has emerged in the data for all three speaker types. Although the data were too fragmentary to report any meaningful observations regarding the distribution of [a], [ɐ] and [ɑ], we have already seen in previous chapters that there is considerable variation in the realisation of /a/, and while an acoustic analysis of these variants and their distribution within

these disparate speech communities would be fruitful, it is beyond the scope of the present study.

It was again in the new-speaker data where we did however make a further set of tantalising observations, as these data appeared to evidence further linguistic divergence from the other speaker groups. Participant J13-26 was not only found to produce a range of variants that coincided with local norms for his dialect-speaking region (Savièse), but he was also found to produce a range of non-local variants. In particular, we found evidence in his speech of the allophones that we would expect from varieties to the West of the Morge river. This is again of central interest to the present study: if we hypothesise (as we have) that the new speakers will produce non-local forms, or forms that we might otherwise label Arpitan norms, then we would expect the speech of these speakers to be different from that of the native and late speakers. Indeed this does appear to be the case. However, while we have seen that A18-23 (our Lyonnais new speaker) appears to be producing a variant that we might link to the ORB orthography (the back unrounded [ɑ] variant being the *recommended* pronunciation for Latin A, or the 'prononciation majoritaire'; Stich 1998: 78), in the case of J13-26, this is not so clear cut: the data only seem to suggest that he diverges from local norms to a greater or lesser extent. We have therefore seen in this chapter further phonological evidence of our new speakers producing non-local features. In the following chapter, we extend our analysis to the morpho-syntactic level.

Chapter 7. Morphological variables (SG) and (PL): vowel-final alternations in feminine-singular and plural nouns

7.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 outlines the findings for the two morphological variables in the study, which will be called (SG) and (PL), referring to vowel-final alternations in Francoprovençal feminine-singular and plural-noun forms.

We saw in Chapter 2 that Latin feminine-nominative singular forms ending in Latin atonic A are generally maintained in Francoprovençal; some examples are provided in (1), below (reproduced from §2.7.3):

(1)

Fem. Sg. (Lyonnais examples, after Martin 2005)

TABULA > trâbla [ˈtʁɔbla] 'table' ('table')

FLAMMA > fllama [ˈflɔma] 'flamme' ('flame')

FENESTRA > fenétra [fəˈnetʁa] 'fenêtre' ('window')

These regular-nominal forms ending in Latin atonic A can be realised phonetically as [a]. Further to this, we saw in Chapter 2 that there is also variability

here. For example, if a postalveolar fricative or affricate precedes the vowel, [a] is not maintained, but instead is raised to [i] or [e] depending on the geographical location of the variety. Some examples are given in (2), below:

(2)

Fem. Sg.

CLOCCA > clloche [ˈkjɔʃi] 'cloche' ('bell') (Lyonnais)

VACCA > vache [ˈɐt͡se] 'vache' ('cow') (Valaisan)

In other words, in items such as *vache*, [a] is conditioned in that it is realised as [i] when following a postalveolar fricative (this is the case for varieties spoken in France), and [e] when following an affricate (in the case of Switzerland). Regarding linguistic-internal constraints, then, the variability of feminine nouns therefore rests on two linguistic contexts: where the Latin word final –CA is present, we find high vowels, and where Latin A does not follow C we find low vowels (*cf.* FLAMMA > *fllama* [ˈflɔma]; VACCA > *vache* [ˈvaʃi] or [ˈɐt͡se]). Henceforth we refer to these two contexts as 'a –CA context' and 'non–CA context' respectively.

As we outlined in Chapter 2, in the feminine singular, these alternations between [a], [i] and [e] raise an interesting problem from the perspective of ORB, in that lexical items coming from the –CA context have the orthographic form <e> word-finally, which carries the recommended pronunciations [e] or [ə]. Therefore, although ORB recognises that Latin atonic A can be raised from [a] to [e] (as in the Swiss examples), many varieties where [a] is raised to [i] are not represented by the recommended forms.

We have now established a number of possible variants for Latin atonic –A in the feminine singular form: [a], [i] (for varieties spoken in France), and [a], [e] (for varieties spoken in Switzerland), as well as the corresponding recommended Arpitan

forms [e] and [ə]. We must next outline the linguistic phenomena that occur in the feminine-plural form. Consider the examples in (3) and (4), below:

(3)

Francoprovençal spoken in France (Lyonnais)

Fem. Sg.	*Fem. Pl.*
clloche [ˈkjɔʃi] 'cloche' ('bell')	clloches [ˈkjɔʃ] 'cloches' ('bells')
fllama [ˈflɔma] 'flamme' ('flame')	fllames [ˈflɔmə] 'flammes' ('flames')
trâbla [ˈtʁɔbla] 'table' ('table')	trâbles [ˈtʁɔblə] 'tables' ('tables')
vache [ˈvaʃi] 'vache' ('cow')	vaches [ˈvaʃ] 'vaches' ('cows')

(4)

Francoprovençal spoken in Switzerland (Valaisan)

clloche [ˈklose] ('cloche')	clloches [ˈklos] ('cloches')
fllama [ˈflãŋma] ('flamme')	fllames [ˈflãŋme] ('flammes')
trâbla [ˈtɐbla] ('table')	trâbles [ˈtɐble] ('tables')
vache [ˈɐtse] ('vache')	vaches [ˈɐts] ('vaches')

As the examples in (3) and (4) show, we have two contexts to consider: –CA (represented orthographically as <e>) and non–CA (represented orthographically as <a>). Items such as *clloche* < CLOCCA exhibit vowel-final deletion in the plural form, and items such as *table* < TABULA do not. For feminine-plural forms then: in the –CA context we can expect a zero realisation, and in a non—CA context we can expect either schwa or a mid high vowel. The variants exhibited in both sets of varieties are comparable in that we can narrow our analysis to the type of segment preceding the final vowel, as well as the quality of final vowel in the singular and plural form. It is also worth recalling from Chapter 2 that the ORB marks plural forms

orthographically in the same way as SF for regular nouns, with –*s* (*cf.* CLOCCAM >
clloche (sg.), *clloches* (pl.) in ORB, and *cloche*, *cloches* in SF).

Having establishing the variants to be expected from the literature review
outlined above, let us now compare these early findings with our own data.

7.2.1 Singular forms (SG)

For the singular-feminine forms, we have seen in §7.1 that the following possible
variants might be expected:

(i) Traditional forms: [a], and the conditioned variants [i] and [e] in the —CA
context

(ii) Arpitan ORB recommended forms: [a], and [e] or [ə] in the —CA context

7.2.2 Distribution of variants for the Lyonnais area

We begin with an analysis of the feminine-singular forms elicited from the Lyonnais
sample (see Figure 7.2.2.1, below).

Fig. 7.2.2.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (SG) final vowels
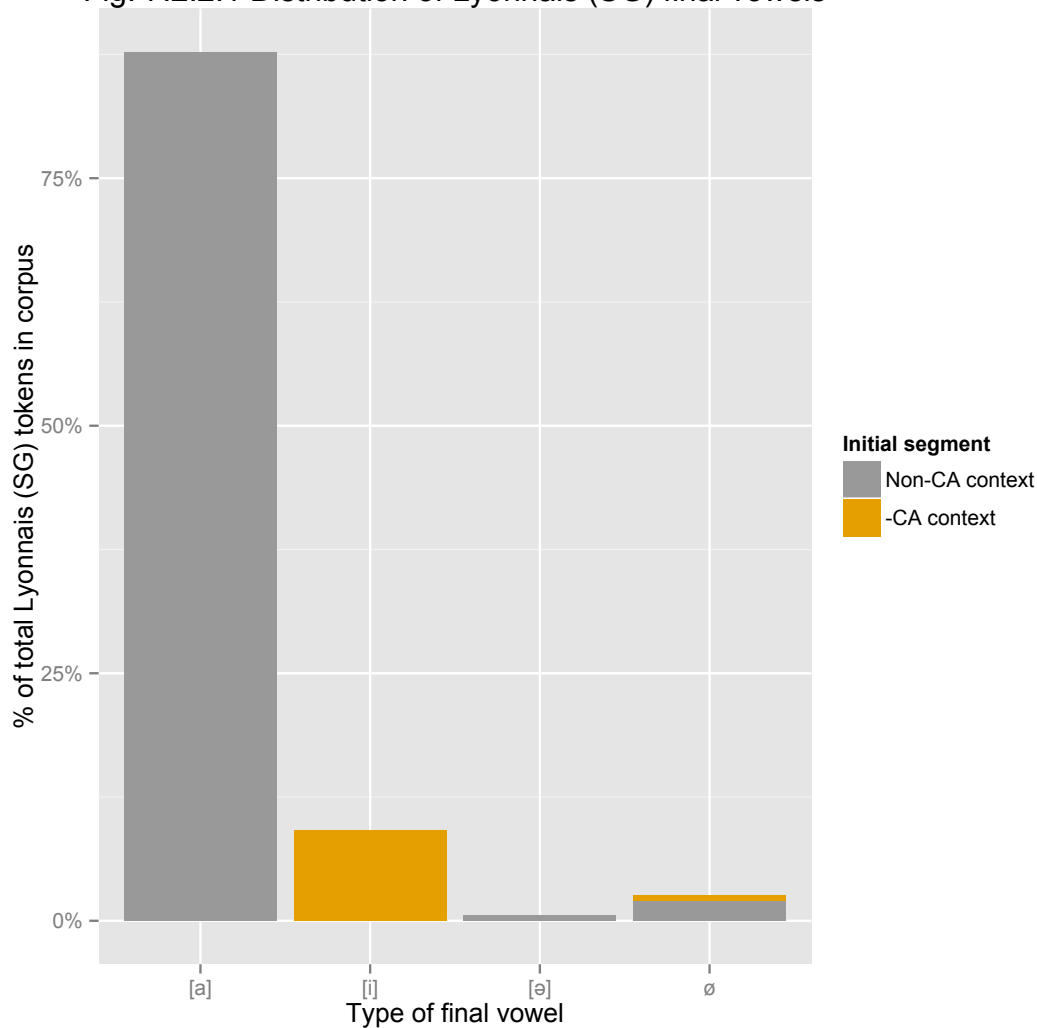
Table 7.2.2.1 Distribution of Lyonnais forms for (SG)

Variant	non–CA context
(SG)-3: [a]	97.18% (172)
(SG)-2: [ə]	0.56% (1)
(SG)-1: ø	2.26% (4)

As the above figure and table reveal, we can see from the data that the distribution of (SG) forms in the corpus largely reflect what was expected: [a] occurs in 97.18% of the Lyonnais feminine-singular tokens before segments other than a palatal (*i.e* non–CA context). However, we also find the variant [ə] in the (SG) data, as well as a number of tokens showing a zero realisation word-finally. As we saw in

§7.1, we expected both of these variants to be markers for feminine-plural nouns as in (3) and (4) above. There is, therefore, some variability in the realisation of (SG).

Turning to the (SG) forms following the –CA context in Table 7.2.2.2, in the singular form, the Lyonnais data are much more regular in that word-final [i] occurs in 94.74% of tokens. This falls in line with our overview of the variable for (SG) above.

Table 7.2.2.2 Distribution of Lyonnais forms for (SG)	
Variant	–CA context
(SG)-6: [i]	94.74% (18)
(SG)-1: ø	5.26% (1)

Now there we have some evidence for which variants are conforming to what we have expected from historical evidence, and which of the forms in the data were unexpected ([ə] and zero), we can turn next to the speakers producing them.

7.2.2.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (SG) variants by speaker type

The distribution of variants by speaker type for the Lyonnais area are presented in Figure 7.2.2.1.1 below.

Fig. 7.2.2.1.1 Lyonnais (SG) variants, speaker type
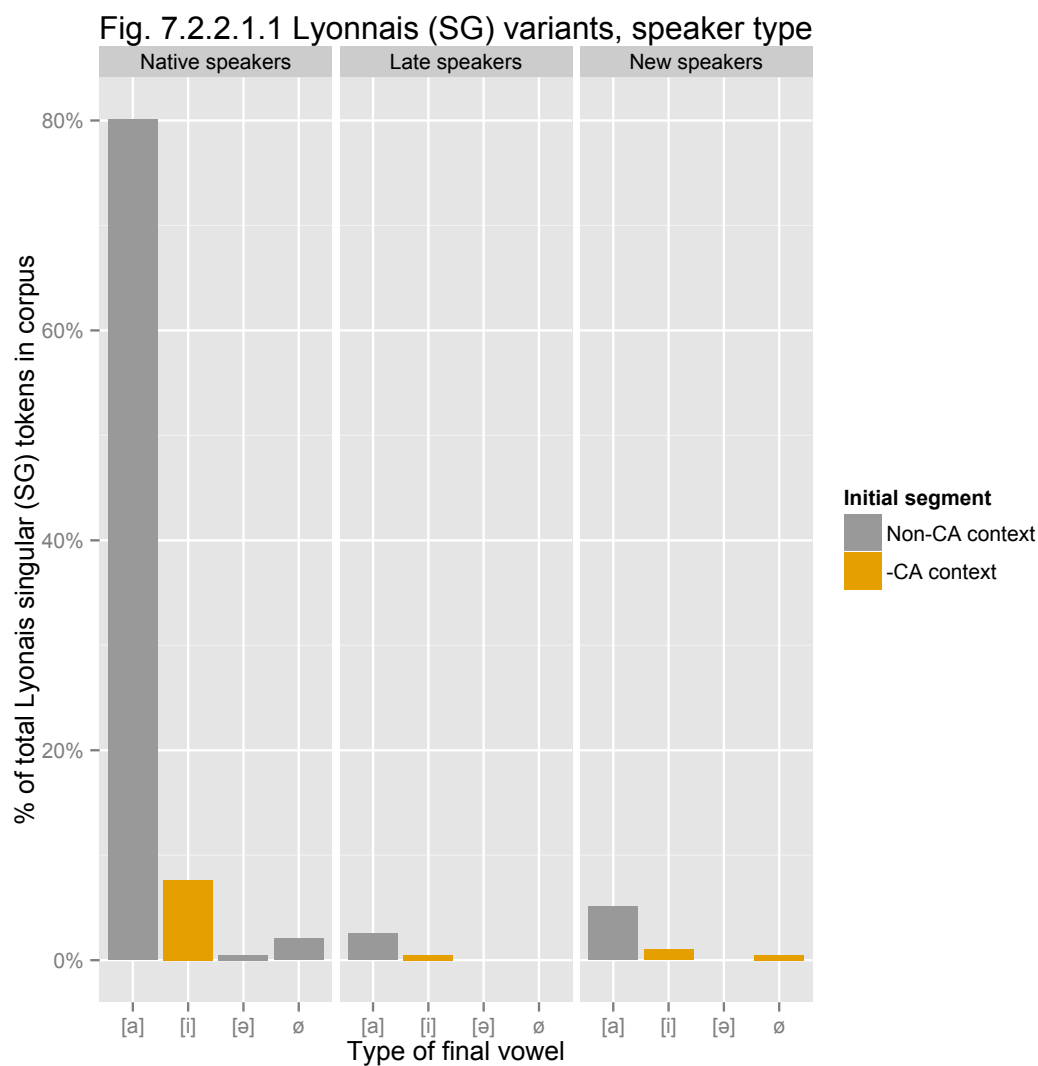
We find from our illustration of the data in the above figure that the patterning of variants do not differ strikingly according to speaker type (*cf.* Table 7.2.2.1.1, below).

Table 7.2.2.1.1 Lyonnais forms for (SG), non–CA context

	(SG)-3: [a]	(SG)-2: [ə]	(SG)-1: ø
Native	96.91% (157)	0.62% (1)	2.47% (4)
Late	100.00% (5)	0.00%	0.00%
New	100.00% (10)	0.00%	0.00%

As the table illustrates, the participants in each of the three categories produce comparable frequencies for [a] in the feminine-singular form, following the non–CA

context. Although the late speakers appear to outperform the native speakers, the participants in this category only contributed five tokens to the corpus for this variant. However, rather than dismissing the data out of hand, it is noteworthy that the late speakers sampled here do not deviate from their reference group (the native speakers) in their production of final vowels.

Table 7.2.2.1.2 Lyonnais forms for (SG), –CA context				
	(SG)-4: [i]	(SG)-3: [a]	(SG)-2: [ə]	(SG)-1: ø
Native	100.00% (15)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Late	100.00% (1)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
New	66.67% (2)	0.00%	0.00%	33.33% (1)

Turning to the –CA context, we can observe again a very clear pattern that does not differ markedly amongst the native and late speakers. The new speakers however do appear to produce zero word-final vowels by comparison with the other participants, although it is important to highlight that these data only come from three tokens, one of which was recorded for zero. That said, for our purposes, it is clear to see from the data so far that the new speakers stick to local norms in the data. There does not appear to be any obvious evidence of an Arpitan influence.

To briefly summarise the Lyonnais data so far, we have seen that the native/late-speaker data pattern more or less as expected according to our overview of this variable in §7.1, above. Both [a] and [i] are observed to near-categorical levels across all three speaker types. We have noted the significance of the fact that the new speakers closely align with the participants in other speaker groups for the (SG) data. It is noteworthy that these speakers do not seem to be producing markedly different forms, unlike for our previous variables, where we have noticed departures from traditional norms.

7.2.2.2 Distribution of Lyonnais (SG) variants by place of residence

In Chapters 5 and 6 we saw that it was necessary to account for highly localised variation in explaining some of the variation that we observed in the data. However, we have just seen in §7.2.2.1 that the participants within the native and late-speaker categories are rather homogenous in their linguistic production. As the new speakers appear to be sticking rigidly to local norms for (SG), aside just one token, we have deemed it unfruitful to continue with the micro-level analysis of residence as a factor here. It may however be pertinent to our discussion going forward to briefly mention at this point that the new-speaker zero token mentioned above occurs for the lexical item *clloche* [ˈkjɔʃ] < CLOCCA. Recall that zero final vowels are associated with feminine-plural forms.

7.2.2.3 Distribution of Lyonnais (SG) variants by sex

In Chapter 6 we observed that only in the native-speaker category were female participants successfully sampled for the Lyonnais region. Therefore, to maintain a like-for-like comparison, we only review the Lyonnais native-speaker data here.

We saw in Table 7.2.2.1.1 above that, while [i] in the –CA context was categorical at 100% before a palatal consonant, [a] in other contexts showed some variability amongst the native speakers. We examine here whether or not there is any explanation to be gleaned from an assessment according to sex as an extra-linguistic factor.

Fig. 7.2.2.3.1 Native Lyonnais (SG) vowels by sex
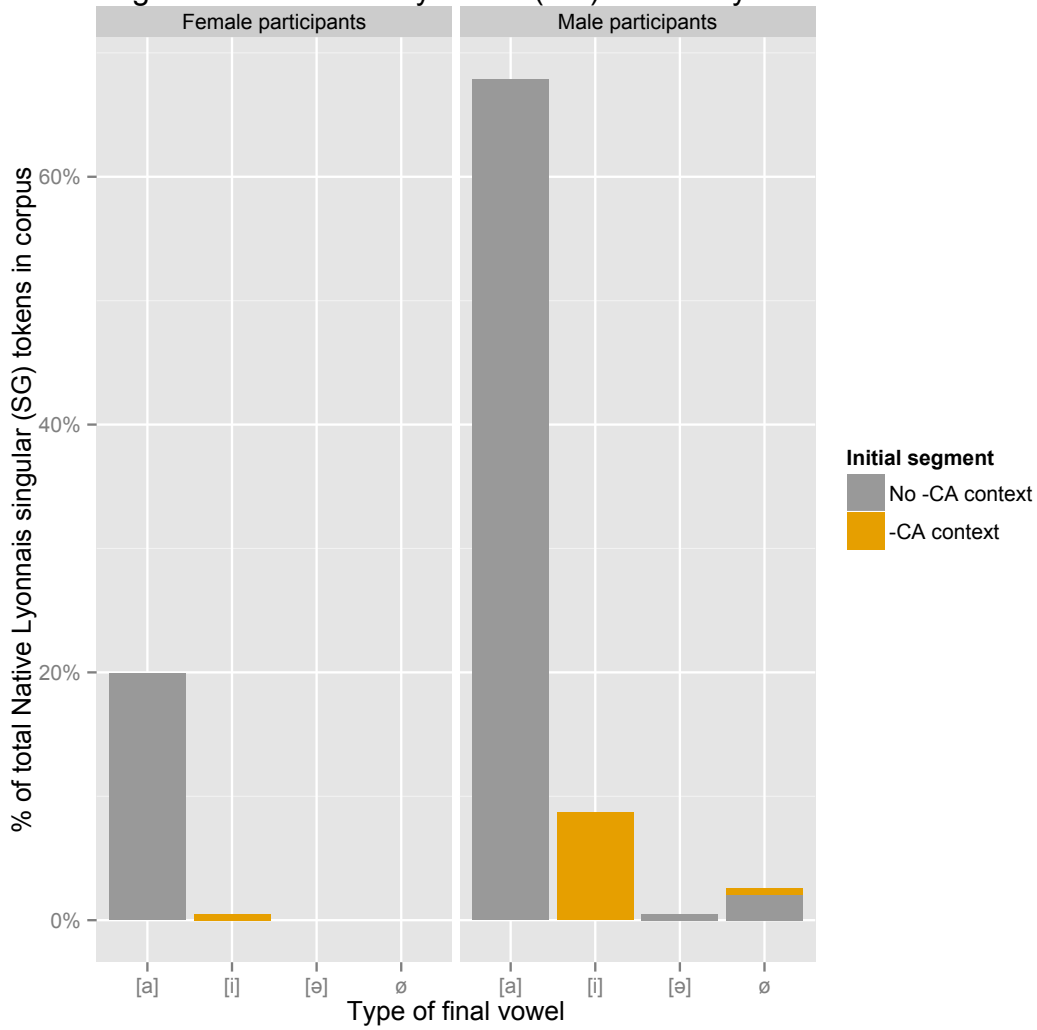
Table 7.2.2.3.1 Distribution of Lyonnais feminine (SG) final vowels by sex

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
Females:		
(SG)-4: [i]	0.00%	100.00% (1)
(SG)-3: [a]	100.00% (39)	0.00%
Males:		
(SG)-4: [i]	0.00%	94.44% (17)
(SG)-3: [a]	96.38% (133)	0.00%
(SG)-2: [ə]	0.72% (1)	0.00%
(SG)-1: ø	2.90% (4)	5.56% (1)

As with previous variables, the Lyonnais data do not appear to show any differentiation in the realisation of (SG) when sex is considered as factor. In both

cases, male and female participants are near-categorical in their realisation of [a] before a segment other than a palatal, and [i] following a palatal.

7.2.2.4 Distribution of Lyonnais (SG) variants by style

The final extra-linguistic factor to be considered here will be style. To briefly reiterate what has been said in Chapter 4, the elicitation task involving a reading passage has been discounted from the present analysis of (SG) due to reasons already outlined. The following discussion will therefore only take account of conversational and wordlist styles of speech only. We focus here broadly on the patterns that can be discerned over the corpus as a whole. Figure 7.2.2.4.1 and Table 7.2.2.4.1, below, illustrate the distribution of (SG) variants according to speech style.

Fig 7.2.2.4.1 Lyonnais (SG) variants by speech style
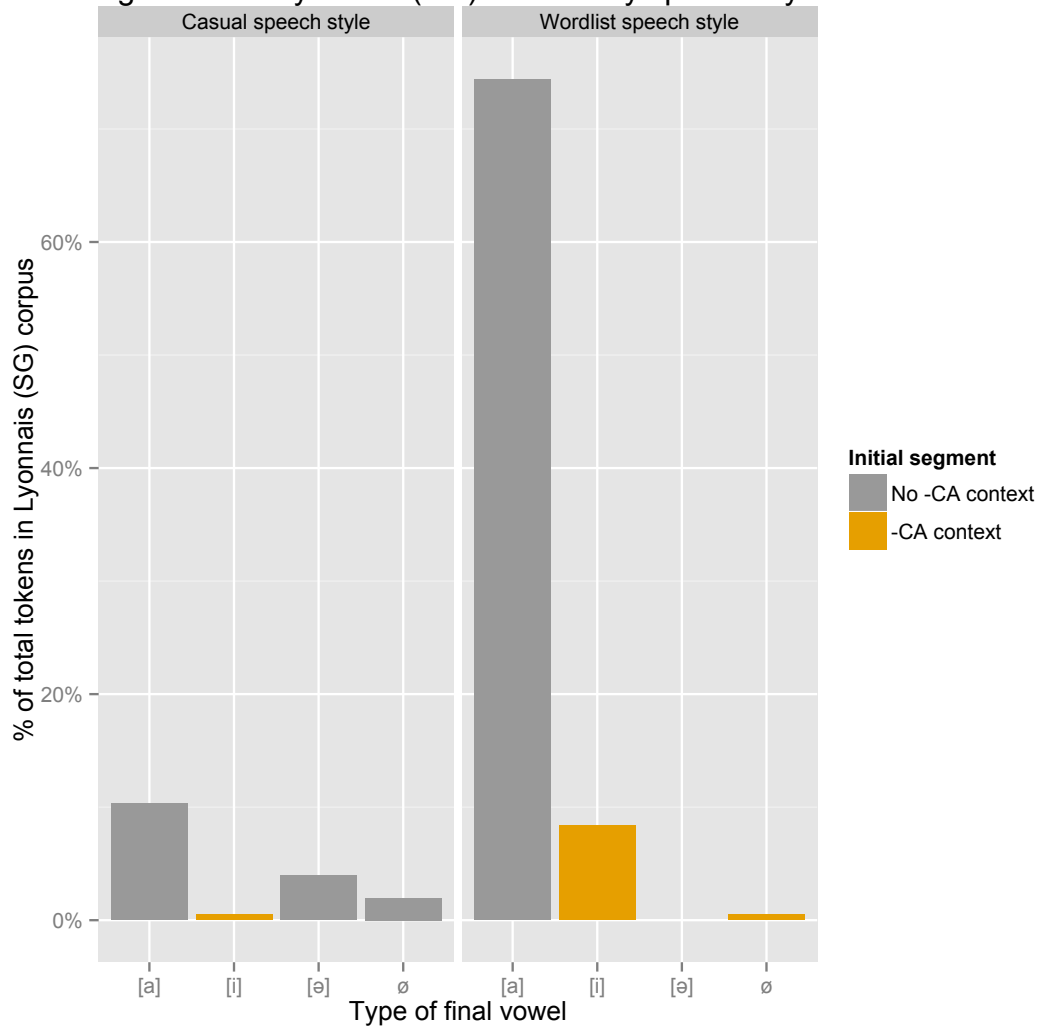
Table 7.2.2.4.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (SG) variants by speech style

Casual speech	Non–CA context	–CA context
(SG)-4: [i]	0.00%	100.00% (1)
(SG)-3: [a]	80.77% (21)	0.00%
(SG)-2: [ə]	3.85% (1)	0.00%
(SG)-1: ø	15.38% (4)	0.00%
Wordlist		
(SG)-4: [i]	100.00% (151)	94.44% (17)
(SG)-1: ø	0.00%	5.56% (1)

As we can see from the table and figure above, it is noteworthy that speakers broadly approximate more closely towards localised dialectal forms in the wordlist style than they do in the casual style. In the singular form, while speakers maintain a similar frequency of [i] forms across both styles, the % realisation of [a] differs

markedly. As with the (l) variable, we can note that, amongst the Lyonnais participants, speakers are more likely to produce a localised dialectal feature in a more careful register than they are in a group interaction (*i.e.* the context in which the casual speech took place). In other words, we only find [ə] and zero in a more casual register.

7.2.2.5 Summary of findings for the Lyonnais area

Over the course of this chapter, we have continued to examine in detail the language use of the three speaker types outlined in Chapter 4. Recall that, as with Chapters 5 and 6, we remain mindful of the differences between these speakers, and which directions they might be moving in regarding language use: do they opt for locally marked forms? Or do they opt for other forms? If so, then which? To assess these questions, we have so far examined the variability of feminine-singular nouns in Francoprovençal, and the extent to which these features co-vary with extra-linguistic factors. Having examined first the Lyonnais data, we have observed that participants within all three speaker categories stick rigidly to the traditional forms that we expected in §7.1. Broadly, our analysis has shown that there are very few features that distinguish the new speakers from the late or native speakers here. Unlike in Chapters 5 and 6, we have been unable to identify any features that might be linked to a purported Arpitan norm. We have, however, noted that style has been shown to play a role in the variability of (SG): as with Chapters 5 and 6, the wordlist style has elicited a higher rate of traditional forms than the conversation style, where more instances of [ə] and zero occur. The tokens evidencing vowel reduction in (SG) are interesting as

this finding is largely unattested in the traditional literature (see Martin 2006: 14). We discuss the implications of this further in Chapter 9.

7.2.3 Distribution of variants for Valais

We turn next to an assessment of the Valaisan data for (SG). Recall from §7.1 that we expect similar variants to the Lyonnais data for Latin atonic –A in the feminine-singular noun form:

(i) Traditional dialectal forms: [a], and [e] in the –CA context;

(ii) Arpitan ORB recommended forms remain: [e] or [ə]

As we can see from (i), the same linguistic-internal constraint on [i] in Lyon can be expected to occur in the Valaisan data on [e]: namely the type of segment preceding the final vowel (*i.e.* –CA context or non–CA context). We might also mention that, in the case of Valais, the conditioned variant coincides with the recommended Arpitan form. Figure 7.2.3.1 below illustrates the variants that have been observed in the data according to this constraint:

Fig. 7.2.3.1 Distribution of Valaisan (SG) final vowels
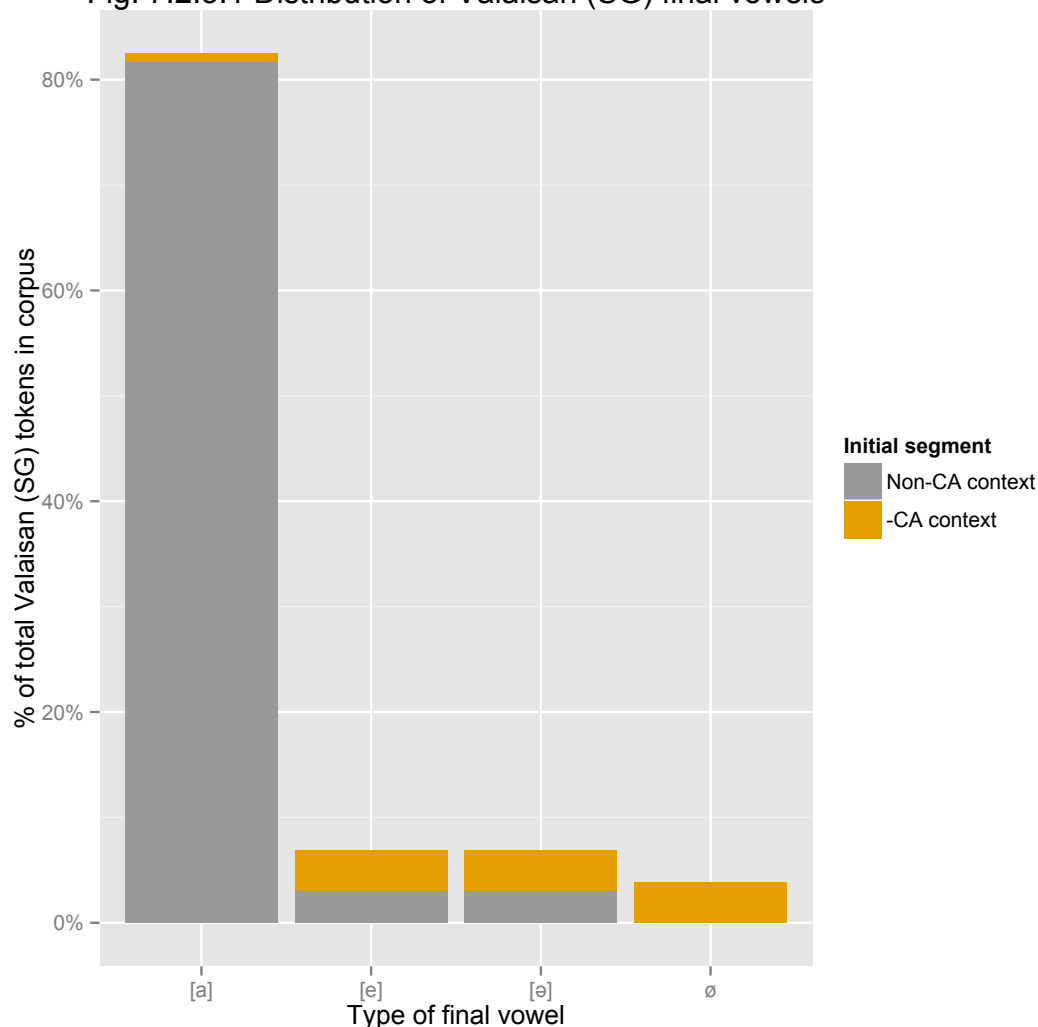
Table 7.2.3.1 Distribution of Valaisan variants for (SG) word final –a

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(SG)-4: [e]	3.48% (4)	31.25% (5)
(SG)-3: [a]	93.04% (107)	6.25% (1)
(SG)-2: [ə]	3.48% (4)	31.25% (5)
(SG)-1: ø	0.00%	31.25% (5)

Figure 7.2.3.1 and Table 7.2.3.1 for the Valaisan feminine-singular nouns show that, in the non–CA context, the distribution of variants for (SG) is comparable to the Lyonnais data, although we do find variation. For example the [e] variant, which we have argued should occur following the –CA context, is present in 3.48% here. As before, there are also a small number of tokens exhibiting schwa. However,

it is in the –CA context where we see the greatest degree of variation: [e] is most definitely not the most common form (as predicted), but instead we also find numbers of [ə] and zero forms. This finding is surprising in light of what we have seen so far in §7.1 and Chapter 2 more generally, where we suggested that these forms would mark the plural, not the singular (there is, therefore, clearly variability). We must now consider which speakers are employing these variants.

7.2.3.1 Distribution of Valaisan (SG) variants by speaker type

The distribution of variants by speaker type for Valais are presented in Figure 7.2.3.1.1 below.

Fig. 7.2.3.1.1 Distribution of Valaisan (SG) variants, speaker type

Table 7.2.3.1.1 Valaisan variants for (SG), non–CA context
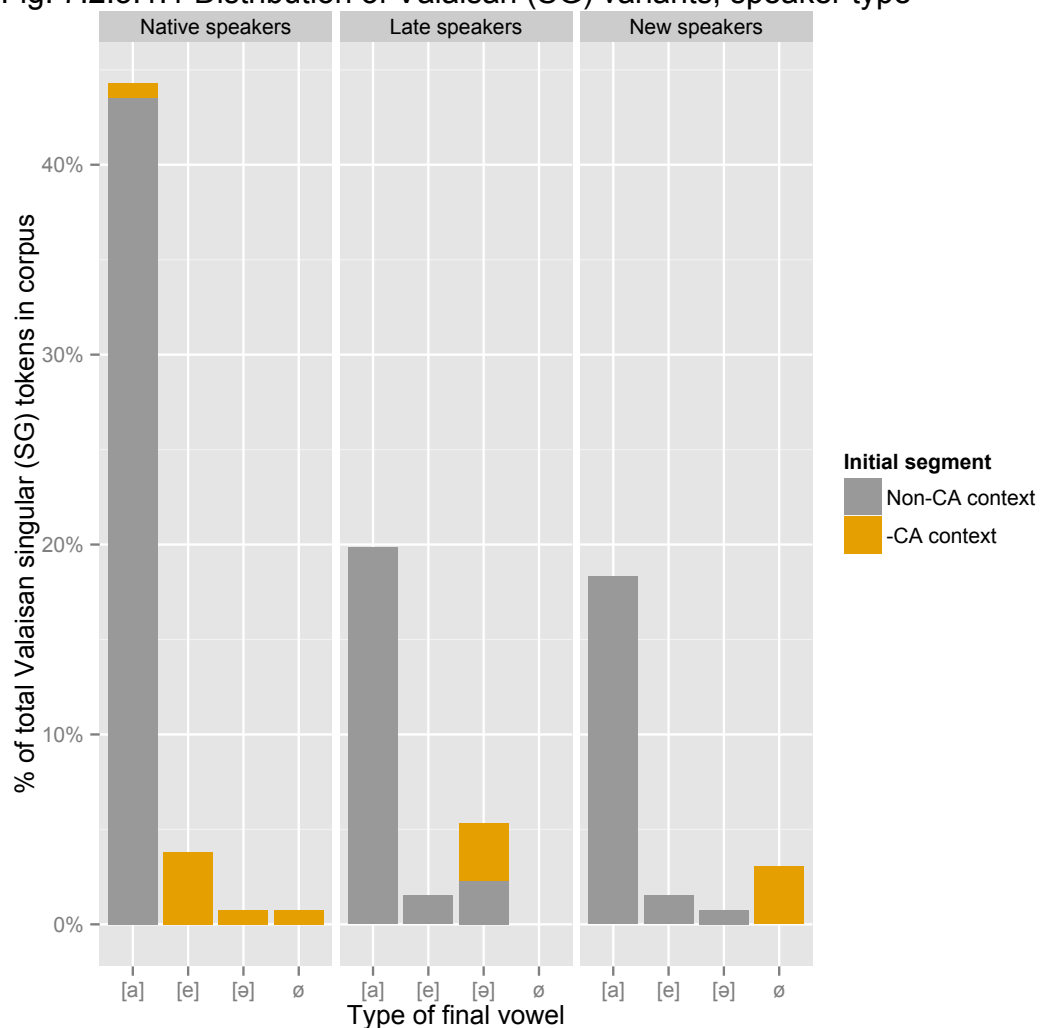
	(SG)-4: [e]	(SG)-3: [a]	(SG)-2: [ə]
Native	0.00%	100.00% (57)	0.00%
Late	6.45% (2)	83.87% (26)	9.68% (3)
New	7.41% (2)	88.89% (24)	3.70% (1)

As the above figure and table show, the native speakers for Valais are clearly categorical in their realisation of [a] before a segment other than an affricate. Turning to the late-speaker data, however, and we find variation by comparison with the native speakers. We find a small number of [e] forms: in this case, two tokens for the lexical item trâbla [ˈtɐble] ('table'), which, as we noted above, is not a traditional form. Therefore the late speakers do show some departure from traditional norms here. In the new-speaker data we find that the variants mirror the late-speaker and native-speaker patterns much more closely than in the case of the Lyonnais new-speaker data. In the singular form, [a] is most often found before segments other than an affricate, as with the other speaker types. We find here two further tokens for [e], which we discuss below.

Table 7.2.3.1.2 Valaisan variants for (SG), –CA context

	(SG)-4: [e]	(SG)-3: [a]	(SG)-2: [ə]	(SG)-1: ø
Native	62.50% (5)	12.50% (1)	12.50% (1)	12.50% (1)
Late	0.00%	0.00%	100.00% (4)	0.00%
New	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00% (4)

Turning to the –CA context, it is clear to see from Table 7.2.3.1.2 that there are very few tokens in the corpus found in this environment in the Valais data. While the data are fragmentary, we do notice that the three speaker types do not map onto each other uniformly. For example, quite unlike the native and late-speaker data, amongst the new speakers we find only instance of vowel-final deletion in the singular form, following an affricate. Might it be the case that the new speakers then

have acquired the lexemes, but not the constraint governing plural marking? Or is this convergence with SF? We explore this below.

In summary, the Valaisan (SG) data do not appear to show significant discrepancies across the different speaker categories. However, we have begun to note some departure from traditional norms here, particularly in the new-speaker data, where zero vowel-final realisations have been observed in the singular.

7.2.3.2 Distribution of Valaisan (SG) variants by place of residence

Owing to the variation that we have just observed, and given the extent of highly localised variation in Valais generally, the discussion turns next to an assessment of the Valaisan data by fieldwork site.

Fig. 7.2.3.2.1 Native Valaisan (SG) vowels by residence
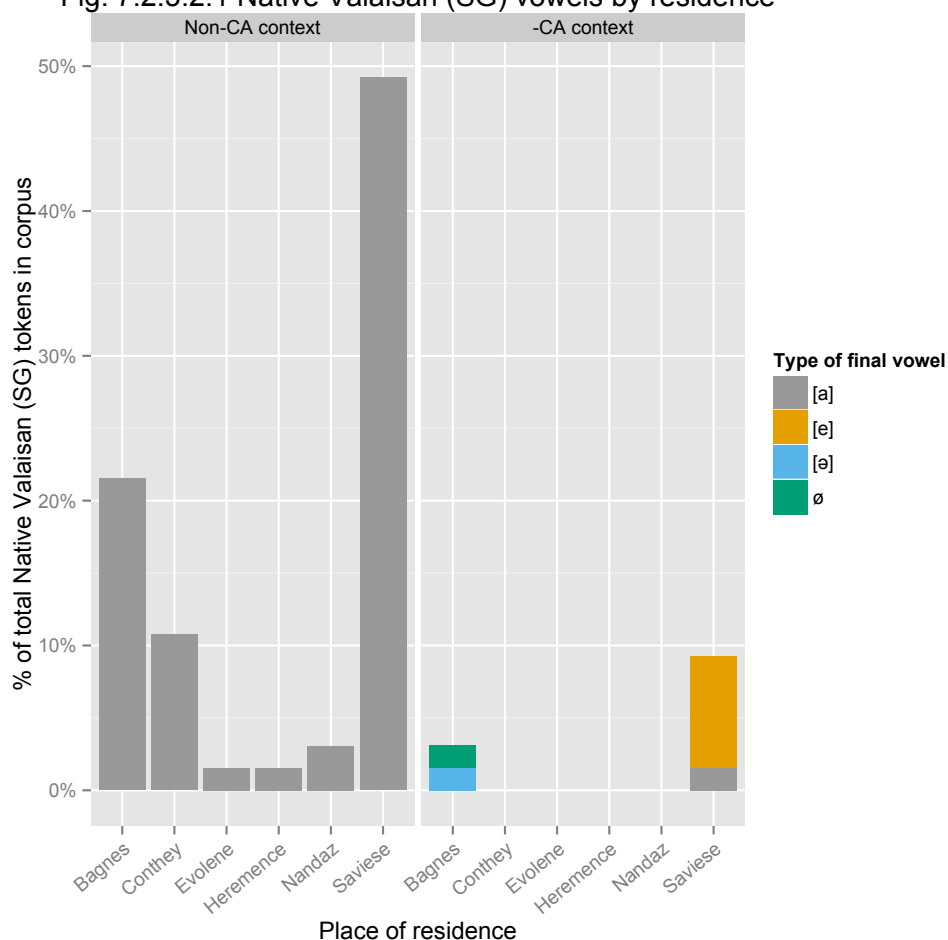
As the above figure illustrates, a breakdown of the native-speaker data by place of residence is helpful here, for we can see that our variability for Valaisan (SG) lies in the –CA context. While [e] was the anticipated form in this context, we also find small numbers of tokens for schwa, zero, and, surprisingly, [a]. A further assessment of these data reveal that these variants occur in just three lexical items, tabulated below.

Table 7.2.3.2.1 Valaisan native speaker (SG) data

Lexical item (FR)	Site	ORB	Form	N=	Variant
cloche	Bagnes	clloche	[ˈɫɔʦ]	1	(SG)-1: ø
cloche	Bagnes	clloche	[ˈɫɔʦə]	1	(SG)-2: [ə]
vache	Savièse	vache	[ˈɐʦa]	1	(SG)-3: [a]

Fig. 7.2.3.2.2 Late Valaisan (SG) vowels by residence
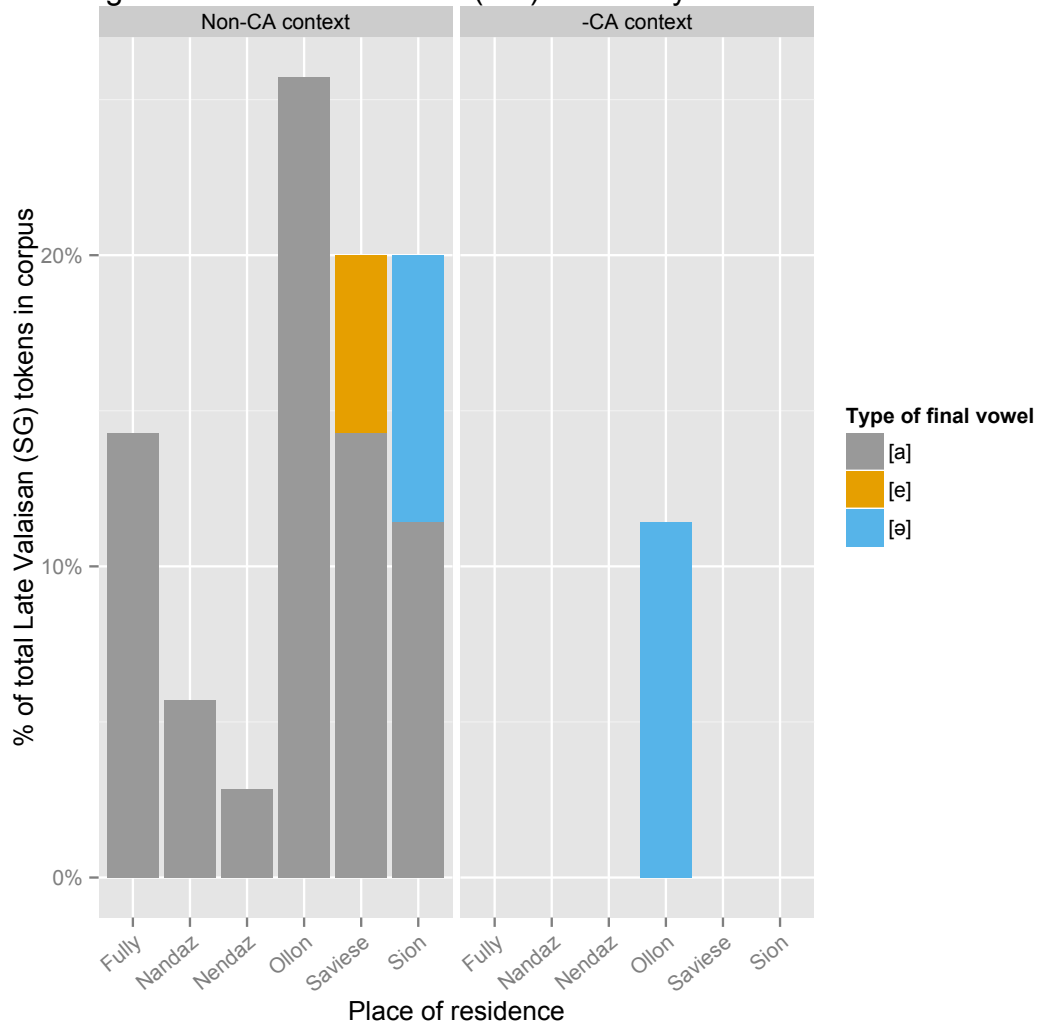
Turning to the late-speaker data, and, again, the variants illustrated in Figure 7.2.3.2.1 are not too dissimilar from the native-speaker data for [a]. However, we do find amongst the late speakers from Savièse two instances of [e] for the same context, and both occur with the lexical item *trâbla* [ˈtɐble] ('table'), as we have said, which we would have expected to be a plural marker. Interestingly, in the case of Ollon, all tokens elicited from this speaker give [ə] in the –CA context, rather than [e]: these items are given in Table 7.2.3.2.2 below:

Table 7.2.3.2.2 Ollon data in detail: feminine-singular nouns

Lexical item (FR)	Form	Frequency N=	Type of vowel
vache	[ˈɐtsə]	1	(SG)-2: [ə]
cloche	[ˈɫɔtsə]	3	(SG)-2: [ə]

Fig. 7.2.3.2.3 New Valaisan (SG) vowels by residence
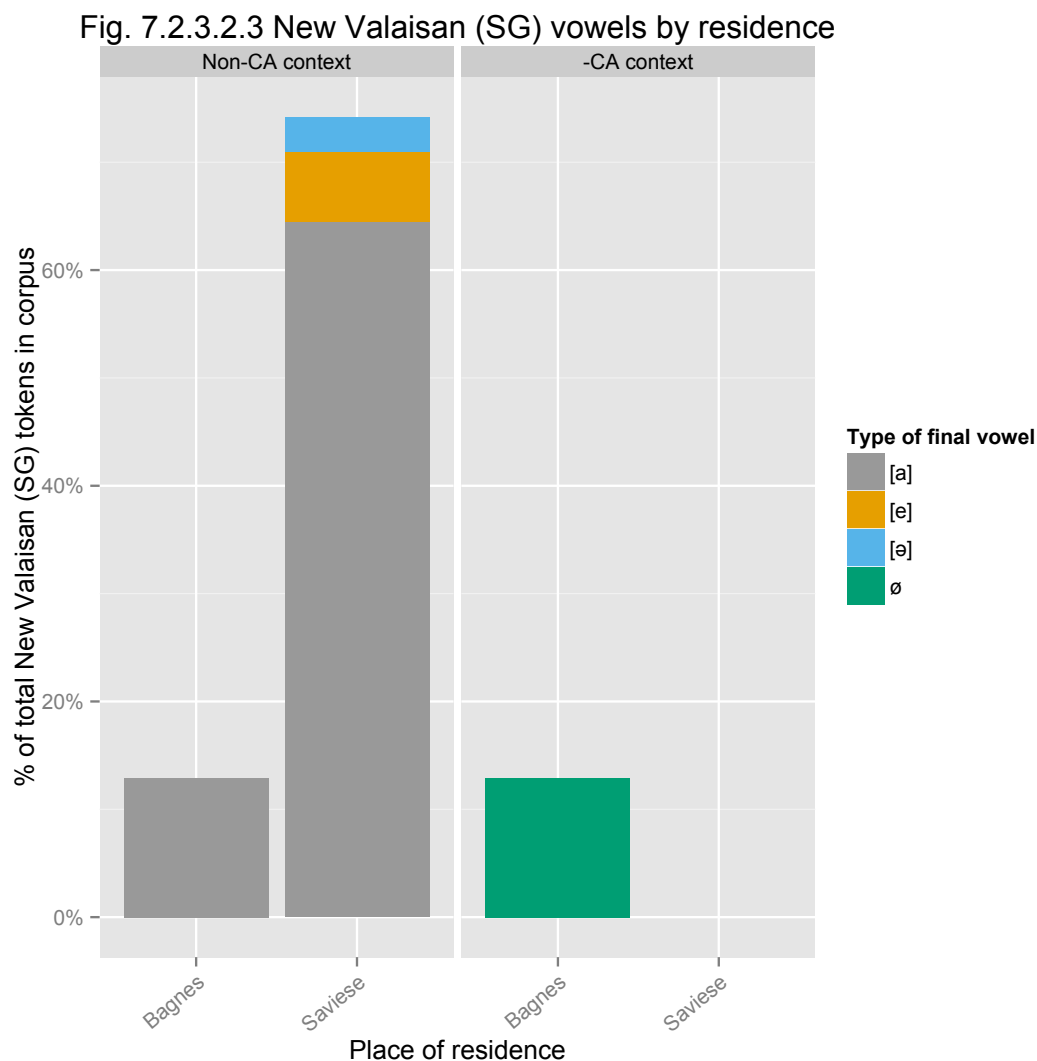
Turning to the new-speaker data, Figure 7.2.3.2.3 illustrates that the feminine-singular data presented for the new speakers in the Valaisan sample largely do not appear to pattern any differently from the native and late speakers. However, it is possible to observe in the Savièsan data a greater degree of variation. Interestingly, a closer inspection of the forms elicited from speaker J13-26 – a participant who we have said previously is closely connected to the Arpitan movement – produces two tokens of [e] for the item *ampoua* [ˈ̃apwe] which is one of two possible ORB forms for the SF 'framboise' ('raspberry'), the other being *frambouèsa*. Anecdotally, we might note it of interest to the present study that this speaker – an Arpitan activist –

has opted for the form most dissimilar from SF. Owing to the variation in the new-speaker category, we have also seen in previous chapters that the new-speaker findings are far from uniform. So, Table 7.2.3.2.3 below presents instead the findings according to each new speaker *and* their place of residence.

Table 7.2.3.2.3 Savièsan new speaker feminine (SG) forms

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
Participant #: J13-26 (M)		
(SG)-4: [e]	22.22% (2)	0.00%
(SG)-3: [a]	66.67% (6)	0.00%
(SG)-2: [ə]	11.11% (1)	0.00%
Participant #: C08-63 (F)		
(SG)-3: [a]	100.00% (14)	0.00%

As the table reveals, both new speakers produce very different variants here: while C08-63 produces the traditional form, J13-26 employs a wider range of variants. This observation is of clear interest to the present study, as we have been suggesting in Chapters 5 and 6 that, within the new-speaker category, speakers more closely connected to the Arpitan movement might evidence difference linguistic features to those that are less strongly connected; this will be an avenue of inquiry in Chapter 8. We turn next to the Bagnard new speakers, whose data are presented in Table 7.2.3.2.4, below:

Table 7.2.3.2.4 Bagnard new-speaker feminine (SG) forms

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
Participant #: J02-65 (M)		
(SG)-4: [e]	0.00%	0.00%
(SG)-3: [a]	0.00%	0.00%
(SG)-2: [ə]	0.00%	0.00%
(SG)-1: ø	0.00%	100.00% (3)
Participant #: J02-68 (M)		
(SG)-4: [e]	0.00%	0.00%
(SG)-3: [a]	100.00% (4)	0.00%
(SG)-2: [ə]	0.00%	0.00%
(SG)-1: ø	0.00%	100.00% (1)

In spite of the fact that the data presented in Table 7.2.3.2.4 are very fragmentary and limited, we find in the Bagnard data the converse of what we have seen above, in that these speakers stick rather rigidly to the patterns that we have seen from the native and late speakers in the same fieldwork site (*cf.* Figure 7.2.3.2.1).

In summary, while the Lyonnais data have been shown to be rather geographically homogeneous, we have seen in the new-speaker data that not only are the variants produced by these speakers different from participants in other categories, but, further, that within the same category, these new speakers can be differentiated from each other in their use of linguistic forms.

7.2.3.3 Distribution of Valaisan (SG) variants by sex

As has been made clear in this chapter so far, the (SG) data in both fieldwork areas are especially limited and fragmentary. As a result we have deemed it unfruitful to explore sex as a factor for (SG) among the native and late speakers, as so few tokens are available. The new-speaker data has already been examined according to this factor above.

7.2.3.4 Distribution of Valaisan (SG) variants by style

We have just seen that there is some variability in the speech of our new speakers that does seem to depart from traditional norms. While the data remain limited, it would be fruitful to compare J13-26's data according to style (see Table 7.2.3.4.1, below).

Table 7.2.3.4.1 Distribution of J13-26's variants by speech style		
Casual speech	non–CA context	–CA context
(SG)-4: [e]	22.22% (2)	0.00%
(SG)-3: [a]	66.67% (6)	0.00%
(SG)-2: [ə]	11.11% (1)	0.00%
Wordlist task		
(SG)-4: [e]	0.00%	0.00%
(SG)-3: [a]	0.00%	0.00%
(SG)-2: [ə]	0.00%	0.00%

As the table reveals, this participant produced no tokens for (SG) in the wordlist task. However, we might note that the same variability in the production of (SG) is also found in the casual style for J13-26. This can be loosely compared with the Lyonnais new-speaker data, where non-local forms were only produced by speaker A18-23 in one-to-one interview only. However, as we have consistently highlighted, the data remain fragmentary.

7.2.3.5 Summary of findings for Valais

To summarise what we have said about the Valaisan (SG) variants, we have seen that, unlike in previous chapters, the data presented above appear to be rather limited and more homogeneous. Very few discussion points have been raised when comparing the native speakers with the late speakers. The new-speaker data, however, continue to prove of central interest to the present study. Regarding (SG), while these participants do evidence having acquired the distinctions between the non–CA and –CA contexts, there is variation in the realisation of the traditional variants that we have outlined: this is particularly the case when we examined the data through the scope of speech style. However, it is noteworthy that no obvious Arpitan 'recommended' forms arise in the (SG) data as a whole.

7.3 Plural forms (PL)

We turn next to the distribution of variants according to the feminine-plural forms in the corpus. Recall form §7.1 that the following linguistic phenomena are attested in the literature:

(i) Traditional forms: [a] is reduced to [ə] for varieties spoken in France; [e] for varieties spoken in Switzerland. The variants [i] and [e] (in the –CA context) have a zero form.

(ii) Arpitan ORB recommended forms: [e] or [ə]

As with the previous section, we begin first in §7.3.1 with an assessment of the study's own data according to the linguistic-internal constraints on the feminine-plural forms.

7.3.1 Distribution of variants for the Lyonnais area

The distribution of (PL) variants for the Lyonnais area are illustrated in Figure 7.3.2.1, below:

Fig. 7.3.2.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (PL) final vowels
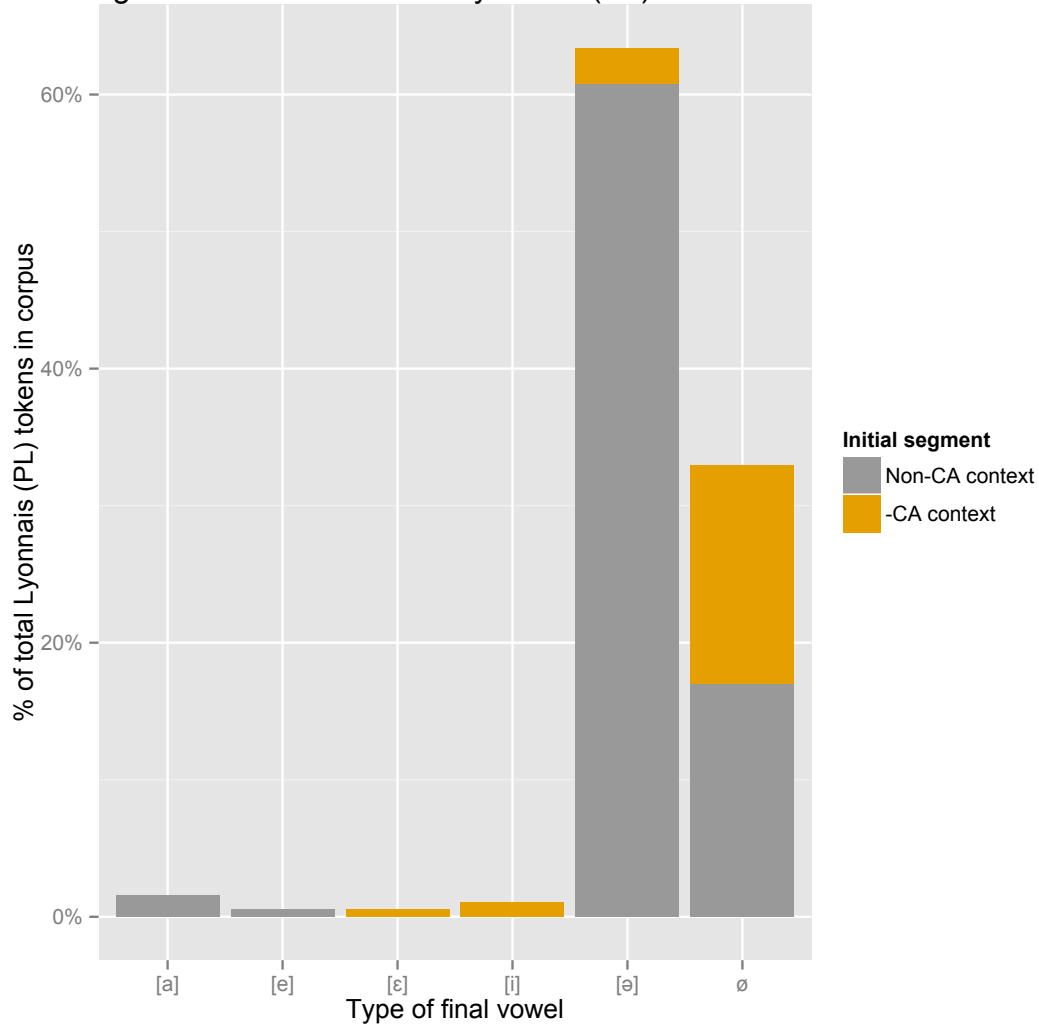
Table 7.3.2.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (PL) forms		
Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-6: [i]	0.00%	5.13% (2)
(PL)-5: [e]	0.65% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-4: [ɛ]	0.00%	2.56% (1)
(PL)-3: [a]	1.94% (3)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	**76.13% (118)**	12.82% (5)
(PL)-1: ø	21.29% (33)	**79.49% (31)**

The above figure and table reveal that, for –CA context, while the bulk of the tokens that we have show the expected pattern, over 20% of these are not deleted word-finally. Conversely, where no palatal consonant occurs, schwa is realised in

76% of cases. Besides this very clear distribution, there are a very small number of tokens in both contexts that buck the trends that we have outlined here. Moreover, it is also noteworthy that 21% of the non–CA tokens also show vowel deletion, which, as we have been saying, is expected as a variant of the –CA plural form only. We therefore find more variation in (PL) than in (SG) for the Lyonnais area. We must now consider which speakers are employing which variants.

7.3.2.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (PL) variants by speaker type

The distribution of (PL) variants for the Lyonnais speakers are illustrated in Figure 7.3.2.1.1, and Tables 7.3.2.1.1-3 below. We begin first with the native speaker data:

Table 7.3.2.1.1 Distribution of Native Lyonnais (PL) variants		
Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-3: [a]	0.71% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	**78.72% (111)**	14.71% (5)
(PL)-1: ø	20.57% (29)	**85.29% (29)**

Looking at the native-speaker data, in the non–CA context: speakers reduce the final vowel to schwa in 78.72% of cases, and, following a palatal, speakers produce zero tokens in 85.29% of cases. In both contexts, however, we do also find a smaller number of non-traditional forms. For example, there is a high rate of deletion in the non–CA context, where we would have expected schwa.

Table 7.3.2.1.2 Distribution of Late Lyonnais (PL) variant		
Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-3: [a]	12.50% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	**50.00% (4)**	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	37.50% (3)	**100.00% (2)**

Turning to the late-speaker data in Table 7.3.2.1.2, very few tokens were elicited for this variable and speaker type, and so any quantitative analysis here will

be unfruitful. However, rather than dismissing the data out of hand, it is noteworthy that the late speakers sampled here do not deviate from their reference group (the native speakers) in their realisation of traditional forms. Despite the poverty of tokens here, the table reveals that the same forms are present when compared with the native-speaker data. Again, we might note that neither of the mid-front vowels are present in these data, just as with the native-speaker data.

Fig. 7.3.2.1.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (PL) variants, speaker type
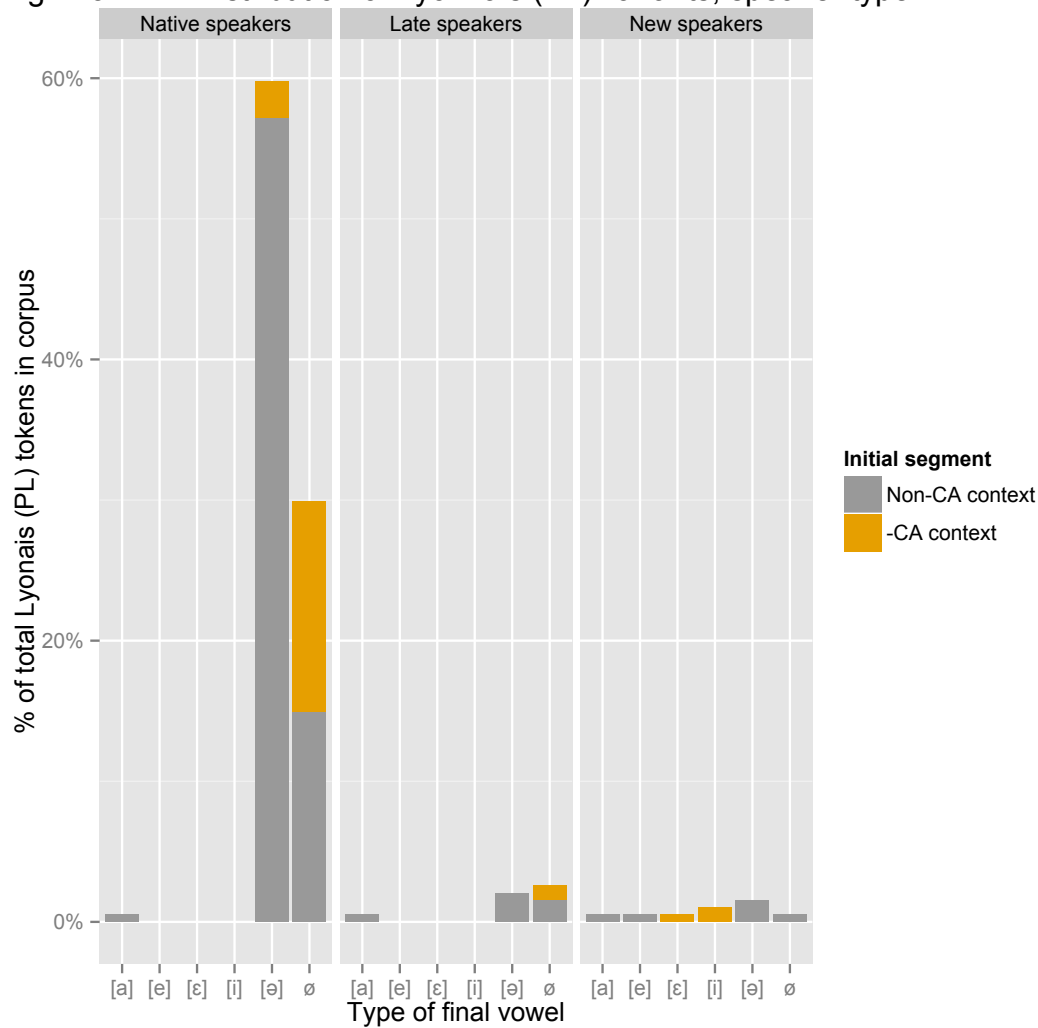
Turning to an examination of the new-speaker data presented in Table 7.3.2.1.3, below, it is clear to see that the patterns become more fuzzy.

Table 7.3.2.1.3 Distribution of New Lyonnais (PL) variants		
Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-7: [i]	0.00%	66.67% (2)
(PL)-6: [e]	16.67% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	0.00%	33.33% (1)
(PL)-3: [a]	16.67% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	50.00% (3)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	16.67% (1)	0.00%

Although only nine tokens were elicited from the Lyonnais new speakers for (PL), the data do appear to suggest that this category of speaker will avoid deleting final vowels, and instead opt for a greater range of vowel-final variants. For example, it is noteworthy that both mid-high *and* mid-low front vowels feature in their data, yet these vowels do not appear in the late or native-speaker data. We must therefore question where these variants have come from if they are neither localised to the area, nor approximating to SF. Despite a poverty of data for this speaker type, then, it is possible to see some examples of linguistic divergence from the other speakers.

To briefly summarise the Lyonnais data so far, we have seen that the native and late-speaker data pattern more or less as expected according to our overview of this variable in §7.1. It is in the new-speaker data where divergence from traditional linguistic norms is most clear. Rather than approximating towards these norms, the new-speaker data show instead a wider range of final vowels, in particular the mid-low and mid-high vowels, in the plural form.

7.3.2.2 Distribution of Lyonnais (PL) variants by new speakers

In §7.2.2.2 above, we remarked that the native and late speaker-data were relatively homogeneous, in that these participants were producing very similar forms for (SG), and so it was deemed unnecessary to pursue a more fine-grained analysis of the data

according to specific fieldwork site in the same way as it has been necessary for the Valaisan corpus. However, we did note that the new-speaker data exhibited very different linguistic forms according to individual participants, and so we take the opportunity here to assess the three new-speaker findings in finer detail (*cf.* Tables 7.3.2.2.1-3, below).

Table 7.3.2.2.1 Distribution of New Lyonnais (PL) variants: A18-23 (M)

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	0.00%	100.00% (1)
(PL)-2: [ə]	**66.67% (2)**	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	33.33% (1)	**0.00%**

Table 7.3.2.2.2 Distribution of New Lyonnais (PL) variants: D20-25 (M)

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-7: [i]	0.00%	100.00% (2)
(PL)-3: [a]	100.00% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	0.00%	**0.00%**

Table 7.3.2.2.1 Distribution of New Lyonnais (PL) variants: S07-24 (M)

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-6: [e]	50.00% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	**50.00% (1)**	0.00%

As can be seen from the above tables, the data elicited by the new speakers are both fragmentary and limited, and so any conclusions derived here must be drawn with care. However, it is interesting to note that these speakers largely avoid vowel-final deletion by comparison with the other speaker types. We might note in addition that both [e] and [ɛ] and exclusively new-speaker forms here. This then begs the question: why is it that we find variants such as [ɛ] in the speech of A18-23 for example, but not in the speech of the other two speakers? We have already seen in Chapter 5 that A18-23 was mentored by late speaker participant C12-01, who has not been shown to produce the front vowels in the late-speaker data (*cf.* Figure 7.3.2.1.1 above). Therefore, at this point, it is unclear where these variants have come from.

However, as the new speakers here clearly diverge from traditional forms here, we explore these data in greater detail in Chapter 8.

7.3.2.3 Distribution of Lyonnais (PL) variants by sex

As with the (SG) variable above, we maintain in this section an assessment of the native-speaker data only, where both males and females were sampled (*cf.* Table 7.3.2.3.1 and Figure 7.3.2.3.1 below).

Table 7.3.2.3.1 Distribution of Native Lyonnais (PL) forms by sex		
Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
Females		
(PL)-3: [a]	0.00%	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	**72.88% (43)**	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	27.12% (16)	**100.00% (10)**
Males		
(PL)-3: [a]	1.22% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	**82.93% (68)**	20.83% (5)
(PL)-1: ø	15.85% (13)	**79.17% (19)**

We can observe in the data that females and males maintain the alternation between vowels for both linguistic contexts to a near-categorical degree: schwa is employed as the plural marker where no palatal segment precedes the final vowel, and then this vowel is deleted following a palatal. Anecdotally, we might note that the female participants have a categorical rate of deletion following –CA by comparison with the males, who score slightly lower. In both cases, however, we can also note a high level of deletion in the non–CA context, which is an unexpected finding, based on our overview above.

7.3.2.4 Distribution of Lyonnais (PL) variants by style

In §7.2.2.4 above, we examined the variability of (SG) according to casual and wordlist styles, and we found that participants were more likely to produce traditional forms in the wordlist style than in the casual style. Owing to the significance of this observation, we examine here whether or not the same patterns can be discerned from the (PL) data.

Fig 7.3.2.4.1 Lyonnais (PL) variants by speech style
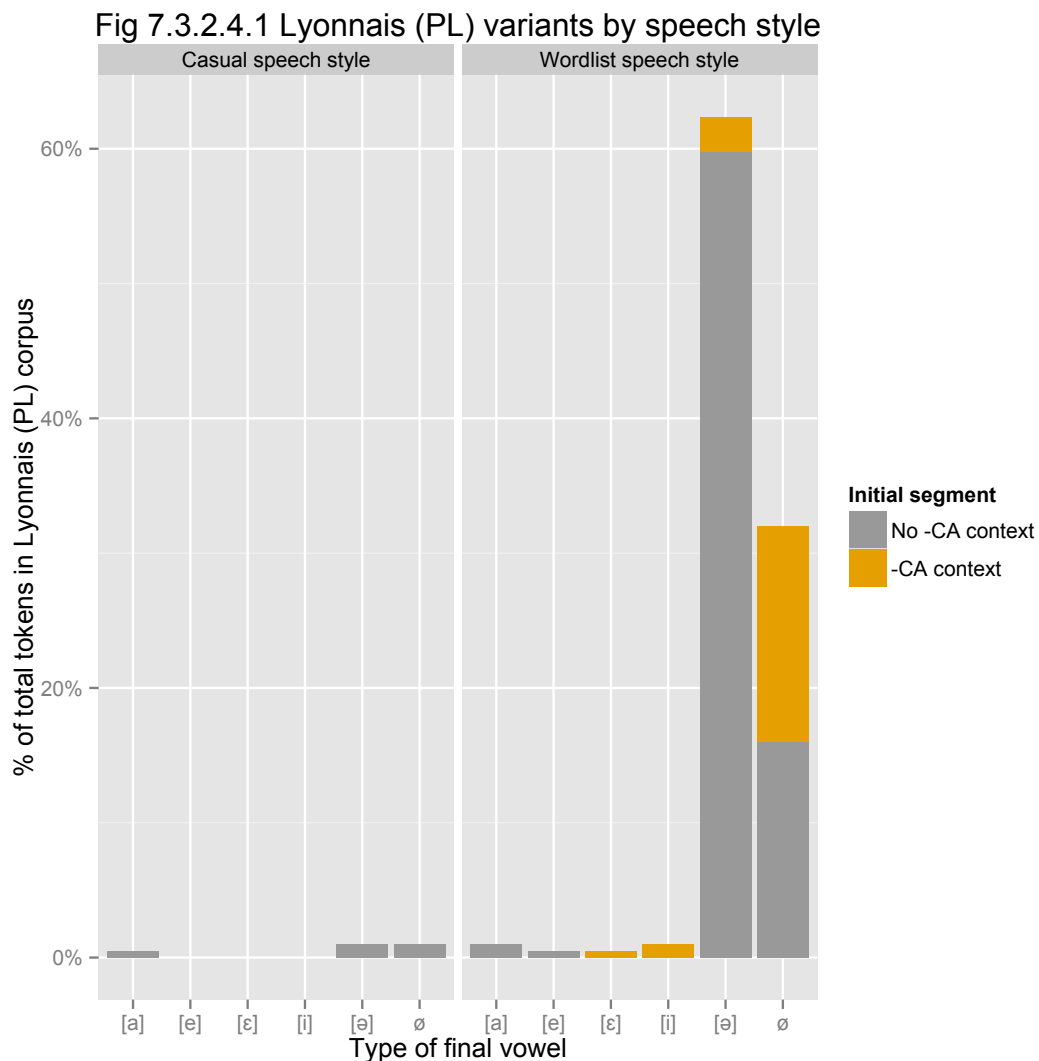
As we can see from the figure (above), and table (below), it is noteworthy that speakers again broadly approximate more closely towards traditional forms in the wordlist style than they do in the casual style.

Table 7.3.2.4.1 Distribution of Lyonnais (PL) variants by speech style

Casual speech	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-3: [a]	20.00% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	**40.00% (2)**	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	40.00% (2)	**0.00%**
Wordlist		
(PL)-6: [i]	0.00%	5.13% (2)
(PL)-5: [e]	0.67% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-4: [ɛ]	0.00%	2.56% (1)
(PL)-3: [a]	1.33% (2)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	**77.33% (116)**	12.82% (5)
(PL)-1: ø	20.67% (31)	**79.49% (31)**

What is especially interesting about the data when viewed through the scope of style is that our new speaker forms [e] and [ɛ] *only* occur in a more scripted style, rather than in a group interview, in the presence of native speakers. Interestingly, although the data are very fragmentary, when focusing specifically on the new speakers (*cf.* Table 7.3.2.4.2 below), such forms do not occur in the group interviews.

Table 7.3.2.4.2 Lyonnais New speaker (PL) variants by speech style

Casual speech	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-2: [ə]	50.00% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	50.00% (1)	0.00%
Wordlist		
(PL)-6: [i]	0.00%	66.67% (2)
(PL)-5: [e]	25.00% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-4: [ɛ]	0.00%	33.33% (1)
(PL)-3: [a]	25.00% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	50.00% (2)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	0.00%	0.00%

7.3.2.5 Summary of findings for the Lyonnais area

Having examined first the Lyonnais data for (PL), we have observed relatively consistent findings that align with our expectations summarised in §7.1 above: speakers produced a zero final vowel in 79.49% of cases before a palatal, and [ə] in

76.13% of cases following other contexts. Other variants were again present though, including instances of [e] and [ɛ] which were unexpected. We have since identified these variants to be exclusively new-speaker forms, that only appear to occur in the wordlist style. It was interesting to note too that 21.29% of tokens showed final deletion in the plural form for contexts other than –CA, and at this stage it was unclear as to why this might be the case (zero final vowels being a plural marker following a palatal). There was therefore variation in the realisation of (PL) variants, particularly for [e] and [ɛ], and so further analysis with other extra-linguistic factors was needed to source where and who these variants were coming from. We might note at this point that the Arpitan recommended form for this variable is [e], which may tentatively indicate divergence away from local norms, towards an alternative Arpitan norm. As we have indicated, we explore this in greater detail in Chapter 8.

7.3.3   Distribution of variants for Valais

We turn next to an assessment of the Valaisan data for (PL), illustrated in Figure 7.3.3.1, below:

Fig. 7.3.3.1 Distribution of Valaisan (PL) final vowels
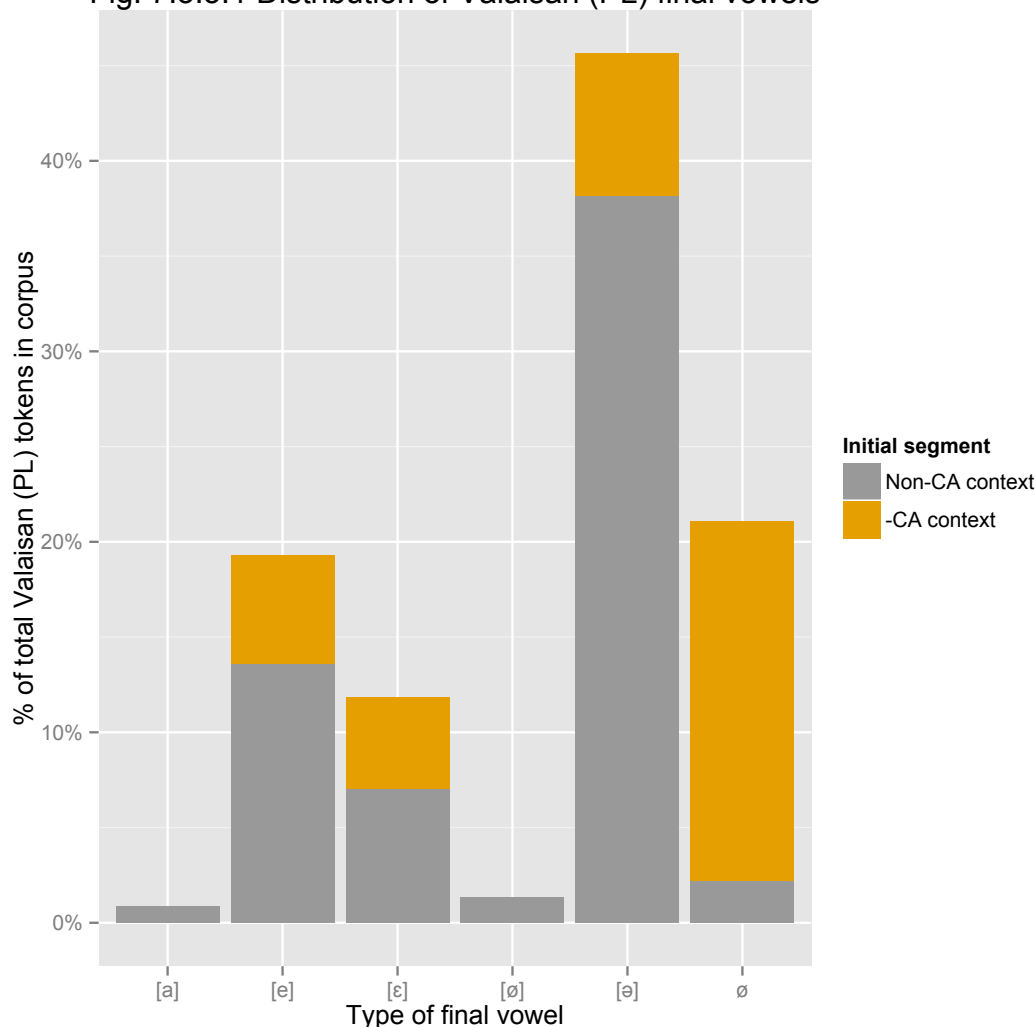
Table 7.3.3.1 Distribution of Valaisan variants for (PL)

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-6: [e]	**21.53% (31)**	15.48% (13)
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	11.11% (16)	13.10% (11
(PL)-4: [ø]	2.08% (3)	0.00%
(PL)-3: [a]	1.39% (2)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	60.42% (87)	20.24% (13)
(PL)-1: ø	3.47% (5)	**51.19% (43)**

As the above data reveal, it is in the plural form where the Valaisan data is distinguished most obviously from the Lyonnais data. Where no affricate precedes the final vowel, we saw in §7.1 that we can reliably expect [e]. However, as Table 7.3.3.1 shows, [e] only occurs in 21.53% of cases here, whereas schwa accounts for over 60%

of the tokens. In addition, it is surprising to note the presence of [ɛ] here, which we have not previously discussed in the context of Valais. When an affricate is introduced, the speakers sampled are again not categorical in their usage: zero final vowels were much more frequent than any other variant, and in this sense the data are comparable to the Lyonnais sample, but again the presence of the mid-low vowel is surprising. In short, there is a significant amount of variation present for (PL) in the Valaisan data, and a number of lines of inquiry have been opened up. For example: why do we find both [e] and [ɛ] as possible variants in the data? The distribution of [ə] and zero is also unexpected here. We must now consider which speakers are employing these variants.

7.3.3.1 Distribution of Valaisan (PL) variants by speaker type

The findings for the Valaisan data according to speaker type are illustrated in Figure 7.3.3.1.1, below, where, as we can see, a very different pattern to that of the Lyonnais data is exhibited. As before, we begin first with the native-speaker data, which are summarised in Table 7.3.3.1.1, below.

Fig. 7.3.3.1.1 Distribution of Valaisan (PL) variants, speaker type
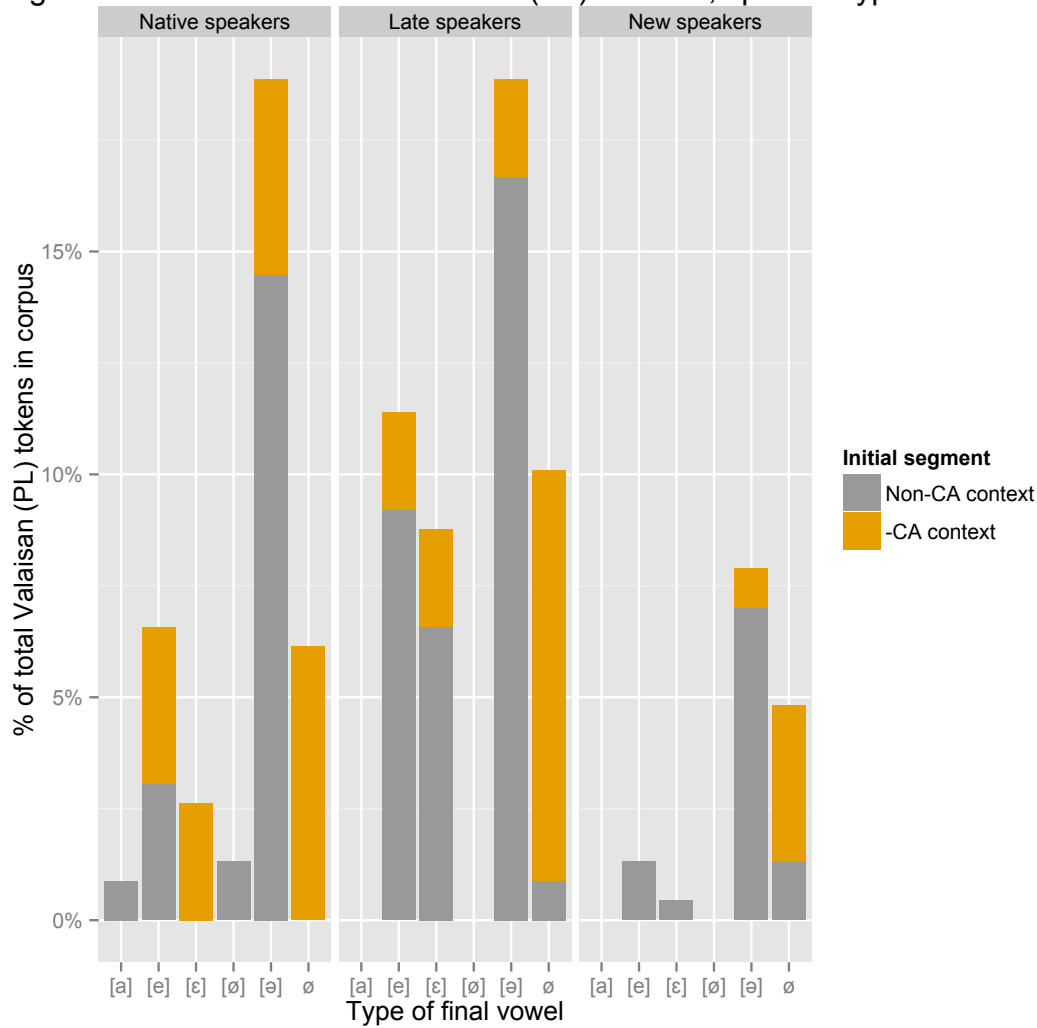
Table 7.3.3.1.1 Distribution of Valaisan (PL) variants for Native speakers

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-6: [e]	**15.56% (7)**	21.05% (8)
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	0.00%	15.79% (6)
(PL)-4: [ø]	6.67% (3)	0.00%
(PL)-3: [a]	4.44% (2)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	73.33% (33)	26.32% (10)
(PL)-1: ø	0.00%	**36.84% (14)**

From the above figures, it is noticeable that, for both linguistic contexts, the pattern that we have expected is very unclear. For example, in the non–CA context, our anticipated traditional form [e] makes up only 15.56% of the tokens; there are a much larger number of [ə] forms. Following –CA, we find vowel-final deletion

occurs in 36.84% of cases, but there is also significant variation. These observations were unexpected in light of the overview put forward in §7.1, and they merit further discussion.

Table 7.3.3.1.2 Distribution of Valaisan (PL) variants for Late speakers

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-6: [e]	**27.63% (21)**	13.89% (5)
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	19.74% (15)	13.89% (5)
(PL)-2: [ə]	50.00% (38)	13.89% (5)
(PL)-1: ø	2.63% (2)	**58.33% (21)**

Turning next to the late-speaker data, we find rather similar patterns to the native speakers, above. Broadly, the same sort of variants are present in both the feminine-singular and plural forms. There are however a greater number of [ɛ] variants in both the –CA and non–CA contexts than was found in the native-speaker data. Moreover, it is also noteworthy that the late speakers have a higher rate of vowel-final deletion following an affricate by comparison with the native speakers. The raising of the plural marker [e] to [ɛ] is attested in the Francoprovençal literature, but is not an expected variant for plural forms throughout Valais: we will examine below where precisely this is found.

Table 7.3.3.1.3 Distribution of Valaisan (PL) variants for New speakers

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
(PL)-6: [e]	13.04% (3)	0.00%
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	4.35% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	69.57% (16)	20.00% (2)
(PL)-1: ø	13.04% (3)	80.00% (8)

In the new-speaker data we find that the variants mirror the late speaker and native speaker patterns much more closely than in the case of the Lyonnais new-speaker data. In the plural form, the new-speaker data is more in line with our expectations from §7.1: we find that schwa is the most common form at 69.57%

before segments other than –CA, and when following –CA vowel deletion is most common, as we would expect. There is, therefore, a greater tendency for the final vowel to undergo reduction in the Valais data by comparison with what we have seen in Lyon, which is surprising given that schwa is the form that we would expect for the plural marker in a non–CA context.

7.3.3.2 Distribution of Valaisan (PL) variants by place of residence

Figure 7.3.3.2.1 (below) illustrates a substantial amount of regional variation. First, there are some broad patterns in the data: we can see for example that, in the –CA context, all fieldwork sites explored evidence some degree of vowel-final deletion as expected from our overview in §7.1. However, in the non–CA context we find schwa to be far more diffuse than [e]. In addition, what is unexpected in these data is the [ɛ] variant recorded in both Savièse and Évolène. If we compare the items containing these variants for the same sites, then we can draw some interesting parallels (see Table 7.3.3.2.1 below).

Fig. 7.3.3.2.1 Native Valaisan (PL) vowels by residence

Fig. 7.3.3.2.1 Native Valaisan (PL) vowels by residence
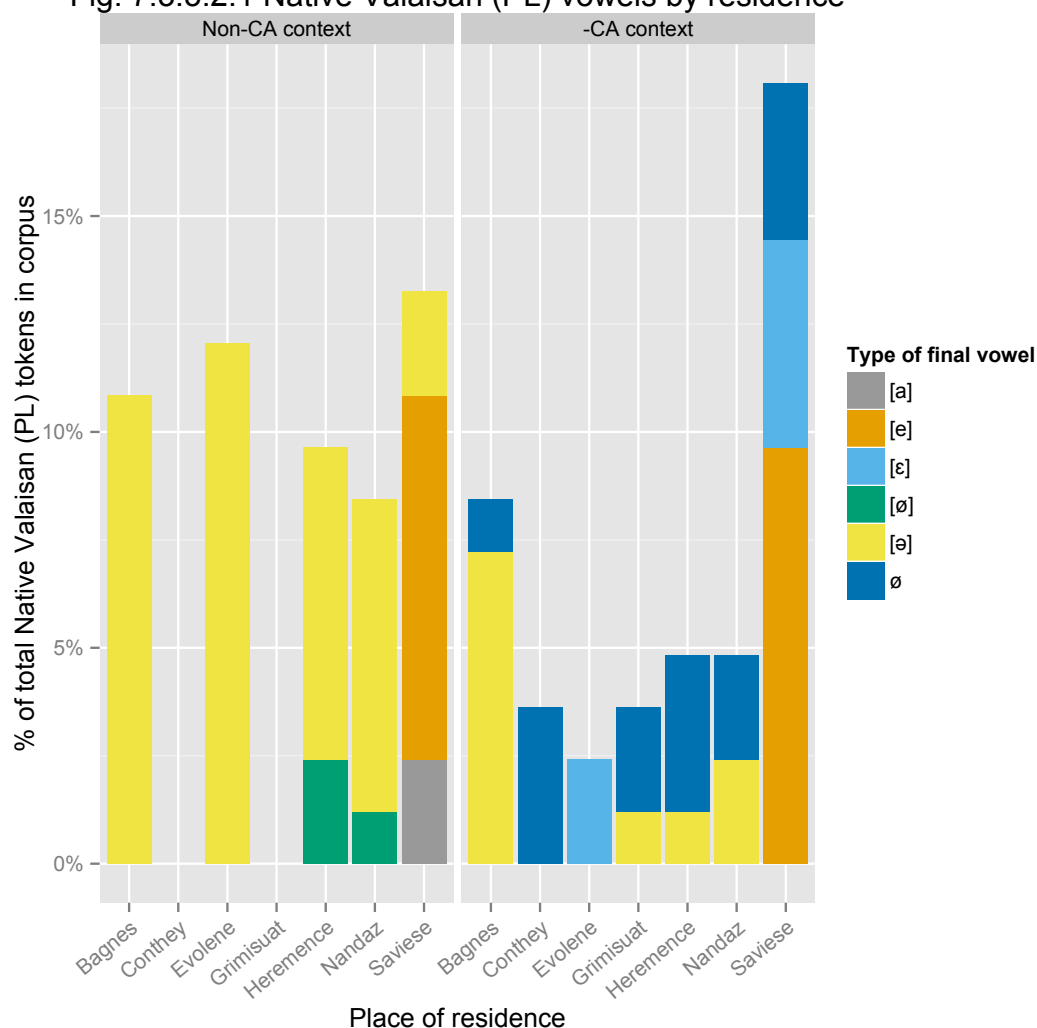
Table 7.3.3.2.1 Savièse & Évolène data in detail for (PL)			
Lexical item (FR)	*Form*	*Frequency N=*	*Type of vowel*
Savièse:			
clloches	[ˈklusɛ]	3	(PL)-5: [ɛ]
vaches	[ˈɐʦɛ]	3	(PL)-5: [ɛ]
vaches	[ˈɐʦ]	4	(PL)-1: ø
vaches	[ˈɐʦe]	1	(PL)-6: [e]
Évolène:			
clloches	[ˈklʲɔsɛ]	1	(PL)-5: [ɛ]
vaches	[ˈvaʦɛ]	1	(PL)-5: [ɛ]

The lexical items given in Table 7.3.3.2.1 show that different vowel-final plural markers can be observed. We can therefore claim safely at this point that there is in fact substantial variability in the pluralisation of feminine nouns, even within the

same fieldwork site (*cf.* Table 7.5.10, below, which comes from two speakers from the same *commune*). It is all the more surprising that the two sites (Savièse and Évolène) should have in common the word final form [ɛ]. While [ɛ] is attested in Évolène, as a plural variant for –CA word-finally it is not present in the reference grammar for Savièse (see Bretz-Héritier and Bretz-Héritier 1996: 46-50). Therefore, it is at this point unclear what is driving speakers to produce [ɛ] in this *commune*. Of the seven speakers that provided data for (PL), these mid-low vowels are found in the speech of two participants:

Table 7.3.3.2.2 Savièsan native speaker (PL) forms in –CA context

Variant	*Participant #: L18-52*	*Participant #: J22-48*
(PL)-5: [e]	8 (72.73%)	0.00%
(PL)-4: [ɛ]	2 (18.18%)	2 (50.00%)
(PL)-1: ø	1 (9.09%)	2 (50.00%)

Turning to the variants for the non–CA context from Figure 7.3.3.2.1, the data reveal that vowel-final [ø] occurs only in the Hérémence and Nendaz sites. However, this variant only occurs in the corpus with the lexical item *table* [ˈtɐblø] (plural). That both sites should have this same variant, despite their distance from each other (see Chapter 4), is not surprising, as the Nendaz data were elicited from just one research participant (M19-38) who is originally from Hérémence, later moving to Nendaz as an adult. In general, the majority of tokens elicited in the non–CA context largely show schwa as the main variant. Again, the only site that bucks this trend is Savièse, which evidences a number of possible variants, though the data are fragmentary across these disparate *communes*.

Fig. 7.3.3.2.2 Late Valaisan (PL) vowels by residence
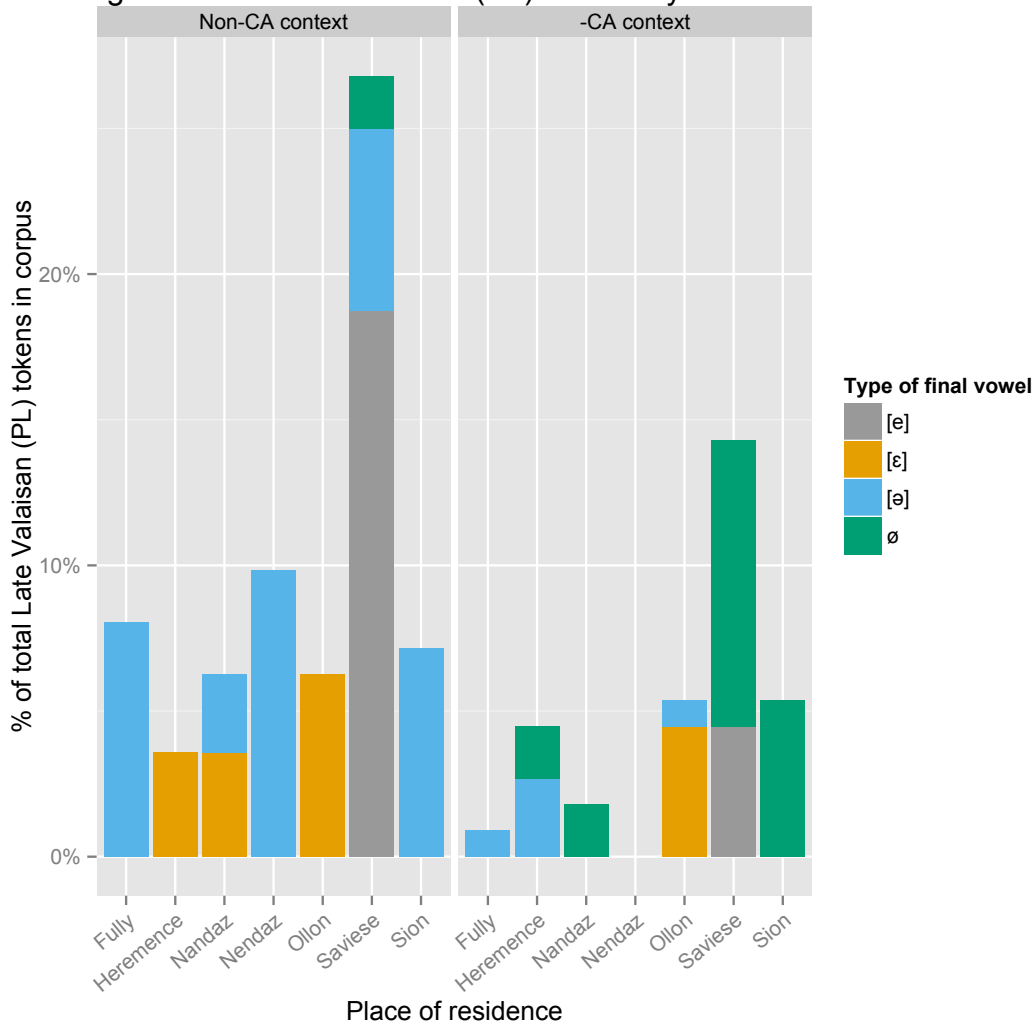
Turning to the late-speaker data, again, the variants illustrated in the above Figure are not too dissimilar from the native-speaker data. In the feminine plural we see in Savièse (*Valais savoyard*, East of the Morges) a greater tendency to produce vowel-final [e], compared with vowel reduction to schwa, or full deletion. Conversely, in the communes of Hérémence, Nendaz and Ollon (*Valais épiscopal*, West of the Morges) we find instead vowel-final [ɛ], which is expected for the *Valais épiscopal*. Unlike with the variables (l) and (a) then, the two broad dialectal areas of the *Valais savoyard* and *Valais épiscopal*, separated by the Morge, do not maintain uniquely different sets of final vowels for (PL), as our data appear to show that [ɛ] is

now attested in sites to the East too. This was unexpected in light of our overview of the literature given in §7.1.

Fig. 7.3.3.2.3 New Valaisan (PL) vowels by residence
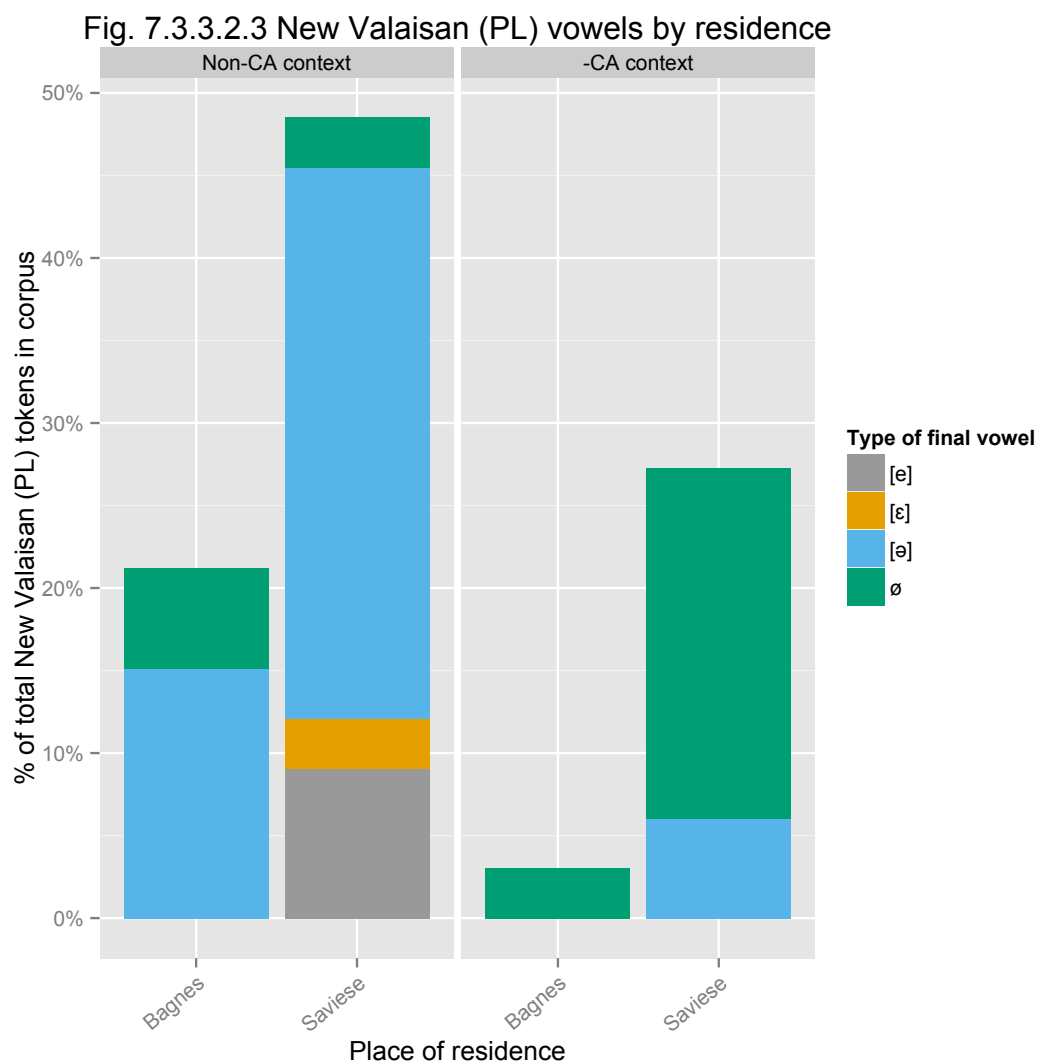
Turning to the new-speaker (PL) data we have seen in previous chapters that new-speaker findings are far from uniform, and that, within this category of speakers, we can find substantial variation. So, in addition to Figure 7.3.3.2.3 (above), Table 7.3.3.2.3, below, we present instead the findings according to each new speaker *and* their place of residence, taking each of these sites in turn.

Table 7.3.3.2.3 Savièse new-speaker (PL) final vowels

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
Participant #: J13-26 (M)		
(PL)-6: [e]	37.50% (3)	0.00%
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	12.50% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	50.00% (4)	33.33% (2)
(PL)-1: ø	0.00%	66.67% (4)
Participant #: C08-63 (F)		
(PL)-6: [e]	0.00%	0.00%
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	0.00%	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	87.50% (7)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	12.50% (1)	100.00% (3)

As the Table shows, both new speakers produce very different variants across all four possible contexts, and, moreover, neither speaker exhibits the patterns that we first established as norms in §7.1, above. Therefore, there is some departure from traditional norms evident in the findings here. First, looking at the Savièse new speakers, what *is* noteworthy, is the fact that speaker J13-26 makes use of both the plural markers [e] and [ɛ], whereas C08-63 does not. This is very interesting as we first established in Chapter 4 that speakers J13-26 and A18-23 (Lyonnais new speaker) were connected to each other within the same network (*cf.* Figure 4.4.2.1), and we have already seen that speaker A18-23 produced the same variants in his own speech. While both [e] and [ɛ] are attested variants in parts of Valais, they are not in the Lyonnais area. This line of inquiry will be pursued further in Chapter 8.

Turning to the new speakers sampled from the Bagne fieldwork site, in spite of the fact that the data presented in the below table are very fragmentary and limited, we find in the Bagnard data evidence that these speakers instead stick rather rigidly to the patterns that we have seen from the native and late speakers in the same fieldwork site.

Table 7.3.3.2.4 Bagnard new-speaker (PL) final vowels		
Variants	non–CA context	–CA context
Participant #: J02-65		
(PL)-2: [ə]	2 (100.00%)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	0.00%	0.00%
Participant #: J02-68		
(PL)-2: [ə]	3 (60.00%)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	2 (40.00%)	1 (100.00%)

In summary, while the Lyonnais data have been shown to be rather geographically homogeneous, we have seen in the new-speaker data that not only are the variants produced by these speakers different from participants in other categories, but, further, that within the same category, these new speakers can be differentiated from each other in their use of linguistic forms. Conversely, this section has shown that certain variants in the Valaisan data can be highly localised, while others are diffused outside of their traditional heartland: the finding that [ɛ] is now attested in Savièse was surprising, especially given that it was found in the speech of native and new speakers alike (though just one token was found in the latter category).

7.3.3.3 Distribution of Valaisan (PL) variants by sex

Owing to the same reasons as outlined in §7.2.3.3, we restrict our analysis of the Valaisan data here to those fieldwork sites where both male/female speakers were sampled across the three different speaker categories. This again means narrowing our analysis to the fieldwork site of Savièse only. We ignore the new-speaker data here as their data have already been compared in §7.3.3.2, above.

Table 7.3.3.3.1 Distribution of Native Savièsan (PL) final vowels by sex

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
Females:		
(PL)-5: [e]	0.00%	0.00%
(PL)-4: [ɛ]	0.00%	50.00% (2)
(PL)-3: [a]	66.67% (2)	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	33.33% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	0.00%	50.00% (2)
Males:		
(PL)-5: [e]	87.50% (7)	72.73% (8)
(PL)-4: [ɛ]	0.00%	18.18% (2)
(PL)-3: [a]	0.00%	0.00%
(PL)-2: [ə]	12.50% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	0.00%	9.09% (1)

In the plural, then, the female participants do not alter the final vowel following segments other than an affricate. This can be contrasted with the male data, where we find the expected pattern. Following the –CA context however, the data are more nuanced. What the data appear to reveal is that *both* [e] and [ɛ] are found in both male and female speech. This, as we have said above, does not appear to be a feature according to local grammars for Savièse.

Table 7.3.3.3.2 Distribution of Late-Savièsan (PL) final vowels by sex

Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
Females:		
(PL)-2: [e]	18 (72.00%)	5 (38.46%)
(PL)-5: [ə]	5 (20.00%)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	2 (8.00%)	8 (61.54%)
Males:		
(PL)-2: [e]	3 (60.00%)	0.00%
(PL)-5: [ə]	2 (40.00%)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	0.00%	3 (100.00%)

Broadly, then, we have reviewed sex as a factor in variant selection a number of times now, and we find repeatedly that there is little overall effect.

7.3.3.4 Distribution of Valaisan (PL) variants by style

Owing to the same constraints as outlined in §7.2.3.4 for (SG), the assessment of the Valaisan (PL) data here will be restricted to the *commune* of Savièse (see Tables 7.3.3.4.1-2, below).

Table 7.3.3.4.1 Distribution of Savièsan variants by speech style: Casual style		
Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
Participant #: J13-26		
(PL)-6: [e]	25.00% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	25.00% (1)	0.00%
(PL)-3: [ə]	50.00% (2)	33.33% (2)
(PL)-1: ø	0.00%	66.67% (4)
Participant #: L18-52	*0.00%*	50.00% (1)
(PL)-6: [e]	0.00%	0.00%
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	0.00%	0.00%
(PL)-3: [ə]	0.00%	50.00% (1)

Table 7.3.3.4.2 Distribution of Savièsan variants by speech style: Wordlist style		
Variant	non–CA context	–CA context
Participant #: J13-26		
(PL)-6: [e]	50.00% (2)	0.00%
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	0.00%	0.00%
(PL)-3: [ə]	50.00% (2)	0.00%
(PL)-1: ø	0.00%	0.00%
Participant #: L18-52		
(PL)-6: [e]	87.50% (7)	77.78% (7)
(PL)-5: [ɛ]	0.00%	22.22% (2)
(PL)-3: [ə]	12.50% (1)	0.00%

The data presented in the above Tables, which come from one male native speaker and one male new speaker, are again very fragmentary. However, although no obvious intra-speaker patterns emerge, the data are useful in highlighting that, for the native Savièsan, the mid-low vowel appears to be a feature in the singular in a careful style, whereas in a more casual style this does not appear to be the case. This would appear to be backed by the native-female data in Table 7.6.4 above. Until now this

has not been made clear. As this feature is not found in the late-speaker data, this may be tentative evidence that change is underway.

7.3.3.5 Summary of findings for Valais

To briefly summarise our key points from this chapter, regarding (SG): while the expected variants [a] and [e] were largely found, and patterned in the data as expected, we also found that our speakers produced far more tokens for vowel reduction or full deletion. Although sex and style did not illuminate this variability, we did find some interesting trends in the data according to speaker: some late speakers were found to be conflating –CA and non–CA context variants, and the new speakers categorically deleted final vowels for (SG). Again, however, we did highlight that few tokens were elicited for this variable.

Quite unlike (SG) in Valais, we found in the (PL) variable substantial variability: not only were speakers not producing the sorts of variants that we expected given out overview of the variable, but new forms appeared to be present in the speech of these speakers. We found that over 60% of non–CA context forms exhibited schwa rather than the expected [e], and, moreover, in the –CA context only 50% of the tokens were found to have a deleted word-final vowel. Further, we showed that, even within the same *commune* speakers were producing a remarkably disparate set of variants (*cf.* Table 7.3.3.2.1). We found in these findings therefore further evidence to suggest that the plural paradigm may indeed be undergoing change, although the direction of this change is unclear. For instance, we found the variant [ɛ], which occurred in the data for various sites West of the Morge, to be present too in the Savièse data in the speech of all three speaker types. This word-final plural marker, we suggested, was not attested in the traditional descriptive

grammars for the area. In general, the new-speaker data were found to be comparable to the other speaker types, and this, to a certain extent sets them apart from the Lyonnais new speakers, who were shown to produce plural forms that aligned more closely with those found in Valais.

In the following chapter, we turn our attention to the trends found in Chapters 5-7 as they relate directly to the new speakers, where we explore the social significance of some of the findings that we have observed.

Chapter 8.   Arpitan as an emerging norm

8.1   Introduction

So far, we have seen that, in addition to the traditional variants that have been attested

for our fieldwork areas, competing variants have also begun to emerge in the form of

a proposed orthography, which *recommends* a series of *standard* or *supralocal*

pronunciations. Moreover, as RMLs in contact with SF have been documented

elsewhere as undergoing convergence (*e.g.* Hornsby 2006), we also suggested that

speakers might be opting for forms coming from the dominant language. Over the

course of Chapters 5, 6 and 7, then, we have examined in detail the extent to which

our research participants (categorised according to speaker type) differ from each

other regarding four linguistic variables. Broadly, we have shown that native speakers

and late speakers do produce traditional variants when prompted in one-to-one

interviews (*i.e.* a more careful style). That said, we have also seen that, in the context

of a group interview (*i.e.* a more casual style*)*, there is observable variation in the

speech of our participants, and we will discuss the implications of these findings in

greater detail in Chapter 9. However, it is largely only in the new-speaker samples

where we have observed variants that differ markedly from traditional norms, and we

have identified these instead as possible Arpitan forms. In the present chapter, we take

stock of the findings from the previous three chapters, by focusing specifically on the Arpitan movement and its effects as a reinforcement mechanism for non-local norms. In other words, in what ways does commitment to a revitalisation movement favour the promotion of a pan-regional, Arpitan variety? To assess these questions, we noted in Chapter 4 that this study would operationalise methods that have been influenced by social network studies in dominant/minority-variety contexts. While a fully-fledged network analysis is beyond the scope of the present study, due to the fragmentary nature of the data that we have seen, we remain interested here in the extent to which the participants' *associations* with one another can illuminate on the social significance of the linguistic features that we have found to be on interest in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Recall that, quite unlike the native and late speakers of Francoprovençal, new speakers maintain *weak* network ties, for they are geographically dispersed over a wide area, and maintain contact predominantly through the use of the Internet, requiring a written rather than an oral medium.

8.2   AEI: Participant scores

In Chapter 4, we broadly illustrated the structure of the networks for the Lyonnais (§4.4.2) and Valaisan (§4.4.3) research participant samples using sociograms. These data were compiled from ethnographic observation and responses to questions from the sociolinguistic interview on daily associations. We found that, while the native and late-speaker networks were densely connected within the larger network, the new-speaker networks were only very loosely connected.

In this section, we explore the integration of the research participants into the Arpitan movement. We do so because we have suggested in earlier chapters that new speakers would be more likely to produce forms that do not correspond with local norms, but rather, might correspond instead with an Arpitan norm. To investigate this possibility, we saw in Chapter 4 that an index score was given to each participant on the basis of responses to the sociolinguistic survey at the start of the interview (see Appendix II). For each of the 57 participants in the final sample (see Appendix I for details), an index ranging from 0-6 has been calculated based on the AEI index indicators outlined in Chapter 4. The scores that each participant obtained for the above indicators are given in Appendix VII. Individual totals represent the integration index of each of the participants. On the basis of these scores, all participants were then categorised according to:

(i)   an index score of 0-2, constituting a *low* integration;

(ii)   an index score of 3-4, constituting a *mid-way* integration;

(iii)   an index score of 5-6, constituting an independent category labelled as *ARP* (Arpitan), which we have defined as a 'highly self-conscious' category of speakers, 'whose shared attitudes, repertoires, and discourses are largely predicated on the other components of the […] index' (Woolhiser 2007: 16).

The total number of participants fitting into each category is presented in Table 8.2.1, below:

Table 8.2.1 AEI: Total participants per category

Category	N= participants	% participants
Low (0-2)	37	64.91%
Mid-way (3-5)	16	28.07%
ARP (5-6)	4	7.02%

Looking at Table 8.2.1, it is perhaps unsurprising that only four participants are categorised under *ARP*, having scored positively for all six indicators. As can be seen from the detailed breakdown of each participant's score in Appendix VII, the only participants to belong to this category are new speakers. However, what is also noticeable from Appendix VII is that not *all* new speakers sampled make up the *ARP* category. This is significant, for we have already suggested that speakers found in the new-speaker category can produce markedly different forms, not simply when compared with native speakers or late speakers, but also when compared with each other. The index scores would appear to support this observation, as three of the new speakers sampled for the study find themselves outside of the *ARP* category, and therefore not fully integrated into the movement (*cf.* Figure 8.2.1, below).
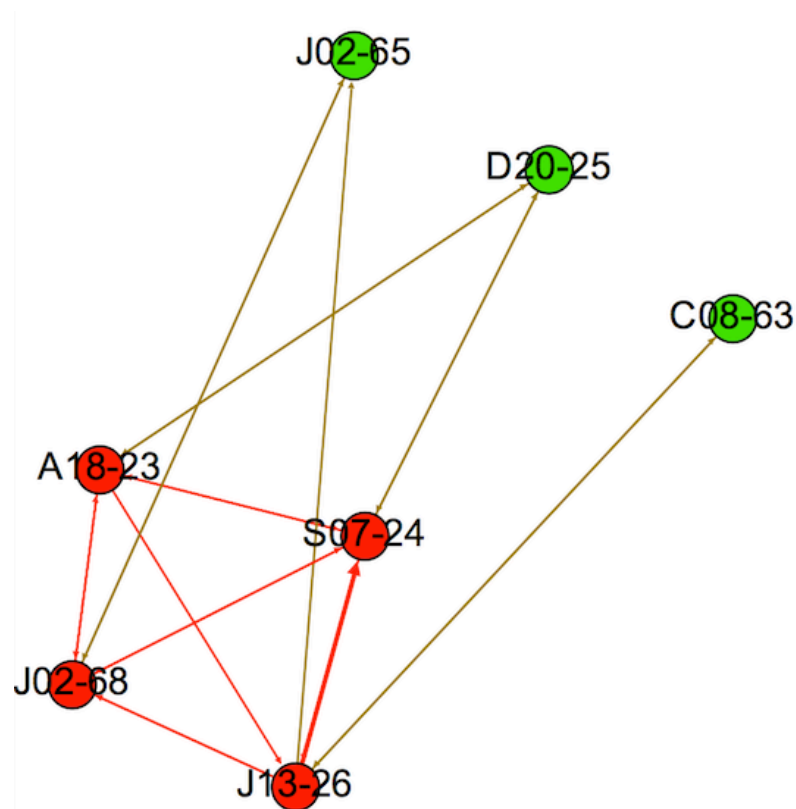
(Figure 8.2.1 Sociogram illustrating new speaker affiliation in Arpitan movement: red = *ARP* integration; green = *mid-way* integration)

The sociogram illustrated in Figure 8.2.1 puts the social structure of our sample into perspective. The figure graphically identifies the associations for each of the speakers. We can see that those speakers that have an integration index score of 5-6 are also densely connected to each other (*i.e.* having identified each other as regular contacts), whereas those speakers categorised as *mid-way* (scoring 3-4) sit outside of this denser network, and, moreover, do not know one another (*cf.* Figures 4.4.2.1 and 4.4.2.2). We explore the linguistic implications of this below.

8.3 Language use and AEI scores

First, in Chapter 5, we observed that the Lyonnais new speakers exhibited different linguistic features to the native and late speakers. While these latter two categories of participants scored consistently highly for palatalising /l/ to [j] in the velar + lateral consonant clusters (the variants that we were led to expect from the historical data presented in the linguistic atlases; see Appendix V), the new speakers were found to be doing something different.

Table 8.3.1 Breakdown of variants by Lyonnais new speakers

	/kl/	/gl/	/pl/	/bl/	/fl/
(l)-3: [l]	33.33% (6)	44.44% (4)	100.00% (24)	84.85% (28)	100.00% (1)
(l)-2: [lʲ]	33.33% (6)	11.11% (1)	0.00%	6.06% (2)	0.00%
(l)-1: [j]	33.33% (6)	44.44% (4)	0.00%	9.09% (3)	0.00%

We observed in the new speaker data (reproduced in Table 8.3.1, above) some tentative evidence to suggest that (i) these new speakers were extending /l/-palatalisation to the labial + lateral clusters, and (ii) that they produced a non-local variant of /l/: namely the palatalised lateral [lʲ]. Owing to the significance of these

findings, we then examined precisely *which* new speakers were producing the [lʲ]

variant and in which consonant clusters, where we found that both of these features

were observed in the speech of participant A18-23, whereas (i) was also found in the

speech of participant S07-24 (*cf.* Tables 8.3.2-3 reproduced from Chapter 5).

Table 8.3.2 Breakdown of variants by Lyonnais new speakers

Variant	Research participant #		
	A18-23	*S07-24*	*D20-25*
(l)-3: [l]	74.07% (40)	66.67% (8)	78.95% (15)
(l)-2: [lʲ]	16.67% (9)	0.00%	0.00%
(l)-1: [j]	9.26% (5)	33.33% (4)	21.05% (4)

Table 8.3.3 /C/ + /l/ clusters undergoing palatalisation by Lyonnais new speakers

Initial consonant	Research participant #		
	A18-23	*S07-24*	*D20-25*
/k/	+	-	+
/g/	+	+	-
/p/	-	-	-
/b/	+	+	-
/f/	-	-	-

In addition to (l), we also observed in Chapter 6 that the Lyonnais new

speakers were the only participants in the sample to produce back-unrounded [ɑ]

forms for (a), as well as a set of mid-vowels for (PL) in Chapter 7. The suggestion

was also made that these disparate forms align more closely with the 'recommended'

pronunciations of ORB than the traditional features produced by the native speakers

or late speakers. We have been hinting that a closer examination of the participants'

AEI scores might reveal the social significance of these observation. Table 8.3.4

below shows the frequency with which non-local forms are used by each of the new

speakers in the Lyonnais sample, according to the AEI. The frequency of occurrence

of the non-local forms that we have labelled as Arpitan-like are expressed as a

frequency index using the following formula:

$$\text{Frequency index} = \frac{\text{total number of tokens for non-local form}}{\text{total number of tokens for non-local form}} \text{ x } 100$$
$$+ \text{ total number of tokens}$$

Table 8.3.4 Lyonnais new speakers: AEI and frequency indices for Arpitan forms

Feature	A18-23 (ARP)	S07-24 (ARP)	D20-25 (mid-way)
non-local (l): palatalised lateral	16.67%	0.00%	0.00%
non-local (a): back rounded vowel	21.43%	0.00%	0.00%
non-local (PL): mid vowels	25.00%	50.00%	0.00%

As Table 8.3.4 suggests, there is a clear relationship between the use of non-local, Arpitan-like forms, and membership to the ARP category, which itself indicates a strong integration into the Arpitan movement. While we were careful in the preceding chapters to highlight that the new-speaker data were very fragmentary, and that often only a handful of tokens were elicited, the evidence presented here on the Lyonnais new speakers suggests that we can speak of membership to the Arpitan movement as a reinforcement mechanism for a very different kind of Francoprovençal norm: one that is non-local, and, perhaps, instead pan-regional. We discuss these findings further in §8.4, below.

Regarding a reliable cross-comparison of the Valaisan new-speaker data, the picture is more problematic than we have seen above. We saw in Chapters 5-7 that highly localised variation is more of a hallmark of the Francoprovençal varieties spoken in Valais than we saw in the Lyonnais area. In Chapter 5, for example, we found that /l/ does not undergo palatalisation in sites such as Savièse, but, in sites such as Bagnes, we found that lateral approximants were not palatalised, where instead they underwent frication (*i.e.* [ɬ]). In spite of this, however, we can see from Table 8.3.5 that palatalised variants occur in the speech of both J13-26 and J02-68: two new speakers who have scored 5-6 for the AEI, and self-identify as *arpitanistes*.

Table 8.3.5 Valaisan new speakers: AEI scores and frequency indices for Arpitan forms

Feature	J13-26 (ARP)	J02-68 (ARP)	J02-65 (mid)	C08-63 (mid)
non-local (l): palatalised form	3.88%	2.86%	0.00%	0.00%
non-local (a): [o] vowel	2.17%	NA	NA	0.00%
non-local (PL): mid vowels	28.57%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

A comparative discussion of the (a) variable is also problematic here. While we have discussed [ɑ] as a new-speaker variant in the Lyonnais context (a variant that we have said is recommended by ORB), in Valais, [ɑ] is a commonly attested form in the literature (see Appendix VI). Instead, however, we find that new speakers in the *ARP* category produce forms that do not correspond to recommended pronunciations of the ORB nor to local norms. For example, both J13-26 and J02-68 produce a number of [o] forms. While these forms are certainly not local to Savièse, they are contextually conditioned variants of Latin A in sites such as Bagnes. Therefore, we would expect J02-68 to produce such forms, but not J13-26. However, it is nonetheless noteworthy that J13-26 has produced tokens for this variant, given that this participant has named J06-28 as a regular associate (and vice versa) (see Figure 8.2.1, above): is it the case that this informant has produced [o] as a result of their shared associations? Given the poverty of data, we can only tentatively hypothesise this to be the case. Lastly, the realisation of the front vowels by J13-26 for (PL) is particularly interesting, owing to the fact that these were also attested by the Lyonnais new speakers above (see Table 8.3.4). We saw in Chapter 7 that, for sites such as Savièse, in contexts for Latin –CA, the plural marker [ɛ] is not locally attested forms, just as they are not in the Lyonnais context. However, unlike in Lyon, in Valais, native and late speakers were found to be producing this variant too. Though only a handful of tokens were recorded, the origin of this variant for these speakers is less clear: the ORB recommended pronunciation for the word-final –s morpheme being schwa. In the case of the Lyonnais new speaker: we might suggest at this point that

these speakers have not acquired the rule for word-final vowel deletion in the plural for the –CA context. Alternatively might it be the case that these new speakers are innovating plural word-final suffixes, as, to delete word-final vowels, would mean approximating towards a SF norm? This was argued in Kasstan (2010: 46) to be the case, where, for example, A18-23 was tested and found to be producing the same [ɛ] form in the plural. That this variant was found in Valais among speakers such as J13-26, who forms part of the same network as A18-23 (according to the AEI) may be significant.

We have now examined new-speaker language use in conjunction with the structure of the new-speaker network as well as their integration into the AEI, and we have been able to highlight some patterns between membership to the Arpitan movement as a different kind of norm enforcement mechanism, and language use. We must however be careful to hedge these observations with the caveat that the token count among these individuals remains very small. This is not to say, though, that very low tokens in a very small sample is not meaningful. Trudgill in his discussion on so-called 'vestigial' or 'embryonic forms', for example, has warned that 'we should not […] ignore features that […] occur only in a small number of contexts […] or […] in the speech of a small number of people' (1999: 319). Trudgill's discussion focuses on a very small portion (< 5%) of his (1971) sample, and their production of the labio-dental approximant [ʋ]. Trudgill initially dismisses this finding as an 'idiosyncratic speech impediment' (1999: 319). However, when he returned for a follow-up study in 1983 the number of participants in his study who employed [ʋ] had 'increased significantly' (1999: 319). Trudgill concludes from this that such variants might well represent 'the seeds of later change' (1999: 320). In Trudgill's terms then, our suspect Arpitan forms, such as [lʲ] for (l), or [ɛ] for (PL), might fit the description

of embryonic variants, that 'may represent the very earliest stages of linguistic change in progress' (1999: 320). Although they are used in very small quantities in our sample, they do appear to have taken hold amongst a particular group which may in turn be found to be leading change. In what follows, we now expand on the possible social significance of the relationship between AEI scores and language use that we have observed.

8.4   An Arpitan norm: Locating the leaders

In the discussion so far, many of the features that we have aligned most clearly with an emerging Arpitan norm have come from just one or two new speakers. It would be pertinent here to stress the recurrent finding in the sociolinguistic literature that within speech communities it is the case that '[…] certain individuals may turn out to be socially significant […] (Chambers 1995: 85); this line of argument will be pursued below.

We have seen that A18-23 is an L2 learner of Francoprovençal who undertook formal beginner classes offered by participant C12-01 (a late speaker) between 2008-2011. Since having undertaken these classes, A18-23 self-identifies as a speaker of Arpitan, rather than a speaker of Francoprovençal, or, more commonly, 'patois' (this is also reflected in this participant's AEI score in Appendix VII). Moreover, A18-23 takes an active role in advancing the Arpitan cause, which extends from producing his own Arpitan learner pedagogy, to recreating local topographic maps and transcribing toponyms into Arpitan using ORB, to actively partaking in the commodification of Arpitan by purchasing clothing. These actions are in of themselves significant to the

discussion at hand, for previous sociolinguistic studies, such as those undertaken by Eckert (2000), have identified the need to observe these patterns of behaviour, and to tie them in at the quantitative level with patterns linguistic variation (Labov 2001: 232). Conversely, A18-23's teacher C12-01 is identified in this study as a late speaker from Yzeron in les monts du Lyonnais. To return to our discussion on (l), C12-01 shows consistent palatalisation for the /k, g/ + /l/ sets with the expected form [j], as with other native and late speakers in the sample. However, it is clear to see that A18-23 produces more tokens of the palatalised lateral variant consistently in the /k, g, b/ + /l/ clusters, whereas C12-01 produces [j] in just the /k, g/ + /l/ clusters. The question remains, though, as to where the palatalised lateral variant comes from, if not from this participant's mentor? A18-23's index score and corresponding frequencies for non-local forms suggests that membership of the Arpitan movement is an important determinant for variant selection. We have already established that ORB takes as its grapheme <ll> to depict /l/-palatalisation in onset consonant clusters (*e.g. cloche* would be transcribed *clloche*, *clef* would be transcribed *cllâf* etc.). Although this proposed pan-lectal orthography stipulates that speakers should pronounce the graphemes according to their own local customs, the palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] is recommended as a feature of 'francoprovençal standard' (Stich 1998: 78). While it is not the claim here that [lʲ] and [ʎ] are similar phones, we might argue that A18-23 is 'distanciating' himself from the dialectal form [j], and, for lack of a palatal lateral approximant phoneme in the speaker's phonological inventory, has produced instead a phone that, to this speaker, might approximate more towards an Arpitan form. Recall that, as a new speaker, this individual employs Francoprovençal far more frequently in the written medium, and therefore ORB may be having a significant impact on his speech production. We have seen similar phenomena in the new-

speaker data from Valais where Table 8.3.4 shows both speakers belonging to the *ARP* AEI category also producing palatalised lateral variants in the data, despite the fact that these speakers have acquired varieties where no such variant is recorded (this is confirmed in the native-speaker data for the same fieldwork sites). However, we have also seen that these Arpitan forms tend to emerge more in our study in one-to-one interviews, more so than in group interactions, in the presence of other speaker types.

Such acts of stance are by no means new in the sociolinguistic literature. Cheshire (1982), for example describes the extent to which a group of school boys are found to vary their usages of nonstandard verb forms, according to, what she terms, 'vernacular style' and 'school style' (1982: 118). Cheshire argues that the variation in speech style of these adolescents co-varies with their involvement in the school *culture*, as well as their relationships between themselves and their teachers; the higher usage of nonstandard forms was found to correlate with a 'rejection of school culture' (1982: 122). This behaviour, she asserts, might be the converse effect of linguistic 'convergence' (*i.e.* where each speaker 'adapts his speech towards that of the other'; Cheshire 1982: 122, after Giles and Smith 1979). This concept is similar, but not parallel, to Larsen's (1917) notion of *nabo-opposisjon*, or what Trudgill has termed *neighbour opposition*. Trudgill qualifies *hyperdialectalism* as a type of phenomenon associated with neighbour opposition (*i.e.* the extension of an obsolescent phonetic form into words 'where it is not historically justified'; taken from Trudgill 1986: 69). This too is relevant to the discussion: Stich reports that the distinction between [ʎ] and [j] is no longer made in the a good number of Francoprovençal varieties (1998: 73). Leaving aside the obvious question of why the palatal lateral approximant has, therefore, been selected as the supra-local

recommended form for the grapheme <ll> in ORB (as we have said, this form is most certainly not the 'prononciation majoritaire'; Stich 1998: 78), we might argue that these new speakers view the palatalised lateral [lʲ] variant as an identifiable Arpitan form. Moreover, Cheshire, in her discussion of the phenomenon of linguistic divergence, goes on to explain that 'it may not be appropriate […] to assert allegiance linguistically to the vernacular culture when speaking in front of […] people with whom one is not on intimate terms and who are not themselves involved in the culture (1982: 125). This may go some way to explaining why the palatalised lateral variant is not recorded in any of the group interviews where A18-23 and other native speakers are present; this was illustrated in Chapter 5. If this were indeed the case, and A18-23 were producing variants that might better reflect the speaker's position within the Arpitan movement, then this might also be reflected by variation involving other linguistic variables, and this is indeed what we seem to have found in Table 8.2.1, above. Conversely, we found that palatalised forms were produced by our two Valaisan new speakers in casual speech. However, as both speakers were present in the same interview, along with native speakers, then we might argue that this too can be viewed as a form of neighbour opposition.

8.5 Arpitan as a source of tension in the community

As we saw in Chapter 3, those new speakers who have emerged in the Francoprovençal-speaking region as bastions of a revitalisation movement differ strikingly from native speakers and late speakers: these differences not only emerge in

the form of beliefs surrounding how best to revitalise the language (*i.e.* the promotion of a pan-regional orthography), but the evidence above suggests that they are also manifested in actual language use. We end this chapter by focusing briefly on qualitative data that have emerged from the study regarding perceptions toward new speakers and new-speaker practices on the part of those participants that are not been categorised as ARP according to the AEI outlined above. The focus is placed exclusively on the Valaisan sample here, given that the Valaisan new speakers categorised above as ARP are much more active in promoting Arpitan and ORB within their local communities (conversely, in Lyon, no native speakers had heard of the term 'Arpitan', or were familiar with ORB).

In Chapter 3 we described how Arpitan speakers will advocate that they do not seek pan-regional linguistic standardisation, and that they are happy to tolerate variation, so long as orthographic conventions are followed. This approach to language revitalisation is viewed, however, with great scepticism by the vast majority of dialect speakers interviewed in the study:

L18-52: Quand j'ai attaqué [J13-26] avec sa façon maintenant de faire du patois […] parce que ça d'après lui ça doit permettre donc de passer par Internet et tout ça pour tout le monde […] mais ça c'est une déformation du patois ça […] Il faut d'abord maintenir le patois tel qu'il est pas introduire un nouveau patois parce que l'ancien ne va pas se maintenir et alors que est ce que ça sert de mettre sur Internet un patois qui ne

'When I confronted [J13-26] with his way of writing in patois […] because in his words it will allow it to be published online for everybody […] but that's a deformation of the patois that […] First and foremost we should maintain the patois as it is and not introduce a new patois because the old one won't last but also what's the point of putting a patois on the Internet which no longer corresponds

correspond plus donc au parler de   to the Savièse variety?'

Savièse ?

In this extract from a one-to-one interview with L18-52, our Valaisan native speaker describes how, to him, the use of ORB by J13-26 (a new speaker) in the community is a 'deformation' of his local variety. In general, observations of the communities under study in Valais by the researcher found that some native speakers were intolerant towards learner speech in general, and not simply towards ORB. In the following speech sample, participant M04-29 (another native speaker) is emphasising a black and white contrast between speaking Francoprovençal 'properly', as he sees it, or not speaking it at all:

| M04-29: | On n'aime pas quelqu'un qui parle notre patois mal on préfère nous qui sommes de vrais patoisants qu'on parle français ou alors notre vrai patois mais pas massacrer le patois. | 'We don't like people who speak our patois badly we prefer to speak with real patois speakers and to speak either French or our real patois, but not to massacre the patois' |

We might say then that there is an especially unusual intolerance towards non-native speech, and that it is only the native speaker who is able to benefit from the linguistic capital associated with speaking the local dialect. The use too of the possessive here should not be overlooked: there are clear issues over language *ownership* at play, where only certain types of speakers are considered *authentic*. Issues over language ownership and authenticity in the new-speaker literature also abound (see for example O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013: 297 on Galician).

It is quite clear then that these new 'Arpitan' speakers of Francoprovençal differ markedly from the native speaker. However, we have also seen above that not all new speakers have been categorised as ARP according to the AEI. These speakers,

as we have shown above, produce instead linguistic forms that align more closely with localised dialectal forms as produced by other speaker types. However, what sentiments do these speakers project when it comes to the efforts being brought to bear by the Arpitan movement on language revitalisation? Is there a greater sympathy for ORB or for a pan-regional linguistic identity? It would seem not. In the case of Valais, the data reveal that new speakers can ascribe just as much importance to local dialects as the older native speakers:

C08-63: fin c'est comme je dirais à [J13-26] ça m'intéresse pas du tout ce truc parce que moi c'est le patois de Savièse point barre il y a rien d'autre je ne veux pas mélanger avec d'autres choses sinon c'est trop dur […] je ne vais pas aller chercher quelqu'un dans la rue là puis je vais lui dire « tiens on va apprendre le patois » c'est pas possible parce que t'as pas la culture qui va avec t'as pas si il est pas de Savièse ça lui sert franchement à rien du tout

'It's like I'd say to [J13-26] this [Arpitan] thing doesn't interest me at all because for me all that counts is the patois spoken in Savièse full stop and there's nothing else I don't want to mix it with anything else otherwise it'll be too difficult […] I won't go and find people in the street and then say "hey let's go and learn patois" it's not worth it because you won't then have the culture to go with it if they weren't from Savièse it would serve them no purpose'

As is clear to see, for this speaker, there is a desire only to speak the variety local to her own *commune* (Savièse), and that there is also a clear distrust for what this speaker has interpreted as some *other* encroaching variety, which she understands to be Arpitan. In many ways, then, this speaker echoes the fears of the native speakers: 'what counts is what is local', which for these individuals indexes a specific Savièsan identity.

With the emergence of new speakers of Francoprovençal into communities where before few if any adult learners existed, then, we can observe in the data growing tensions between these disparate speaker types: there is an emerging 'native-non-native dichotomy' where speakers see themselves as 'being socially and linguistically incompatible' (O'Rourke and Ramallo 2011: 139). Given the remarks from C08-63 above, we can observe this incompatibility within the new-speaker category too.

We turn now to Chapter 9 for a discussion of overall conclusions and possible trajectories for future research.

Chapter 9.   Discussion and conclusions

9.1   Introduction

In this final chapter, we bring together the findings that have emerged from our data, and we consider their implications. Recall that we have focused on the emergence of (what we have termed) an Arpitan norm in the guise of a proposed pan-lectal orthography and prescribed pronunciation for Francoprovençal. Our interest here remains the users themselves: are they maintaining local norms, or, if not, is there an identifiable trajectory of change? For example, is Francoprovençal usage showing signs of convergence with SF? Or, given that we have now identified a set of Arpitan forms in Chapter 8, is there evidence of convergence with new Arpitan 'standard' forms instead? Lastly, we will end by identifying some directions for future research.

9.2   Summary and interpretation of findings

We began in Chapter 5 by examining the variable (l), where our literature review suggested we would find the following:

(i)   For les monts du Lyonnais: /l/-palatalisation in the velar + lateral sets only, with the expected variant [j]; all other clusters would yield [l].

(ii)   For Valais: /l/-palatalisation in all five obstruent + lateral clusters in the western varieties, with the expected variants: [ʎ] and a series of possible fricative-like articulations; [l] East of the Morge.

Beginning with Lyon, the frequencies for palatalisation in the velar clusters were significantly lower than we expected, given that atlas data evidence this feature to be categorical. We noted speech style to play a role in the variability of (l), in that, in a more unmonitored speech style, we found far more tokens for [l] in the velar + lateral sets among the native and late speakers. While we must be careful to stress that 'the recall of isolated lexical items in an elicitation test is clearly a difficult task' (Jones 2001: 150), these data would appear to suggest that the SF-like form [l] is gaining ground les monts du Lyonnais, over the traditional dialectal form [j]. Conversely, we found no evidence to suggest that the 'recommended' Arpitan form [ʎ] was making any headway in les monts du Lyonnais among these speakers. However, we did argue in Chapter 8 that an emerging form [lʲ] might represent an 'embryonic' variant for speakers associated with Arpitan: this form of /l/ was found in the new speaker sample for Lyon where it has not previously been recorded. We also assessed the potential social significance of this variant by examining new speakers and their integration into the AEI. We argued that there was a clear relationship between their affiliation within the Arpitan movement and their language use. Owing to the fact that the speakers producing these forms are L1 speakers of French, it is

possible to suggest that [lʲ] might in fact also represent an 'interdialectal' (Trudgill 1986: 60) or 'intermediate form' (Hornsby 2009: 172), which Hornsby suggests can 'often represent a compromise between dialect and SF' (2009: 172). Further acoustic-phonetic research would need to be undertaken to confirm this.

While in the Lyonnais area we found our native and late speakers to be producing the traditional variant for (l), in Valais we found several possible variants, beyond the anticipated [ʎ] and [l] variants, that have not been documented in the literature. First, from among the few speakers sampled in Hérémence (West of the Morge), we found that our participants were palatalising /l/ to [j]. However, we noted in Chapter 2 that the traditional form for this area is [ʎ] (De Lavallaz 1899: 110). Although these data only come from two native speakers (both male), the evidence appears to suggest that change may be underway in this particular *commune*. This would appear to be in line with claims advanced by, for example, Straka (1979: 363-422), who suggests that, in other Romance varieties, /ʎ/ merged historically with /j/, leaving [j] synchronically. Secondly, a review of the literature suggested that speakers in Savièse should not palatalise /l/ in obstruent + lateral clusters. Our findings in Chapter 5 for the native and late speakers confirmed this. However, we found that participant J13-26 within the new-speaker category evidenced a small number of tokens for [lʲ], and, interestingly, these were not confined to the velar + lateral sets. This, as we saw, goes very much against the expectations for Savièse. Moreover, palatalised laterals were also recorded in the fieldwork site for Bagnes, and these too were used by the new speakers. We saw in Chapter 8 that a further examination *within* this speaker category found that those speakers correlating with high AEI scores were more likely to produce these forms. Interestingly, the Savièsan new speakers produced these non-local forms in the context of group interviews, whereas

the opposite was found in the Lyonnais data (*i.e.* A18-23 was only found to produce palatalised laterals in the one-to-one interview). In Chapter 8 we argued that this might represent 'linguistic divergence' (following Hornsby 2009: 179): for A18-23, [lʲ] is clearly different from the local [j] form. Moreover, that J13-26 and J02-68 *do* produce these forms in group interviews (with other speaker types present) also supports this hypothesis, given that both participants produced these variants when they were interviewed together.

We examined in Chapter 6 our second linguistic variable (a), for which the literature suggested we would find the following:

(i)   For les monts du Lyonnais: [ɔ], [o], [a] and the contextually conditioned form [i].

(ii)   For Valais: [ɑ], [a] and the contextually conditioned forms [e], [i], [o].

In the Lyonnais area, we found that native and late speakers showed variation in the realisation of [ɔ] and [a], where the rate of [a] increased with the more peripheral fieldwork sites in contact with Occitan. We argued that, given the proximity of sites such as Saint-Symphorien-sur-Coise to the Loire valley, where Occitan varieties are spoken, and where [ɔ] is not a variant of Latin tonic free A, it may be the case that this increased production of [a] is the result of language contact, given that [a] is a variant of Latin tonic free A in Occitan (outlined in Chapter 2). This might also explain why, further East, in the Saint-Martin fieldwork site, we found higher frequencies of the rounded variant. We therefore find in (a) some evidence of convergence of quite a different kind to that outlined for (l), though substantially more data would be needed from more speakers to confirm this. Moreover, we noted that the Arpitan recommended form [ɑ] was not found in the native or late-speaker data. Conversely, we found evidence to suggest that this variant was indeed catching

on among the new-speaker sample, and, again, in Chapter 8, we evidenced that only those speakers that scored maximally on the AEI showed signs of producing this variant.

In Valais, we found that, broadly, the native and late speakers produced a wide range of dialectal variants for this part of the Francoprovençal-speaking zone. While we found [a] and [ɑ] to be present in our data, which aligned with the dialect literature, we were struck by the presence of [ɐ] too, which is not attested. This may indicate that change is taking place, where, again [ɐ] might represent compromise form between the front and back vowels.

Further, while we have suggested that convergence with Occitan might be taking place in les monts du Lyonnais, we were unable to identify this phenomenon among the sites explored in Valais. However, as we have said in Chapter 8, we can note that the new speakers produce very atypical forms of Latin A: for example, speaker J13-26 was found to produce a small number of [o] tokens in his speech, despite having acquired a variety where no such variant is traditionally attested (*e.g.* Jeanjacquet 1932). While not strictly speaking an Arpitan form (as proposed by Stich 1998; Stich *et al*. 2003) we argued in Chapter 8 that the relationship we observed between this speaker's AEI score and his language use implied that a strong commitment to Arpitan might be driving this behaviour. Recall that these rounded variants were produced in the context of a group interview involving another new speaker (also categorised as ARP), who was found to have acquired these variants.

Conversely, the (SG) data was found to be more comparable to expected localised forms that we have outlined in the literature. Recall that the following possible variants might be expected based on the literature:

(i) Traditional forms: [a], and the contextually conditioned forms [i] and [e]

(ii) Arpitan ORB recommended forms: [a] for word final –a, and the contextually conditioned form [e].

Concerning the Lyonnais data, all three speaker types broadly approximated to traditional norms, though we noted this approximation to be closer in a more monitored speech style. We did however show that that there was variability in vowel-final alternations, where vowel reduction was found for (SG), which we expected to be a feature of (PL). While we might suggest this to be an interesting development, unattested in the dialect literature (see Martin 2006: 14), it does fall in line with cross-linguistic expectations for final unstressed vowels (*e.g.* Crosswhite 2004: 191). Interestingly, in examining (SG) we found there to be no encroachment from the Arpitan [e] form in new-speaker speech: the Lyonnais new speakers produced the anticipated variant [i]. For Valais, while [a] and [e] were outlined as traditional forms of word final Latin A, and while the former largely patterned as expected, in the latter our sample of speakers produced far more tokens for vowel reduction or full deletion. Although sex and style did not illuminate this variability, we did find some interesting trends in the data according to speaker: some late speakers were found to be conflating both forms, and the new speakers categorically deleted final vowels for (SG). Again, however, we did highlight that few tokens were elicited for this variable.

In (PL), we established the following variants according to the literature:

(i)   Traditional forms: [ə] for varieties spoken in France; [e] for varieties spoken in Switzerland. The conditioned forms [i] and [e] (following a palatal segment) are deleted

(ii)   Arpitan ORB recommended form: [ə]

In Lyon, we did evidence some departure from traditional norms: we found that, in those contexts where we expected [ə] word-finally for –a, we found instead that speakers were deleting the vowel altogether (a feature we noted for word final –e, following a palatal). Interestingly, we found that it was the native speakers and late speakers who evidenced the high deletion rates. This may well indicate that the dual paradigm between word-final –a and –e in the plural form is undergoing change. Among the new speakers, we found that vowel-final deletion was avoided, and, instead a number of plural markers were uncovered, including [ɛ]. Again, we found a link between the production of these variants and the speaker's AEI score, which would indicate some divergence away from traditional Francoprovençal norms, and towards an alternative Arpitan norm.

In Valais, we found in the (PL) variable substantial variability: not only were speakers not producing the sorts of variants that we expected given our overview of the variable, but new forms appeared to be present in the speech of these speakers. We found that over 60% of word-final –a tokens exhibited schwa rather than [e], and, moreover, in word-final –e only 50% of the tokens were found to have a deleted word-final vowel. Further, we showed that, even within the same *commune* speakers were producing a remarkably disparate set of variants. In the Valais data then, we found further evidence to suggest that the plural paradigm is indeed undergoing change, although the direction of this change is unclear. For instance, we found the variant [ɛ], which occurred in the data for various sites West of the Morge, to be present too in the Savièse data in the speech of all three speaker types. This word-final plural marker, we suggested, was not attested in the descriptive grammar for the area (Bretz-Héritier and Bretz-Héritier 1996). In general, the new-speaker data were found to be comparable to the other speaker types, and this, to a certain extent sets

them apart from the Lyonnais new speakers, who were shown to produce plural forms that aligned more closely with those found in Valais.

9.2.3   Directions of change

We asked in Chapter 1 whether local norms are being maintained in our fieldwork areas, and, if not, what the direction of change might be. In this study, we have presented tentative evidence to suggest that, within the native and late-speaker categories, in both les monts du Lyonnais and Valais, language change is underway.

First, while (l) appeared to show incipient convergence with SF norms, the pattern for (a) instead suggested at least some convergence with a regional norm: Occitan. While our data are too fragmentary to draw definitive conclusions, they do appear to fall in line with findings elsewhere in the sociolinguistic literature. For example, evidence presented by Milroy *et al*. (1994) on the glottalisation of /p, t, k/ in Tyneside, and Watt (2002) on the levelling of the Tyneside English vowel system suggests that, while consonants follow national norms, vowels tend to follow regional ones. Our data broadly appear to evidence the same outcomes, although a larger study would need to confirm this.

Secondly, for our final morphological variable in Chapter 7, there was striking divergence from the expected pattern of results for plural (PL) forms. In the case of les monts du Lyonnais, our results might be interpreted in terms of language contact with SF: as less commonly used forms, they appear to be leaning towards a strategy of isomorphism with SF norms, where the use of a contrastive schwa/zero form in the plural seems counterintuitive from a SF perspective. A similar levelling of two-way plural forms has been documented in, for example, the context of Norwegian:

Trudgill outlines how most Norwegian dialects (along with the regional standard) have two different plural endings (–er and –ar), whereas in the Bokmål dialect two forms have been levelled out in favour of a more regular paradigm with just one suffix –er (1986: 103). Hornsby (2006) has also documented similar phenomena in the context of Picard in northern France, where younger speakers have largely lost a singular/plural distinction in the imperfect form which has no counterpart in SF. The Valaisan data also show evidence of convergence with SF: the contrastive [e]/zero forms for example showed signs of weakening. However, the data have also shown that previously unattested plural markers are emerging in certain Valaisan dialects: in particular, the finding of the [ɛ] variant in Savièse was a surprising development, unattested in the literature (see Bretz-Héritier and Bretz-Héritier 1996: 46-50). However, this variant was found in other fieldwork sites such as Évolène, where [ɛ] is attested. We might therefore suggest that this form has emerged as a result of dialect contact, in which a mix of variants are now found that have not yet undergone a process of 'focusing' (Trudgill 1986: 85), in other words a reduction in the number of available dialectal variants, as we might expect from contact phenomena.

Therefore, we have observed in this study a number of linguistic phenomena previously undocumented in several different Francoprovençal varieties. Further, those variants that we have labelled Arpitan forms do not appear to be catching on in the speech of our native and late speakers. We have already suggested that these speaker types view highly localised variation with an 'obsessive interest' (Dorian 1982: 31), and, as we saw in Chapter 8, new-speaker variants are viewed by native speakers with particular disdain. This attitude towards new-speaker practices has been documented in the context of other studies: Holton for example describes how new leaners of Athabascan choose to converse only on the Internet, as native speakers are

documented as 'laughing mercilessly' (2000: 240) at their grandchildren's efforts to learn, which in turn brings about a deep sense of linguistic insecurity. We can point to qualitative data from this study evidencing the same tendencies and attitudes:

J13-26:   Il me rit au nez il me dit (laughs) « [kulˈtuʁa] [kulˈtuʁa] » toi tu ne sais pas parler patois parce qu'a Savièse ils disent plutôt « [kylˈtyʀ] » alors que tous les /y/ en patois si tu dis « [ˈpyʀ] » tu dis « [ˈpuʀ] »   'He laughs in my face he says (laughs) « [kulˈtuʁa] [kulˈtuʁa] » you don't know how to speak patois because in Savièse they say « [kylˈtyʀ] » even though all the /y/ sounds in patois if you say « [ˈpyʀ] » you say « [ˈpuʀ] »'

The stance adopted by native speakers, from the perspective of this new speaker at least, is that of the *authentic speaker*. We argued in Chapter 8 that, particularly in Valais, native speakers centre themselves as the legitimate or authentic speakers of Francoprovençal. In the context of Galician, O'Rourke and Ramallo have argued that native speakers can 'establish a social closure that functions as an identity control mechanism, demarcating their privileged position as authentic speakers' (2013: 290). In doing so, therefore, new speakers are excluded from capitalising in the same 'linguistic market' (*e.g.* Eckert 2000: 17-18) in strictly local sense. In other words, as new speakers are not viewed as authentic speakers: they are denied the legitimacy of speakers in the community. In the context of Valais, where Francoprovençal sits, as we have argued in Chapter 4, at the centre of culture and tradition, this form of exclusion is symbolically very powerful. In essence, then, Arpitan suffers as an artificial variety, seen as inauthentic amongst native and late speakers. In this respect, it would appear to resemble the artificially standardised neo-Breton variety (outlined in Chapter 3), which also commands little universal acceptance.

9.2.4 Revitalising Francoprovençal: Arpitan as a new norm

In investigating linguistic change in Francoprovençal, we have been arguing that an alternative Arpitan norm may be emerging. First, we have seen the emergence of new speakers of Francoprovençal in recent years: this is a clear step away from 'terminal decline' (Hornsby 2009: 159), though numbers remain very low. Perhaps more significantly, however, is the finding in this study (explored in Chapter 8) that competing ideologies can exist between new speakers, who can employ strikingly different linguistic forms. Those speakers that we have categorised as ARP term their varieties instead Arpitan (rather than 'patois'); they believe in a pan-regional linguistic identity; and they have adopted a proposed orthographical norm termed ORB. Those new speakers that sit outside of this category have, in Valais at least, aligned themselves very clearly with local norms: Arpitan means very little to them. However, this study has presented a number of small pieces of evidence to suggest that Arpitan-like forms are emerging, which are being adopted by a particular group of speakers, and which differ from traditional local norms. This then is quite clearly standardisation by the back door: while on the one hand these language activists understand that native speakers need to be kept on-side if ORB is to see any success, at the same time they 'distanciate' themselves from native-speaker forms, approximating instead towards an alternative norm, which, we have suggested, is reinforced by participation in the Arpitan movement. In this sense, the Arpitan model of revitalisation is similar to the contexts of Breton and Corsican outlined in Chapter 3, and a clear divide remains between a largely rural native speaker population, and an urban intelligencia.

In conclusion, then, we set out to look at how far Arpitan has caught on and discovered it has little traction except among new speakers. Yet, perversely, although

we have shown native speakers and late speakers to be vocal in their disdain for this variety, Arpitan may be viewed as the best hope for securing posterity for Francoprovençal: it is used by new speakers, it is used by younger speakers, and it has (at least some) claim to being pan-regional. A situation we suggested might be different from that of other threatened varieties turns out to show many of the same tensions between a desire to preserve the language via a putative standard, and a countervailing pressure to maintain 'authentic' local norms by traditional (and often elderly) Francoprovençal speakers.

9.3   Limitations of the study and trajectories for future research

While this is the first variationist study of its kind in the context of Francoprovençal spoken in France and Switzerland, we have said that the data we have deployed to argue that change is taking place are fragmentary, and perhaps inevitably do not offer as full an answer to the ambitious questions set out in Chapter 1 as one would like. As a result, we have repeatedly highlighted that the observations and findings that have emerged from the present study should be viewed with the caveat that further research is needed to confirm them. A more substantial study that combines these data with a larger sample of speakers in both fieldwork areas would provide a 'real-time' (*e.g.* Labov 2001: 77) perspective on the progress of the changes that we have suggested to be taking place. Moreover, a further real-time study would also evidence whether or not the variants that we have identified here as potentially 'embryonic' are indeed being widely adopted.

A number of new lines of inquiry have also emerged. For example, through the optic of four linguistic variables, we have confirmed in this study that some convergence with national and regional norms is taking place in the context of native and late speakers, and that ORB is having some linguistic effect in the case of the new speakers. However, there has only been scope in this study explore two phonological variables and two morphological variables. A larger study would show whether or not other linguistic levels are being effected in the same way. For example, the subjunctive tense in Francoprovençal is ripe for investigation. It is widely regarded that the subjunctive paradigm of spoken French is undergoing change: SF has largely lost the temporal present/imperfect opposition that Francoprovençal has traditionally maintained. Interestingly, activists have been inconsistent in their approach to standardisation on this front: initially merging the temporal forms under ORA (Stich 1998: 116) and then reintroducing them in ORB (Stich 2001: 579). Is this a response to change on the ground in the direction of SF, or a pragmatic attempt to lead change in a complex system on behalf of learners? For now, though, our data suggest that Arpitan forms have made little progress outside its activist heartland. Time will tell if this remains the case.

APPENDIX I – Research Participant Demographics

Research participant demographics

#	Type	Sex	Age-group	Fieldwork site	Fieldwork area
C12-01	Late	M	45-70	Yzeron	Lyonnais
P18-03	Native	M	70-80+	St Martin-en-Haut	Lyonnais
C06-04	Native	M	70-80+	St Martin-en-Haut	Lyonnais
M06-05	Native	F	70-80+	St Martin-en-Haut	Lyonnais
J18-06	Native	F	70-80+	St Martin-en-Haut	Lyonnais
J02-07	Native	M	70-80+	Rontalon	Lyonnais
G07-02	Native	M	70-80+	Rontalon	Lyonnais
C03-08	Native	M	70-80+	Rontalon	Lyonnais
A06-09	Native	M	70-80+	St Symphorien-sur-Coise	Lyonnais
C06-10	Native	F	70-80+	St Symphorien-sur-Coise	Lyonnais
N22-11	Native	M	70-80+	St Martin-en-Haut	Lyonnais
O22-12	Native	F	70-80+	St Martin-en-Haut	Lyonnais
M03-13	Native	M	70-80+	St Symphorien-sur-Coise	Lyonnais
M03-14	Native	F	70-80+	St Symphorien-sur-Coise	Lyonnais
J10-15	Native	M	70-80+	St Martin-en-Haut	Lyonnais
J10-16	Native	F	70-80+	St Martin-en-Haut	Lyonnais
R12-17	Native	M	70-80+	Yzeron	Lyonnais
L16-18	Late	M	45-70	Mornant	Lyonnais
A18-23	New	M	20-45	Lyon	Lyonnais
S07-24	New	M	20-45	Lyon	Lyonnais
D20-25	New	M	20-45	Lyon	Lyonnais
J13-26	New	M	45-70	Savièse	Valais
M13-27	Native	F	70-80+	Savièse	Valais
M04-28	Native	F	70-80+	Savièse	Valais
M04-29	Native	M	45-70	Savièse	Valais
F12-30	Late	M	45-70	Savièse	Valais
B02-31	Native	M	70-80+	Nendaz	Valais
M22-32	Native	M	70-80+	Grimisuat	Valais
G16-33	Native	F	45-70	Évolène	Valais
N16-34	Native	M	70-80+	Conthey	Valais
M13-35	Native	M	45-70	Sion	Valais
J14-36	Late	M	45-70	Nendaz	Valais
C13-37	Native	M	45-70	Hérémence	Valais
M19-38	Native	M	70-80+	Hérémence	Valais
A04-39	Native	M	70-80+	Hérémence	Valais
C02-40	Late	M	45-70	Hérémence	Valais
F02-41	Late	F	45-70	Hérémence	Valais
A12-43	Late	M	45-70	Ollon	Valais
M12-44	Late	F	45-70	Ollon	Valais
R01-45	Late	M	45-70	Fully	Valais
M01-46	Late	F	45-70	Fully	Valais
A02-47	Late	F	45-70	Savièse	Valais
J22-48	Native	F	70-80+	Savièse	Valais
M22-49	Native	F	70-80+	Savièse	Valais
B02-50	Native	F	45-70	Savièse	Valais
J19-51	Native	F	70-80+	Savièse	Valais
L18-52	Native	M	70-80+	Savièse	Valais
L04-53	Native	M	70-80+	Savièse	Valais
H08-54	Native	M	70-80+	Savièse	Valais
A08-55	Native	M	70-80+	Savièse	Valais
A18-56	Native	M	70-80+	Savièse	Valais
C08-63	New	F	20-45	Savièse	Valais
F02-64	Native	M	70-80+	Bagnes	Valais
J02-65	New	M	20-45	Bagnes	Valais
J06-66	Native	M	70-80+	Bagnes	Valais
G06-67	Native	F	70-80+	Bagnes	Valais
J02-68	New	M	20-45	Bagnes	Valais

Date: **Participant #:**

Demographics: **Geographical timeline:**[1]

DOB: **Age**   **Location**

Gender M / F	Né	_____
	0-5	_____
Mother's native language:	5-10	_____
Mother's DOB:	10-15	_____
Father's native language:	15-20	_____
Father's DOB:	20-25	_____
Language(s) used in the home when	25-30	_____
you were young:	30-35	_____
	35-40	_____
French [ ]	40-45	_____
	45-50	_____
Mostly French, but Patois[2] too [ ]	50-55	_____
	55-60	_____
Mostly Patois, but French too [ ]	60-65	_____
	65-70	_____
Patois [ ]	70+	_____

Others? (which):

General questions:

   i)   Which language(s) do you use daily in the
            home?
   ii)   Where do you speak patois?
   iii)   Who do you speak in patois with on a daily
            basis?
   iv)   Can you read in patois?
   v)   Can you write in patois?
   vi)   Do you use patois on the Internet?
   vii)   Can you name any patois associations?
   viii)   Can you recommend a friend for the study?

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[1] The 'Geographical timeline' was inspired by Krug and Sell's 'Location timeline' questionnaire for Maltese English participants (2013: 94).
[2] Following Tuaillon and others, 'patois' is used here over Francoprovençal for its familiarity amongst speakers (see Kasstan 2015b on the issue of language denomination in Francoprovençal).

Orthographe de référence B:

O fut 'na tèrribla jornâ por Liyon que cela-que du nôf octobro 1793. Assiègiêe per l'armâ de la Convèncion, ceta vela aviéve batalyê doux mês tota solèta, nan por la Royôtât, mâs por la Rèpublica légâle, contra la Montagne qu'aviéve betâ dehôr la louè los Girondins et tôs los moderâs, et que govèrnâve per la tèrror.

La dèfensa n'étâve ples possibla. Por empachiér los Muscadins (niom qu'ils balyêvont ux assiègiês) de recrutar des sordâts de lo vesinâjo, la Convèncion aviéve fât 'na rossâ de tôs los jouenos de dix-et-huét a vengt-cinq ans, et por cassar tôs liems entre-mié los Liyonês et los Forêsziens que voliêvont lyors y balyér la man, el aviéve copâ per lo méten lo dèpartement de Rhône-et-Loire ; el nen aviéve fât doux : Lo Rôno d'una pârt et la Lêre de l'ôtra.

Nion secors sè poviéve èsperar de dehôr. Los sordâts de la Convèncion (ils los appelâvont los Blus), long-temps repoussâs, aviévont feni per emportar de fôrce los avant-pôstos de Cuire, sur lo platél de Bise, et celos du pont de la Mulatiére onte que sè mâriont lo Rôno et la Sôna. Por comblo, ils annonçiêvont lo huét octobro qu'un trètro aviéve livrâ la pôrta de Sent-Cllâr.

Lyonnais:

Ey fe na tarrebla dzorno pé Lyon que chaque du nu ottobré 1793. Assiédja pé l'armé dé la Convenchon, cha vela ayé batailla dou mâ teuta seuléta, neu pé la Royautò, mé pé la Repebleca légal, contra la Montagne qu'ayé betò dihor la loi leu Girondin é tui leu modérò, é qué govarnové pé la tarru.

La défensa n'étché pre possebla. Pér empétsi leu Muscadin (non qu'i baïovon uz assédja) dé recruto dé sordo dé leu vâzenadzeu, la Convenchon ayé fa na rochâ dé tui leu dzouneuz omeu dé diz-ouet à vingt-cinq an, é pé cassò teu lien entremi leu Lionnai é leu Forrezien qué volian luz y baï la man, él ayé copo pé leu mâtin leu département dé Rhône-et-Loire ; él n'en ayé fa dou : leu Rôneu, d'ina por, la Loire dé l'ôtra.

Nion secor sé poyé don espéro dé dihor. Leu sordo dé la Convenchon (i leuz appélovon leu Blu), Ion ten repussò, ayan feni per emportò dé fource leuz avan-pôsteu dé Cuiré, su leu platchau dé bize, e cheu du pon dé la Melatire, on qué sé môrion leu Roneu é la Sôna. Pé combleu, il annonçovon, leu ouet ottobré, qu'on trétreu ayé levro la pourta dé San-Chior.

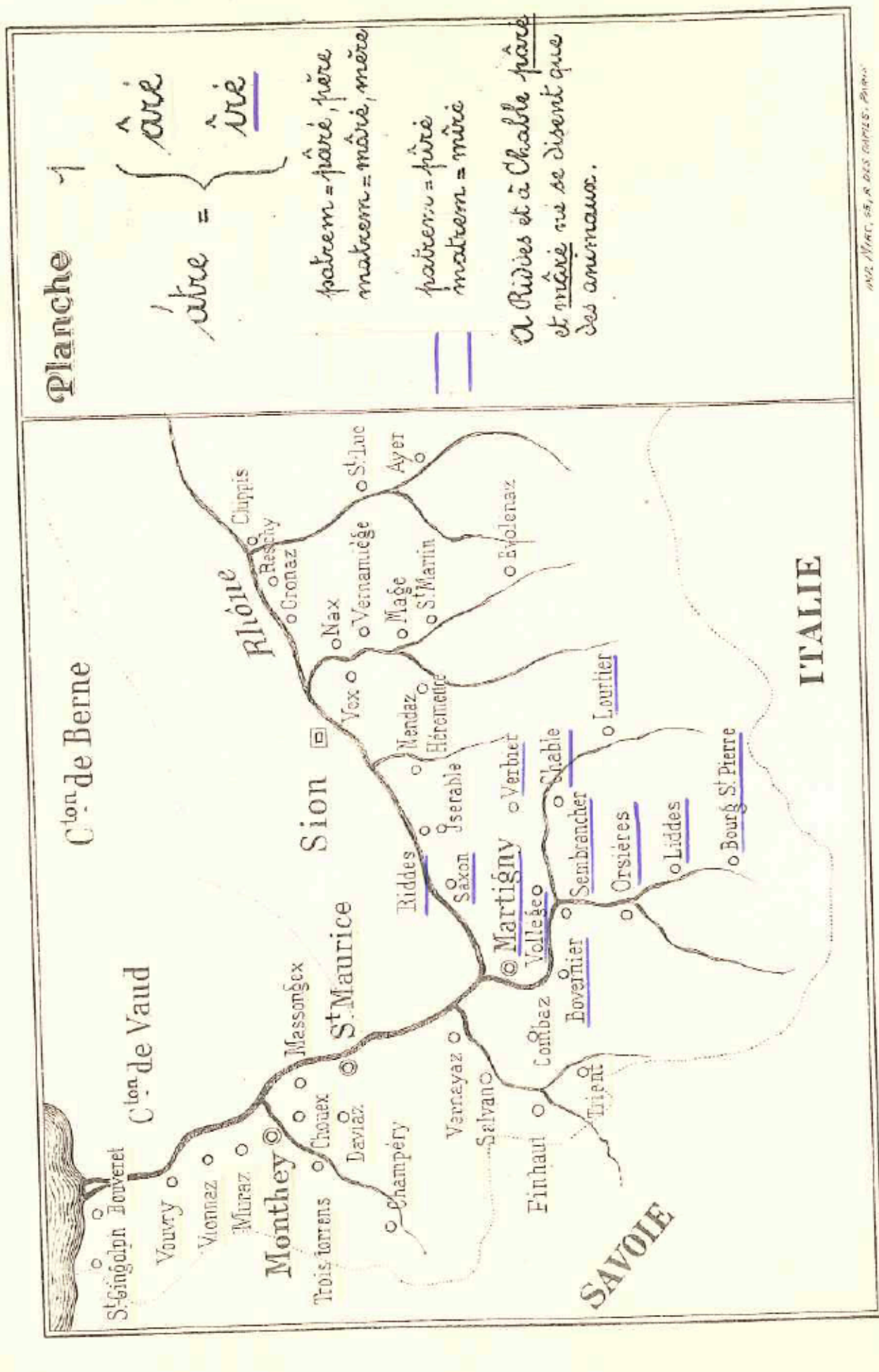| Variable (l)	Variable (a)	Variable (SG)/(PL)	Fillers
pleurer (inf.)	macher (inf.)	choses	pouvoir (faire, inf.)
pleurez (2nd p. pl.)	payer (inf.)	portes	soeur
recyclage	machez (2nd p. pl.)	fenêtres	naître
bible	payez (2nd p. pl.)	étoiles	enfant
(être) souple	tables	vaches	toit
cloches	glas	cloches	aéroport
glas	plus claire	cendres	poisons
plus claire	nez	tables	défi
flamme		navettes	Internet
aveugle			yaourt
			téléphone portable
			siège
			septentrional
			occidental
			harmonica
			souris
			laisse (le là)
			aimer (inf.)
			porter (inf.)
			manger (inf.)
			laisser (inf.)
			peigner (inf.)
			aimez (2nd p. pl.)
			portez (2nd p. pl.)
			mangez (2nd p. pl.)
			laissez (2nd p. pl.)
			peignez (2nd p. pl.)
			cinq cent

APPENDIX V – Data points taken from the *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du lyonnais* (ALLy), *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du Jura et des Alpes du Nord* (ALJA)
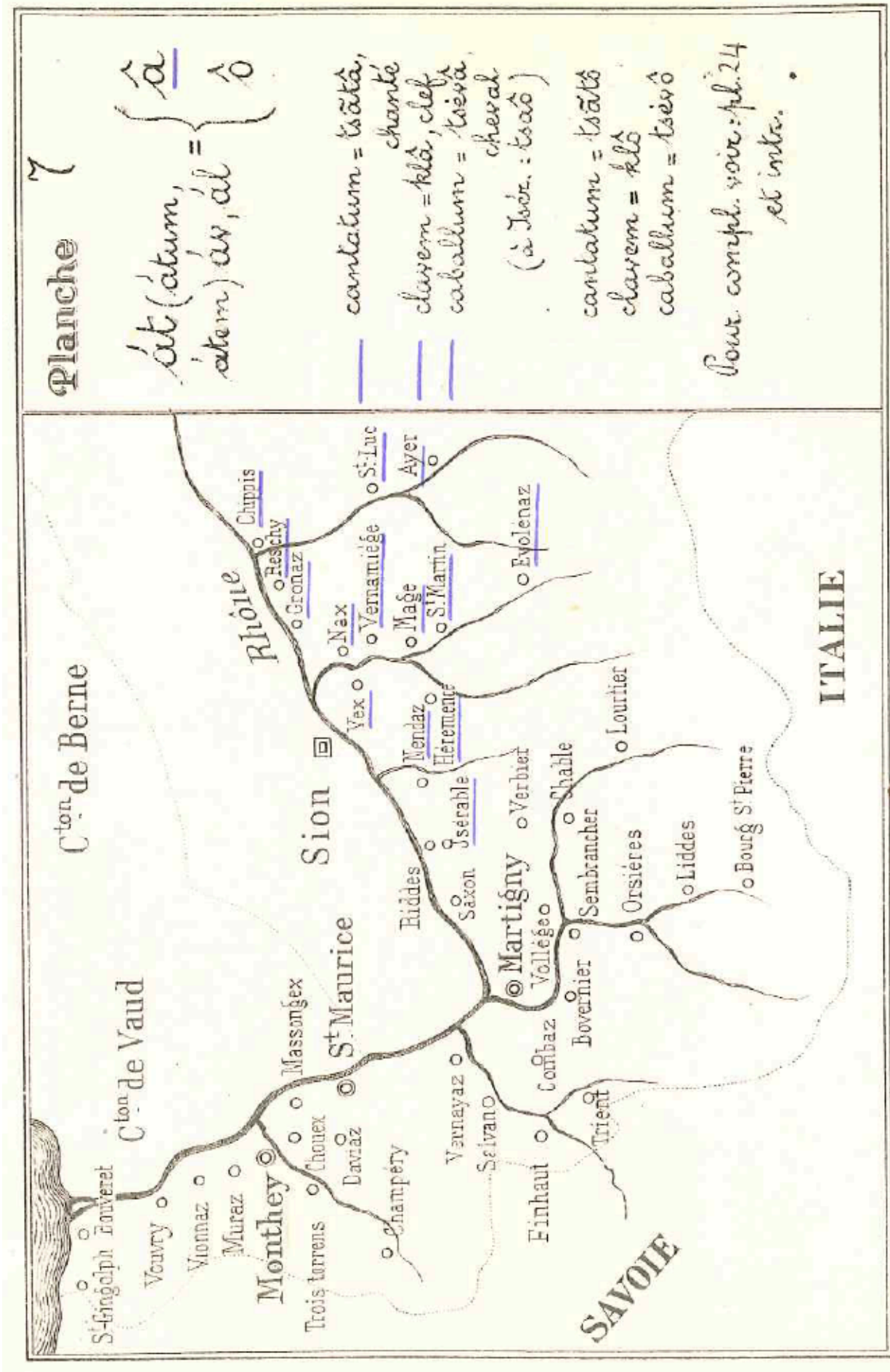
***Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du lyonnais* (ALLy)**

Variable (l)	Data Point						
Map	*40*	*41*	*42*	*49*	*50*	*51*	*52*
clé (697)	[çjo]	[kjo]	-	[kjɔ]	[klo]	[kjɔ]	[klɔ]
cloche(s) (905)	[çjots]	[kjɔʃi]	[kjɔʃi]	[kjɔʃi]	[kloʃi]	[kjɔʃi]	[kljɔθi]
clair (345)	-	-	[kjɔʁ]	-	-	-	-
clocher (905)	[çjotsi]	[kjɔʃi]	[kjɔʃi]	[kjɔʃi]	[kloʃi]	[kjʊʃi]	[klosi]
cloture (851)	-	[kjotura]	[kjotura]	[kjɔzura]	[klotura]	[kjotura]	-
glas (1046)	[çjots]	[jɔʁ]	-	[gjo]	[glo]	[kjɔ]	[kjɔ]
glands (428)	[jã]	[jã]	[jã]	[gjã]	[glã]	[gjã]	[gjã]
pleuvoir (781)	[mɔji]	[moji]	[mɔli]	[mɔji]	[mɔji]	[pluvr]	[plɔvr]
pluie (782)	-	-	[pløvi]	[plevi]	[plevi]	[plɛvi]	[plovi]
table (706)	[trobla]	[trobla]	[trobla]	[trobla]	[trobla]	[trɔbla]	[trobla]
blé (46)	[blo]	-	[blo]	[blo]	-	-	-
bleuets (57)	-	-	-	-	-	[bluə]	[bluə]
fleur (1164)	-	[flœr]	[flʊrəta]	-	flœr	-	-
flambée (745)	[flãbo]	-	-	[flabo]	[flãbo]	-	-

***Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du lyonnais* (ALLy)**

Variable (a)	Data Point						
Map	*40*	*41*	*42*	*49*	*50*	*51*	*52*
pré (2)	[prɔ]	[pro]	[pro]	[prɔ]	[prɔ]	[prɔ]	[prɔ]
nez (1072)	[no]	[no]	[no]	[no]	[no]	[nɔ]	[nɔ]
clé (697)	[çjo]	[kjo]	-	[kjɔ]	[klo]	[kjɔ]	[klɔ]
frère (947)	[frɐr]	[fror]	[fror]	[fror]	[fror]	[frɔr]	[frɔr]
mère (945)	[mer]	[mər]	[mər]	[mər]	[mɛr]	[mɔr]	[mɔr]
père (945)	[per]	[pər]	[pər]	[pər]	[pɛr]	[pɔr]	[pɔr]
chêne (427)	[tsono]	[ʃono]	[ʃono]	[ʃonə]	[ʃonœ]	[ʃɔnʊ]	[ʃɔnʊ]

***Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du Jura et des Alpes du Nord* (ALJA)**

Variable (l)	Data Point					
Map	*32*	*65*	*66*	*67*	*68*	*69*
éclair	[etʃaʁ]	[eklɛ]	[eklɛ]	[elwɛdɔ]	[lɥeda]	[lwada]
clé	[tjɔ]	[klɔ]	[klɔ]	[tja]	[ta]	[tja]
cloches	[toθi]	[kloθi]	[kløθi]	[tɔθi]	[tɔs]	[tjoθi]
claire	-	-	-	-	-	-
glas	[tɔ]	-	[klɔ]	[tja]	[tɑ]	[klɔ]
pleuvoir	[pjovaɛ]	[plovʁə]	[pløvʁə]	[plovʁə]	[plovʁə]	[plovʁ]
pluie	[pjev]	[plovi]	[pløvi]	[plovi]	[plevzə]	[plovi]
table	[tʁɔbja]	[tɔbla]	[tɔbla]	[tɑbla]	[tɑbla]	[tabla]

***Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du Jura et des Alpes du Nord* (ALJA)**

Variable (a)	Data Point					
Map	*32*	*65*	*66*	*67*	*68*	*69*
pré	[pʁɔ]	[pʁɔ]	[pʁo]	[pʁa]	[pʁa]	[pʁa]
nez	[nɔ]	[na]	[nɔ]	[na]	[nɔ]	[na]
clé	[tjɔ]	[klɔ]	[klɔ]	[tja]	[ta]	[tja]

Speaker	Type	Sex	Age-group	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	AEI score	AEI category
Arpitan Engagement scores for all research participants											
C12-01	Late	M	45-70	+	-	+	+	-	-	3	mid-way
P18-03	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
C06-04	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
M06-05	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
J18-06	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
J02-07	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	+	-	-	-	1	low
G07-02	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	+	-	-	-	1	low
C03-08	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	+	-	-	-	1	low
A06-09	Native	M	70-80+	+	-	+	+	-	-	3	mid-way
C06-10	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
N22-11	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
O22-12	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
M03-13	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
M03-14	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
J10-15	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
J10-16	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
R12-17	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
L16-18	Late	M	45-70	-	-	+	+	-	-	2	low
A18-23	New	M	20-45	+	+	+	+	+	+	6	ARP
S07-24	New	M	20-45	+	+	+	+	+	+	6	ARP
D20-25	New	M	20-45	+	+	-	+	+	-	4	mid-way
J13-26	New	M	45-70	+	+	+	+	+	+	6	ARP
M13-27	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
M04-28	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
M04-29	Native	M	45-70	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
F12-30	Late	M	45-70	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
B02-31	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	+	+	+	-	3	mid-way
M22-32	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
G16-33	Native	F	45-70	+	-	+	-	+	-	3	mid-way
N16-34	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	+	+	+	-	3	mid-way
M13-35	Native	M	45-70	-	-	+	+	+	-	3	mid-way
J14-36	Late	M	45-70	+	-	+	+	+	-	4	mid-way
C13-37	Native	M	45-70	+	-	+	+	+	-	4	mid-way
M19-38	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
A04-39	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
C02-40	Late	M	45-70	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
F02-41	Late	F	45-70	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
A12-43	Late	M	45-70	+	-	+	+	+	-	4	mid-way
M12-44	Late	F	45-70	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
R01-45	Late	M	45-70	+	-	+	+	+	-	4	mid-way
M01-46	Late	F	45-70	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
A02-47	Late	F	45-70	-	-	+	+	+	-	3	mid-way
J22-48	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
M22-49	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
B02-50	Native	F	45-70	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
J19-51	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
L18-52	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	+	+	+	-	3	mid-way
L04-53	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
H08-54	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
A08-55	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
A18-56	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
C08-63	New	F	20-45	-	+	-	+	+	-	3	mid-way
F02-64	Native	M	70-80+	+	-	+	+	+	-	4	mid-way
J02-65	New	M	20-45	+	-	+	+	+	-	4	mid-way
J06-66	Native	M	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
G06-67	Native	F	70-80+	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	low
J02-68	New	M	20-45	+	+	+	+	+	+	6	ARP

University of
Kent

Étude sur les langues régionales

Qui dirige cette étude ?

Cette étude est dirigée par le Département de lange et linguistique anglaise à l'université du Kent (Royaume Uni). Le chercheur principal est Jonathan Kasstan (étudiant en doctorat) ; les directeurs de thèse sont Dr David Hornsby et Dr Damien Hall.

Objectifs ?

Cette étude a pour objectif d'examiner les moyens de redonner de la vitalité aux langues régionales en usage dans les régions autour du Mont Blanc.

Traitement de toutes les données recueillies ?

Les données enregistrées pendant cette interview permettront de soutenir un projet de recherche à l'université du Kent, et, éventuellement, de diffuser les résultats par moyen de revues scientifiques, pour ouvrir davantage le débat sur les langues régionales, et aider les communautés dans le maintien de leurs cultures et coutumes. Ces interviews respecteront le plus strict anonymat. Vous pourrez par ailleurs avoir accès à toute publication éventuelle si vous en faites la demande.

Pour tout renseignement complémentaire
Si vous désirez de plus amples détails, ou si vous avez des questions supplémentaires concernant cette étude, veuillez contacter les chercheurs suivants :

Chercheur principal	M. Jonathan Kasstan	Email : J.Kasstan@kent.ac.uk
Directeur de thèse (a)	Dr David Hornsby	Email : D.C.Hornsby@kent.ac.uk
Directeur de thèse (b)	Dr Damien Hall	Email : D.Hall@kent.ac.uk

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ANGLETERRE

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Consentement de participation

i)   Je donne l'autorisation à Jonathan Kasstan d'enregistrer numériquement cette interview, respectant à tout moment le plus strict anonymat des réponses et commentaires apportés.

ii)   Je donne l'autorisation à Jonathan Kasstan d'utiliser les données enregistrés dans cette interview dans son travail à l'université du Kent (toujours respectant à tout moment le plus strict anonymat des réponses et commentaires apportés).

Nom :   …………………………………….
Prénom :   …………………………………….
Date de naissance : …………………………………….
Date :   …………………………………….
Signature :   …………………………………….

APPENDIX IX – List of abbreviations

AEI	Arpitan Engagement Index
ALAVAL	Atlas linguistique audiovisuel du francoprovençal valaisan
ALJA	Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du Jura et des Alpes du Nord
ALLy	Atlas linguistique et ethnographique du Lyonnais
CL	Classical Latin
FORA	Étude FORA : Francoprovençal et Occitan en Rhône-Alpes
LR	Lia Rumantscha
ORB	orthographe de référence B
PL	plural
RMLs	regional or minority languages
SF	Standard French
SG	singular
VL	Vulgar Latin

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