

The Subjunctive in Guernsey French: Implications for Gauging Authenticity in an Endangered Language

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Abstract

Authenticity is a salient issue within endangered language contexts, particularly where revitalisation efforts are in place. There is currently much activity worldwide to document and describe endangered languages, but whose language should go into the reference grammars? It is a common perception in endangered languages that the oldest speakers speak the most authentic language, but is this necessarily the case? This is a study of interspeaker and intragenerational variation in mood choice in Guernsey French which provides an insight into the issue of gauging authenticity in a severely endangered language.

Working within the variationist paradigm, the linguistic data for this apparent-time study are recorded natural speech, collected in semi-structured and unstructured interviews, both one-to-one and group, from forty-three participants on the island of Guernsey. Sociolinguistic data were collected using an oral questionnaire. The results show that mood choice is associated with one social factor, frequency of use of the language 'now'¹, and four linguistic factors, subjunctive trigger, trigger tense, embedded verb and, to a lesser extent, the presence or absence of a relative pronoun. A quantitative and qualitative approach is taken to examining interspeaker and intragenerational variation. The findings undermine any notion that the oldest generation can be unconditionally assumed to use the traditional variants.

The findings are discussed in relation to variationist theory and to the focal theory, authenticity. The research contributes to the field by being the first to examine interspeaker variation in a grammatical variable in Guernsey French. It adds to the small body of empirical research on idiolectal variation within the fields of variationist sociolinguistics and endangered languages, and highlights issues associated with applying variationist methodology in endangered language contexts. Finally, the study exposes the difficulties of seeking out and gauging authenticity in an endangered language.

¹ 'Now' means 'at the time of collecting the data' which was 2010-11.

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Abbreviations

GF	Guernsey French
JF	Jersey French
SF	Standard French
HP	<i>haut pas</i> or high parishes in the West and Southwest of Guernsey
BP	<i>bas pas</i> or low parishes in the North and East of Guernsey
ESG	East Sutherland Gaelic
AAE	African American English
LVC	Language variation and change
RLS	Reversing language shift
LAQ	Language attitudes questionnaire
NWAV	New Ways of Analyzing Variation
1ps	First person singular
2ps	Second person singular
3ps	Third person singular
1pp	First person plural
2pp	Second person plural
3pp	Third person plural
1LL	First language learner
2LL	Second language learner
WW2	World War 2
n/a	Not applicable
ref	Reference code
pos	Part of speech
OLE	Optimum (subjunctive-generating) linguistic environment
PR	Proficiency ranking
TAM	Tense aspect mood
LVC	Language variation and change
OFS	Older fluent speaker
YFS	Younger fluent speaker
SS	Semi-speaker
DV	Dependent variable
EIV	External independent variable/factor
IIV	Internal independent variable/factor
DV1	Mood choice

DV2	(Embedded) tense choice
DV3	Relative frequency of use of the subjunctive
EIV1	Age
EIV2	Age group
EIV3	Frequency of use as a child
EIV4	Frequency of use now
EIV5	Variety of use as a child
EIV6	Variety of use now
EIV7	Evacuated during WW2
EIV8	Language acquisition
EIV9	Sex
EIV10	Education
EIV11	Socioeconomic status
EIV12	Knowledge of SF
EIV13	Member of a GF group
EIV14	Region
EIV15	Grammatical proficiency
IIV1	Grammatical person
IIV2	Grammatical subject type
IIV3	Noun phrase head
IIV4	(Embedded) verb
IIV5	Frequency of (embedded) verb in data
IIV6	(Embedded) verb form
IIV7	Trigger
IIV8	Semantic class of trigger verb
IIV9	Tense of trigger verb
IIV10	Structure of trigger clause
IIV11	Relative pronoun
IIV12	Modal part of speech
IIV13	Distance between trigger clause and subordinate clause
IIV14	Register

1 Guernsey French: past, present and future

Introduction

Guernsey French (GF) is the indigenous language of the island of Guernsey. While English is now the dominant language throughout the Channel Islands, Guernsey, Jersey and Sark are the only three remaining islands where speakers of their particular varieties of Norman French can still be found.

Guernsey (49°26'N, 2°35'W) is one of a small cluster of islands in the English Channel, which are divided up into two legislative areas, the Bailiwick of Guernsey and the Bailiwick of Jersey. Within the Bailiwick of Guernsey, there are eight islands: Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, Herm, Brequhou, Jethou, Burhou and Lihou. Guernsey itself is situated approximately 80 miles south of the English coast and 30 miles west of the Cherbourg Peninsula in Normandy, France. It is the second largest of all the Channel Islands with an area of approximately 25 square miles and is divided up into ten administrative parishes: St Peter Port, St Sampson, Vale, Castel, St Saviour, St Pierre du Bois, Torteval, Forest, St Martin and St Andrew. The population of Guernsey in March 2011 was recorded as 62,915¹. In recent history, Guernsey's main source of income came from agriculture and tourism but, in the last few decades, it has been the banking and the finance sectors which have brought prosperity to the island.



Illustration 1.1 Map of Guernsey (and Lihou)²

¹ This is the population figure for Guernsey at the end of March 2011 as given on the States of Guernsey website. Available from: <http://www.gov.gg/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=66455&p=0> [Accessed 24 September 2012].

² This image is reproduced with the kind permission of Premier Holidays, Westbrook, Milton Road, Cambridge, CB4 1YG. Available from:

This chapter provides an introduction to GF and is in three parts broadly themed past, present and future. The first part, section 1.1, will give a synopsis of the history of GF. This will be followed in section 1.2 by a comprehensive study of the vitality of the language as it stands today. The final part of the chapter, section 1.3, takes a look at the attitudes of the majority language community towards GF and speculates on the language's future.

1.1 Guernsey French: past

Linguistic development in Guernsey over much of the past two thousand years is thought to have run parallel with that of north-western mainland France, namely, from Gaulish to Vulgar Latin to Norman French. In 933, the Channel Islands became part of the Duchy of Normandy and saw their first association with England when the Duke of Normandy, otherwise known as William the Conqueror, took over the English throne as King William I in 1066. The Duchy of Normandy was subsequently lost to King Philippe II of France in 1204, however the Channel Islands maintained their allegiance to the English Crown and were duly accorded fiscal and political privileges. They are self governed with their own laws and tax systems. In spite of this tie with England, the Norman French language was sustained on the islands for centuries owing to close commercial links with Normandy and, from the 17th Century onwards, was in a diglossic³ partnership with standard French (SF).

From the 19th Century however, English began to take a foothold in the urban parishes of Guernsey as a result of a growth in trade, immigration and tourism from the UK and began to replace first SF as the High language and then GF as the Low language. While GF remained the dominant language of the rural parishes, English gathered prestige on the island as the language of the upper social classes. Early commentaries on the declining use of GF included a guide book on the island published in 1830 predicting the demise of GF, and in 1884, the local poet, Denys Corbet, wrote *Les Chants du drain rimeux* (Songs from the Last Poet). Around the turn of the 20th Century, bilingual instruction in SF and English in schools gave way to instruction entirely in English. English was made the official language of the island in 1926. This promotion of English served to compound the already low status of GF which speakers still refer to today as the *patois* in contrast to *le bouan français* (the good French) i.e. SF. Contact with English continued apace in the first half of the 20th Century with increasing amounts of trade, tourism and immigration from

http://www.google.co.uk/imgres?imgurl=http://www.channelislandsdirect.co.uk/__data/assets/image/0015/7152/GuernseyMap.jpg&imgrefurl=http://www.channelislandsdirect.co.uk/guernsey/map&h=312&w=454&sz=44&tbnid=y21_c5tuc0JMM:&tbnh=74&tbnw=108&prev=/search%3Fq%3Dmap%2Bguernsey%26tbnm%3Dsch%26tbo%3Du&zoom=1&q=map+guernsey&usg=__c9xmbtHor1Tck0qh-vpyQXLJEu8=&docid=hri25h21UDB82M&hl=en&sa=X&ei=9wnGUI-YMs7J0AX1_YCQBQ&sqi=2&ved=0CDwQ9QEwBQ&dur=257 [Accessed 8 November 2012].

³ See C.A. Ferguson's 1959 article 'Diglossia' in *Word*, 15 (3), pp.325-340.

the UK, together with the invention of the telephone and of modern media such as the radio and cinema.

The ultimate catalyst, or “‘tip’” (Dorian, 1981, p.51), in the replacement of GF by English is often said to be the evacuation of over half of the island’s population, including the majority of the island’s children, to Britain during the Second World War (WW2). This resulted in an abrupt and large-scale severance of intergenerational transmission of the language. GF came to be increasingly stigmatised in the face of English which was seen as the language of modernity and social and financial advancement. One GF speaker who participated in the present study told me that teachers told parents not to teach their children GF (S31) and another said she was made to stay behind at school and ‘do lines’ if she was caught speaking GF (S9). Another participant told me that the children from the urban areas and those who had been evacuated made them feel they were stupid because they spoke GF, saying “You’re from the country” (S33). Another participant confirmed this, commenting that those who had been evacuated looked down on the children who had stayed in Guernsey; she said “it was really ‘them and us’ after the war” (S15) and that GF was banned in the school playground because it caused friction.

Both Sallabank⁴ and Ramisch⁵ make a point of commenting that the evacuation was one in a long line of factors that advanced the shift from GF to English. In the post-WW2 period, the shift was hastened by a decline in agriculture, an increase in tourism, the advent of the mass media and a shift in the island’s demography as a result of immigration, where inter-marriage meant that English and not GF was generally the language of communication within the family.

In 2007, Guernsey’s government appointed a Language Support Officer, Yan Marquis, who took up his post in January 2008. He was charged with revitalising GF and, as a result, there was a general surge of interest on the island with the profile of the language raised in the form of a small number of public signs in the language, items in the media, as well as a pathfinder project for the teaching of GF in schools. There was also a concerted effort made to document the language. Documentation was carried out by Marquis and also by a group of students from SOAS, University of London, during three documentation practice fieldtrips led by Julia Sallabank between 2008 and 2010. Proposals made by Marquis for revitalising the language met with resistance from some speakers and, as a result, no strategies were implemented. In July 2011, Marquis resigned as Language Support Officer and the post has not been re-filled.

⁴ Sallabank makes this point in her paper ‘Endangered language maintenance and social networks’. In Austin P.K., Bond, O., and Nathan, D., eds. (2007) *Proceedings of Conference on Language Documentation and Linguistic Theory*, SOAS, University of London, 7-8 December 2007. London: SOAS.

⁵ Ramisch makes this point in *The Variation of English in Guernsey/Channel Islands*. Bamberger Beiträge zur Englischen Sprachwissenschaft 24. Paris: Verlag Peter Lang.

The literature on GF

There are a number of key figures who have featured in the linguistic history of GF over the years. The pioneer in describing the language was Georges Métivier who produced the first dictionary, the *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand*, in 1870. The lemmata were in GF with French translations. One criticism of his work is that it is quite heavily influenced by SF, for instance, there is no mention of the sound [tʃ] for the SF [k] sound which is found in certain phonetic environments in the southwest of the island. This may have been because Métivier was a native of the *bas pas* (BP), the low parishes to the north and east of the island, where the language was closer to SF than it was in the *haut pas* (HP) to the west and southwest. Métivier also produced a substantial body of poetry in GF and was the leading figure in a literary movement that championed the Norman vernaculars of the Channel Islands.

The second key figure is Marie De Garis who was inspired to keep a note of GF words after hearing her grandmother and friends expressing concern at its declining use. With the help of a committee from L'Assemblaïe d'Guernésiais, a GF support group, she compiled the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernésiais* in 1967. Intended as an English counterpart to Métivier's earlier publication, the lemmata were English with GF translations. Information on Guernsey culture and traditions was also included along with a short reference grammar. A second edition followed in 1967 and the third edition was published in 1982, this time containing a short section listing GF lemmata with their English translations. It was De Garis's intention in this edition to represent contemporary GF usage; she comments that "Georges Métivier's 19th-century Guernésiais would be largely incomprehensible to the present-day generation of Guernésiais speakers" (1982, xxi). De Garis does, however, replicate some of his French-based orthographic conventions and hence the words listed in her dictionary sometimes give little clue as to their pronunciation. Regrettably for the learner at least, she chose not to use the IPA for fear of confusing her compatriots. De Garis was keen to redress the balance of BP over-representation in Métivier's dictionary, but conceded that it would have been impossible to have noted every variant found in every parish and even within each parish. She therefore limits description mainly to the contrasting pronunciations and regional variations of the HP, BP and St Martin's areas. While the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernésiais* is undoubtedly a valuable and impressive piece of work, none of its contributors or compilers were lexicographers, nor did they make use of any corpus as a resource, and this is sometimes to its detriment as a work of reference. In spite of these shortcomings, the dictionary is widely respected among speakers. De Garis also published *Guernesiais: A Grammatical Survey* in 1983 in which she gives a summarised account of GF grammar. It contains a number of gaps and inconsistencies, however. Marie De Garis was a prolific contributor to the description of her native language, nonetheless, as well as to Guernsey heritage through the many works she produced on Guernsey culture and traditions.

Other names of note in the linguistic history of GF are, in chronological order, Edwin Seelye Lewis who published his findings in 1895 from a study of both Guernsey literature and the speech produced in the HP and BP regions. *Guernsey: its people and dialect* contains a substantial section on the history of Guernsey and gives a detailed account of the phonology of GF with descriptions of the equivalent phonological developments in SF where pertinent. John Collas produced three works on the language between 1931 and 1966. His first work, *A Critical Examination of the 'Atlas linguistique de la France' as it concerns the island of Guernsey*, is an unpublished dissertation in which he critiques the documentation of the language as represented in the 'Atlas Linguistique de la France' (ALF); the language consultant whose speech was recorded for the ALF is widely suspected not to have been native to Guernsey. In 1964, Albert Sjögren published phonological and morphosyntactic findings in *Les Parlers bas-normands de l'île de Guernesey* from an empirical study carried out in 1926 in which he analysed questionnaire responses and spontaneous spoken GF collected through participant observation. Harry Tomlinson's 1981 PhD thesis, *Le Guernesiais – étude grammaticale et lexicale du parler normand de l'île de Guernesey*, presents a lexical and grammatical description of the language based on data collected through participant observation. His subsequent book, *A Descriptive Grammar of Guernsey French*, is intended as a reference work "indicating how the language is spoken by the majority of Guernsey French speakers" (Tomlinson, 2008, i). It does not use the IPA, again so that the text should be accessible to the layman. One final key figure in Guernsey's linguistic heritage is Eric Fellowes Lukis who wrote and published the pedagogical *An Outline of the Franco-Norman Dialect of Guernsey* in 1985⁶. The text gives a brief comparative account of the evolution of GF, followed by a description of phonology, taking both HP and BP into account. He follows this with a grammatical description and some lists of basic vocabulary and idioms. The rest of the book comprises learning exercises with a glossary at the end. Each of the three authors who have published descriptions (or prescriptions) of GF grammar, De Garis, Lukis and Tomlinson, differ in their accounts of some features.

More recent research on the language has been carried out by Cynzia Traversa who wrote her Bachelor's degree dissertation in 1995 on phonological and lexical variation in three of the Channel Islands called *Il Normano nelle Isole Britanniche. Profilo Fonetico et Lessicale delle Parlate Franco-Normanne di Guernsey, Jersey e Sark* (Università degli Studi di Torino). In 2008, Nicholas Havard wrote an MA dissertation entitled *Language Revitalisation on Guernsey* (University of Sheffield) and, in 2009, Thomas McGovern wrote a BA dissertation on the vitality of GF on the island called *A Geolinguistic Study of Guernésiais* (University of Plymouth).

⁶ There are several earlier versions of this publication.

Today, there are two key researchers of GF, although mention should also be made of a recently-completed Doctoral thesis by Helen Simmonds on phonological variation in GF. One key figure, Julia Sallabank, has written a Doctoral thesis plus a number of chapters and articles on GF since 2002. Her first paper, 'Writing in an Unwritten Language: The Case of Guernsey French', focussed on the sociolinguistic issues surrounding writing and literacy in the language and looked at the ramifications of those issues for the survival of the language. Since then, her investigations have focussed on the areas of identity, maintenance and language planning. Her Doctoral thesis, *Attitude Shift: identity and language maintenance in Guernsey Norman French*, was completed in 2007.

The second key figure in contemporary GF research is Mari C. Jones whose publications on GF began in 2000 with a paper entitled 'The Subjunctive in Guernsey Norman French' in which she examines both spoken and written tokens. Jones investigates diachronic variation and change in GF by comparing speaker usage with historical references in the language or by comparing it with Norman French. In collaboration with Edith Esch in 2002, Jones co-edited *Language Change: The interplay of internal, external and extra-linguistic factors* to which she contributed a chapter 'Mette a haout dauve la grippe des Anglais' reporting on the data she collected in 1997. In 2005, she co-authored *Exploring Language Change* with Ishtla Singh in which the sociolinguistic aspects of language change are examined using case studies. In this text, there is a very brief section reporting on pre- and post-posed adjectives from Jones's 1997 data. *The Guernsey Norman French Translations of Thomas Martin*, published by Jones in 2008, includes a chapter comparing modern morphosyntax with that found in the nineteenth century manuscripts. Jones's latest publication containing material on GF is *Sociolinguistique de la langue normande (pluralité, norms, representations)*, which she co-edited with Thierry Bulot in 2009. This includes a chapter written by Guernsey's Language Officer (and indeed another by Jersey's Language Officer) reporting on the state of the language and the issues he faced at the time. On the subject of language change in the closely-related Jersey French (JF), Jones published *Jersey Norman French: A linguistic study of an obsolescent dialect* in 2001. This book examines the sociolinguistic profile of the language community, language planning, phonology, lexical erosion, contact, and linguistic developments in morphosyntax and lexis comparing contemporary usage with historical descriptions of the language. Jones also published two papers in 2005 that elaborate on results presented in this latter study: 'Some structural and social correlates of single word intrasentential code-switching in Jersey Norman French' and 'Transfer and changing linguistic norms in Jersey Norman French'.

A useful reference guide was produced by Coates in 1998. It gives an account of the linguistic situation in the Channel Islands plus a comprehensive listing of all literature pertaining to Channel Islands French that was in existence at the time of publication.

1.2 Guernsey French: present

This section is organised into three subsections: section 1.2.1 shows the current use of the language as illustrated by a sample of speakers and how language use has shifted over the past century; section 1.2.2 gives a review of the linguistic landscape in Guernsey, and section 1.2.3 provides a snapshot of the vitality of the language using Giles et al.'s Objective Vitality framework and looks at what and where action is needed, using the UNESCO Vitality and Endangerment framework, if the language is to be revitalised.

1.2.1 Guernsey French in use by the language community

Most GF speakers use English in most domains and for most functions, but a small number of the oldest speakers still use GF as their first language in the home and in recreational domains with other GF-speaking relatives or friends, usually of the same age. These are the only remaining domains of use. If a non-GF speaker is present, however, they will switch to English. One speaker told me that she and her husband use both languages in the home depending on the topic: if they are talking about the past, the farm or the children, then the conversation is in GF; otherwise, it is in English. One of the functions performed by GF is joke-telling. A speaker told me that you can say humorous things in GF that you cannot say in English, as it would be impolite or disrespectful. This is a function often cited of obsolescent languages.

The two tables presented below illustrate how much GF is used now on the island and how much use has decreased over the past century. This language use study is based on a study of language shift carried out by Gal in 1978. Gal's study focussed on language choice by bilingual residents of an Austrian town, Oberwart, situated near the Hungarian border. Gal found that language choice, whether Hungarian, German or a mixture of the two, was determined by interlocutor. She administered questionnaires to thirty-two members of the town's population and presented her results, crosstabulating age and language use with interlocutor, in a near perfect implicational scale table showing language shift in progress across apparent time.

During the data collection stage for the main study, presented in detail in Chapter 3, sociolinguistic information was collected from 43 GF speakers. Participants were asked which language they used with various interlocutors when they were children and which language they used 'now' (i.e. at the time of collecting the data). The three language choices were GF, English or a mixture of the two. The interlocutor categories were based on those in Gal's study, with the exception of "bilingual clients in black market services" (Gal, 1978, p.231) and "bilingual

government officials” (Gal, 1978, p.231), which were not applicable in the GF context. Two categories were also added: ‘animals/pets’ and ‘acquaintances’. Information was collected on the categories, ‘god’ and ‘doctor’, but the results from these two categories are not presented in the tables below because the responses to the ‘doctor’ category were categorically English, and the vast majority also replied English in answer to the ‘god’ category. One-fifth, however, did say that they used GF when talking to God when they were children and a tenth of those questioned reported that they used SF. These varied responses were randomly distributed and did not form any sort of correlational pattern with age, so were omitted from the table for the purposes of clarity. There are 41 speakers represented in the tables below. Two of the original sample of 43 were not native to Guernsey and, therefore, did not use the language as a child.

The first table below presents recollected language use when the participants were children and illustrates the progress of language shift from GF to English over an apparent-time span of approximately six decades. The second table shows participants’ use of GF today. Each row represents one participant. Their age is given at the beginning of the row and the language they report using with each interlocutor is colour coded using the key below.

GF
Mix
English
missing data

Table 1.1 Key to language use tables

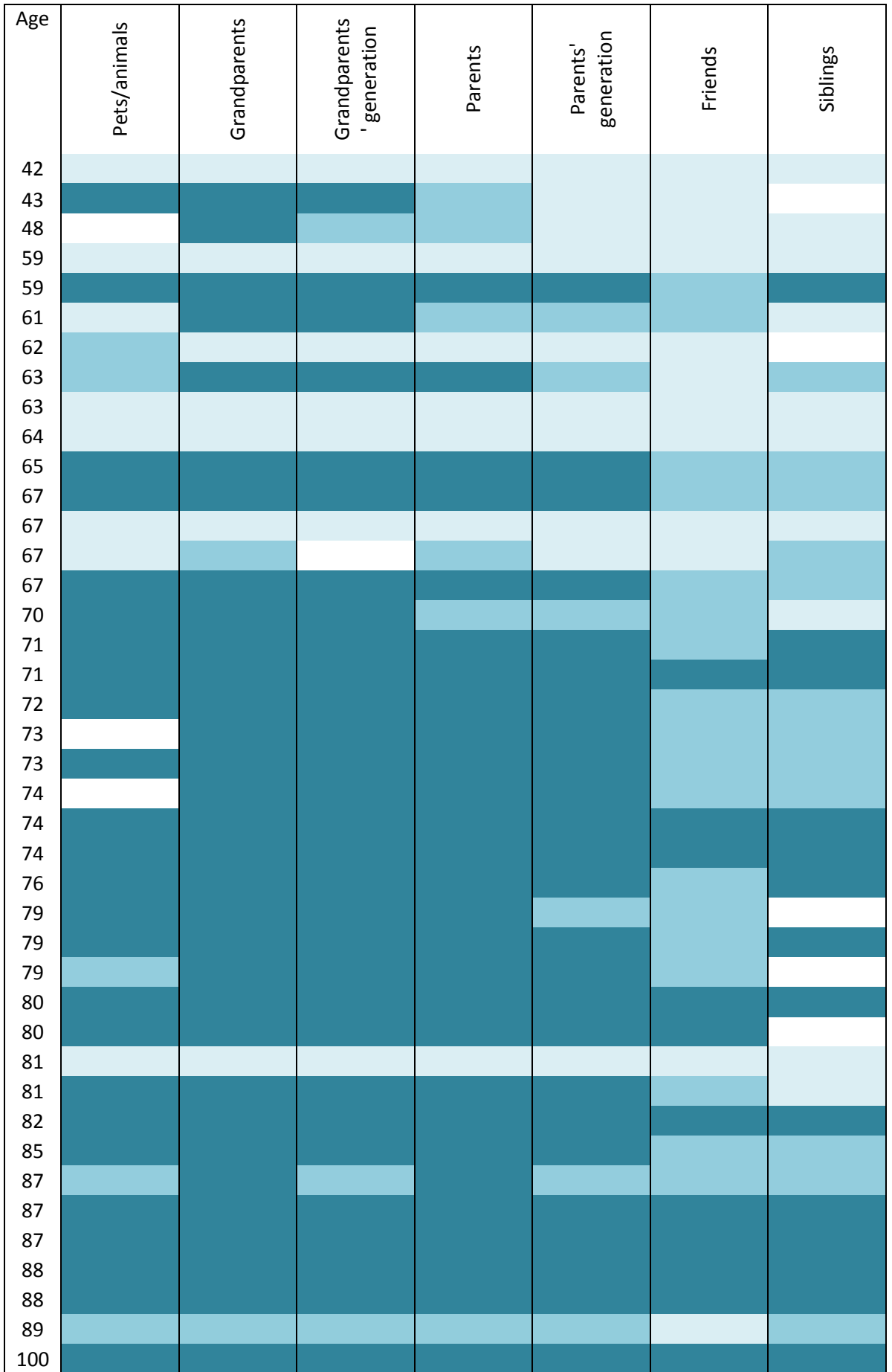


Table 1.2 Language shift in Guernsey over approximately six decades in apparent time

Age	Animals	Parents	Parents' generation	Friends	Siblings	Spouse / Partner	Children	Children's generation	Gr'children	Gr'children's generation
42										
43										
48										
59										
59										
61										
62										
63										
63										
64										
65										
67										
67										
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87										
87										
87										
88										
88										
89										
100										

Table 1.3 Language use 'now'

The shift in use from GF to English over the past century is clearly illustrated in these tables. Some very interesting points emerge from the first table in relation to the grammatical findings from the main study. These are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

1.2.2 Guernsey French in use in the linguistic landscape

1.2.2.1 Introduction to linguistic landscape theory

The concept of the linguistic landscape (LL) has developed since the 1990s into an area of interest for sociolinguists in its capacity as “a barometer of the relationship between language and society” (Huebner, 2009, p.84). Neatly defined by Coulmas (2009, p.14) as “writing on display in the public sphere”, the linguistic landscape has been found to be a salient indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality (see §1.2.3) signifying the status and power of ethnolinguistic groups within a given territory.

While there is evidence of studies pre-dating the 1990s, LL research was given momentum in the form of two seminal studies, the first by Spolsky and Cooper in 1991 and the second by Landry and Bourhis in 1997. The context for Spolsky and Cooper’s study was Jerusalem with a focus on documenting the political impact of changes witnessed in the LL. The context for Landry and Bourhis’s study was bilingual provinces in Canada where they analysed young francophones’ perceptions of the relative power and status of languages implied through their representation on signs. Both studies centred on two functions fulfilled by the LL, the informational and the symbolic, and these have proved salient distinctions that have run through LL research since.

The informational function has a three-fold significance: first, signs can be markers of linguistic territory; second, the degree of prevalence of a language on public signs has a discernible positive relation, in theory at least, with expectations of being able to use the language in formal situations and, third, the predominance of one language over another on signs signifies the sociolinguistic position of ethnolinguistic groups within a given territory. The symbolic function is further subdivided by Scollon and Scollon (2003) who distinguish between the ‘symbolic’ and the ‘indexical’. The ‘symbolic’ category signifies use of a particular language to characterise something, for example a business or a product, where the language may be completely unrelated to the location. The ‘indexical’ category signifies language use that gives an indication of the language communities in that location. If authorial intent is ‘indexical’, the presence of a minority language on public signs may have a positive effect both on ethnolinguistic identity and on the strength of the structural variables in Giles et al.’s 1977 taxonomy (see §1.2.3). This conclusion cannot be drawn if the intent is merely ‘symbolic’.

Over the last two decades, LL studies have appeared in many shapes and forms. The LL has been analysed both as an “indicator” (Kallen, 2009, p.272) and as a “form of discourse” (Kallen, 2009,

p.272) and has been defined in a variety of ways, generally dictated by research aims and contexts of study. While many LL researchers have followed the lead of Landry and Bourhis in their 1997 study where LL is defined as the “language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings” (Landry and Bourhis, 1997, p.25) in a given area, many others have developed their own definitions, and units of analysis which have been extended to include such LL items as T-shirts and people. Methodological and analytical frameworks have, of necessity, drawn on previous studies and been innovative in equal measure, driven by different research aims and contexts.

Landry and Bourhis draw two conclusions from their pioneering study which are particularly important for endangered language contexts. The first is that they suggest a “carryover effect” (Landry and Bourhis, 1997, p.29) where minority language use on public signs results in an increase in the use and functions of the language, particularly for groups with low or medium vitality. The second is that they find that the degree of presence of a minority language in public signs shows a positive relation with group perceptions of their own vitality. One problem in relation to documenting the LL in endangered, unstandardised language contexts, however, is that there is a risk of “recording the state of literacy rather than the status of spoken varieties” (Spolsky, 2009, pp.32-33).

1.2.2.2 Guernsey French in the linguistic landscape

The only informational signs were a few road and house signs⁷ which contained historically authentic names. This did not come as a surprise given GF’s history as a Low, unstandardised language. Most of the symbolic GF signs were specifically aimed at tourists. The symbolic signs fell into both of Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) categories of symbolic and indexical. There was GF on signposts and receipts at many tourist attractions. One of the biggest collections of GF signs was to be found in the Tourist Office, including on books, a postcard, a bookmark, a teatowel and on some tourist attraction literature. It was interesting to note the title of a DVD about GF which was for sale: *The Bad French: the Story of Guernsey’s Surviving Language*. The airport shop, which had been run by a local Guernsey company, stocked a number of souvenirs with GF written on them. They had also put up a large (lifesize) advertisement for their shop on the way through to the Departure lounge which had speech bubbles containing GF. This sign and many of the souvenirs had gone, however, when I last visited in November 2011, after the concession had been taken over by a British company.

⁷ Digital images of signs mentioned in this section can be found in Appendix A.

A number of GF signs were aimed at Guernsey inhabitants as well as tourists, including the expanding Patois jewellery collection⁸, the coffee company signs and the Patois Ale label. The company who operated the buses in Guernsey on behalf of the States' Environment Department included GF on their tickets and even on their timetables and the sides of their buses. The operation of the buses has changed hands since my last visit in November 2011; as a result, this aspect of the LL may now be different.

The majority of LL studies have been carried out within bilingual or multilingual contexts, but there have been few to date⁹ carried out within the context of obsolescence and revitalisation. It was initially the intention to report on data collected on Guernsey's LL using a combination of methods, namely the georeferencing and classification methods used at the Linguistic Observatory at the Università per Stranieri di Siena, as described by Barni and Bagna (2009), Kallen's (2009, p. 277) "hypothetical tourist's walk", and an examination of the LL as discourse i.e. of the 'initiator, sign-maker, reader' chain, to gauge response to the signs of the intended audience. However, it became clear that the majority of signs containing GF were largely symbolic. Some had come from Guernsey businesses using the language to sell products, but most had been generated as a result of the Language Support Officer's efforts to raise the profile of the language. The story they told was one of the States' efforts to promote Guernsey's heritage, identity and tourism.

1.2.3 Ethnolinguistic vitality

1.2.3.1 Introduction to ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) theory

Vitality theory has at its core the belief that relations between two or more ethnolinguistic groups in contact and the corollary language behaviour are determined by sociostructural and situational factors. The 1970s saw a general surge of interest in ethnicity which spilled over into the field of linguistics. The concept of EV was first introduced in 1977 by Giles et al. (1977, p.308) who claimed that vitality "is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations". The authors' theory was that the more vitality a group had, the more likely the group and its language were to survive. The framework developed by Giles et al. (1977) to calculate a group's EV can be seen in Figure 1.1 below:

⁸ The scan of a page from a booklet on the Patois collection was made by kind permission of Jamie Pang, Manager of Martin and Martin Designer Goldsmiths Ltd., Guernsey.

⁹ For one example of a LL study carried out on an endangered language, see Reershemius, G. (2009), Post-vernacular language use in a Low German linguistic community. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics*. 21 (2), pp.131-147.

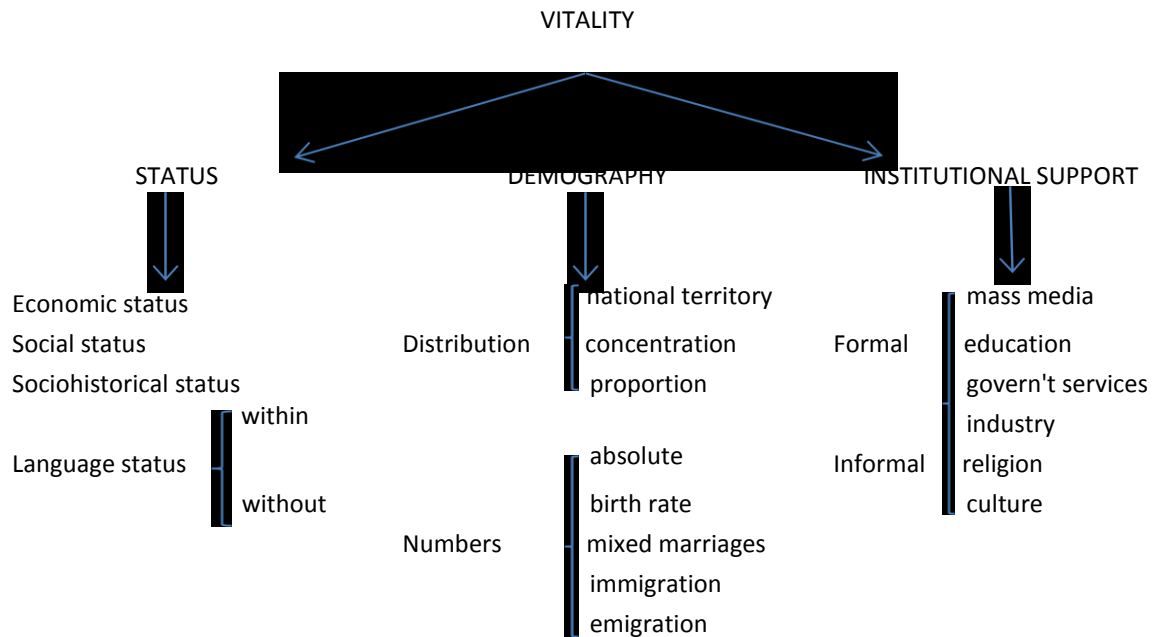


Figure 1.1 Giles et al.'s (1977) EV taxonomy

This framework is not suited to calculating the vitality of a language as severely endangered as GF, however, as the number of speakers is too depleted for most of the categories to be relevant or significant. Instead, it will be used to structure a summary below of the current situation for the language. In section 1.2.3.2, UNESCO's Language Vitality and Endangerment framework¹⁰ will be used to assess the vitality of the language.

At the last census for Guernsey in 2001¹¹, which was the first to collect any demographic data on GF, 1,327 (2.2%¹²) people out of a total population of 59,807 reported themselves as speaking the language fluently and a further 3,438 (5.7%) as being able to speak a little. The number able to fully understand the language was recorded as 1,871 (3.1%) and to understand a little GF was 6,394 (10.7%). It was estimated in 2011 that the proportion of people using the language on a regular basis in Guernsey was fewer than 100 (0.2%), and the number of people able to speak the language was between 200 and 300 (0.5%)¹³. In terms of institutional support, there is a small representation in the following areas:

¹⁰ Available from: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001836/183699E.pdf> [Accessed 24 September 2012].

¹¹ Available from: <http://www.gov.gg/CHttpHandler.ashx?id=2329&p=0>. [Accessed 24 September 2012].

¹² All figures given in this thesis have been rounded where applicable.

¹³ These estimates were given by Guernsey's former Language Support Officer, Yan Marquis, during a personal conversation in March 2011. In his feedback on my estimate for Factor 2 (number of absolute speakers) in the UNESCO vitality framework below, however, his response was "Who really knows?" (personal email, 3 October 2012).

- Mass media
 - BBC Guernsey website: ‘Listen and learn Patois with BBC and local language expert Hazel Tomlinson’ conversational phrases and vocab list. This link from the website is now¹⁴ corrupt.
 - Island FM Radio: Guernsey French Phrase of the Week (maintained by Marquis).
 - BBC Guernsey Radio: weekly round up of news in GF.
 - Guernsey Press website: ‘Donkey Dialogue’ audio phrases (maintained by Marquis).
 - www.learndgernesiais.com: a one page site with audio links to a few recitations recorded at the 2012 Eisteddfod.
- Education
 - Weekly extra-curricular lessons in approximately 7 primary schools out of 12 state/voluntary primary schools by volunteer GF speakers.
 - Weekly extra-curricular lessons in Sixth Form Centre by Marquis.
 - Beginner’s and Elementary level classes available as adult education.
- Government services
 - Language Support Officer, Yan Marquis, appointed and Language Advisory Panel set up January 2008. Marquis resigned in July 2011.
 - Under the umbrella of the Culture and Leisure department, a committee of GF speakers is working on a new strategy to revitalise the language, but it appears no decisions have yet been made and no strategies have been implemented to date.
 - GF is not used in any informational capacity within the States.
- Culture
 - Groups supporting GF: La Société Guernesiaise, L’Assemblaïe d’Guernesiais, La Guaine du Vouest, Lé Coumité d’la Culture Guernesiaise, the Eisteddfod committee.
 - The Eisteddfod, an annual cultural festival/competition, has a GF section.

1.2.3.2 UNESCO’s Language Vitality and Endangerment framework for Guernsey French

This nine-point framework was first developed by UNESCO in 2003. It not only provides a clear picture of vitality for a severely endangered language such as GF, but it also identifies where action needs to be taken should a revitalisation strategy be put in place. The nine criteria in the framework are:

¹⁴ This link was last checked on 10 December 2012.

- Factor 1 Intergenerational language transmission
- Factor 2 Absolute number of speakers
- Factor 3 Proportion of speakers within the total population
- Factor 4 Trends in existing language domains
- Factor 5 Response to new domains and media
- Factor 6 Materials for language education and literacy
- Factor 7 Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use
- Factor 8 Community members' attitudes toward their own language
- Factor 9 Amount and quality of documentation

My own impressionistic assessment of the situation as it pertains to GF is presented in Appendix B¹⁵ where the scales of measurement for each of the nine factors are set out. The level of vitality for the first six factors in respect of GF is extremely low. According to this framework, GF is classified as 'critically endangered' which is only one step away from 'extinct' on the scale. Domains of use of GF are 'highly limited' although it should be noted that, outside of spoken communicative interaction, the language has seen a rise recently in the level of use on signage and on the internet for example. In respect of Factor 6, it should be pointed out that there are several orthographies in existence and being used by the community, however none has any real internal consistency and none is accepted universally. Orthography was one of the main bones of contention in the attempt at revitalisation. There are some positive indicators to come out of the assessment. Government support hovers just above the median line, although there do not appear to have been any developments in terms of strategy for the revitalisation of the language since Marquis's resignation in July 2011. Anecdotal reports from GF speakers who took part in the main study for this research project indicate that the community appears to be largely supportive of its language. There were some speakers, however, who expressed indifference and there were others who did not see the point in changing the language (i.e. through the standardisation process) just so that it might continue (see also e.g. Sallabank, forthcoming). A final positive point in this vitality assessment is that there is usable audio, visual and written documentation.

¹⁵ My thanks to Julia Sallabank and Yan Marquis for their feedback on the accuracy of my ratings.

1.3 Guernsey French: future

The table below shows Fishman's eight-point Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale¹⁶. Fishman suggests the following eight stages, working backwards towards stage 1, for reversing language shift (RLS) and reinstating intergenerational transmission:

1	Educational, work sphere, mass media and (quasi-)governmental operations in Xish at the highest (nationwide) levels
2	Local/regional mass media and (quasi-) governmental services in Xish
3	The local/regional (i.e. supra-neighborhood) work sphere, both among Xmen and among Ymen
4a	Public [i.e. State in the UK] schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control
4b	Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control
<i>B. RLS - efforts to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment?</i>	
5	Schools for Xish literary acquisition, for the old and/or for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education
6	The organization of intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighborhood efforts: the basis of Xish mother-tongue transmission
7	Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation (beyond the age of giving birth)
8	Reconstructing Xish and adult acquisition of XSL
<i>A. RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)?</i>	

Table 1.4 Fishman's GIDS

GF can be placed at stage seven on this table. It is clear from this table that a language such as GF, where intergenerational transmission no longer takes place, requires support not only from the minority language community, but also from the majority community and from the State for intergenerational transmission to be reinstated.

In a situation such as the one that currently exists for GF, it is clear that neither the States of Guernsey alone nor the GF language community alone can revitalise the GF language. A joint effort is required. The States can only support the language, however, if the wider community is generally in favour¹⁷. The question is, are the people of Guernsey keen to see their indigenous language survive or not? A language attitudes survey was carried out with the aim of finding out

¹⁶ See Fishman, J.A. (2005) Language Maintenance, Language Shift, and Reversing Language Shift. In: T. K. Bhatia and W. C. Ritchie, eds. *The Handbook of Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 406-459, p.427.

¹⁷ This is a point made by Sallabank (forthcoming).

the answer to this question, and to determine whether there have been any significant changes in attitude since 2004 when a similar study was carried out by Julia Sallabank.

1.3.1 Language attitudes survey: method

1.3.1.1 Population

The population of the survey was sixteen to eighteen year olds in full-time further state education (henceforth 'teens') and parents of six to eight year olds (pupils in Years 2 and 3) in state primary schools (henceforth 'parents'). It was initially the intention to include GF speakers in the study, however it was decided that this would not be a representative sample as it was not possible to determine the exact number and location of all GF speakers on the island in order that random sampling might be carried out. The population was selected with the aim of gauging not only current support for the language but also likely attitudes into the next generation. As Crystal (2000, p.114) points out, teenage attitudes are crucial since they are "the parents of the next generation". The total population is estimated to be 720 parents and 835 teens. The population of teens from which the sample was drawn is believed to represent almost 80% of the total number of sixteen to eighteen year olds on the island¹⁸. Those taking up FE at private establishments and those not entering FE are not represented in this study.

1.3.1.2 Sample

A stratified random sample was drawn ensuring that there was equal representation from parents and teens, from males and females, and from educational establishments participating and not participating in extra-curricular GF lessons. The two primary schools that took part in the study were Forest Primary School and Notre Dame du Rosaire RC Primary. Forest Primary was participating in extra-curricular GF lessons for its pupils and is located in a GF speaking area, while Notre Dame du Rosaire RC Primary was a non-participating school located in a non-GF speaking area. The two providers of further state education on the island that took part in the study were Guernsey Grammar School Sixth Form and Guernsey College of Further Education. The Guernsey Grammar School Sixth Form offered its students extra-curricular GF lessons, but the College was not participating in any extra-curricular GF lessons for its students, although there were classes available to the whole community.

A total of 210 questionnaires were distributed to four sub-samples: thirty male and thirty female parents via the pupils in each of the two primary schools; thirty male and thirty female students

¹⁸ This figure is based on a statement from the *States of Guernsey* website: 'Nearly 80% of young people choose to stay in full time education after completing Year 11'. Available from : <http://www.education.gg/article/3152/Post-16-Education>. [Accessed 22 March 2012].

at the Grammar School, and fifteen male and fifteen female students at Guernsey College¹⁹. The response, which represents the final sample, is shown below:

	schools participating in GF lessons	school/college not participating in GF lessons
parents	23 (38%)	20 (33%)
teens	59 (98%)	30 (100%)

Table 1.5 Number of LAQ surveys returned with response in brackets

In all, 132 people took part in the survey, with the parents sub-sample representing 6% of their respective total population, and the teens sub-sample representing 11% of their total population. The final sample comprised 77 females and 53 males plus two respondents who did not indicate their sex. All but one or two of the respondents lived in Guernsey (one lived in Alderney and one did not respond to this question) and 71% of those were born in Guernsey. A total 32% of respondents reported having some knowledge of GF, but no-one reported speaking the language to any level where they would be able to hold a conversation without considerable difficulty or where they could understand someone speaking GF at a natural pace. While 59% of respondents reported that they knew some GF speakers, the vast majority (88%) of them only knew a few (between 1 and 5). Of the parents who responded, most (77%) were aged between 36 and 45. Almost five times as many middle class²⁰ as working class²¹ parents responded to the survey, suggesting more engagement with the issue from those in middle class occupations, irrespective of standpoint. Similarly, the level of response to the survey rose with respondents' level of education with almost half (47%) who responded having higher education qualification(s). It is also possible, of course, that the apparently less engaged groups were under-represented in the sample.

1.3.1.3 Questionnaire

In order to enable a longitudinal comparison of attitudes as well as to gauge language attitudes now, the questionnaire that was used in the survey was based on the survey carried out in 2004 by Julia Sallabank. Six items (1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 9)²² were retained from Sallabank's survey, and three new items were added, making a nine-item scale. Items 5 and 7 were negatively worded to help prevent acquiescence bias. Respondents were asked to give their response to each item on a 6-point Likert scale. A section was provided for comments, and demographic questions similar to those in Sallabank's 2004 survey were included. The survey was completely anonymous.

¹⁹ Fewer surveys were distributed at Guernsey College because students were required by teaching staff to complete the questionnaires during a contact session, thereby guaranteeing 100% return.

²⁰ Those who selected option 1 or 2 of demographic question 3 in the survey.

²¹ Those who selected option 3, 4, or 5 of demographic question 3 in the survey.

²² See Appendix C for copy of questionnaire.

Following a preliminary piloting stage, the questionnaire was piloted in Guernsey in May 2011 on a random sample of twenty-four male and twenty-four female parents evenly split between Years 2 and 3 pupils at La Houquette Primary School plus ten male and ten female teens at Guernsey College. The questionnaire was distributed on the researcher's behalf by teaching staff. Response was 100% from the college and 25% from the primary school. The returned questionnaires were analysed using IBM's SPSS version 19 to verify the reliability and validity of the questionnaire. It was found that the scale used to measure language attitudes in this study had very good internal consistency, with a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .907. The nine items of the language attitudes scale were also subjected to principal components analysis (PCA). The results of this analysis showed that one component had an eigenvalue greater than 1 which was accounting for 58.5% of the variance, and it supported the use of all nine items in the scale since the majority of correlation coefficients were greater than .3.

There are a few limitations to this survey. It should be borne in mind that the parents sub-sample may potentially be skewed owing to the fact that the response rate was 36%. As Rasinger (2008, p.50) points out, "it is often the case that those who agree to take part are significantly "different" from those who do not". In terms of the sampling of parents, envelopes containing the questionnaires were marked according to whether they were to be filled out by the mother or father, and it is possible this may not always have been adhered to. Owing to the fact that responsibility for distribution of the questionnaires was given over to teaching staff, it is also possible that the random sampling instructions accompanying them were not strictly followed. In retrospect, there are two improvements which could have been made to the questionnaire. It would have been better to have used the same adverb in the middle of the Likert scale since 'Slightly disagree' and 'partly agree' are not the exact converse of one another. Further, in demographic question no. 4, it would have been better to have written 'up to and including ...', as the options are not entirely clear as they stand. Finally, the fact that this survey was carried out at a time of global economic recession may have had a bearing on responses to two of the scale items in particular: 'The States of Guernsey should support GF' and 'GF should be taught in schools'. Indeed, one respondent commented that

With tight budgets and difficult economy, it doesn't seem feasible or sensible to have the government fund language instruction in schools, when other basic educational goals are not being met here in some educational settings. (NFP1)

In November 2011, the survey proper was carried out and a total of 210 language attitude questionnaires (LAQs) were distributed to the four sub-samples as described above.

1.3.1.4 The variables

The dependent variables that derived from the questionnaire data followed by the codes they were given for the purposes of analysis are:

- Guernsey should maintain a unique identity of its own (DV1)
- I feel proud that Guernsey has its own language (DV2)
- GF is an important part of Guernsey identity (DV3)
- The *States of Guernsey* should support GF (DV4)
- GF should be left to die out (DV5)
- GF should be taught in schools (DV6)
- Learning GF would have a negative effect on children’s learning of SF (DV7)
- GF should be more visible in the public domain e.g. on TV, radio, internet, in newspapers, on signs etc. (DV8)
- I would like to learn (more) GF (DV9)
- Overall attitude towards GF (DV10)

The independent factors that derived from the questionnaire data are:

- Sex (IV1)
- Age (IV2)
- Socioeconomic status (IV3)²³
- Level of education (IV4)²⁴
- Residing/not residing in Guernsey (IV5)
- Born/not born in Guernsey (IV6)
- Age of moving to Guernsey (if not born there) (IV7)
- Proficiency in spoken GF (IV8)
- Proficiency in understanding GF (IV9)
- Acquaintance with GF speakers (IV10)
- Participating/non-participating parent/teen (IV11)
- Participating/non-participating male/female parent/teen (IV11)
- Participating/non-participating school/college (IV13)
- Parent/teen (IV14)
- Male/female parent/teen (IV15)

Following a review of the responses, it was decided to revise some of the independent factors above for the purposes of analysis. Some were merged into one factor, and some had the number of categories reduced since there were very few respondents in some of the cells. In respect of independent factor IV3, none of the 42 parents selected option 7 ‘unemployed’ or option 8 ‘in full-time education’ and only three (7%) selected option 6, ‘homemaker’, as their

²³ Only parents were entered into the analysis for this variable.

²⁴ Only parents were entered into the analysis for this variable.

main occupation. The decision was made to exclude these three participants for this factor and to create a new factor (collIV3) by collapsing options 1 and 2 into 'middle class occupation' and options 3-5 into 'working class occupation'. There was a fairly even split in responses to independent factor IV4 between parents who been educated beyond level 3 (20) and those who had been educated up to and including level 3 (23), so the four categories were collapsed into two, HE qualified/FE or below qualified, to create a new factor collIV4. In respect of independent factors 8 and 9 above, no respondents selected option 4 or 5, only three selected option 3, and most selected the same option in response to both questions. In light of this, the two factors were reduced to one new factor (collIV89) representing respondents with no knowledge/some knowledge. Similarly, only 7% of respondents selected options 3 or 4 for independent factor IV10, so this was collapsed into a new factor (collIV10) with only two categories representing respondents who knew no speakers/one or more speakers. To summarise, the categories for the revised independent factors are as follows:

IV1	male female	collIV89	no knowledge some knowledge
IV2	16-18 19-25 26-35 36-45 46-55 56 and over	collIV10	no speakers one or more speakers
collIV3	middle class occupation working class occupation	IV11	participating parent non-participating parent participating teen non-participating teen
collIV4	HE qualified FE or below qualified	IV12	participating female parent participating male parent non-participating female parent non-participating male parent participating female teen participating male teen non-participating female teen non-participating male teen
IV5	yes no	IV13	participating school non-participating school/college

IV6	yes no	IV14	parent teen
IV7	under 18 18-35 36-60 over 60	IV15	female parent male parent female teen male teen

Table 1.6 Independent factor categories

1.3.1.5 Analysis

Analysis of the raw questionnaire data was in two parts. First, the data was analysed to show the response from the sample to each of the nine items in the survey. Second, the Mann-Whitney U test was used to find out which subgroups showed the most support for GF. The software used to analyse the data was IBM SPSS Statistics 19.

1.3.2 Language attitudes survey: results

1.3.2.1 What do people think?

The results in the table below show a high level of support for GF across the sample as a whole.

	strongly disagree	disagree	slightly disagree	partly agree	agree	strongly agree
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Guernsey should maintain a unique identity of its own	0	2	8	18	29	43
2. I feel proud that Guernsey has its own language	3	5	11	30	24	27
3. Guernsey French is an important part of Guernsey identity	5	14	8	27	22	24
4. The States of Guernsey should support Guernsey French	3	9	11	23	26	28
5. Guernsey French should be left to die out	43	24	13	8	8	5
6. Guernsey French should be taught in schools	12	17	9	33	15	15
7. Learning Guernsey French would have a negative effect on children's learning of standard French	22	26	19	21	9	4
8. Guernsey French should be more visible in the public domain e.g. on TV, radio, internet, in newspapers, on signs etc.	14	14	8	28	23	13
9. I would like to learn (more) Guernsey French	19	18	13	25	15	10

Table 1.7 Response from whole sample to items 1-9 in the LAQ

The vast majority of respondents feel that Guernsey should maintain its own unique identity (90%) and many believe that GF is an important part of that identity (73%). A large majority are proud that the island has its own language (81%) and feel that it should not be left to die out (80%). In relation to revitalisation strategies, most respondents believe that the States should support the language (77%) and that it should be more visible in the public domain (64%). The majority believe GF should be taught in schools (63%) although some felt that this would have a negative effect on children's learning of SF (34%). While this is a strong show of support for GF, only half of the participants report that they themselves would like to learn (more) GF and half of these only partly agree.

The responses from the two different age groups show that the parents generally have a more positive attitude than the teens in relation to each of the nine items in the questionnaire.

	disagree		agree	
	%T	%P	%T	%P
1. Guernsey should maintain a unique identity of its own	13	2	87	98
2. I feel proud that Guernsey has its own language	24	9	76	91
3. Guernsey French is an important part of Guernsey identity	34	12	66	88
4. The States of Guernsey should support Guernsey French	30	9	70	91
5. Guernsey French should be left to die out	75	88	25	12
6. Guernsey French should be taught in schools	48	19	52	81
7. Learning Guernsey French would have a negative effect on children's learning of standard French	62	77	38	23
8. Guernsey French should be more visible in the public domain e.g. on TV, radio, internet, in newspapers, on signs etc.	45	19	55	81
9. I would like to learn (more) Guernsey French	58	31	42	69

Table 1.8 Response from parent (P) and teen (T) groups to items 1-9 in the LAQ

The most unequivocal response from both groups was to the first item 'Guernsey should maintain a unique identity of its own' with 98% of parents and 87% of teens in agreement with the statement. While most parents (88%) felt that GF was an important part of Guernsey identity, however, only two-thirds of the teens agreed. Only three-quarters of the teens felt proud that Guernsey had its own language and believed it should not be allowed to die out as compared with around 90% of the parents. There was a slight drop off in the number of teens (70%) who believed the States should support the language, however, while the level of support

for this remained constant (91%) from the parents. In terms of revitalisation strategy, only just over half of the teens believed GF should be more visible in the public domain and taught in schools compared with 81% of parents, and more teens (38%) than parents (23%) believed learning the language would have a negative effect on learning SF. In terms of individual action, over two-thirds of parents (69%) reported that they would like to learn (more) GF as compared with less than half, only 42%, of the teens.

1.3.2.2 Who showed the most support for GF?

Since the data does not have a normal distribution, the Mann-Whitney U test was used to determine the differences between the subgroups in the sample and answer the following questions:

1. Who are the strongest supporters of GF, parents or teens?
2. Who are the strongest supporters of GF, males or females?
3. Are attitudes towards the language improved by school involvement in extra-curricular GF lessons?
4. Do people who were born in Guernsey have a more positive attitude towards the language than those who were not?
5. Are people who have some knowledge of the language more likely to support it?
6. Do people who know some GF speakers have a more positive attitude towards the language than those who do not?
7. Is there a link between level of support for GF and a person's socioeconomic status?
8. Is there a link between level of support for GF and a person's level of education?

Checks were made to ensure no assumptions of the Mann-Whitney U test were violated. The median values produced by the tests are converted below to a percentage for ease of comparison.

Results showed that, overall, the parents showed a significantly higher level of support for GF (80%) than the teens (60%)²⁵. There was a significant difference, too, in the attitudes of males and females across the sample as a whole with females showing more support than males (74% vs. 56%)²⁶. This was also found to be the case for the teens subgroup²⁷, but not for the parent subgroup where there was no significant difference found between the sexes²⁸. Attitudes

²⁵ Mann-Whitney U test result: parents (Md = 5, n = 40), teens (Md = 4, n = 83), U = 892.5, z = -4.15, p < .001, r = -.37.

²⁶ Mann-Whitney U test result: males (Md = 3.8, n = 50), females (Md = 4.7, n = 71), U = 1234, z = -2.85, p < .01, r = -.26.

²⁷ Mann-Whitney U test result: male teens (Md = 3.7, n = 35), female teens (Md = 4.4, n = 46), U = 508.5, z = -2.83, p < .01, r = -.31

²⁸ Mann-Whitney U test result: male parents (Md = 4.7, n = 15), female parents (Md = 5, n = 25), U = 179, z = -.238, p > .05, r = -.04.

towards the language were found to be only slightly more positive across the whole sample (68% vs. 64%) when there was school involvement in extra-curricular GF lessons, however the difference was not found to be statistically significant²⁹. While this finding was replicated in the teens subgroup (62% vs. 54%)³⁰, there was no difference at all found in the attitudes of parents in relation to the presence or absence of extra-curricular GF lessons at their children's primary schools³¹. Respondents who were not born in Guernsey showed a slightly higher level of support for the language than those who were native to the island (72% vs. 66%) although this difference did not reach statistical significance³². Attitudes towards the language were significantly more positive from respondents who had some knowledge of the language (74% vs. 64%)³³ and from those who knew some GF speakers (72% vs. 56%)³⁴. Respondents in working class occupations showed a slightly higher level of support than those in middle class occupations (88% vs. 80%)³⁵ and respondents educated to FE level or below also showed slightly more support than their HE educated counterparts (88% vs. 76%)³⁶, but neither of these was found to be significantly different. These last results should be considered alongside the fact that there was a possible overall lower level of engagement with the issue from these two more supportive groups in the sample as a whole.

1.3.3 Language attitudes survey: discussion of findings

It will be useful to interpret the results above alongside those obtaining from Sallabank's 2004 survey³⁷. Sallabank's research population was the population of Guernsey as a whole and the sample was drawn using the "snowball" technique (Dörnyei, 2007, p.98). Sallabank collected a total of 209 questionnaires which represented 0.35% of the total population as reported in the 2001 census. The results of the present study and those of Sallabank are not directly comparable: the population, sample and sampling method are not the same; a few (2.26%) of

²⁹ Mann-Whitney U test result: schools participating in extra-curricular GF lessons (Md = 4.4, n = 77), schools/college not participating in extra-curricular GF lessons (Md = 4.2, n = 46), U = 1626.5, z = -.756, p > .05, r = -.07.

³⁰ Mann-Whitney U test result: teens attending a participating school (Md = 4.1, n = 56), teens attending a non-participating college (Md = 3.7, n = 27), U = 584.5, z = -1.669, p > .05, r = -.18.

³¹ Mann-Whitney U test result: parents of 6 to 8 year olds attending participating schools (Md = 5, n = 21), parents of 6 to 8 year olds attending non-participating schools (Md = 5, n = 19), U = 182, z = -.475, p > .05, r = -.08.

³² Mann-Whitney U test result: respondents born in Guernsey (Md = 4.3, n = 84), respondents not born in Guernsey (Md = 4.6, n = 36), U = 1487.5, z = -.140, p > .05, r = -.01.

³³ Mann-Whitney U test result: respondents who have some knowledge of GF (Md = 4.7, n = 39), respondents who have some knowledge of GF (Md = 4.2, n = 83), U = 1099.5, z = -2.851, p < .01, r = -.26.

³⁴ Mann-Whitney U test result: respondents who know some GF speakers (Md = 4.6, n = 72), respondents who know no GF speakers (Md = 3.8, n = 50), U = 1212, z = -3.063, p < .01, r = -.28.

³⁵ Mann-Whitney U test result: middle class occupations (Md = 5, n = 30), working class occupations (Md = 5.4, n = 7), U = 71.5, z = -1.302, p > .05, r = -.21.

³⁶ Mann-Whitney U test result: higher education (Md = 4.8, n = 19), further education or below (Md = 5.4, n = 21), U = 152, z = -1.289, p > .05, r = -.2.

³⁷ Comparisons made with Sallabank's 2004 survey have been based on a first draft version of her forthcoming paper 'Can majority support save an endangered language? A case study of language attitudes in Guernsey'.

Sallabank's respondents reported themselves as fluent GF speakers, and the Likert scale in this study is 6-point whereas in Sallabank's it is 5-point. It might be argued that respondents in the present study were not given the option of reporting a neutral response on the Likert scale and this may have had the effect of inflating percentages when compared with the 2004 results. With the exception perhaps of the responses to 'Guernsey French should be taught in schools', however, there is no real tendency in the results for positive responses to distribute themselves around the centre of the charts. In spite of these mismatches, a comparison of the results which were found to be statistically significant in both studies is useful to determine if there has been any change in attitudes in the intervening seven years.

Overall, there was majority support for the language in both studies. There was a possible small increase in support for revitalisation from 2004 to 2011 since 80% of respondents in 2011 felt that GF should not be left to die out as compared with 75.8% in 2004. This increase may, however, be confounded by the differing Likert scales since 13% of respondents in 2011 'slightly agree' the language should not be left to die out. In terms of revitalisation strategy, more people in 2011 believed the States should support GF (an increase of 12% on 2004) and more thought that the language should be taught in schools (an increase of 13% on 2004). Both studies indicated, however, that while the majority believed the States should be taking action, fewer people thought the language should be introduced into the school curriculum. Sallabank reports that under 18s were ambivalent on the matter of whether GF should be introduced into the curriculum and, although some teen respondents may have been aged 18 in the present study, the same was found.

One of the most interesting points to come out of the comparison of these two studies is the difference in the number of respondents who would 'like to know' GF and those who would 'like to learn (more)' GF. Sallabank reports that 16% of her respondents in 2004 would not 'like to know' the language as compared with the 50% who would not 'like to learn (more)' GF in 2011. Setting aside for a moment any increase or decrease in levels of positivity during the intervening seven years, this marks a striking difference between those who wished they knew the language and those who would be prepared to take action to learn it. Sallabank also reports that the under 18s was the group who most wished they knew the language. It is assumed this finding was statistically significant and, if so, stands in stark contrast to findings in this respect in 2011, where a minority of teens (42%) reported wanting to learn (more) GF as compared with 69% of parents. This could, of course, be due to the differences between attitude³⁸ and behaviour which are inferred from the different wording of the items in the two studies.

³⁸ Sallabank deliberately worded her item in this way to avoid confounding behaviour with attitude. I decided to find out whether the respondents would also be prepared to be pro-active in learning the

There was an increase from 59% to 73% over the seven years in the number of respondents who believed that the language was an important part of Guernsey identity. However, again, it is possible the different Likert scales affected results. Sallabank comments that under 18s were the least likely to agree that the language was an important part of Guernsey identity, which is the same as was found in respect of the two groups in the 2011 study. At the same time, however, there was a fall in the number of those who agreed that Guernsey should maintain its own unique identity. While the number was still high in 2011 at 90%, Sallabank reports that only 2% of her respondents in 2004 disagreed that Guernsey should maintain its unique identity.

1.3.4 Language attitudes survey: summary and conclusions

Attitudes towards GF were very positive across the whole sample. The parents were more supportive of the language than the teens across the nine items in the questionnaire. The majority of respondents in both age groups showed positive attitudes towards six of the items, but the teens were more ambivalent on the matters of increasing the visibility of GF in the public domain, introducing GF into the school curriculum, and learning the language themselves. The results showed that statistically significant differences were found in attitudes depending on the respondents' age and sex, and on whether they knew any GF speakers or any of the language. Neither the involvement of the school in extra-curricular GF lessons, nor the socioeconomic status, level of education or place of birth of the respondents was found to be statistically significant in terms of overall attitude towards GF.

These results show that the respondents are proud of their indigenous language and that the majority support for revitalisation of the language in 2004 has gained momentum over the seven years to 2011. The vast majority in both studies believe GF is an important part of Guernsey identity and that it should not be left to die out. In terms of revitalisation strategy, the number of respondents who believe that the States should support the revitalisation of the language has risen and many feel GF should be part of the school curriculum as well as more visible in the public domain.

By comparing the attitudes of two different influential age groups in the population, this survey may also give an indication of whether the support of the majority community is likely to be sustained in the future. While the attitudes of teens were less positive than those of the parents and while they were ambivalent in terms of what strategies should be adopted, they were positive overall, with the exception of wanting to learn (more) GF. The fact, too, that Sallabank finds the beginnings of a shift in attitude from the ages of 16 to 17 in her 2004 study may indicate the potential for an increase in positivity from the teens group as they grow older. It

would be interesting to revisit attitudes in ten years time and carry out a comparative study when the Years 2 and 3 children will be the same age as the teens sample is now and the teens will be the parents.

It would appear then, from the point of view of the majority community at least, that it is possible for GF to have a future if efforts are galvanised and strategies are devised and implemented.

2 Literature review

Introduction

While there is anecdotal evidence of interspeaker variation in GF, both within the language community¹ and within the literature (see e.g. Sallabank, 2010a), there have been no studies made of this previously from a grammatical perspective. This study addresses this gap by making a detailed quantitative and qualitative study of interspeaker variation in GF mood choice. The background theory is variationist sociolinguistics. The variationist paradigm provides the methodological framework within which this study is carried out. There have been few studies carried out within the field to date that have focussed on variation at an individual level. This study will add to the small body of knowledge that exists so far. The focal theory of the study is authenticity. Authenticity is a key issue in endangered languages where language documentation and description efforts are in place. Levels of variability have been found to be higher in endangered languages, and linguists involved in revitalisation projects have to make informed decisions as to the variants they include in reference grammars and dictionaries. There have been few studies to date that have quantified interspeaker variation in endangered languages and this study responds to the call for more investigation into the matter.

This rest of this chapter is in five parts. In the first, there is a review of the field of variationist sociolinguistics, the theoretical paradigm underpinning the research presented in this thesis. This is followed, in the second part, by a review of variation in previous studies of the subjunctive in varieties of French and, in the third, of variation in endangered languages. In the fourth section, the issue of authenticity in variationist sociolinguistics and in endangered languages is examined. The final section presents a synopsis of the chapter and the research questions that emerged from the literature.

2.1 Variationist sociolinguistics

This section is in three parts. In the first, there is a general introduction to the field of variationist sociolinguistics. In the second part, there is a detailed discussion of the aims and methodology which define variationist sociolinguistics, and in the third, there is an examination of the ongoing debate among variationists as to the importance of the individual in relation to the community.

2.1.1 Introduction to variationist sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics first emerged as a subfield of linguistics in the 1960s. It marked a departure from the structuralist and generative traditions in linguistics of the first half of the twentieth century. While the existence of regular sound change was uncovered by the Neogrammarians, it was

¹ Language, or speech, community is defined here for GF as a group with “structured linguistic variation and shared speech norms” (Coupland, 2010, p.101).

dismissed as “free variation” (McColl Millar, 2007, p.336) by Saussure and Chomsky, the originators of the structuralist and generative schools respectively. While both linguists acknowledged the sociocultural aspect of language in use, differentiating between *langue* and *parole* (Saussure) and competence and performance (Chomsky), they focussed only on *langue/competence*. Sociolinguistics, in contrast, is the field of linguistics that investigates “the interaction between language, culture, and society” (Tagliamonte, 2012, p.1). Its pioneer, Labov, presented his first paper in 1963. In it, he makes use of statistical techniques for the first time to quantify natural spoken data and, in doing so, he determines the existence of social patterns, or “structured heterogeneity” (Weinreich et al., 1968), in the variation he finds. Not only that, by identifying patterned variation, he uncovers the vehicle of language change. Following on from these first investigations, the sociolinguistic theory of language change was set out in Weinreich et al.’s seminal paper in 1968 and the field was founded.

While other more sociological and qualitative approaches have developed within the field of sociolinguistics, variationist sociolinguistics has continued in the Labovian tradition. Its approach remains linguistic rather than sociological and quantitative rather than qualitative. Focussing on both the social and linguistic aspects of variation, variationist sociolinguistics has at its core the following:

Linguistic and social factors are closely interrelated in the development of language change. Explanations which are confined to one or the other aspect, no matter how well constructed, will fail to account for the rich body of regularities that can be observed in empirical studies of language behavior.

(Weinreich et al., 1968)

2.1.2 Variationist aims and methodology

Variationist methodology is defined by the following research aims and methodology:

- collection of unmonitored, informal speech
- accounting for variation by social and linguistic factors
- circumscribing the variable context and the principle of accountability
- quantitative analysis

These will be examined in turn below.

2.1.2.1 Collection of unmonitored, informal speech

Labov maintains that the vernacular is the baseline from which other speech styles should be measured since “it is assumed to be the variety that was acquired first (...) [and] it is the variety of speech most free from hypercorrection or style-shifting” (Tagliamonte, 2006, p.8). The vernacular is defined here as unmonitored, informal speech. The sociolinguistic interview schedule is designed to elicit both careful and casual conversational speech. Other more formal

speech styles can also be collected during the sociolinguistic interview using word lists and reading passages.

There are a range of factors that can affect or effect the style of speech produced during an interaction, including topic, audience, setting and nature of the interaction. Topic is used to manipulate speech style in sociolinguistic interviews. Unselfconscious, casual speech is elicited using, for example, questions about a participant's childhood or Labov's 'danger of death' question (or some similar question that is culturally equivalent). Armstrong (2001, p.171) suggests that a variable "interacts with discourse", for example, a more serious topic is more likely to produce a more standard variant. Another factor that can can affect or effect the style of speech is the interlocutor or audience (Bell, 1984). Interviews can be carried out in one-to-one or group situations, with the interviewer either participating, observing or absent. The main advantage of the pair or group recording sessions is that unselfconscious, casual speech is more likely to be generated, at least when the group is already a cohesive social unit. The main advantage of the one-to-one interview is that there is more of an opportunity for the researcher to use elicitation, in the sense of prompting a response which will contain a target variable. The table below presents some of the potential disadvantages of both data collection methods. Some of these are specific to endangered language contexts or to a non-native researcher.

	One-to-one	Group
Disadvantages	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Interviewer's language may be copied. 2. Participant may simplify language for the benefit of the non-native interviewer. 3. Observer's paradox. 4. Well-practised responses from participants who have taken part in documentation efforts or previous studies. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Other participants' language may be copied. 2. Less confident speakers or quieter personalities may not speak very much. 3. Fewer data per participant for time spent. 4. Sometimes difficult (as a non-native speaker) to follow what participants are saying when groups are family members/close friends. 5. No (or little) opportunity to elicit. 6. Reduced syntactic complexity likely due to: (i) shorter stretches of speech (turn-taking) (ii) interjections from other participants (iii) higher quantity of fragmented speech (iv) the fact that "among intimates, context predetermines much of the message" (Maher, 1991).

Table 2.1 Salient disadvantages of one-to-one and group interviews

The main problem to be overcome when using the interview method is the observer's paradox. This is the problem first noted by Labov which is that the sociolinguistic fieldworker must try to

“observe the way people use language when they are not being observed” (Labov, 1972, p.61). One technique that is used to offset the problem of the observer’s paradox is Labov’s use of topic to elicit the vernacular, as mentioned above. Another technique is to manipulate “the speaker’s perception of the nature of the speech event” (Milroy, 1987, p.26). Another is to collect data as a participant observer i.e. where the researcher lives within the community. Milroy and Milroy addressed the problem of the observer’s paradox by using the concept of social networks as a sampling technique, whereby they would be introduced to pre-existing groups as a “friend of a friend”² (Milroy, 1987, p.44). This method had the double advantage that, on the one hand, the researchers were not regarded as outsiders and, on the other, they were able to retreat to “the fringes of the interacting group” (Milroy and Milroy, 1987, p.43) and “carry out prolonged observations” (Milroy and Milroy, 1987, p.44).

2.1.2.2 Accounting for variation by social and linguistic factors

In variationist sociolinguistics, internal (linguistic) and external (social) factors are correlated with a dependent sociolinguistic variable in order to determine whether they act as constraints on the use of the variable. Internal factors are phonological or grammatical and refer to the linguistic environment in which the token is set. External factors are the social aspects pertaining to the speaker. The three most salient external factors in the variationist paradigm are age, sex and socioeconomic status (or social class).

Age is the most salient social factor in the field of variationist sociolinguistics since it is the factor that is used to determine change in progress. The apparent-time construct is the correlation of age (or age group) with speakers’ use of a variant to determine a progressive increase or decrease in use of the variant across successive generations. A finding of a positive or negative correlation in apparent time suggests real-time change over the span of ages represented in the sample. The classic change in progress distribution shows an s-shaped curve in graphical representation, with three stages: stasis, followed by a sudden rise (or drop if the traditional variant is being plotted), and ending with tailing off. These three stages are not generally all visible in an apparent-time distribution (Meyerhoff, 2011). Bailey points out that the apparent-time construct rests on three assumptions which, if violated, may lead to a false conclusion of change in progress being drawn. The first of these is the “assumption of generality” (Bailey, 2002, p.320), meaning that the construct may not be valid when sample sizes are small or unrepresentative or when certain variables are the focus of investigation. The second assumption is that “individual vernaculars remain stable throughout the course of an adult lifetime” (Bailey, 2002, p.320). The third assumption is that there is no age-graded change

² As pointed out by Jones (2000), this is an effective method of drawing a sample in an endangered language context since it is unlikely a stratified, random sampling method is possible due to the low number of speakers.

present. Age grading is when individuals change their use of a variant over time as a result of their particular stage of life, or their “linguistic life course” (Eckert, 1997, p.152). Variant use can be constrained by expectations of “age-appropriate comportment” (Eckert, 1997, p.155) or by the linguistic market, for example, where “language (...) is potentially convertible into economic capital” (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p.97). Milroy and Gordon (2003, p.36) note that age grading shows up mostly in “features that involve a high degree of social awareness”. They suggest that “most cases of age-graded changes appear related to childhood or adolescence” (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p.36), however, variant usage changes have also been witnessed in young professionals entering the standard language marketplace and in retired professionals who have left the linguistic market (Eckert, 1997). The observations above all suggest that age groups might be better drawn up based on informed decisions relevant to the population rather than based on chronology alone.

The difference in language use between males and females has been found to be a salient factor in many variationist studies. Labov proposes three governing principles in relation to sex. These are summarised as follows: males use more non-standard variants when the variable is stable; females favour prestige variants when change is from above (the level of consciousness), and they adopt innovations when change is from below. Labov’s (2001, p.292) conclusion in relation to these principles is that there is a “gender paradox”, namely that “Women conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms that are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not” (Labov, 2001, p.293). Labov (2001, p.501) finds, too, that “women are a full generation ahead of men” in adopting change variants. Use of sex as a factor has been criticised as too essentialist a measure, however, since it refers to a speaker’s biological sex which may have little to do with their language use (see, for example, Bucholtz, 2003). Eckert highlights this issue in her study of variation in adolescents by differentiating sex from gender, i.e. more of a sexuality continuum which she describes as “the complex social construction of sex” (Eckert, 1989, p.245). It should be pointed out, too, that gender cannot “be assumed to have a uniform effect on language across all communities” (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p.115).

Socioeconomic status, or social class, is often a composite factor made up of, for example, salary, education and/or professional category. Labov (2001) finds that the leaders of change, in terms of socioeconomic groups, are to be found in the mid-range of the socioeconomic continuum. Distribution of grammatical variables may show sharp stratification in contrast to a gradually increasing or decreasing distribution of phonological variables. Armstrong (2001, p.146) argues that sharp stratification patterns do not necessarily indicate change in progress, however, but may instead “indicate the co-existence of sharply normative speaker judgments alongside relative linguistic stability”. Although “there is no doubt that the results achieved

within this [Labovian-style social class] framework have been remarkably consistent” (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p.96), socioeconomic status has been criticised as a factor for the way in which it is conceptualised and calculated. Furthermore, if the “formative years for dialect and accent formation are from eight to eighteen” (Chambers, 2002, p.368), then a speaker’s language use may not be in any way reflective of their income, education or profession as an adult; it may, in fact, be more reflective of the socioeconomic status of their parents or, indeed, of their peers when they were growing up since “the strongest influence on children is generated by other children one or two years older” (Labov, 2001, p.444). Eckert (2008) suggests it is too narrow a construct to measure the whole social value of an individual’s language use.

Two alternative frameworks which were developed to help measure and explain interspeaker variation and language change within particular community settings, and which have been used in many studies, are Milroy and Milroy’s network strength scale and Gal’s language use implicational table. Milroy and Milroy developed the sociolinguistic application of the network strength scale during the course of their Belfast study in the 1970s. The scale is measured using the five criteria below:

1. Membership of a high-density, territorially based cluster.
2. Having substantial ties of kinship in the neighbourhood. (More than one household, in addition to his own nuclear family.)
3. Working at the same place as at least *two* others from the same area.
4. The same place of work as at least two others of the same sex from the area.
5. Voluntary association with workmates in leisure hours. This applies in practice only when conditions three and four are satisfied.

(Milroy, 1987, pp.141-2)

Speakers are assigned one point for each criterion; the higher the score, the more integrated into the speech community they are, and the more their language reflects localised norms. Milroy and Milroy suggest that change and innovation is more likely in ‘weak tie’ language communities and that “linguistic innovators are likely to be individuals who are in a position to contract many weak ties” (Milroy, 2002, p.563) since they spread innovations from one network to the next. This is not a method that can be applied to any community, however, since it relies on close-knit community settings. This is a point made by Labov who also points out that it is a method that is only effective for gauging variation within small groups and that findings cannot usually be generalised to the wider community. He suggests that it would be necessary to “create a judgment sample of groups that represent main neighbourhoods, ethnic groups, and social classes in the community” (Labov, 2001, p.327) in order to be able to generalise the

findings. A different, but more generic method of measuring the influence of social network on language use was developed by Gal in her 1978 study of the bilingual community in Oberwart. As described in Chapter 1, she used a language use questionnaire which not only helped her analyse interspeaker variation, but also enabled her to show language change in progress by drawing up an implicational table from the data she collected.

While these methods of measuring variation may have been found to be workable in earlier variationist studies, they may be less easily applied in today's world of increasingly diverse communities and mass (social) media and/or in studies of non-westernised, non-capitalist speech communities.

2.1.2.3 Circumscribing the variable context and the principle of accountability

The sociolinguistic, or dependent, variable which is the focus of investigation in a variationist analysis can be defined as “two [or more] alternative ways of saying the same thing” (Labov, 2004, p.7). These alternative forms, or variants, are identified, as is the subsystem of grammar, or the function, which they represent. All possible constructions in which the variants can occur with the same meaning are circumscribed. This is called the variable context. Every token occurring within the variable context is then extracted from the data. All exceptional distributions, ambiguous tokens and invariant contexts are removed prior to analysis. Exceptional distributions are defined as “cases which are outside of the regular systematic behaviour of the system” (Tagliamonte, 2012, p.239) such as reported speech, formulaic expressions and repetition. In line with the principle of accountability, the number of occurrences of the variant of interest is reported as a proportion of the total number of tokens extracted i.e. the total possible number of times the variant could occur in the data. Where the variable context is not finite or ‘closed’, it is recommended that the total number of occurrences is given as a proportion of a given number of words or a given duration of time, for example.

While this procedure can be fairly straightforwardly applied when it comes to phonological variables, this is not necessarily the case for grammatical variables. One problem is that grammatical variables generally occur a lot less frequently than phonological variables in conversational data, making statistical analysis more difficult. There are several ways of overcoming this problem. One is to observe use over an extended period; another is to make use of other existing corpora; a third is to ask questions during the interview session designed to elicit the variable from the participant, and a fourth is to use elicitation methods such as grammaticality judgements and translation tasks. This latter solution is problematic insofar as there is often found to be “a mismatch between linguistic intuitions and linguistic behavior” (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p.174).

Even if an adequate number of grammatical tokens are collected for the purposes of statistical analysis, however, there is a second issue. It centres on the difficulty of ascertaining whether the grammatical variants represent “two [or more] alternative ways of saying the same thing” (Labov, 2004, p.7). Unlike their phonological counterparts, grammatical variants have been found to be constrained by pragmatic and semantic factors, and this can create methodological problems in a variationist analysis. Extension of the variationist paradigm to grammatical variables has been the centre of some controversy since the late 1970s (see e.g. the Lavandera 1977, Labov 1978, Romaine 1981 dialogue). Coveney makes a detailed study of the form/function problem in his 1996 and 2000 studies of grammatical variables in Picard French. He concludes from his work that “provided that the non-equivalent cases are carefully identified and set aside, I argue that it is often reasonable to claim that the variants are equivalent in many contexts and that these therefore provide the sites for occurrences of a sociolinguistic variable” (Coveney, 2007, p.103). Coveney (2007) highlights the additional problem of the potential skewing effect on results that can arise from excluding ambiguous variants. Buchstaller (2009) examines this issue too and concludes by calling for a standardisation of methodology in respect of grammatical variationist analysis in order that cross-comparison studies can be facilitated.

2.1.2.4 Quantitative analysis

Sociolinguistics was able to be revolutionary in the field of linguistics because it introduced the use of statistics. This allows the variationist to determine the overall distribution of the variable, its frequency of occurrence in relation to social and linguistic factors, and to find out which factors act as constraints on the use of the different variants.

There are a number of statistical tools suited to variationist analysis, such as the variable rule program Goldvarb (and its predecessors), Rvarb, Rbrul, R, SPSS and SAS, and there is “ongoing debate” (Tagliamonte, 2012, p.156) as to which is the best. Most variationists have used the tailor-made Goldvarb (and its predecessors) in their studies, however newer softwares include mixed-effects modelling as well as regression analysis. These mixed-effects models take into account the individual as a random-effect factor and, as such, expose “the significance of the social and linguistic factors in the model over and above the effect of the individual” (Tagliamonte and Baayen, 2012, p.146) and make the results generalisable in the process. One of the new mixed-effects model statistical tools, Rbrul, was developed in 2009 by Daniel Johnson and is targeted at variationists. Johnson claims it addresses some of the problems inherent in the packages traditionally used by variationists which tend to overestimate “the significance of effects” (Johnson, 2009, Abstract). The generic software SPSS, however, is equally suited to carrying out multivariate analyses and is more powerful than Rbrul.

2.1.3 The individual in variationist sociolinguistics

There is ongoing debate in variationist sociolinguistics as to the importance of idiolectal variation. While variationist sociolinguistics studies variation at an individual level, it is focussed on how language is used in society and, therefore, draws its conclusions at a community level (Weinreich et al., 1968). Although Labov, in his very first study, Martha's Vineyard, explored individuals' personal identities to explain interspeaker variation, he (2001) argues that nothing is to be gained in terms of knowledge about sociolinguistic structure by studying individual variation. Guy finds that analyses at an individual rather than group level obscure patterns in variation and, in any case, group norms "recapitulate the generally uniform norms of individuals" (Guy, 1980, p.12). There is a "homogeneity assumption" (Wolfram and Beckett, 2000, p.5) in variationist sociolinguistics, which is defined as an implication that "individual variation is insignificant in the description of linguistic and social covariance" (Wolfram and Beckett, 2000, p.6). Bayley (2002, p.122) notes, further, that one of the key variationist principles is that "individuals do in fact match group patterns". Chambers (2002, p.362) also cites this as an "aggregate principle" and Tagliamonte (2012, p.132) writes that it is a "foundational construct of the field" since "LVC [i.e. language variation and change] studies are founded on the notion of community grammars" (Tagliamonte, 2012, p.132). The issue of the individual in variationist studies continues to be a moot point. Tagliamonte (2012, p.132) points out that "Analysts have not yet fully explored the precise nature of individual vs. community variation".

Bayley (2002, p.122) concedes that the only empirical evidence supporting the principle that individual variation mirrors group variation is "with respect to major linguistic constraints, [and when] given sufficient data". The study by Meyerhoff and Walker exemplifies this since their claim that their study of English copula/auxiliary (be) absence in the Caribbean reaffirms "the validity of modelling variable rules in a community grammar, rather than as an aggregation of idiolectal norms" (Meyerhoff and Walker, 2007, p.346) is made solely on the strength of evidence based on linguistic constraints. Bickerton (1973, p.666) presents an early critique of analysing variation according to social groupings on the grounds that "there is reason to believe that too sociological an approach to language can sometimes distort data". Milroy (1987, p.133), too, writes "there is no reason why a single speaker's output should be viewed as unstructured and unworthy of study" and that "much systematic individual variation is still unaccounted for" (Milroy, 1987, p.133) when the data is aggregated into social groups. Romaine (1982, p.19) examines the Labovian concept of the speech community and makes the point that "community and individual grammars are *not* isomorphic" when there is change in progress in a speech community. She goes on to criticise the variable rule as "too rigid to accommodate a truly integrative view of differentiation and change" (Romaine, 1982, p.23). Wolfram and Beckett (2000) carried out one of the few studies where interspeaker variation is examined qualitatively

as well as quantitatively. They find “considerable intragroup variation” (Wolfram and Beckett, 2000, p.24) within their sample of eleven socially homogenous African American English (AAE) speakers living in what they describe as a “long-standing, relatively stable insular remnant community” (Wolfram and Beckett, 2000, p.24). They conclude that “Descriptions that ignore the individual – theoretically, descriptively, and methodologically – cannot provide an adequate explanation of synchronic and diachronic sociolinguistic variation” (Wolfram and Beckett, 2000, p.28). It is perhaps telling that Labov (2001) carries out an in-depth study of the individual in his examination of the characteristics and personal histories of the leaders of linguistic change.

2.2 Variation in mood choice

Mood choice is the grammatical variable under scrutiny in this study. This section is in two parts. In the first part, there is an introduction to the variable where the thematic elements that run through the literature on the subjunctive are synthesised. In the second part, there is an account of two studies which have been carried out on the subjunctive in Channel Islands French.

2.2.1 Introduction to the subjunctive mood

The subjunctive mood is most often described, or prescribed, in SF reference grammars as being compulsory in some contexts and alternating with its historical binary opposite, the indicative mood, in others. French grammarians group the compulsory and alternating contexts, but present most of these groups as “indications rather than rules” (Price, 1993, p.364) and cite “frequent exceptions” (Price, 1993, p.364). Selection of mood in the alternating contexts is invariably described in reference grammars as depending on the meaning the speaker wishes to convey. The semantic descriptors vary from text to text, for example, \pm hypothetical, \pm possibility, \pm factive, \pm assertive, \pm doubt, \pm irrealis and \pm truth. There is a great deal of debate among linguists as to whether mood choice is semantically conditioned. Poplack (1992) focusses her analysis on this issue and concludes that mood choice is lexically conditioned on the basis of the following three findings. First, she finds quite a high degree of tense concordance in verbal triggers among those contexts that do not produce the subjunctive, particularly conditional > conditional, and claims this supports the theory that mood choice is not semantically conditioned. Second, the internal factor ‘presence/absence of a modal part of speech (pos)’ is not found to be a predictor of mood choice. Third, while Poplack finds, on the surface, that semantic class of the trigger verb appears to be the best way of interpreting the varying propensities of the triggers to generate the subjunctive, she also finds a lot of variation within each of these semantic categories, and is unable to characterise these lexical properties. Jones also finds that mood choice is lexically as opposed to semantically conditioned in GF (2000) and in JF (2001). The most recent study of the

French subjunctive (Comeau, 2011)³ concludes, however, that mood choice in Acadian Baie Sainte-Marie French is semantically conditioned.

Change in use of the subjunctive has been investigated from both a diachronic (Laurier 1989, Chauveau 1998, Jones 2000, Jones 2001) and a synchronic perspective (Auger 1988 and 1990, Poplack 1997, Rottet 1998, Comeau 2011). Some authors circumscribe their variable context from prescribed usage and some use only the triggers found to generate the subjunctive in their data. The studies in which the variable context was circumscribed using triggers from the literature all found the subjunctive to be in decline (Laurier 1989, Rottet 1998, Chauveau 1998, Jones 2000, Jones 2001 and Neumann-Holzschuh 2005). Further, two of the studies (Laurier 1989, Neumann-Holzschuh 2005) also count homophonous tokens as subjunctive in their analyses. The subjunctive was found not to be in decline in Baie Sainte-Marie French study by Comeau (2011); a finding that runs contrary to that of Neumann-Holzschuh (2005) for the same variety, but one that is most probably attributable to the different approaches taken by the two authors to circumscribing the variable contexts. The two other studies that circumscribed their variable contexts using only triggers found in their data (Auger 1988 and 1990, Poplack 1992) do not report any change in progress either.

Linguistic factors have been more frequently tested than social factors in all of the subjunctive studies reviewed, and have been found to be the bigger constraints in the studies that have tested both linguistic and social factors. Linguistic constraints cited are trigger, trigger tense, semantic class of trigger verb, embedded verb, form of embedded verb, salience of embedded verb, presence/absence of a relative pronoun and amount of intervening material between trigger and embedded clauses. The most salient tenses in competition with the subjunctive have been found to be the conditional, imperfect and future. Poplack (1992) for Ottawa-Hull Canadian French and Jones for GF (2000) and JF (2001) conclude that the conditional, alongside the subjunctive and indicative, could be considered a third variant in the mood choice variable. The only social factors found to have been constraints on mood choice across the studies are level of French/English dominance, sex, socioeconomic status and age.

There are three particular problems which emerge from the literature in relation to studying the subjunctive within a variationist framework. The first is that subordinate clauses do not occur with very great frequency in natural spoken data (see e.g. Rottet, 1998) which can lead to skewed results. Poplack (1992) finds, for example, that none of her categorically indicative triggers appeared more than four times, but that all triggers occurring more frequently than this showed variability. She therefore assumes “that subjunctive usage is variable” (Poplack, 1992, p.240). The second problem is that most present subjunctive verb forms are homophonous with

³ My thanks to Philip Comeau for his kindness in emailing me his PhD thesis.

their respective present indicative forms and are, therefore, excluded from analysis. Both these problems suggest that the subjunctive may potentially be used a lot more frequently than a variationist analysis can uncover. The third problem is that low token numbers are also problematic when it comes to carrying out statistical analyses.

2.2.2 Previous studies of the subjunctive mood

Canadian French has seen the greatest amount of research activity into the subjunctive mood. Three of the studies reviewed report on endangered varieties of French: Rottet (1998) on Cajun French in Louisiana in America⁴ and Jones on GF (2000) and JF (2001). Cajun French is the only variety to have undergone a complete structural transformation in respect of the subjunctive from finite to non-finite embedded clauses⁵.

Jones (2000) carried out a diachronic study of the spoken and written subjunctive in GF with the aim of gauging its vitality and analysing its form as well as determining whether register is a constraint on its use. Her spoken data come from 28 hours of recorded interviews carried out in 1997 involving 65 participants. Jones makes use of only linguistic factors in her analysis: grammatical person, embedded verb, semantic class of trigger verb, tense sequencing (trigger tense), register and, finally, trigger. The triggers she uses to define her variable context are those listed in Lukis (1979)⁶, De Garis (1983), Tomlinson (1981) and in a report on the subjunctive in mainland Norman French⁷. Her findings show that many of the triggers found in 11th and 12th Century Anglo-Norman manuscripts continue to trigger the subjunctive in GF, and that use is lexically rather than semantically motivated. Comparing her results with descriptions (or prescriptions) in the literature and with use in contemporary mainland Norman, Jones reports a decline in use of the subjunctive. She writes that this may be due to internal factors as well as to contact with English and that multiple causation⁸ is highly likely. Jones (2000, p.199) suggests that “conditional substitution in subjunctive-triggering environments is becoming commonplace” and writes that the reason for this may be that it reintroduces “the notion of modality” (Jones, 2000, p.197). Contrary to anecdotal reports in the GF literature of a decline in use of the imperfect subjunctive, Jones (2000, p.200) finds it to be “still used frequently”. Some of Jones’s findings are not directly comparable with those of the present study since the variable contexts are circumscribed differently. In the present study, the variable context is circumscribed using only the triggers found to generate the subjunctive in the data (see Chapter 3, §3.4.3),

⁴ Neumann-Holzschuh (2005) also includes Cajun French in her comparative study.

⁵ Rottet (1998) also cites an example of the non-finite structure in a subjunctive context from *le français populaire* and some further examples from two ‘colonial’ varieties of French.

⁶ This 1979 edition of *An Outline of the Franco-Norman Dialect of Guernsey* was not available.

⁷ The publication details of this report are: Reference: Université Populaire Normande du Coutançais (1995). *Essai de Grammaire de la Langue Normande*. Périers: Garlan.

⁸ The mutually reinforcing effects of contact and linguistic factors is termed “multiple causation” by Thomason and Kaufman (1988, p.57).

whereas Jones circumscribes her variable context using all triggers listed in the literature, whether or not they are found to generate the subjunctive in her data. Since distributions are reported as a proportion of the total number of tokens extracted, some distribution figures reported from the two studies will not be comparable.

Jones (2001) includes the subjunctive in her study of language change in another variety of Channel Islands Norman, Jersey French. Her aim is twofold: to determine whether there is change due to obsolescence and to investigate regional variation. The spoken data in the study come from sociolinguistic interviews of approximately twenty minutes duration⁹ which were carried out in groups wherever possible. The number of participants, all of “native-speaker ability” (Jones, 2001, p.98), in the sample is fifty: nineteen aged 70 and over, eighteen aged 60-69, twelve aged 40-59 and one under 40. She writes that she was not able to carry out an apparent-time analysis because there was only one speaker under the age of 40. Jones uses the prescribed contexts for subjunctive use given in a source on the language published in 1985 to circumscribe her variable context and extracted 413 tokens. She finds that the subjunctive is produced in 40% of cases. It is generated by 3ps commands in 100% of cases, *vouler qué* in 65%, *faller* in 59%, *d’avant qué* in 32%, *pour qué* in 14% and by *ch’est* + adjective + *qué* in 2% of cases. She writes that conditional substitution is as prevalent in JF as it is in GF, and that mood choice is, for the most part, syntactically and not semantically determined. She concludes that use of the subjunctive is in decline since it is no longer produced in some of the contexts given in the source and writes that, again, multiple causation is likely. Jones compares her findings in the spoken data with those from two written sources from 1976 and 1983 and also examines form. Again, some of these findings are not directly comparable with those of the present study since the variable contexts are defined differently.

2.3 Variation in endangered languages

This section presents the main themes and issues in relation to variation that have emerged from the field of endangered language studies. In order to provide an understanding of what is happening to the GF language as a whole, an introduction to change and variation in endangered languages is given first. In the second part, the review focuses specifically on the subject of interspeaker variation in endangered languages.

2.3.1 Change and variation in endangered languages

Many factors can propel a language from healthy to endangered status and, indeed, to extinction. In language communities that undergo a gradual shift from one language to another, economics is very often a central motivating factor. This is the case for GF (see Chapter 1). Other factors that can operate to compel a language to shift are “political, ideological, ecological, and

⁹ The duration is reported in Jones (2005).

cultural” (Wolfram, 2002, p.767). Wolfram (1999) makes the point, for dialects at least, that the weighting and synergy of each of these factors can affect the direction of change in obsolescence. In the shift process, there can also be a tipping point where “a language which has been demographically highly stable for several centuries may experience a sudden ‘tip’, after which the demographic tide flows strongly in favor of some other language” (Dorian, 1981, p.51). The type of language community can also play a role in type, speed and direction of change. Diasporic communities, such as the Canadian French language communities, and indigenous enclaves, such as the GF language community, can differ according to the duration and extent of contact, incentive to speak the contact language, prestige of languages involved, and so on. Maher (1991) finds, however, that similar change features are experienced by both types of communities, albeit the indigenous enclaves experience them to a lesser extent. Milroy’s (1987) social networks concept, which today would have to include social and other media, has also been found to be a key factor affecting variation within endangered language communities.

Language change and variation occurs in all languages, but is said to be differentiated in endangered languages by the extent and rate at which it happens (e.g. Dorian 1981, Schmidt 1985, Hill 1989, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1999, Jones and Singh 2005). There is a general consensus that types of variability among endangered language populations are no different to those found in normal language contexts, and that the relatively high level of variability is probably due to the “extent and rapidity of language change” (Wolfram, 2002, p.781) found in endangered languages. Dorian (1994a, p.631) confirms this since she observes that even her “High-proficiency, Gaelic-dominant speakers participate fully in the variation”. Dorian (1981) suggests that a sharp shift in use of a variable indicates that incomplete acquisition by semi-speakers is most likely to be the main cause of the decline since it can act to speed up normal language change processes. Change in the grammar of a gradually shifting endangered language can be generated by internally- and/or externally-motivated factors, and also by contact with the replacing language. Change through contact is analogical patterning of elements within the contact language onto elements in the endangered language. Silva-Corvalan (1986, p.587) finds that “language contact tends to accelerate internally motivated changes”. Jones (2002) examines eleven variables in GF to determine whether change is due to contact or to linguistic factors¹⁰. She concludes that, while change in five of the variables is due to contact with English, change in the other six can be accounted for by either contact or linguistic factors, or both (multiple causation).

¹⁰ No attempt is made to offer explanations for community-wide change and variation in GF since this is not the focus of the study and is an area already covered by Jones (2000).

There is a debate among linguists as to how to describe the various types of change that surface in endangered languages as a result of contact, internal or external factors. Dorian writes that

the profusion of terms is dismaying. But lack of enough distinct terms is a problem, too.

(Dorian, 1989, p.1)

Application of terminology such as simplification, reduction, regularisation, levelling, borrowing, interference/transfer and convergence can differ from study to study. Trudgill attempts to distinguish between reduction and simplification, for example, and comes to the conclusion that it is “by no means a clear-cut distinction or one that is easy to apply in practice” (Trudgill, 1977, p.48). The most salient types of changes that can happen in the grammar of endangered languages are summarised well by Sasse (1992):

1. loss of subordinative mechanisms
2. loss of systematic integration
3. breakdown of grammatical categories (such as tense, mood and aspect)
4. agrammatism as a result of analogy

Marked features in a language are also frequently cited as vulnerable to attrition. While decreasing use of a language, functionally as well as quantitatively, generally leads to structural change however, grammatical dissipation need not be an inevitable consequence. While Dorian (1977, p.28) reports that analogical levelling “seems actually to be a defining characteristic” of semi-speaker status in East Sutherland Gaelic (ESG) in Scotland, she also remarks on the “limited nature of grammatical ‘decay’” (Dorian, 2001, p.143) that she finds. Wolfram (2002, p.769) describes a “concentration model” for Smith Island English, where the features distinguishing that particular variety of English are actually intensified. Huffines’ study of Pennsylvania German shows that “language death does not necessarily involve convergence to the dominant language in spite of lengthy contact” (Huffines, 1989, p.225) since she finds that the non-sectarian variety “is dying relatively intact” (Huffines, 1991, p.135). Brewer-Bomar’s findings from her 1981 study of Spanish immigrants in America are similar to those of Huffines. Cited by De Bot and Weltens (1991, p.42), she finds that “‘Some of the most basic syntactic patterns were the most interfered with, while semantically and grammatically more complicated models were not only left untouched in the L1 [i.e. Spanish], they were still being perfected’ (5105-A)”. Brewer-Bomar ascribes this counterintuitive finding to the fact that the more frequently used basic constructions were more exposed to the effects of contact, and the lesser used complex constructions were incompletely acquired. Other authors, such as Schmidt (1985), Bavin (1989) and Seliger (1991), have even reported cases of innovation.

Forms used “in contexts of higher hypotheticality or weaker assertiveness” (Silva-Corvalan, 1991, p.154) are often cited as the first to be lost in obsolescent languages. Loss is exacerbated when the contact language does not contain similar forms. In relation to attrition of tense and mood, Silva-Corvalan (1991) draws up an implicational scale based on the findings from her research into the Spanish TAM system in the speech of three generations of Mexican immigrants in America. The following progression of loss of finite TAM constructions, in order from first to last, is drawn from her implicational scale:

1. Conditional perfect
2. Synthetic future
3. Pluperfect
4. Pluperfect subjunctive
5. Perfect subjunctive
6. Conditional
7. Imperfect subjunctive
8. Perfect
9. Present subjunctive
10. Imperative

She finds that the imperfect and past historic tenses are ‘simplified’ and only the present tense and analytic future remain unaffected by attrition. Trudgill also reports change in progress for the Aravanitika TAM system in 1977, with only the present and simple past indicative tenses plus compound tenses still in full use. Trudgill’s variable context is defined using standard Albanian norms however, rather than community norms (see §§2.2.1 - 2.2.2 for discussion of the relevance of this in measuring language change). He notes that the present, perfect and pluperfect subjunctives are still in use, but that the imperfect subjunctive is moribund. Sasse (1992) confirms this is still the case fifteen years later in Aravanitika since he reports confusion surrounding formation of TAM categories, and adds that TAM use by semi-speakers is usually the present, simple past and imperative.

Just as there is a plethora of terminology describing linguistic processes in endangered languages, there are also various typologies describing speaker acquisition/competence levels in the literature. Dorian (1981), for example, first coins the term ‘semi-speaker’ in her differentiation, based on grammatical conservatism, of three main groups within her ESG population: older fluent speakers (OFS), younger fluent speakers (YFS) and semi-speakers (SS)¹¹. She points out, however, that the term ‘semi-speaker’ “does not necessarily translate well to

¹¹ Dorian (2010) also identifies two further categories of speakers, namely, formerly fluent speakers and (near-) passive bilinguals.

other speech communities” (Dorian, 2009, p.24). Dressler (1991) distinguishes six groups for Breton: older fluent speakers, younger fluent speakers, preterminal speakers, better terminal speakers, worse terminal speakers and rememberers. Sasse (1992) distinguishes three groups in his Arvanitika study: fluent speakers, rusty speakers and semi-speakers proper. As noted by Jones and Singh (2005, p.87), “no two case studies of language obsolescence are identical”; this would explain why no researcher manages a complete mapping of their speakers onto any given typology. Having said this, Campbell and Muntzel manage to give a typology of proficiency based on their work on a combined fifteen obsolescent languages: strong or (nearly) competent speakers, “reasonably fluent so-called ‘semi-speakers’” (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989, p.181), “weak semi-speakers” (Campbell and Muntzel, 1989, p.181) and rememberers.

2.3.2 Interspeaker variation in endangered language studies

The existence of interspeaker variation in unstandardised languages has, historically, been papered over as a result of the ideological assumptions of linguists working in the field (see e.g. Kroskrity, 1993). Their aim to produce generalised linguistic descriptions of languages has been prescriptive rather than descriptive. This may be acceptable when the end results are intended for linguists, since the grammar of the oldest speakers is thought to offer the “most ‘uncontaminated’ form” (Schmidt, 1985, p.2) of the language as well as “the maximum number of distinctive categories” (Dorian, 2010, p.272) in use. However, the fact that some of these categories and variants may only be used rarely and only by a few speakers makes this a questionable practice when language descriptions are destined for use in revitalisation projects. A number of variationists (e.g. Dorian 2010, Kroskrity 1993), as well as linguists working in the field of revitalisation (e.g. Sallabank 2010a, Grenoble 2010), have recognised the need for a review of ideologies and methodologies in respect of unstandardised languages.

In studies of endangered languages, age is a key factor used to determine whether there is evidence of change in progress for a variable. While age is found to be a constraint in most endangered language studies, a high degree of interspeaker and intragenerational variation is also common. In terms of applying the variationist paradigm to the field of endangered language research, Kroskrity (1993, p.141) makes the point that conventional sociolinguistic factors “may provide convenient explanatory vehicles, but they also offer excuses for the postponement of a more profound understanding of sociolinguistic variation”. Wolfram (2002, p.777) goes further when he observes that it is possible that “the variation [in endangered languages] is unconstrained by the kinds of independent linguistic and external social constraints that have become the benchmark of variation analysis over the past several decades”. Three studies which showcase these points are reviewed below.

Dorian's seminal work, now spanning almost five decades, on social and linguistic constraints on the endangered ESG dialect of Scottish Gaelic was begun in 1963. Her fieldwork was carried out in three former fishing villages on the northeast coast of Scotland. While she collected freely spoken data through participant observation, this is substantially supplemented for the purposes of analysis by elicited data. She defines her variable contexts on the basis of the variants found in the speech of the oldest fluent speakers she worked with when she first began her research. Her external factors are age/proficiency, socioeconomic status, sex and social networks. While she finds age/proficiency to be the only identifiable constraint, Dorian also finds extensive, apparently unconstrained inter- and intraspeaker variation. She compares, for example, two participants who are almost identical across the social factors and finds that their usage differs in seven out of eight variables. She points out that this extensive variation is not attributable to the endangered language context since it is also found in the oldest speakers. Dorian reports that her participants, while highly conscious of geographical variation, appear to be largely unaware of personal-pattern variation. She observes that the personal-pattern variation she finds is neither free variation, since it shows "linguistic conditioning" (Dorian, 1994a, p.693), nor is it sociolinguistic variation. The conclusion she draws from her findings is that "social homogeneity need not imply linguistic homogeneity" (Dorian, 2001, p.147). Dorian proposes a set of three conditions which may offer an explanation for the interspeaker variation that she finds:

"First, some circumstance must lead to the emergence of an array of variants (...)
 Second, some circumstance must prevent particular variants from acquiring a link with particular social features among groups (...)
 Third, some circumstance must impede local speakers' access to any standard-language norm that may exist for the language and keep them from developing normative judgements in connection with local variants."

(Dorian, 2001, p.147)

Dorian suggests (2010) that no prestige norm ever surfaced in ESG for two reasons. One is that there was strong ethnic solidarity and no socioeconomic stratification within the fishing communities. This factor is compounded by the fact that the communities were, historically, isolated from other communities in the region and were small and tight-knit with little need for strategies such as speech accommodation in interactions. The second reason is that Gaelic was not used as the medium of education. These two factors also hold true for GF. The explanations given by Dorian for ESG are supported by the fact that she finds no such socially neutral variation in the communities' English. Dorian's findings challenge variationist methodology in that her ESG speakers cannot be grouped into the traditional variationist social categories. They also challenge the social network theory of Milroy (1987) which maintains that dense multiplex social networks have a normative effect on their members.

Schmidt (1985) carried out an in-depth investigation of change in the Australian Aboriginal language, Dyirbal. This obsolescent language was being replaced by a local variety of English at the time and intergenerational transmission had ceased. Schmidt collected her data in 1982 from the children and grandchildren of speakers who had taken part in an unrelated documentation project ten years earlier. She compares her findings with those from this earlier project in order to determine any changes. Her data collection methods include both elicitation and participant observation. Schmidt finds extensive intragenerational variation among her twelve younger speakers (aged 15-33) in her elicitation task results, describing them as each having their “own grammatical system for Dyirbal communication, that involved simplification of traditional grammatical norms to a greater or lesser degree” (Schmidt, 1985, p.44). She finds a rough correlation between age and proficiency. In her analysis of the natural spoken data, she carries out a comparative study of variant use across four variables between two tight-knit social groups: one with two members aged 19-24; the other with four members aged 15-19. Although all six participants are similar in age (and all female), the two groups are almost polarised in their use of the variants. The adherence to group norms is striking and showcases rather than refutes Milroy’s (1987) social network theory. While she finds that older siblings generally have a higher level of proficiency than younger siblings, this pattern was reversed in one pair of siblings. Schmidt gives language loyalty of the younger sibling as the reason for this.

Another excellent study which focusses on interspeaker variation at an individual level is Kroskrity’s (1993) ethnolinguistic study of the Arizona Tewa language community. He collected both natural and elicited spoken data over a period of eight years from 1973-1980. His analysis focusses, in the first place, on the use of four grammatical variables across three age groups (<31, 31-50, >50) in a sample of 31 members of the language community aged from 18 to 90. Although he finds change in progress across the age groups and English dominance in the under 30 age group, he writes that it would be premature to describe the language as obsolescent. In his findings, three of the 31 speakers are atypical in respect of their age groups. Prompted by the Tewa saying “My language is my life” (author’s translation) (Kroskrity, 1993, p.109), Kroskrity attempts to explain their atypicality by extracting causal factors from their biographical or “lingual life” (Kroskrity, 1993, p.113) histories. All three of his atypical speakers are male. Two, aged 22 and 39, use variants typical of older age groups, while the third speaker, aged 41, uses variants typical of the younger age group. Kroskrity (1993) points out that language dominance, a factor often tested in bilingual contexts, is not a factor for the younger two of his three speakers. The factors that are revealed to be salient in the atypical language use of these three speakers are language acquisition influences from parents/grandparents, age of parents, social networks (frequency of use of the language, degree of intergenerational interaction), traditionalist vs. modernist attitude of speaker/family and cultural loyalty.

The findings of the three studies above leave no doubt as to the salience of interspeaker and intragenerational variation in endangered languages, as well as to the inadequacy of traditional sociolinguistic factors for analysing this variation in these contexts. This not only has ramifications for the field of variationist sociolinguistics in endangered languages, but also for linguists involved in revitalisation projects.

2.4 Authenticity

This section is in two parts. The first part reviews perceptions of authenticity in the fields of variationist sociolinguistics and endangered languages. The second part reviews the ramifications of these perceptions of authenticity for language documentation, description and revitalisation.

2.4.1 Perceptions of authenticity

2.4.1.1 *Perceptions of authenticity in variationist sociolinguistics*

If the central object of research in sociolinguistics is real language in use, then Bucholtz (2003, p.398) claims that “authenticity underwrites nearly every aspect of sociolinguistics”. Eckert (2003), Coupland (2003) and Bucholtz (2003) were the first to raise the issue of authenticity in variationist sociolinguistics at a panel session of the NWAV31 conference in 2002. Much like the early dialectologists’ NORMs¹² (non-mobile, older, rural males), the authentic speaker has traditionally been perceived in variationist sociolinguistics as being “Locally located and oriented” (Eckert, 2003, p.392) i.e. “the most authentic language is removed from and unaffected by other influences” (Bucholtz, 2003, p.404). Authentic speakers are perceived as being older, since this is seen as the age group that will use the most traditional variants, and as male, since females’ language has been found to be more subject to change than that of males. The language of this authentic speaker has been the baseline from which all other language is measured in variationist sociolinguistics. Coupland (2003, p.425) writes, however, that this “authentic speaker is certainly harder to find” in our late-modern societies and that this ideological position in variationist sociolinguistics has become “less tenable” (Coupland, 2003, p.425).

Authenticity also emerges as an issue in methodology. For variationists, the object of investigation has traditionally been dictated by “what is beyond the conscious control of speaker agency” (Eckert, 2003, p.394). Bucholtz (2003, p.406) writes that “the gold standard of authenticity is the most vernacular speaker at his most casual and unself-conscious”. She writes, however, that the data collected using variationist methods “are always only approximations of ‘authentic’ (i.e. non-research) contexts of language use” (Bucholtz, 2003, p.406). Furthermore, it is the linguist who ultimately has to decide what is and what is not authentic in this data.

¹² NORMs is an acronym coined by Chambers and Trudgill (1998).

Bucholtz (2003, p.407) points out that these ideologies “limit the kinds of questions sociolinguists tend to ask and the kind of answers we come up with”.

There are also, of course, issues of authenticity in sociolinguistics centred around (conscious or subconscious) intentional constructions of identity (e.g. Bell’s audience design, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s acts of identity, Giles’s speech accommodation act) and constructions of meaning (see e.g. Eckert, 2008) which also come into this debate. These will not be discussed here as they have not been investigated as part of the analysis, however speech as a performance act can certainly be found in an endangered language where the speakers are no longer accustomed to using the language in their daily lives and it is certainly a subject worthy of further study.

Eckert (2003), Coupland (2003) and Bucholtz (2003) argue that the authentic speaker, or the “elephant in the room” (Eckert, 2003, p.392), has been a useful concept in variationist sociolinguistics, but suggest that it is now time to investigate beyond this:

One might say that we can’t do research without elephants, for if we didn’t take some things as given, we’d never be able to investigate anything. But eventually we have to look at those givens and consider their implications (...).

(Eckert, 2003, p.392)

2.4.1.2 Perceptions of authenticity in endangered languages

Eckert (2003) describes authenticity as being a central ideology in sociolinguistics, both for linguists and speakers, and this is no different when it comes to endangered languages. In an endangered language community, it is often the oldest speakers who are perceived to speak the most authentic language.

Linguists assume (see e.g. Dorian 2009, Dal Negro 2004, Kroskrity 1993) that, in endangered languages, “the oldest remaining speakers will represent the pinnacle of proficiency for the community they belong to, and that the youngest continuing speakers will demonstrate some degree of reduced proficiency as compared with the most senior individuals” (Dorian, 2009, p.11). It is the oldest speakers who are perceived as having the largest pool of language still at their disposal; their language is perceived as least likely to be affected by contact, and to contain the most conservative linguistic norms. Many linguists working in the field of endangered languages seek out grammatical conservatism. Dorian (1981, p.118) defines her variable context on the basis of “the usage of the oldest and best speakers with whom I worked in the 1960s”.

In the variationist tradition, however, linguists focus on group rather than individual variation. Dorian (2010) points out that, taken as a group, the oldest speakers may be shown to be the most authentic speakers, however, “individual speakers do not [always] reliably conform to the

group profile” (Dorian, 2009, p.22). This supports Bucholtz’s point that the variationist perception of authenticity is essentialist since it assumes “(1) that groups can be clearly delimited; and (2) that group members are more or less alike” (Bucholtz, 2003, p.400). Dorian finds extensive inter- and intraspeaker variability across all age groups and advises that “Linguists may need to be more cautious when attaching importance to the role of age as a correlate of proficiency” (Dorian, 2009, p.11) in endangered languages. Aikhenvald (2001), too, finds that not all of the oldest Tariana speakers used traditional variants. Eckert (2003, p.393) makes the point that the traditional sociolinguistic perception of the authentic speaker is at odds with the variationist view of language as dynamic, since it “implies stasis”. This is reinforced by Dorian’s observation that “today’s conservative elderly speakers were yesterday’s suspect youngsters” (Dorian, 2010, p.16).

Language communities, too, often perceive the oldest speakers to use the most authentic language. Age is often cited by communities as a characteristic, particularly where younger speakers have not had full access to a norm, either because of imperfect acquisition or because of interrupted use. Aikhenvald (2001, p.417), for example, reports that “The forms attributed to the older generation are considered correct, good Tariana” by the community. Communities often value other criteria too, however, in their evaluations of the most authentic speakers. Dorian (2010, p.238) asks an important question in relation to authenticity in ESG, for example: “if neither personal-pattern variation nor age-related variation is much attended to, on what basis besides avoiding a few disfavoured speech behaviours (...) does a community like Embo, with its unwritten minority-language vernacular, recognize the ability to speak that vernacular well?”. She finds that perceptions of authenticity in ESG are essentially linked to identity, both ethnic, to signal membership of the fishing community, and local, to signal provenance from a particular village. Use of a variant from one of the other villages invokes a negative response from community members, while lapses into English invoke the most negative response. She reports that the status of ‘good speaker’ is evaluated by the community in three ways. The main criterion is verbal performance skills: “The more of these abilities a speaker had, the more admired her or his speech was likely to be” (Dorian, 2010, p.262). The second criterion is “speech performance that conforms to traditional models of grammar” (Dorian, 2010, p.263), and the third is “degree of commitment to the minority language” (Dorian, 2010, p.263). Dorian finds, for example, that a brother, judged by the community to be a fluent speaker, and sister, judged to be a semi-speaker, both display an equal level of divergence in relation to grammatical norms. She concludes that the difference in community perception of the two siblings’ language rests on the fact that the brother prefers to communicate in Gaelic while the sister uses English as her first language. A cross-study summary of the criteria reported by language communities as being important in defining the best speakers are as follows:

- age or “to speak ‘like our grandfathers did’” (Aikhenvald, 2001, p.422)
- good verbal performance skills
- cultural knowledge
- language loyalty
- clear enunciation
- absence of codemixing and innovations
- superiority of character
- social standing

These latter two criteria are listed by Bloomfield in his 1964 study of the Menomoni Native Americans of Wisconsin. As Dorian points out, however, these criteria can only apply in a language community that is socially stratified.

Linguists working in the field of endangered languages have highlighted the potential discrepancies between linguists’ perceptions of authenticity and those of the community (see e.g. Eira and Stebbins 2008, Dorian 2009, Sallabank 2010a). Kroskrity (1993) suggests that analyses of endangered languages should begin by testing community perceptions of authenticity. Dorian, too, recommends that the language community perceptions are taken into account, and her conclusion, after almost five decades of research, is that linguists should be cautious about focussing on grammatical conservatism as the measure of a good speaker.

2.4.2 Authenticity in language documentation, description and revitalisation

Given that it is estimated that around half of the world’s approximately 6,500 languages will be extinct by the end of this century¹³, it is vital that the relatively new fields of language documentation and description are solidly supported by theoretical underpinning. Grenoble (2010) identifies an urgent need for research into language attrition, for example. Wong (1999), in her discussion of the revitalisation of Hawaiian, highlights the problem of speakers whose language has suffered attrition being the only language models. Sallabank (2010a, p.320), too, writes that the “older generation was traditionally seen as the arbiter of correctness” and reports that an “increasing desire for a reliable language authority can be discerned in recent rhetoric in Guernsey” (Sallabank, 2010a, p.320) among less proficient speakers.

There is a growing recognition of the need, too, to acknowledge variation in the documentation and description of endangered languages. Eira and Stebbins (2008) point out that variation, whether personal, social, regional or dialectal, may be regarded as important identity markers and, as such, should not be excluded in language description or revitalisation. Grenoble (2010,

¹³ The Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project (2012) *The Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project*. Available from: <http://www.hrelp.org/> [Accessed 13 August 2012].

p.67) writes that when the end-users of language documentation and description efforts are the language community, as opposed to linguists, “the issue of authenticity is hard to ignore” since the inclusion of some variants in favour of others may result in their stigmatisation. Further, if the focus is on the language of the oldest speakers, they may present aspects of a language that are potentially no longer in use by the majority of the population. This raises the question of how authentic a standardised version of an endangered language can be. Grenoble (2010, p.66) challenges the implicit assumption that “there exists a linguistic variety which can be clearly identified”. Kroskrity (1993, p.107) supports this, suggesting that ethnolinguists should explain “the evidential basis for his or her abstraction of the product ‘grammar of a language (or dialect)’ from the speech of a finite number of speakers”. Dorian (2010, p.307) writes that “Once it is clear (...) just how prevalent idiosyncratic inter-speaker and intra-speaker variation can be in a community (...), it seems equally clear that field practices need to be modified or adapted to allow for this possibility”. She recommends that all data is taken into consideration.

Sallabank (2010a, p.317) makes the point that meeting speakers’ expectations of authenticity is a key factor “in the success or otherwise of language revitalisation”. Discussing GF, for example, Sallabank¹⁴ (2011) points out that speakers do not actually want to know how they speak. Instead, how they think they speak and how they believe the language should be spoken are what are influential within the sphere of revitalisation. Eira and Stebbins (2008) propose a working framework for bridging the gap in perceptions of authenticity between linguists, language communities and other stakeholders, since these “disjunctions (...) can have significant ramifications for language-planning outcomes” (Eira and Stebbins, 2008, p.21). They write that “Continuity functions as a core criterion of authenticity” (Eira and Stebbins, 2008, p.2) in this framework, and that “assessment of continuity (...) relies on the lineage(s) accepted (...) as authoritative” (Eira and Stebbins, 2008, p.2) by each group of stakeholders.

The standardisation process can favour “purity and linguistic autonomy” (Auger, 2003, p.15) over authenticity. Auger¹⁵ (2003) compares the spoken and written language use in two sources of Picard. She describes Picard as having experienced a long period of obsolescence and, although still not officially recognised as a language in France, it is currently undergoing revitalisation efforts. She writes that there is a great deal of diversity among the speech community and focusses her comparative study on four speakers who represent two groups: “traditional speakers” (Auger, 2003, p.6) and “authors and militants” (Auger, 2003, p.6). Auger examines several variables with the working hypothesis that the variants used by the latter group will show more evidence of contact than those of the former group. However, she finds

¹⁴ This was a point made by Sallabank at the joint presentation we gave at the BAAL 2011 conference.

¹⁵ My thanks to Julie Auger for her kindness in emailing me some of her papers which were proving difficult to access.

the opposite to be the case for two of the variables, and attributes this to the “standardization process” (Auger, 2003, p.6). Hornsby describes the same purification and autonomy tendencies in Néo-breton, reporting that the standardised version of Breton “is by no means universally accepted” (Hornsby, 2005, p.191). Néo-breton was standardised and introduced into the University of Rennes and immersion and bilingual schools in the 1970s, but has been reported as being unintelligible to speakers of the traditional variety. Furthermore, it has resulted in a feeling among the traditional Breton speakers that their variety is substandard or even incorrect. Sallabank (2010a) finds a similar situation in Jersey, where the aim of elaboration was to distance the variety selected as much as possible from its historical root language, SF. This has resulted in grandparents feeling “intimidated by the ‘correctness’ associated with the school variety [which] (...) leads to abandonment of the attempt at intergenerational communication” (Sallabank, 2010a, p.315). Similar issues have been reported for the standardised versions of other revitalised languages, such as Irish Gaelic, Welsh and Hawaiian.

Sallabank (2010a, p.316) discusses the polynomic approach which, in theory, forms the basis of “a non-hegemonic approach to language planning”, first implemented for Corsican. Its focus is on the equality of status of regional variations within the one language. Other types of variation are not so well tolerated however: Sallabank (2010a, p.317) reports that a survey found that “there seems to be a hierarchy [of favoured varieties] based on notions of authenticity, with Corsican spoken ‘in the countryside’ or ‘by older people’ perceived to be the ‘best’”. Another approach which foregrounds authenticity and avoids the need for standardisation is the Master-Apprentice Program developed by Hinton (1997), whereby learners learn the language through spending time with native speakers. Dorian (1994b) makes an insightful observation in this regard. She notes that the language of the two mothers of the youngest ESG speakers was less conservative than that of their age cohorts, and attributes the fact that their children learnt the language to the linguistic adaptability of the two mothers.

The current situation in relation to the revitalisation of GF is uncertain. The process seems to have broken down following “the emergence of a site of contestation” (Eira and Stebbins, 2008, p.25) with the opposing purist vs. modernist ideologies of various stakeholder groups as yet unreconciled. A similar story has been played out in many endangered language contexts. Eira and Stebbins (2008, p.26) propose that the lineages of authenticity of all stakeholders should be acknowledged as “equally valid in their own right” and Wong (1999, p.98) recommends that authenticity “should be considered a reflection of a changing context but with a clearly discernible link to the older and thus more traditional variety”.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has taken the form of a critical review of the literature relevant to this research project. It has provided the background and current contexts to the study and given an account of related concepts and theories. The chapter opened with a detailed examination of the background theory, variationist sociolinguistics, focussing on areas most pertinent to this project, including methodology and the place of the individual in the field. This was followed by a review of variation in mood choice, which was the grammatical variable selected for analysis in this project, and a review of variation in endangered languages, which is the context in which the fieldwork was undertaken. The focus on variation was carried over into the fourth section, where the focal theory, the subject of authenticity, was examined in relation to variationist sociolinguistics and to endangered languages. Finally, the ramifications of different perceptions of authenticity were discussed in relation to the revitalisation of endangered languages.

There are two things that stand out in this literature review as requiring further investigation. One is the prevalence of interspeaker and intragenerational variation in endangered languages, a fact that is disregarded in traditional variationist sociolinguistics. The other is the salience of the perception that the oldest speakers use the most authentic (as in traditional) language. This project aims to address both these matters. Few variationist studies have investigated variation at an individual level; even fewer still have investigated interspeaker and intragenerational variation in an endangered language context. This study is carried out in the spirit of Labov's (2006, p.5) observation that individuals are "the product of their social histories and social memberships". The study also addresses a gap in language attrition research, as well as extending the small body of empirical evidence on authenticity in endangered languages.

The purpose of this apparent-time study, then, is to examine interspeaker and intragenerational variation in mood choice that exists in a sample of the remaining speakers of GF and to ascertain as far as possible the likely explanations for this variation at an individual level, with the aim of illustrating the complexities involved in seeking out and gauging authenticity in an endangered language. The research questions that emerge from the literature are:

1. What are the social constraints on mood choice in GF?
2. What are the linguistic constraints on mood choice in GF?
3. What does an examination of interspeaker variation tell us about gauging authenticity in an endangered language?

In answering these questions, the study will add to current knowledge generally on the subjunctive in varieties of French. More specifically, it will provide an up-to-date picture of the subjunctive in GF as well as an account, for the first time, of interspeaker variation in GF mood

choice. By combining the findings from the quantitative study with a qualitative examination of atypical individuals, the study will also determine the efficacy of traditional variationist methodology in endangered language contexts where there is a high degree of interspeaker and intragenerational variation. The findings will be used to draw conclusions on the issue of gauging authenticity in an endangered language.

3 The Study

This chapter provides a detailed account of the way in which the study was carried out. The chapter is arranged as follows:

- 3.1 Population and sample
 - This section gives a description of the sample and how it was drawn.
- 3.2 Fieldwork
 - This section provides an account of how the fieldwork was carried out and the data collection methods that were used.
- 3.3 Transcription
 - This section sets out how the spoken data were transcribed.
- 3.4 The dependent variable
 - This section begins by describing how and why mood was selected as the dependent variable in this study. It goes on to establish the form of the dependent variable and finishes with a detailed account of how the variable context was defined.
- 3.5 The dataset
 - This section sets out the final dataset which was used in the analysis.
- 3.6 The independent factors
 - The external (social) and internal (linguistic) factors are fully defined in this section. These are the factors which were used to explore interspeaker and intragenerational variation in use of the subjunctive.
- 3.7 Analysis
 - Finally, this section sets out how the data were analysed and is in two parts. In the first, there is a description of how the data were prepared for analysis and, in the second, a full account is given of the analysis process.

3.1 Population and sample

3.1.1 Drawing the sample

The population is the remaining speakers of GF living on the island of Guernsey. One estimate¹ is that there are now between two and three hundred speakers with fewer than one hundred speaking the language on a regular basis. It was not possible to use random sampling to draw the sample as the number of extant speakers is very low and the identity and contact details of

¹ This estimate was given by Yan Marquis during a personal conversation in March 2011. It should be remembered, however, that his response to my estimate of speaker numbers for the UNESCO vitality framework in Chapter 1 was “Who really knows?” (personal email, 3 October 2012).

all the speakers were not known. Instead, I approached eleven speakers² who had previously contributed to projects for other linguists. My intention was to then draw the sample using Lesley Milroy's (1987, p.53) "friend of a friend", or "snowball" (Dörnyei, 2007, p.98), sampling technique. It became clear, however, that this technique was not as effective as it might once have been in the Guernsey context. On the one hand, the advanced status of endangerment of the language meant that "first order" (Milroy, 1987, p.53) GF-speaking networks were no longer in existence to any real extent and, on the other, the early curiosity in such research reported by Jones (2000, p.182-183) had waned. Of the forty-three participants who took part in the study, sixteen were invited to take part in the study by mail or email, over a third of participants came directly or indirectly from the networks of two key participants introduced to me by Marquis, and the rest were made up mostly of family or close friends of contacts who had for the most part already participated in a one-to-one session.

3.1.2 Description of the sample

The sample represented between 14% and 22% of the total estimated population of speakers and comprised twenty females and twenty-three males, with an age range from 42 to 100 as shown below. Each participant was given a reference number in order to preserve their anonymity:

Ref	S27	S25	S1	S6	S7	S4	S2	S3	S8	S22	S20	S21	S24 ³	S35	S36
Sex	M	M	M	F	M	F	F	M	M	F	F	M	M	M	M
Age	42	43	48	59	59	61	62	63	63	64	65	67	67	67	67

Ref	S11	S15	S39	S32	S16	S17	S12	S18	S33	S40	S23	S9	S10	S31	S37
Sex	F	F	M	M	M	M	M	M	F	F	M	F	M	M	F
Age	70	71	71	72	73	73	74	74	74	74	76	79	79	79	80

Ref	S38	S26	S34	S30	S41	S13	S5	S19	S43	S42	S8	S29	S14
Sex	F	F	M	F	M	F	F	F	M	F	F	M	F
Age	80	81	81	82	84	85	87	87	87	88	88	89	100

Table 3.1 Sex (M=male, F=female) and age of participants

² Names kindly passed on to me by Julia Sallabank.

³ Regrettably, due to a technical error, most of S24's recording was lost.

Under 56	56-65	66-75	76-85	Over 85
S27	S6	S21	S23	S5
S25	S7	S24	S9	S19
S1	S4	S35	S10	S43
	S2	S36	S31	S42
	S3	S11	S37	S28
	S8	S15	S38	S29
	S22	S39	S26	S14
	S20	S32	S34	
		S16	S30	
		S17	S41	
		S12	S13	
		S18		
		S33		
		S40		

Table 3.2 Breakdown of sample by age group

	Under 56	56-65	66-75	76-85	Over 85	Total
Female	0	5	4	6	5	20
Male	3	3	10	5	2	23
Total	3	8	14	11	7	43

Table 3.3 Breakdown of sample by age group and sex

Almost all of the participants had either had family businesses in the agricultural industry themselves, which in Guernsey used to be tomato and flower growing, or their parents had worked as 'growers' and they had helped out as children.

In terms of linguistic influences during their developmental years, most of the participants were brought up (and still lived) in the HP parishes to the west and southwest of the island. Linguistic influence for six of the participants, however, came from the BP to the north of the island, five from the Vale parish and one from St Sampson. Two of the participants were born and brought up in Great Britain, but married Guernsey women and settled on the island. Eight participants in all did not use GF at all when they were children, but the six who had been brought up in Guernsey had passive knowledge. Five of the forty-three participants were evacuated as children to Great Britain during WW2. All of the participants were taught SF at school, although four reported no longer having any recollection of the language. For many of the participants, France appeared to have been a favoured holiday destination and this language contact may have had an impact on their GF.

Language proficiency within the sample varied quite considerably, as is common in an endangered language context (Dorian 1981, Schmidt 1985). As previously mentioned, there are various typologies in the literature to describe speaker proficiency levels in an endangered language context. In light of this, and of Dorian's findings of varying proficiencies across grammatical variables on an individual basis in ESG, it was decided to avoid such terminology and, instead, to indicate participants' proficiency by placing them on a continuum similar to the one presented by Schmidt in her 1985 study of Dyrbal. It was not possible to measure grammatical accuracy formally since neither translation sentences nor grammaticality judgements were used as data collection instruments (see §3.2.1 for further discussion). Instead, participants were placed on a continuum according to the average relative frequency with which they retained the traditional variants across four variables⁴. The participants' ages are shown in order, from left to right, in the right hand column (e.g. S14 is aged 100):

Participant	Retention	Age
S14 S28 S42 S10 S24	100%	100 88 88 79 67
S43	93%	87
S29	90%	89
S11	83%	70
S35	81%	67
S19 S39	80%	87 71
S33	78%	74
S9	72%	79
S23	71%	76
S30 S27	67%	82 42
S32	66%	72
S36	63%	67
S41 S31	62%	84 79
S5	58%	87
S25	56%	43
S34	53%	81
S13 S26 S40 S18 S12 S16 S15 S21 S2	50%	85 81 74 74 74 73 71 67 62
S8	49%	63
S20	46%	65
S7	40%	59

⁴ The four variables, which were selected on the basis that they showed interspeaker variation, were: *aver* > *ête* with age, subjunctive > indicative, imperfect < > conditional *pouvoir*, past historic > imperfect *ête* with *nai*.

S37	39%	80
S17 S4 S6 S1	33%	76 61 59 48
S38 S22 S3	0%	80 64 63

Table 3.4 Grammatical accuracy continuum of the sample

As well as grammatical proficiency, fluency was also assessed using the criteria given in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) Oral Assessment Criteria Grid⁵. This is a framework developed by Cambridge ESOL et al. to test the language ability of second language learners (2LLs). As such, it is ideally suited to providing an assessment of proficiency within the endangered language context of GF. Older speakers were suffering attrition due to lack of interlocutors and reduced domains of use over recent years and also (for some) to old age. Younger speakers experienced imperfect acquisition as children and a lack of interlocutors and domains over their lifetime. It was decided that grammatical proficiency and fluency should be presented separately since there was disparity of participant rankings between the two continuums. In the absence of a single authority on the language agreed upon by the whole community, the proficiency ranking for fluency is based on my own observations from the recorded material⁶. The fact that the language is lacking in vocabulary for many modern concepts was taken into account when making these fluency assessments. It proved difficult to separate out participants into categories C1 and C2 since “conceptually difficult” (CEFR, 2008) topics never arose, so the two categories were combined. The chart below represents the sample on a continuum where category C1/C2 is the most fluent and A1, the least:

Participants	Grading	Ages
S27 S25 S7 S3 S8 S20 S21 S35 S36	C1/C2	42 43 59 63 63 65 67 67 67
S11 S39 S32 S33 S23 S9 S31 S37 S38		70 71 72 74 76 79 79 80 80
S34 S30 S5 S19 S43 S42 S28 S29 S14		81 82 87 87 87 88 88 89 100
S1 S2 S16 S17 S18 S10	B2+	48 62 73 73 74 79
S12 S40	B2	74 74
S15 S41	B1+	71 84
S13	B1	85
S6 S4	A2+	59 61
S24 S26	A2	67 81
S22	A1	64

Table 3.5 Fluency continuum of the sample

⁵ See Appendix I.

⁶ As a CELTA qualified former English Language Teacher with experience of assessing foreign language students, it is assumed these assessments are as informed and accurate as they possibly can be.

A complete breakdown of the sample by external (social) factors is given in Appendix J.

3.2 Fieldwork

This section gives an account of how the fieldwork was carried out and describes in detail how the data were collected from participants and why the particular methods were chosen. The spoken data were used to extract tokens of the dependent variable for analysis and the sociolinguistic data were used to formulate the external independent factors.

There were already spoken GF data in existence, but none were made use of in this study. Jones's (2000) corpus was collected in 1997 and, as such, would not have been suitable. There were two more recent corpora potentially available and suitable for this study: one was collected by Guernsey's former Language Support Officer, Marquis, and another was collected by SOAS students led by Julia Sallabank. It was decided, however, that it would be best to collect a new corpus for two reasons. The first was that Marquis and members of the Language Advisory Panel⁷ at the time felt that, given the state of severe endangerment of the language, it was important to record as much spoken GF as possible and were therefore very keen for me to collect my own data. The second reason was that the background data collected for these two corpora would not have been sufficient for the purposes of this study.

The data for this study were collected over a 20-month period between March 2010 and November 2011 in a series of six week-long fieldtrips. With the exception of the first trip, I stayed in accommodation located within the HP parishes in order that opportunities for social contact with members of the language community were optimised. As a non-native speaker, preparation for the fieldtrips involved learning GF which was done with the help of various written and aural sources.

In line with fieldwork ethics procedures, participants were given a leaflet providing information on the study plus a consent form⁸ to sign, both of which had received approval from the University of the West of England's Research Ethics Committee. Participants were also subsequently given a copy of their recording and were asked if they wished to have anything edited out before the material was archived in Guernsey. One participant responded that she would prefer a small section to be cut from the group recording in which she had participated and this request was honoured. Before it was deleted, this section was checked for the presence of any tokens of the variable but none were found.

⁷ The former Language Advisory Panel's four members were Dr Julia Sallabank, Dr Mari Jones, Dr Harry Tomlinson and Deputy Gloria Dudley-Owen.

⁸ Appendix G.

A pilot study was carried out during the first two trips (March and September 2010) to Guernsey and the equipment used to record the spoken data was the Marantz PMD660 Portable Solid State Recorder. This was a device with a built-in microphone that could be placed between those taking part in the recording session. On the one hand, however, it served to increase the self-consciousness of those taking part⁹ in the recording session and, on the other, it was not ideal for recording group sessions in terms of the potential difficulty of differentiating the speakers at a later date. A small device called the UltraDisk MP3 Digital Voice Recorder was therefore used for the remaining four fieldtrips. This could be hung around the participant's neck and had an individual clip-on microphone which allowed the participant to move around freely (one participant made her husband's dinner while we chatted). This device also had the advantage that each participant in group sessions could be recorded on a separate track. While this equipment was adequate for the purposes of this study, the recordings would not be suitable for carrying out phonological analyses since the recording quality on MP3 devices is known to be somewhat inferior in relation to more costly recording equipment.

3.2.1 Oral data collection

This study was carried out within the variationist paradigm since the objective was to examine and interpret interspeaker variation. As the results of the analysis were to be used to examine the issue of gauging authenticity, the data collected was real language in use. For this reason, a semi-structured Labovian-style sociolinguistic interview schedule¹⁰ was used to collect conversational-style data. It was decided not to supplement this with data collected by elicitation. On the one hand, this would not have qualified as real language in use and, on the other, there is the previously mentioned "mismatch between linguistic intuitions and linguistic behavior" (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p.174). This tendency for a mismatch can be exacerbated in endangered language contexts owing to linguistic insecurity (Schmidt, 1985). GF has historically low prestige in relation to SF, and it has also been stigmatised since WW2. Speakers also lose "confidence in their intuitions of 'correctness'" (Sallabank, 2010a, p.323) owing to an ever-decreasing number of interlocutors and domains/functions of use. This has been confirmed for the GF context by Sallabank (personal communication) who had tried elicitation methods and found that participants tended to give SF variants.

Initial networking with the language community and Marquis was done during the two pilot studies. Eight interviews were conducted during these two trips. One data collection instrument that was piloted was a text I had written in English based on a well-known urban myth story which was designed to elicit target variables when participants re-told the story in GF. This was

⁹ The device was therefore not commensurate with the aim of sociolinguistic data collection which is to minimise the Observer's Paradox as far as possible.

¹⁰ Appendix E.

subsequently abandoned because the story was being re-told in GF “through intermediate cognitive structures” (Everett, 2001, p.185), namely English and/or SF, and also because participants felt uncomfortable doing the task due to attrition in their language. A language proficiency questionnaire was also administered orally at the start of these pilot interviews, but was found to be ineffective and was consequently dropped.

Because of the low number of speakers, I decided subsequently to include the data collected during these two trips in my main study. The data was not used from the urban myth translation text or the language proficiency questionnaire section at the start of the eight recordings (S1-9). Some general language-related questions were also asked during the course of these pilot interviews. Although this is not in keeping with variationist methodology, these sections were retained since participants were not being prompted “to introspect on their linguistic practices” (Thieberger, 2011, p.123).

After the pilot trips, all subsequent participants were given the choice of a one-to-one interview or group session. One-to-one interviews were conducted in GF using the semi-structured interview schedule. This was constructed in such a way as to elicit in the responses as far as possible the grammatical variables which had been found to be salient in the literature on LVC and endangered languages. All the group interviews were made up of family members and/or long-standing close friends, with the exception of one group interview in which the two participants could be described as friendly acquaintances. It is assumed therefore that the majority of the group settings would have produced less formal language than the one-to-one interviews. Group participants were left to talk among themselves and were given conversation starter cards as a prop in case they ran out of conversation. It was necessary on occasions to intervene in the group sessions when conversation dried up, but this was avoided as far as possible because of the risk, on the one hand, that my intervention might produce “simplified ‘foreigner-talk’ versions of the language” (Evans, 2001, p.263) and, on the other, that my GF might be copied by the participants, as happened on several occasions in the one-to-one interviews. This was less avoidable in one-to-one interviews, but my talk-time was kept to a minimum.

The setting of the interviews was chosen by participants and, for the most part, was their own homes, although some preferred to be interviewed at my accommodation. The first interview (S1) took place in my hotel bar where there was a football match being shown on the television, hence the sound quality is a little compromised in places. Nine of the participants took part in more than one recording session but, due to time constraints, the second recordings of only three of the nine (namely S14, 27 and 29) have been transcribed and analysed. An additional session was organised at one point on behalf of the researcher to take place during a play

rehearsal and was a sort of drop-in group activity where the ‘actors’ took part in the recording when not ‘on stage’. This could not be used since consent could not be obtained from one of the participants, but the data was not of the same quality as the rest collected for this study as the participants only produced small amounts of fairly fragmented bursts of disconnected speech during this session.

In all, nineteen one-to-one and fifteen group interviews¹¹ were carried out, resulting in a total of approximately twenty-one hours (approx 100,000 words) of recorded spoken data.

3.2.2 Sociolinguistic data collection

The instrument used to collect the sociolinguistic data was an oral questionnaire¹². This was administered at the end of each interview, although six participants completed their questionnaires by post after the interviews had taken place (S2, 3, 4, 6, 21 and 22). The following information was collected:

- Personal details (name, address, date of birth, sex)
- Participant’s occupation(s)
- Highest educational level reached
- Relating to language:
 - Participant’s family’s origins
 - Where the participant had lived throughout their life
 - Whether the participant had been evacuated during WW2
 - Occupations of participants’ parents
 - Whether the participant could speak SF (and how many times they had visited France)
 - Whether the participant was a member of any GF support groups (and how often they attended meetings)
 - Whether the participant had maintained use of GF throughout their life
 - How often the participant spoke GF on average in a week
 - Where the participant usually spoke GF
 - Which language the participant used with different interlocutors

The first three of the above items were designed to yield standard sociolinguistic factors (age, sex, socioeconomic status); the others were designed to yield as much background information as possible on the participants’ language and language use. The last item in the list above, ‘Which language the participant used with different interlocutors’, was inspired by Gal’s 1970s

¹¹ See §3.6.2.14 for coding of group interviews in respect of two participants.

¹² Appendix F.

study, discussed in Chapter 1, §1.2.1. Gal's method was used in preference to Milroy's network strength scale which, as mentioned above in §3.1.1, was not suited to the endangered language context in Guernsey. Milroy's criteria would be largely irrelevant in the present-day GF community. The questions, based on Gals' survey, served to give an indication of language use in the participant's network and were used to calculate the frequency and variety of use of GF for each participant. Gal provides empirical support for using this as a method since she finds an average 90% (1978) correlation between the self-report data and data obtained after observing the language use of her 32 participants plus a further 36 participants over a year.

It should be noted, however, that these were not easy factors to quantify and the methods used were not entirely satisfactory, in part, due to their reductiveness¹³. Schmid discusses the correlation between language use and attrition and, in her critique of some methods of measuring language use in previous studies, calls for "a more fine-grained approach" (Schmid, 2011, pp.82-83). The method she proposes, however, would not work in the GF context mainly because it focuses quite heavily on the written language. Nevertheless, this point should be borne in mind in relation to any findings based on the factors (namely EIV3-6) that result from this item.

3.3 Transcription

Since the aim was to carry out a full assessment of all the salient grammatical variables (see §3.1) before selecting the optimum dependent variable for use in this study, full transcription of (almost) all of the participants' data was necessary in order to be able to make an informed decision. The transcriptions are lexically complete and standard punctuation has been used throughout to demarcate syntactic boundaries. While the transcriptions are detailed enough for the present study, they would not necessarily be suitable for lexical, phonological, or discourse variation analyses. No pauses and few discourse markers have been transcribed, for example. False starts and repetitions have not always been shown, but any appearing in contexts surrounding tokens extracted have been faithfully represented. Time intervals generally mark the onset of speech approximately, but do not necessarily mark the end of a section of speech and might include conversation silence towards the end.

The transcription software used was the multimedia annotation tool ELAN 3.9.0 which provides a facility for time-aligned transcription. The transcribing protocol was as follows:

¹³ See §3.6.1.3 - §3.6.1.6 for details of how the frequency and variety of use of GF factors were quantified.

	Representation:
false starts whole word (marked only where it is thought this may impede comprehension)	- single hyphen
false start partial word (marked only where it is thought this may impede comprehension)	-- double hyphen
incomprehensible words (or phonologically ambiguous words not pertinent to analysis aims)	(inc)
phonologically ambiguous words pertinent to analysis	phonetic representation
words unrecognised by researcher	phonetic representation or represented by (inc) if not pertinent to analysis
grammatically 'incorrect' words e.g. [tut] le traffic	phonetic representation
numerals	represented orthographically
non-verbal information essential to intelligibility of spoken data	description given in parentheses e.g. (shocked facial expression)
use of SF instead of GF e.g. [il] palait, 'infirmière'	either phonetic representation or orthographic representation inside inverted commas (or double quotes if inside a direct quotation)
use of English instead of GF	orthographic representation inside inverted commas (or double quotes if inside a direct quotation)
stretch of English	(English)
initial or final syllable deleted by speaker	/'/
people's names or place names which may compromise anonymity of participants	represented by initial(s) e.g. RM or Mr D, or by X where name is incomprehensible
discourse markers e.g. err, eh	not always, or always faithfully, represented
pauses	not represented
guidance/instructions/information from the Transcriber	represented in capital letters

Table 3.6 Transcribing protocol

Orthographic representation was used throughout unless it was pertinent to the analysis to use phonetic transcription (IPA), with representations variously taken from the English and French

sound systems. It was decided not to use the IPA as the sole transcription system for this data for several reasons:

- grammatical analysis was facilitated by using orthographic representation
- the data will be saved in audio as well as in time-aligned transcribed form
- Tagliamonte (2006, p.60) recommends orthographic representation to ensure the transcription is as “simple and readable as possible” so that the materials should be readily accessible by the language community.

In the absence of any official dictionary for GF, the orthographic system used in the transcriptions is based on that found in the most (only) modern dictionary available at the time of transcribing which is De Garis’s 1982 *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais*. The orthographical representations and the diacritic marks in the dictionary are not always consistent, as would be expected in a non-standardised language. The word *because*, for example, is given as *passequé* in the English to GF section and *pasqué* in the GF to English section. In the interests of ease and speed of transcription, the author’s use of apostrophes to indicate silent word-internal letters was not replicated, although apostrophes were sometimes used in word-onset and word-final positions to reflect pronunciation. De Garis’s use of diacritics was not replicated either, with the one exception of the sound /aɪ/ which is represented by ‘aï’. Only one orthographical representation per word has been used for consistency and clarity¹⁴, and where a word was not represented in the *Dictiounnaire Angllais-Guernesiais* (e.g. a verb form), De Garis’s 1983 *Guernesiais: A Grammatical Survey* was consulted. If the word was not found in that text, it was sought in Tomlinson’s 2008 *A Descriptive Grammar of Guernsey French*. While every effort was made to adhere to this protocol, there may still be some orthographic variation to be found in the transcription, but it is hoped this will not impede comprehension or any future research. Any extracts from the transcription appearing as examples in the thesis have been transferred as they were transcribed.

Marquis acted as a Language Consultant on the transcription of parts of the recordings of two participants whose vocal instruments had degenerated a little due to age and who were sometimes difficult to understand as a result.

3.4 The dependent variable

This section is in three parts. The process by which the dependent variable was selected is set out in the first. In the second part, the form of the dependent variable is established and, in the final part, the variable context is circumscribed.

¹⁴ Appendix H lists orthographical variants used.

3.4.1 Selecting the dependent variable

Preliminary analyses were carried out on all the grammatical variables which had either emerged as salient from the literature review or which appeared to be significant for GF in order to assess their suitability for inclusion in the study. These variables had either (i) been noted in the literature on GF as showing signs of change in progress, (ii) been noted in the literature on language change and variation as potential candidates for change in an endangered language, (iii) come from observations made by Julia Sallabank or Yan Marquis as possibly undergoing change in GF, or (iv) been observed as having two or more variants as my own data collection and transcribing had progressed. The primary criteria for selection were evidence in the data of change in progress and intragenerational variation. Evidence of change in progress was ascertained using the apparent time construct whereby each of the variables was correlated with participants' ages. Evidence of intragenerational variation was ascertained by correlating the variables with age groups in the sample. All of the variables reviewed are listed below (with the exception of mood) with reasons why they were not used in the study:

- *aver* (to have) > *ête* (to be) with age e.g. *J'avais huit aens/J'étais huit aens* I was eight years old
 - This variable showed change in progress as well as interesting interspeaker variation. Mood was chosen over this variable as it showed change due to obsolescence as well as contact.
- 3pp > 3ps verb form e.g. *I vaont bétaot* > *I va bétaot* They are going soon
 - Regularisation of verb paradigms is a feature of language change commonly reported in the literature, particularly in respect of the third person. No evidence of change in progress was found in this data, however, and only two of the total forty-three speakers showed any real variation in use.
- past historic > imperfect *ête* (to be) with *naï* (born)
 - This variable was included for testing as a result of my own observations. It presented a very interesting change pattern, with an abrupt shift from use of the past historic to the imperfect. The speakers at the tail end of using the traditional variant were born in 1944 and those at the vanguard of using the new variant were born just 4 years later in post-war 1948. There was little interspeaker variation outside of these two groups, however, with only two atypical participants.
- *dévier* (to have to, must) > *aver à* (to have + to) e.g. *Je devais terrous aidger mon père* > *J'avais terrous à aidger mon père* I always had to help my father
 - This variable was tested as result of my own observations as it appeared to be a calque from English. It generated a low total of thirty-six tokens, however, only

- three of which were *dévier*, with only one participant showing variation in use of the two variants.
- imperfect < >¹⁵ conditional *pouvier* (to be able to) e.g. *Je pourrais le faire démôin* > *Je pouvais le faire démôin* I could do it tomorrow, *Je pouvais pas faire pusse que je faisais* > *Je pourrais pas faire pusse que je faisais* I couldn't do any more than I was doing
 - This variable was tested as result of my own observations and showed interesting interspeaker variation, but no evidence of change in progress.
 - *ôimaïr* + infinitive > *ôimaïr* + *à* + infinitive (to like + gerund/to +infinitive)
 - This variable was analysed as result of my own observation of differences in use, however the direction of change was the reverse of what was anticipated i.e. the older speakers were using *ôimaïr* + *à* + infinitive and the younger, *ôimaïr* + infinitive. The number of tokens as well as the number of participants who produced the variable were low.
 - *es* (to the + plural noun) > *a les* (to the + plural noun) e.g. *Si nous va es choppes* > *Si nous va a les choppes* If we go to the shops
 - This was tested following observations made by Sallabank and Marquis, but no evidence of change in progress was found.
 - object pronoun anomalies e.g. *Je la laeux¹⁶ baillis* > *Je la les baillis* I gave it to them
 - Object pronouns were analysed on the grounds that “tout élément apparaissant entre le sujet et le verbe se trouve fragilisé et tend à être éliminé” (Gadet, 1992, p.65) (any element appearing between the subject and the verb is weak and tends to be eliminated) in français populaire. The vast majority of the sample retained object pronouns over 90% of the time with the lowest retention rate at 78%. No evidence of change in progress was found.
 - *vous* (2pp/polite 2ps subject pronoun) > *tu* (2ps subject pronoun)
 - This was earmarked for analysis following an observation from Sallabank that one of the youngest speakers had commented he had never used *vous* as an address form as a child and had never therefore learnt the accompanying verb forms. This variable occurred only rarely in the data given the nature of the data collection methods and was therefore not able to be tested, however the aforementioned speaker used it once with an anomalous verb form and another speaker did make quite extensive use of it in a group interview with another

¹⁵ The symbol '< >' means that the two elements either side are found to be interchangeable e.g. the imperfect tense is found to be used in contexts where the conditional tense would be expected and vice versa.

¹⁶ These third person singular and plural indirect pronoun forms, *les* and *laeux*, are taken from Tomlinson (2008 pp.41-42). Lukis gives *illáos* and *illáes* (1985, p.13). There seems to be some confusion surrounding De Garis's 1983 account of object pronouns.

participant¹⁷. In this latter case, there was 100% regularisation to a singular verb form¹⁸.

- auxiliary *ête* > *aver* in compound tenses
 - Regularisation of auxiliaries is a common feature of language change (Gadet and Jones 2008, Maher 1991). Compound tenses taking *ête* in GF are *v'nir* (and its derivatives), *arrivair*, *partir* and *allair* (Tomlinson, 2008, p. 100). The traditional variant *ête* was found to be stable in these contexts.
- synthetic > analytic future tense e.g. *Je li d'visrai* > *Je (m'en) vais li d'visaïr* I will speak to him
 - This is a commonly reported feature of language change and, on the face of it, appeared to be a good candidate for inclusion in the study, showing change in progress and interspeaker variation. A closer inspection, however, revealed that usage of the synthetic and analytic future forms seemed to be functionally determined, in a similar way to the English future (see e.g. Swan, 2005), and it could not therefore be defined as a sociolinguistic variable. The analytic future seemed to be used to express intentions and predictions based on present visible evidence, while the synthetic was used for predictions based on evidence from the intellect, to give information and to convey interpersonal requests, offers, orders, threats and promises.
- imperfect use /form anomalies
 - This variable has been reported as being subject to attrition (Sasse 1992, Milroy and Gordon 2003). It was my impression, however, that the imperfect tense was very much intact in GF. To test this, I analysed the imperfect tokens of the four participants who reported no longer having any knowledge of SF (in case this was contributing to retention of the variable). Two of these four participants (S18 and S26) were positioned on the 50th percentile of the grammatical accuracy continuum (see §3.1.2) and two (S35 and S33) were above the upper quartile line. Each of these four participants produced 100% traditional imperfect use and form.
- *dès/aussitôt/aussi vite qué* + future > present
 - This is a change noted by Tomlinson (2008, p.64). No tokens were found in the data.

¹⁷ It is not clear why this participant addressed the other participant with *vous* since they were of a similar age and well acquainted with one another.

¹⁸ It was not possible to determine whether these verb forms were 2ps or 3ps as all cases were ambiguous.

The following tenses were checked on the grounds that they are among the first tenses to be lost in an endangered language context (Silva-Corvalan, 1991):

- conditional perfect use/form anomalies
 - No evidence of change in progress was found.
- pluperfect use/form anomalies e.g. *Ah, soulais jouair a cricket, je **jouais** a football* > *Ah, soulais jouair a cricket, j'**avais jouai** a football* (S35) Ah, I used to play cricket, I played football
 - No evidence of change in progress was found.
- conditional use/form anomalies e.g. *j'acaterais enne amas de piaeches et **batirais** des petits maisaons pour iaeux* > *j'acaterais enne amas de piaeches et [**bati**] des petits maisaons pour iaeux* (S1) I would buy lots of land and build houses for them
 - No evidence of change in progress was found.
- future perfect use/form anomalies
 - No tokens were found in the data.

Jones (2002) found that the following eight grammatical variables, in addition to mood, showed evidence of change in progress:

- *autchun* + plural > singular verb
 - Jones (2002, p.148) found in her data that a singular verb was used “in one third of all cases”. There were only three tokens in the data for this study, however, all of which came from the same speaker, and all of which were ambiguous.
- syntax of constructions used to express dates: *lé saept de mai* > *mai le saept* the seventh of May > (lit.) May the seven
 - Jones (2002, p.149) reported finding the “emerging construction” in 21% of cases in her data. The latter construction was not found at all in 29 tokens in the data for this study; the only interspeaker variation that was found was in the use of *de* which was absent in 21% of cases. No evidence of change in progress was found.
- *quànd* (*when*) + future > present tense
 - No tokens were found in the data.
- postposed > preposed adjectives
 - Adjectives were rare in the data for the most part. The only ones appearing with any regularity were *prumier* (first), *drôin* (last) and the superlative *lé millaeux* (the best) and these were always preposed.

- passive anomalies
 - Voice is reported in the literature as subject to attrition. Jones (2002, p.155) found a change in GF use of the passive where participants used the indirect object of the active sentence as “the patient of the passive sentence”. While the variable did show some statistical evidence of change in progress in the data for this study, the result was based on only 6 anomalous tokens out a total 97.
- *si* (marked *yes*) > *oui/oué* (unmarked *yes*)
 - Jones notes this change in her data, with *oui/oué* being used in 26% of marked contexts. In the data for this study, only two tokens of *si-est* were found, so the variable was not tested. It should be noted that much more frequent use was made of an alternative word for marked *yes* in GF which is *vère*.
- *atou* (marked *with*) > *dauve* (unmarked *with*)
 - Only two tokens of *atou* were found in the data. This would suggest the variable has remained stable since Jones collected her data in 1997. She found only two tokens in 65 interviews (3%) despite the fact that “informants had been asked one question to which they had to respond using instrumental ‘with’” (Jones, 2002, p.157).
- use of *pouvier* in unmarked contexts with verbs of perception e.g. *Jé lé veis* > *Jé peux lé veies* I see him
 - Jones found *pouvier* was used with verbs of perception in 90% of cases. She notes, however, that while it was “difficult to determine with a high degree of accuracy whether any of these were in fact intended as marked forms (...), it is extremely unlikely that marked constructions were being selected in 90 per cent of cases” (Jones, 2002, p.158). Since markedness was also often found to be ambiguous in the data for this study, the variable was not tested.

Of all the above variables that were tested for suitability as a dependent variable in this study, mood was selected because it showed evidence of change in progress and interesting interspeaker and intragenerational variation. It promised to showcase language change and individual variation (as discussed in Chapter 2) all in one variable, and to highlight the difficulties of seeking out and gauging authenticity in a severely endangered language.

3.4.2 Forms

The variable selected for grammatical analysis was mood. Mood has two forms or variants: the subjunctive and the indicative¹⁹. Classifying mood as a variable might be challenged by some variationists citing the baseline definition of a variable as being “two [or more] alternative ways

¹⁹ The indicative mood, for the purposes of this study, includes every ‘tense’ that is not a subjunctive tense.

of saying the same thing” (Labov, 2004, p.7) since mood usage is widely described in the literature as being semantically determined. The fact that no commentators have succeeded in producing a definitive semantic categorisation of mood usage, however, would suggest that this is open to debate. Indeed, there is empirical evidence “of the non-semantic nature of mood usage” (Poplack, 1992, p. 254) in GF (Jones, 2000). An open minded approach will therefore be adopted as to whether mood usage is semantically driven and the study will begin by assuming that the two variants are referentially and semantically equivalent. While there may be empirical evidence in existence for a third variant in spoken GF, namely the conditional (Jones, 2000)²⁰, the mood is recorded by Tomlinson (2008) as having only two variants: the subjunctive and the indicative moods. Below is an illustration from the data of the two variants being used in the same context by one person in one utterance:

et les baïces, i faut qu'i saont, oh mon pere erait dit enne velocipide mais ch'est tche viaer chena, les baïces, i faut qu'i [seɪ] coum des baïces des, pas pus tard que-, coum les chinq- -, c'menchement des chinquantes, que i saont tout naers des viaers bykes (S8) lit. and the bikes, it is necessary that they are, oh my father would have said a velocipede but that's an old thing that, the bikes, it is necessary that they be like the bikes of the, not later than-, like the fift- -, start of the fifties, that they are all black of the old bikes

Formal descriptions of the GF subjunctive in the literature

There are three published ‘descriptions’²¹ of the subjunctive mood in GF in the literature: Tomlinson (1981, 2008), De Garis (1983), and Lukis (1976, 1981, 1985). It should be noted that Jones (2000, p.184) uses a 1979 edition of Lukis’s work in her study which was unavailable. The edition of Lukis’s work used in this study is his latest edition since he writes:

Since the publication of “An Outline” in 1978, a great deal of further research has been carried out, as a result of which it has been largely rewritten, and I hope that many errors and omissions have been rectified.

(Lukis, 1985, Foreword)

The table below shows the subjunctive paradigms, as listed by the three commentators in their publications, for each of the eleven verbs selected for commentary in the results, as well as an additional six whose paradigms featured in more than one publication.

²⁰ Poplack (1997, p.288) also notes the conditional as a third variant in spoken Ottawa-Hull Canadian French.

²¹ No judgement is made here as to the relative descriptiveness or prescriptiveness of these commentaries.

		Tomlinson 2008	Lukis 1985	De Garis 1983 ²²
aver present	1ps	aie (é)	aie [eɪ]	aie [aɪ]
	2ps	aies (é)	aie	aies
	3ps	ait (é)	aie	ait
	1pp	ait (é)	aie	ait
	2pp	ayaïz (éya _i)	ayae, ayiz	avaïz
	3pp	aient (é)	aie	aient
aver imperfect	1ps	aeusse (à _i s)	àesse	aeusse
	2ps	aeusses (à _i s)	àesse	aeusse
	3ps	aeusse (à _i s)	àesse	aeut (1983)/aeusse (1982)
	1pp	aeusse (à _i s)	àesse	aeut (1983)/aeusse (1982)
	2pp	aeusses (à _i s)	àessyi	aeusses
	3pp	aeussent (à _i s)	àesse	aeussent, aeurent (1983)/aeussent (1982)
ete present	1ps	seis (sé)	sei	s'yis (1983)/seis (1982)
	2ps	seis (sé)	sei	est (1983)/'etc.' (1982)
	3ps	seit (sé)	sei	(y) est (1983)/'etc.' (1982)
	1pp	seit (sé)	sei	est (1983)/'etc.' (1982)
	2pp	seyaïz (séya _i)/seyiz (séyi)	seyae	êtes, seyiz (1983)/'etc.' (1982)
	3pp	seient (sé)	sei	saont, seissent (1983)/'etc.' (1982)
ete imperfect	1ps	fusse (füs)	fusse	fusse
	2ps	fusses (füs)	fusse	fusses
	3ps	fusse (füs)	fusse	fut (1983)/fusse (1982)
	1pp	fusse (füs)	fusse	fut (1983)/fusse (1982)
	2pp	fusse (füs)	fussyi	fûtes (1983)/fussyiz (1982)
	3pp	fussent (füs)	fusse	furent (1983)/fussent (1982)
allaïr present	1ps	auche (au[j]) ²³ /aïlle (a _i l)	auge	aouche
	2ps	auches (au[j])/aïlles (a _i l)	auge	aouches
	3ps	auche (au[j])/aïlle (a _i l)	auge	aouche
	1pp	auche (au[j])/aïlle (a _i l)	auge	aouche
	2pp	allaïz (alai)	alyae	aouches
	3pp		auge	aouchent

²² De Garis (1983) includes the archaic form for 1pp (*je*) in her paradigms, but this has not been listed here as it did not occur in the data.

²³ Tomlinson's (2008) phonetic representation of the [j] sound did not appear to be available in the ANSI character set and has been replaced in this table by the IPA symbol.

		auchent (au[j])/aillent (a,l)		
<i>allair</i> imperfect	1ps 2ps 3ps 1pp 2pp 3pp	fusse (füs) fusses (füs) fusse (füs) fusse (füs) fusses (füs) fussent (füs)	alisse alisse alisse alisse alissy alisse	fusse fusses fut fut fûtes furent
<i>vnir</i> present	1ps 2ps 3ps 1pp 2pp 3pp	vienne (vyon) viennes (vyon) vienne (vyon) vienne (vyon) v'naiz (vna _i) viennent (vyon)		vianne viannes vianne vianne v'naiz viennent
<i>vnir</i> imperfect	1ps 2ps 3ps 1pp 2pp 3pp	vinse (vâ _i s) vinses (vâ _i s) vinse (vâ _i s) vinse (vâ _i s) vinse (vâ _i s) -	venîsse venîsse venîsse venîsse venîssyi venîsse	vinsse vinsses vinsse vinsse vintes vinssent
<i>pouvoir</i> present	1ps 2ps 3ps 1pp 2pp 3pp	peuve (pöv) peuves (pöv) peuve (pöv) peuve (pöv) pouvaiz (puva _i) peuvent (pöv)		
<i>pouvoir</i> imperfect	1ps 2ps 3ps 1pp 2pp 3pp	paeusse (pâ _i s) paeusses (pâ _i s) paeusse (pâ _i s) paeusse (pâ _i s) paeusse (pâ _i s) paeussent (pâ _i s)		
<i>devoir</i> present	1ps 2ps 3ps 1pp	deive (dév) deives (dév) deive (dév) deive (dév)/deisse (dés)		

	2pp	d'vaiz (dva _i)		
	3pp	deive (dév)/deissent (dés)		
devier imperfect	1ps	daeusse (dà _i s)		
	2ps	daeusses (dà _i s)		
	3ps	daeusse (dà _i s)		
	1pp	daeusse (dà _i s)		
	2pp	daeusses (dà _i s)		
	3pp	daeussent (dà _i s)		
saver present	1ps	sache (sá[ʃ])	sache	sache
	2ps	saches (sá[ʃ])	sache	saches
	3ps	sache (sá[ʃ])	sache	sache
	1pp	sache (sá[ʃ])	sache	sache
	2pp	sache (sá[ʃ])	sachyae	sachaiz
	3pp	sachent (sá[ʃ])	sache	sachent
saver imperfect	1ps	saeusse (sà _i s)		saeusse
	2ps	saeusses (sà _i s)		saeusses
	3ps	saeusse (sà _i s)		saeut
	1pp	saeusse (sà _i s)		saeut
	2pp	sachisse (sá[ʃ]is)		saeutte
	3pp	saeussent (sà _i s)		saeuent
faire present	1ps	fache (fà[ʃ])	fache	faeche
	2ps	faches (fà[ʃ])	fache	faeches
	3ps	fache (fà[ʃ])	fache	faeche
	1pp	fache (fà[ʃ])	fache	faeche
	2pp	faisaiz (fèzai)	fachyae	faissaiz
	3pp	fachent (fà[ʃ])	fache	faechent
faire imperfect	1ps	faïsse (fà _i s)		fasse
	2ps	faïsses (fà _i s)		fasses
	3ps	faïsse (fà _i s)		fasse
	1pp	faïsse (fà _i s)		fasse
	2pp	faïsse (fà _i s)		faissiez
	3pp	faïssent (fà _i s)		faissent
dire present	1ps	diche (di[ʃ])		
	2ps	diches (di[ʃ])		

	3ps	diche (di[ʃ])		
	1pp	diche (di[ʃ])		
	2pp	disaïz (diza _i)		
	3pp	dichent (di[ʃ])		
<i>dire</i>	1ps	daeusse (dà _i s)		
imperfect	2ps	daeusses (dà _i s)		
	3ps	daeusse (dà _i s)		
	1pp	daeusse (dà _i s)		
	2pp	daeusses (dà _i s)		
	3pp	daeussent (dà _i s)		
<i>maette</i>	1ps	maette (màt)		maette
present	2ps	maettes (màt)		maettes
	3ps	maette (màt)		maette
	1pp	maette (màt)		maette
	2pp	mettaïz (mètai)		mettaïz
	3pp	maettent (màt)		maettent
<i>maette</i>	1ps	maeusse (mà _i s)	mâisse	misse
imperfect	2ps	maeusses (mà _i s)	mâisse	misses
	3ps	maeusse (mà _i s)	mâisse	mit
	1pp	maeusse (mà _i s)	mâisse	mit
	2pp	maeusse (mà _i s)	mâissyî	mîtes
	3pp	maeussent (mà _i s)	mâisse	mirent
<i>voulier</i>	1ps	veule (völ)		veurs
present	2ps	veules (völ)		veurs
	3ps	veule (völ)		veurt
	1pp	veule (völ)		veurt
	2pp	voulaïz (vula _i)		voulaïz
	3pp	veulent (völ)		veulent
<i>voulier</i>	1ps	voullisse (vulis)		voullisse
imperfect	2ps	voullisses (vulis)		voullisses
	3ps	voullisse (vulis)		voullit
	1pp	voullisse (vulis)		voullit
	2pp	voullisse (vulis)		voullêtes
	3pp	voullissent (vulis)		veulent
<i>finir</i>	1ps	finisse (finis)		finisse
present	2ps	finisses (finis)		finisses

	3ps	finisse (finis)		finisse
	1pp	finisse (finis)		finisse
	2pp	finissaiz (finisa _i)		finissaiz
	3pp	finissent (finis)		finissent
<i>finir</i>	1ps			finissis
imperfect	2ps			finissis
	3ps			finissit
	1pp			finissit
	2pp			finissîtes
	3pp			finissirent
<i>dormir</i>	1ps	dorme (dorm)		dorme
present	2ps	dormes (dorm)		dorme
	3ps	dorme (dorm)		dorme
	1pp	dorme (dorm)		dorme
	2pp	dormaiz (dorma _i)		dormaiz
	3pp	dorment (dorm)		dorment
<i>dormir</i>	1ps	dormisse (dormis)		dormissis
imperfect	2ps	dormisses (dormis)		dormissis
	3ps	dormisse (dormis)		dormissit
	1pp	dormisse (dormis)		dormissit
	2pp	dormisse (dormis)		dormissites
	3pp	dormisse (dormis)		dormissirent
<i>plaire</i>	1ps	plaise (pyéz)		plaise
present	2ps	plaises (pyéz)		plaises
	3ps	plaise (pyéz)		plaise
	1pp	plaise (pyéz)		plaise
	2pp	plaisaiz (pyéza _i)		plaisaites
	3pp	plaisent (pyéz)		plaisent
<i>plaire</i>	1ps	plaisisse (pyézis)		plaeusse
imperfect	2ps	plaisisses (pyézis)		plaeusses
	3ps	plaisisse (pyézis)		plaeut
	1pp	plaisisse (pyézis)		plaeut
	2pp	plaisisse (pyézis)		plairaites
	3pp	plaisisse (pyézis)		plaeurent
<i>prendre</i>	1ps	prenne (pron)		prenne
present	2ps	prennes (pron)		prennes

	3ps	prenne (pron)		prenne
	1pp	prenne (pron)		prenne
	2pp	pernaiz (pernai)		pernaiz
	3pp	prennent (pron)		prennent
prende imperfect	1ps	prinse (pra _ɪ s)		prinsse
	2ps	prinses (pra _ɪ s)		prinses
	3ps	prinse (pra _ɪ s)		prinsse
	1pp	prinse (pra _ɪ s)		prinsse
	2pp	prinse (pra _ɪ s)		printes
	3pp	prinsent (pra _ɪ s)		prinsent
vende present	1ps	vende (võd)		vende
	2ps	vendes (võd)		vendes
	3ps	vende (võd)		vende
	1pp	vende (võd)		vende
	2pp	vendaiz (võda _i)		vendrait
	3pp	vendent (võd)		vendent
vende imperfect	1ps			vendisse
	2ps			vendisses
	3ps			vendit
	1pp			vendit
	2pp			vendaites
	3pp			vendissent
bere present	1ps	beive (bév)		bêve
	2ps	beives (bév)		bêves
	3ps	beive (bév)		bêve
	1pp	beive (bév)		bêve
	2pp	b'vaiz (bva _i)		b'vaiz
	3pp	beivent (bév)		bêvent
bere imperfect	1ps	busse (büs)		bévisse
	2ps	busses (büs)		-
	3ps	busse (büs)		-
	1pp	busse (büs)		-
	2pp	b'vaisse (bvà _i s)		-
	3pp	bussent (büs)		-

Table 3.7 Subjunctive paradigms by commentator

It can be seen in the table above that formal discrepancies were found in the subjunctive paradigms for *aver* and *ête* between De Garis's dictionary (1982) and her reference grammar (1983). Those that differ markedly from the paradigms given by Tomlinson and Lukis appear to be indicative forms and are thought most likely to be an error on the part of the author since some of the examples she gives in her section on the subjunctive (De Garis, 1983) also contain indicative rather than subjunctive forms, for example:

- *Etes-t'ous saeure qu'a y s'en va?* (present indicative of *allair*) Are you sure that she is going?
- *Le milliaeux ch'fa qu'il avait accataï* (imperfect indicative of *aver*) The best horse that he had bought.
- *Accates aen fro qué tu pourras maette es neuches* (future indicative of *pouvier*) Buy a frock which you can wear at the wedding.

These anomalous forms have not been included as subjunctive forms in the study and have been greyed out in the table above to aid clarity.

It is sometimes not possible to claim unequivocally that a form (excluding the greyed-out forms) listed by one author is the same as one listed by another since, on the one hand, pronunciation guidelines are not always clear, and on the other, pronunciation has been reported as differing geographically in Guernsey by De Garis (1982), Lukis (1985) and Tomlinson (2008). De Garis gives layman's guides to the pronunciation of the vowel diphthongs and triphthongs that she uses in both her dictionary (1982) and her reference grammar (1983). Listed below are those for which the pronunciation guidance provided is unambivalent and which are useful in the pronunciation of some of the forms in the table above:

- *aou*: *o* as in Eng *cow* (De Garis, 1982, p.XV)
- *aie*: *ie* as in Eng *lie* (De Garis, 1983, p.321)

Lukis proposes his own revised orthography. He gives a layman's guide to the pronunciation of some vowel diphthongs, however the only sound among them which is useful and unequivocal is:

- *ai*: *ey* as in Eng *fey* (Lukis 1985, p.10).

Tomlinson's (2008) guide to vocalic pronunciation is cited below:

Orthographical representation	Phonetic representation	Example of sound in English (or French)
a	(a)	similar to English “a” as in “cat”
a	(á)	similar to English long “a” as in “path”
e	(e)	similar to English neutral “e” as in “the”
é	(è)	similar to English open “e” as in “met”
é	(é)	similar to English “ay” as in “day”
i	(i)	similar to English “ee” as in “see”
i	(y) before vowel	similar to English “y” as in “yearn”
o	(o)	similar to English “o” as in “hot”
o	(ó)	similar to English “o” as in “so”
u	(ü)	similar to French “u” as in “tu”, this sound does not occur in English and can be produced by trying to pronounce the sound “ee” with the lips rounded
aï	(a _i)	similar to English “fly”, “eye”
au	(a _u)	similar to English “ow” rhyming with: “how” in the South West, “snow” in the North
aeu	(a _ü)	in some cases this has been reduced to “ai”, but some speakers, especially in the area around St. Saviour’s, end the consonant with a “closed u”, i.e. “ee” sound pronounced with rounded lips
eu	(ö)	similar to English “u” as in “fur”
aë(n)	(a _i)	difficult to describe exactly, but the nearest suggestion is perhaps a weaker version of the word “eyeing”, but with the “g” barely perceptible
ao(n)	(a)	very slightly nasal similar to English “rang”, but with the “g” barely perceptible
i(n)	(a _i)	difficult to describe exactly, but the nearest suggestion is perhaps a weaker version of the word “eyeing”, but with the “g” barely perceptible
oi(n)	(o _i)	similar to English “loin”, but with the “n” barely perceptible
à(n)	(a)	similar to English “banter”, with the “n” barely perceptible
e(n)	(ö)	similar to English “born”, but without pronunciation of the “r”

Table 3.8 Tomlinson’s (2008) guide to vocalic pronunciation

A token was coded as subjunctive if it matched any one of the forms listed in the paradigms table above for that verb (with the exception of the greyed out forms). None of the authors or publications was given priority over another with regards to the form listed, in other words, if any of the forms in the table were homophonous with an indicative, the respective token was classified as ‘ambiguous’.

3.4.3 Circumscribing the variable context

This section provides a detailed account of how the variable context was defined. The function, or subsystem of grammar, is the verb paradigm generated as a result of a subjunctive trigger. In the first part of this section, the subjunctive triggers are set out exactly as they appear in the existing literature for GF. This is followed in the second part by a list of all constructions which qualify for inclusion in respect of these subjunctive triggers. In the third part, there is a short note on how tokens were coded when there was more than one trigger preceding them. In the final part of this section, all the constructions which were considered not to qualify for inclusion in relation to the triggers are defined, and finally details are given of all exclusions which had to be removed from the extracted data before analysis could proceed.

3.4.3.1 Descriptions in the literature of the subjunctive triggers in GF

The triggers listed in the table below have been cited directly from the most recent publications of the three commentators discussed above:

Tomlinson 2008	Lukis 1985	De Garis 1983
<i>pour qué</i>	<i>porq</i>	<i>pour qué</i>
<i>d'vânt qué</i>	<i>avàñq</i>	<i>dévânt qué</i>
<i>à mouôins qué</i>	<i>amuêñq...ne</i>	<i>à mouoins qué</i>
<i>sinaon qué</i>	<i>sinàñq</i>	<i>sinaon qué</i>
<i>I faut (falleir)</i>	<i>after it is necessary</i>	<i>fautrar</i> (and all synonyms of)
<i>voullier que</i> when there is a change of subject		<i>voullier qué</i> (and all synonyms of)
	<i>biéñq, biêñq, biênq</i>	<i>bian qué</i>
	<i>afinq</i>	<i>afin qué</i>
	<i>sèñq, sàñq</i>	<i>sàns</i>
	<i>dánčéq...ne</i>	<i>dantché qué</i>
	<i>ameq</i>	<i>à mecque qué</i>
	<i>depâurq...ne</i>	
	<i>etàñq</i>	

	expressions of doubt, fear, regret	<i>doutair, r'grettair, croindre, aver haonte, aver paeux, ch'est piti</i> (and all synonyms of the above)
	imperatives – “A few verbs use Present Subjunctive for the Imperative” (Lukis 1985, p.31) including <i>saver, aver</i> and <i>ete</i> and excluding <i>bailler, vnir, apportair, allair, 'se taire', s'assieïs</i>	
		The third persons of the Present Subjunctive are used with the force of Imperatives ²⁴
		<i>d'sirair</i> (and all synonyms of)
		<i>d'mandair</i> (and all synonyms of)
		<i>ête caontent</i> (and all synonyms of)
		<i>ête étounnaï</i> (and all synonyms of)
		<i>ête mârri</i> (and all synonyms of)
		<i>il est temps</i> (and all synonyms of)
		<i>il est possible</i> (and all synonyms of)
		<i>il est necessaire</i> (and all synonyms of)
		<i>l's'peut</i> (and all synonyms of)
		In a subordinate clause after a Negative or Interrogative main clause
		<i>jusqu'a tchi qui</i>
		After a Superlative including the words <i>lé seul, lé prumier, lé drôin</i> , words expressing a superlative idea
		After <i>qui, qué, tchi, daont, ou</i> in a relative clause expressing surprise
		After the compound words [indefinite relative] <i>tchi qu'</i>
		<i>après qué, oprès que</i>
		<i>aussi qué</i>

²⁴ These are described by Blanche-Benveniste (2006, p.56) as having “injunctive meaning”.

		<i>coum</i>
		<i>coum tchi</i>
		<i>dépis qué</i>
		<i>dé crôinte qué</i>
		<i>pasqué</i>
		<i>mais</i>
		<i>nitou</i>
		<i>quànd</i>
		<i>ouecque</i>
		<i>tandis qué</i>
		<i>quâsi, quâsiment</i>
		<i>si</i>
		<i>qué</i>
		<i>jusqué</i>

Table 3.9 Subjunctive triggers by commentator

Note that the top five in the table are the only triggers agreed on by each of the three commentators, although there should be a small caveat in respect of Lukis's *avàñq* (1985). Jones (2000, p.185) comments that Lukis's use of *avàñq* has probably been "influenced by standard French" as she found no tokens of the word in her 2000 data²⁵. It should also be borne in mind that several of the examples given by De Garis (1983) in her section on the subjunctive actually contain indicative mood verbs.

In addition to the triggers described above by the three commentators, Jones's (2000) research yielded a further five. Jones included in her study triggers of "the subjunctive in mainland Norman" which had been cited in a report published in 1995²⁶. She found that the following three environments triggered the subjunctive in 30% to 100% of cases (Jones, 2000, p.186):

- independent clauses - optative
- independent clauses - set phrases
- *ête* + adjective + *qué*,

and that the following two environments triggered the subjunctive in 0% to 30% of cases:

- *l' (mé) r'semblle qué/l' (m')'est avis qué*
- *Ôimaiř qué*

²⁵ No tokens of *avàñq* were found in the data collected for this study either.

²⁶ Université Populaire Normande du Coutançais (1995). *Essai de Grammaire de la Langue Normande*. Périers: Garlan.

She writes that *ôimaïr qué* “usually triggers the indicative” (Jones, 2000, p.189), but that *l’ (mé) r’semblle qué/l’ (m’)’est avis qué* “had apparently lost this function in Guernesiais” (Jones, 2000, pp.186-187). The latter trigger was nevertheless retained for the present study. Jones also lists an additional synonym of *dànqué qué* in her report which is *entertchié qué*.

3.4.3.2 Defining the subjunctive triggers for this study

Merging the information from the publications of all four commentators produced the following list of triggers:

1. **Independent Clauses – Optative**²⁷
2. **Independent Clauses - Set Phrases**
3. *l’ faout qué* (it is necessary that)
4. *Voulier qué* (to want/wish that)
5. *à mais qué* (when)
6. *à mouôins qué* (unless)
 - *sinaon qué* has also been included from De Garis (1983), Lukis (1985), and Tomlinson (2008) as semantically equivalent
7. *dànqué/entertchié qué* (until)
 - *jusqu’a tchi qué* has also been included from De Garis (1983) as semantically equivalent. It should be noted that De Garis (1983, p.345) gives “*jusqu’a tchi qui*”, but this has been understood as having the apostrophe missing, i.e. as *jusqu’a tchi qu’i*, on the basis that similar errors have been made elsewhere by the author, for example, “*dévànt qui’ sache*” (De Garis, 1983, p.346), “*dévànt qui peuvent entràir*” (De Garis, 1983, p.346).
8. *pour qué/à fin qué* (so that/in order that)
9. *Ête + adjective + qué* (to be + adjective + that)
10. *Bian qué* (although)
11. **Verbs of thinking/believing in the negative**
12. *l’ (mé) r’semblle qué/l’ (m’)’est avis qué* (it seems (to me) that)
13. *Dévànt qué* (before)
14. **Impersonal expressions: *Il est X qué ...***
15. **After a Superlative (including *lé seul, lé prumier, lé drôin* (‘the last’) etc.)**
16. *Ôimaïr qué* (to like (the fact) that)
17. **Negative antecedent**
 - In a subordinate clause after a Negative (...) main clause (De Garis, 1983)

²⁷ Note that De Garis uses indicative in this optative clause: ‘Que j’vendrai ma maisaon iun de ches jours’ (De Garis, 1983, p.341).

18. In a subordinate clause after a (...) Interrogative main clause (De Garis, 1983)
19. Imperative (Lukis, 1985)
20. Imperative-style 3p clauses (De Garis 1983, Lukis 1985)
21. *depâurq...ne lest* (Lukis, 1985, p.20)/*dé crôinte qué lest* (De Garis, 1983)
22. *sànq* without (Lukis, 1985)/*sans* without (De Garis, 1983)
23. *etànq* inasmuch as (Lukis, 1985)
24. *I's'peut* it may be (De Garis, 1983)
25. Other

The triggers in bold above have been cited directly from Jones's study (2000, p.186). They are accompanied by semantic equivalents or near-equivalents listed by any of the other three commentators. Triggers 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, 16 and 21 above need no further explanation. Triggers 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24 and 25, however, require close definition both in the interests of clarity and for the purposes of comparability and replicability. The exact constructions qualifying for inclusion in relation to these sixteen triggers are defined below²⁸. The constructions are illustrated with examples from the data where available. If none were available in the data, they were taken from one of the publications on GF and if not available from these sources, they were invented:

3. *I' faout qué* ('It is necessary that')

- include: (pronoun +) *fastrar* + *qué* + non-anaphoric noun/pronoun + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase) e.g.
 - *ch'est quasi quate haeures, faut que j'[d] veies mon pere* (S25) it's nearly four o'clock, I have to go and see my dad

4. *Voulier qué* ('to want to')

- include: (noun/pronoun +) *voulier* + *que* (+ noun/pronoun) + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase) e.g.
 - *A voulait que j'etais l'organiste a l'eglise* (S31) She wanted me to be the organist at church
- include: (noun/pronoun +) *voulier* + infinitive + *que* (+ noun/pronoun) + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase) e.g.
 - *Mais je voudrais dire que, quand nous accatit not ptit 'cottage', not ptit 'chaumière' la-bas a A, pour daeux ou treis aens, i paraissait que i'y avait aen drafte parfeis dans la cuisienne* (S11) But I would say that, when we bought our little cottage, our little

²⁸ The elements in parentheses are optional.

'chaumière' over yonder at A, for two or three years, there seemed to be a draft sometimes in the kitchen

7. *dànqué/entertchié qué* ('until')/ *jusqu'a tchi qué*

- include: *dànqué qué* e.g.
 - *et i saont a dmeurair dauve me pour tchique meis dantche qu'a seit fini* (S33) and they're staying with me for a few months until it's finished
- include: *dànqué Ø* e.g.
 - *j'etais la pour quasi vingt-treis aens dantche j'avais cinquante* (S7) I was there for almost twenty-three years until I was fifty
- include: *entertchié qué* e.g.
 - *et ch'est la eiouque je dmeuris entertchie que je fus mariaï* (S5) and that's where I lived until I was married
- include: *entertchié Ø* e.g.
 - *Et 'tais la entertchie 'tais mariaï daonc* (S15) And so I was there until I was married
- include: *jusqu'a tchi qué* e.g.
 - *Tu devrais restaïr ichin jusqu'a tchi qué le docteur viant/vianne* You should stay here until the doctor comes
- include: *jusqu'a tchi Ø* e.g.
 - *Tu devrais restaïr ichin jusqu'a tchi le docteur viant/vianne* You should stay here until the doctor comes

It should be noted no evidence of the *ne* in Lukis's (1985, p.20) "*dánčěq...ne*" was found in the data.

9. *ête* + adjective + *qué*

- include: (noun/pronoun +) *ête* + adjective + *qué* (+ noun/pronoun) + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase) e.g.
 - *J'etais ravi qu'a pouvait dvisaïr le Guernesiais* (S1) I was amazed she could speak Guernesiais
- include: antecedent + (*pour* +) *ête* + adjective + *qué* (+ noun/pronoun) + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase) e.g.
 - *toutes les seraïes, nous aeut-, nous avait a amenair les lapins au dedans, pour ete saeur que les Allemands ne les eraient pas* (S32) every evening, we had-, we had to bring the rabbits inside, to be sure that the Germans wouldn't have them

11. Verbs of thinking/believing in the negative

- include: (noun/pronoun +) negative thinking/believing verb (phrase) (+ *que*) (+ noun/pronoun) + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase) e.g.
 - *Je creis pas que je changerais aen lot pasque sis caontente* (S6) I don't think I'd change a lot because I'm happy

The verbs *creire* and *pensair* were the only two verbs in the data meeting the description of “Verbs of thinking/believing” (Jones, 2000, p.186).

12. *l' (mé) r'semblle qué/l' (m')'est avis qué* ('it seems (to me) that ...)

- include: (noun/pronoun) +/or (reflexive pronoun +) (*r*)*semblair/ete avis* + *qué* (+ noun/pronoun) + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase) e.g.
 - *i me semblait que i'y avait enne amas des efants coum me* (S1) it seemed to me that there were a lot of children like me

13. *Dévànt qué* ('before')

The following two triggers were found to be semantically equivalent in the data:

- include: *devant* \emptyset e.g.
 - *Noufe devant la guere finit* (S16) No, before the war finished
- include: *devant quand* e.g.
 - *et devant quand je touchais tchique chaose* (S31) and before I touched something

14. Impersonal expressions: *Il est X qué ...*

- include: *Il est* + adjective (+ *que*) (+ noun/pronoun) + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase)
 - *il est bian possiblle que la royne erait aeu de not grappe etout* (S32) it's quite possible that the Queen would have had our grapes too
- include: *Ch'est* + adjective (+ *que*) (+ noun/pronoun) + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase)
 - *ch'est interessant que ch'est les mesme jannes gens que j'etais a l'ecole dauve* (S1) it's interesting that it's the same young people I was at school with
- include: *Il est temps* (De Garis, 1983, p.345) *que* + noun/pronoun + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase)
 - *Il est temps que nous erait/ait aen 'holiday'* It's time we had a holiday

- include: *Ch'est piti* (De Garis, 1983, p.345) *que* + noun/pronoun + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase)
 - *Ch'est piti que tu as/ait pas ta cotte* It's a pity you don't have your coat

15. After a Superlative (including *lé seul, lé prumier, lé drôin* ('the last') etc.)

In the absence of any further commentary in relation to GF, this variable context has been defined in line with SF usage of the subjunctive after a superlative, which is given as "When the antecedent of the relative pronoun *qui* or *que* is qualified by a superlative adjective (...), the relative clause frequently takes the subjunctive" (Price, 1993, p.377). Superlatives included are *le pus* + adj, *le seul, le droin, le prumier, le milliaeux, le piere, le dernier, l'unique*.

- include: (noun/pronoun +) (verb +) superlative (phrase) + relative pronoun + (noun/pronoun +) indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase) e.g.
 - *Robin Littler est iun des pus manifiques 'musiciens' que je counnis* (S32) Robin Littler is one of the most magnificent musicians I know
 - *il est le seul qui est restai* (S7) he's the only one left
 - *Le prumier holiday que j'aeus, me, etait dauve le Girls Life Brigade* (S20) The first holiday that I had was with the Girls Life Brigade

17. Negative antecedent

- include: negative antecedent + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase) e.g.
 - *autchun savait pas que ch'tait naons qu'avait accatai la maisaon* (S8) nobody knew that it was us/we who had bought the house
- include: negative main clause + relative pronoun *qui* + relative clause e.g.
 - *j'sis pas iun qui lliet enne amas* (S25) I'm not a person who reads a lot
 - *i'y a pas autchun qui sait le pale* (S8) there's nobody who knows how to speak it
- include: negative main clause + relative pronoun *que* + subordinate clause e.g.
 - *Pas qué j'sache* Not that I know of (De Garis, 1983, p.340)
 - *i me dit aen caoup 'Va pas dire a autchun que j'sis la a ecoutair les nouvelles pasque i me tiraont* (S32) he told me one time 'Don't go telling anyone that I'm there listening to the news because they will shoot me'
- include: negative main clause + pronoun/noun (phrase) & anaphoric *que* + subordinate clause (source: Price, 1993, p.369) e.g.
 - *sais pas quai age qu'al avait au cmenchement de la guere* (S25) don't know what age she was at the start of the war
 - *a sait pas quai jour que ch'est* (S20) she doesn't know what day it is

- include: negative main clause + pronoun *chu que/tchique/pourtchi que* + subordinate clause e.g.
 - *a n'savait pas tchiqu'est je disais* (S7) she didn't know what I was saying
 - *et j'disais 'Mais, sais pas pourtchi qu'il a écrit chena'* (S11) and I said 'But, I don't know why he wrote that
 - *et pis les Etats [fes] pas chu que nous veut, les Guer-* - (S33) and then the States don't [fes] what we want, we Guer- -
- include: negative main clause + excluded subordinating conjunction + subordinate clause e.g.
 - *les rides saont pas jomais llian pasque i'y en a qui vieillissent* (S8) the rides are never long because there are some who are getting old
 - *I l'[aprain] pas quand il etaient ptits* (S2) They didn't learn it when they were little
 - *a sait pas ouecque al est* (S20) she doesn't know where she is

18. In a subordinate clause after a (...) Interrogative main clause (De Garis, 1983, p.345)²⁹

- include: interrogative main clause + relative pronoun *que* + subordinate clause e.g.
 - *Echeque-, echeque j'creis qu'i'y en a?* (S25) Do-, do I believe there are any?
- include: interrogative main clause + interrogative pronoun + subordinate clause e.g.
 - *Eche que vous pouvaiz m'dire eiouque peurs trouvaïr aen magasin Boots?* (S3) 'Could' you tell me where I can find a Boots?
 - *Caomprends-tu tchiqu'est enne sale langue?* (S19) Do you understand what a dirty mouth is?

19. Imperative

- include: *saver, aver, ete* e.g.
 - *Sache daunq!* Know then! (Lukis, 1985, p.31)
 - *Aie ta manière!* Have your own way! (Lukis, 1985, p.31)
 - *Sei tràncile!* Be still! (Lukis, 1985, p.31)

Lukis (1985, p.31) writes that "A few verbs use Present Subjunctive for the Imperative" and lists the three examples above.

²⁹ Coveney (1996) was consulted in the definition of this variable context.

20. Imperative-style 3p clauses

- e.g.
 - *Qu'i n'faeche érian* Let him do nothing (De Garis, 1983, p.345)

22. *sàñq* without (Lukis, 1985, p.20)/*sans* without (De Garis, 1983, p.329)

It is not clear from these descriptions whether *sàñq* is always a compound conjunction. No tokens were found in the data.

23. *etàñq* inasmuch as (Lukis, 1985, p.20)

- include: additional meaning *because* since this is the translation given in the dictionary for *ètànt qué* (De Garis, 1982)

24. *l's'peut* it may be (De Garis, 1983, p.345)

- include: *peutête que* as it was found to be semantically equivalent in the data e.g.
 - *mais peutete que je pourrais dounnair aen ptit de sous a mes efants pour les aidger et peutete les prende sus aen holiday* (S6) but perhaps I could give a little money to my children to help them and perhaps take them on a holiday

25. Other

This includes all the remaining triggers in the table above not already listed in 1 to 24.

- include: *après qué/oprès qué* after, *aussi qué* as ... as, *coum tchi* how, *dépis qué* since, *tandis qué* whilst, *qué* so that (result) (De Garis, 1983, p. 328-329)

As a point of interest, it would appear that *dépis qué* is a calque on the English *since* meaning *because* (although no historical analysis was carried out to support this suggestion). It is listed under the lemma *because* in De Garis's 1982 dictionary and Tomlinson (2008) also uses *dépis qué* to mean *because* in an example of the conjunction's use.

- include: *après Ø/oprès Ø* e.g.
 - *Et bian, opres nous etait fini not trawas pour mon pere* (S36) And well, after we'd finished our jobs for my father
- include: *quand que* e.g.
 - *J'sais pas quand que ch'tait, mais i faisait manifique biau temps* (S27) I don't know when it was, but the weather was magnificent

- include: *dépis* Ø e.g.
 - *mais dépis ma mere est morte et d'aoutes etout, ch'est pas souvent que je pale en Guernesiais* (S31) but since my mother died and others as well, it isn't often I speak Guernesiais
- include: *dépis quand* e.g.
 - *Eh bian oue, dépis quand j'étais ptit, j'ai supportaï Leeds United* (25) Ah yes well, since I was little, I've supported Leeds United

This is a semantic equivalent of *dépis qué* (De Garis, 1983, p.328)

- include: *aussi...coum* e.g.
 - *A soulait (inc) traire les biches et nous soulait bere le lait aussi caoud coum nous pouvait* (S39) She used to (inc) milk the goats and we used to drink the milk as hot as we could

This is a semantic equivalent of “*aussi qué as as*” (De Garis, 1983, p.328)

- include: after *d'siraïr* to desire, *d'mandaïr* to ask (De Garis, 1983, p.345)

It is assumed these verbs would be followed by *que* + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase)

- include: “after expressions of doubt, fear, regret” (Lukis, 1985, p.30) including *doutaïr* to doubt, *r'grettaïr* to regret, *crôindre* to fear, *aver haonte* to be ashamed, *aver paeux* to be frightened, *ch'est piti* it is a pity, “and all synonyms of the above” (De Garis, 1983 p.345)

It is assumed the above would be followed by *que* + indicative/subjunctive verb (phrase)

- include: “After *qui, qué, tchi, daont, ou* in a relative clause expressing surprise” (De Garis, 1983, 346)
- include: “After the compound words [sic] *tchi qu*” (De Garis, 1983, p.346) i.e. indefinite relative
- include: any other triggers found

3.4.3.3 Notes on coding the triggers

In the cases where there was more than one subjunctive trigger present, such as in:

- *Et quand que ch'tait le droine caoup que vous futes en Angleterre?* (S27) And when was the last time you were in/went to England?
- *Pasque tchique tu t'en va faire pour aen lliet sinaon tu fais chena?* (S8) Because what are you going to do for a bed if you don't do that?

the trigger nearest the embedded verb was entered. This strategy is based on the findings of Poplack (1992) which showed that, for *l'faout qué* at least, triggers followed directly by the verb, i.e. with no intervening words, were more likely to produce the subjunctive than the indicative.

In cases where there were two triggers combined and therefore both equidistant from the subjunctive context, such as in:

- *Veurs-tu que je lilies toutes les laegnes?* (S8) Do you want me to read all the lines?
- *Et je-, i voulait pas jomais je peurs accatair erian sus 'hire-purchase'.* (S36) And I-, he never wanted me to buy anything on hire-purchase

the trigger found most likely to have produced the subjunctive in Jones' corpus (2000) was entered.

3.4.3.4 Exclusions from the variable context

This section gives an account of everything that had to be removed from the data before analysis could proceed, namely exceptional distributions, ambiguous contexts and invariants.

3.4.3.4.1 Exceptional distributions

While it is the norm in variationist methodology to exclude tokens appearing within reported speech, it was decided that all such tokens should be included in the analysis. The justification for this decision was that, for every occurrence in the data, there was a substantial time lapse between the utterance and the reported event and no discernible evidence that the tokens were a direct quotation. They were all deemed to be the participants' own use of mood used in the context. To have excluded these tokens, therefore, would have been to skew the data. Furthermore, given that the overall number of subjunctive tokens was very low for the purposes of analysis, it was felt that none should be discarded without very good reason.

The following were removed from the data before analysis:

Formulaic expressions

- Constructions which “may be imitative” (Tagliamonte, 2006, p.90), for example, from a song, saying etc., e.g.
 - *A Dyu seit-i* (De Garis, 1982, p.XVI) lit. To God be he
- Where a lexical item has “become part of a larger ‘chunk’” (Tagliamonte, 2006, p.90), for example, copula ‘be’ in discourse marker ‘as it were’

Mirroring

- If a participant was repeating what another participant (or the interviewer) had just said, the utterance was excluded from analysis.

Repetition

- In cases where tokens were repeated “in sequence as false starts or performance errors” (Tagliamonte, 2006, p.93), only one token was included in the analysis e.g.

- *[es] i'y a tche que tu veux-, tu veux nous dmandair? (S27)* Is there anything you'd like to ask us?

Note: If there was something (other than one-word discourse markers), however, in between the repetitions of the verb, then both tokens were counted e.g.

- *i faut qu'i cauffent, s'i veut d'iaoue caoud, faut qu'i cauffent iaoue (S8)* They have to heat, if they want hot water, they have to heat up the water

Standard French

- Any tokens in SF were excluded from analysis

Subjunctive in indicative context

- Any tokens appearing in a context known to be indicative were excluded e.g.
 - *Oue ch'tait N qui [twis sa] faumme (S16)* Yes it was N who killed his wife

3.4.3.4.2 Ambiguous contexts

Tokens which were ambiguous for any one of the following four reasons were removed from the data before analysis:

Unclear

- If it was not clear phonologically which variant it was e.g.
 - *I faut que je prends/prenne* I have to take

Tomlinson (2008, pp.164-165) gives [pro:] for present indicative *prends*, and [pron] for present subjunctive *prenne*, but sometimes a participant ‘fudged’ between the two

- If it was not certain who/what referent was
- If a word was possibly a variable/variant, but it was not certain e.g. in the following, *prende* could either be a 1ps or an infinitive verb form
 - *mais peutete que je pourrais dounnair aen ptit de sous a mes efants pour les aidger et peutete les prende sus aen holiday (S6)* but perhaps I could give a little money to my children to help them and perhaps take them on a holiday

Ambiguous

- When the subjunctive form was homophonous with an indicative form of the same verb e.g.
 - *Faut que nous vive eh* (S39) We have to live eh

Neutralisation

- When surrounding phonological contexts made it difficult/impossible to say for certain whether the variant was occurring e.g.
 - *J'ai ranbillai coum tchique nous dit chena en Guernesiais* (S7) I've forgotten how we say that in Guernesiais

Reformulations and false starts

- If an indicative verb was present within a false start, and then a subjunctive verb was produced in the re-start context, or vice versa, neither token was counted e.g.
 - *Faut que je fais-, que j'aïlle veies mon aoncle* I have to do-, go and see my uncle

No such tokens were present in the data.

- If a verb present in a false start context in an indicative tense was followed by the same verb in a different indicative tense in the re-start context, only the token in the re-start context was counted e.g. *aeut* in
 - *Fallait qu'il avait-, qu'il aeut tchique chause a mangier* He had to have something to eat

No such tokens were present in the data.

- If one verb present in a false start context in the indicative was followed by a different verb in the indicative in the re-start context, only the token in the re-start context was counted e.g. *dmeurait* in
 - *Nous en avait pas quand nous etait-, nous dmeurait a St Andrew* (S20) We didn't have any when we were-, we lived in St Andrew

3.4.3.4.3 Invariants

Once exceptional distributions and ambiguous contexts were removed from the initial pool of 569 tokens, the size of speaker sample dropped from 43 to 41, and the number of tokens to 392. The remaining data were then analysed for categorical contexts. In order to determine whether any triggers categorically produced one mood or the other, each trigger (IIV8) was crosstabulated with embedded tense (DV2):

	Tense (DV2)														Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
Trigger 3 (IIV8)	7	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	23	6	45
4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	0	5	2	17
5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
7	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	1	1	12
8	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	5
9	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	9
10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11	13	0	0	0	3	2	0	2	0	7	0	2	0	0	29
12	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
13	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	1	0	0	3	19
14	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4
15	8	13	0	0	1	4	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	31
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
17	44	10	2	1	3	4	0	60	1	6	4	1	2	1	139
18	19	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	25
19	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
24	1	0	0	0	7	0	0	3	0	2	1	0	1	0	15
25	2	6	0	0	0	5	0	6	0	1	2	0	0	0	22
Total	113	41	2	1	17	18	1	107	1	27	11	4	34	14	391

Table 3.10 Crosstabulation of trigger (IIV8) and tense (IIV6)

Columns 13 and 14 above represent the present and imperfect subjunctive respectively. The information in this table is summarised in Table 3.11 below. Categoricity was set at “95 per cent or over, 5 per cent or under” (Tagliamonte, 2006, p.87) in line with variationist guidelines. The figures given in parentheses in the table below represent the relative frequency of occurrence of the subjunctive mood for each trigger.

Zero tokens	95-100% subjunctive	variable subjunctive	0-5% subjunctive
1. optative clauses	24.1 <i>i's'peut qué</i> (100%)	3. <i>i' faout qué</i> (64%)	6. <i>à mouôins qué/sinaon qué</i> (0%)
2. set phrases		4. <i>voulier qué</i> (41%)	9. <i>ête + adjective + qué</i> (0%)
20. imperative-style 3p clauses		5. <i>à mais qué</i> (50%)	10. <i>bian qué</i> (0%)
21. <i>depâurq ... ne/dé crôinte qué</i>		7. <i>dànqué/entertchié qué/ jusqu'a tchi qué</i> (17%)	11. verbs of thinking/believing in the

			negative (0%)
22. <i>sàñq</i>		8. <i>pour qué/à fin qué</i> (40%)	12. <i>i' (mé) r'semblle qué/i'(m')'est avis qué</i> (0%)
23. <i>etànq</i>		13. <i>dévànt qué</i> (16%)	14. impersonal expressions (0%)
		24. <i>i's'peut/ peutete que</i> (7%)	15. after a superlative (0%)
			16. <i>ôimair qué</i> (0%)
			17. negative antecedent (2%)
			18. after an interrogative main clause (0%)
			19. imperative (0%)
			25. other (0%)
			24.2 <i>peutete que</i> (0%)

Table 3.11 Summary of distribution of the subjunctive mood in respect of triggers (IIV8)

The recommendation in variationist methodology is to exclude all categoricals from statistical analysis. It was found that *peutete que* (trigger 24.2) produced the subjunctive 0% (N = 14) and its semantic equivalent *i's'peut qué* (trigger 24.1) produced it 100% (N = 1). Given that *peutete que* was not directly named as a trigger by any of the GF commentators, but was only included on the basis that it was as “synonym of” (De Garis, 1983, p.345) *i's'peut qué*, it was excluded as categorical.

The variable context³⁰ for the purposes of analysis is, therefore:

- *i' faout qué*
- *voulier qué*
- *à mais qué*
- *dànqué qué/entertchié qué/jusqu'a tchi qué*
- *pour qué/à fin qué*
- *dévànt qué*

³⁰ The six triggers in the final variable context for analysis are as defined in §3.4.3.

3.5 The final dataset for analysis

The final dataset for use in the analysis contains 100 tokens. The final speaker sample size is 32 with an age range of 43 to 100. This sample represents between 11% and 16% of the total estimated population of speakers and is distributed as follows:

	UNDER 56	56-65	66-75	76-85	OVER 85	Total
FEMALE	0	2	4	5	5	16
MALE	2	3	6	3	2	16
Total	2	5	10	8	7	32

Table 3.12 Distribution of the sample by age group and sex

3.6 The independent factors

In order to answer the research questions listed at the close of Chapter 2, the following factors were used in the analysis to determine which were constraints on mood choice. The factors are split into external (social) factors and internal (linguistic) factors.

3.6.1 The external independent factors

The data for these factors were collected for each participant using the oral questionnaire as described in §3.2.2.

3.6.1.1 Age (EIV1)

This is the age of the participant at the time of recording.

3.6.1.2 Age group (EIV2)

The sample was broken down into the age groups below principally in order to test whether evacuation as a child to Great Britain during WW2 had an impact on the participants' language. The 76-85 age group represents the people who would have been schoolchildren aged between 5 and 14 in 1940 and therefore eligible for evacuation. Three participants within this age group were evacuated with one further participant in the over 85 age group who had continued her education beyond the minimum school leaving age of 14.

The five age groups were coded for analysis as follows:

1. Under 56
2. 56-65
3. 66-75
4. 76-85
5. Over 85

UNDER 56	56-65	66-75	76-85	OVER 85
S25	S6	S35	S23	S5
S1	S7	S36	S9	S19
	S4	S11	S31	S43
	S2	S15	S37	S42
	S3	S39	S38	S28
	S8	S32	S26	S29
		S16	S34	S14
		S17	S30	
		S12	S41	
		S33	S13	
		S40		

Table 3.13 Breakdown of sample by age group

3.6.1.3 Frequency of use of Guernsey French as a child (EIV3)

The table below shows the nine interlocutor categories taken from Gal's 1970s study of language use by Hungarian/German bilinguals in Oberwart. These were used in interviews to illustrate the vitality of GF when the sample were children in Chapter 1. The categories were adjusted to be relevant to language use as a child. Participants were asked which language they used as children with each of the following nine interlocutors:

Interlocutors
parents
parents' generation
grandparents
grandparents' generation
brothers and sisters
friends
doctor
animals/pets
god

Table 3.14 Interlocutors as a child

Since participants were not asked at the data collection stage who their most frequent interlocutors were as children, it was necessary to generalise for the purposes of analysis. It is thought the most frequent interlocutors were most likely to those highlighted in bold above, namely, 'parents', 'brothers and sisters', and 'friends'.

The following method of calculating each participant's frequency of use of GF as a child assumes an equal amount of communication time with each of the three interlocutor categories. In order to code this factor for analysis, participants were given 0 points if they answered that they had spoken English, 1 point if they answered that they had used a mixture of GF and English³¹, and 2 points if they answered that they had spoken GF. The total score was then converted into a percentage.

If any of the three categories were missing, the researcher's judgment was used to best guess the score based on other language use information provided by the participant and knowledge of language use during the period in which the participant was a child. The alternative solution of inserting a mean score for a missing category or scoring out of 4 (maximum possible score for two categories) rather than 6 (maximum possible score for three categories) was found to skew the data.

If the participant was classified as an evacuee, then English was added into the score in the 'friends' category, even if the participant reported using exclusively GF. If the participant said they spoke 'mostly' (or an equivalent adverb) GF, then GF was entered; if they said they spoke GF 'occasionally' (or an equivalent adverb), then English was entered.

Since this factor involves several generalisations and relies heavily on self-report data which may be unwittingly inaccurate, findings based on this factor should be taken as an indication only.

3.6.1.4 Frequency of use of Guernsey French now (EIV4)

This was given as a percentage by the participant in response to the question 'How much would you say you speak GF on average in a week?'

3.6.1.5 Variety of use of Guernsey French as a child (EIV5)

The information provided by the participant for 'frequency of use as a child' above (§3.6.1.3) was also used to calculate participants' level of variety of use of GF as a child. The table is shown again below with classification of each interlocutor as either a formal or informal communication context. Again, if the participant said they spoke 'mostly' (or an equivalent adverb) GF, then GF was entered; if they said they spoke GF 'occasionally' (or an equivalent adverb), then English was entered. These classifications are also a generalisation for the purposes of analysis since, for example, a participant may have had regular informal communication with close family relatives or friends belonging to the categories of parents' and grandparents' generation.

³¹ This was also a generalised measure since it did not differentiate between different individuals within each category, nor between different types of language mixing such as codeswitching.

Interlocutors	Level of formality
parents	informal
parents' generation	formal
grandparents	informal
grandparents' generation	formal
brothers and sisters	informal
friends	informal
doctor	-
animals/pets	-
god	-

Table 3.15 Interlocutors as a child with level of formality of communication

The three interlocutor categories, 'doctor', 'animals/pets' and 'god' were excluded from the analysis. The 'doctor' category was excluded because every participant reported using only English when visiting a doctor as a child. The two categories, 'animals/pets' and 'god', were excluded because communication in these cases cannot strictly be classified as a dialogue and were, therefore, not an indication of the variety of language used by the participants.

This factor was coded for analysis as follows:

0. if participant responded that they had never spoken GF with any of the six interlocutors
1. if participant responded that they had used GF with the 'informal' interlocutors only
2. if participant responded that they had spoken GF with one or more of the 'formal' interlocutors.

Since this factor also involves generalisations and relies on self-report data, findings based on this factor should be taken as an indication only.

3.6.1.6 Variety of use of Guernsey French now (EIV6)

The table below shows categories of interlocutors 'now' (i.e. at the time of interview). The same method that was used to calculate participants' variety of use of GF as a child was applied to this factor.

Interlocutors	Level of formality
parents	informal
parents' generation	formal
brothers and sisters	informal
husband/wife	informal
children	informal

children's generation	formal
grandchildren	informal
grandchildren's generation	-
friends	informal
acquaintances	formal
doctor	-
animals/pets	-
god	-

Table 3.16 Interlocutors now with level of formality of communication

In addition to the three categories excluded from analysis in §3.6.1.5, the category of 'grandchildren's generation' is also excluded for this factor, since it is possible the level of formality would be variable depending on the age of interlocutors belonging to this category.

The same caveat applies again regarding generalisation and self-report data.

3.6.1.7 Evacuation during World War Two (EIV7)

This factor was coded as follows:

1. if the participant had not been evacuated
2. if participant had been evacuated

3.6.1.8 Language acquisition (EIV8)

While the majority of participants spoke only GF before they started school at the age of five, this was not the case for some of the younger participants who had either spoken it to a lesser extent, having older sisters and brothers communicating in English, or who had not spoken it at all during childhood, receiving only a passive knowledge of the language. This latter group of speakers were classified as 2LLs. The factor was coded as follows:

1. 1LLs
2. 2LLs

3.6.1.9 Sex (EIV9)

This factor was coded according to participants' apparent physical biological sex:

1. female
2. male

3.6.1.10 Education (EIV10)

This is the highest level of education attained by the participants. Since the majority of older participants completed their schooling at the age of fourteen, it was sufficient to split this factor into two categories which were coded as follows:

1. up to 16
2. post 16

3.6.1.11 Socioeconomic status (EIV11)

This was based on the participant's main or longest-lasting occupation and was coded as follows:

1. higher managerial, administrative or professional (e.g. CEO, senior civil servant, surgeon)
2. intermediate managerial, administrative or professional (e.g. bank manager, teacher)
3. supervisory, clerical, junior managerial (e.g. shop floor supervisor, bank clerk, sales person)
4. skilled manual workers (e.g. electrician, carpenter, grower)
5. semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers (e.g. assembly line worker, refuse collector, labourers)
6. homemaker
7. unemployed

3.6.1.12 Knowledge of standard French (EIV12)

Participants were asked if they were able to speak SF. If the response was in the positive, for example, 'a little' (or an equivalent adverb), then 'yes' was entered. If the response was in the negative, for example, 'hardly any', then 'no' was entered. Responses were coded as follows:

1. yes
2. no

3.6.1.13 Member of a Guernsey French group (EIV13)

Participants were asked if they belonged to, or had ever belonged to, any of the groups which acted in support of the GF language. Responses were coded as follows:

1. yes
2. no

3.6.1.14 Region (EIV14)

Region here refers to Guernsey parish. For participants aged over 85, the parish entered was the one in which they grew up (this always coincided with the mother and/or father's region of origin). For these pre-WW2 children, GF would have been used in the majority of daily communication outside as well as inside the family in the HP area. For participants aged 85 and

under, the parish entered was the one from which their mother came. The reason for this was that, since GF would no longer have been the majority language in use outside the home when these participants were children, the mother, as the most likely primary caregiver, would have had the most influence on the child's acquisition of GF.

Coding of this factor for the 2LLs was decided on a case by case basis. For participant S8, who learnt GF as a second language from his father, the parish entered was the parish from which S8's father came. For participant S12 who was born to British parents and brought up in Great Britain but married a Guernsey woman and settled on the island, the main influence in respect of his GF came from his mother-in-law, so her parish of origin was entered. For participant S41, who again was born to British parents and brought up in Great Britain, married a Guernsey woman and settled on the island, the main influence in respect of his GF came from his wife, so the parish entered was her parish of origin. The parishes were coded as follows:

1. Torteval
2. St Pierre du Bois
3. St Saviours
4. Castel
5. Forest
6. St Andrew
7. St Martin
8. Vale
9. St Sampson
10. St Peter Port

3.6.1.15 Proficiency (EIV15)

Participants were placed on a continuum according to the average relative frequency with which they retained the traditional variants across the following three variables³²: *aver* > *ête* with age, imperfect < > conditional *pouvier*, past historic > imperfect *ête* with *naï*. The subjunctive > indicative variable (DV3) was not included in the proficiency calculation for reasons of collinearity. These rankings are to be taken as a loose indication only since only three variables were used in the measure and data was often missing where the participant had not used the variable. Participants in the final dataset sample were assigned a ranking from 1-16 where 1 represents the most proficient and 16, the least. The three participants who do not have a ranking in the table below did not use any of the three variables.

³² These three variables were selected on the basis that they showed interspeaker variation.

Ref	12	17	38	14	28	42	10	24	43	29	11	35	19	39	30
PR	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Ref	13	16	15	21	36	33	43	23	32	5	31	20	9	27	2
PR	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	9	9

Ref	8	34	37	7	26	18	4	6	1	25	40	22	3
PR	10	11	11	12	13	13	13	13	14	15	16	16	16

Table 3.17 EIV15 Proficiency ranking (PR) of participants

3.6.2 The internal independent factors

Each token was coded for fourteen internal independent factors, including factor IIV7 (trigger) which is the variable context already defined in §3.4.3 above. All but one of the internal independent factors below have been drawn from the literature on the subjunctive in varieties of French. It should be noted that the coding practices set out below are described as they were applied during the extraction and coding process. As such, not all of the codes are relevant to the final dataset of 100 tokens used in the analysis.

3.6.2.1 Grammatical person (IIV1)

1. 1ps
2. 2ps
3. 3ps
4. 1pp
5. 2pp
6. 3pp
7. autchun

If the subject and verb form did not match, the subject as it was intended in the context was entered. A separate code was used if the noun phrase head was *autchun* since Jones (Jones and Esch, 2002) found possible change in progress from plural to singular verb conjugation with this pronoun, reporting 67% of cases of the pronoun occurring with a plural verb and 33%, with a singular.

3.6.2.2 Grammatical subject type (IIV2)

1. noun phrase
2. pronoun
3. existential *there*
4. existential *it*
5. no overt subject

3.6.2.3 Noun phrase head (IIV3)

1. + human +animate
2. – human +animate
3. – human – animate
4. n/a

Code 4 was entered for this factor if the previous factor, IIV2, was code 3, existential ‘there’, or code 4, existential ‘it’. If the noun phrase head was a collective noun, it was classified according to the individuals who make up the collective, for example, code 1 for *les Etats de Guernesî* ‘The States of Guernsey’.

3.6.2.4 Verb (IIV4)

1. *aver*
2. *ête*
3. *(s’en) allair*
4. *vnir*
5. *pouvoir*
6. *devoir*
7. *saver*
8. *faire*
9. *dire*
10. *maette*
11. *voulier*
12. other

This list is made up of: (i) six verbs (*aver, ête, allair, saver, faire, dire,*) which showed more than one token after a subjunctive trigger following an initial review of the data (*s’en allair* is also included because of its close semantic proximity to *allair*); (ii) *maette*, the fifth of only five verbs where the imperfect subjunctive was still likely to be found according to Lukis (1985: 30); (iii) *vnir*, common verb mentioned in Neumann-Holzschuh’s (2005) study of the subjunctive, and (iv) two modals, *pouvoir* (also mentioned by Neumann-Holzschuh, 2005) and *devoir*. All of the verbs listed by Jones (2000, p.189) as “some of the dialect’s most commonly used verbs” are included in this list.

In the two cases of compound tenses in the indicative, the analytic future and *souler* + infinitive, the verb entered was not the auxiliary or *souler*, but the past participle or infinitive respectively. If the token was in the passive, the verb *ête*, and not the past participle, was coded. If the token was a compound tense and the past participle was unclear, but the auxiliary was clearly

indicative, the tense which was grammatically correct for the context was entered but no verb was coded for that token. If the tense was present continuous or past continuous, the verb selected was *ête*.

3.6.2.5 Frequency of verb in data (IIV5)

This is given as a percentage for each verb as it appeared in the data after exceptional distributions and ambiguous contexts were removed. The percentages are as follows:

1. *aver* (14%)
2. *ête* (27%)
3. *(s'en) allair* (9%)
4. *vnir* (2%)
5. *pouvier* (6%)
6. *devier* (0%)
7. *saver* (5%)
8. *faire* (6%)
9. *dire* (10%)
10. *maette* (2%)
11. *voulier* (1%)
12. other (19%)

3.6.2.6 Form (IIV6)

1. suppletive
2. regular

Suppletion here is defined as the replacement of the 3pp present indicative stem with a phonologically different stem to be used in the formation of the present or imperfect subjunctive. A value was entered for all tokens, irrespective of mood or tense. If the tense used was present or future indicative or conditional, then this was treated as a present subjunctive had it been used. If a past indicative tense was used, it was treated as imperfect subjunctive had it been used. There are six verbs listed at IIV4 which are suppletive in the present subjunctive: *aver*, *ête*, *allair*, *saver*, *faire*, *dire*; the remaining five are regular. In the imperfect subjunctive, all eleven verbs are suppletive. If the tense was compound, a value in respect of the main verb, not the auxiliary, was entered. Where no paradigm was available in the literature, coding was based on SF paradigms where possible.

3.6.2.7 Trigger (IIV7)

3. *i' faout qué*
4. *voulier qué*

5. *à mais qué*
7. *dàiqué qué/entertchié qué/jusqu'a tchi qué*
8. *pour qué/à fin qué*
13. *dévànt qué*

These are the six triggers included in the variable context (see §3.4.3 for detailed description) with their coding references.

3.6.2.8 Semantic class of trigger verb (IIV8)³³

1. volitive (*fautrar, voulier, dsirair, dmandair*)
2. emotive (*rgrettair, croindre/aver paeux, oimair, aver haonte*)
3. opinion (*creire/pensair (neg), (se) rsemblair, doutair, i (s')peut, saver*)
4. other
5. n/a

The list above shows how the original list of 25 triggers was classified. A code was selected from 1-4 if the trigger was a verbal main clause to be followed by a subordinate/relative clause, with the exception of triggers 9, *ête* + adjective + *qué* and 14, impersonal expressions. Code 5 was entered for these two exceptions and for adjectival or adverbial clauses, imperatives, interrogatives or independent clauses. It should be noted only codes 1 and 5 were relevant to the six triggers that remained in the final analysis (see §3.6.2.7).

3.6.2.9 Tense of trigger verb (IIV9)

1. present
2. past historic
3. present continuous
4. analytic future
5. synthetic future
6. perfect
7. *souler* + infinitive
8. imperfect
9. past continuous
10. conditional
11. pluperfect
12. conditional perfect

³³ There is debate in the literature as to how semantic categories should be labelled and which verbs belong to which semantic categories. The categories here are based on the widest consensus in the empirical literature. Jones (2000) is a notable exception to this in that she does not classify *fautrar* as volitive. Since she does not carry out a statistical analysis of her data, this does not pose a problem when comparing her findings with those of the present study.

13. n/a

A code was selected from 1-12 for verbal main clauses representing the trigger, to be followed by a subordinate/relative clause, with the exception of interrogatives. Code 13 was entered if the trigger was a conjunction, or if the token was ambiguous.

3.6.2.10 Structure of trigger clause (IIV10)

1. negative
2. affirmative
3. negative interrogative
4. affirmative interrogative
5. negative imperative
6. affirmative imperative
7. n/a

Code 7 was entered if the trigger was a conjunction or an adverb.

3.6.2.11 Relative pronoun (IIV11)

1. overt
2. null
3. n/a

In the case of interrogative adverbs which are (sometimes) spelt with the relative pronoun as a suffix e.g. *tchique*, code 1 was entered. In respect of the conjunction variants *aussi...coum*, *dépis quànd*, and *devànt quànd*, the *coum* and *quànd* were treated as relative pronouns and marked as overt.

3.6.2.12 Modal part of speech in utterance (IIV12)

1. present
2. absent

Modal adverbs and adjectives, for example *peutete*, *possiblle(ment)*, and *probable(ment)*, are defined for the purposes of this study as “indicators of non-factual modality” (Poplack, 1992, p.245). The term ‘utterance’ here is defined as the main and/or subordinate/relative clauses.

3.6.2.13 Distance between trigger (clause) and subordinate/relative clause (IIV13)

1. none
2. 1-2 words
3. 3+ words
4. n/a

‘Distance’ here means the amount of intervening material, in the form of embedded clauses, discourse markers³⁴, false starts, hesitations, and so on (excluding pronouns), between the relative pronoun or conjunction and the subjunctive context, even if the relative pronoun has been repeated immediately preceding the subjunctive context. Code 4 was entered in the case of imperatives and imperative-style 3p clauses.

3.6.2.14 Register (IIV14)

1. individual interview
2. group interview

This constraint is intended to be only a loose indication of register on the basis of level of formality of the interview, with the group interviews being considered generally less formal than the individual interviews. It should be noted that adjustment was made in respect of two participants. S3 was technically a group interview with S4 but, for the most part, S4 was absent from the room looking after their grandchild, so the interview was classified for S3 as individual. S13 was technically an individual interview as her sister, who was also present, did not want to take part, saying that her GF was not good enough, however, she made a quite a large contribution to the interview as a whole, prompting S13 frequently in GF, so this was classified as a group interview.

3.7 Analysis

The first part of this section provides a summary of how the spoken data were prepared for analysis and the second part gives a detailed account of the way in which analysis of the final dataset was carried out.

3.7.1 Preparation of the data

Preparation for analysis involved, first, extracting all tokens of the variable, within their contexts, from *ELAN 3.9.0* into a *Microsoft Excel 2007* spreadsheet according to the principle of accountability³⁵. A total of 569 tokens were extracted. Each token was highlighted in bold within its context and, where the variant was in the subjunctive mood, the token was represented in *IPA* phonetic transcription and the transcription word reference number was noted³⁶. Tokens to be excluded from analysis (see §3.4.3) were removed. Each remaining token was then coded for external (see §3.6.1) and internal (see §3.6.2) independent factors and the final dataset of 100 tokens and 32 participants was ready for analysis.

³⁴ Although few discourse markers were transcribed during the transcribing stage, each of the 100 contexts used for analysis was analysed for intervening material including discourse markers.

³⁵ The principle of accountability means that, where it has been possible to close the set of variants, all occurrences and all non-occurrences of a variant must be counted.

³⁶ Where transcription references were not available, the *ELAN* time-aligned reference was given.

3.7.2 Procedure of statistical analysis

The procedure for analysis was as follows: first, distributional analyses were carried out on the dependent variable in order to assess the distribution of the data for external and internal independent factors and second, multivariate analyses were carried out to determine the internal and external constraints acting on the dependent variable.

For the analysis of the external independent factors in relation to use of the subjunctive, Spearman Rank Order Correlation, Kruskal-Wallis, Mann-Whitney U and Standard Multiple Regression tests were used. For the analysis of the internal independent factors in relation to mood choice, Pearson Chi-square and Logistic Regression tests were used. In order to carry out these latter two tests, it was necessary to exclude some of the factors and to collapse some of the remaining factor categories in order that the data should meet the requirements of the tests. It is recommended that frequency in each of the four cells of a 2 x 2 table should be at least 10 and, for tables larger than 2 x 2, “the rule is that all expected counts should be greater than 1 and no more than 20% of expected counts should be less than 5” (Field, 2009, p.695). The Pearson Chi-square tests and Logistic Regression analysis were carried out using the factors as shown in the right hand column in the table below:

Ref	Factor categories ³⁷	Factors/categories used in the Pearson Chi-square and Logistic Regression analyses
IIV1	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1ps 2. 2ps 3. 3ps 4. 1pp 5. 2pp 6. 3pp 7. autchun 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1ps 2. 2ps + 1pp³⁸ 3. 3ps 4. 3pp + autchun³⁹ <p>note: there were no tokens for 2pp</p>
IIV2	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. noun phrase 2. pronoun 3. existential <i>there</i> 4. existential <i>it</i> 5. no overt subject 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. noun phrase/pronoun 2. existential <i>there/it</i>, no overt subject

³⁷ A full description of the internal independent factors is given in §3.6.2.

³⁸ Neither of these two pronouns met the requirements of the tests individually. They were collased together because they were the only two with majority subjunctive mood choice.

³⁹ *Autchun* was collapsed with its historically original agreement, 3pp, for the Chi-square and Logistic Regression analyses.

IIV3	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. + human +animate 2. – human +animate 3. – human – animate 4. n/a 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. + human 2. – human <p>note: n/a was excluded</p>
IIV4	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>aver</i> 2. <i>ête</i> 3. <i>(s'en) allair</i> 4. <i>vnir</i> 5. <i>pouvier</i> 6. <i>devier</i> 7. <i>saver</i> 8. <i>faire</i> 9. <i>dire</i> 10. <i>maette</i> 11. <i>voulier</i> 12. other 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. other 2. <i>ête</i> 3. <i>(s'en) allair</i>
IIV5	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>aver</i> (14%) 2. <i>ête</i> (27%) 3. <i>(s'en) allair</i> (9%) 4. <i>vnir</i> (2%) 5. <i>pouvier</i> (6%) 6. <i>devier</i> (0%) 7. <i>saver</i> (5%) 8. <i>faire</i> (6%) 9. <i>dire</i> (10%) 10. <i>maette</i> (2%) 11. <i>voulier</i> (1%) 12. other (19%) 	<p>IIV5 was removed as no longer relevant because 'other' in IIV4 subsumed so many verbs.</p>
IIV6	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. suppletive 2. regular 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. suppletive 2. regular
IIV7	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. <i>l' faout qué</i> ('It is necessary that') 4. <i>Voulier qué</i> ('to want to') 5. <i>à mais qué</i> ('when') 7. <i>dànqué/entertchié qué/jusqu'a tchi qué</i> ('until') 8. <i>pour qué/à fin qué</i> ('in order that') 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. <i>l' faout qué</i> ('It is necessary that') 4. <i>Voulier qué</i> ('to want to') 5. <i>à mais qué</i> ('when'), <i>pour qué/à fin qué</i> ('in order that') 7. <i>dànqué/entertchié qué/jusqu'a tchi qué</i> ('until')

	13. <i>dévànt qué</i> ('before')	13. <i>dévànt qué</i> ('before')
IIV8	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. volitive (<i>fautrar, voulier, dsirair, dmandair</i>) 2. emotive (<i>rgrettair, croindre/aver paeux, oimaïr, aver haonte</i>) 3. opinion (<i>creire/pensair</i> (neg), (<i>se</i>) <i>rsemblair, doutair, i (s')peut, saver</i>) 4. other 5. n/a 	IIV8 was removed as only 'volitive' and 'n/a' categories remained.
IIV9	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. present 2. past historic 3. present continuous 4. analytic future 5. synthetic future 6. perfect 7. <i>souler</i> + infinitive 8. imperfect 9. past continuous 10. conditional 11. pluperfect 12. conditional perfect 13. n/a 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. present 2. synthetic future, perfect, conditional 3. imperfect <p>note: there were no tokens of past historic, present continuous, analytic future, <i>souler</i> + infinitive, past continuous, pluperfect or conditional perfect</p> <p>note: n/a was excluded as it applied to nonverbal triggers and was therefore irrelevant in respect of testing trigger tense</p>
IIV10	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. negative 2. affirmative 3. negative interrogative 4. affirmative interrogative 5. negative imperative 6. affirmative imperative 7. n/a 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. negative 2. affirmative <p>note: n/a was excluded as it applied to nonverbal triggers and was therefore irrelevant in respect of testing structure</p>
IIV11	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. overt 2. null 3. n/a 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. overt 2. null <p>note: there were no tokens for n/a</p>
IIV12	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. present 2. absent 	IIV12 was removed as the 'present' category did not meet the requirements of the test.

IIV13	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. none 2. 1-2 words 3. 3+ words 4. n/a 	IIV13 was removed as the '1-2 words' and the '3+ words' categories did not meet the requirements of the test, either individually or collapsed.
IIV14	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. individual interview 2. group interview 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. individual interview 2. group interview

Table 3.18 Factors/categories used in the Pearson Chi-square and Logistic Regression analyses

The issue of orthogonality

In the field of statistics, orthogonal means 'independent'. If factors in a study are orthogonal, it means that they are not related or correlated in any way and, consequently, any constraint that is found will have a constant force "regardless of what other constraints might be in the same environment" (Poplack, 2012, p.133). Generally, internal and external factors are found to be orthogonal in variationist studies. Poplack (1997), however, found that the *falloir* trigger was a confounding factor in the analysis of her external factors owing to the extreme nature of its distribution. It accounted for 62% of triggers in her data and generated the subjunctive 89% of the time. Distribution of the *i' faout qué* trigger in the present study was not extreme, but it did occur more frequently (45%) and generate the subjunctive more frequently (64%) than other triggers in the data (see Appendix K). Preliminary checks were made, therefore, to determine whether trigger might be a confounding factor. Trigger was crosstabulated with each of the EIVs and the results showed an imbalance of triggers across the categories in some factors. Spearman Rank Order correlation analyses were then carried out on an '*i' faout qué* only' dataset and on a dataset containing 'all the triggers except *i' faout qué*' to examine the relationship between the dependent variable, DV3 (see §4.2), and the EIVs. The results are shown below with ticks indicating a statistically significant correlation between the EIV and the DV3 dataset and crosses indicating a non-significant result:

CODE	EXTERNAL FACTOR	<i>i' faout qué</i> dataset	all the triggers except <i>i' faout qué</i> dataset
EIV1	age	x	✓
EIV2	age group	x	✓
EIV3	frequency of use as a child	x	✓
EIV4	frequency of use now	x	✓
EIV5	variety of use as a child	x	x
EIV6	variety of use now	x	x
EIV7	evacuated	x	x
EIV8	language acquisition	x	x
EIV9	sex	✓	x
EIV10	education	x	x
EIV11	socioeconomic status	x	x

EIV12	knowledge of SF	x	x
EIV13	member of a GF group	x	x
EIV14	region	x	x
EIV15	proficiency	x	✓

Table 3.19 Results showing external factors for which trigger is a potential confounding factor

Since trigger was found not to be a confounding factor for the majority of factors and because token numbers are low (N = 100) and sample size is fairly small, it was decided not to analyse the *i' faout qué* trigger separately. The results above will, however, be taken into consideration when discussing results for EIVs 1, 2, 3, 4, 9 and 15 in Chapter 5.

4 Results

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, results will be set out according to the first two of the three research questions given at the close of Chapter 2:

1. What are the external (social) constraints on mood choice in GF?
2. What are the internal (linguistic) constraints on mood choice in GF?

This short introduction is followed by section 4.2 which outlines the way in which the dependent variable was defined and deployed in the statistical tests. Section 4.3 presents a summary of the distribution of the dependent variable and other points of note in respect of the linguistic factors. Section 4.4 presents the results of the analyses of the EIVs in relation to participants' relative frequency of use of the subjunctive (DV3). Section 4.5 presents the results of the analysis of the IIVs in relation to mood choice (DV1). Section 4.6 reports on the results of the regression analysis of all the EIVs and IIVs together, which was carried out to determine the best predictor(s) overall of mood choice in GF. Finally, section 4.7 presents a summary of the results.

4.2 Preparing the dependent variable for statistical analysis

In order to answer the two research questions above, it was necessary to define the dependent variable, mood choice, in three different ways:

- a) DV1 has two variants, subjunctive and indicative mood
- b) DV2 has seventeen variants¹
 1. present
 2. past historic
 3. present continuous
 4. analytic future
 5. synthetic future
 6. perfect
 7. *souler* + infinitive²
 8. imperfect
 9. past continuous
 10. conditional
 11. pluperfect

¹ If the token was a compound tense and the past participle was unclear, but the auxiliary was clearly indicative, the tense entered was the one that was grammatically correct for the context. If the token was clearly indicative but the tense was ambiguous or unclear, code 17 was entered.

² The GF verb *souler* in the imperfect (+ infinitive) means *used to* (+infinitive)

12. conditional perfect
13. present subjunctive
14. imperfect subjunctive
15. perfect subjunctive
16. pluperfect subjunctive
17. ambiguous/unclear indicative

c) DV3 is the relative frequency with which each participant produced the subjunctive in their data.

Ref	25	1	7	4	2	3	8	35	36	11	15	39	16	17	12	33
DV3 %	100	0	0	0	100	0	14	100	25	33	0	100	0	100	50	33
N	2	5	3	1	1	2	7	1	4	3	1	1	6	1	2	6

Ref	40	23	9	31	37	38	34	30	13	5	19	43	42	28	29	14
DV3 %	100	50	100	38	0	0	0	100	0	0	100	67	100	100	75	100
N	2	6	5	8	1	1	3	2	1	5	2	3	2	2	8	3

Table 4.1 DV3 scores and number of tokens (N) produced for each participant

DV1 was used in the statistical tests of the internal independent factors (IIVs 1-14). DV2 was used to provide additional insight into the dependent variable. DV3 was used in the analyses of the external independent factors (EIVs 1-15).

4.3 Distribution

This section provides a summary of the main points of interest in relation to distribution. Full details are available in the distribution tables in Appendices N and P.

Mood choice is distributed across the dataset as follows:

	Subjunctive cases	Indicative cases	Total cases
N	44	56	100
%	44	56	

Table 4.2 Overall distribution of mood choice

Distribution of the six triggers in the data is shown in the table below:

Trigger	N	%
<i>i' faout qué</i>	45	45
<i>dévànt qué</i>	19	19
<i>voulier qué</i>	17	17
<i>dànqué/entertchié qué/jusqu'a tchi qué</i>	12	12
<i>pour qué/afin qué</i>	5	5
<i>à mais qué</i>	2	2
	100	

Table 4.3 Distribution of subjunctive-generating triggers in the data

The table below shows how frequently each of the six triggers generated the subjunctive:

Trigger	N subjunctive cases	%
<i>i' faout qué</i>	29	64
<i>à mais qué</i>	1	50
<i>voulier qué</i>	7	41
<i>pour qué/afin qué</i>	2	40
<i>dànqué/entertchié qué/jusqu'a tchi qué</i>	2	17
<i>dévànt qué</i>	3	16
	44	

Table 4.4 Frequency of subjunctive for each trigger

The seven tenses which do not appear after any of the fourteen triggers are present continuous, perfect, past continuous, *souler* + infinitive, conditional perfect, perfect subjunctive and pluperfect subjunctive. Distribution of the remaining ten tenses that do appear after the triggers is as follows:

Tense	N	%
present subjunctive	30	30
imperfect	23	23
imperfect subjunctive	14	14
present	13	13
past historic	11	11
conditional	4	4
ambiguous/unclear indicative	2	2
synthetic future	1	1

pluperfect	1	1
analytic future	1	1
	100	

Table 4.5 Distribution of embedded tenses

The sequence of tenses from verbal trigger to embedded clause was:

Trigger tense	Embedded tense	N	%	Total N
present	present subjunctive	23	66	35
	present	9	26	
	analytic future, imperfect, imperfect subjunctive	1	3	
	past historic, synthetic future, conditional, pluperfect, ambiguous/unclear indicative	0	0	
imperfect	imperfect subjunctive	8	50	16
	imperfect, present subjunctive	3	19	
	present, conditional	1	6	
	past historic, analytic future, synthetic future, pluperfect, ambiguous/unclear indicative	0	0	
conditional	conditional	3	38	8
	imperfect, ambiguous/unclear indicative	2	25	
	synthetic future	1	13	
	present, past historic, analytic future, pluperfect, present subjunctive, imperfect subjunctive	0	0	
synthetic future	past historic, present subjunctive	1	50	2
	present, analytic future, synthetic future, imperfect, conditional, pluperfect, imperfect subjunctive, ambiguous/unclear indicative	0	0	
perfect	past historic	1	100	1
	present, analytic future, synthetic future, imperfect, conditional, pluperfect, present subjunctive, imperfect subjunctive, ambiguous/unclear indicative	0	0	
				62

Table 4.6 Sequence of tenses from verbal triggers to embedded clauses

Tenses occurring after nonverbal triggers were:

Embedded tense	N	%	Total N
imperfect	17	45	38
past historic	9	24	
imperfect subjunctive	5	13	
present, present subjunctive	3	8	
pluperfect	1	3	
analytic future, synthetic future, conditional, ambiguous/unclear	0	0	
indicative			

Table 4.7 Tenses following nonverbal triggers

4.4 What are the external (social) constraints on mood choice in GF?

This section examines whether there are any external constraints on use of the subjunctive in GF. The external independent factors are:

EIV1	age
EIV2	age group
EIV3	frequency of use of GF as a child
EIV4	frequency of use of GF now
EIV5	variety of use of GF as a child
EIV6	variety of use of GF now
EIV7	evacuated during WW2
EIV8	language acquisition
EIV9	sex
EIV10	education
EIV11	socioeconomic status
EIV12	knowledge of SF
EIV13	member of a GF group
EIV14	region
EIV15	grammatical proficiency

Table 4.8 External independent factors with codes

The statistical hypotheses for investigating whether the external factors were a constraint on participants' use of the subjunctive (DV3) were as follows:

- EIV1
 - H_0 There is no relationship between a participant's age and their use of the subjunctive
 - H_1 There is a relationship between a participant's age and their use of the subjunctive

- EIV2
 - H_0 There is no relationship between a participant's age group and their use of the subjunctive
 - H_1 There is a relationship between a participant's age group and their use of the subjunctive
- EIV3
 - H_0 There is no relationship between a participant's frequency of use of GF as a child and their use of the subjunctive
 - H_1 There is a relationship between a participant's frequency of use of GF as a child and their use of the subjunctive
- EIV4
 - H_0 There is no relationship between a participant's frequency of use of GF 'now' and their use of the subjunctive
 - H_1 There is a relationship between a participant's frequency of use of GF 'now' and their use of the subjunctive
- EIV5
 - H_0 There is no relationship between a participant's variety of use of GF as a child and their use of the subjunctive
 - H_1 There is a relationship between a participant's variety of use of GF as a child and their use of the subjunctive
- EIV6
 - H_0 There is no relationship between a participant's variety of use of GF 'now' and their use of the subjunctive
 - H_1 There is a relationship between a participant's variety of use of GF 'now' and their use of the subjunctive
- EIV7
 - H_0 There is no difference in use of the subjunctive between those who were evacuated as children during WW2 and those who were not
 - H_1 There is a difference in use of the subjunctive between those who were evacuated as children during WW2 and those who were not
- EIV8
 - H_0 There is no difference in use of the subjunctive between those who learnt GF as a first language and those who learnt it as a second language
 - H_1 There is a difference in use of the subjunctive between those who learnt GF as a first language and those who learnt it as a second language

- EIV9
 - H_0 There is no difference in use of the subjunctive between males and females
 - H_1 There is a difference in use of the subjunctive between males and females
- EIV10
 - H_0 There is no relationship between a participant's level of education and their use of the subjunctive
 - H_1 There is a relationship between a participant's level of education and their use of the subjunctive
- EIV11
 - H_0 There is no relationship between a participant's socioeconomic status and their use of the subjunctive
 - H_1 There is a relationship between a participant's socioeconomic status and their use of the subjunctive
- EIV12
 - H_0 There is no relationship between a participant's knowledge of SF and their use of the subjunctive
 - H_1 There is a relationship between a participant's knowledge of SF and their use of the subjunctive
- EIV13
 - H_0 There is no difference in use of the subjunctive between participants who are members of a GF group (either now or in the past) and those who are not
 - H_1 There is a difference in use of the subjunctive between participants who are members of a GF group (either now or in the past) and those who are not
- EIV14
 - H_0 There is no relationship between the regional linguistic influence a participant had during language acquisition and their use of the subjunctive
 - H_1 There is a relationship between the regional linguistic influence a participant had during language acquisition and their use of the subjunctive
- EIV15
 - H_0 There is no relationship between a participant's grammatical proficiency and their use of the subjunctive
 - H_1 There is a relationship between a participant's grammatical proficiency and their use of the subjunctive

One of the assumptions of parametric correlation and multiple regression tests is that the distribution of the dependent variable is normal i.e. that most cases occur around the middle of the graph with increasingly fewer towards the extremes. This type of distribution makes a bell-

shaped curve. DV3 was assessed for normality of distribution across the whole sample (see Appendix M). The results showed that the median relative frequency of use of the subjunctive (DV3) for the sample is 44% and the mean is 49.53% with a standard deviation of 44.377%. They also showed that there are no outliers in the sample. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov result was significant and therefore distribution is not normal. The non-parametric tests, Spearman Rank Order, Mann-Whitney U and Kruskal-Wallis, were therefore used for the analyses in §§4.4.1 - 4.4.15 below. Checks were made to ensure the data met the assumptions of these three tests.

4.4.1 Age (EIV1) x DV3

A Spearman Rank Order correlation analysis was carried out to examine the relationship between the external independent factor age (EIV1) and the dependent variable, use of the subjunctive (DV3), and to determine whether there was change in progress in use of the subjunctive among the sample. The results showed no significant correlation between the two, $\rho = .229$, $n = 32$, $p = .207$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. The percentage of shared variance calculated from the rho value was low at 5.24%; in other words, age helps to explain only 5.24% of the variance in participants' relative frequency scores.

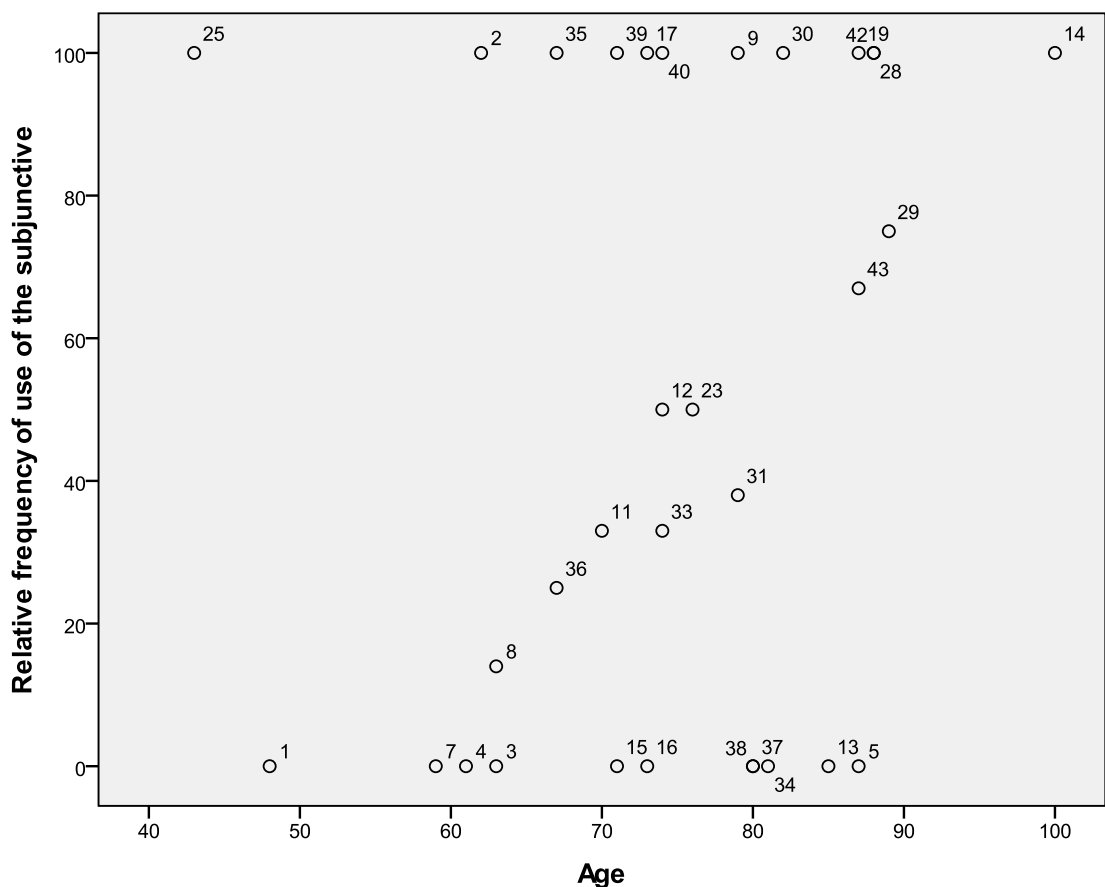


Figure 4.1 Scatterplot showing EIV1 x DV3

Each circle in the scatterplot above represents one participant with their reference number given adjacent to it. In some cases, there is a darker circle representing more than one participant with the respective numbers given beside it. While they are not outliers, S2 and S25

are atypical in that their DV3 scores are over 85% removed from their nearest age cohort. A Spearman Rank Order correlation analysis was repeated on the same dataset with S2 and S25 removed. There was a medium, positive correlation between the two, $\rho = .381$, $n = 30$, $p = .038$, with age helping to explain 14.5% of the variance in participants' use of the subjunctive. There was sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis for this reduced dataset.

4.4.2 Age group (EIV2) x DV3

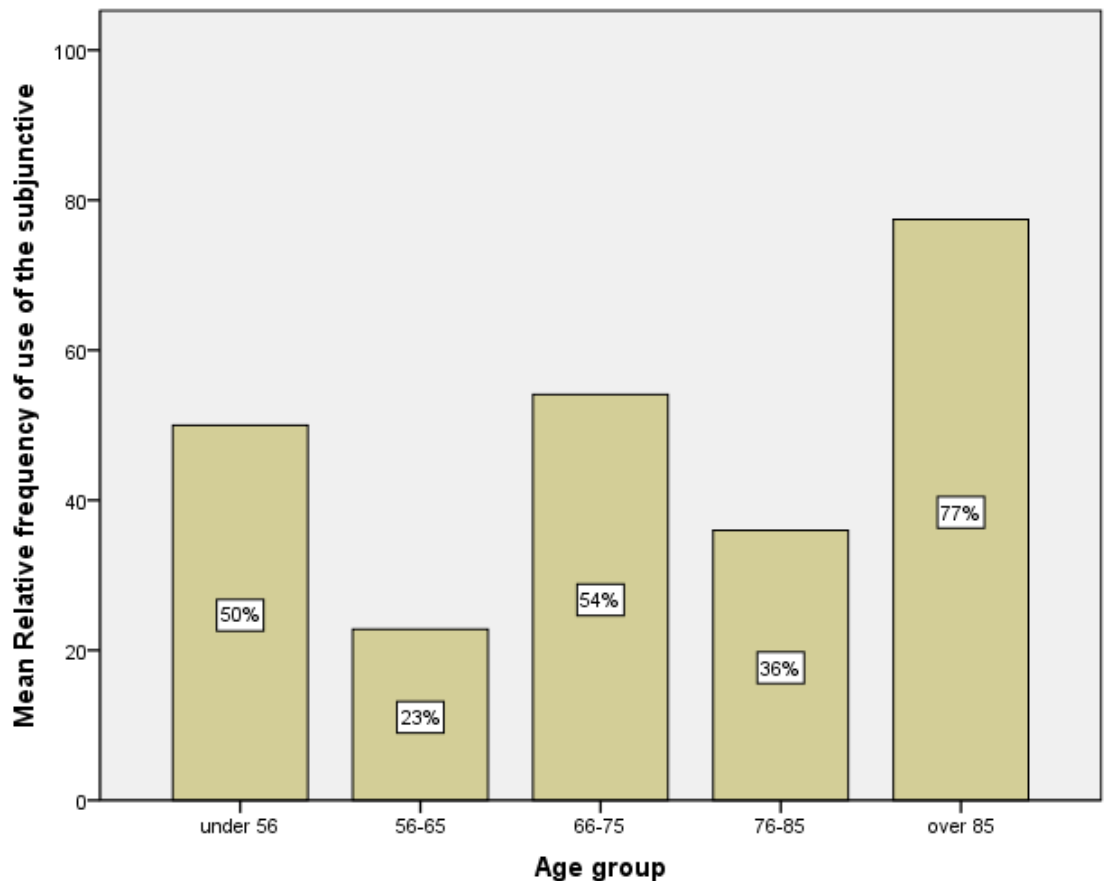


Figure 4.2 Bar chart showing EIV2 x DV3

A Spearman Rank Order correlation analysis was carried out to examine the relationship between EIV2 and DV3 in order to determine whether there was generational change in use of the subjunctive across the age groups in the sample. The results showed no significant correlation between the two, $\rho = .235$, $n = 32$, $p = .195$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. The percentage of shared variance calculated from the rho value was low again at 5.5%.

4.4.3 Frequency of use of GF as a child (EIV3) x DV3

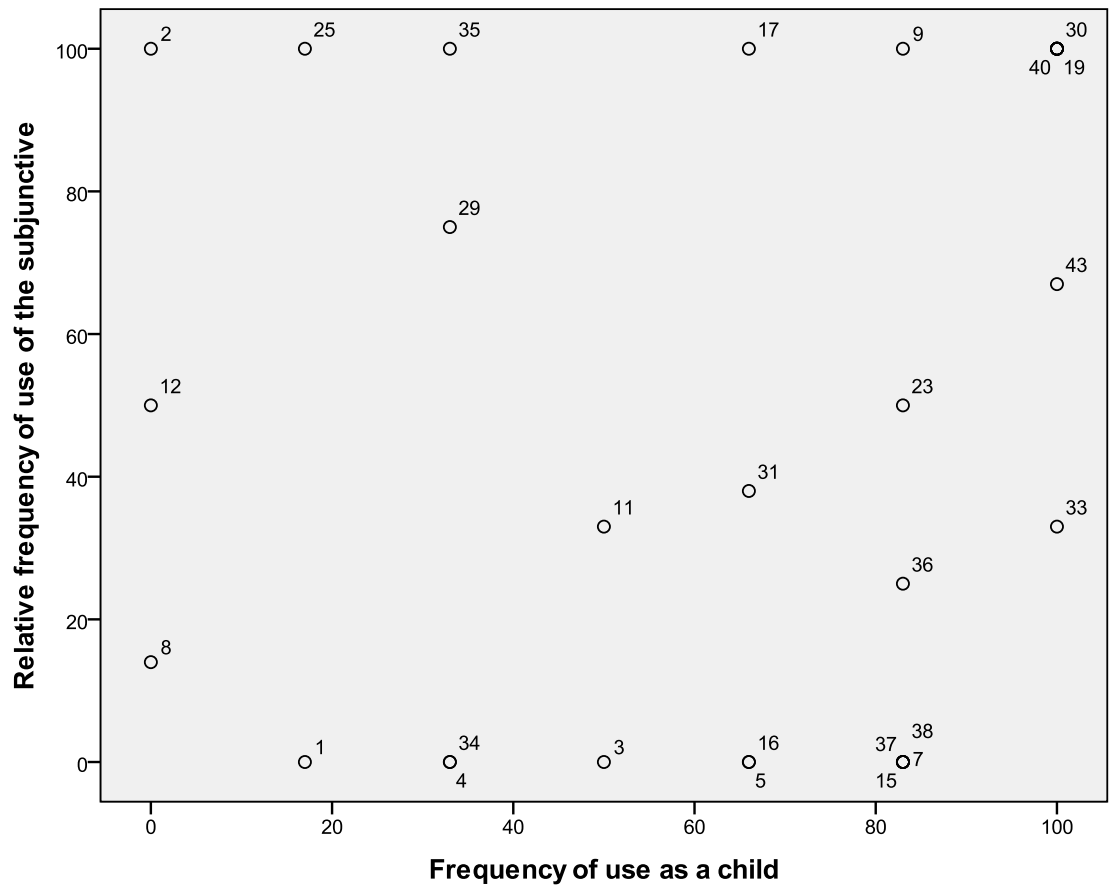


Figure 4.3 Scatterplot showing EIV3 x DV3

A Spearman Rank Order correlation analysis was carried out to examine the relationship between EIV3 and DV3. There was no significant correlation between the two, $\rho = .301$, $n = 32$, $p = .094$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis. The percentage of shared variance calculated from the rho value was low at 9%.

4.4.4 Frequency of use of GF 'now' (EIV4) x DV3

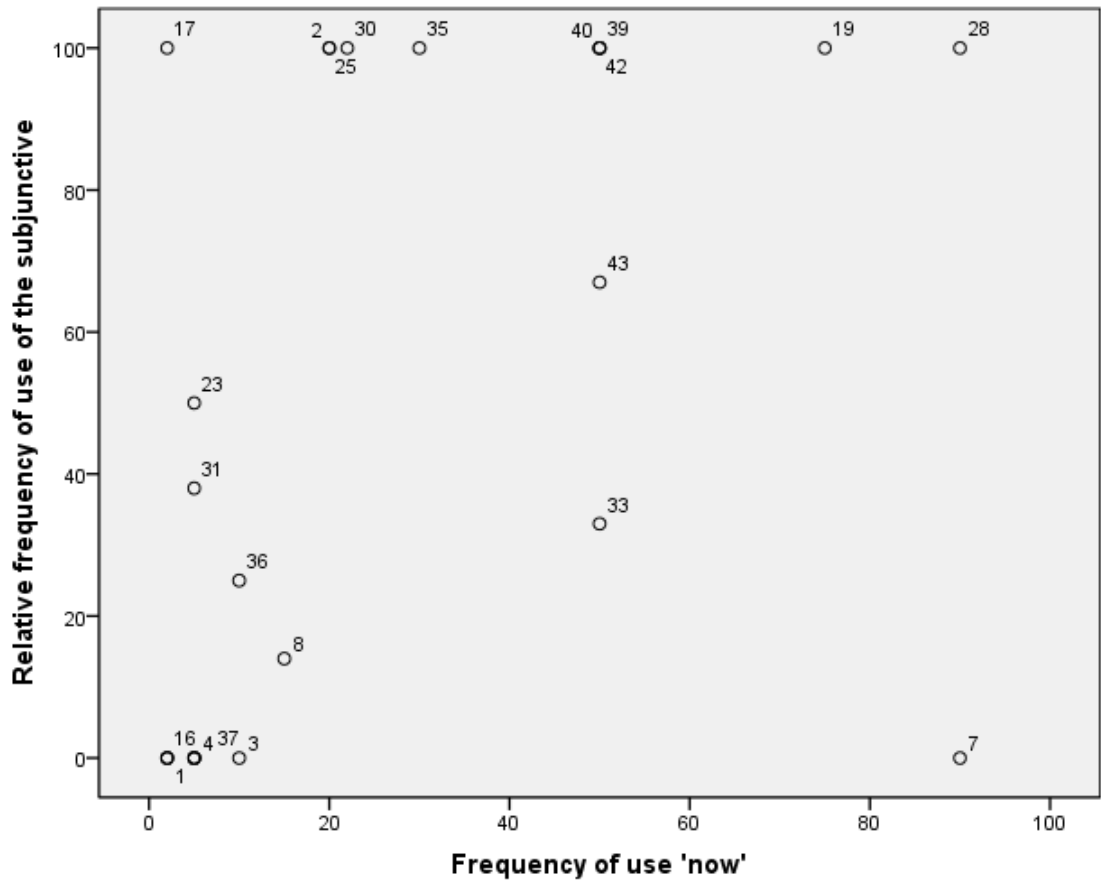


Figure 4.4 Scatterplot showing EIV4 x DV3

A Spearman Rank Order correlation analysis was carried out to examine the relationship between EIV4 and DV3. There was a large, positive correlation between the two, $\rho = .551$, $n = 25$, $p = .004$, with frequency of use of GF 'now' helping to explain 30.4% of the variance in participants' use of the subjunctive. There was sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

4.4.5 Variety of use of GF as a child (EIV5) x DV3

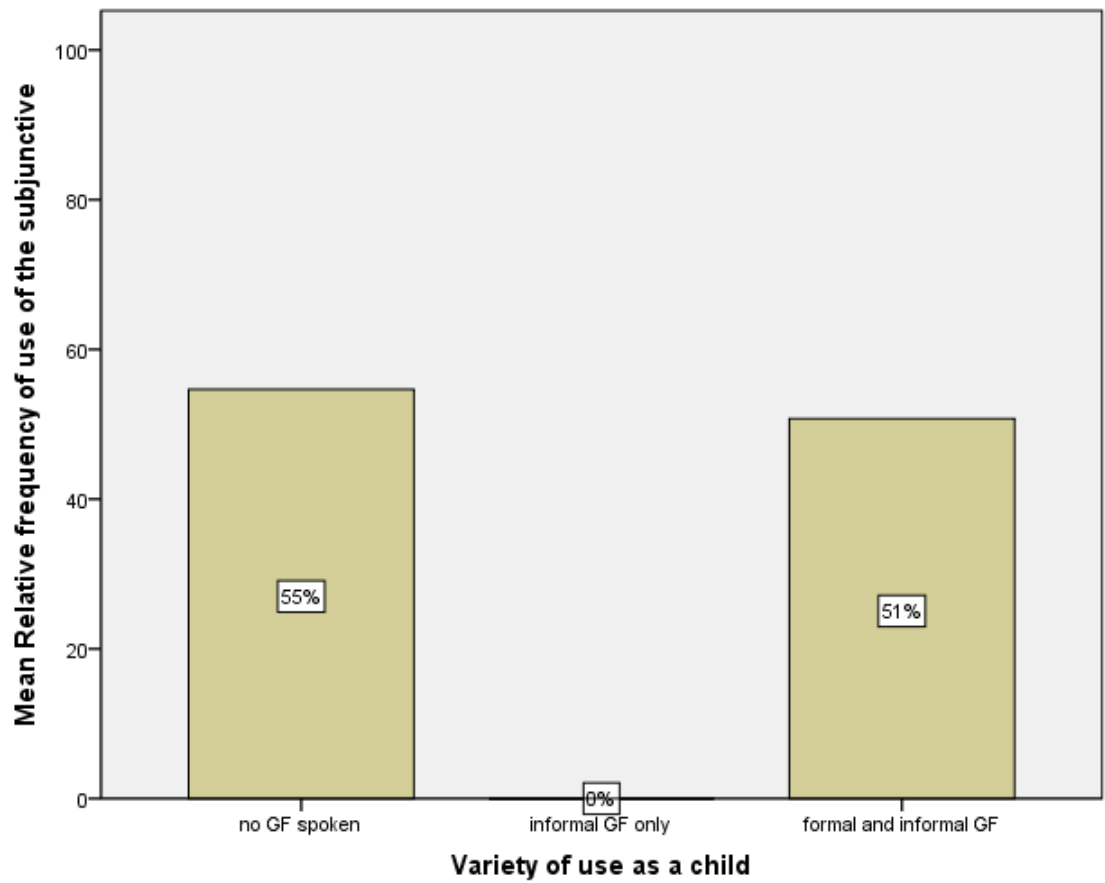


Figure 4.5 Bar chart showing EIV5 x DV3

A Spearman Rank Order correlation analysis was carried out to examine the relationship between EIV5 and DV3. There was no significant correlation between the two, $\rho = .030$, $n = 32$, $p = .870$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

4.4.6 Variety of use of GF 'now' (EIV6) x DV3

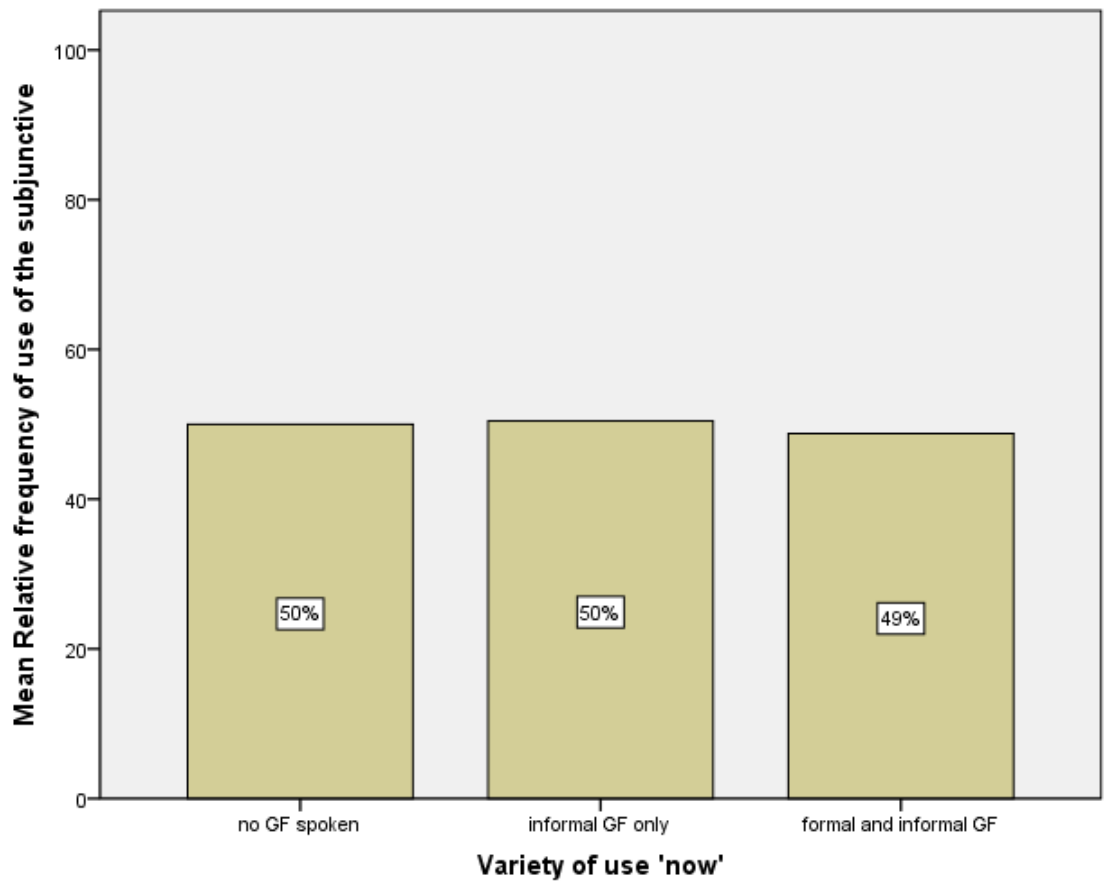


Figure 4.6 Bar chart showing EIV6 x DV3

A Spearman Rank Order correlation analysis was carried out to examine the relationship between EIV6 and DV3. There was no significant correlation between the two, $\rho = .011$, $n = 32$, $p = .951$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

4.4.7 Evacuation (EIV7) x DV3

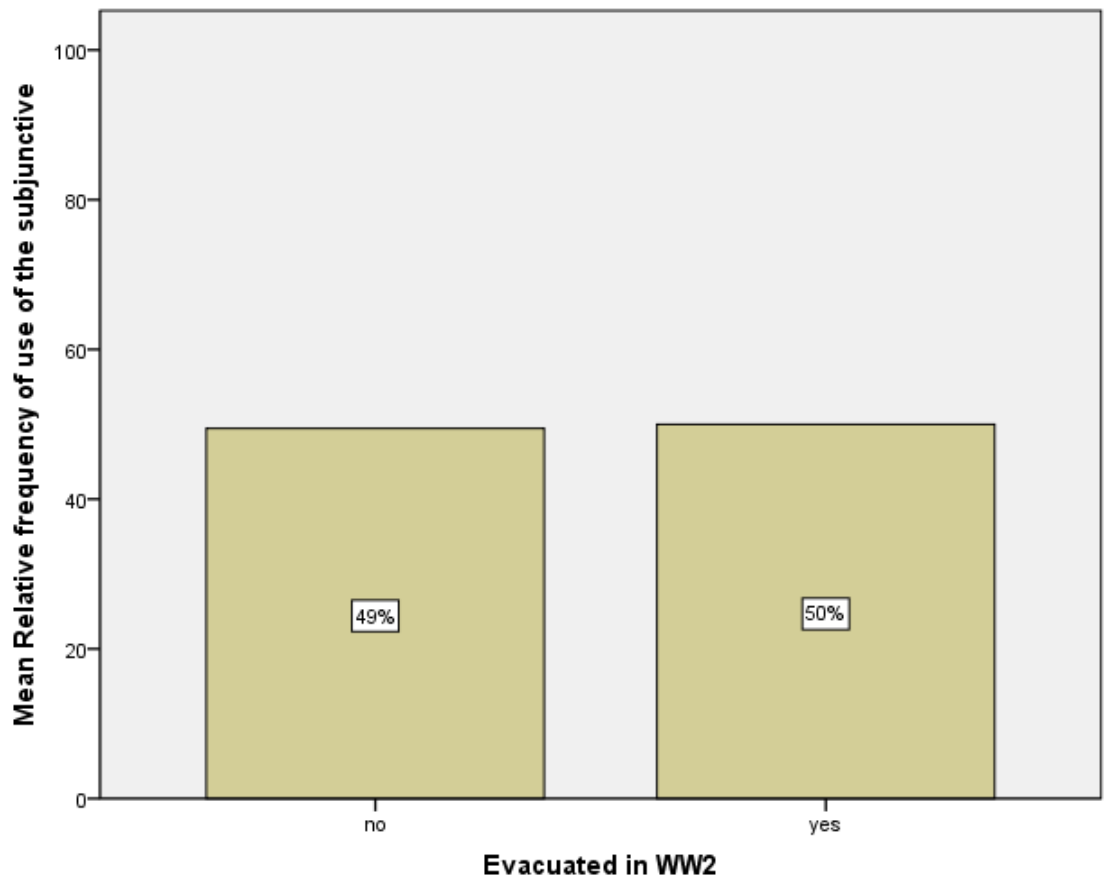


Figure 4.7 Bar chart showing EIV7 x DV3 (for whole sample)

A Mann-Whitney U test revealed no significant difference in use of the subjunctive of those who were evacuated during WW2 ($Md = 50$, $n = 4$) and those who were not ($Md = 44$, $n = 28$), $U = 55$, $z = -.060$, $p = .952$, $r = .01$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

When this test was repeated for the 76-85 age group only, which contained three of the four participants who been evacuated during WW2, the results were still not significant: $z = -.320$, $n = 8$, $p = .749$.

4.4.8 Language acquisition (EIV8) x DV3

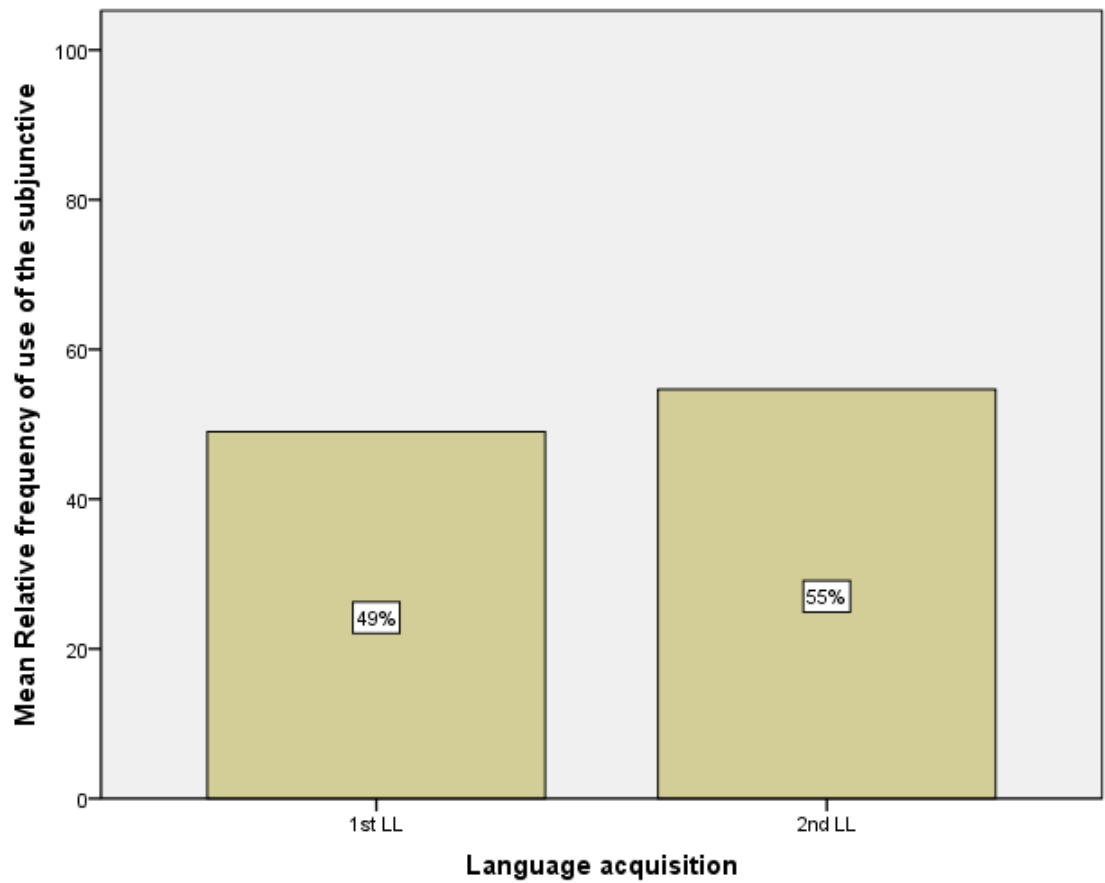


Figure 4.8 Bar chart showing EIV8 x DV3

A Mann-Whitney U test revealed no significant difference in the use of the subjunctive of those who spoke GF as a child ($Md = 38$, $n = 29$) and those who did not ($Md = 50$, $n = 3$), $U = 37$, $z = -.441$, $p = .659$, $r = .08$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

4.4.9 Sex (EIV9) x DV3

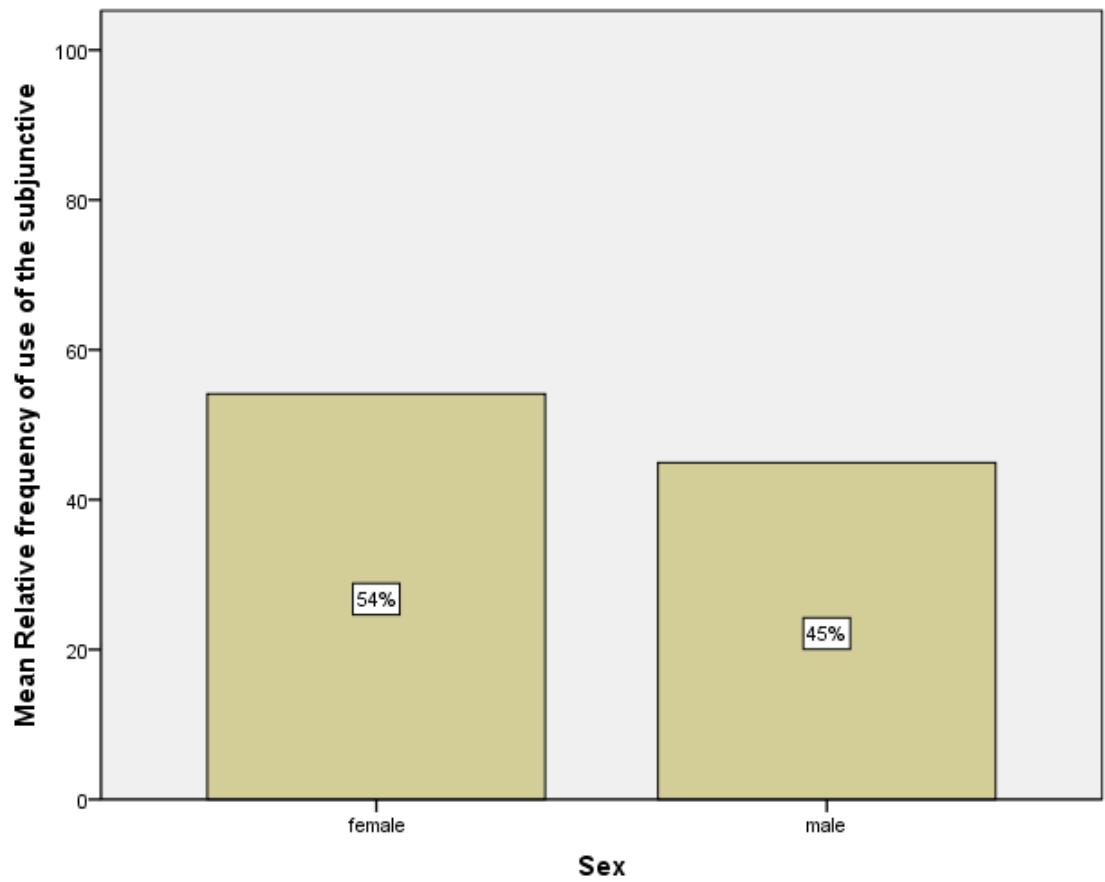


Figure 4.9 Bar chart showing EIV9 x DV3

A Mann-Whitney U test revealed no significant difference in the use of the subjunctive of males ($Md = 44$, $n = 16$) and females ($Md = 66.5$, $n = 16$), $U = 115$, $z = -.514$, $p = .607$, $r = .09$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

4.4.10 Education (EIV10) x DV3

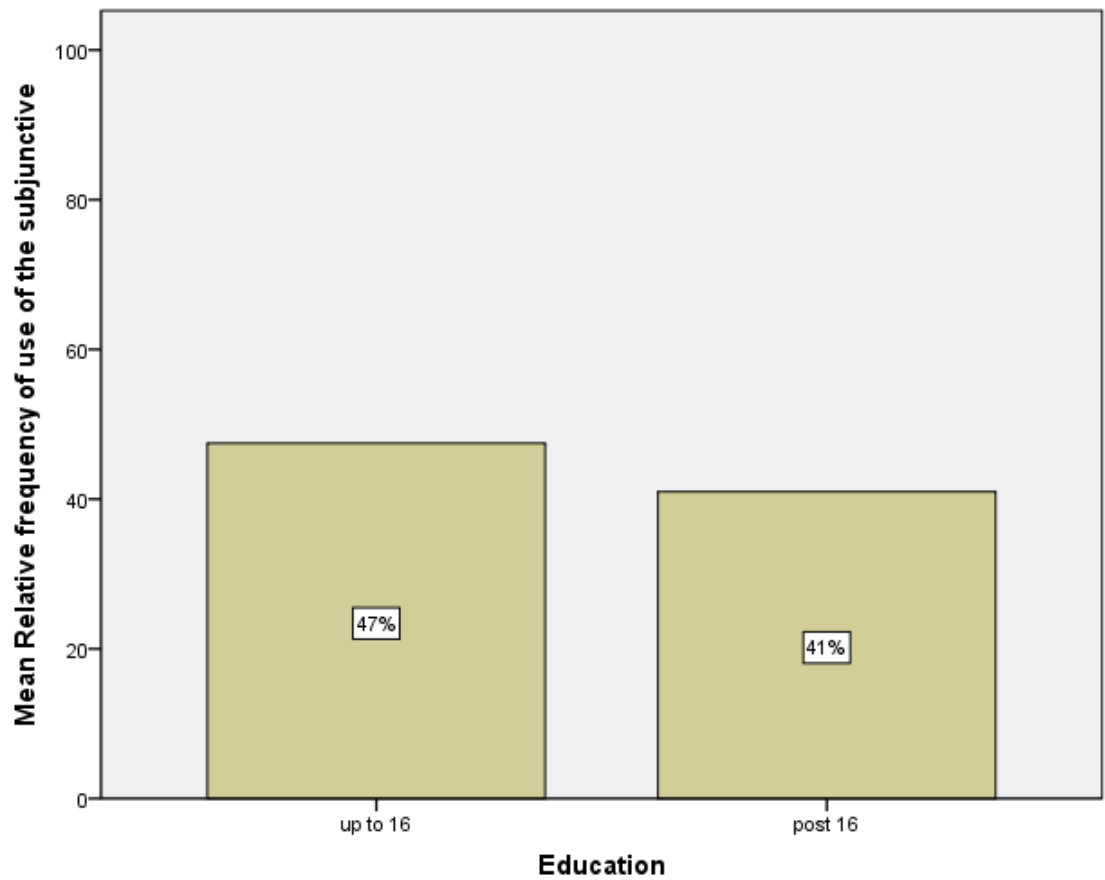


Figure 4.10 Bar chart showing EIV10 x DV3

A Mann-Whitney U test revealed no significant difference in the use of the subjunctive of those whose education finished at 16 or before ($Md = 41.5$, $n = 24$) and those who continued their education beyond the age of 16 ($Md = 35.5$, $n = 6$), $U = 71.5$, $z = -.027$, $p = .978$, $r = .005$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

4.4.11 Socioeconomic status (EIV11) x DV3

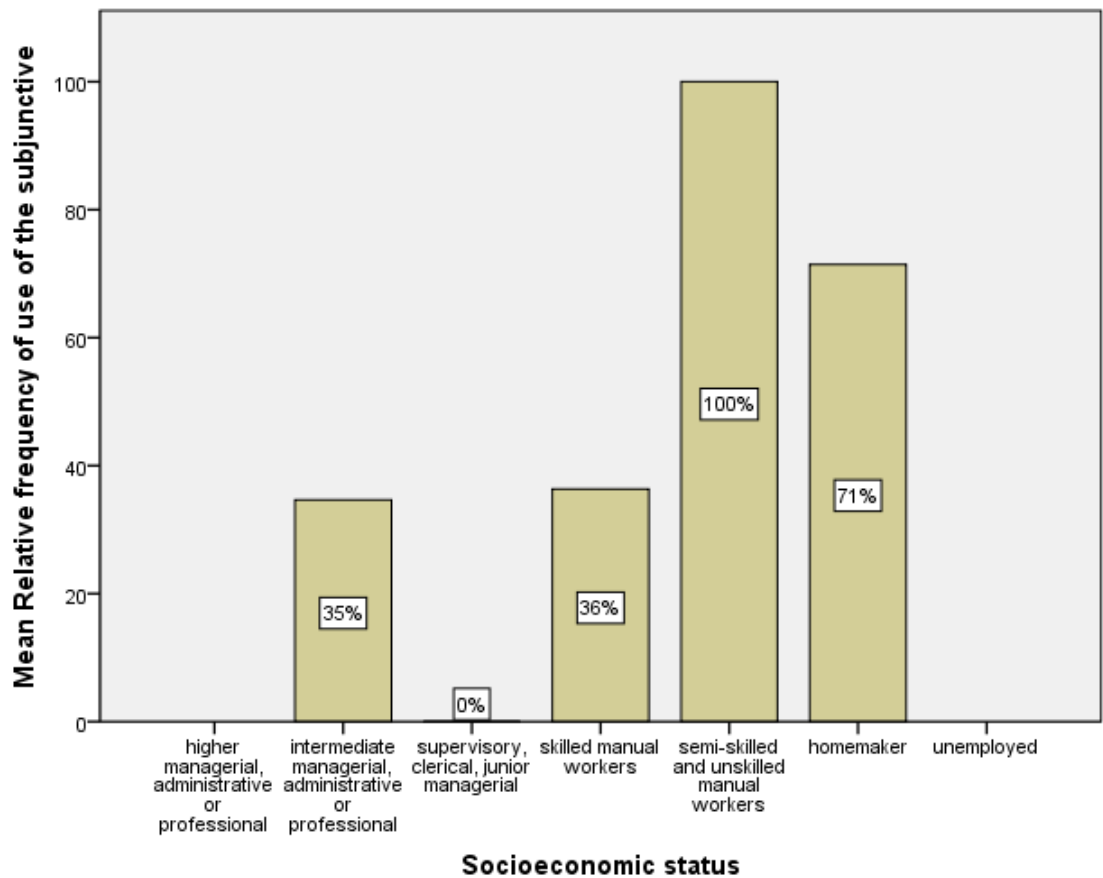


Figure 4.11 Bar chart showing EIV11 x DV3

A Kruskal-Wallis Test revealed no statistically significant difference in use of the subjunctive across the five of the seven socioeconomic levels represented (Gp 1, n = 0: higher managerial etc., Gp 2, n = 6: intermediate managerial etc., Gp 3, n = 3: supervisory etc., Gp 4, n = 9: skilled manual workers, Gp5, n = 1: semi- and unskilled manual workers, Gp 6, n = 7: homemaker, Gp 7, n = 0: unemployed), $\chi^2(4, n = 26) = 7.59, p = .108$. Homemakers and semi- and unskilled manual workers recorded the highest median scores (Md = 100) while skilled manual workers recorded a median value of 33 and intermediate managerial, a median value of 29. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

4.4.12 Knowledge of standard French (EIV12) x DV3

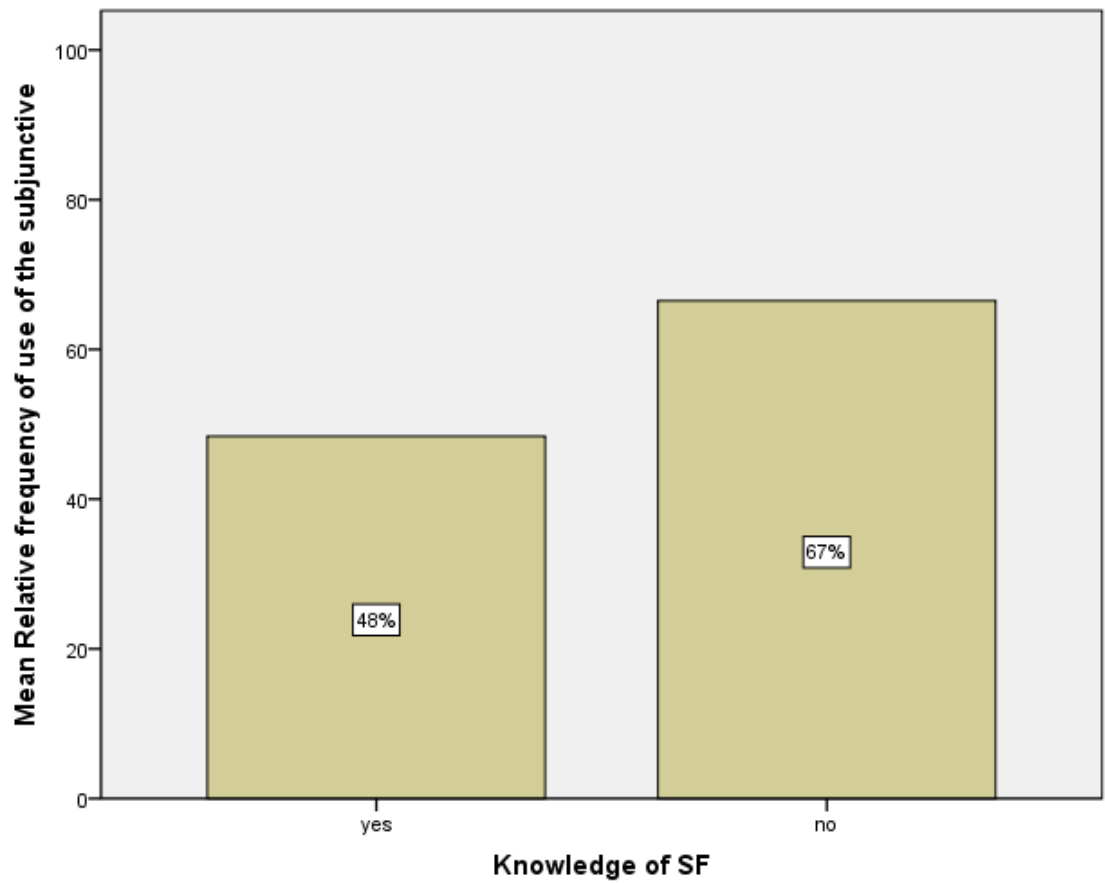


Figure 4.12 Bar chart showing EIV12 x DV3

A Mann-Whitney U test revealed no significant difference in the use of the subjunctive of those who had knowledge of SF ($Md = 44$, $n = 30$) and those who did not ($Md = 66.5$, $n = 2$), $U = 22$, $z = -.654$, $p = .513$, $r = .12$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

4.4.13 Member of a GF group (EIV13) x DV3

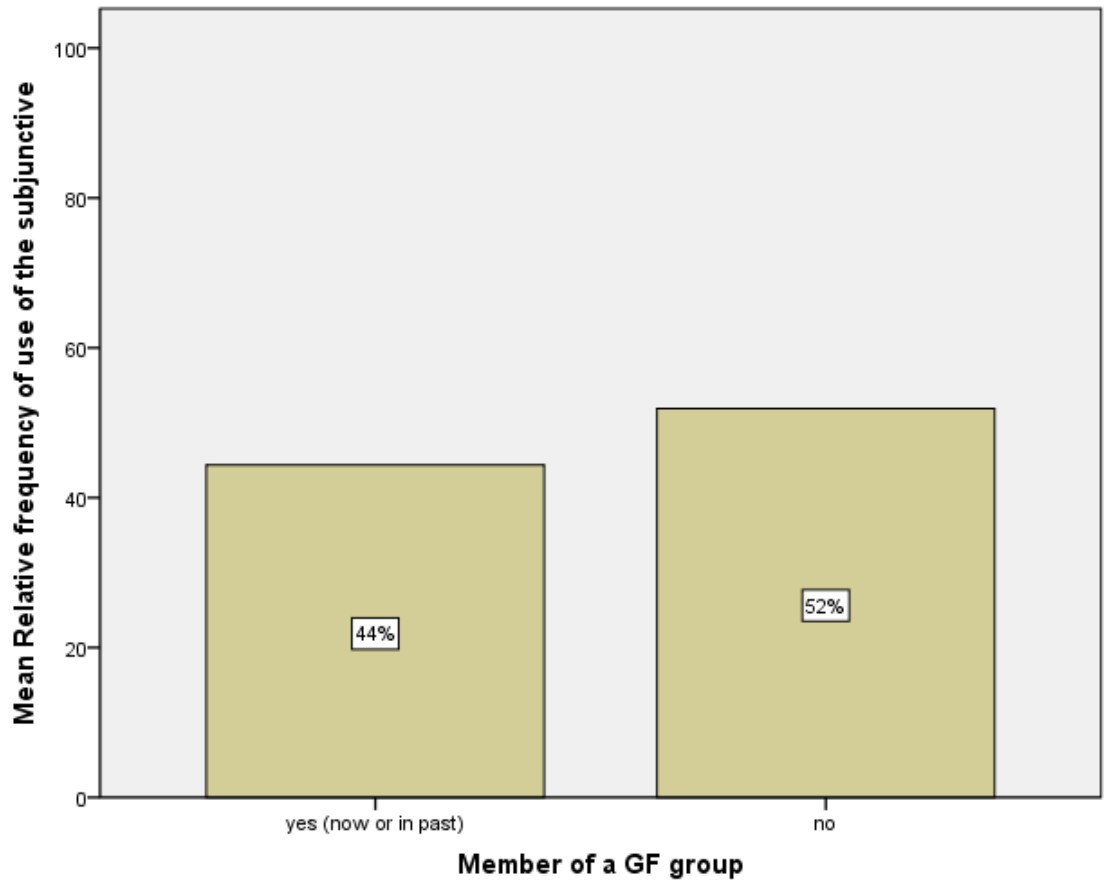


Figure 4.13 Bar chart showing EIV13 x DV3

A Mann-Whitney U test revealed no significant difference in the use of the subjunctive of those who were (or had been) members of a GF group ($Md = 33$, $n = 19$) and those were not ($Md = 67$, $n = 9$), $U = 82$, $z = -.181$, $p = .857$, $r = .03$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

4.4.14 Region (EIV14) x DV3

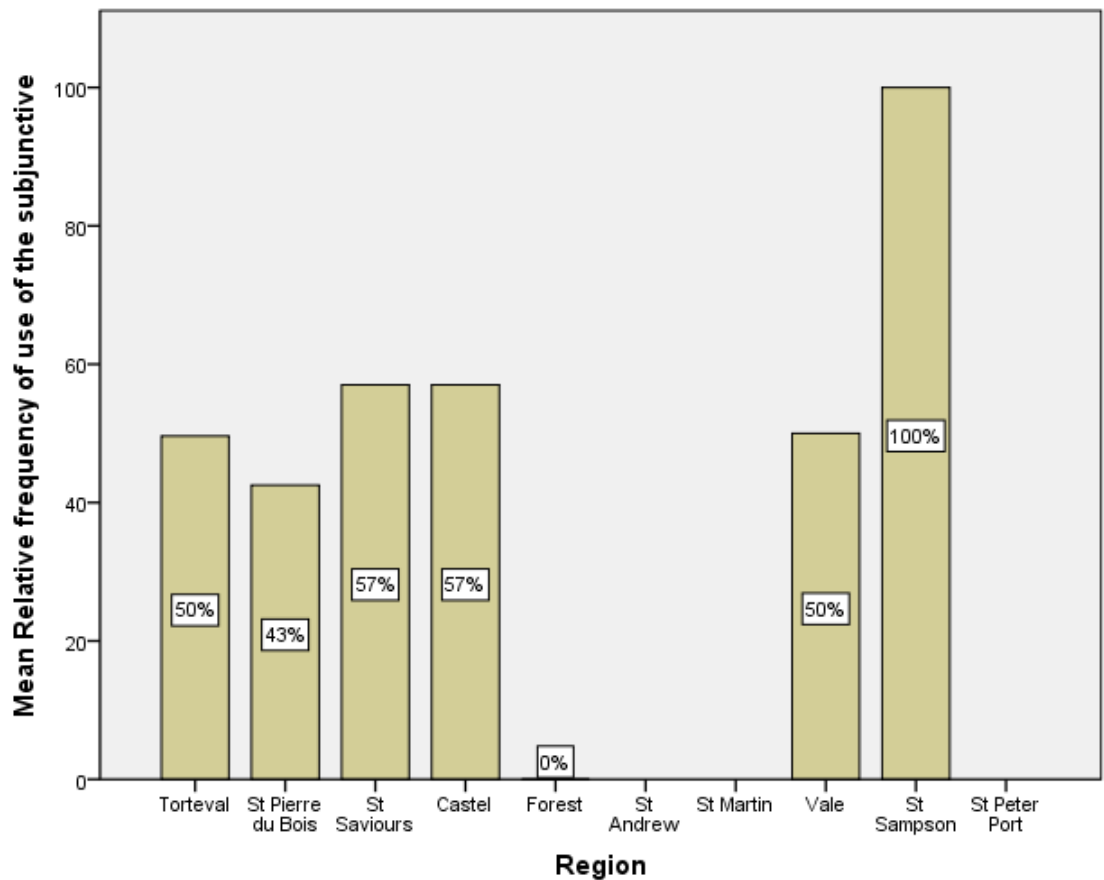


Figure 4.14 Bar chart showing EIV14 x DV3

A Kruskal-Wallis Test revealed no statistically significant difference in use of the subjunctive across the seven regions (Gp 1, n = 8: Torteval, Gp 2, n = 10: St Pierre du Bois, Gp 3, n = 3: St Saviours, Gp 4, n = 6: Castel, Gp5, n = 1: Forest, Gp 8, n = 3: Vale, Gp 9, n = 1: St Sampson), $\chi^2(6, n = 32) = 3.26, p = .775$. There were no cases in Groups 6, 7 or 10. St Sampson (Md = 100) recorded the highest median score followed by Castel (Md = 71), Vale (Md = 50), Torteval (Md = 41.5), St Saviours (Md = 38), St Pierre du Bois (Md = 12.5) and, finally, Forest which scored a median value of zero. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

4.4.15 Proficiency (EIV15) x DV3

The boxplot below shows the mean use of the subjunctive for different proficiency rankings from 1-16 where 1 represents the most proficient and 16, the least.

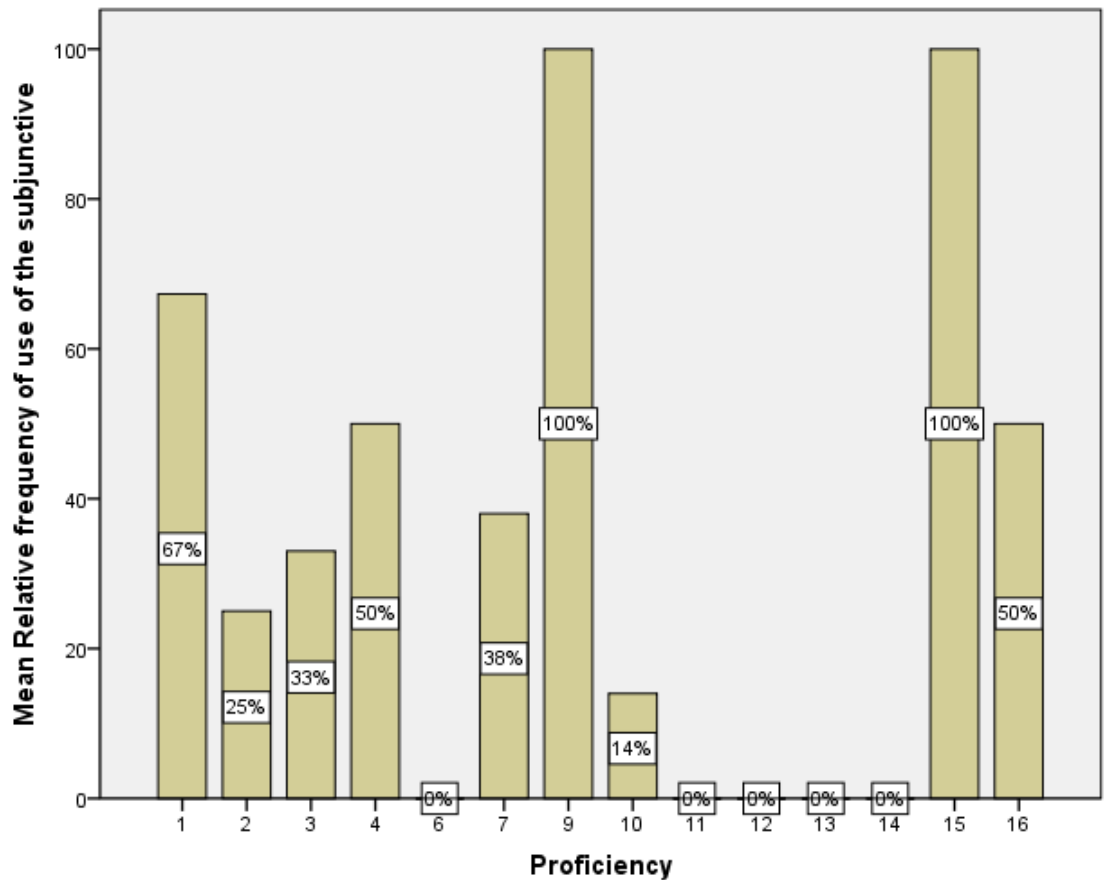


Figure 4.15 Bar chart showing EIV15 x DV3

A Spearman Rank Order correlation analysis was carried out to examine the relationship between EIV15 and DV3. There was a medium, negative correlation between the two, $\rho = -.391$, $n = 29$, $p = .091$, with grammatical proficiency helping to explain only 9.8% of the variance in participants' use of the subjunctive. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

4.4.16 Standard multiple regression of EIVs x DV3

Standard multiple regression was used to assess the ability of all the EIVs to predict participants' relative frequency of use of the subjunctive. Preliminary analyses showed that the data did not meet the assumptions of the test in terms of normal distribution or sample size³. Collinearity diagnostics were obtained and the results indicated that five factors showed multicollinearity: age x age group and frequency of use as a child x variety of use as a child x language acquisition. An attempt was nevertheless made to analyse the data using Standard Multiple Regression. The

³ Assessment of sample size was carried out using Tabachnick and Fidell's (2007, p.123) formula: $N \geq 50 + 8m$ (where m is the number of IVs).

test was run six times to test the six combinations of factors. None of the six models reached statistical significance, most likely due to the small sample size and non-linear relationships.

4.5 What are the internal (linguistic) constraints on mood choice in GF?

This section will examine whether there are any internal constraints on mood choice in GF using DV1 and DV2. The fourteen original internal independent factors are:

IIV1	grammatical person
IIV2	grammatical subject type
IIV3	noun phrase head
IIV4	verb
IIV5	frequency of (embedded) verb in data
IIV6	form
IIV7	trigger
IIV8	semantic class of trigger verb
IIV9	tense of trigger verb
IIV10	structure of trigger clause
IIV11	relative pronoun
IIV12	modal part of speech in utterance
IIV13	distance between trigger (clause) and subordinate/relative clause
IIV14	register

Table 4.9 Internal independent factors with their codes

It will be remembered (see §3.7.2) that, in order that the data should meet the requirements of the Pearson Chi-square and Logistic Regression tests, some of the internal factors above had to be excluded (IIV5, IIV8, IIV12 and IIV13) and some of the categories within the remaining ten factors had to be collapsed.

The statistical hypotheses for investigating whether the internal factors were a constraint on mood choice (DV1) were as follows:

- IIV1
 - H_0 : There is no association between grammatical person and mood choice
 - H_1 : There is an association between grammatical person and mood choice
- IIV2
 - H_0 : There is no association between grammatical subject type and mood choice
 - H_1 : There is an association between grammatical subject type and mood choice
- IIV3
 - H_0 : There is no association between noun phrase head and mood choice
 - H_1 : There is an association between noun phrase head and mood choice

- IIV4
 - H_0 : There is no association between embedded verb and mood choice
 - H_1 : There is an association between embedded verb and mood choice
- IIV6
 - H_0 : There is no association between verb form and mood choice
 - H_1 : There is an association between verb form and mood choice
- IIV7
 - H_0 : There is no association between trigger and mood choice
 - H_1 : There is an association between trigger and mood choice
- IIV9
 - H_0 : There is no association between tense of trigger verb and mood choice
 - H_1 : There is an association between tense of trigger verb and mood choice
- IIV10
 - H_0 : There is no association between the structure of the trigger clause and mood choice
 - H_1 : There is an association between the structure of the trigger clause and mood choice
- IIV11
 - H_0 : There is no association between the presence of relative pronoun and mood choice
 - H_1 : There is an association between the presence of relative pronoun and mood choice
- IIV14
 - H_0 : There is no association between register and mood choice
 - H_1 : There is an association between register and mood choice

4.5.1 Grammatical person (IIV1)⁴ x DV1

A Pearson Chi-square test indicated no significant association between grammatical person and mood choice, $\chi^2(3, N = 100) = 7.14$, $p = .068$, Cramer's $V = .27$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

The chart below shows the total number of cases of the subjunctive and indicative moods for each of the categories tested.

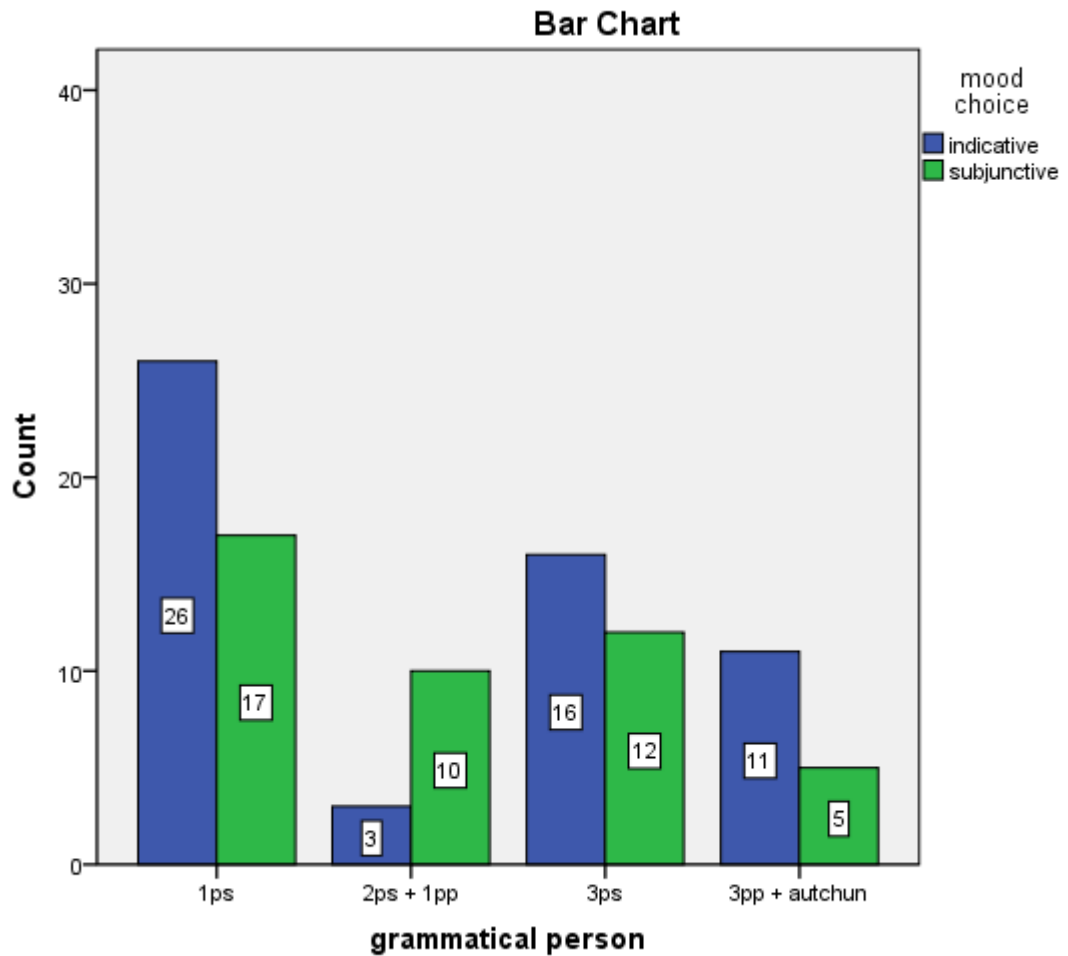


Figure 4.16 DV1 x IIV1

⁴ Neither the 2ps nor the 1pp met the requirements of the tests individually. They were collased together because they were the only two categories with majority subjunctive mood choice. See §3.7.2 for further details.

4.5.2 Grammatical subject type (IIV2) x DV1

A Pearson Chi-square test indicated no significant association between grammatical subject type and mood choice, $\chi^2(1, N = 100) = .12^5$, $p = .735$, $\phi = -.03$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

The chart below shows the total number of cases of the subjunctive and indicative moods for each of the categories tested.

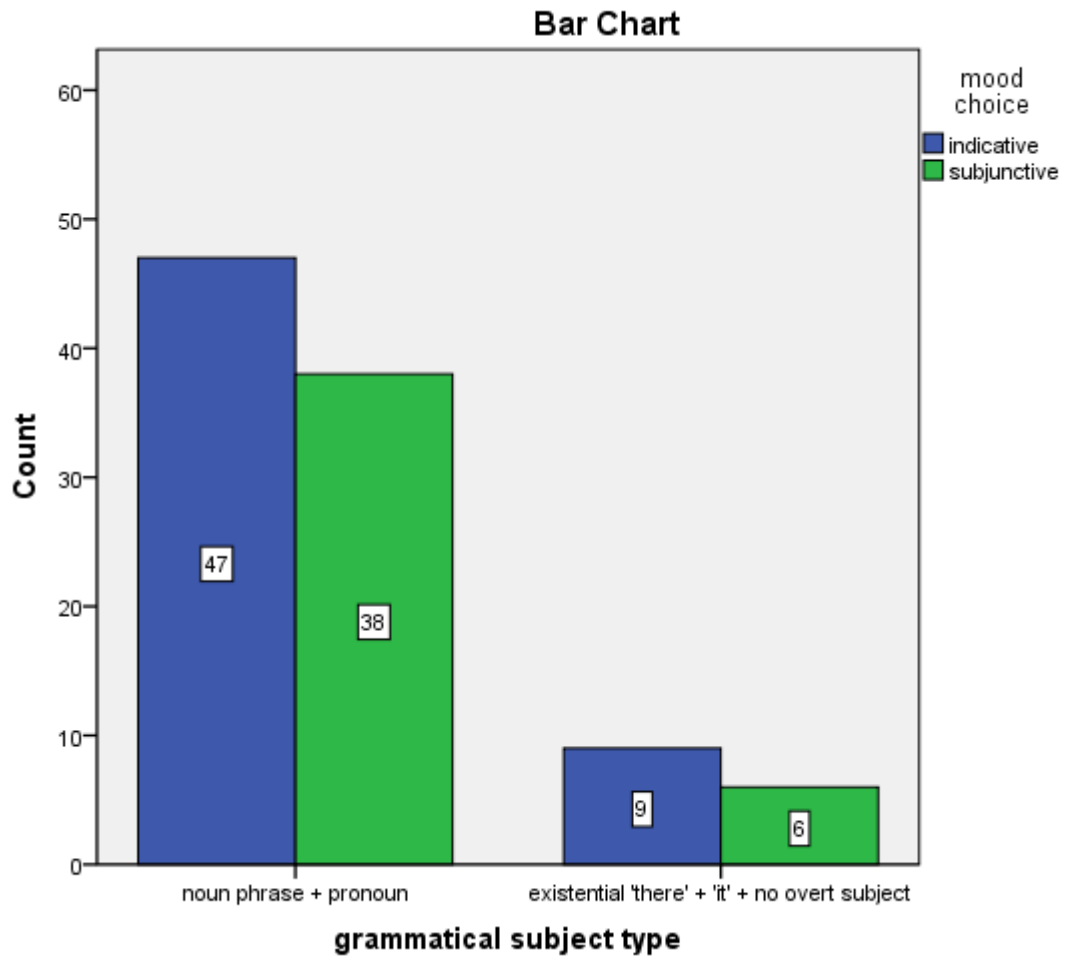


Figure 4.17 DV1 x IIV2

⁵ Field (2000) recommends reporting the Pearson Chi-square rather than Yates's Continuity Correction value for 2 x 2 tables.

4.5.3 Noun phrase head (IIV3) x DV1

A Pearson Chi-square test indicated no significant association between noun phrase head and mood choice, $\chi^2(1, N = 91) = .01, p = .94, \phi = .01$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

The chart below shows the total number of cases of the subjunctive and indicative moods for each of the categories tested and for the variable overall.

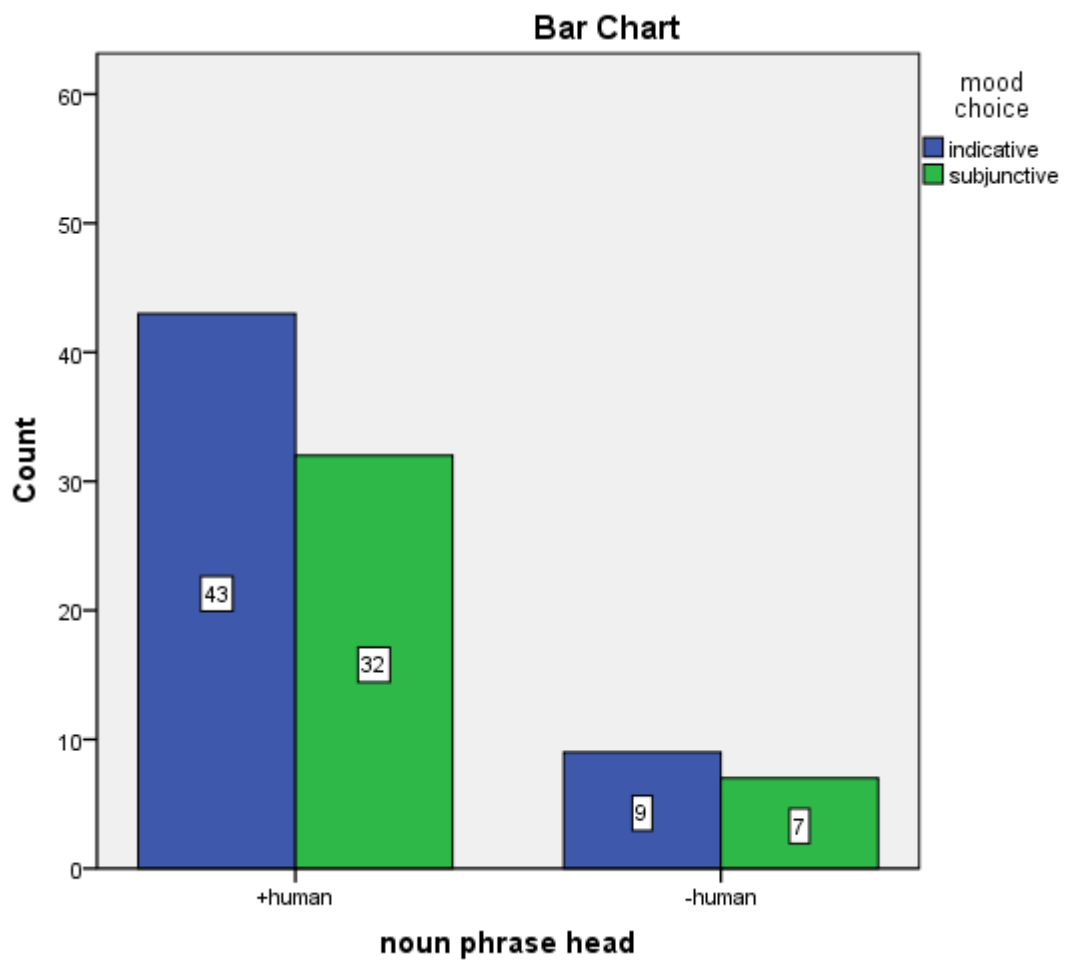


Figure 4.18 DV1 x IIV3

4.5.4 Embedded verb (IIV4) x DV1

A Pearson Chi-square test indicated a medium effect size significant association between embedded verb and mood choice, $\chi^2 (2, N = 100) = 12.63, p = .002, \text{Cramer's } V = .36$. There was sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

The chart below shows the total number of cases of the subjunctive and indicative moods for each of the categories tested.

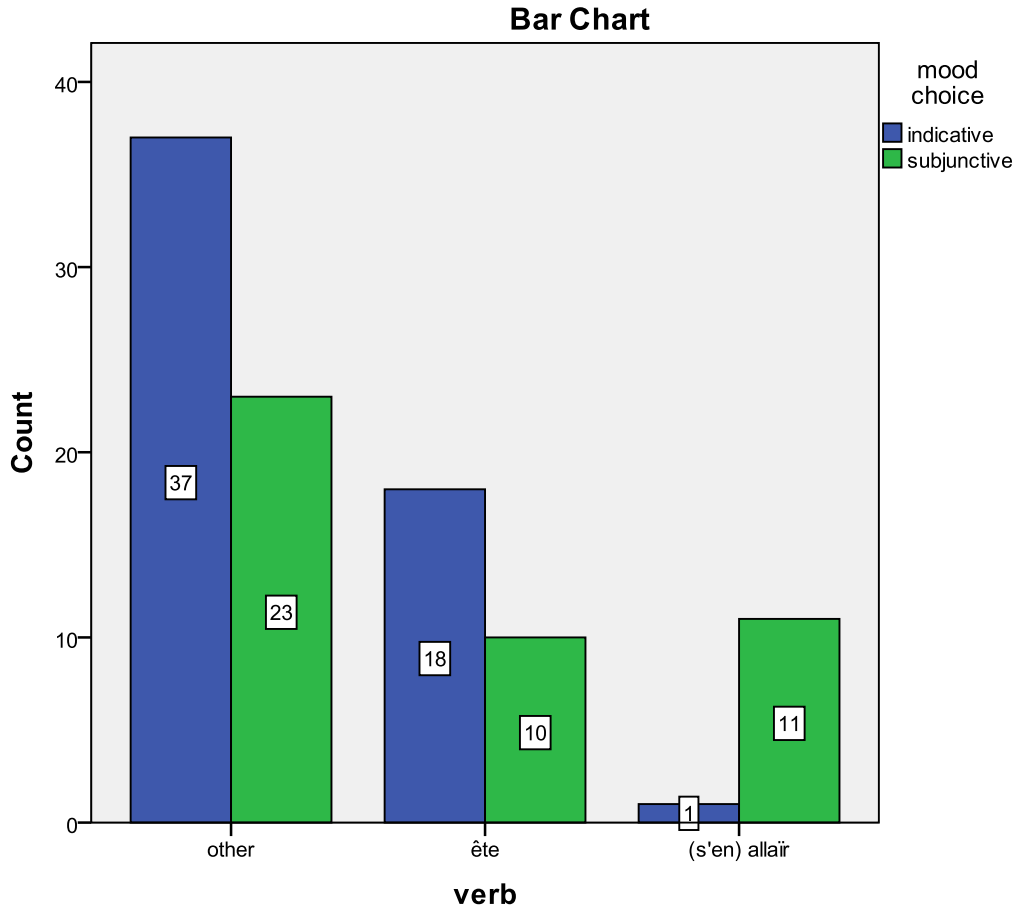


Figure 4.19 DV1 x IIV4

4.5.5 Form (IIV6) x DV1

A Pearson Chi-square test indicated no significant association between verb form and mood choice, $\chi^2(1, N = 100) = 3.20, p = .074, \phi = -.18$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

The chart below shows the total number of cases of the subjunctive and indicative moods for each of the categories tested.

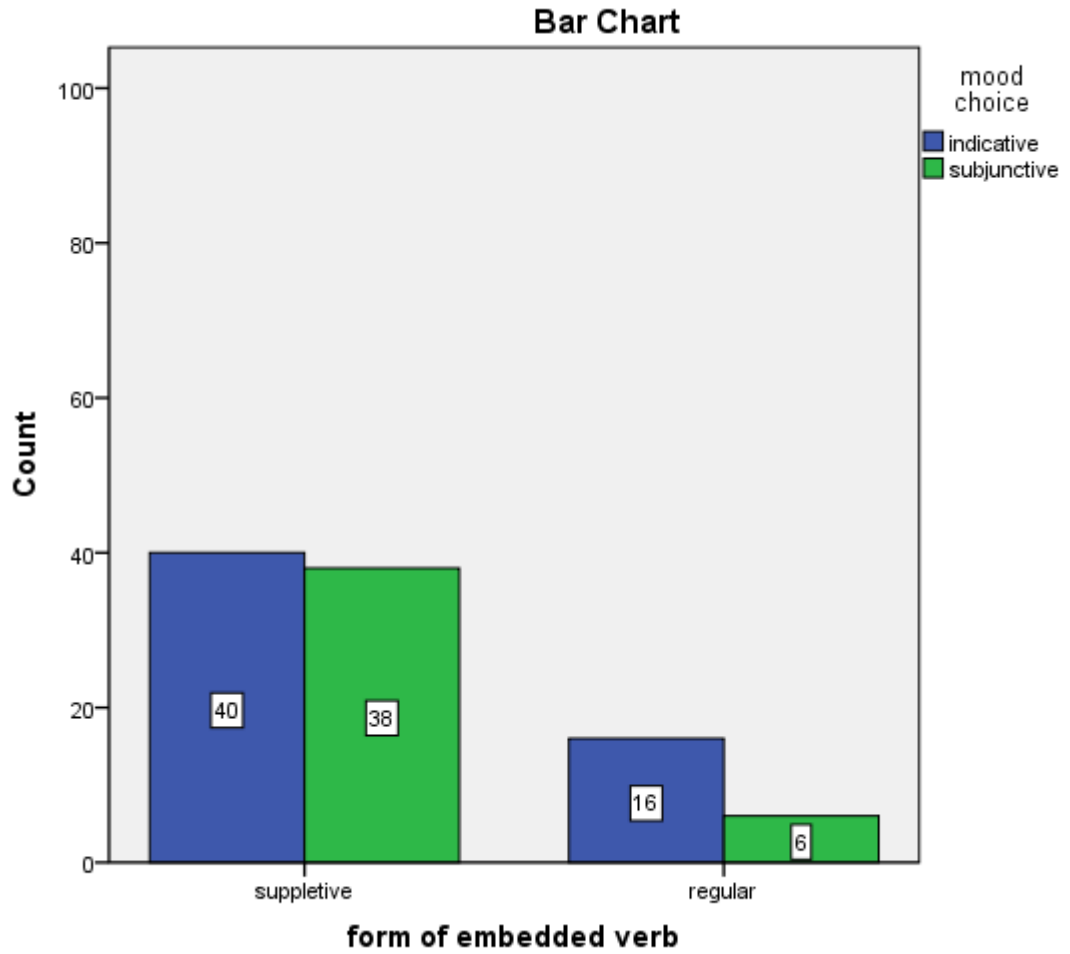


Figure 4.20 DV1 x IIV6

4.5.6 Trigger (IIV7) x DV1

A Pearson Chi-square test indicated a medium effect size significant association between trigger and mood choice, $\chi^2(4, N = 100) = 17.47, p = .002$, Cramer's $V = .42$. There was sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

The chart below shows the total number of cases of the subjunctive and indicative moods for each of the categories tested.

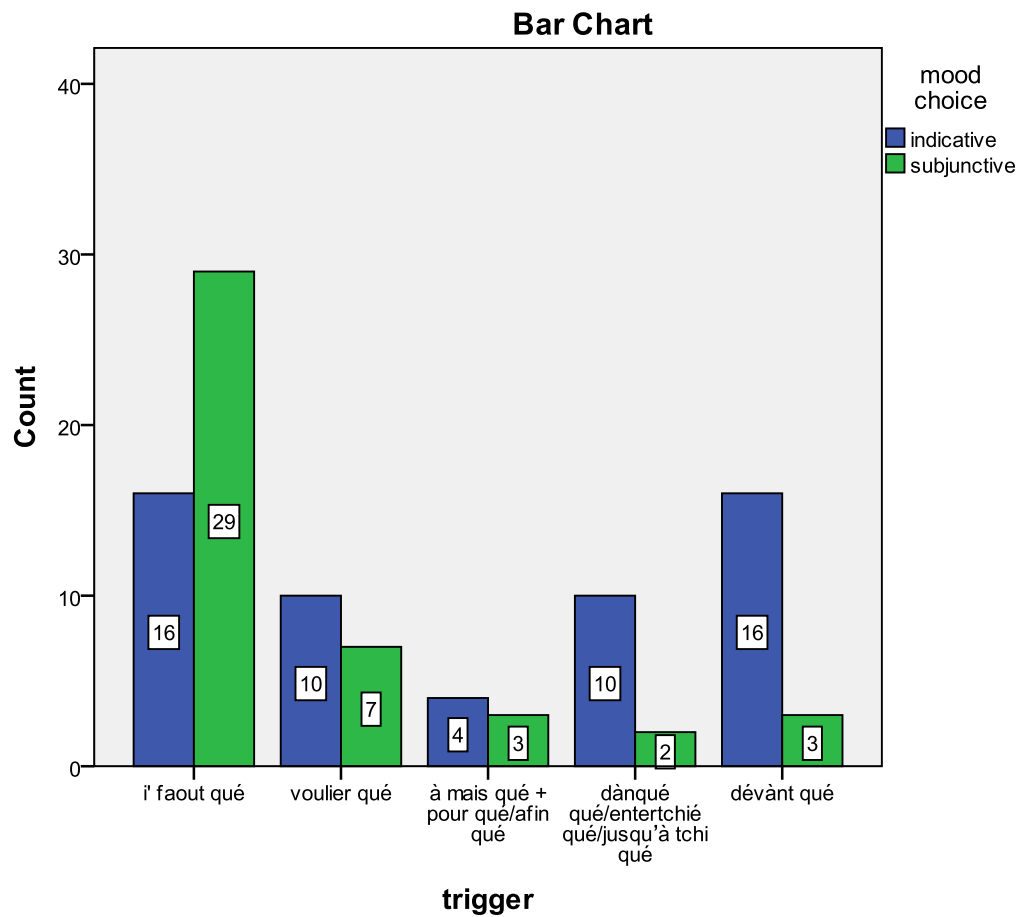


Figure 4.21 DV1 x IIV7

4.5.7 Tense of trigger verb (IIV9) x DVs 1 and 2

4.5.7.1 IIV9 x DV1

A Pearson Chi-square test indicated a medium effect size significant association between tense of trigger verb and mood choice, $\chi^2 (2, N = 62) = 13.17, p = .001$, Cramer's $V = .46$. There was sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

The chart below shows the total number of cases of the subjunctive and indicative moods for each of the categories tested.

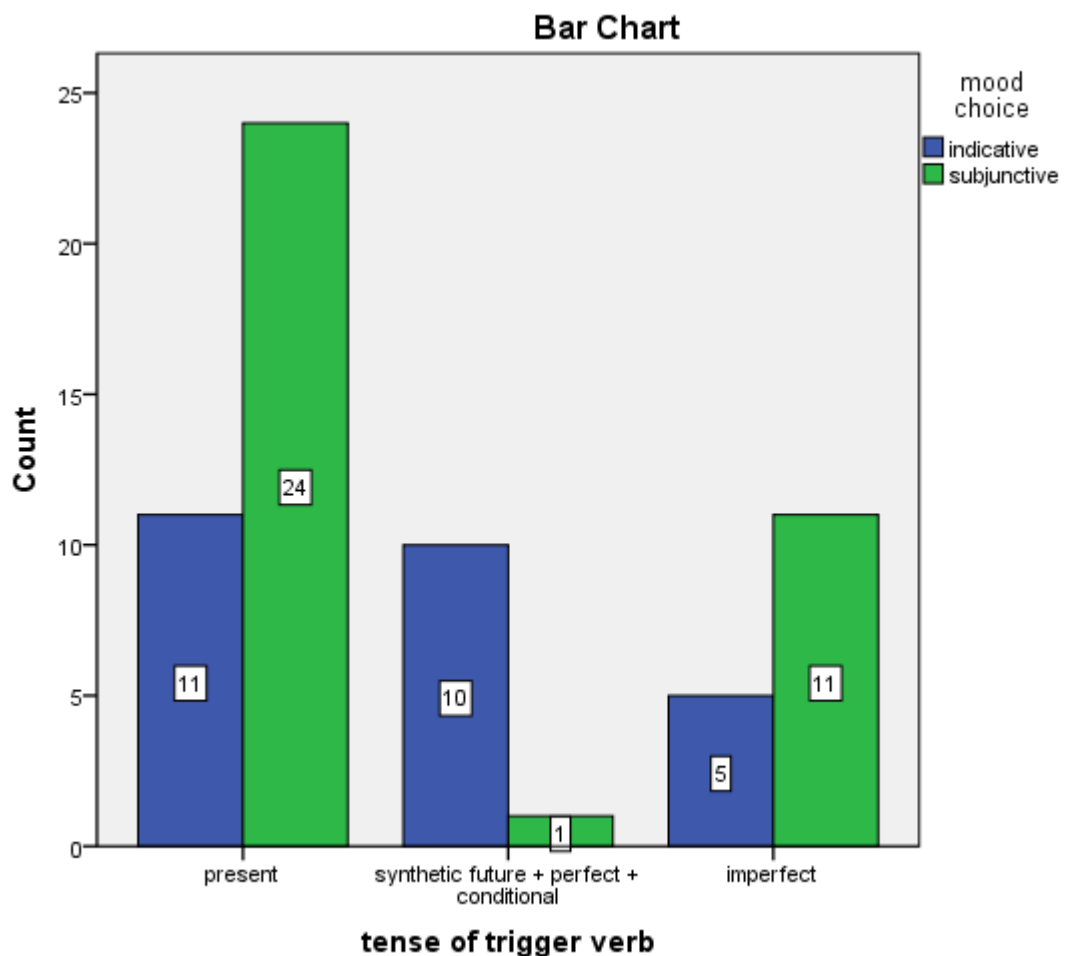


Figure 4.22 DV1 x IIV9

4.5.7.2 IIV9 x DV2

Using the Pearson Chi-square test, an attempt was made to test the association between tense of trigger verb (IIV9) and embedded tense (DV2). Out of the 27 cells, however, 23 did not meet the requirement of the test that expected cell frequencies should be greater than 5. The table in Appendix O and the distribution summary given in §4.7 below give an idea of the association between the two.

4.5.8 Structure of trigger clause (IIV10) x DV1

A Pearson Chi-square test indicated no significant association between the structure of the trigger clause and mood choice, $\chi^2(1, N = 62) = .12, p = .729, \phi = .04$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

The chart below shows the total number of cases of the subjunctive and indicative moods for each of the categories tested.

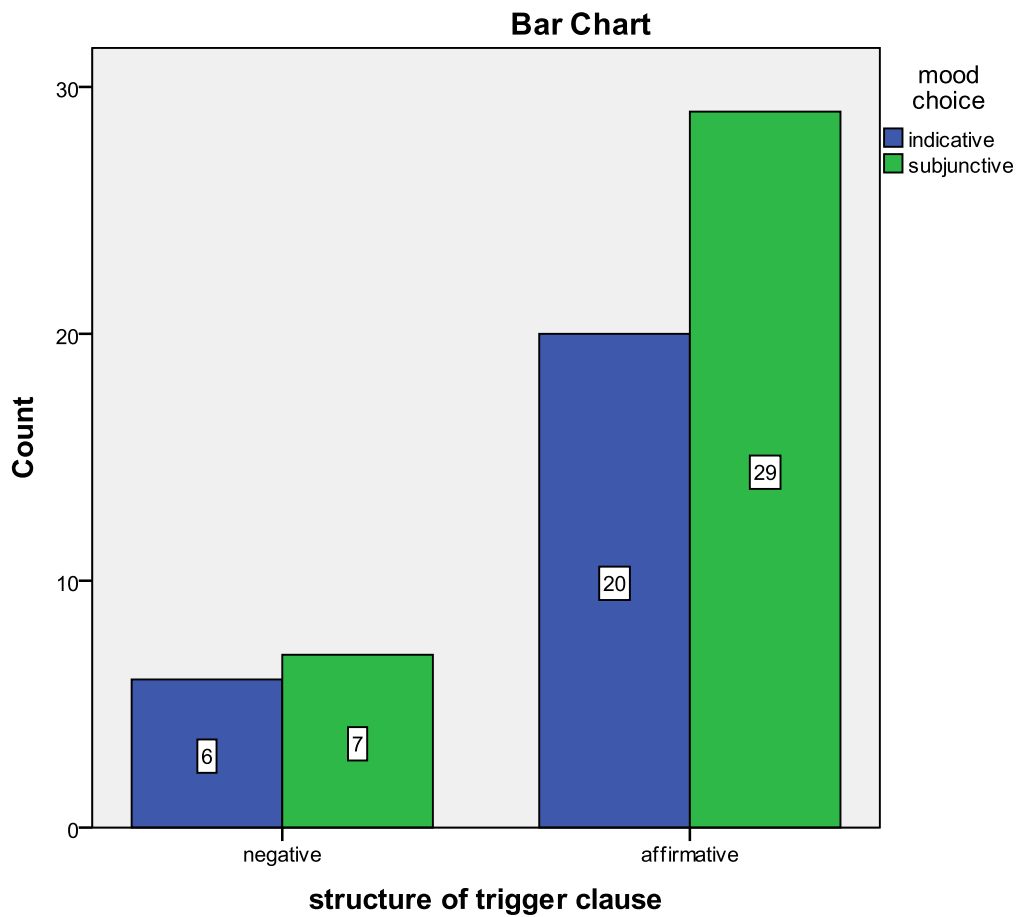


Figure 4.23 DV1 x IIV10

4.5.9 Relative pronoun (IIV11) x DV1

A Pearson Chi-square test indicated a small effect size significant association between the presence of relative pronoun and mood choice, $\chi^2 (1, N = 100) = 4.34, p = .037, \phi = -.21$. There was sufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

The chart below shows the total number of cases of the subjunctive and indicative moods for each of the categories tested.

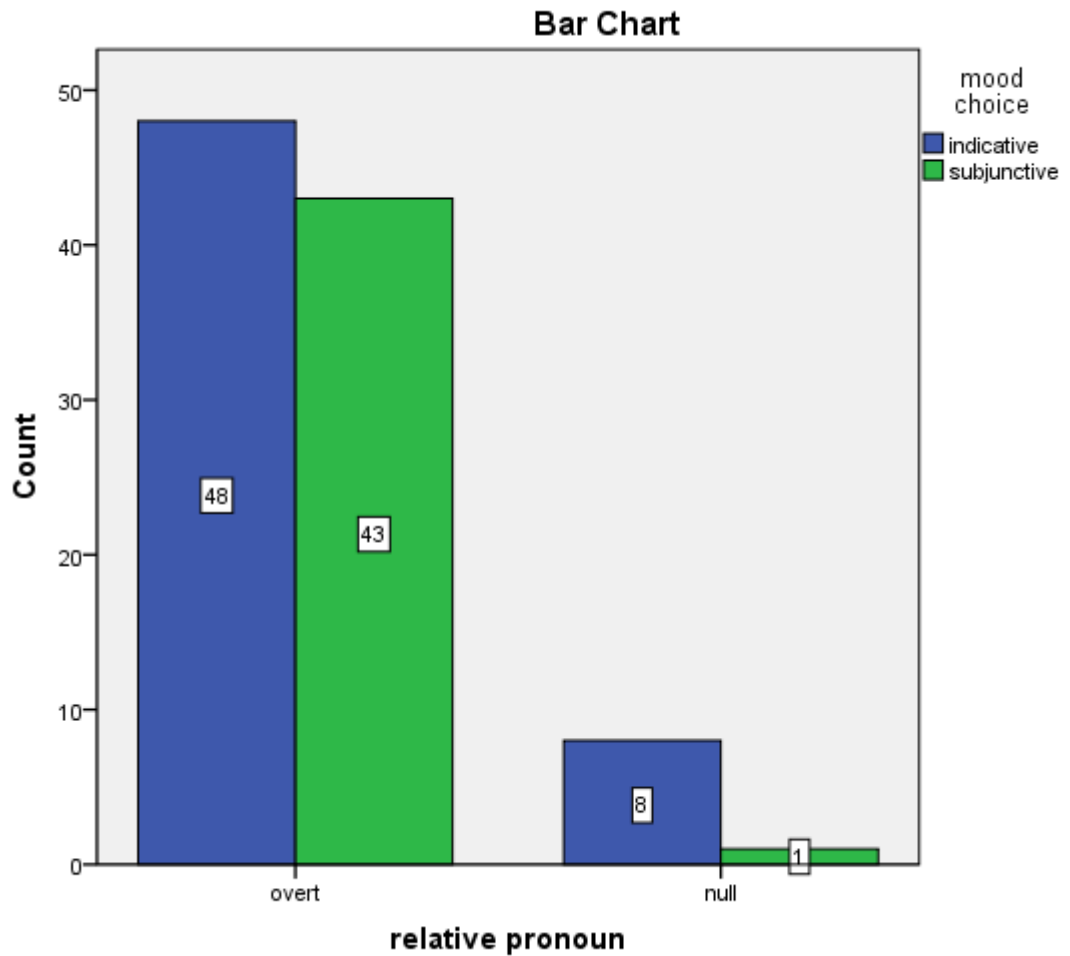


Figure 4.24 DV1 x IIV11

4.5.10 Register (IIV14) x DV1

A Pearson Chi-square test indicated no significant association between register and mood choice, $\chi^2(1, N = 100) = 3.27, p = .07, \phi = .18$. There was insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

The chart below shows the total number of cases of the subjunctive and indicative moods for each of the categories tested.

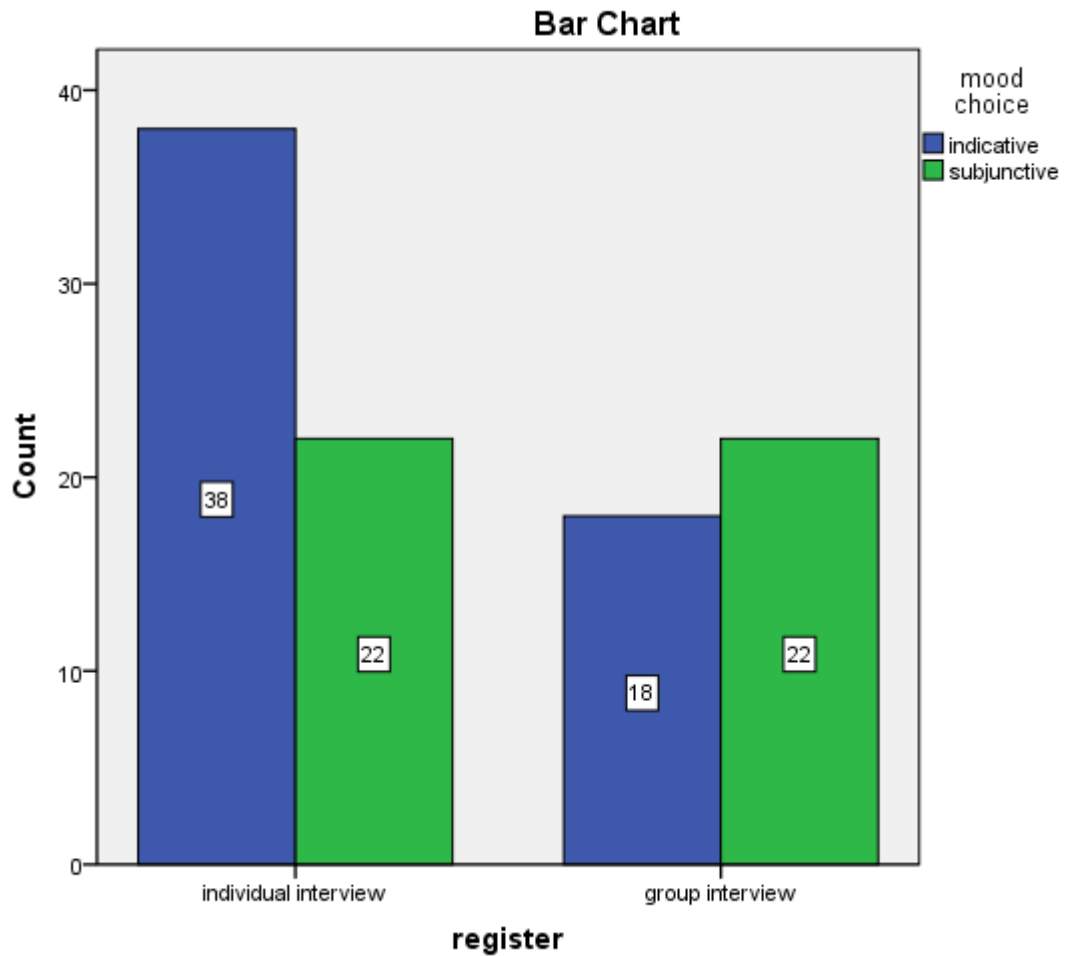


Figure 4.25 DV1 x IIV14

4.5.11 Logistic Regression of IIVs x DV1

Logistic Regression was carried out to assess the impact of all the internal factors on mood choice and to determine whether any of the factors were predictors of mood choice. Collinearity diagnostics were obtained and the results confirmed there was no multicollinearity between the factors.

The model was statistically significant, $\chi^2(14, N = 53) = 30.3, p = .007$, indicating that the model was able to distinguish between the two mood choices. The model as a whole explained between 43.5% (Cox and Snell R square) and 58.6% (Nagelkerke R squared) of the variance in mood choice, and correctly classified 73.6% of cases. As shown in the table below, none of the

independent factors made a unique statistically significant contribution to the model. The results of this analysis should be taken as an indication only, since only 53 out of the 100 tokens were included in the analysis.

Variables in the Equation							95% C.I. for	
							EXP(B)	
	B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	Lower	Upper
Step 1 ^a	IIV1		2.244	3	.523			
	IIV1(1)	1.952	1.644	1.409	1	.235	7.043	.281 176.739
	IIV1(2)	-.970	1.501	.418	1	.518	.379	.020 7.178
	IIV1(3)	-.674	1.467	.211	1	.646	.509	.029 9.025
	IIV2(1)	-1.486	1.775	.702	1	.402	.226	.007 7.327
	IIV3(1)	-.247	2.415	.010	1	.918	.781	.007 88.784
	IIV4		.005	2	.997			
	IIV4(1)	.165	2.235	.005	1	.941	1.180	.015 94.219
	IIV4(2)	20.727	11478.304	.000	1	.999	1.004E9	.000 .
	IIV6(1)	-.427	1.045	.167	1	.683	.653	.084 5.063
	IIV7(1)	-2.222	1.390	2.557	1	.110	.108	.007 1.652
	IIV9		3.521	2	.172			
	IIV9(1)	-2.549	1.367	3.477	1	.062	.078	.005 1.139
	IIV9(2)	-.097	1.039	.009	1	.926	.908	.118 6.961
	IIV10(1)	-1.789	1.525	1.377	1	.241	.167	.008 3.317
	IIV11(1)	-21.682	22488.462	.000	1	.999	.000	.000 .
	IIV14(1)	1.285	.997	1.663	1	.197	3.616	.513 25.505
	Constant	2.378	1.580	2.265	1	.132	10.779	

a. Variable(s) entered on step 1: IIV1, IIV2, IIV3, IIV4, IIV6, IIV7, IIV9, IIV10, IIV11, IIV14.

Table 4.10 Contribution of IIVs to model following Logistic Regression analysis

4.6 Which constraints are the overall best predictors of mood choice?

The IIV dataset that was used for the Chi-square and Logistic Regression analyses in §4.5 above was combined with the EIVs dataset. The collinearity diagnostics indicated multicollinearity for all the EIVs. It was not possible to determine the best predictor(s) of mood choice among the whole set of EIVs and IIVs because of the repetition of the external factors for the 100 tokens.

4.7 Summary of results

This final section of the chapter provides a summarised response to research questions 1 and 2 which were set out at the start of this chapter.

4.7.1 Summary of results for external constraints

The results from the correlation tests showed that frequency of use of GF 'now' was the only factor to have statistically significant relationship with DV3 for the whole sample. The secondary test carried out on the age factor with the two atypical participants S2 and S25 removed from the sample showed a medium, positive correlation between with DV3.

External Independent Factor		Correlation / Effect size	p value	Null hypothesis
EIV1	age (full sample)	no significant correlation	-	fail to reject
EIV1	age (sample minus S2 and S25)	medium, positive correlation (rho = .381)	.038	reject
EIV2	age group (full sample)	no significant correlation	-	fail to reject
EIV3	frequency of use of GF as a child	no significant correlation	-	fail to reject
EIV4	frequency of use of GF 'now'	large, positive correlation (rho = .551)	.004	reject
EIV5	variety of use of GF as a child	no significant correlation	-	fail to reject
EIV6	variety of use of GF 'now'	no significant correlation	-	fail to reject
EIV7	evacuated	no significant difference between the groups	-	fail to reject
EIV8	language acquisition	no significant difference between the groups	-	fail to reject
EIV9	sex	no significant difference between the groups	-	fail to reject
EIV10	education	no significant difference between the groups	-	fail to reject
EIV11	socioeconomic status	no significant difference between the groups	-	fail to reject
EIV12	knowledge of SF	no significant difference between the groups	-	fail to reject
EIV13	member of a GF group	no significant difference between the groups	-	fail to reject

EIV14	region	no significant difference between the groups	-	fail to reject
EIV15	proficiency	no significant correlation	-	fail to reject

Table 4.11 Summary of results for EIVs 3-15

4.7.2 Summary of results for internal constraints

Individual Pearson Chi-square tests were run to determine whether there was any association between each independent factor and the dependent variable, mood choice (DV1). There was insufficient data to be able to report on any association between mood choice and IIVs 5, 8, 12 and 13. The results are summarised for the remaining factors in the table below.

Internal Independent Factor		Effect size	p value	Null hypothesis
IIV1	grammatical person	no significant association	-	fail to reject
IIV2	grammatical subject type	no significant association	-	fail to reject
IIV3	noun phrase head	no significant association	-	fail to reject
IIV4	embedded verb	medium (Cramer's V = .36)	.002	reject
IIV6	form of verb	no significant association	-	fail to reject
IIV7	trigger	medium (Cramer's V = .42)	.002	reject
IIV9	tense of trigger verb	medium (Cramer's V = .46)	.001	reject
IIV10	structure of trigger clause	no significant association	-	fail to reject
IIV11	relative pronoun	small (phi = -.21)	.037	reject
IIV14	register	no significant association	-	fail to reject

Table 4.12 Summary of results for linguistic factors

The results showed that tense of the trigger verb, type of trigger and embedded verb were the internal factors most highly associated with mood choice, and the presence or absence of a relative pronoun was associated to a lesser extent. In relation to the Logistic Regression analysis, the ability of the ten-factor model to predict mood choice was found to be statistically significant, but none of the individual factors on its own was found to be a statistically significant predictor of mood choice. The dataset for this analysis was, however, almost halved, so the

results should be taken as an indication only. It was not possible to run a regression analysis for all of the EIVs and IIVs together.

5 Discussion of findings

This chapter provides an answer to the third and final research question set out at the close of Chapter 2:

3. What does an examination of interspeaker variation tell us about gauging authenticity in an endangered language?

The presentation of this discussion is in four parts. In the first part, the overall distribution of the dependent variable is discussed in relation to other studies that have been carried out on the subjunctive in varieties of French. It should be borne in mind throughout this discussion, however, that the findings from the studies carried out in Canada are not directly comparable with those of the present study since none of those varieties are undergoing shift or loss. As Poplack points out, comparing Canadian French with an obsolescent language is like “comparing apples and oranges” (Poplack, 1997, p.305). In the second part, §5.2, the results from the analyses of the internal factors in Chapter 4 are discussed in relation to existing studies on the subjunctive in varieties of French. Both the distributions and the statistical associations of the dependent variable are examined for each internal factor. In §5.3, the results from the analyses of the external factors are discussed in relation to theory and existing studies. Again, the distributions and the statistical associations of the dependent variable are both examined for each external factor. A qualitative examination is also made of the atypical cases found for each of these external factors in an attempt to identify the reasons for atypical behaviour in mood choice. Finally, in §5.4, the quantitative and qualitative findings are combined in a discussion of authenticity in an endangered language¹.

5.1 Mood choice

The subjunctive is produced in 44% of subjunctive contexts in GF, appearing in 44 out of a total 100 cases. Jones (2000) does not provide an overall breakdown of mood or tense choice in her results for GF. The retention rate in the present study is, however, similar to that found in JF (40%), although the two figures are not directly comparable since Jones (2001) reports a retention figure as a proportion of all triggers listed in the literature, whether or not they were found to generate the subjunctive in her data, whereas the present study reports a retention rate as a proportion of subjunctive-generating triggers in the data only. The findings from the two studies that can be compared with the present findings are 52% subjunctive retention in

¹ It should be born in mind during the discussion of findings that there is a possible “margin of error” (Coveney, 2007, p.115) owing to the fact that 75 homophonous tokens (as well as 76 unclear tokens and 3 neutralised tokens) were excluded from the analysis. The results may, therefore, not be truly representative.

Quebec City French (Auger, 1990) and 77% in Ottawa-Hull French (Poplack, 1992). The findings from the studies that defined their variable contexts in the same way as Jones (2000 and 2001) are as follows: 51% in Terre-Neuve French and 66% in Saint-Pierre and Miquelon French (Chauveau, 1998), 62% subjunctive retention in Ontarian French (Laurier, 1989), and Rottet (1998) finds the lowest retention rate of all the studies reviewed at only 14.8% in Cajun French.

The relative frequency of occurrence of each tense/mood appearing after a subjunctive trigger in GF is shown in the table below (repeated from Chapter 4):

Tense	N	%
present subjunctive	30	30
imperfect	23	23
imperfect subjunctive	14	14
present	13	13
past historic	11	11
conditional	4	4
ambiguous/unclear indicative	2	2
synthetic future	1	1
pluperfect	1	1
analytic future	1	1
	100	

Table 5.1 Distribution of embedded tenses in GF

Tomlinson (2008, p.117) comments that “the Imperfect Subjunctive is falling into disuse” in GF and Lukis (1985, p.30), too, writes that “the Imperfect Subjunctive is seldom used”. The data in this study show that the imperfect subjunctive is still quite healthy, however. It appears in 50% of cases following imperfect tense verbal triggers (see §5.2.9) and in 13% of cases following nonverbal triggers. This compares with 66% and only 8% respectively for the present subjunctive. Jones (2000), too, finds no evidence of real decline in the imperfect subjunctive in GF since it appears in 57% of cases following an imperfect verbal trigger in her data. Jones also describes use of the imperfect subjunctive in JF (2001) as widespread. Neumann-Holzschuh (2005) finds that the imperfect subjunctive is well maintained still in Nova Scotia, but only rarely found in New Brunswick and Newfoundland, and extinct in Louisiana. Comeau (2011) finds the imperfect subjunctive to be stable in Baie Sainte-Marie French. Chauveau finds no evidence of the imperfect subjunctive in Terre-Neuve French or Saint-Pierre and Miquelon French. In respect of verbs appearing in the imperfect subjunctive in GF, Lukis (1985, p.30) writes that “the following are still current”: *allair, aver, ête, maette* and *vnir*. Jones (2000) reports the verbs most commonly found in the imperfect subjunctive in her study of GF are *aver, ête, veies* and *vnir*. In

this study, however, the thirteen imperfect subjunctive tokens in the data comprise a large variety of verbs: (*s'en*) *allaïr*, *ête*, *rvenir*, *dvisaïr*, *apprende*, *faire*, *finir*, *saver*, *mouorir* and *trouvier*.

With regard to the conditional tense, Jones (2000, p.199) draws the conclusion from her findings that it “is becoming commonplace” in subjunctive contexts in GF. Table 7 in her paper (Jones, 2000, p.195) shows that the conditional replaces the present subjunctive in 23 cases and the imperfect subjunctive in 51 cases. This represents only a 7.6% conditional substitution in a total of 969 tokens. It is open to interpretation, therefore, whether her findings of 7.6%² can be described as commonplace. In relation to JF, Jones (2001, p.117) reports conditional substitution in about 8% of cases, occurring “primarily after verbs of volition”³. As a point of interest, the conditional appears in a similar 6.9% of the 391 contexts which remained in this study before categorical triggers were removed. Poplack also suggests that the conditional is a third variant in mood choice alongside the subjunctive and present indicative in Ottawa-Hull French. Auger (1988, 1990) and Comeau (2011) find the conditional to be a rare replacement for the subjunctive, however. Comeau (2011) finds only one token of the conditional in an embedded clause⁴ in the Baie Sainte-Marie variety of Acadian French. Auger finds, in her analysis of the *il faut* trigger⁵, that it generated the conditional in 5.14% of cases and that 41% of these tokens were *par attraction*.

In relation to compound subjunctive tenses, none were found in the data for this study and none were found by Jones, in either her GF data (2000) or her JF data (2001). Comeau (2011), Neumann-Holzschuh (2005) and Rottet (1998) find the perfect subjunctive in their data. Blanche-Benveniste (2006) finds no evidence of compound (or imperfect) subjunctive tenses in Hexagonal French. Silva-Corvalan (1991) finds progressive loss of Spanish tense and moods over three generations of Mexican immigrants living in America. Of the subjunctive tenses, the pluperfect is the first to be lost, followed by the perfect, imperfect and finally present. Interestingly, she finds the conditional is lost at some point between the perfect and imperfect subjunctive.

² In Jones (2008), she reports conditional substitution in this study as occurring in 11% of cases, so it may be that I have misinterpreted some of the results presented in Jones (2000) or that some information is missing.

³ Unlike every other study reviewed, Jones (2001) does not include *faller* in this semantic class.

⁴ This token followed *croire point* which, he points out, is the only one of his verbal triggers that is not in the volitive semantic category.

⁵ Auger (1988, 1990) carries out statistical testing on three triggers; the only one that is common to the present study is *il faut* trigger. When her findings are discussed in this chapter, therefore, it is only in relation to this one trigger.

5.2 Internal constraints on mood choice in Guernsey French

The results from the analyses of the internal independent factors are discussed below and are compared with those of other studies on the subjunctive in varieties of French.

5.2.1 Grammatical person (IIV1)

This was included in the analysis as it features as a factor in other variationist studies. Jones (2000) analyses her GF data for grammatical person in order to discount it as a confounding factor, since it was found to be a constraint on subjunctive tense in SF in a study conducted by Lindqvist in 1979. She does not find it to be a confounding factor in her GF data. In her study on JF, she seems to suggest a difference in mood choice in relation to grammatical person, since she writes that “*nou* (3sg. impersonal pronoun) + subjunctive appeared more frequently than *jé* (1pl. pronoun) + subjunctive” (Jones, 2001, p.115). Chauveau (1998) finds that mood choice is not governed by grammatical person in Terre-Neuve French or Saint-Pierre and Miquelon French.

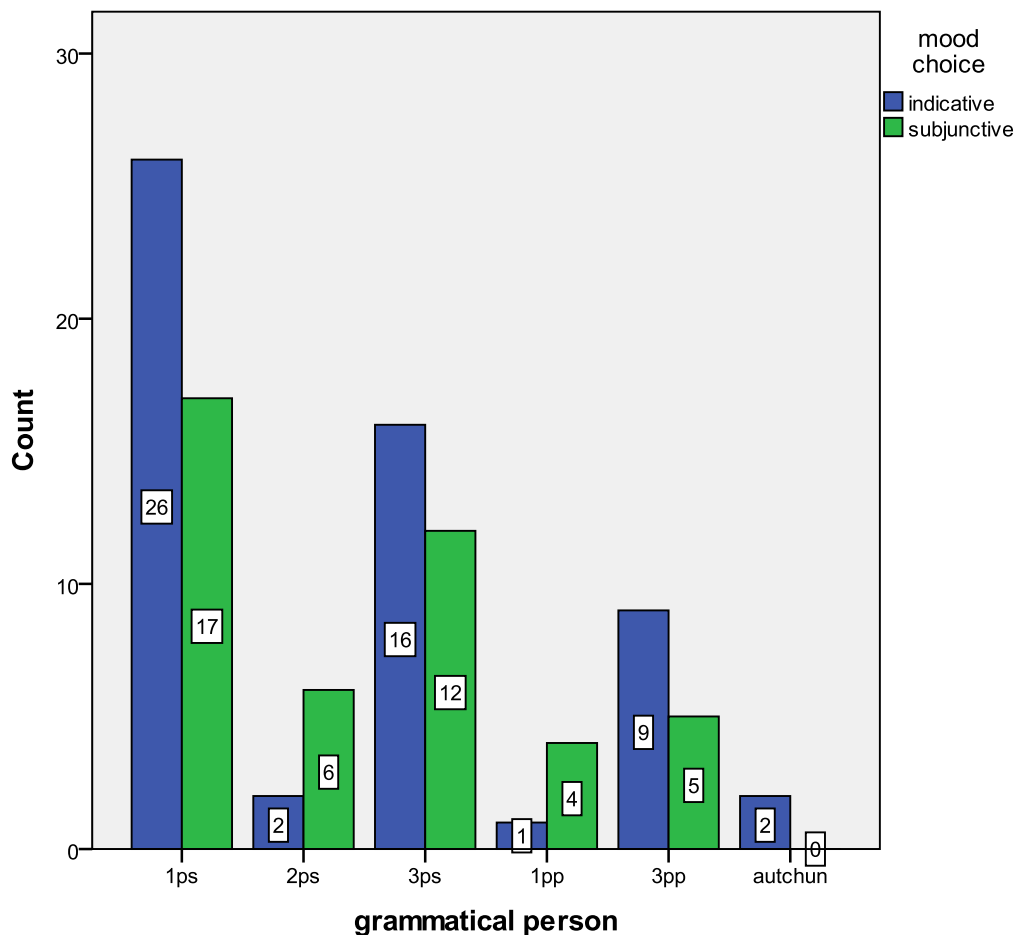


Figure 5.1 DV1 x IIV1 showing number of tokens in each category

Two subject pronouns were found to favour the subjunctive over the indicative in this study: 2ps (3:1) and 1pp (4:1). No statistically significant association between grammatical person and mood choice was found, however.

5.2.2 Grammatical subject type (IIV2)

This was tested as a constraint as it was included by Auger (1990) as a factor on the grounds that 'no overt subject' and mood choice might both be linked to register.

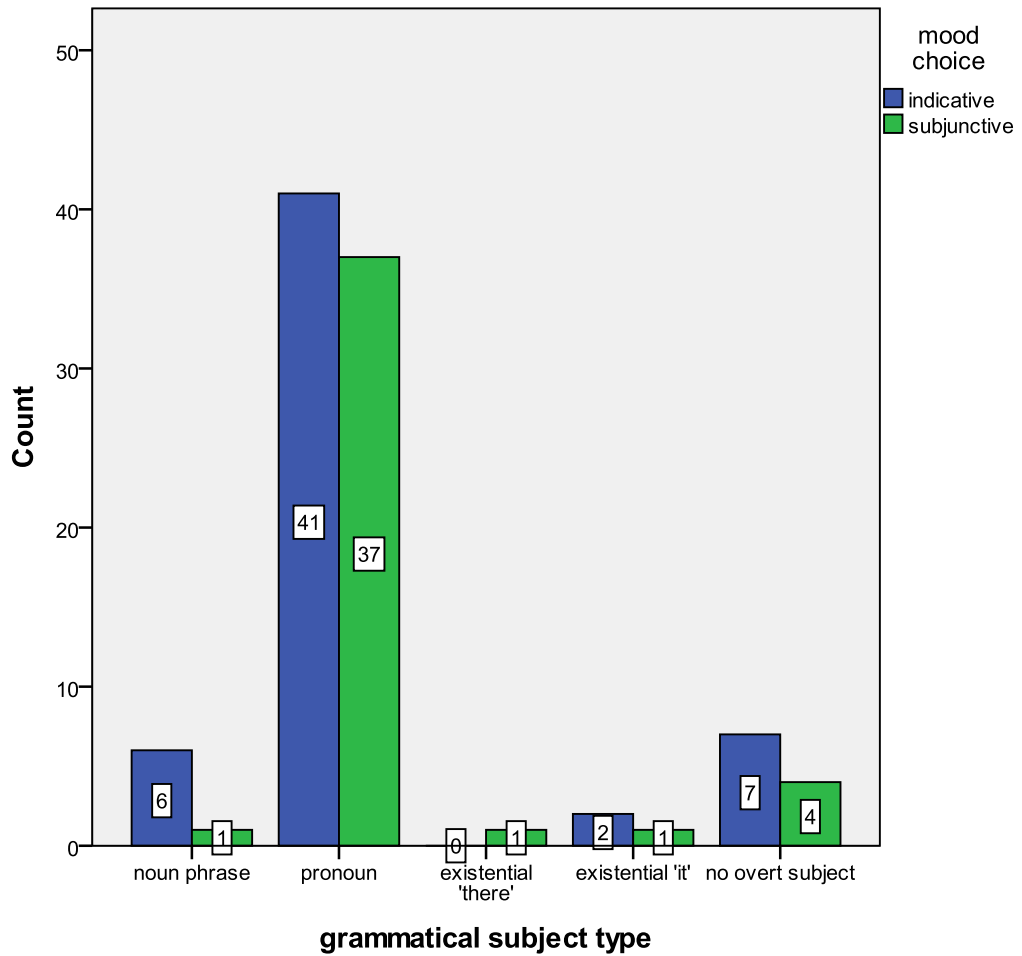


Figure 5.2 DV1 x IIV2 showing number of tokens in each category

No statistically significant association between grammatical subject type and mood choice was found in this study. The only subject type that was found to favour the subjunctive was existential 'there', however there is only one token of this. The most frequently occurring subject type by far is the pronoun with 78 tokens which showed a fairly even split between the two moods.

5.2.3 Noun phrase head (IIV3)

This is not a factor that has been tested before for the subjunctive, so it was included to extend the existing research.

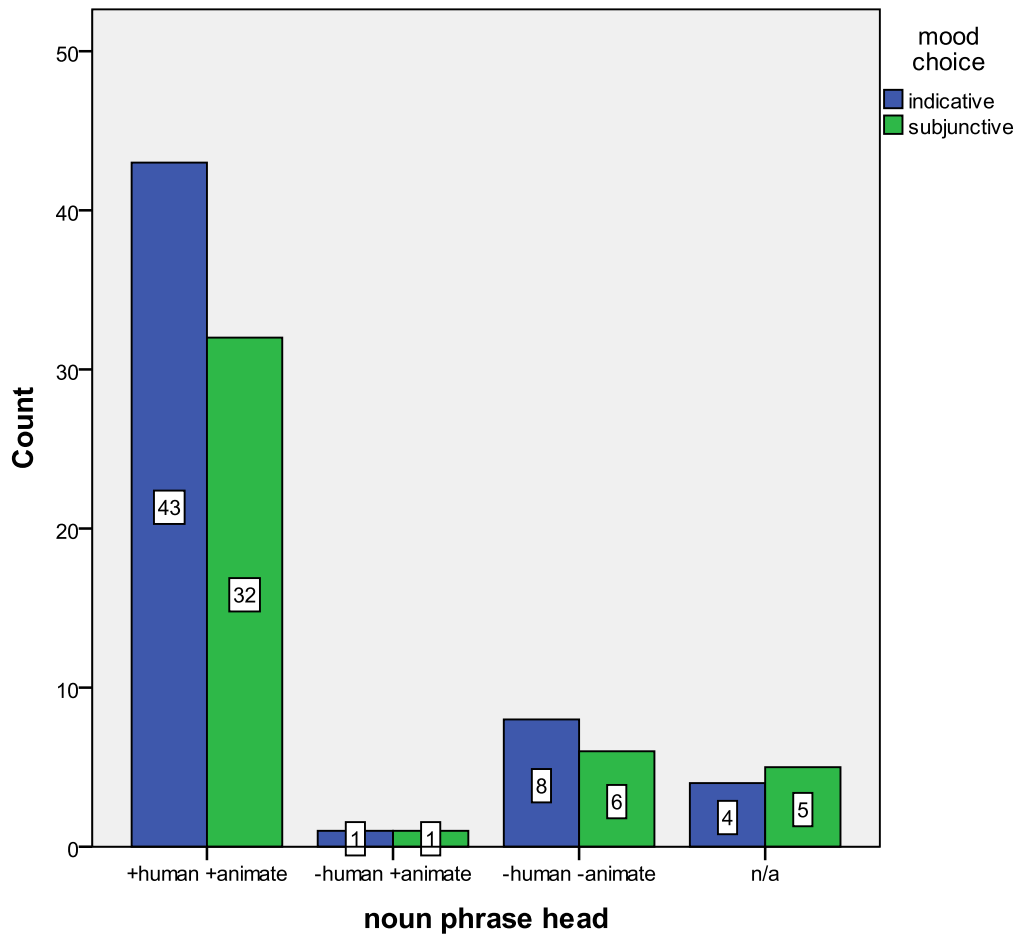


Figure 5.3 DV1 x IIV3 showing number of tokens in each category

No statistically significant association between noun phrase head and mood choice was found in this study. When the noun phrase head was -human, the subjunctive was slightly more likely to be selected; it occurred in 48% of -human cases as compared with the 43% of +human and ±animate cases.

5.2.4 Embedded verb (IIV4)

This was included in the analysis as it was included in the studies of Laurier (1989) and Poplack (1992). Jones (2000) also analyses her GF data for embedded verb, again, in order to discount it as a confounding factor since it was found to be a constraint on subjunctive tense in SF in Lindqvist's 1979 study. She finds it is not a confounding factor.

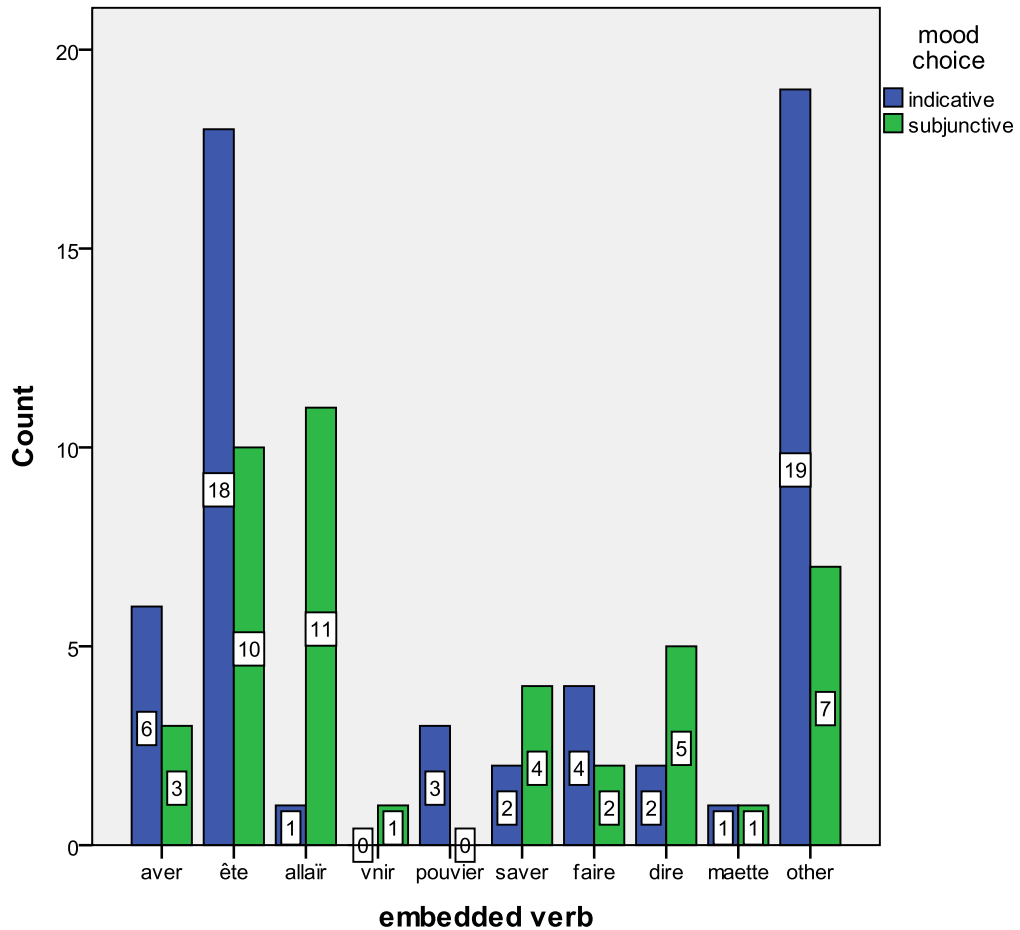


Figure 5.4 DV1 x IIV4 showing number of tokens in each category

A medium effect size significant association was found in this study between embedded verb and mood choice. Poplack (1992), too, finds that embedded verb is a constraint on mood choice in Ottawa-Hull French. Laurier (1989) finds that embedded verb is the second best linguistic predictor of mood choice in Ontarian French, with the subjunctive most likely to be generated after *être*. This finding should be taken as an indication only, however, since the variable context is based on prescribed norms. Chauveau (1998), on the other hand, finds that mood choice is not governed by embedded verb in Terre-Neuve French or Saint-Pierre and Miquelon French.

The distribution of mood choice across the embedded verbs in the chart above shows that three verbs clearly favour the subjunctive over the indicative⁶. These are (*s'en*) *allair* (92% subjunctive), *dire* (71%) and *saver* (67%). Rottet (1998) finds that only the verbs *être*, *avoir*,

⁶ Although *vnir* is 100% subjunctive, there was only one token.

pouvoir, savoir, voir and *faire* appear in the subjunctive in Cajun French, and Neumann-Holzschuh (2005) finds that only the most frequently occurring verbs take the subjunctive: *avoir, être, aller, savoir, pouvoir, venir, faire, and dire* in the four varieties she studied.

5.2.5 Frequency of verb in data (IIV5)

This was included in the analysis as it was found to be a constraint in the studies of Laurier (1989) and Poplack (1992).

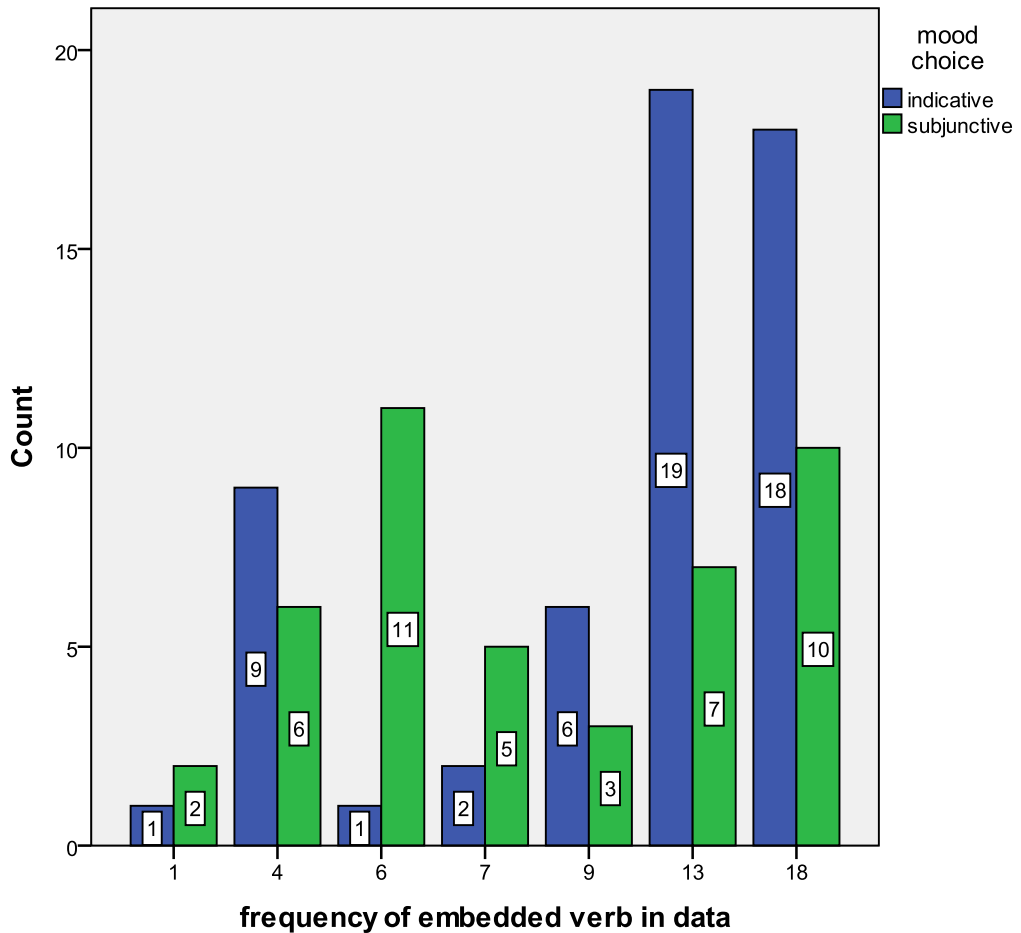


Figure 5.5 DV1 x IIV5 showing number of tokens in each category

There is no discernible pattern of distribution in the chart above. The most striking distribution is in the 6% frequency category, however the only verb in this category is *s'en allair* which is a high subjunctive-generating verb (see §5.2.4).

There was insufficient data for this factor to be able to enter it into a statistical analysis. Laurier (1989) finds frequency of embedded verb to be the second best linguistic, and third best overall, predictor of use of the subjunctive. Poplack (1992) also finds a significant association. She finds that the subjunctive is favoured when the embedded verb is frequent in the data and disfavoured when it is infrequent.

5.2.6 Form of verb (IIV6)

This was included in the analysis as it was found to be a constraint on mood choice by Poplack (1992).

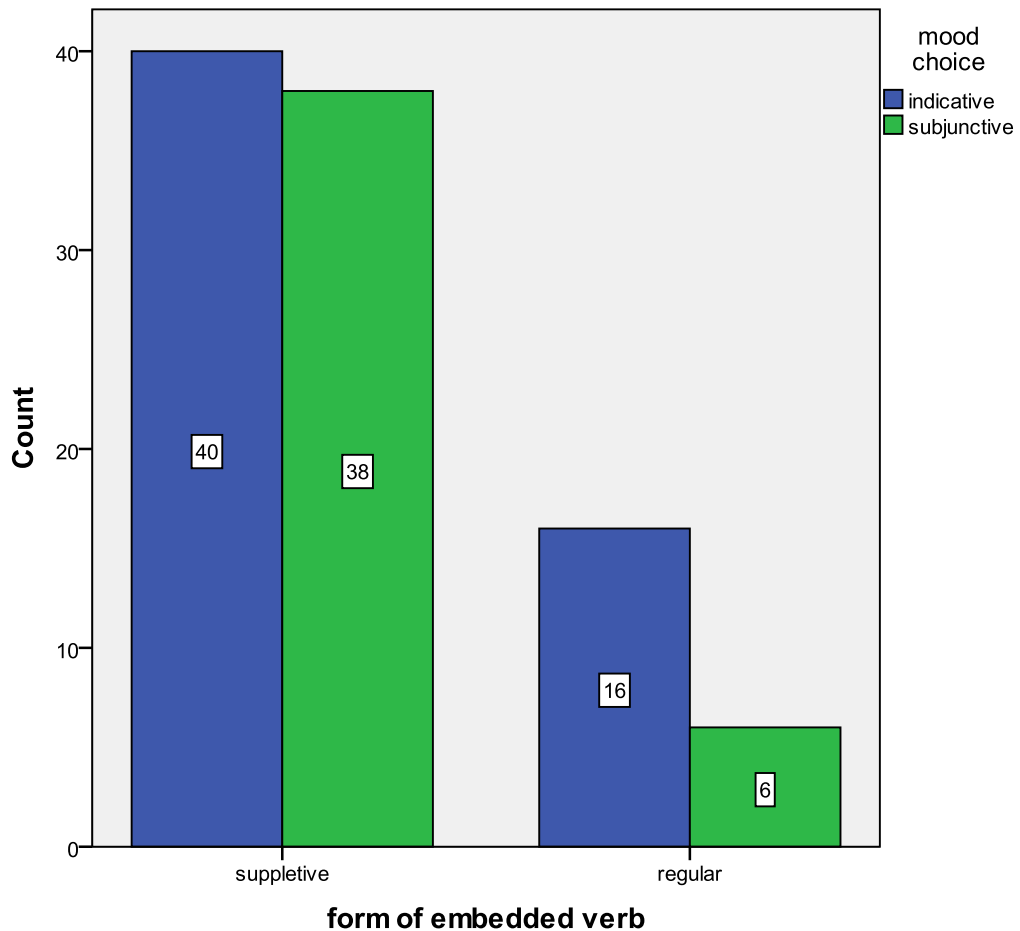


Figure 5.6 DV1 x IIV6 showing number of tokens in each category

No statistically significant association between the form of the verb and mood choice was found in this study. The chart above (repeated from Chapter 4) shows distribution of mood choice across the suppletive and regular embedded verb forms. It is not surprising that over six times as many suppletive as regular form verbs generated the subjunctive since the majority of the most commonly used verb (first group) forms are homophonous with the indicative. Mood choice is almost evenly split between subjunctive and indicative for suppletive forms, but regular forms favour the indicative at a ratio of approximately 3:1.

Poplack (1992) finds that the subjunctive is favoured when the embedded verb is suppletive and disfavoured when it is regular. Note that Poplack (1992) finds form and frequency of embedded verb to be highly correlated.

5.2.7 Trigger (IIV7)

This was included in the analysis as it was found to be a constraint on mood choice in all of the studies that included it as a factor.

5.2.7.1 Distribution of mood choice

Only six triggers in all were found to generate the subjunctive in the data of the present study. Two further triggers, *i's'peut qué* and 'negative antecedent', also generated the subjunctive, but were classified as categorical and therefore excluded from the analysis. The six subjunctive-generating triggers are shown in the table below (repeated from Chapter 4), along with the number of times and relative frequency with which they occurred in the data:

Trigger	N	%
<i>i' faout qué</i>	45	45
<i>dévànt qué</i>	19	19
<i>voulier qué</i>	17	17
<i>dànqué/entertchié qué/jusqu'a tchi qué</i>	12	12
<i>pour qué/afin qué</i>	5	5
<i>à mais qué</i>	2	2
	100	

Table 5.2 Frequency of occurrence of subjunctive-generating triggers in GF

It would appear that the number of triggers generating the subjunctive has decreased since Jones's collected her GF data in 1997. Jones lists nine triggers as generating the subjunctive at least 30% of the time in her data. She also lists a further eight which were found to generate the subjunctive in 0% - 30% of cases, however, with the exception of two which are shown to be categorically indicative, it is not clear which of the remaining six were found to generate the subjunctive. Comeau (2011) finds all six of the above triggers also generated the subjunctive in his data for Baie Sainte-Marie French.

Poplack (1992) does not list all her triggers, but writes that the trigger *falloir* is also the most frequently occurring in her data, representing almost two thirds of the 2,694 contexts. Laurier (1989), too, finds that *il faut que* is the most frequently occurring trigger at 46%, although this finding cannot be directly compared with the present study since he defines his variable context using all triggers from the literature. Auger (1988, 1990) finds that *il faut* is, by far, the most frequently occurring trigger in her data (54%), however she only extracted impersonal expressions.

A comparison of subjunctive retention rates for the six triggers across the three Channel Islands French studies is shown in the table below:

Trigger	Jones on GF (2000)	Jones on JF (2001)	Present study
<i>i' faout qué</i>	70-100%	59%	64%
<i>à mais qué</i>	70-100%	-	50%
<i>voulier qué</i>	70-100%	65%	41%
<i>pour qué/afin qué</i>	33%	14%	40%
<i>dàiqué/entertchié qué/jusqu'a tchi qué</i>	59%	-	17%
<i>dévànt qué</i>	0-30%	32%	16%

Table 5.3 Comparison of subjunctive retention rates per trigger in Jones (2000), Jones (2001) and the present study

The table above shows a drop in GF use of the subjunctive since 1997 for the top three subjunctive-generating triggers, *i' faout qué*, *à mais qué* and *voulier qué*, and for *dàiqué/entertchié qué*. It shows that mood choice has possibly remained quite stable following *dévànt qué*, and it shows a rise in use of the subjunctive following *pour qué/afin qué*. With the exception of *dévànt qué*, JF retention rates were lower than those of GF in the 2000-1 period.

It is worth noting that there are disparate accounts in the GF literature regarding mood use following *dàiqué qué*. While De Garis (1983) lists it as a subjunctive trigger, Tomlinson (2008) does not consider it to be a trigger at all. Instead, he describes it as being in the process of change, with some older speakers using the future tense after it and younger speakers using the present indicative. Lukis does list *dàiqué qué* as a subjunctive trigger in the 1979 edition of his publication, but then removes it from his list of conjunction triggers in his "rectified" (1985, Foreword) later edition.

In respect of Canadian varieties of French, subjunctive retention rates following the *falloir* trigger appear possibly higher overall than they are for Channel Islands French⁷. Auger (1988, 1990) finds that *il faut* generates the subjunctive in 94% of the 694 tokens in her data. Poplack (1992) finds that *falloir* generates the subjunctive in 89% of cases and that all the other verbal triggers generate the subjunctive in 54% of cases overall. Comeau finds that six of the verbal triggers in his study are 100% subjunctive-generating⁸. His seventh verbal trigger, *croire point*, showed variable mood choice (53%). He points out that this is the only trigger that does not fit into the volitive semantic category, since it has a dubitative function. Two of his five nonverbal triggers, *mais que* and *pour que*, were 100% (or almost) subjunctive-generating, and the other three showed variability. In respect of spoken Hexagonal French, Blanche-Benveniste (2006) finds that the subjunctive is generated by over fifty triggers and that *falloir* is the most prolific.

⁷ It is not possible to say for certain since Jones (2000) reports a range rather than an exact figure for GF.

⁸ The only trigger in the present study which was found to be 100% subjunctive-generating was *i' se peut qué*, but there was only one case of this trigger.

5.2.7.2 Statistical association with mood choice

A medium effect size significant association was found in this study between trigger and mood choice. The trigger found most likely to generate the subjunctive statistically was *i' faout qué*, followed by *voulier qué*.

Auger (1988, 1990) finds that trigger is the primary linguistic constraint in her data. Laurier (1989) finds that frequency of trigger was the best predictor of mood choice, with the triggers most statistically likely to generate the subjunctive being *voulier que* and *pour que*. Chauveau (1998), however, finds that mood choice is not governed by trigger in Terre-Neuve French or Saint-Pierre and Miquelon French. Poplack (1992) does not include trigger as a factor since she analyses *falloir* separately from the other verbal triggers. Neither Jones (2000 and 2001) nor Comeau (2011) carry out statistical tests in their studies.

5.2.8 Semantic class of trigger verb (IIV8)

This was included in the analysis because, in much of the literature over the past few decades on the subjunctive mood in Romance languages, both theorists and prescriptive grammars have proposed that choice between indicative and subjunctive is semantically based.

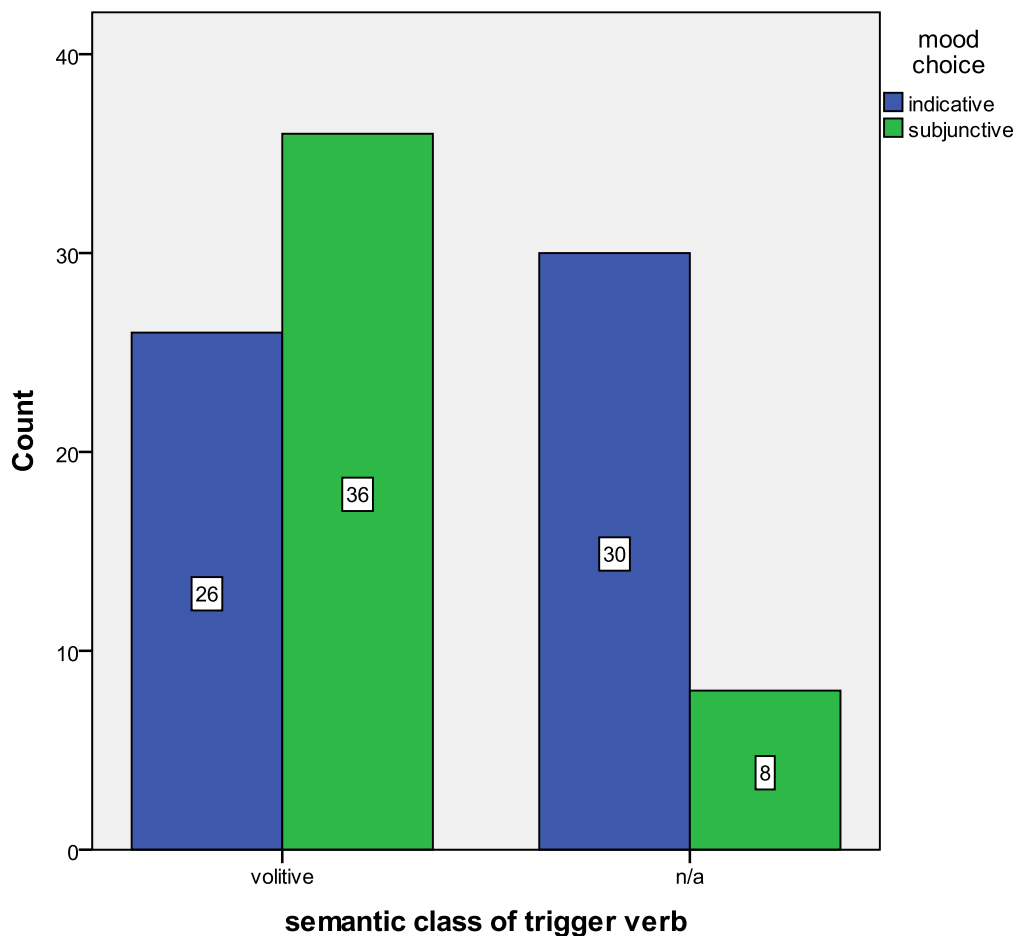


Figure 5.7 DV1 x IIV8 showing number of tokens in each category

There were only two (variable) verbal triggers found to generate the subjunctive in the data, *i' faout qué* and *voulier qué*. These both fell into the volitive semantic class which favoured the subjunctive overall. The n/a category in the chart above represents the nonverbal triggers, *à mais qué*, *pour qué/afin qué*, *dàiqué/entertchié qué/jusqu'a tchi qué* and *dévànt qué*. The chart shows that nonverbal triggers are almost four times more likely to choose the indicative than the subjunctive.

It was not possible to carry out a statistical analysis of this factor since both verbal triggers were classified as volitive. The only study to include semantic class of trigger verb in a statistical analysis is Poplack (1992). She finds that, for triggers other than *falloir*, semantic class of trigger verb is the main contributing factor to use of the subjunctive, with volitive verbs favouring the subjunctive the most, followed by the emotive class. Verbs of opinion were found to disfavour the subjunctive. Poplack (1992) concludes, however, that mood choice is not semantically conditioned since (i) there is a high level of tense concordance (93% of conditional embedded verbs are triggered by a conditional matrix verb), (ii) modal pos is not a statistically significant factor, and (iii) there is a high degree of variation which she is unable to categorise within each of the semantic categories.

Jones (2000 and 2001) does not carry out a statistical analysis in either of her studies, but concludes that subjunctive use is lexically rather than semantically motivated since there is no change of meaning when the indicative is substituted for the subjunctive. Neumann-Holzschuh (2005), too, finds that mood choice is not semantically conditioned in her comparative study of four varieties of Acadian French. Comeau (2011), on the other hand, concludes from the little variation that he finds in mood choice in Baie Sainte-Marie French that mood choice centres on \pm assertion.

5.2.9 Tense of trigger verb (IIV9)

This was included in the analysis as it was found to be a constraint by Poplack (1992) and tense concordance was a salient point in most of the studies reviewed.

5.2.9.1 Distribution of mood choice

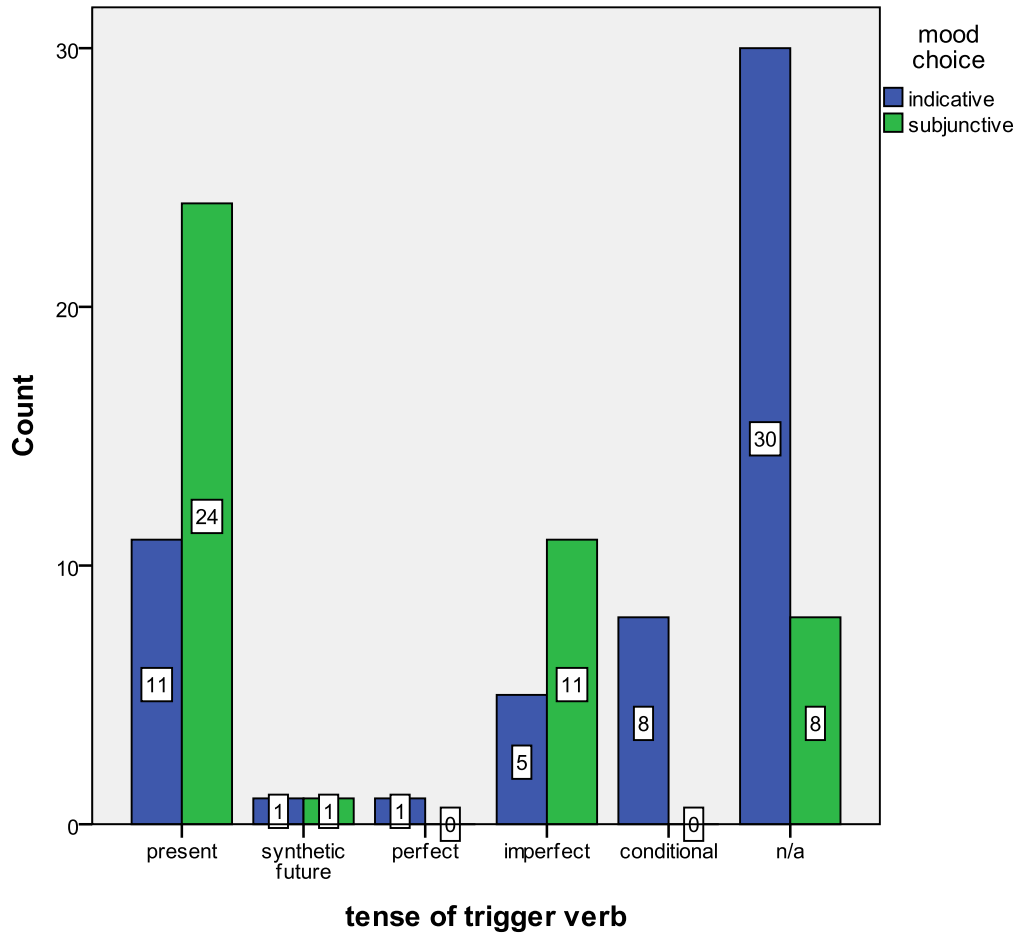


Figure 5.8 DV1 x IIV9 showing number of tokens in each category

Comeau (2011) finds that the general trend in his data is that past tense triggers tend to generate the indicative and present tense triggers generate the subjunctive. The chart above, however, shows that the present and imperfect tense triggers both favour the subjunctive in GF, generating the two moods in the same ratio 69%:31%. Auger (1988, 1990) finds the same for Quebec City French and also finds that the conditional trigger tense favours the indicative, which is the same for GF as shown above.

The table below (repeated from Chapter 4) shows tense sequences in subjunctive contexts:

Trigger tense	Embedded tense	N	%	Total N
present	present subjunctive	23	66	35
	present	9	26	
	analytic future	1	3	
	imperfect	1	3	
	imperfect subjunctive	1	3	
	past historic, synthetic future, conditional, pluperfect, ambiguous/unclear indicative	0	0	
imperfect	imperfect subjunctive	8	50	16
	imperfect	3	19	
	present subjunctive	3	19	
	present	1	6	
	conditional	1	6	
	past historic, analytic future, synthetic future, pluperfect, ambiguous/unclear indicative	0	0	
conditional	conditional	3	38	8
	imperfect	2	25	
	ambiguous/unclear indicative	2	25	
	synthetic future	1	13	
	present, past historic, analytic future, pluperfect, present subjunctive, imperfect subjunctive	0	0	
synthetic future	past historic, present subjunctive	1	50	2
	present, analytic future, synthetic future, imperfect, conditional, pluperfect, imperfect subjunctive, ambiguous/unclear indicative	0	0	
perfect	past historic	1	100	1
	present, analytic future, synthetic future, imperfect, conditional, pluperfect, present subjunctive, imperfect subjunctive, ambiguous/unclear indicative	0	0	
				62

Table 5.4 Tense sequences in subjunctive contexts

The most striking thing about the table above is the tense concordance. The present tense triggers generate present tense (subjunctive and indicative) in the embedded clause in 92% of cases, the imperfect tense triggers generate imperfect tense (subjunctive and indicative) in 69% of cases, and the conditional tense triggers generate conditional tense in 38% of cases. Comeau's

(2011) results show tense concordance rates similar to those in the present study, with the exception of the conditional tense triggers which generate the subjunctive in 100% of cases in his data. Poplack (1992) reports a strong tense concordance effect in contexts in which the subjunctive was not generated. She reports concordance rates of 46% for the present tense triggers, 54% for the imperfect, 78% for the conditional, 100% for the periphrastic future, and 35% for perfect tense triggers. These figures are lower than those for GF for the present and imperfect tense triggers, but this may be because only the indicative tokens are reported.

Jones's (2000) analysis of tense sequences in GF is not directly comparable with that of the present study since she defines her variable context using all triggers in the literature. Her data, show, however, that imperfect tense triggers generate the imperfect subjunctive in 57% of cases, the present subjunctive in 23% and the conditional in 20% of cases. Jones (2000) finds that conditional tense triggers generate the conditional in 69% of cases.

Much is made in the literature of the conditional replacing the subjunctive (e.g. Jones 2000 and 2001, Poplack 1992, Blanche-Benveniste 2006). The table above shows that, in GF, there is only a very small challenge posed to the subjunctive by the conditional which appears in only four (6.5%) of a total sixty-two cases. When the conditional tense concordance effect is removed, it appears in only one (1.9%) out of fifty-four cases. This is following an imperfect tense trigger where the present subjunctive and the imperfect indicative represent bigger rivals at 19%.

5.2.9.2 Statistical association with mood choice

A medium effect size significant association was found in this study between trigger tense and mood choice. The only two studies to include trigger tense as a factor in a statistical analysis are those carried out by Auger (1988, 1990) and Poplack (1992). Both studies find trigger tense to be the biggest linguistic contributor to mood choice for the *falloir* trigger. Poplack's (1992) findings show that the imperfect, perfect, present and future tense triggers favour the subjunctive while the conditional disfavors it. In relation to verbal triggers other than *falloir*, Poplack (1992) finds that trigger tense is the second highest contributing factor to use of the subjunctive, after semantic class of the trigger verb, with imperfect and present tense triggers favouring the subjunctive and perfect, analytic future and conditional tense triggers disfavouring it.

5.2.10 Structure of trigger clause (IIV10)

This was included in the analysis as it was tested as a factor in the studies of Auger (1988, 1990) and Poplack (1992).

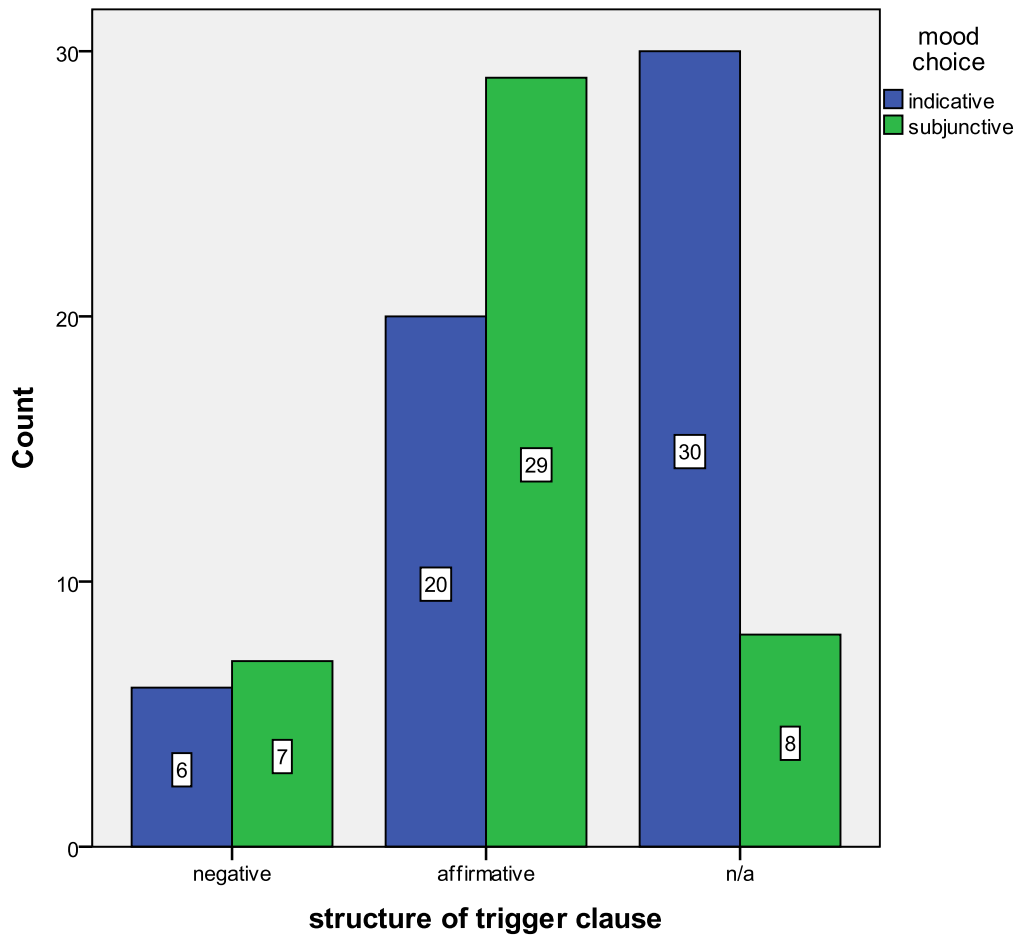


Figure 5.9 DV1 x IIV10 showing number of tokens in each category

While both negative and affirmative trigger clause structures favour the subjunctive, it is a little more likely to appear after an affirmative structure (59%) than a negative (54%). Again, the n/a category represents nonverbal triggers.

No statistically significant association between the structure of the trigger clause and mood choice was found in this study. Poplack (1992), too, finds that the structure of the trigger clause is not a factor contributing to choice of the subjunctive.

5.2.11 Relative pronoun (IIV11)

This was included in the analysis as it was found to be a factor in Poplack's (1992) study and in Auger's (1988, 1990) study.

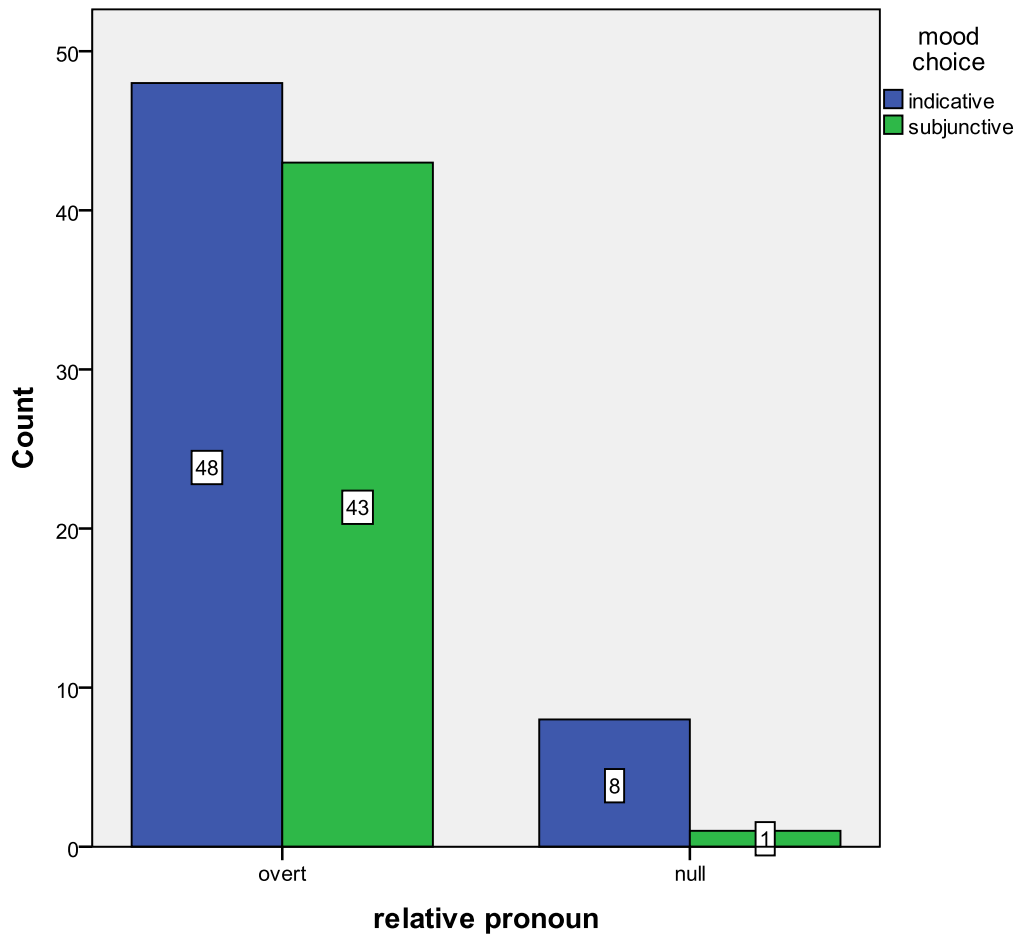


Figure 5.10 DV1 x IIV11 showing number of tokens in each category

The chart above (repeated from Chapter 4) shows that the indicative is more likely to be chosen whether or not a relative pronoun is present after the trigger. If the relative pronoun is absent, the indicative is eight times more likely to be chosen than the subjunctive, however if it present, it is only 6% more likely to be chosen. Auger (1990) finds virtually no difference in the subjunctive retention rates in relation to presence (94%) or absence (93%) of the relative pronoun. Jones (2001) finds, for JF, that the presence of a relative pronoun in nonverbal triggers does not necessarily trigger the subjunctive.

A small effect size significant association was found in this study between the presence or absence of a relative pronoun and mood choice. The presence of a relative pronoun is more likely to generate the subjunctive mood than the absence of one. Poplack (1992), too, finds that the presence of a relative pronoun favours use of the subjunctive while absence disfavors it for

verbal triggers other than *falloir*. In relation to the *falloir* trigger, however, Poplack (1992) finds that it is not a factor contributing to choice of the subjunctive.

5.2.12 Modal part of speech in utterance (IIV12)

This factor was included as an objective, testable factor since it was often found, when examining this data, that “speaker intent is simply inaccessible to the analyst when it is accompanied by no other surface correlates or independent motivation” (Poplack, 1992, p.256).

This is also a factor included in the studies of Auger (1988, 1990) and Poplack (1992).

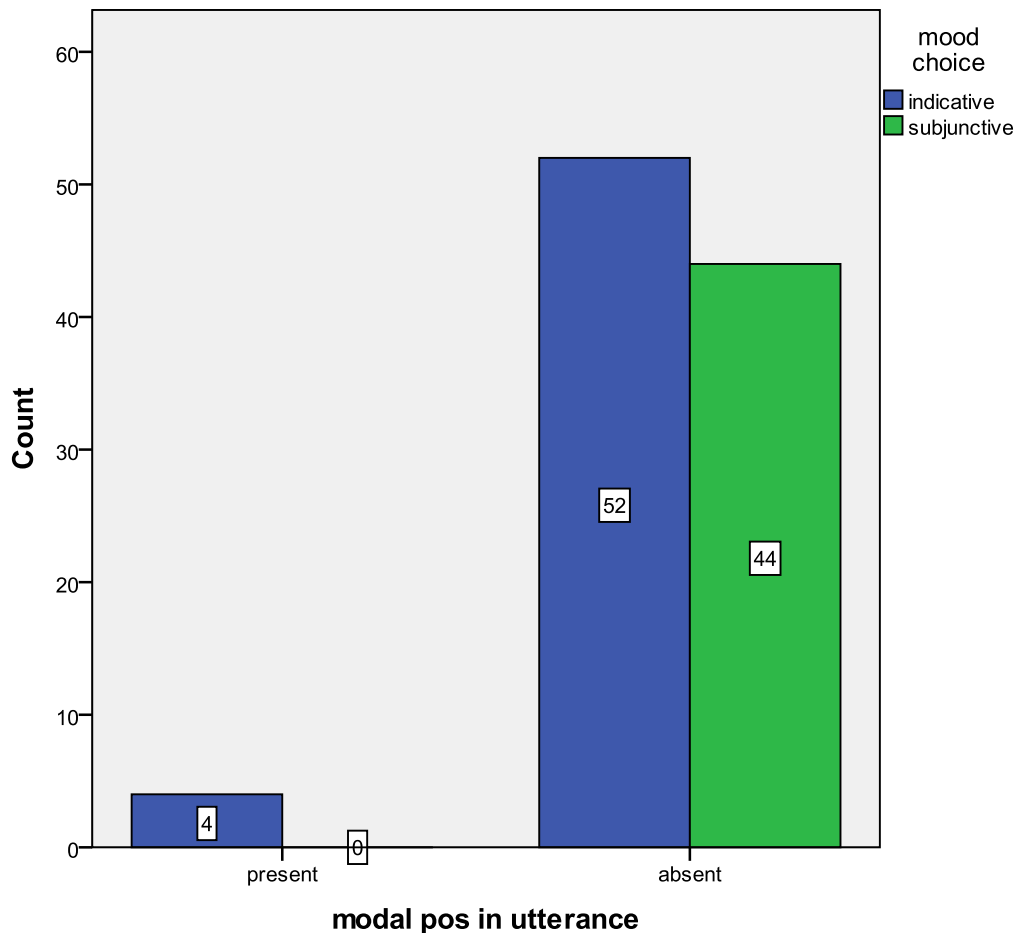


Figure 5.11 DV1 x IIV12 showing number of tokens in each category

As can be seen from the chart above, there were not enough cases of present modal pos to be able to reach any conclusion on the distribution of mood choice for this factor. There were also insufficient data to be able to enter it into a statistical analysis. Poplack (1992) finds, however, that the presence/absence of a modal pos is not a factor contributing to mood choice.

5.2.13 Distance between trigger (clause) and subordinate/relative clause (IIV13)

This was included in the analysis as it was included as a factor by Auger (1988, 1990) and Poplack (1992).

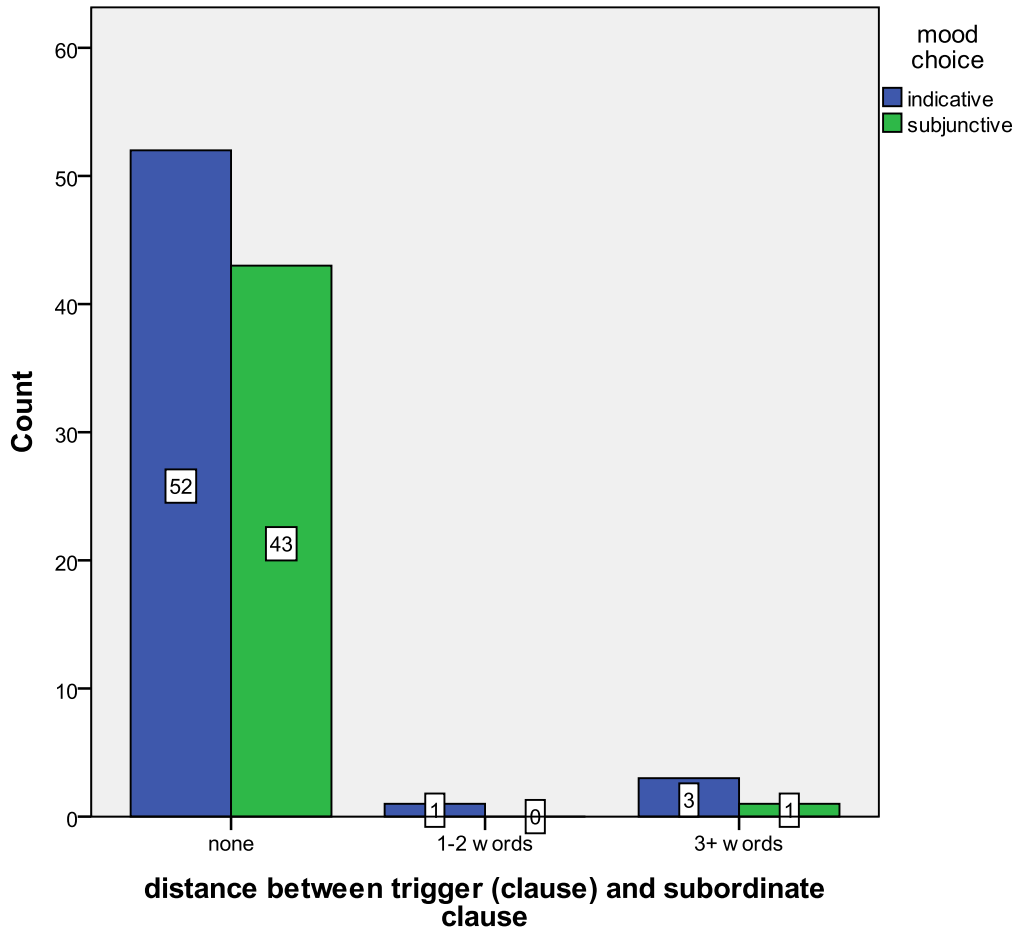


Figure 5.12 DV1 x IIV13 showing number of tokens in each category

The distribution in the chart above does not reveal anything about the relationship between intervening material between the trigger and the embedded verb and mood choice. There was insufficient data to be able to enter it into a statistical analysis. Poplack (1992) finds, for the *falloir* trigger, that the subjunctive is favoured when there is no distance between trigger and subordinate clause and disfavoured when there is.

5.2.14 Register (IIV14)

This was included in the analysis as it was a factor examined in relation to mood choice in Jones (2000) for GF. While register is differentiated in Jones (2000) between mood choice in spoken and written data, differentiation in this study is between one-to-one and group interviews. This factor was also a useful way of measuring whether my own GF had any linguistic influence on that of the participants in one-to-one interviews.

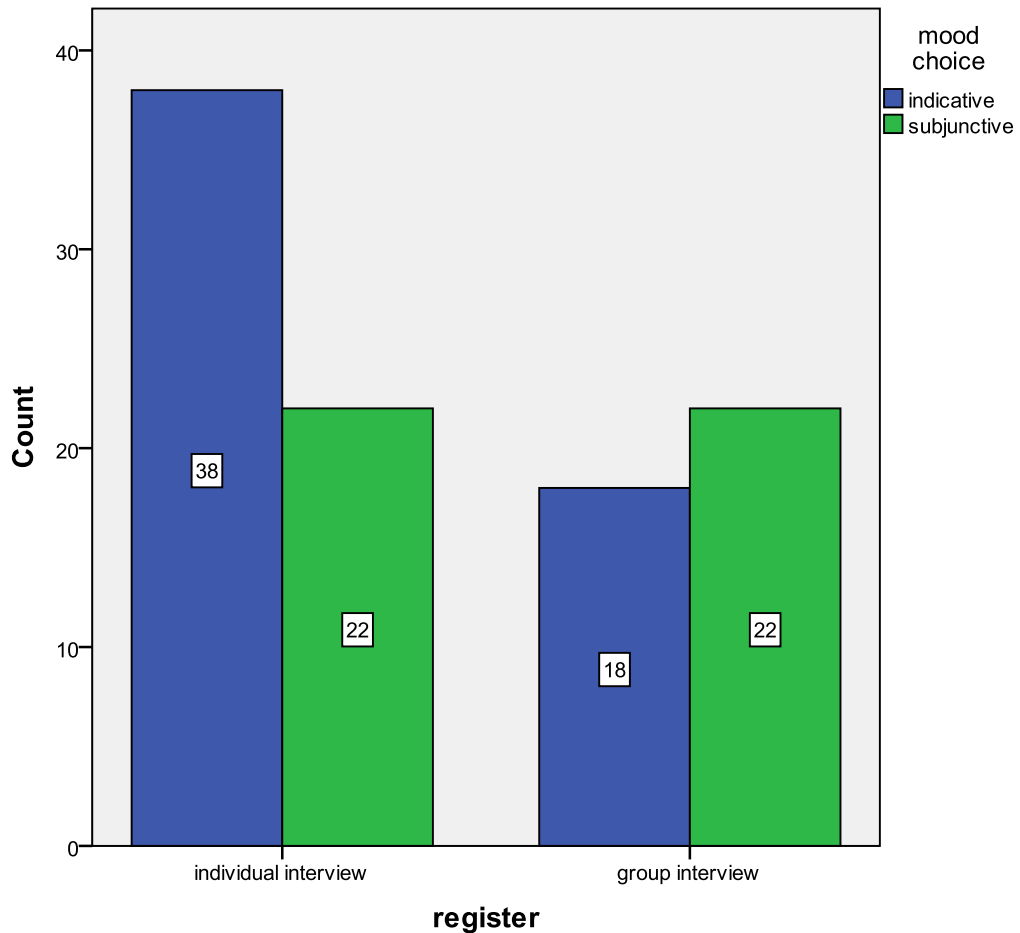


Figure 5.13 DV1 x IIV14 showing number of tokens in each category

No statistically significant association between register and mood choice was found in this study. The chart above (repeated from Chapter 4) shows that group interview participants were 10% more likely to choose the subjunctive than the indicative while one-to-one interview participants were 26% more likely to choose the indicative than the subjunctive. This finding is counterintuitive. It is possible, therefore, that my own GF had a 'simplifying' influence on that of the participants in the one-to-one interviews. It should be noted that no triggers found to have generated the subjunctive in the present study appeared in the semi-structured interview questionnaire which was used in the one-to-one interviews.

It is interesting that Dorian (1994), in her study of ESG, reports finding that some participants use the standard variants more in free speech than they do in elicitation tasks. She finds, overall, that her participants vary in the degree to which they switch to more standard variants during elicitation tasks. She also reports that speech accommodation, while it is a constraint on code choice, it is not a constraint on personal-pattern variation. She points out that the fact that her participants come from close-knit communities, where there is little need for speech accommodation, could be a confounding factor in this finding.

Jones (2000) finds only a fairly small difference in subjunctive use between written and spoken GF. Jones reports, in her analysis of written tense sequences, that the imperfect subjunctive is used in 67% of all possible cases and the present subjunctive in 28% of cases. This is slightly higher than the 57% and 23% respectively she finds in the spoken data. It is possible, therefore, to conjecture that there is little difference in usage in spoken language between formal and informal contexts in GF, and that the reason for this is possibly the same as the one given by Dorian in respect of close-knit communities.

5.2.15 The optimum subjunctive-generating linguistic environments (OLEs) in Guernsey French

The analyses above have shown that ranking in terms of optimum linguistic environments for producing a subjunctive in GF are as shown in the table below. IIVs 4, 7 and 9 are the main constraints since they showed a medium sized association with mood choice, and IIV11 is a minor constraint since it showed a small sized association. The categories within each of the four constraints are presented from most to least likely to produce the subjunctive as read from top to bottom. The number of tokens has been taken into consideration in the rankings.

IIV7 Trigger	IIV9 Trigger tense	IIV4 Embedded verb	IIV11 Relative pronoun
<i>i' faout qué</i>	present/imperfect	<i>(s'en) allair</i>	overt
<i>voulier qué</i>	synthetic future	other	null
<i>pour qué/afin qué</i>		<i>ête</i>	
<i>à mais qué</i>			
<i>dànqué/entertchié qué/jusqu'a tchi qué</i>			
<i>dévànt qué</i>			

Table 5.5 Ranking of categories within statistically significant linguistic constraints

The top four optimum subjunctive-generating linguistic environments (OLEs) in GF are, therefore, in order from most to least:

1. *i' faout qué* + present/imperfect + (*s'en*) *allair* + overt relative pronoun
2. *voulier qué* + present/imperfect + (*s'en*) *allair* + overt relative pronoun

OLE scores have been calculated for each participant based on the presence of the OLE environments shown above in bullets 1 and 2 for the three main constraints in each token context i.e. those with a medium sized association with mood choice⁹. These scores represent the likelihood that each participant will produce the subjunctive given the linguistic environment(s) in which each of their token(s) is set.

Participant ref	EIV1 (age)	N elements present	N tokens	OLE score (%)	DV3 (relative frequency)	Discrepancy (DV3 minus OLE)
25	43	6	2	100	100	·
1	48	6	5	40	0	-40
7	59	0	3	0	0	·
4	61	2	1	67	0	-67
2	62	2	1	67	100	+33
3	63	2	2	33	0	-33
8	63	6	7	29	14	-15
35	67	2	1	67	100	+33
36	67	4	4	33	25	-8
11	70	5	3	56	33	-23
15	71	0	1	0	0	·
39	71	3	1	100	100	·
16	73	5	6	28	0	-28
17	73	3	1	100	100	·
12	74	6	2	50	50	·
33	74	5	6	28	33	+5
40	74	4	2	67	100	+33
23	76	8	6	44	50	+6
9	79	10	5	67	100	+33
31	79	17	8	71	38	-33

⁹ The fourth constraint in the OLE, IIV11, was constant across 91% of the 100 contexts, and would therefore not have added any real information to the OLE score had it been included in the calculation.

37	80	0	1	0	0	.
38	80	0	1	0	0	.
34	81	3	3	33	0	-33
30	82	5	2	83	100	+17
13	85	0	1	0	0	.
5	87	0	5	0	0	.
19	87	4	2	67	100	+33
43	87	3	3	33	67	+34
42	88	2	2	33	100	+67
28	88	4	2	67	100	+33
29	89	4	8	17	75	+58
14	100	7	3	78	100	+22

Table 5.6 OLE score for each participant with relative frequency with which they used the subjunctive (DV3)

It was not possible to carry out a statistical test to determine the association between age and discrepancy, however there appears to be a relationship between the two, since there are mainly minus signs in the lower age range and mainly plus signs in the upper age range. An analysis was carried out to quantify the level of association between the OLE and DV3 scores. Preliminary analyses showed that the assumptions of normality, linearity and homoscedasticity¹⁰ are violated. A Spearman Rank Order correlation analysis was therefore carried out. Results showed a large, positive correlation between the OLE and DV3 scores, $\rho = .759$, $n = 32$, $p < .001$, with OLE elements helping to explain 57.6% of the variance in participants' use of the subjunctive.

5.3 External constraints on mood choice in Guernsey French

The results from the analyses of the external independent factors will be compared with those of other studies and will be discussed in relation to theory from both variationist sociolinguistics and endangered languages. Atypical cases will be identified and sociolinguistic and linguistic data will be examined in order to find an explanation for the anomalous use of the subjunctive by these individual participants. All the elements in this section will be synthesised in a brief summary at the end.

¹⁰ Homoscedasticity means the "variability in scores for variable X should be similar at all values of variable Y" (Pallant, 2010, p.126).

5.3.1 Age (EIV1)

This factor was included in the analysis as it has primary relevance in a study of authenticity in an endangered language where perceptions are generally that the oldest speakers use the most authentic language. Evidence of change in progress has been found in numerous endangered language studies (e.g. Dorian 1981, Schmidt 1985, Kroskrity 1993).

5.3.1.1 Distribution of mood choice

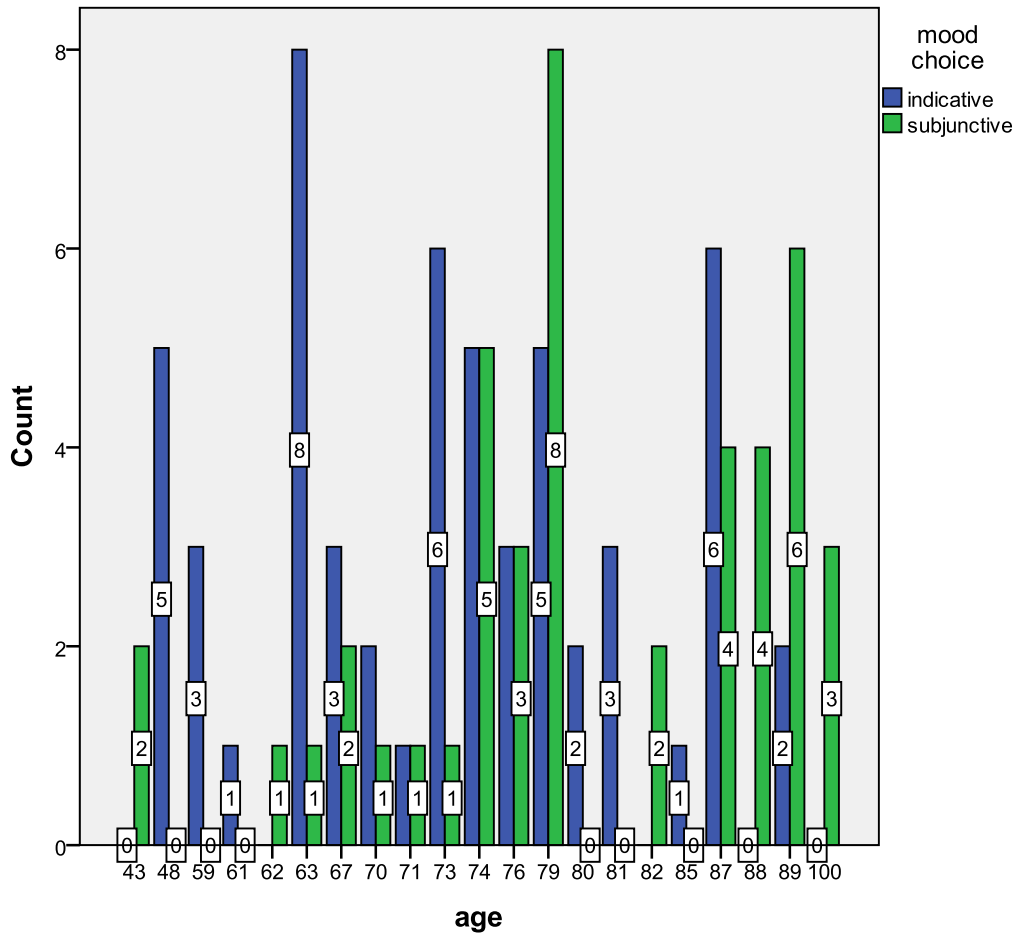


Figure 5.14 EIV1 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

The chart above shows the number of subjunctive and indicative cases for each age represented in the sample (see statistical tables in Appendix P for distribution of DV1 across all the external factors). The distribution suggests a possible shift from subjunctive to indicative dominance happening around the 74 to 76 age group. This observation becomes more significant when age group is examined in §5.3.2.

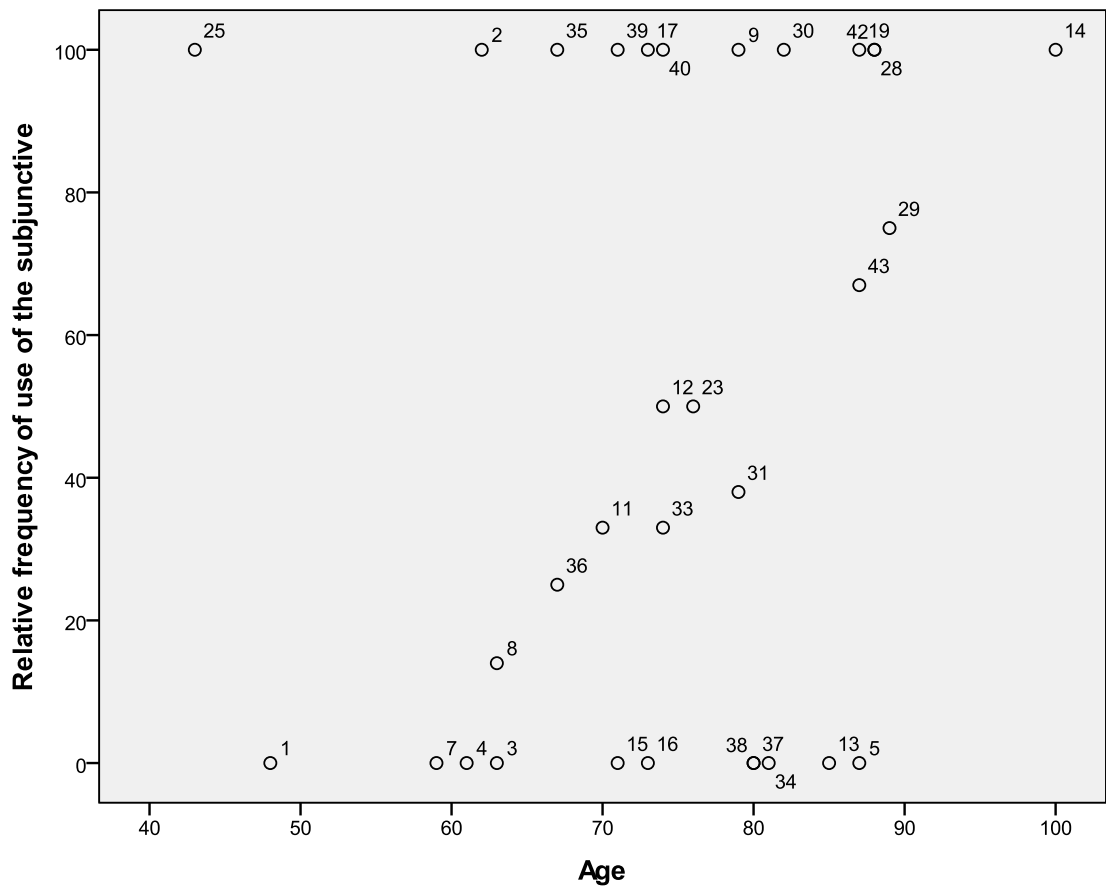


Figure 5.15 EIV1 x DV3

The scatter chart above (repeated from Chapter 4) indicates a strong positive correlation between age and use of the subjunctive for around half of the sample. The other half, however, are spread out along the 0% or 100% lines, making the overall distribution a z-shaped formation. This z-shaped distribution is unusual in respect of generational change, where an s-shaped curve is the norm, and even more so since the beginning and end of the shift are visible. It may be that this type of change in progress distribution is a common feature in endangered languages where there is a higher than normal level of variability and rate of change, but that it has just not been identified graphically before. If this is the case, then use of the classic sociolinguistic factor, age, to determine change in progress in an endangered language may mask the true picture. This distribution certainly does not tie in with the foundational principle of variationist sociolinguistics that individuals “are believed to be a representation of the community as a whole” (Tagliamonte, 2012, p.132) and it challenges the implication that “individual variation is insignificant in the description of linguistic and social covariance” (Wolfram and Beckett, 2000, p.6). Taking the oldest speakers in the sample as an illustration of this point, it can be seen in the chart above that five (42%) of the twelve oldest speakers (aged 80 and over) never use the subjunctive. This figure of 42% is far higher than one that might befit the description of “exceptional cases” (Wolfram and Beckett, 2000, p.6).

Two participants are identifiable in the chart as having atypical behaviour in their use of the subjunctive as compared with expected use suggested by the chart. S25 and S2 are both 85% or more removed from their nearest age cohorts in terms of their relative frequency scores for use of the subjunctive. The social and linguistic factors that possibly explain this atypical use are examined below.

S25 (relative frequency = 100%)

S25's level of use of the subjunctive is higher than would be expected for his age. It is useful to compare participant S25 with S1 to uncover possible explanations, since they are of similar age but are polarised in their use of the subjunctive. S25 (aged 43) produces the subjunctive in 100% of cases and S1 (aged 48) produces it in 0% of cases. S25's OLE score is 100% as compared with S1's 40%, so it is possible linguistic factors are contributing to S25's atypical result. It is also possible that social factors offer an explanation.

A comparison of the sociolinguistic profiles of the two participants shows that the most likely social reason for their different usage is that S25 reports using GF 20% of the time in an average week, while S1 reports only 5% use of the language. While both participants have one or both parent(s) in their eighties, S25 lived with his parents until very recently and is still in close daily contact, whereas S1 went on to further education in England after school and now lives with his wife and children in a different part of the island to his mother. Both participants report using mostly English with their mothers, however S25 says he uses half GF and half English with his father. S25 also uses GF socially when possible. S25 has remained living in a GF-speaking parish all his life, while S1 has settled in a non-GF speaking parish. These explanations are in keeping with the findings of Kroskrity (1993) for Arizona Tewa who lists age of parents and degree of intergenerational contact as two factors which contribute to age group atypicality.

S2 (relative frequency = 100%)

S2's level of use of the subjunctive is also higher than would be expected for her age. S2's OLE score was 67%, so it is possible social factors are also playing a part in constraining her mood choice. Although S2 (aged 62) has lived her whole life in Castel, she reports never speaking GF as a child. Her mother came from the Vale and her father came from St Sampson's. Sjögren (1964) describes the Vale in 1926 as English-dominant with most people under the age of 30 having only a passive knowledge of frequently used GF words, and only a limited number still being able to speak the language fluently. This would probably have been the linguistic context in which S2's mother would have grown up. Sjögren (1964) describes a similar situation for the rural parts of St Sampson and writes that there would have been fewer than a dozen people able to speak GF in the urban parts of the parish. Such a language acquisition background would suggest very little likelihood of subjunctive use at all by S2. It is possible that the reason for her 100%

subjunctive use is that she is self-taught and that, therefore, her linguistic influence will have come mainly from the western parishes. She translates and reads a news bulletin into GF that is transmitted once a week on the radio. It is possible that she consults written sources while preparing her translations and/or that she consults older speakers who are most likely to come from one of the western parishes¹¹. She also teaches the language to primary school children and reports that she uses GF about 20% of the time in an average week 'now'. It should be taken into account, too, that there is a mismatch between the data recorded on S2's Speaker Profile questionnaire and what she said during the interview. S2 is one of the participants who completed the questionnaire by post. In the interview, she said that she sometimes used GF with her parents as a child and sometimes with her grandmother who lived in the family home for a few years until S2 was 16 or 17.

5.3.1.2 Statistical association with mood choice

The fact that age was not found to be a statistically significant factor is probably due to the presence of these two atypical cases. When S2 and S25 were removed from the dataset, the results showed a medium, positive correlation. This indicates that, on the whole, the older speakers use the traditional variant and the younger speakers do not. It is possible, however, that trigger may be a confounding factor in this result (see Chapter 3, §3.7.2).

This finding reinforces the point made above that use of variationist methodology in an endangered language may act to conceal the true picture since it does not take into account the individual. Neither S2 nor S25 are classified as outliers in statistical terms and so would not be considered to be skewing results. It is clear, however, that their presence is acting to skew results.

5.3.2 Age group (EIV2)

This was included in the analysis as, again, it is of primary importance in a study of authenticity in an endangered language and is used as a factor in most studies. Trudgill (1983, p.125), for example, points out that intergenerational transmission over each successive generation in an obsolescent language will produce "imperfect learning". It was also included as a factor since it was hypothesised that the 76-85 age group would be anomalous in terms of a change in progress pattern since they were the age group evacuated as children during WW2 (see §5.3.7).

¹¹ Apart from S2, I only encountered one brother and sister who came from a northern parish (Vale) during my fieldwork. Unfortunately, I was not able to record the brother.

5.3.2.1 Distribution of mood choice

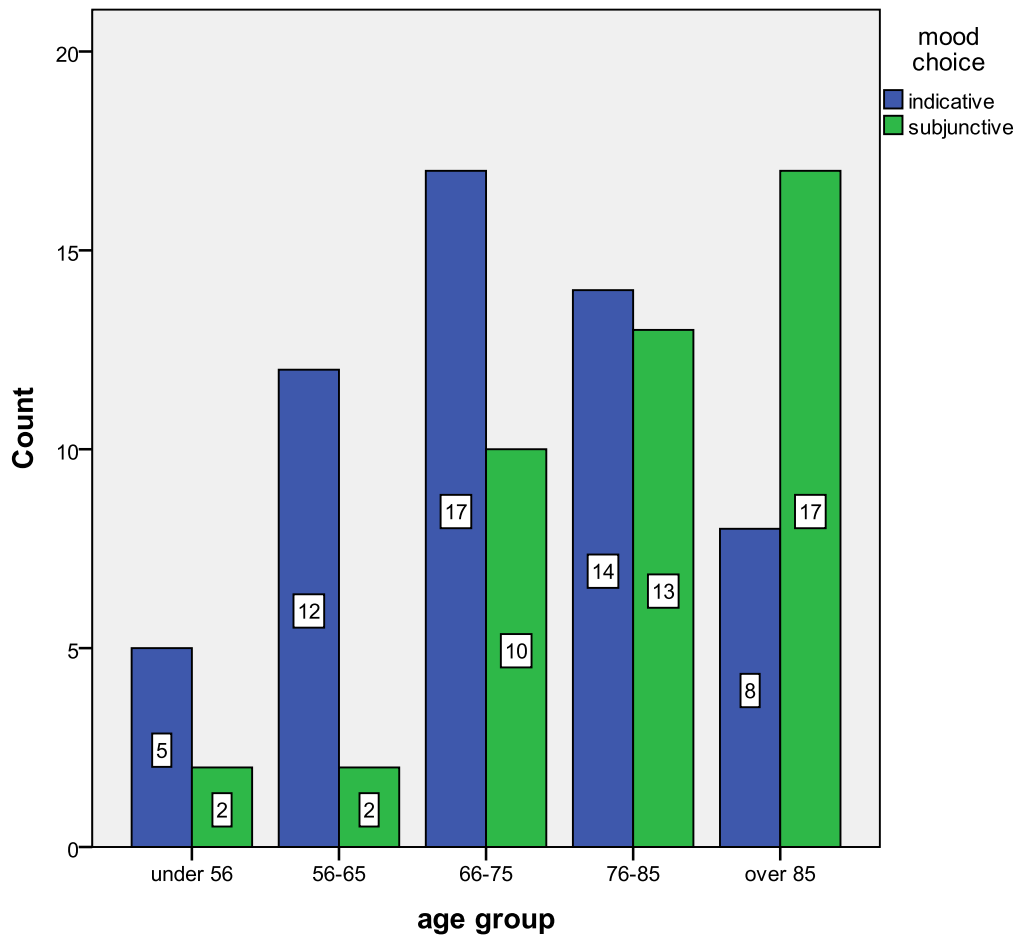


Figure 5.16 EIV2 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

The chart above shows the number of subjunctive and indicative cases for each age group. The distribution of mood choice shows a decreasing use of the subjunctive as the age groups decrease. The indicative is chosen more often than the subjunctive in all age groups, with the exception of the oldest who use the subjunctive in 68% of cases. Rottet (1998) finds a gradual decrease in use of the subjunctive in Cajun French over his three age groups, 70 and over (23%), 50-69 (20%) and 30-49 (17%), but this is followed by a dramatic shift, with the under 30s using the subjunctive in only 2% of cases.

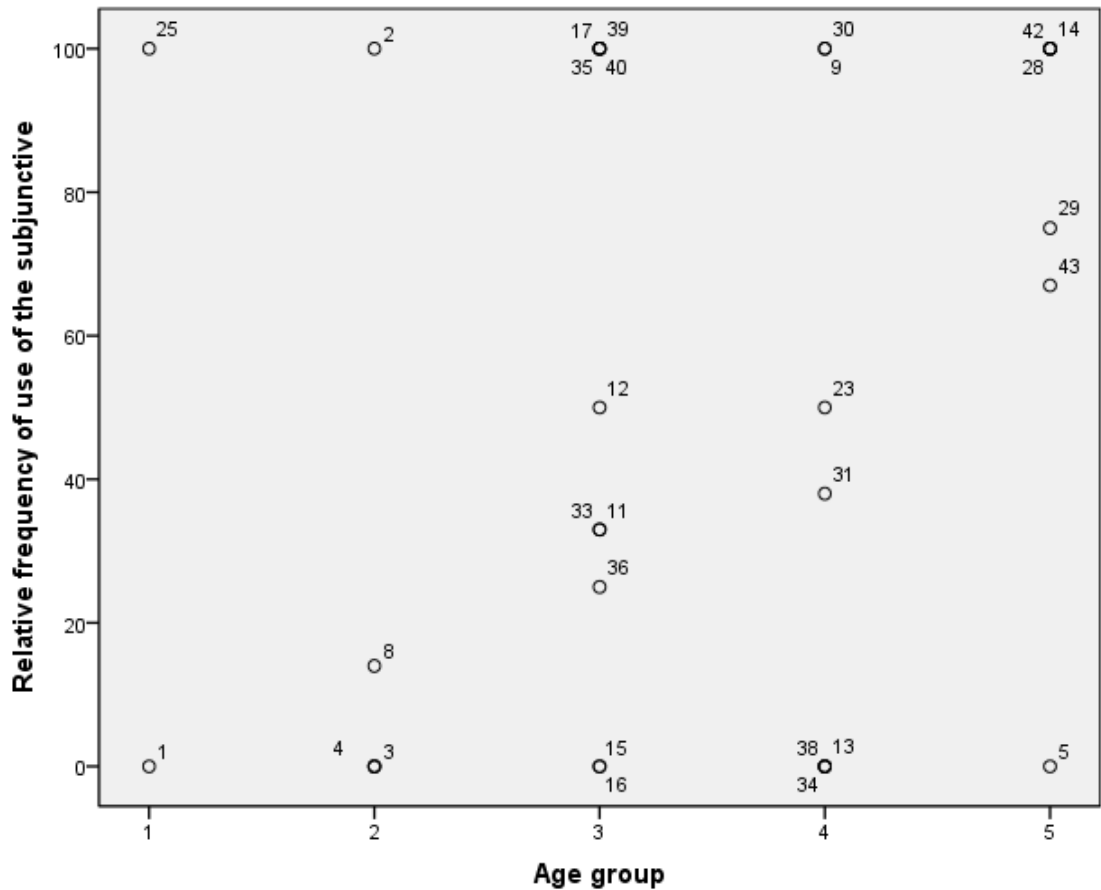


Figure 5.17 EIV2 x DV3

The scatterplot above shows S25, S2 and S5 to be atypical cases for their age groups. S25 and S2 have been discussed above.

S5 (relative frequency = 0%)

S5's level of use of the subjunctive is lower than would be expected for her age. While S5 (aged 87) did not show up as atypical in the 'age' scatterplot, she stands out as atypical in the 'age group' scatterplot, being 67% removed from her nearest age group cohort in terms of frequency of use of the subjunctive. It is quite possible that the explanation for this atypical behaviour lies in linguistic factors since her OLE score was 0%. It is also possible, however, that S5 may still have had a relative frequency score of 0% even if she had had an OLE score of 100% since she grew up in the Vale and St Sampson parishes and both her parents came from the Vale.

5.3.2.2 Statistical association with mood choice

The fact that age group was not found to be a statistically significant factor is probably, again, due to the atypical cases. Trigger may also be a confounding factor, however (see Chapter 3, §3.7.2).

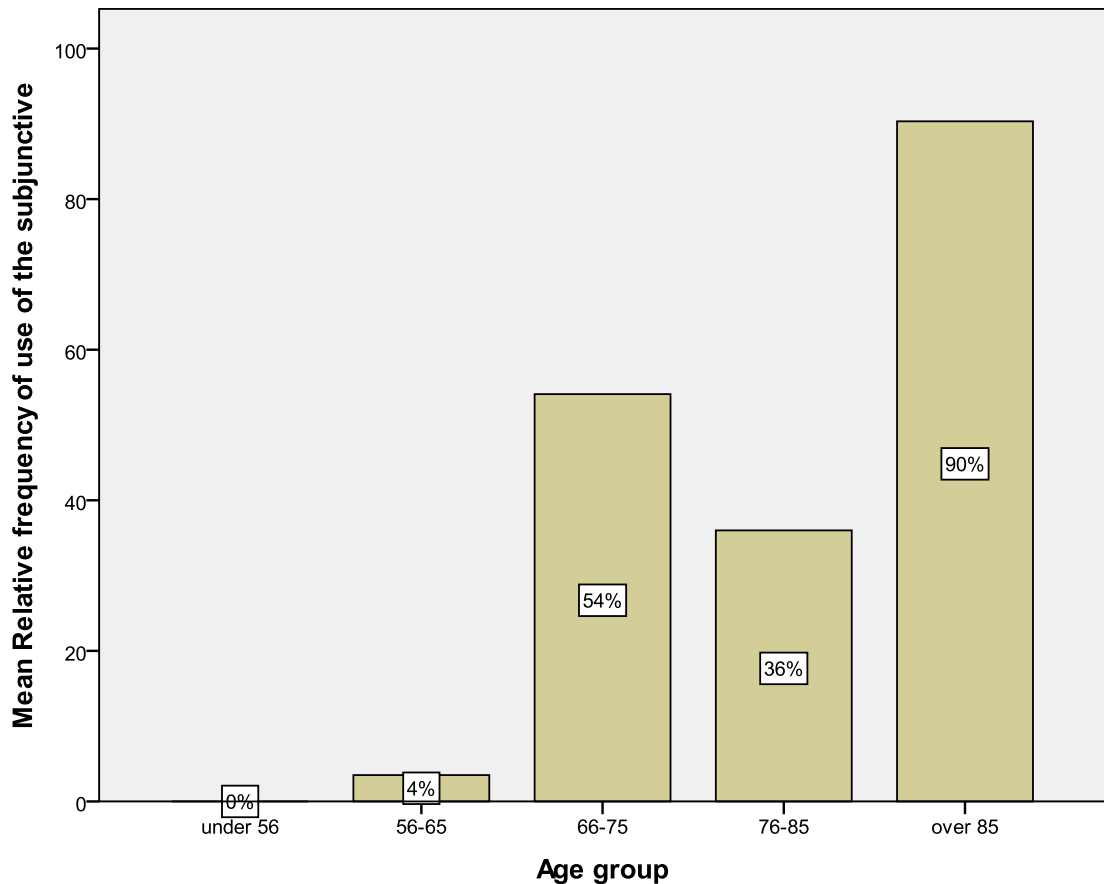


Figure 5.18 EIV2 x DV3 with S2, S5 and S25 removed

The chart above shows the mean relative frequency of use of the subjunctive by the participants in each of the five age groups when the three atypical cases for the age group factor, S2, S25 and S5, were removed. Three of the age groups in the chart above form a pattern that would normally be expected in a change in progress variable, with frequency of use of the subjunctive decreasing steadily with every decade. However, two of the age groups could be described as anomalous. As anticipated, the 76-85 age group has a lower mean relative frequency of use of the subjunctive than expected (see §5.3.7 for discussion). The 56-65 age group is also worth examining more closely, however. It shows a sharp drop in mean relative frequency of the subjunctive from the decade above.

Language change due to age-grading can probably be ruled out as a confounding factor in this study because there are no younger generation speakers and no work-related sociolectal influences on middle generation speakers. The distribution is also not in the u- or v-shaped curve characteristic of age-grading. According to Labov (2010, p. 84), this leaves generational change

as the only possible interpretation of a correlation between age group and a dependent variable in apparent time.

The chart above suggests that there was an abrupt shift in use of the subjunctive at the end of WW2. This is supported by the language use table below (repeated from Chapter 1)¹². The distribution of the darkest shade (representing GF) in the table suggests, in fact, there may have been two shifts in language use over the past century: the first, when participants aged 85 and under were children and the second, for participants aged 64 and under who were born in the immediate post-WW2 years.

¹² This table shows the original sample of 43 participants before categorical contexts were removed, but minus the two participants who were not native to Guernsey.

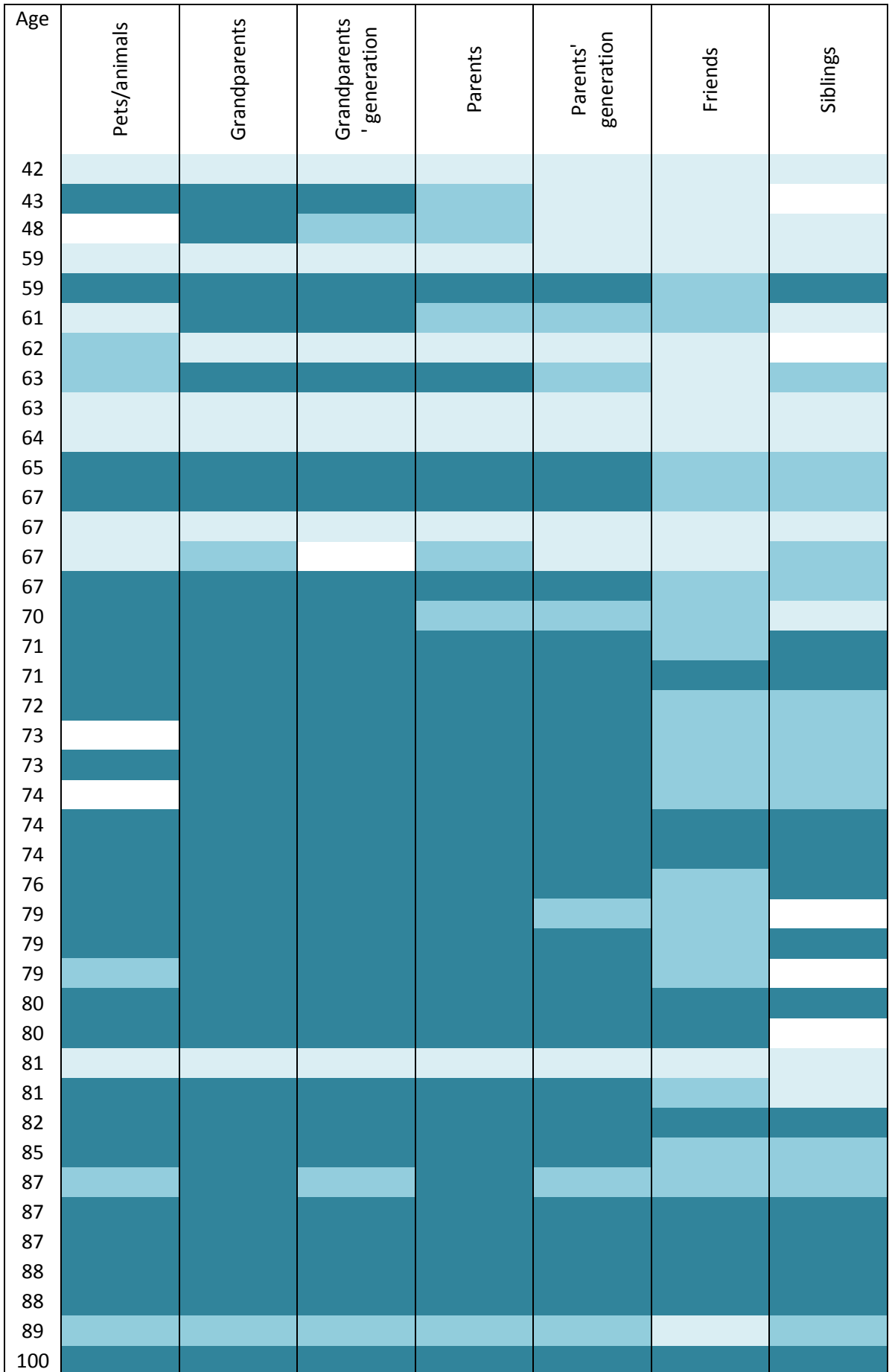


Table 5.7 Language shift in Guernsey over approximately six decades in apparent time

The result from an analysis carried out in the early exploratory stages of this research project serves to corroborate this observation.

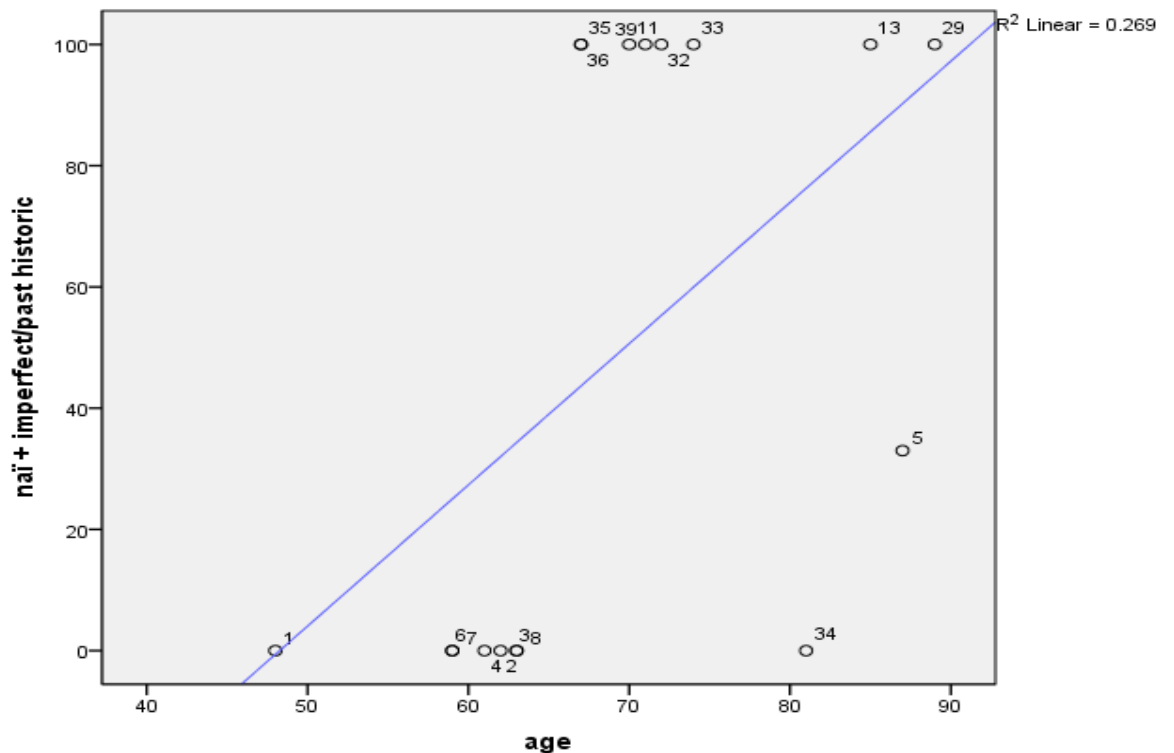


Figure 5.19 Variable 'past historic > imperfect *ête* (to be) with *naï* (born)' showing abrupt shift in language use around the end of WW2

The chart above shows the correlation between age and the variable 'past historic > imperfect *ête* (to be) when collocated with *naï* (born)'. Although there are only data available for seventeen participants, it suggests a clear shift in use, or "tip" (Dorian, 1981, p.51), of this variable around 1945. Participants S36 and S35 (born 1943 and 1944 respectively) are at the tail end of using the traditional variant and S3 and S8 (born 1946 and 1947 respectively) are at the vanguard of using the new variant.

5.3.3 Frequency of use of GF as a child (EIV3)

This factor was included in the analysis as acquisition is one of the most salient factors running through variationist and endangered language studies. Eckert (2003, p.395) writes that one of the fundamental (variationist) constructs of "Language as a natural object" is that language should be acquired during "the critical period" (Eckert, 2003, p.394). In addition, the most authentic language is perceived by sociolinguists as being that which has been most unaffected by contact (Bucholtz, 2003). This translates, in the GF context, as the most authentic speakers being those who used GF the most and English the least during their language acquisition years. Mougeon and Beniak (1989, p.308) find that "insufficient exposure to and use of the minority language" leads to incomplete acquisition for their sample of 14-19 year olds. Kroskrity (1993),

however, finds that a high level of frequency and variety of use of Arizona Tewa as a child does not necessarily translate into competence in the language as an adult.

This was a difficult variant to quantify. Schmid (2011) criticises previous studies on endangered languages for compressing frequency of use in their studies into a dichotomous factor on the grounds that it is too simplistic and does not take into account factors such as audience design and social networks. While this factor has been quantified as continuous in the present study, findings should still be taken as an indication only (see Chapter 3, §3.6.1.3 for further discussion).

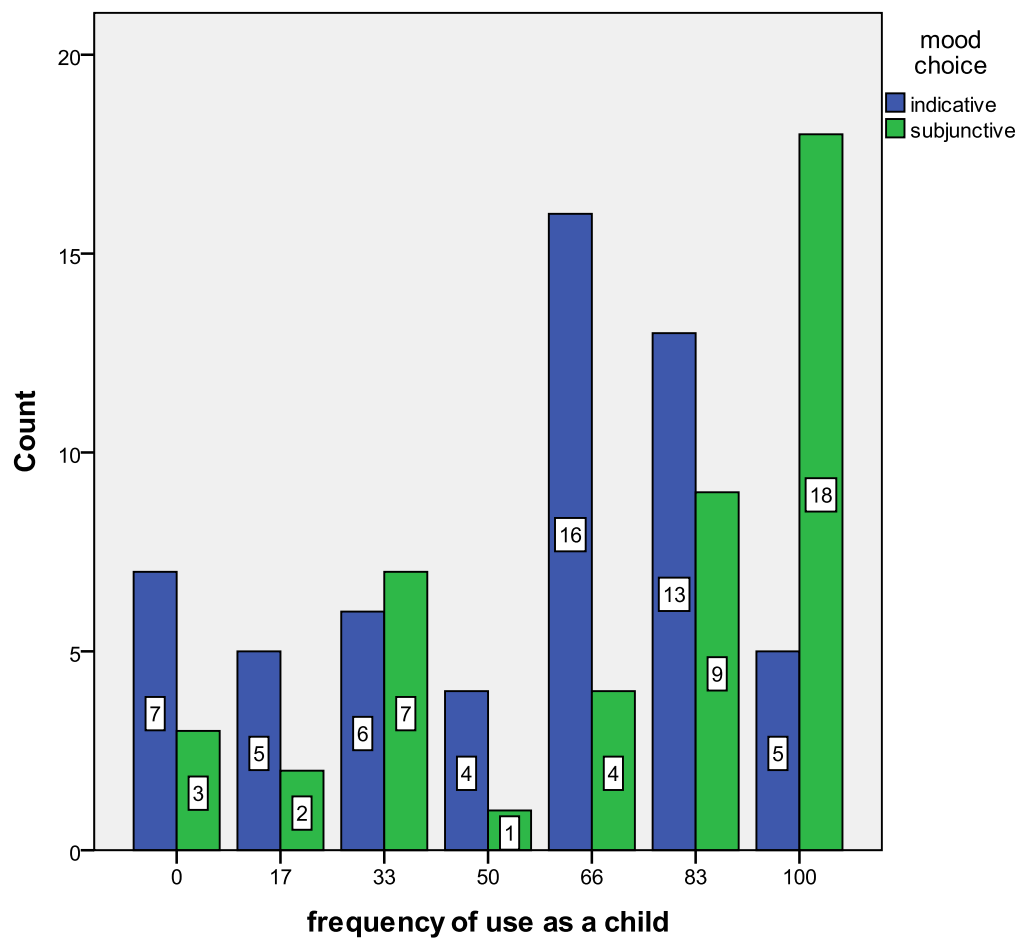


Figure 5.20 EIV3 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

There was no statistically significant correlation found in this study between frequency of use of GF as a child (EIV3) and use of the subjunctive. It is possible, though, that trigger may be a confounding factor in the result (see Chapter 3, §3.7.2). The distribution in the chart above shows that the dominant mood choice is the indicative for all groups except for two, which reported using GF 100% of the time (except for at school) and 33% of the time when they were children. The result for this 33% group is anomalous. There are four participants in the 33% group: S4 (0%), S34 (0%), S35 (100%) and S29 (75%). The atypical cases in this group are,

therefore, S35 and S29. While the findings from this factor are to be taken as an indication only, there are feasible explanations for their atypical use.

S35 (relative frequency = 100%)

S35's level of use of the subjunctive is higher than would be expected from his reported frequency of use of GF as a child. S35's (aged 67) OLE score was 67%. It is likely, therefore, that social reasons also offer an explanation for his atypical use in relation to this factor. The most likely social explanation is the abrupt shift that appears to have taken place in 1945 (see §5.3.2.2 above). Another likely factor, however, is that S35 had a high degree of intergenerational contact, having lived with his mother all his life until her recent death. His reported frequency of use of the language 'now' is also higher at 30% than the six participants either side of him on the age continuum (S2, S3, S8, S36, S11 and S15)¹³. A further contributing factor might also be that S35 spent his working life in category 5¹⁴ occupations which may have kept him more in touch with the language through work colleagues than his age cohorts who were all in category 2, 3 or 4¹⁵ occupations (with the exception of one who was a homemaker).

S29 (relative frequency = 75%)

S29's level of use of the subjunctive is also higher than would be expected from his reported frequency of use of GF as a child. S29's (aged 89) OLE score was only 17%. A linguistic explanation cannot, therefore, be put forward for the mismatch between S29's frequency of use of GF as a child and his use of the subjunctive. S29's frequency of use of GF as a child is atypical for his age. This is because his family on his father's side was English; his great great grandfather moved to Guernsey as a child. S29 reports using English with his father, GF with his mother, and a mixture of the two with every other category of interlocutor as a child except for his friends with whom he always used English. His comparatively high relative frequency score of 75% for this factor is due to the fact that, throughout his married life, S29 has communicated with his wife (S28) entirely in GF.

¹³ Data was not available for S11 and S15.

¹⁴ Category 5 in EIV11 represented semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers.

¹⁵ Categories 2 in EIV11 represented intermediate managerial, administrative or professional, category 3 represented supervisory, clerical, junior managerial, and category 4 represented skilled manual workers.

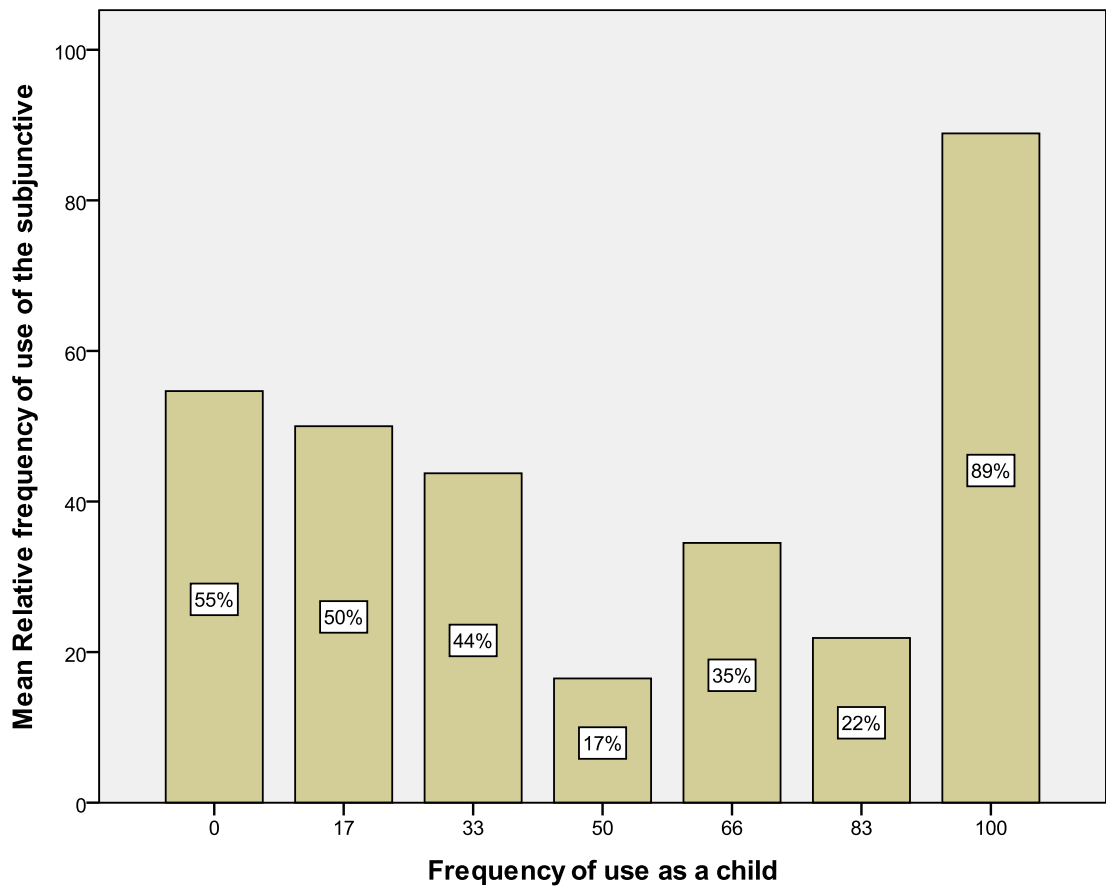


Figure 5.21 EIV3 x DV3

The results in Figure 5.20 suggest a relatively mixed picture with no discernible pattern for this factor in terms of the number of tokens in each category. This is confirmed by the boxplot chart above showing the mean relative frequencies of use for each category. It is worth taking a closer look at the highly anomalous 0% group since they never spoke the language when they were children, but still have a mean relative frequency score higher than any other group except the 100% group. There are three participants in this 2LL group, S2, S8 and S12. S2 has been discussed above.

S8 (relative frequency = 14%)

S8's (aged 63) relative frequency score is higher than would be expected for a 2LL. He is an enthusiast who made a concerted effort to learn the language from his father at the age of 30. He uses the language socially wherever possible. S8's OLE score of 29% does not contribute to his subjunctive retention rate since it is higher than the 0% retention rate of the 1LLs in his age group who both had higher OLE scores.

S12 (relative frequency = 50%)

S12's level of use of the subjunctive is also higher than would be expected given the fact that he is a 2LL. S12's (aged 74) OLE score of 50% offers a possible explanation for his atypical use. Social factors offer an equally likely explanation, however. He is English, but married a Guernsey

woman. He learnt GF primarily from communication with his mother-in-law, and subsequently from carrying out research on the language.

5.3.4 Frequency of use of GF 'now' (EIV4)

This was included in the analysis as it has been found to be a major constraint in endangered language studies. It is linked to language loyalty which has been reported as one of the characteristics which language communities associate with an authentic speaker. It was included, for example, as a factor by Schmid (2011) in her study of attrition in migrants' first languages.

5.3.4.1 Distribution of mood choice

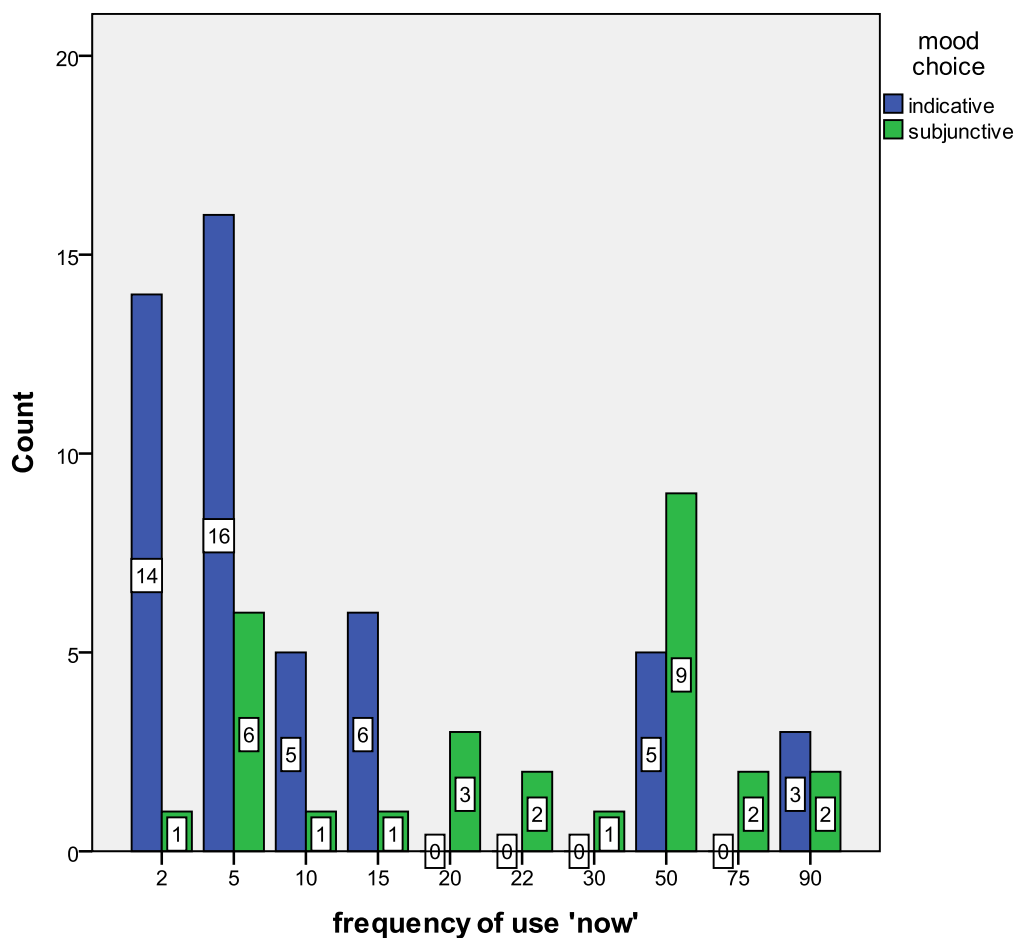


Figure 5.22 EIV4 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

The distribution above of mood choice across the different frequencies of use of the language 'now' shows that the dominant mood choice switches from indicative to subjunctive once the average weekly use goes above 15%. The one exception to this pattern is the group who report using the language the most. There are only two participants who report using the language 90% in an average week. S28¹⁶, who is aged 88, produced two tokens, both of which were in the

¹⁶ Unfortunately there is no data for this factor for S28's husband, S29.

subjunctive. S7, who produces the three indicative tokens, is therefore identified as having use that is atypical for this group.

S7 (relative frequency = 0%)

S7's level of use of the subjunctive is lower than would be expected from his reported frequency of use of GF 'now'. Both linguistic and social explanations can be put forward for the mismatch between S7's frequency of use of the language 'now' score and his 0% use of the subjunctive: his OLE score is 0% and he is only aged 59. His 0% subjunctive retention matches that of the other 1LLs in his age group. There is the caveat in respect of findings for this factor, however, in that the data are self-report. It is possible that S7's self-report of 90% was an overestimate, since he reported using a mixture of English and GF with his siblings, friends and acquaintances, but only English with everybody else.

5.3.4.2 Statistical association with mood choice

Frequency of use of GF 'now' (EIV4) was shown to be the only external factor to have a statistically significant correlation with use of the subjunctive for the whole sample. It showed a large, positive correlation and helped to explain 30.4% of the variance in participants' use of the subjunctive. There were seven cases missing from the testing of EIV4. In order to determine whether this missing data might have had a skewing effect on the results, the relative frequency scores of the seven missing cases (S9, S11, S12, S13, S14, S15 and S29) were examined. None were found to be atypical in relation to their age cohorts, so the missing data did not skew results. It is possible, however, that trigger may be a confounding factor in this result (see Chapter 3, §3.7.2).

5.3.5 Variety of use as a child (EIV5)

This factor was included in the analysis, again, because acquisition is a salient factor in endangered language studies. Findings from this factor should be taken as an indication only (see Chapter 3, §3.6.1.5 for discussion).

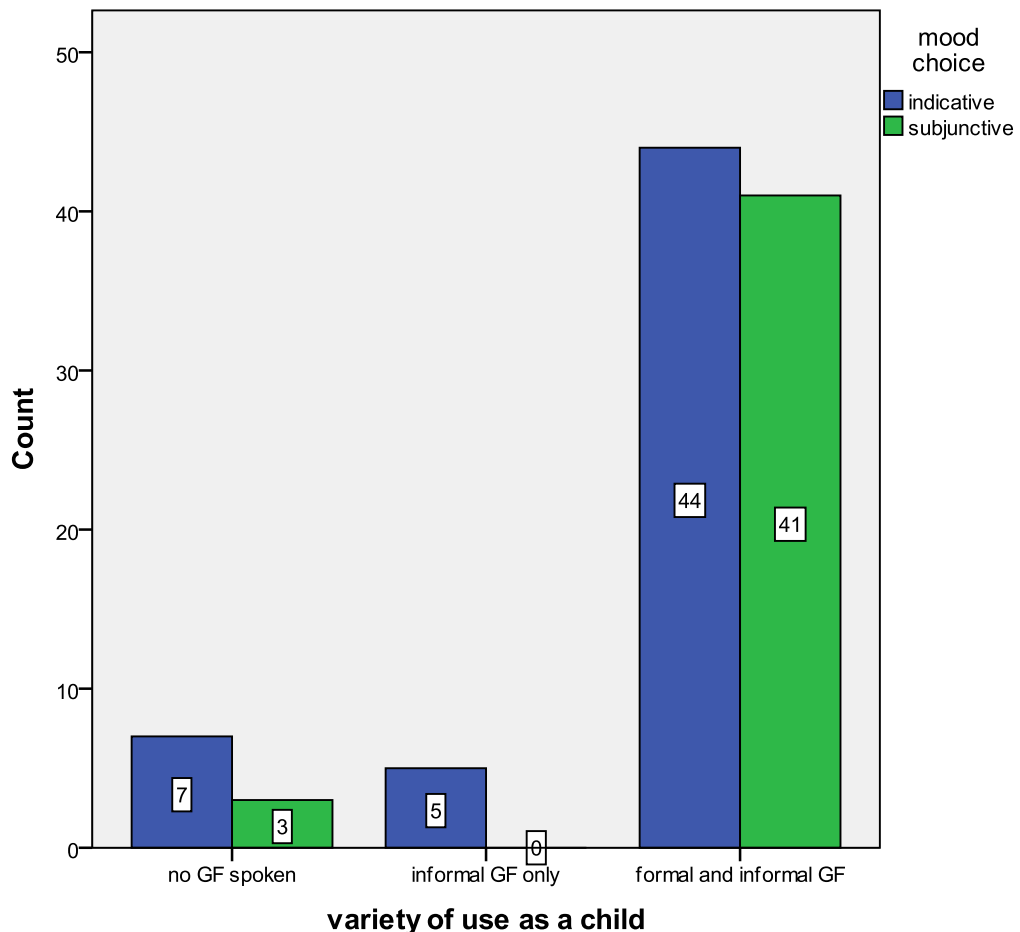


Figure 5.23 EIV5 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

There was no statistically significant correlation between variety of use of GF as a child and use of the subjunctive. It is possible, though, that trigger may be a confounding factor in the result (see Chapter 3, §3.7.2). The three participants in the 'no GF spoken' category, S2, S8 and S12, are the same as those previously discussed for EIV3.

At first sight, the chart above suggests that the subjunctive mood may be associated with formal speech contexts since the subjunctive does not appear at all in the 'informal GF only' category. The five tokens in the 'informal GF only' category, however, come from only one participant, S1 (aged 48). In fact, the subjunctive was shown to be used more frequently in the more informal context of the group interviews (see § 5.2.14).

5.3.6 Variety of use 'now' (EIV6)

This was included in the analysis as it is linked to language loyalty. Findings from this factor should be taken as an indication only (see Chapter 3, §3.6.1.6 for discussion).

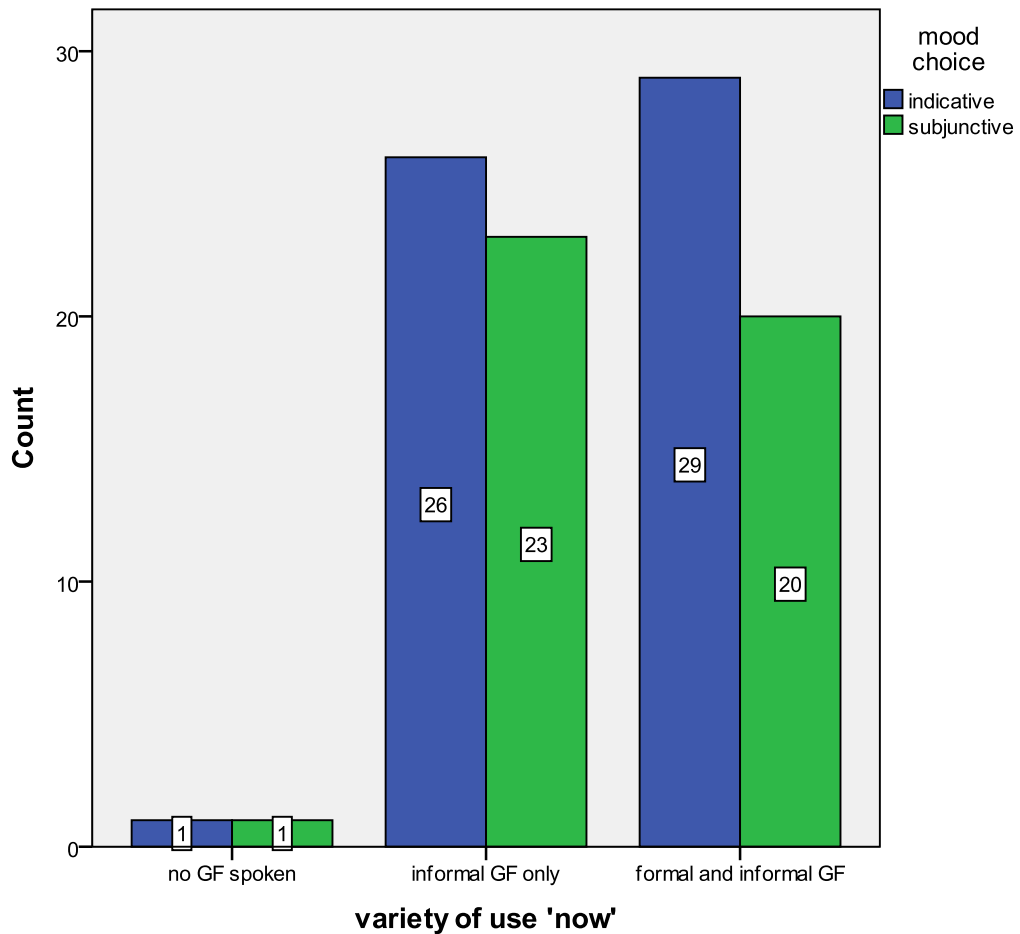


Figure 5.24 EIV6 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

There was no statistically significant correlation between variety of use of GF 'now' and use of the subjunctive. It is possible, though, that trigger may be a confounding factor in this result (see Chapter 3, §3.7.2). While the mean relative frequency for each of the three groups for this factor was shown in Chapter 4 to be almost identical (50%, 50% and 49%), the chart above allows a better interpretation of results. The distribution in the chart above supports the earlier finding that the subjunctive is not classifiable as a feature of formal spoken language since it is retained only 41% of the time in formal and informal contexts as compared with 47% of the time in informal only contexts.

5.3.7 Evacuation (EIV7)

This was included in the analysis as it was suspected to be a constraint on mood choice from the outset. It was hypothesised that participants who had been evacuated as children during WW2 would have a lower use of the subjunctive than their age cohorts owing to the time they had spent in Britain during their language acquisition years. Chambers (2002, p.368) writes that “The formative years for dialect and accent formation are from eight to eighteen” and Milroy and Gordon (2003, p.133) cite studies that have shown that “older children and post-adolescents do not acquire structurally complex features”. It was anticipated, therefore, that the acquisition of GF of those participants evacuated as children would be incomplete.

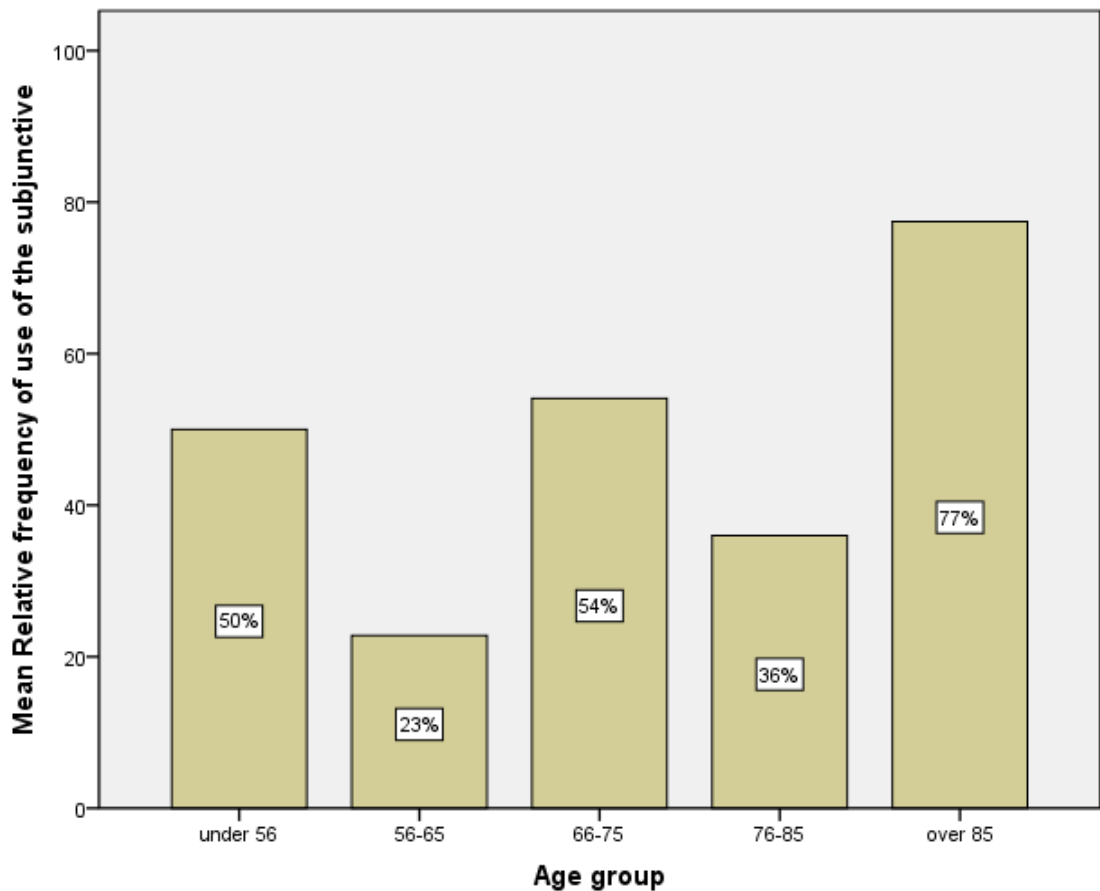


Figure 5.25 EIV2 x DV3

The chart above (repeated from Chapter 4) appears to support this hypothesis from the clearly-visible dip in mean relative frequency of use for the 76-85 age group which contains three of the four evacuees in the sample¹⁷.

¹⁷ Since S42 was 17 when evacuated, she falls into the ‘over 85’ age group.

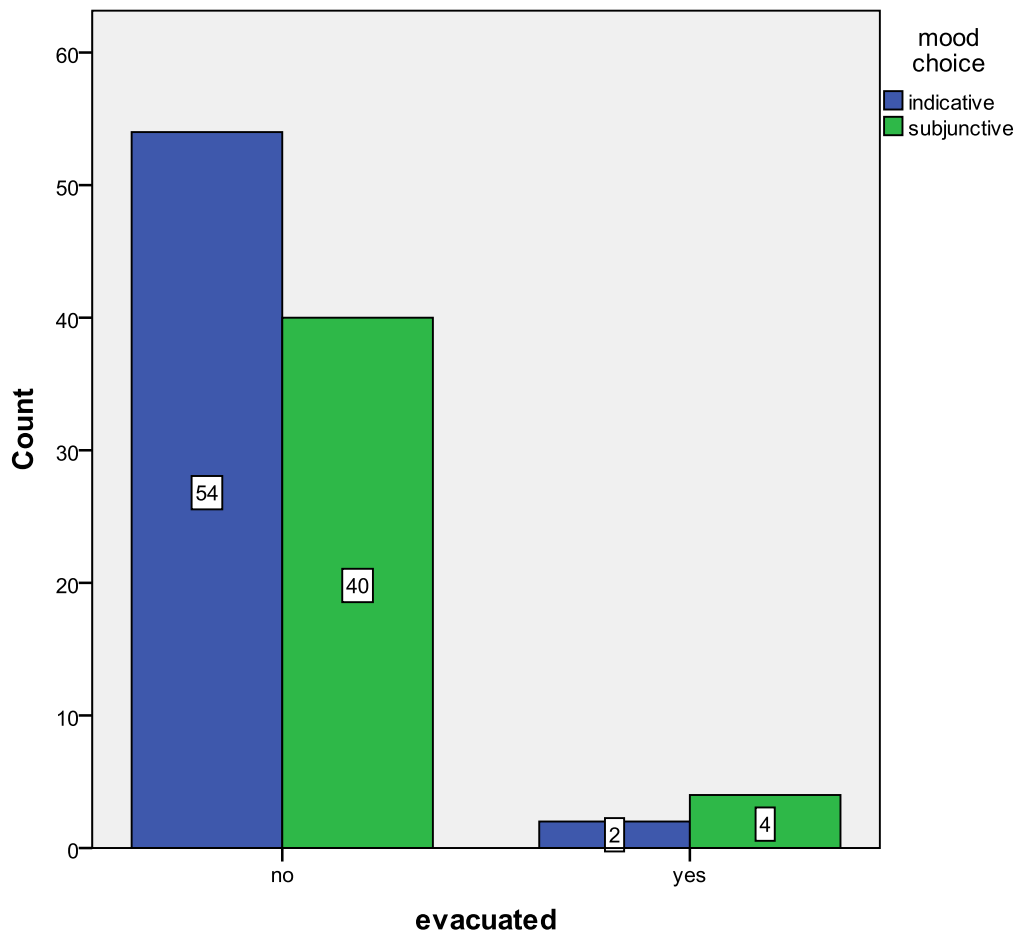


Figure 5.26 EIV7 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

The mean relative frequencies of use of the subjunctive for evacuees and non-evacuees shown in Chapter 4 were counterintuitive, however, since they were almost identical at 50% and 49% respectively. Furthermore, the chart above shows that the evacuees produced twice as many subjunctive tokens as indicative while the non-evacuees produced 35% more indicative tokens than subjunctive.

One test was carried out on the whole sample and one on the eight participants who fell into 76-85 age group. Neither of the two statistical tests carried out revealed any statistically significant difference in mood choice between those who had been evacuated and those who had not.

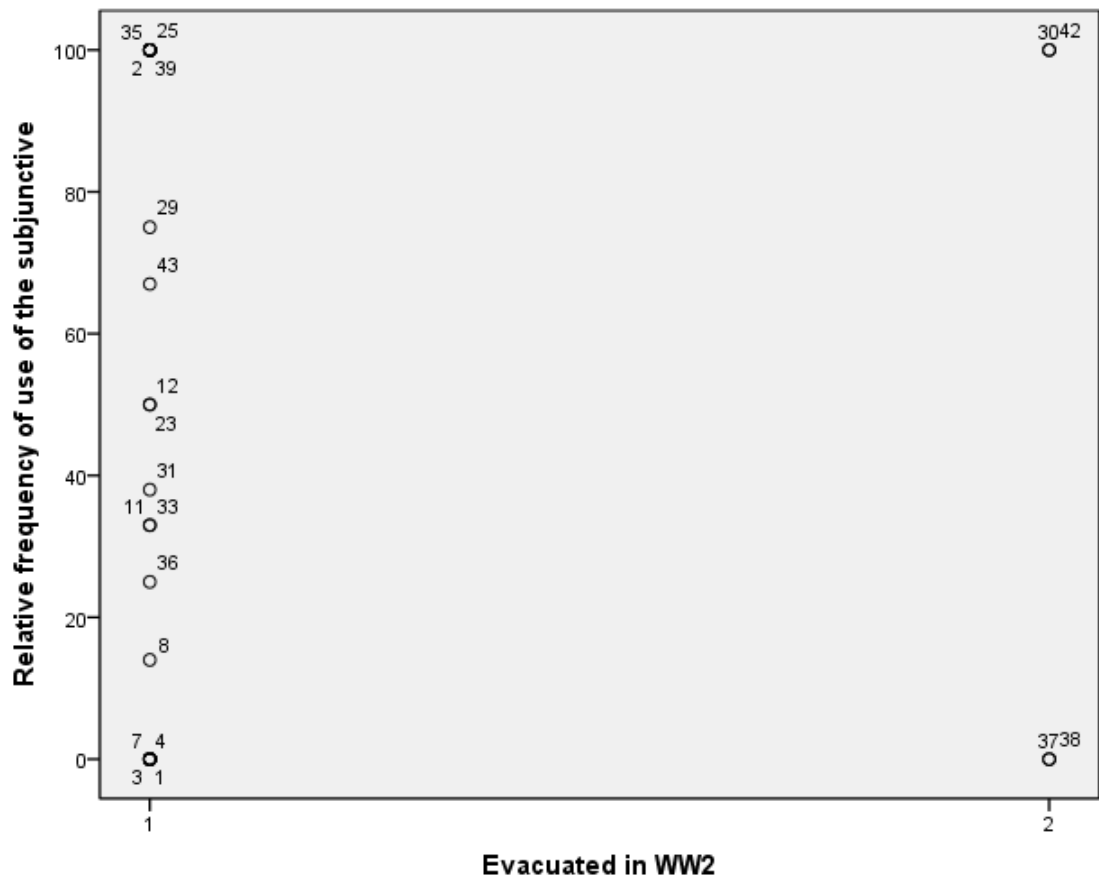


Figure 5.27 EIV7 x DV3 for whole sample (1 = non-evacuee, 2 = evacuee)

The whole sample test result can be explained by the unexpected relative frequency scores of 100% of two of the four participants in the ‘evacuated’ group, S30 and S42, shown in the chart above. Although S37 and S38 are not atypical, it is useful to compare all four participants in the ‘evacuees’ group.

S30 (relative frequency = 100%)

S30’s level of use of the subjunctive is higher than would be expected given the fact that she was evacuated during WW2. S30’s (aged 82) OLE score was quite high at 83%, so it is possible that this plays a part in her atypical use, particularly considering that her linguistic influence is classified as coming from her mother who came from St Sampson. Paul Kerswill (1996, cited by Meyerhoff, 2011, p.206) suggests though that “where a change is taking place in a community, children up to the age of about 4 may model their caregivers’ speech, but that between 4 and 12 years children move away from their caregivers’ speech”. Indeed, S30 lived her whole life in Castel (except for the six years she spent as an evacuee in England). It is also possible that her unexpectedly high level of use of the subjunctive is due to her frequency of use of GF ‘now’, since she reported using the language 33% of the time when she was at home with her GF-speaking husband and about 10% outside of the home. Another possible factor may be that S30

appeared to be very linguistically aware and to have a good knowledge of SF, although this latter factor was not found to be statistically significant for the sample.

S37 (relative frequency = 0%) and S38 (relative frequency = 0%)

S37 and S38's level of use of the subjunctive is as would be expected given the fact that they were evacuated during WW2. The OLE scores for S37 (aged 80) and S38 (aged 80) were both 0%. It is possible, therefore, that they may, like S30, have produced the subjunctive given the right linguistic environment, and that S30 would, in that case, not be classified as atypical. It is also possible, however, that attrition has only happened more recently for these two participants. Both S37 and S38 reported using the language 'now' only 5% in an average week. If S37 and S38 had not both been widows, it is possible they would have used the language more often and their use of the subjunctive would not have suffered attrition.

S42 (relative frequency = 100%)

S42's level of use of the subjunctive is higher than would be expected given the fact that she was evacuated during WW2. S42 (aged 88) was 17 when she was evacuated as she had continued her education beyond the normal school leaving age of 14. S42's OLE score was only 33%. It is likely, therefore, that a social explanation is behind her 100% use of the subjunctive. She reported using GF 50% of the time in an average week. She spoke GF all of the time with her siblings and with her GF-speaking friends and most of the time with her husband. It is also probable that being evacuated at the age of 17 meant that acquisition of the subjunctive was complete, in contrast to possible incomplete acquisition by S37, S38 and S30 who were 10 and 11 when evacuated¹⁸.

¹⁸ It was not possible to find evidence in the child language acquisition literature for French on acquisition of the subjunctive to support this.

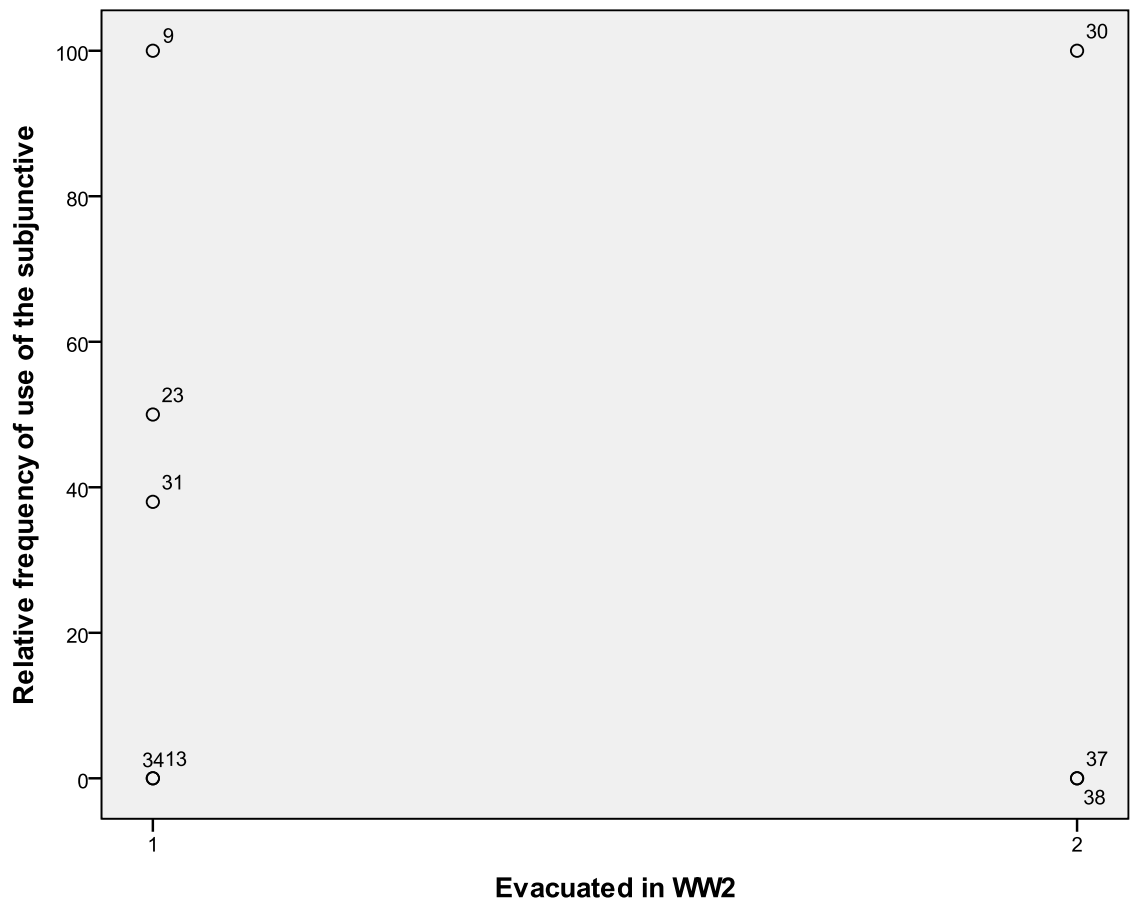


Figure 5.28 EIV7 x DV3 for 76-85 subgroup (1 = non-evacuee, 2 = evacuee)

The fact that no statistically significant association between evacuation status and use of the subjunctive was found for the 76-85 subgroup either can probably be explained by the fact that an additional two participants in the group, S13 and S34, shown above also have an atypical score of 0% which served to pull the group's mean relative frequency down to 36%.

S13 (relative frequency = 0%)

S13's level of use of the subjunctive is lower than would be expected for her age group. S13's (aged 85) OLE score was 0% and she only produced one token. It is possible, therefore, that a linguistic explanation is behind her atypical use. A social explanation is, however, also possible. S13 spent twelve years in England after she married at the age of 25 and this may have led to some attrition. Her GF could also be described as suffering from age-related attrition since this participant was suffering from dementia. Although there is no data for S13's frequency of use of GF 'now', it is suspected that she rarely, if ever, uses the language 'now'. It is also possible, of course, that S13 was an innovator at the vanguard of the shift.

S34 (relative frequency = 0%)

S34's level of use of the subjunctive is also lower than would be expected for his age group. S34's (aged 81) OLE score is 33%. A social explanation for his atypical use is therefore quite likely. S34 reports speaking GF only 33% of the time when he was a child and only 2% of the time

'now'. His father was English and he reports using only English with his younger siblings who were not able to speak GF.

While the findings above for this factor do not support the sociolinguistic perceptions of authenticity relating to language acquisition and exposure to contact, it should be noted that the 'evacuees' group is under-represented and also that frequency of use of GF 'now' may be a confounding factor.

5.3.8 Language acquisition (EIV8)

This factor was included in the analysis as acquisition is one of the most salient factors running through endangered language studies. Bucholtz (2003, p.404), for example, writes that "Variationists have tended to exclude from studies of change in progress non-native speakers" due to the perception that their language is inauthentic.

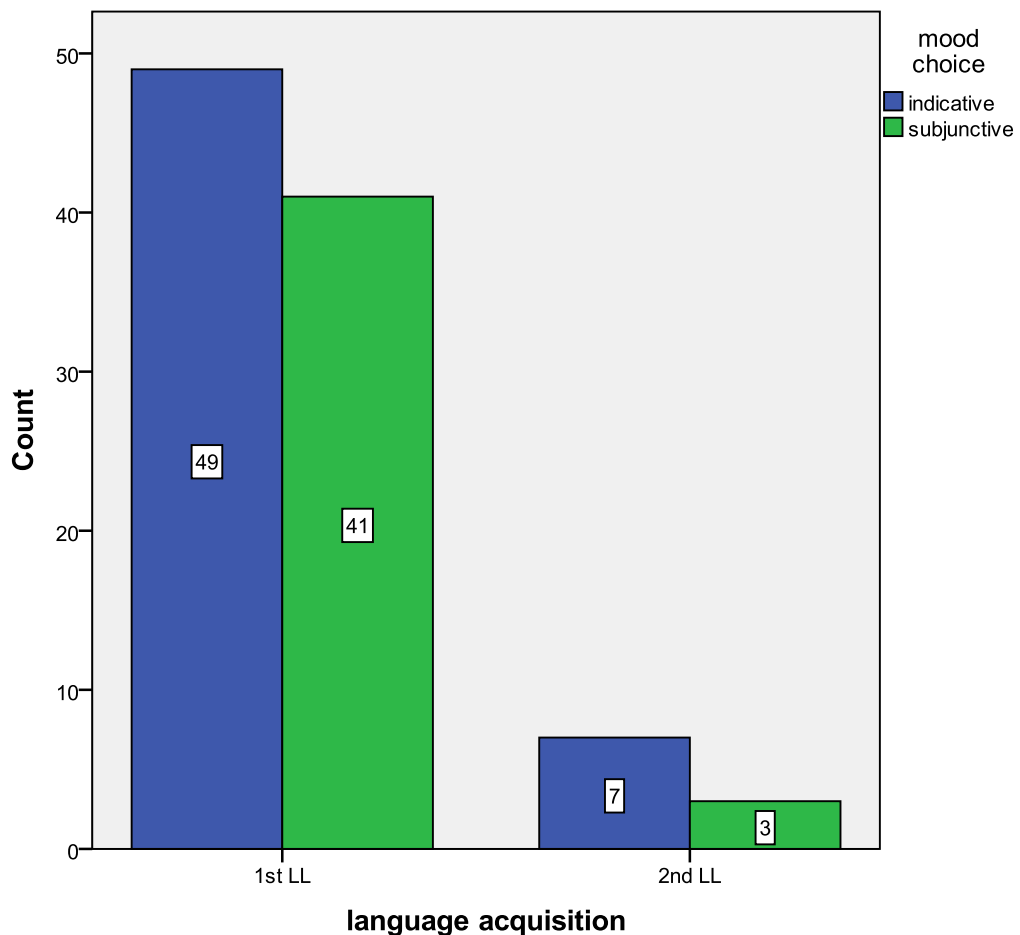


Figure 5.29 EIV8 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

It was surprising to find in Chapter 4 that the mean relative frequency of use of the subjunctive for the 2LLs was higher at 55% than that of the 1LLs at 49%. The chart above, however, provides a more accurate picture, showing that the 1LLs chose the subjunctive more frequently (46%) than the 2LLs (30%) overall as a group.

No statistically significant difference was found between the two groups in relation to their use of the subjunctive. This finding refutes the variationist perception that the language of non-native speakers is inauthentic. It should be noted, however, that the 2LL group is under-represented and also that frequency of use of GF 'now' may be a confounding factor in this result.

5.3.9 Sex (EIV9)

This is one of the most common factors tested in variationist studies. In relation to change in progress, for example, Labov (2001, p.501) finds that “women are a full generation ahead of men” in adopting change variants. Dorian (1994) concludes, however, that sex does not satisfactorily account for the variation she finds in ESG. Poplack (1997), too, finds that sex is not a constraint on mood choice. Auger (1988, 1990), on the other hand, finds that sex is the biggest social contributor to mood choice in her analysis of the *il faut* trigger, with males favouring the subjunctive and females, the indicative. Laurier (1989), too, finds sex to be the second best social predictor of mood choice (after relative bilingualism), but with females slightly more likely to choose the subjunctive than males.

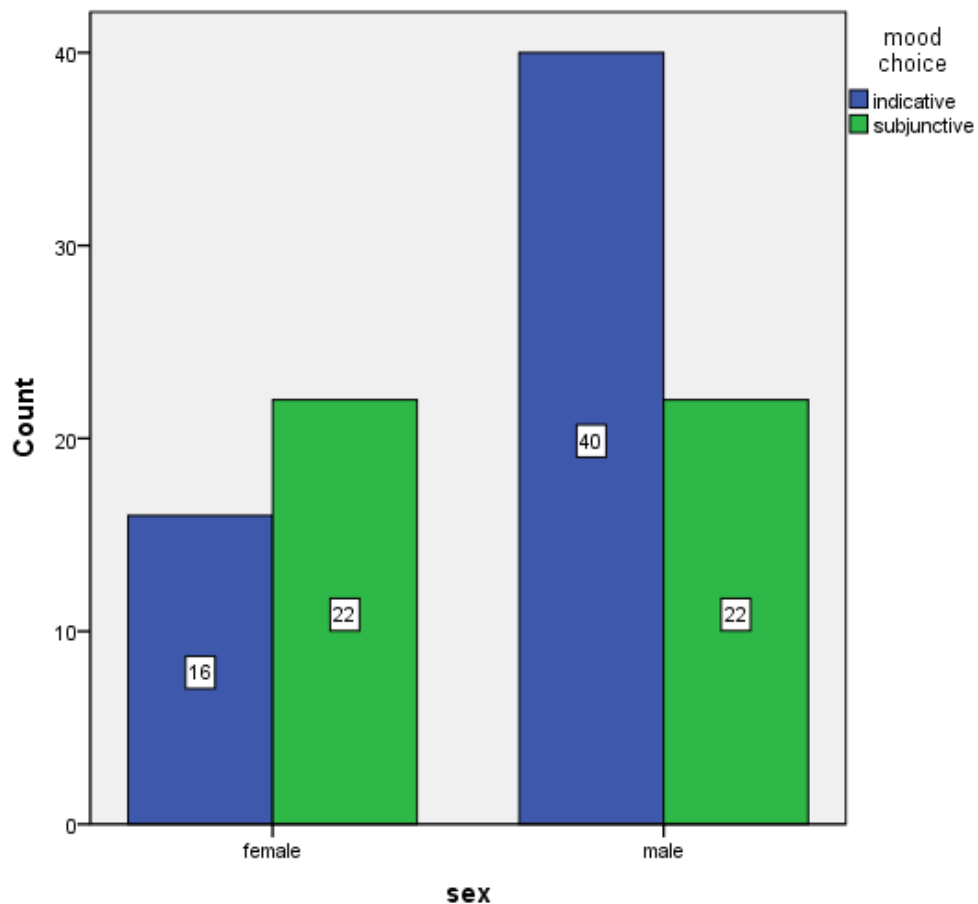


Figure 5.30 EIV9 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

The mean relative frequency of use of the subjunctive was found to be higher for females (54%) than for males (45%) in Chapter 4. The chart above, too, shows that females chose the

subjunctive in 23% more cases than males¹⁹. This distribution of mood choice does not support the traditional variationist view that females are ahead of males on the change in progress scale. However, the difference in subjunctive use between the two sexes was not found to be statistically significant. It is possible that trigger may be a confounding factor in this result (see Chapter 3, §3.7.2).

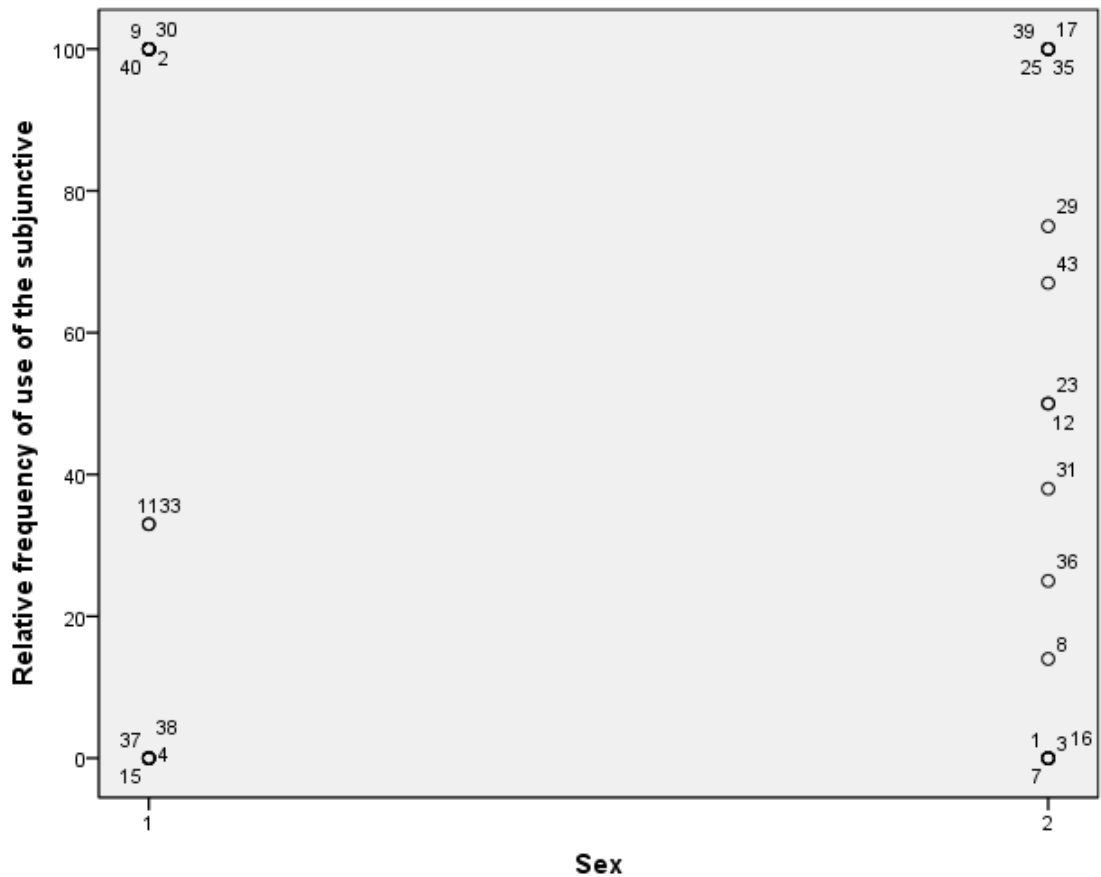


Figure 5.31 EIV9 x DV3 (1 = female, 2 = male)

The chart above shows that the distribution of mean relative frequency scores for the two sexes was quite different: female participants' scores were, for the majority, polarised at 0% and 100%, whereas male participants' scores were fairly evenly spread between the two extremes.

¹⁹ There are an equal number of males and females.

5.3.10 Education (EIV10)

This was included as a factor separately from socioeconomic status, which only took into account a participant's job category. The reason for this was to avoid the possibility of it being a confounding factor, since most speakers in the GF community came from families who had been involved in the 'growing' business and were, therefore, from similar socioeconomic backgrounds. In their studies of the subjunctive, neither Poplack (1997) nor Auger (1988, 1990) find that education is a factor contributing to mood choice.

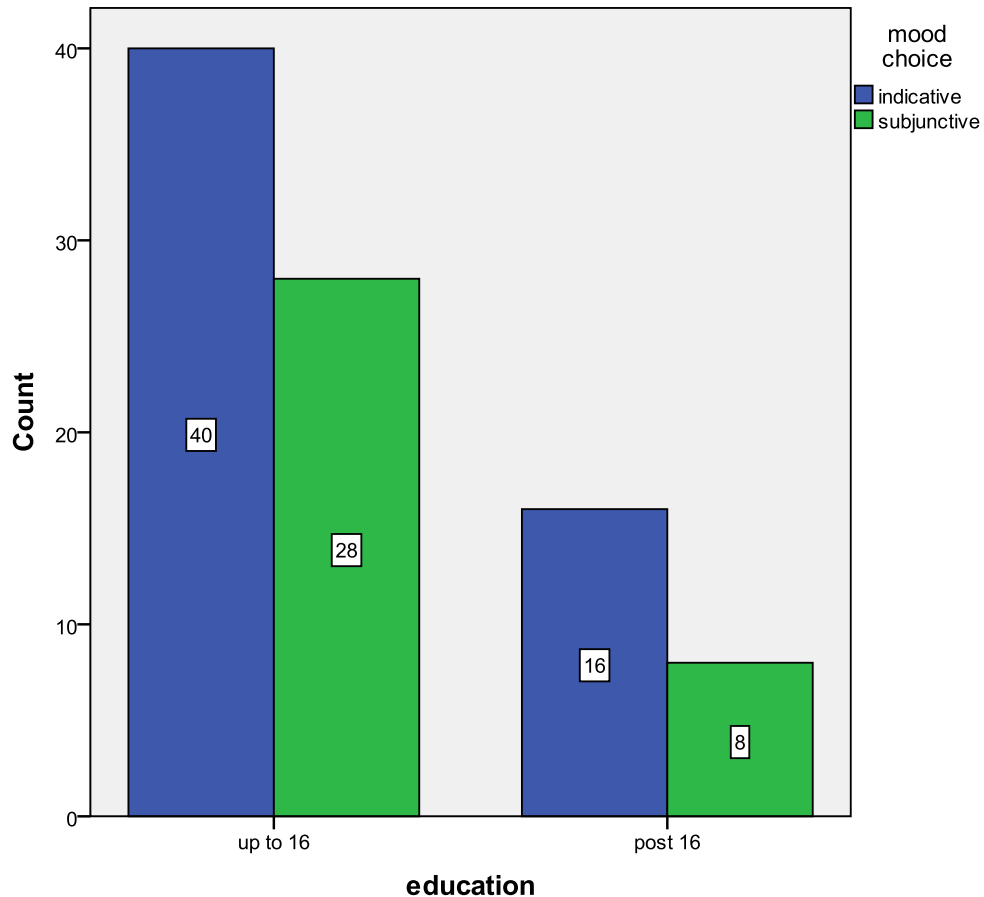


Figure 5.32 EIV10 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

The mean relatively frequency of use of the subjunctive, shown in Chapter 4, was slightly higher for the 'up to 16' group (47%) than for the 'post 16' group (41%) in this study. The chart above shows a similar result in relation to token numbers, with the participants in the 'up to 16' category choosing the subjunctive more frequently at 41% than those in the 'post-16' group at 33%. No statistically significant difference was found between the two groups, however.

5.3.11 Socioeconomic status (EIV11)

This was included in the analysis as it is one of the main factors tested in variationist studies. Labov's Principle 1 states that "change from below originates in a central social group" (Labov, 2001, p.188). It was suspected, however, that it would not be a constraint in GF since the community has, historically, been fairly socially homogenous. Dorian (1994) concludes that socioeconomic status does not satisfactorily account for the variation she finds in the socially homogenous ESG community that she studies. In relation to the subjunctive specifically, neither Auger (1988, 1990) nor Laurier (1989) find socioeconomic status to be a statistically significant factor in mood choice. Poplack (1997), however, finds socioeconomic status to be the only significant contributor to mood choice, with the professional classes favouring the subjunctive.

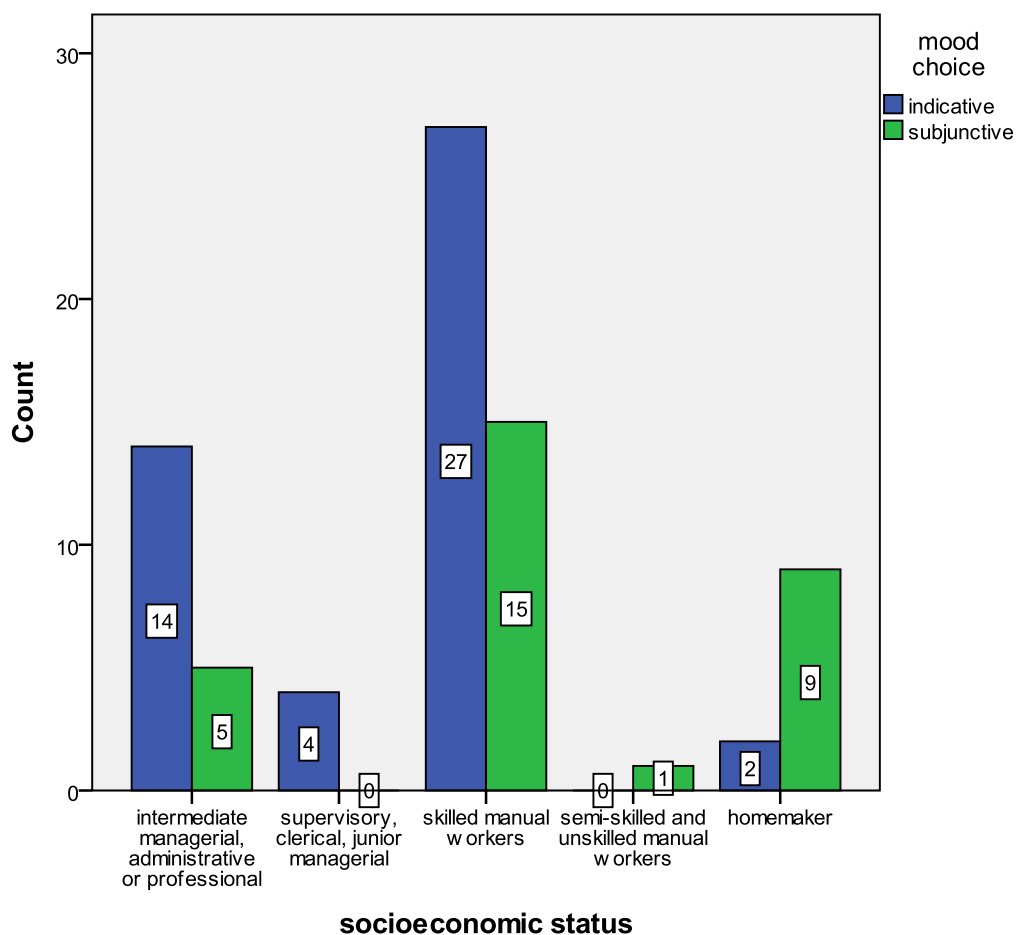


Figure 5.33 EIV11 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

There were no participants in the 'higher managerial, administrative or professional' or 'unemployed' categories in the present study. Reading from left to right, the five groups in the chart above produced subjunctive tokens in 26%, 0%, 36%, 100% and 82% of cases respectively, showing no distinguishable relationship between socioeconomic status and use of the subjunctive. No statistically significant difference was found between the five groups. It can be seen in the chart above that the 100% score for the 'semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers'

group is based on only one token. The ‘homemaker’ category stands out, therefore, as the only group clearly favouring the subjunctive over the indicative when this ‘semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers’ group is set aside.

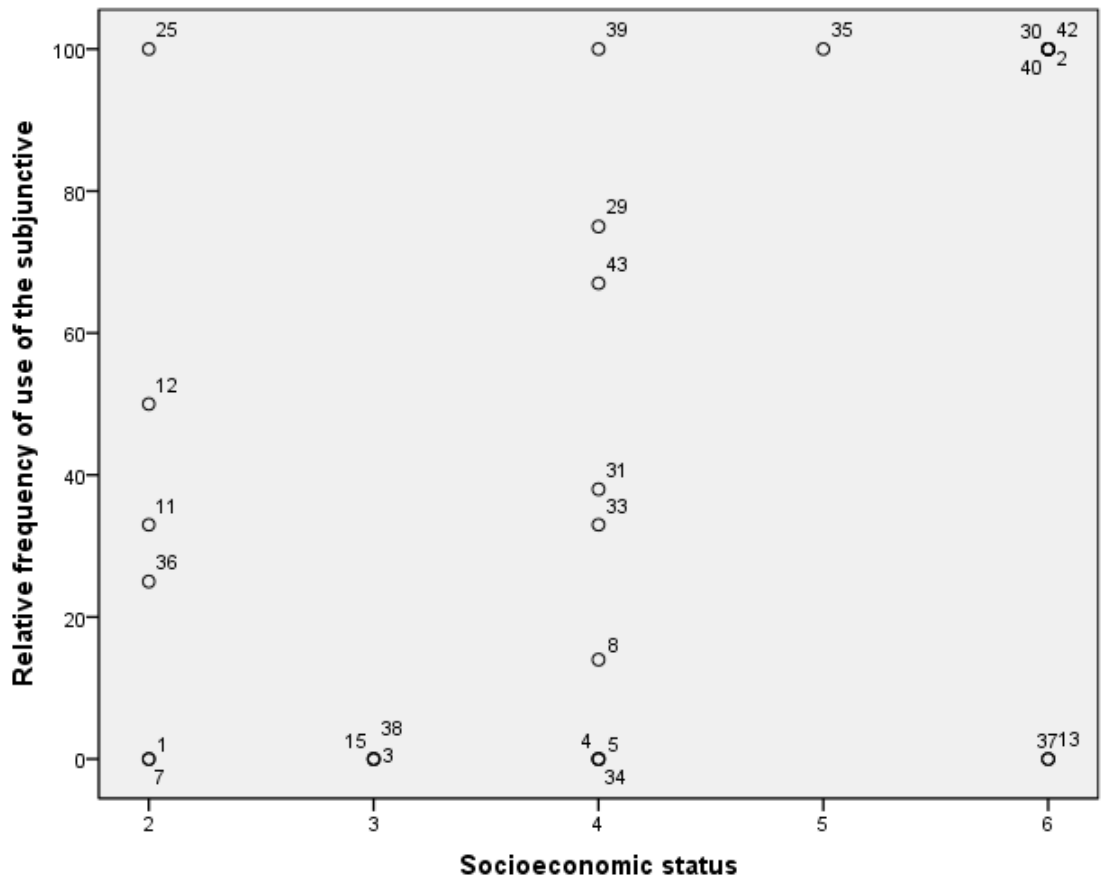


Figure 5.34 EIV11 x DV3

The mean relative frequency in the ‘homemaker’ group (group 6 in the chart above) was shown to be 71% in Chapter 4. It should be noted that there are seven participants in this group, however, only six appear on the chart. It is not clear why the seventh is missing, but she is S28 and her DV3 score was 100%. It is not obvious why homemaker should have such a comparatively high use of the subjunctive, so this group was examined to rule out other confounding factors. The only social factors that are common to all seven participants in this group, apart from their ‘homemaker’ occupation, are sex and knowledge of SF. Given that the ‘supervisory, clerical, junior managerial’ group is also female-dominated and shows 100% indicative use, sex is ruled out as a confounding factor. Knowledge of SF is also ruled out since the vast majority (N = 30) of the sample reported having knowledge of SF. Linguistic factors do not offer an explanation either. The mean OLE scores of the ‘homemaker’ and ‘intermediate managerial, administrative or professional’ groups were compared²⁰. As a group, the homemakers were found to have a slightly higher mean OLE score at 52% than the ‘intermediate

²⁰ These two figures were calculated using the raw number of OLE elements for each group rather than using the sum of the OLE percentages of the group participants.

managerial, administrative or professional' group at 47%, so the homemakers were slightly more likely to produce the subjunctive as a result of the linguistic contexts in which their tokens were set. This slight difference in OLE means is not commensurate, however, with the 56% difference between the two groups in subjunctive production (26% vs. 82%) that can be seen in Figure 5.33. This leaves occupation as the only possible explanation of an overwhelming preference for the subjunctive for this group. It may be that being a homemaker kept participants more locally orientated and, therefore, more in contact with GF than other occupational categories did. If this conjecture is true, then the two participants with the 0% relative frequency are identifiable as atypical, S13 and S37. Both these participants are discussed above.

5.3.12 Knowledge of standard French (EIV12)

This was included in the analysis because of the sociolinguistic perception (Bucholtz, 2003) that the most authentic language is that which has been unaffected by outside influences. This factor was not included in any of the subjunctive studies examined, although it is discussed by Comeau (2011) in relation to variable contexts. He criticises studies that define the variable context using triggers as prescribed in the SF literature (e.g. Laurier 1989) on the grounds that participants may not have had (much) exposure to SF.

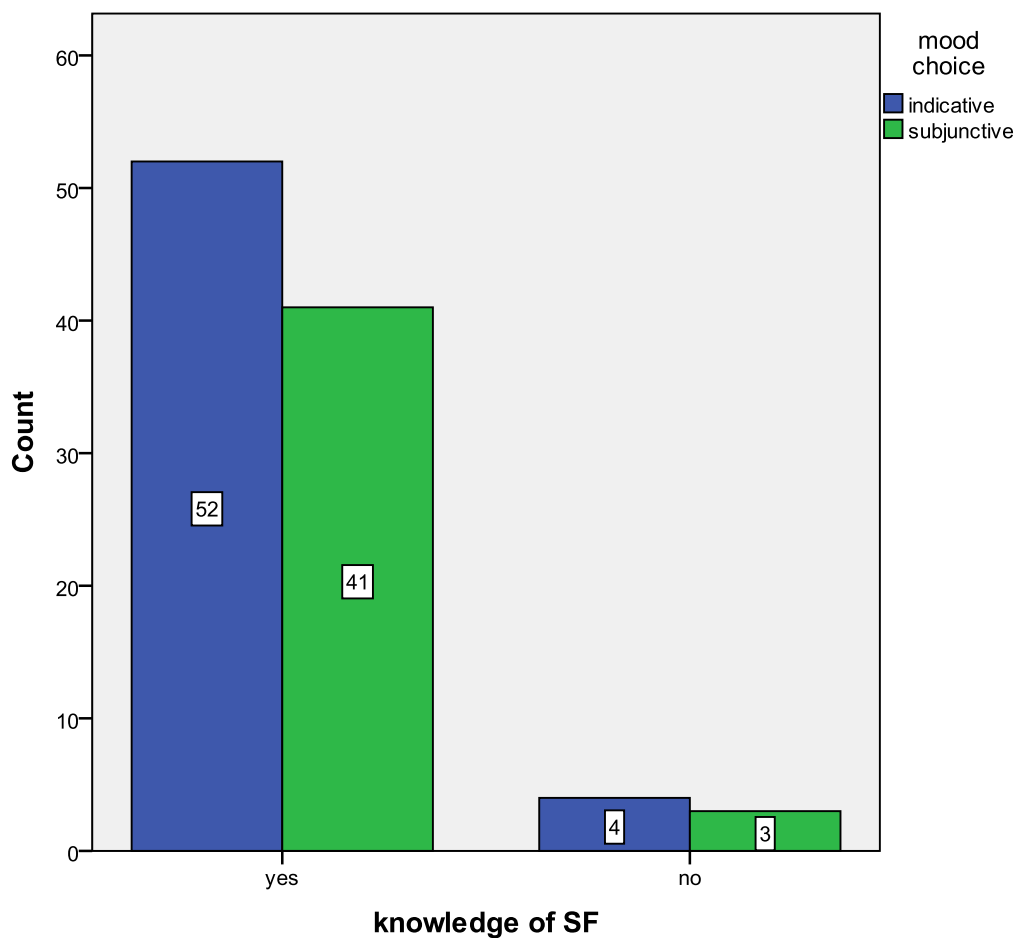


Figure 5.35 EIV12 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

The mean relative frequencies shown in Chapter 4 for the two groups, 48% for knowledge of SF and 67% for no knowledge, are misleading for this factor since there are only two participants in the latter group, S33 and S35. No conclusions can be drawn from the distribution of mood choice shown in the chart above for this reason. No statistically significant difference in use of the subjunctive was found between the two groups. This finding does not, therefore, lend support to the perception mentioned above that the most authentic variants are used by speakers who have had no contact with outside influences. It should be noted, though, that the ‘no’ group is under-represented and also that frequency of use of GF ‘now’ may be a confounding factor.

5.3.13 Member of a GF group (EIV13)

This factor was included in the analysis for its link with language loyalty.

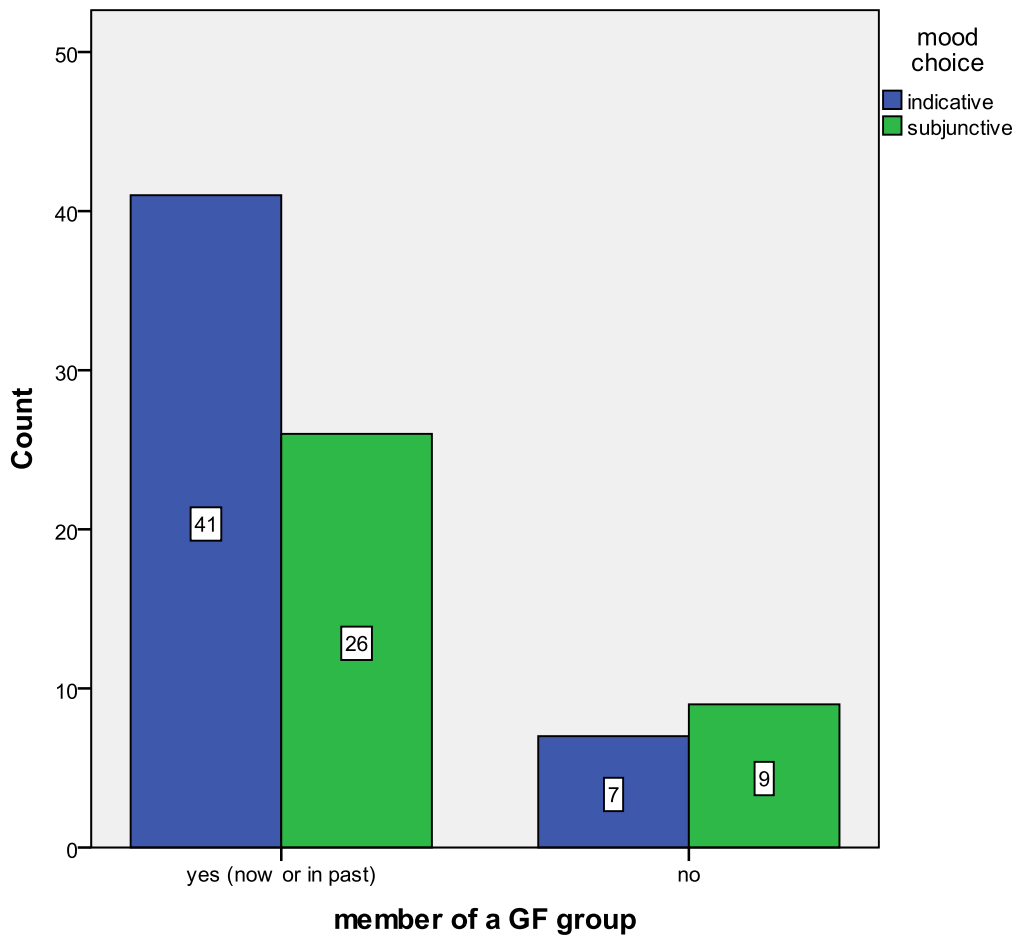


Figure 5.36 EIV13 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

The mean relative frequency of use of the subjunctive was shown in Chapter 4 to be higher for participants who were not members of a GF support group at 52% than for those who were members at 44%. This is corroborated in the chart above which shows that those who were not members of a GF support group favoured the subjunctive while those who were members favoured the indicative.

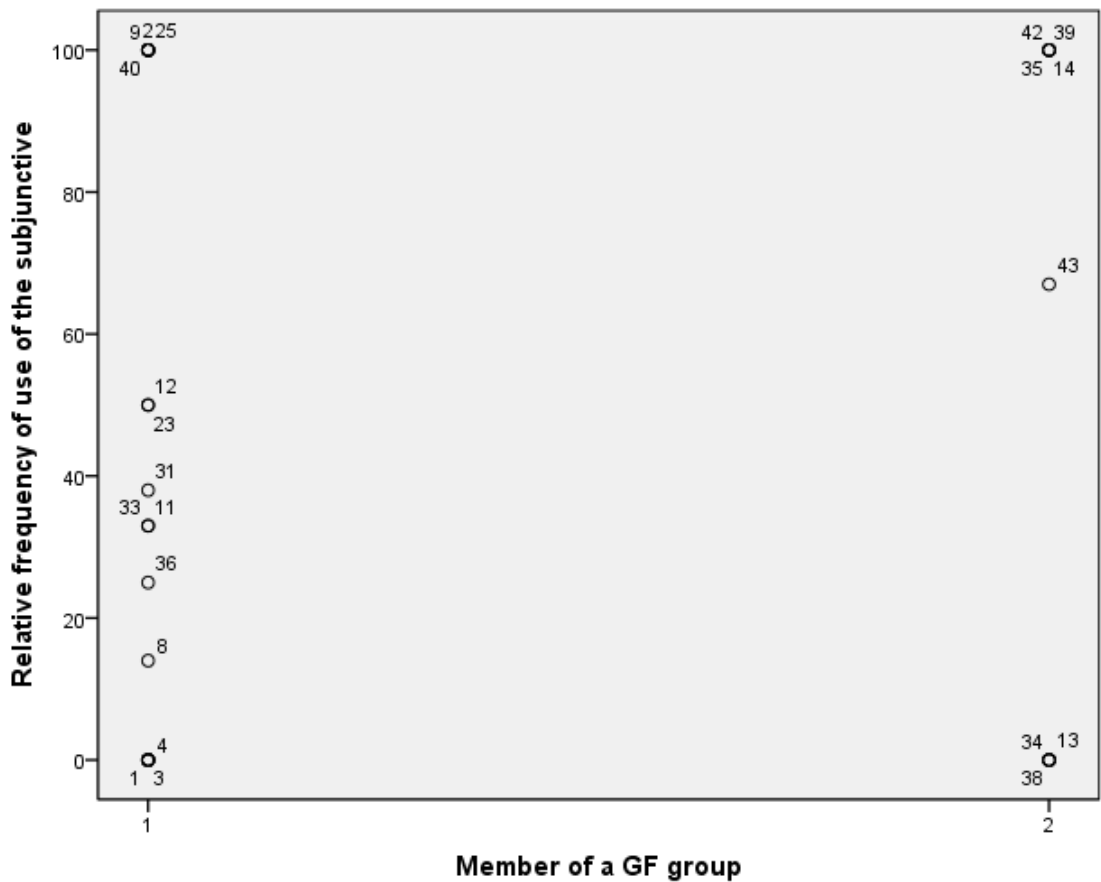


Figure 5.37 EIV13 x DV3 (1 = yes, 2 = no)

Since this result is a little counterintuitive given its link to language loyalty, the non-members group was examined more closely. The scatterplot above shows that there are nine participants who were not members of a GF support group. Again, it is not clear why one of the participants should be missing from the chart that was produced, but she is identified as S37 and her DV3 score is 0%. The following seven of these nine participants are among the ten oldest participants²¹ entered into the analysis of this factor: S13, S14, S34, S37, S38, S42 and S43. Since age was found to be a statistically significant factor when two atypical participants were removed from the analysis, this was the first factor to be examined. Age does not, however, explain the more frequent use of the subjunctive of these nine participants since four of them had a relative frequency score of 0%. Linguistic factors do not offer an explanation either for the difference between the two groups. The mean OLE score for the 'no' group was only slightly lower at 42% than the 44% for the 'yes' group. All other social factors were examined and found to be fairly evenly balanced between the two groups, with the exception of frequency of use of GF when the participants were children. The average mean use as a child of the 'no' group was higher at 79% than that of the yes group at 59%. This offers the only possible explanation for the

²¹ This figure excludes S28 and S29 who were not entered into the analysis for this factor as there were no data available for them.

higher level of use of the subjunctive by participants who were not members of a GF group. Having said all this, there was no statistically significant difference in use of the subjunctive found between the two groups.

5.3.14 Region (EIV14)

This was included in the analysis as there are anecdotal reports of regional variation in GF in terms of lexis and pronunciation (see e.g. Sallabank 2010a). While the main variation is to be found between the *bas pas* and *haut pas* regions, there is also reported to be further variation within the *haut pas* region. This is reported as no longer being delimited by parish, however, due to population movement (Sallabank 2010a, Tomlinson 1981).

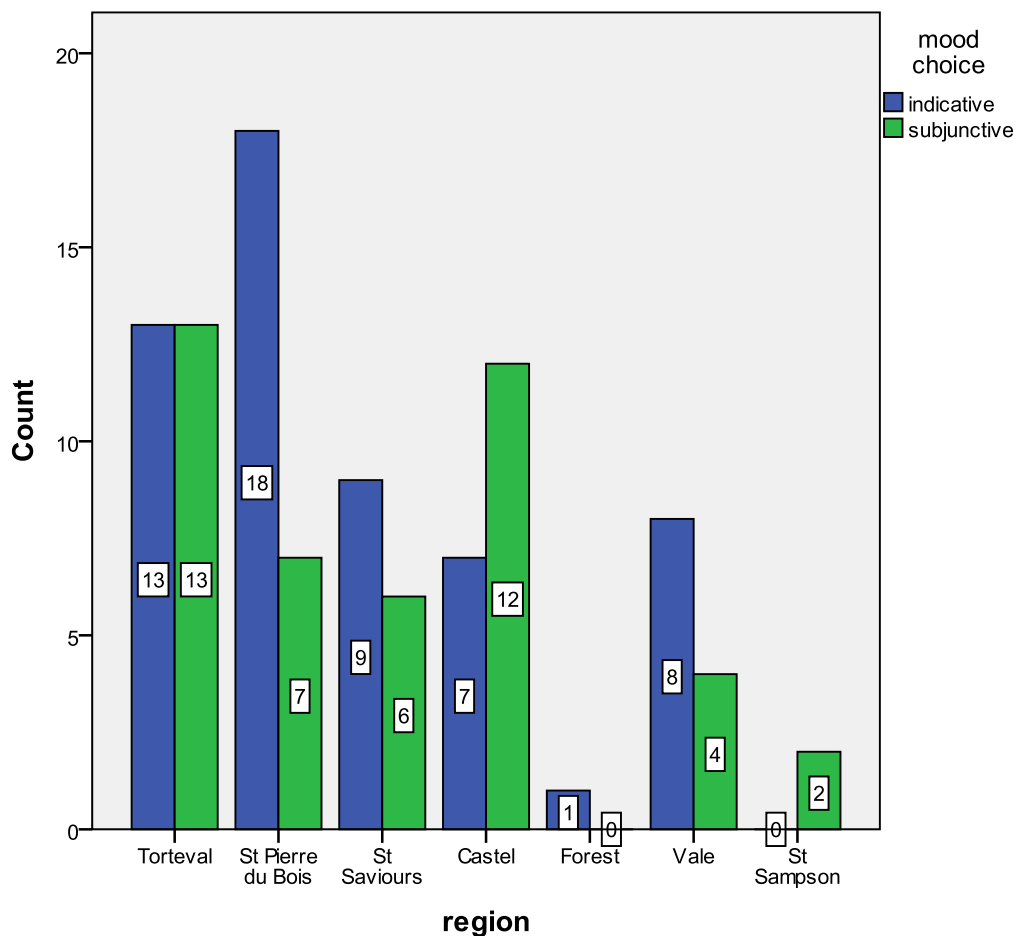


Figure 5.38 EIV14 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

The most striking thing about the chart above is the counterintuitive results for the Vale and St Sampson parishes. The mean relative frequencies of use of the subjunctive for these two parishes were found to be 50% and 100% respectively in Chapter 4. Of the seven parishes represented in the sample, these are the two which would be expected to show the lowest proportion of subjunctive use. Sjögren (1964) describes the linguistic situation in Guernsey in 1926 as English-dominant in the more urbanised north of the island, where the Vale and St Sampson parishes lie, and GF-dominant in the more rural western parishes of Castel, St

Saviour's, St Pierre du Bois, Torteval and Forest. He writes that the Vale had probably seen a major decline in use of GF during the second half of the nineteenth century.

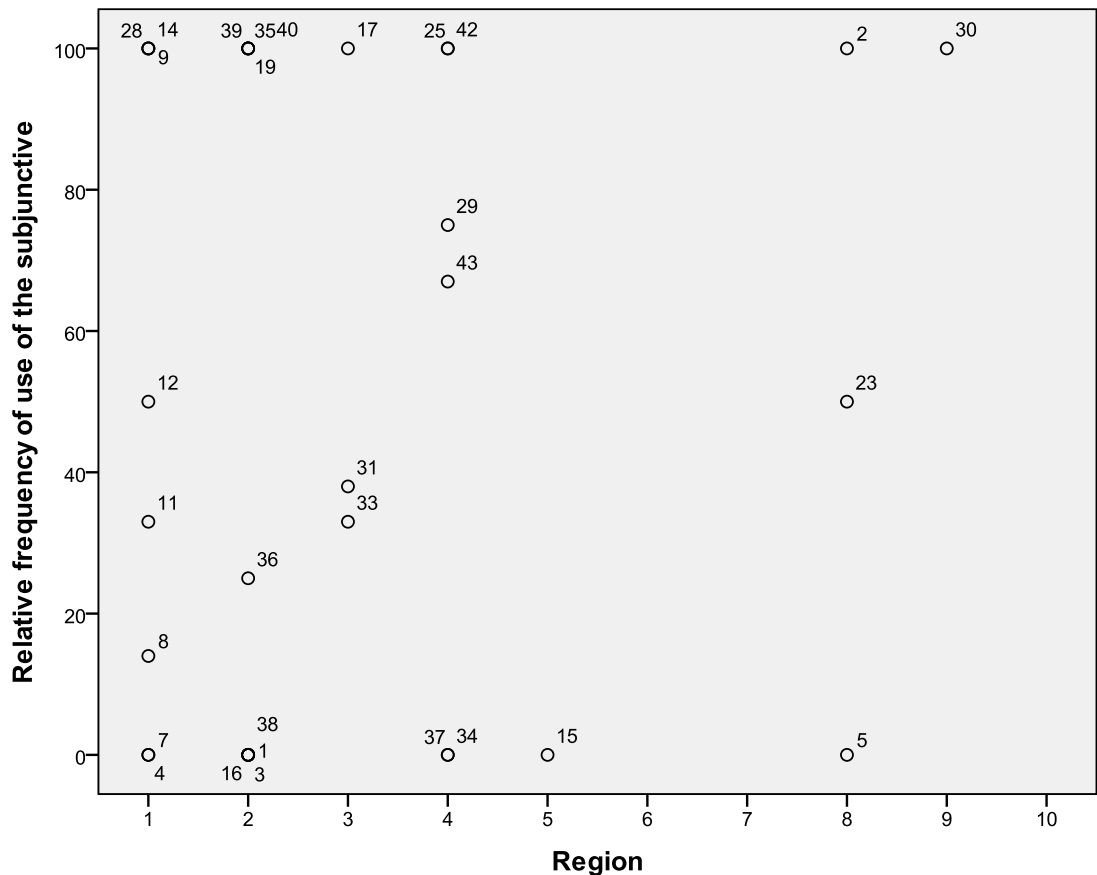


Figure 5.39 EIV14 x DV3

The reason for these anomalous results can be discerned from the scatterplot above. It is due to the atypical use by two participants, S2 and S23, in the Vale group (group 8 in the chart above), and by the only participant, S30, in the St Sampson group (group 9 in the chart above). S2 and S30 are discussed above.

S23 (relative frequency = 50%)

S23's level of use of the subjunctive is higher than would be expected given that his regional influence comes from the Vale. S23's (aged 76) OLE score was 44%, so a linguistic explanation is unlikely. The most likely explanation is that S23 was classified incorrectly for this factor in view of Paul Kerswill's (1996, cited by Meyerhoff, 2011, p.206) suggestion that "between 4 and 12 years children move away from their caregivers' speech" in a language shift context. Although his linguistic influence was classified as the Vale, as that was where his mother came from, his father came from Castel and he had lived in that parish all his life, so it is quite possible that regional and paternal linguistic influence overrode that of his mother.

No statistically significant difference in use of the subjunctive was found between the parishes.

5.3.15 Proficiency (EIV15)

This was included in the analysis as it has been found to be a salient factor in endangered language studies (e.g. Dorian 1989, Schmidt 1985). It was also a factor included in the subjunctive studies of Laurier (1989) and Poplack (1997). Poplack (1992) does not find 'English proficiency' to be a constraint on use of the subjunctive, however Laurier (1989) finds *dominance linguistique* to be the best social predictor of use of the subjunctive and the second best predictor overall, with participants who are French-dominant more likely to produce the subjunctive.

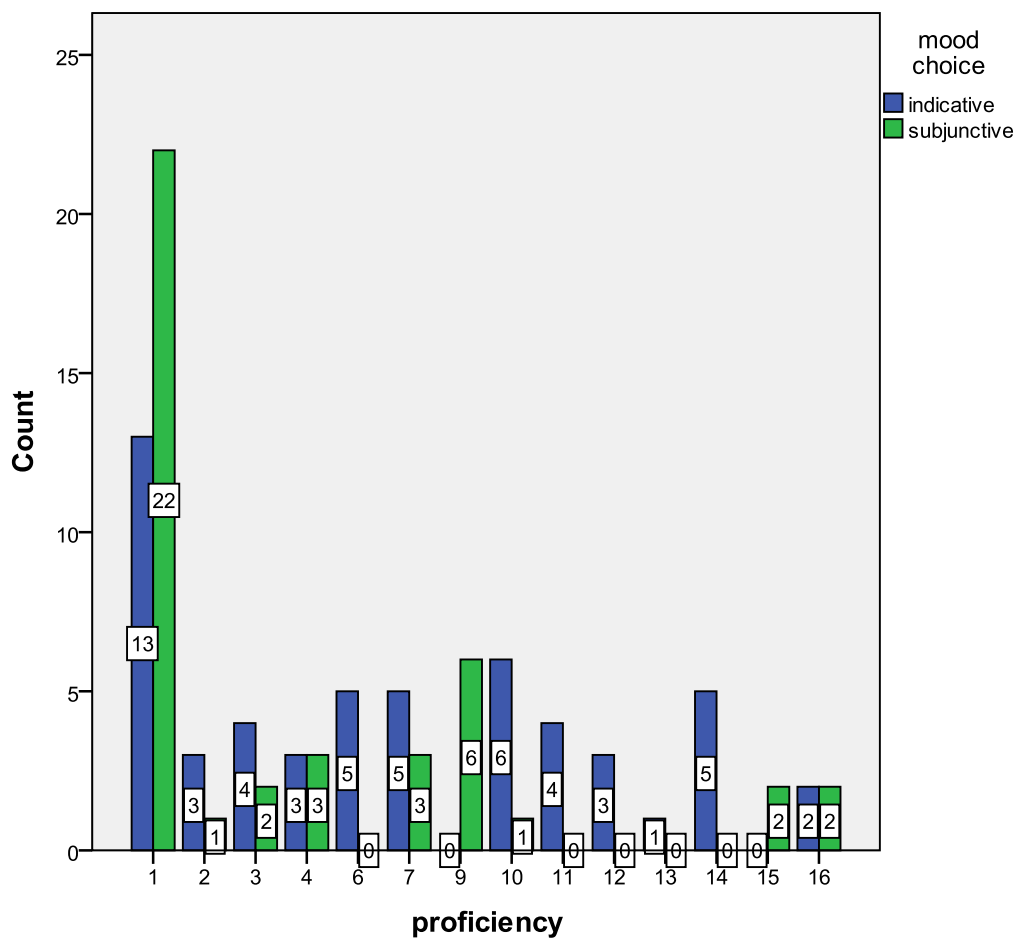


Figure 5.40 EIV15 x DV1 showing number of tokens in each category

Proficiency rankings are from 1 to 16 in the chart above, with 1 representing the most proficient speaker and 16, the least. The mean relative frequency results in Chapter 4 revealed two anomalous proficiency groups, '9' and '15', both with 100% mean relative frequency of use of the subjunctive. The chart above gives a clearer picture, however. It can be seen that the '15' group has only two tokens and the '9' group has six tokens.

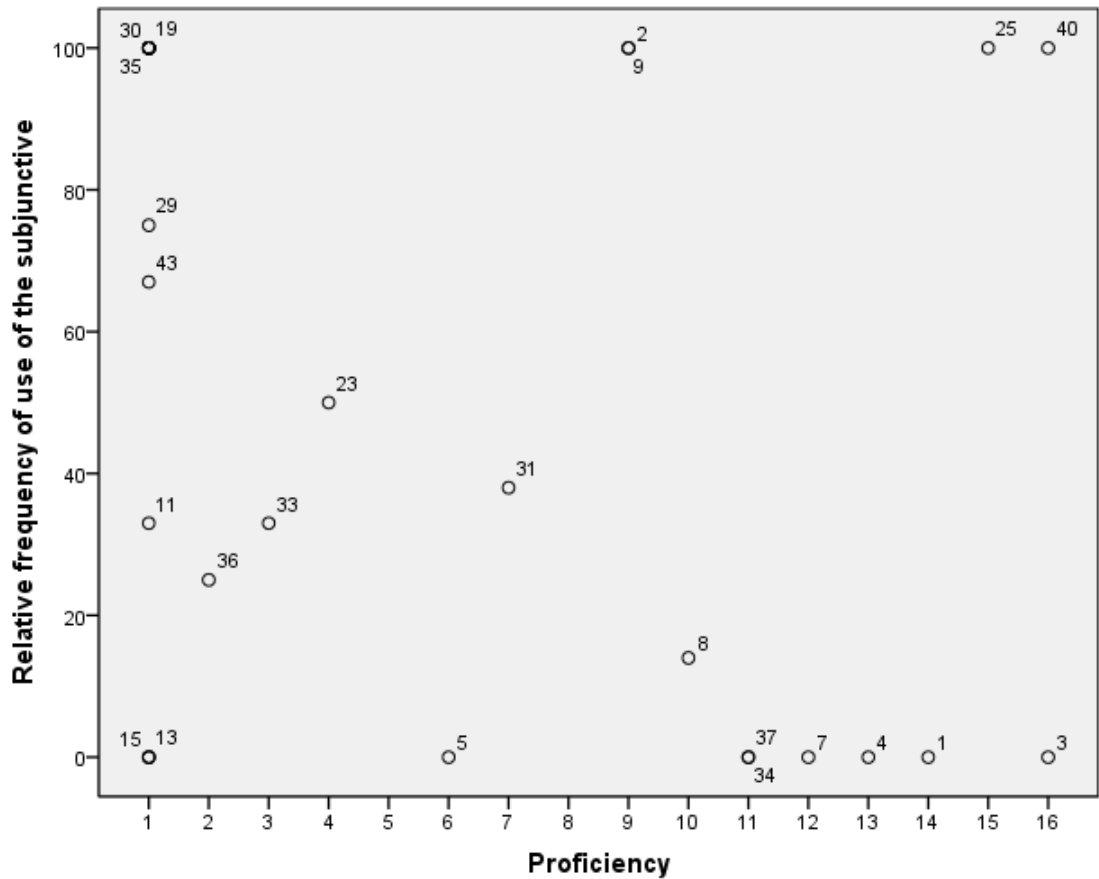


Figure 5.41 EIV15 x DV3

The scatterplot above shows that the two tokens in the '15' group both come from S25, and the six tokens in the '9' group come from two participants, S2 and S9. S25 and S2 are discussed above.

S9 (relative frequency = 100%)

S9's level of use of the subjunctive is higher than would be expected from her proficiency ranking. In terms of linguistic factors, S9's (aged 79) OLE score was 67%, so her unexpectedly high level of use of the subjunctive may have a social explanation. Unfortunately, data was missing from S9 on her frequency of use of GF 'now', as this may have provided an explanation. The only other possible social explanation is that 'region' might have had an attritional effect on some aspects of S9's GF. Although S9 was brought up in Torteval and St Saviour's, she lived in St Andrew's all her married life. Sjögren observes that the shift from GF to English was in progress in St Andrew's when he carried out his research in 1926. He reports that, out of a class of forty children in the parish, only seven spoke GF at home. Any attritional effect from 'region' would have been compounded by the fact that English was the only language of communication used in S9's marital home.

No statistically significant difference in use of the subjunctive was found between the proficiency groups, although it is possible that trigger may be a confounding factor in the result (see Chapter

3, §3.7.2). It should be remembered, however, that findings in relation to this factor were to be taken as a loose indication only (see Chapter 3, §3.6.1.15 for discussion).

5.3.16 Summary

Labov (2001, p.34) writes that “this unique object, the individual speaker, can only be understood as the product of a unique social history”. The uniqueness of the individual is borne out by the discussion of the social histories of sixteen speakers above. The statistical testing of fifteen external factors in this section uncovered a high level of interspeaker variation in GF. The sociolinguistic backgrounds of the sixteen atypical speakers were examined in an attempt to understand the atypical variation they presented. The most common explanation for atypicality running through the profiles of the sixteen speakers was the level of exposure to and use of GF or English both ‘now’ and throughout their adult lives. This finding is not surprising given the fact that frequency of use of GF ‘now’ was the only social factor found to have a statistically significant association with use of the subjunctive across the whole sample. This, by no means, provides the full picture, however, since other explanations for atypical use included level of intergenerational contact, age of parents, language loyalty and regional influence.

Both the level of interspeaker and intragenerational variation and the reasons behind the variation uncovered above suggest that the individual as a “unique object” (Labov, 2001, p.34) should not be ignored in a study of variation in an endangered language.

5.4 Authenticity in an endangered language

This section answers the final research question:

3. What does an examination of interspeaker variation tell us about gauging authenticity in an endangered language?

Romaine (1982, p.23) writes that each person’s grammar “has ‘arrived’ from somewhere and is ‘headed’ somewhere, but not in the same direction, or on the same track in all cases”. This statement is borne out by the findings above. Furthermore, Dorian’s (2009, p.12) observation that “relatively large differences in speaker skills are a familiar phenomenon as language shift takes hold” was found to be true in the z-shaped distribution of mood choice that was found for the sample in this study.

There are a number of criteria that signify authenticity in variationist sociolinguistics and in endangered language contexts. Two that are common to both fields are age and absence of contact features. A third characteristic of authentic speakers often cited by endangered language communities is language loyalty. These are each discussed in turn below.

5.4.1 Age

It is generally the case that both language communities and linguists perceive the oldest speakers of an endangered language to be its most authentic speakers since they are likely to use the most traditional linguistic norms. This study has found that, after the removal of two younger atypical participants, there is a statistically significant association between age and mood choice, namely, the older a participant is, the more they use the traditional variant, the subjunctive.

A closer examination of variation at an individual level, however, reveals that only five (42%) of the twelve oldest participants (aged 80 and over) used the traditional variant in 100% of cases. Furthermore, five never used it at all.

Ref	Age	N tokens	OLE	DV3
S37	80	1	0%	0%
S38	80	1	0%	0%
S34	81	3	33%	0%
S30	82	2	83%	100%
S13	85	1	0%	0%
S5	87	5	0%	0%
S19	87	2	67%	100%
S43	87	3	33%	67%
S42	88	2	33%	100%
S28	88	2	67%	100%
S29	89	8	17%	75%
S14	100	3	78%	100%

Table 5.8 Oldest participants in the sample

The OLE scores in the table above reveals that four of the five participants who had 0% subjunctive use, S37, S38, S13 and S5, also had 0% OLE scores. It is possible, therefore, that their mood choice was constrained by the linguistic environments in which their tokens were set. In addition, three of these four produced only one token. It may be, therefore, that these participants would have produced the subjunctive given the right linguistic environments and more of them. This conjecture does not apply to S34, however, whose OLE score was 33%. It could also be that there is a social explanation for the 0% subjunctive use of these five participants. Four of them, S37, S38, S34 and S5 (discussed in more detail above), had a comparatively high level of exposure to/use of English when they were children. It should be noted, though, that so did S30, one of the 100% subjunctive participants. The fact that S30's OLE score was also high, however, at 83% may have served to counteract any early English influence.

The 0% subjunctive use of the fifth participant, S13, is most likely due to age-related attrition as discussed above.

The remaining two participants in the table above who did not produce the subjunctive categorically were S43 (67%) and S29 (75%). S29 is discussed in detail above. His low OLE score (17%) may explain why he did not produce the subjunctive in 100% of cases, but it may also be the fact that he produced significantly more tokens than any of the others in this group. Poplack (1992) found that all triggers occurring more than four times showed variability. S29's lower subjunctive use score may also be due to the fact that he had a high level of exposure to/use of English as a child. The lower subjunctive retention of S43 is more difficult to explain. His OLE score was fairly low at 33%, but then his wife (S42) had the same OLE score and produced 100% subjunctive. There is nothing in S43's personal history that appears to explain his comparatively low subjunctive retention rate. It may be that Rogers' (2003) classification of speakers provides the answer. With the caveat that Rogers' typology is based on the classic s-curve of change rather than the z-shaped distribution which emerged in this study, it is possible that S43 is an innovator or an early adopter.

These findings present a challenge to the perception that the oldest speakers use the most authentic language. This is further supported by the finding that the most authentic (i.e. traditional) users of mood choice are distributed right through the whole sample. There are twelve participants in all who use the subjunctive in 100% of cases and their ages range from 43 to 100.

Ref	Age	N tokens	OLE
S25	43	2	100%
S2	62	1	67%
S35	67	1	67%
S39	71	1	100%
S17	73	1	100%
S40	74	2	67%
S9	79	5	67%
S30	82	2	83%
S19	87	2	33%
S42	88	2	67%
S28	88	2	67%
S14	100	3	78%

Table 5.9 Participants who used the subjunctive in 100% of cases

By the same token, the most inauthentic (i.e. new variant) users of mood choice are also distributed right through the whole sample. There are eleven participants with an age range of 48 to 87 who never use the subjunctive.

Ref	Age	N tokens	OLE
S1	48	5	40%
S7	59	3	0%
S4	61	1	67%
S3	63	2	33%
S15	71	1	0%
S16	73	6	28%
S37	80	1	0%
S38	80	1	0%
S34	81	3	33%
S13	85	1	0%
S5	87	5	0%

Table 5.10 Participants who used the subjunctive in 0% of cases

Both King (1989) and Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1995) find that linguistic environment goes a long way to explaining variation. The importance of taking into account linguistic factors when gauging authenticity is highlighted here in Tables 5.9 and 5.10, since there is only one low OLE score (33%) in the 100% subjunctive table, and only one high OLE score (67%) in the 0% subjunctive table.

5.4.2 Absence of contact features

There appears, from the discussion above of age, to be a link between exposure to/use of English as a child and use of the indicative variant for this oldest group of speakers. This ties in with one of the sociolinguistic perceptions identified by Bucholtz, “linguistic isolationism” (Bucholtz, 2003, p.404) where the most authentic language is that which has been unaffected by outside influences. It is interesting, however, that none of the six factors used to gauge linguistic isolation (frequency and variety of use of GF as a child, evacuation, language acquisition, knowledge of SF and region) emerged as statistically significant factors in the analysis. It should be noted though that two of the factors, frequency and variety of use of GF as a child, were based on self-report data, and were difficult factors to quantify satisfactorily, so it is possible that the percentages or categorisation of use are inaccurate for some participants for these two factors.

5.4.3 Language loyalty

One participant who was singled out as being an authentic speaker during my fieldwork was S2. She was unknown to S13's sister²². She referred to S2 as "the lady who reads the news in GF on the radio" and told me "She's the one you want to speak to". It is interesting that this participant, S2, is perceived to be an authentic speaker since a field linguist would be unlikely to select her at the documentation or description stage for two reasons. First, she only had a passive knowledge of the language as a child and, second, she was brought up in the Vale, a region which would be avoided by sociolinguists seeking authenticity, since the language would be likely to contain more contact features. S2 does not perceive herself to be an authentic speaker. She uses 'othering' when referring to GF speakers, for example, with the use of 'they' in the following: "I think they call it 'boeuf' actually rather than 'steak'" (S2).

If one component of language loyalty can be taken to be frequency of use of the language 'now', as was found by Dorian (2010) in her study of the brother and sister for example, then language loyalty has emerged as the only social factor across the whole sample to have a statistically significant association with mood choice. The more a participant uses the language, the more they use the subjunctive. However, S28 and S7 report themselves as using the language the most frequently (90%) out of the whole sample and, as a result, may be perceived as the most authentic speakers, but S7 never used the subjunctive once.

Two other factors which can also be said to reflect language loyalty are variety of use 'now' and member of a GF group. Variety of use 'now' did not emerge as statistically significant, but findings from this variable were to be taken as an indication only since grouping of participants involved generalisations and relied on self-report data. In respect of being a member of a GF group, there were nine participants who were not members of a GF support group and, although the result was not statistically significant, they were shown to use the subjunctive more frequently than those who did belong to a group. This is counterintuitive, but it was found that frequency of use as a child may have been a confounding factor in the result for this variable.

5.4.4 Summary

The discussion above of the three criteria commonly perceived to signal authenticity shows that an examination of individual variation is key to uncovering authenticity in an endangered language. Two points in particular emerge from this discussion of authenticity. The first is the importance of examining variation from a linguistic, social and individual perspective in order to reveal the authentic speakers. The second is that it is clear that, no matter how well factors are designed to measure criteria derived from perceptions of authenticity, a blanket application

²² S13's sister sat in on our interview, but did not feel her GF was good enough to be recorded (although she frequently prompted her sister).

across a whole sample may fail to uncover, and may even serve to conceal, the most authentic speakers of an endangered language.

6 Summary and Conclusions

6.1 Summary

The aim of this study was threefold. The first objective was to determine the social and linguistic constraints on mood choice in the endangered language GF. The second was to examine interspeaker and intragenerational variation in relation to mood choice in GF, and the third was to illustrate the difficulties of seeking out and gauging authenticity in an endangered language.

In respect of the first objective, the results of the analysis of social and linguistic factors showed that the subjunctive mood was found in 44% of contexts in this study. One social and four linguistic factors were found to be constraints on mood choice in GF. The social constraint was frequency of use of GF 'now'. Age was found not to be a constraint on mood choice for the whole sample, but it was found to have a statistically significant medium, positive correlation when two atypical speakers were removed from the sample, suggesting change in progress from the traditional subjunctive mood to the new variant, the indicative mood. The three main linguistic factors acting as constraints on mood choice in GF in this study were trigger, trigger tense and embedded verb. Presence/absence of a relative pronoun was also found to be a small effect size constraint. The fact that this study shows there is linguistic regularity in mood choice in GF indicates that the subjunctive is still regularly conditioned among the sample as a whole and is therefore not on the verge of extinction.

In relation to the second objective, the examination of social factors in relation to GF mood choice uncovered a high level of interspeaker and intragenerational variation within the sample which presents a challenge to the variationist principle that individuals "are believed to be a representation of the community as a whole" (Tagliamonte, 2012, p.132). A scatterplot, for example, showing the correlation of age with each participant's relative frequency of use of the subjunctive revealed an unusual z-shaped distribution, with one half of the sample behaving quite differently from the other half. A close examination of the personal histories of sixteen participants showed that it is essential to take the individual into account in a study of variation in an endangered language.

The third objective, to highlight the difficulties of seeking out and gauging authenticity in an endangered language, was achieved by examining three salient signifiers of authenticity. The findings showed that a field linguist, with no prior knowledge of the language, entering an endangered language community to document and describe a language such as the one in this study, might have trouble deciding which is the traditional variant. Taking age as the marker of authenticity in GF did not reveal the traditional variant: five of the twelve oldest speakers used one variant, five used another, and two used both. Taking absence of contact features as the

marker of authenticity did not reveal the traditional variant since there was no statistically significant association between use of the subjunctive and any of the six factors which measure this. Finally, taking language loyalty as the marker of authenticity did not reveal the traditional variant: of the two speakers who used the language the most frequently, one used the subjunctive in 100% of cases and the other never used it at all.

This study highlights some of the well-documented problems associated with carrying out studies on grammatical variables within the variationist paradigm. First, there is the tendency for grammatical variables to be less socially indexical than their phonological counterparts (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). The low token numbers also made some elements of the analysis impossible and constraints may not have been revealed as a result. This was compounded by the fact that 75 homophonous variants were excluded from analysis. These two things together may have resulted in a representation of mood choice in GF that is not altogether accurate. This said, at worst, it offers an approximate picture of contemporary (2010/11) interspeaker variation in mood usage in GF. It is not possible to generalise the findings to the whole population since they have come from a relatively small sample and the token numbers are low. It is, however, possible to say that the findings can be taken as indicative of the whole GF language community since the sample represents between 11% and 16% of the population estimate¹.

This study also highlights some not so well-documented problems of carrying out studies on endangered languages within the variationist paradigm. The challenge to the variationist principle that individuals mirror group norms that is presented by high levels of interspeaker variation raises questions with regard to the efficacy of using traditional variationist methodology in endangered language contexts. It is clear from this study that blanket application of social factor testing across the whole sample can result in false conclusions being drawn in relation to change in progress, social constraints and authenticity.

6.2 Conclusions

This study is the first to examine interspeaker variation in a grammatical variable in GF. It expands existing research on the subjunctive in varieties of French by being the first to quantify the linguistic environments of tokens (OLEs) for each participant, and to compare these with their use of the variable in order to determine the likelihood of their mood choice being due to either linguistic or social factors or both.

This research adds to the small body of empirical investigations into the individual in variationist sociolinguistics. It shows that the variationist principle that individuals mirror group use cannot necessarily be sustained when it comes to endangered language contexts. Two of the findings in

¹ Provided that the estimate of the number of GF speakers at 2-300 is accurate.

particular challenge the assumption in variationist sociolinguistics that individuals are insignificant: one is that almost half (42%) of the oldest speakers never use the traditional variant, and the other is that two atypical participants, not classified as outliers statistically, effect a false result in the change in progress analysis. The z-shaped change in progress distribution finding also supports this. It is not a distribution that has been identified graphically before for an endangered language context and may be one that is peculiar to endangered language (or similar) contexts owing to the higher than normal levels of variability and rates of change commonly found in endangered language contexts. It was found, too, that using traditional variationist methodology in an endangered language context may not reveal, and may even conceal, the most authentic speakers of an endangered language. This study has shown that it is essential to examine variation at an individual level in order to gauge authenticity.

The present study also makes a contribution to the relatively new field of documentation and revitalisation which still requires solid theoretical underpinning. It goes some way to addressing the gap in research into attrition in semi-speakers. There are few studies so far that have attempted to quantify interspeaker variation in endangered languages. The present study highlights the benefits of combining quantitative and qualitative analyses at both group and individual levels so that informed decisions can be made on interspeaker and intragenerational variation in revitalisation projects. When a linguist is confronted by the high level of variation frequently found in an endangered language context, it is clear that it is advisable to uncover as much of the picture behind the variation as possible in order to make informed decisions and to produce a description of the language that is as accurate as possible. It is advisable to take into account linguistic factors (linguistic environment and number of tokens), social factors and personal histories. Bucholtz (2003, p.407) writes that the linguist is the ultimate “arbiter of authenticity”. All perceptions of authenticity pertinent to each stakeholder for that particular language can be taken into account in the factors included in a variationist analysis. There is a final caveat, however, that data collected using variationist methods can never be truly authentic (Bucholtz, 2003).

6.2.1 Limitations in material

As already discussed in Chapter 2 and above in §6.1, there are problems presented by a variationist analysis of a grammatical variable. It is possible that the subjunctive is used a lot more frequently in GF than the results from this analysis indicate. If more data had been collected, the categorical triggers with low token numbers² might have shown variability. The obvious solution to this is to collect as much data as possible, however, even Poplack’s (1992)

² Five of the categorical triggers in this study had five tokens or fewer.

large-scale study involving a 3.5 million word corpus and 2,694 tokens came up against the same problem. Another factor potentially acting to conceal the true level of usage of the subjunctive is that variationist methodology requires that ambiguous tokens be removed. It cannot, therefore, be known how many of the homophonous tokens which were removed prior to analysis were actually intended as subjunctive.

It is possible, too, that constraints may have been concealed by the low number of tokens in the data. The low number of tokens analysed mean that the findings of this study can provide an indication only. In its capacity as a contemporary study of the subjunctive in GF, it would have been better served by supplementing the natural data with elicited data from translation sentences.

In its capacity as a study of authenticity, further insight would have been gained from carrying out a small survey among GF speakers to determine the criteria that the GF language community apply in their evaluation of the most authentic speakers.

6.2.2 Recommendations for further research

In terms of furthering research on the subjunctive in GF, access to other existing GF corpora would allow more statistical analyses to be carried out and firmer conclusions to be drawn. Given the existence of intraspeaker variation and the counterintuitive results for the factor 'register' in relation to mood choice, it would also be worth exploring audience design/speech accommodation in relation to mood choice in GF.

In terms of future research on the subjunctive in other varieties of French, comparative studies of interspeaker variation at an individual level using a combination of linguistic and social factors would extend research in the field.

It would be interesting to explore other grammatical variables in GF to ascertain whether they also present the z-shaped distribution found for mood choice. Finally, it would also be interesting to see more quantitative studies of change in progress presented from other endangered language studies in order to determine if the z-shaped distribution found here is a common feature.

Appendix A

Informational signs in Guernsey's linguistic landscape:



Symbolic signs aimed at tourists:





Symbolic signs aimed at tourists and Guernsey inhabitants:






 ISLAND
 COACHWAYS

Drv 1118 Route 701
 Bus 32 Jrny 1645
 Ticket No 6013

Bianvnu a bord
Standard Single
£1.00

Town
 To
Fort Grey

Wed, 09 Nov 11 16:46

For Terms and
 Conditions - see bus
 timetable or
www.icw.gg/buses


GUERNSEY
MUSEUMS
GALLERIES
 Guernsey Museum
 & Art Gallery
 Tel. 01481 726518
www.museums.gov.gg

	1.50
20000295 A. GMAG CHILD/STUDENT	
Total	£ 1.50
Cash	£1.50

19/03/2010 12:32 1.00 items
 Trnsctn 32000 Cshr [REDACTED] Trmnl 1

Merci pour vot'e visite
 A la perchoine!
 View prints on line:
www.museums.gov.gg

Bus Timetable

Winter 2010

Commencing 1 October 2010

Issue 23



Pensai different - pernai enne bosse!

Think differently - catch a bus

Bus information online @ www.icw.gg/buses

Appendix B

UNESCO's Factor 1: Intergenerational language transmission

Degree of Endangerment	Intergenerational Language Transmission
safe	language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted >> not included in the Atlas
vulnerable	most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
definitely endangered	children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
severely endangered	language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
critically endangered	the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
extinct	there are no speakers left >> included in the Atlas if presumably extinct since the 1950s

UNESCO's Factor 2: Absolute number of speakers

- 2-300 speakers remaining with fewer than 100 using the language on a regular basis.

UNESCO's Factor 3: Proportion of speakers within the total population

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Reference Population
safe	5	All speak the language.
unsafe	4	Nearly all speak the language.
definitively endangered	3	A majority speak the language.
severely endangered	2	A minority speak the language.
critically endangered	①	Very few speak the language.
extinct	0	None speak the language.

UNESCO's Factor 4: Trends in existing language domains

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Domains and Functions
universal use	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions
multilingual parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
dwindling domains	3	The language is in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
limited or formal domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions
highly limited domains	1	The language is used only in very restricted domains and for very few functions
extinct	0	The language is not used in any domain nor for any function.

UNESCO's Factor 5: Response to new domains and media

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	New Domains and Media Accepted by the Endangered Language
dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
robust/active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
receptive	3	The language is used in many domains.
coping	2	The language is used in some new domains.
minimal	1	The language is used only in a few new domains.
inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

UNESCO's Factor 6: Materials for language education and literacy

Grade	Accessibility of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; and for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.
①	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography available to the community.

UNESCO's Factor 7: Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use

Degree of Support	Grade	Official Attitudes toward Language
equal support	5	All languages are protected.
differentiated support	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domains. The use of the language is prestigious.
passive assimilation	③	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
active assimilation	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority languages.
forced assimilation	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
prohibition	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

UNESCO's Factor 8: Community members' attitudes toward their own language

Grade	Community Members' Attitudes toward Language
5	All members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	Most members support language maintenance.
3	Many members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
2	Some members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only a few members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	No one cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

UNESCO's Factor 9: Amount and quality of documentation

Nature of Documentation	Grade	Language Documentation
superlative	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts; constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.
good	4	There are one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and occasionally updated everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings.
fair	3	There may be an adequate grammar or sufficient amount of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.
fragmentary	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.
inadequate	1	Only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists, and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely un-annotated.

Appendix C

Guernsey French

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It is estimated that 50% - 90% of the world's 6,000 languages will have died out by the end of this century. Guernsey French is currently classified by UNESCO as severely endangered.

I am a PhD research student at the University of the West of England, Bristol, UK, working under the supervision of Professor Richard Coates. I am conducting a three-year research project on Guernsey French and would be very interested to find out what you think about the language.

You have been selected for participation in this survey because you belong to one of the following two groups who represent an important cross-section of opinions on Guernsey French:

- (i) Parents of primary school-age child(ren)
- (ii) 16-18 year-olds.



While participation in the study may not benefit you directly, you will be contributing to important knowledge about Guernsey French which may be used to inform future decisions about the language. The findings of this survey will be made available to the *States of Guernsey*, and will also be reported in my thesis and may be presented in other research outputs.

This study has received full approval from the University of the West of England's Research Ethics Committee.

A copy of the results will be sent to the schools and college involved. If you would like a personal copy, please contact me – my details are given at the end.

Please fill the survey out even if you don't know much about Guernsey French. Everyone's opinion is important.

What do you think?

Please put a **tick** in the box which matches your opinion most closely for the following statements

1	2	3	4	5	6
strongly disagree	disagree	slightly disagree	partly agree	agree	strongly agree

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Guernsey should maintain a unique identity of its own						
2. I feel proud that Guernsey has its own language						
3. Guernsey French is an important part of Guernsey identity						
4. The <i>States of Guernsey</i> should support Guernsey French						
5. Guernsey French should be left to die out						
6. Guernsey French should be taught in schools						
7. Learning Guernsey French would have a negative effect on children's learning of standard French						
8. Guernsey French should be more visible in the public domain e.g. on TV, radio, internet, in newspapers, on signs etc.						
9. I would like to learn (more) Guernsey French (leave blank if you are already a Guernsey French speaker)						

Please put a **tick** in the box which matches your answer most closely

	0	1-5	6-10	over 10
10. How many Guernsey French speakers do you know?				

Please add any comments

About You

Please put a **tick** in the box which matches your answer to the following questions

1. Are you

- female?
 male?

2. How old are you?

- 16 - 18 26 - 35 46 - 55
 19 - 25 36 - 45 56 and over

3. Which group best describes your main occupation (or former occupation if retired)?

- higher managerial, administrative or professional (e.g. CEO, senior civil servant, surgeon)
 intermediate managerial, administrative or professional (e.g. bank manager, teacher)
 supervisory, clerical, junior managerial (e.g. shop floor supervisor, bank clerk, sales person)
 skilled manual workers (e.g. electrician, carpenter)
 semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers (e.g. assembly line worker, refuse collector, labourer)
 homemaker
 unemployed
 in full-time education

4. What is your highest level of educational qualification?

- up to level 8 (e.g. Degree, Doctorate)
 up to level 3 (e.g. A Level, BTEC National Diploma)
 up to level 2 (e.g. GCSE, BTEC First Diploma)
 other

5. Do you live in Guernsey?

- yes
 no

6. Were you born in Guernsey?

- yes
 no

7. If no, what age were you when you moved here?

- under 18 36-60
 18-35 over 60

8. How well can you **speak** Guernsey French

- I can't say anything
 I can say very simple things (e.g. 'How are you?', 'What's your name?')
 I can hold a conversation, but **quite often** find I have **difficulty**
 I can hold a conversation, and only **sometimes** find I have **difficulty**
 I can hold a conversation on any topic with **no difficulty** whatsoever

9. How well can you **understand** Guernsey French

- I can't understand anything
 I can understand very simple things (e.g. 'How are you?', 'What's your name?')
 I can understand a native speaker who is speaking **slowly and carefully**
 I can understand a native speaker who is speaking **naturally**
 I can understand **a group** of native speakers speaking naturally **in conversation**



*Thank you
for taking part
in this study*



Please return this questionnaire to school or college by

Thursday

10 November 2011

If you have any questions or would like to receive a personal copy of the survey results, please contact me on 01803 391772 or by email at Clare2.Ferguson@live.uwe.ac.uk or by writing to me, Clare Ferguson, at 27 Lammas Lane, Paignton, Devon, TQ2 1PS.

Acknowledgements

- ❖ I am indebted to Dr Julia Sallabank for allowing me to use her 2004 *Guernsey Language Survey* (unpublished) in the compilation of this survey.
- ❖ Image on title page accessed from:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Parishes_in_Guernsey.GIF

Appendix D

Comments from respondents

PFP2: As my children are bilingual (...) ¹ I thought adding an extra language would not be a good idea.

PFP3: My mother-in-law spoke GF as a child and said that it caused her great problems when trying to learn standard French. I think more schools should have access to GF after school.

PFP6: I think having GF in the public domain is the only way it will stand a chance of surviving; both my children have learnt the language (or begin to) at an after school club but have no opportunity to really use it outside of this as we don't know anyone speaking it!

PFP12: The children love learning the language but there should be more of the elder people passing the language on a generation (or two)

PFP16: I am glad this study is being done. I am new to the Island and not a local/Guernsey born (I am English) therefore I do not feel as strongly about the language as perhaps locals might. There's more than one dialect here!

PMP3: Not as part of compulsory timetable.

PMP6: I know a handful of people who can say a few Guernsey French phrases.

PMP7: Learning another language like Spanish, German, French, Portuguese, would be more of a benefit than learning Guernsey French.

NFP1: I feel the survey's categories are a bit restrictive – e.g. no2 and no5 would've preferred a neutral option – neither agree/disagree. NOT being from Guernsey, I don't have a feeling of pride about its language. Also, not sure how intrinsic the native language is to Guernsey's identity if the majority of the population do not speak it, yet still feel fiercely proud of being 'Guerns'. With tight budgets and difficult economy, it doesn't seem feasible or sensible to have the government fund language instruction in schools, when other basic educational goals are not being met here in some educational settings.

NFP5: Guernsey French should be taught in schools like Irish in Ireland. Everyone should know the basics.

NFP8: Guernsey French should maybe be taught in schools, but only as an option.

NFP9: I think GF is important, I only know a few words, but I feel that the children would enjoy learning it.

NFP10: I am not a local person, so it is not part of my heritage, saying that I strongly believe it should be part of a locals' heritage and in the public domain more. Native languages should not be allowed to slowly die out. I am Irish and ashamed to say I do not know how to speak it.

NMP1: I think that GF is an integral part of our history, heritage and culture and should not be allowed to die out.

NMP5: Support of GF is to support Guernsey heritage which is a major issue! Society today seems to favour a globalisation of all things in our lives. This is hard to fight outside of Guernsey but this is something we can genuinely control and protect.

NMP8: GF I believe is important not only for Guernsey, but as a tool for understanding Norman French too.

PFT18: I feel that we should have the same system as Canada and be bilingual.

PFT20: My dad's first language was GF and I think it is a special different language that I would love to learn but in a simple easy fun way.

PFT36: More of a novelty than a decent language.

PMT15: I think GF should be revived but so should the other dialects, Alderney, Sark and Jersey French should also be revived as part of the heritage. I'm from Alderney.

NFT8: The world would be a lot easier if everyone spoke English.

NFT10: Don't have any comments you want to hear, well read! LOL.

NFT12: I did not know Guernsey had its own language, however I am from Alderney. I would be very interested in learning some phrases.

NMT11: Guernsey is part of Britain so we should speak English not French or Guernsey French.

¹ Details have been removed here as they compromise the respondent's anonymity.

Appendix E

Interview schedule

Adapted from Labov 1973 and revised Toronto, March 2005

Adapted from Tagliamonte for this study, 2010

The date today is? (eliciting variable)

ABOUT PARTICIPANT

Tell me about your family

How did you meet your wife/husband/partner?

How did the marriage proposal happen?

Can you remember what you said?

Can you remember how your wife/husband reacted?

What was your wedding like? Did anything funny/interesting happen?

What do you like to do in your free time? Any hobbies?

Who taught you/How did you learn how to do it?

Did you ever go into competitions? Win a competition? What happened?

When is your birthday?

**What is the best birthday party you ever had?

Has anyone ever held a surprise birthday party for you?

Who did it?

Were you really surprised or did you pretend?

WORK

What was your very first job?

How old were you when you started to work?

Can you remember how much you earned?

Do you remember what you were excited to spend your hard-earned money on?

What did your parents do to earn a living?

What did your parents want you to do for a living?

What do/did you do?

What would you like to do/have done?

ABOUT GUERNSEY

Have you always lived in Guernsey?

Do you know how long your family has been living in Guernsey?

Where did they come here from?

**Do you remember coming to Guernsey? Tell me about it.

How has Guernsey changed in your lifetime?

Do you feel that Guernsey is as safe as it was when you were growing up? Why or why not?

Do you ever buy hedgeveg? Why (not)?

Do you ever have delivery people who bring items to your house?

e.g. milkman, ice man, knife sharpener, ice cream truck

If in past: What do you remember about them?

COMMUNITY EVENTS

A lot of people say that communities used to be closer together and more co-operative than they are today, what do you think?

Why do you think that has changed?

Did anything really big ever happen in Guernsey that you remember?

Occupation?

Can you remember what you did when you heard the war had ended?

Any murders? Big fires? Big fights?

Where? Did you see it?

Did people in the neighbourhood help out? With food, clothes, place to stay?

What about accidents or police investigations?

Do you remember the Guernsey 'miracle child' Linda Martel [1956-61]?

Do you believe she had special powers?

Did you know the family?

Did most people in Guernsey believe she had special powers?

**Do you remember when the Tsunami hit?

Where were you when it happened?

Did you know anyone who was affected?

Did you ever witness a crime?

TRAVEL

Have you had the opportunity to travel?

Eouque vous etes allai? (Where did you go?) How long? Anything interesting happen?

Where would you like to go that you've never been?

Why?

**What's the funniest/scariest thing that ever happened to you when you were travelling?

KIDS/PARENTS THESE DAYS

A lot of people say that the children today aren't like they used to be when they were growing up, do you think so?

What's the difference?

Why?

Can you compare what you did for fun when you were young with what kids do now?

What were some of the games you used to play?

What did you do after school to keep yourself occupied?

Did you play sports as a child?
Were you on any sports teams?

A lot of people say that the parents today are a lot less strict than they used to be? What do you think?

MISCELLANEOUS

Have you ever met/seen someone famous?
Who was it? Where was it?
Did you talk to them?

What is the best party you ever went to?

Do you do/Have you done any volunteer work?

Do you play any musical instruments?
If yes, which ones? For how long?
What made you start? *e.g. school, parents*
If no, is there an instrument you would like to learn to play? Why?

What kinds of things would you like to do that you've never done e.g. parachuting, scuba diving, skiing?

Where do you see yourself in twenty years?

Do you think dreams can mean anything?
**Did you ever have a dream that you thought meant something?

Have you ever had a 'near death' experience?
What happened?
Did it change you?

Do you believe in ghosts?
Have you ever seen a ghost?
**Do you know anyone who has seen a ghost?
Are there any spooky places you wouldn't go at night?

Have you planned to do anything this weekend?

What would you do if you won the lottery?

Appendix F

Speaker profile questionnaire

name	
address	
dob	
were you evacuated?	
sex	
ancestors always lived in G?	
occupation(s)	
mother came from	
father came from	
father's occupation	
mother's occupation	
Lived:	
0-18 (parish?)	
18 + (parish?)	
what age did you leave school?	
did you take any more qualifications after leaving school?	

As a child:

	I spoke to them in	They spoke to me in
parents		
parents' generation		
grandparents		
grandparents' generation		
brothers and sisters		
friends		
doctor		
animals/pets		
god		

Now:

	I speak to them in	They speak to me in
parents		
parents' generation		
brothers and sisters		
husband/wife		
children		
children's generation		
grandchildren		
grandchildren's generation		
friends		
acquaintances		
doctor		
animals/pets		
god		

Have you kept up speaking GF all your life?	
---	--

Where do usually speak GF?	
----------------------------	--

As a percentage, how much would you say you speak GF on average in a week?	
--	--

can you speak standard French?	
--------------------------------	--

how many times have you visited France?	
---	--

Are you a member of any Guernsey French groups?	Which?	How often do you go to meetings?				
yes / no		never	rarely	sometimes	often	always

Appendix G

Participant information leaflet and consent form

LANGUAGE CHANGE IN GUERNSEY FRENCH



My name is Clare Ferguson and I am a PhD research student at the University of the West of England in Bristol, UK. I am conducting a three-year research project into changes in Guernsey French and your help with my study would be much appreciated. While participation in the study may not benefit you directly, you will be contributing to important knowledge on your native language which may be used to keep Guernsey French alive for future generations. The project has been granted full approval by the University's Research Ethics Committee.

Before you decide whether you want to take part in my research study, it is important for you to understand what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Why have I been chosen and do I have to take part?

You have been chosen to take part in this study because you are a native speaker of Guernsey French. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form which you will find a copy of overleaf. You will be free to withdraw from the study at any time and you won't have to give me a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part and what do I have to do?

If you decide to take part, there are a couple of ways you could be involved. You could be part of a small group of friends or relatives chatting together in Guernsey French. If you like, you could use a pack of 'conversation starter' cards which have things written on them like 'Do you believe in ghosts?' and 'What would you choose for your last meal on earth?' Or if you prefer, you could just chat to me in Guernsey French - either just the two of us or with another Guernsey French-speaking relative or friend present too – we might talk about you and your family, about life in Guernsey and other general topics of conversation. These sessions will probably be between one and two hours long.

Will my taking part in this study be kept confidential?

Although these sessions will be audio recorded, you can be assured that you will remain completely anonymous. If there is anything that might give away your identity in what you say, it will be disguised or removed in any report, presentation or publication I produce. Your personal details will also remain confidential. It is expected that the recordings will go into an archive at the university and at a repository in Guernsey, but any information collected about you, such as your contact details or date of birth, will be removed so that you cannot be recognised from it. If future researchers wish to access the recordings, they will have to agree to follow the same procedures to guarantee anonymity and confidentiality for you.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The results of the study will be presented in my thesis which will be put forward for a doctorate award and may also be presented in other research outputs. If you would like to have a copy of the findings, please let me know – my contact details are given overleaf.

LANGUAGE CHANGE IN GUERNSEY FRENCH

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I _____ agree to be audio recorded for the project. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and have read and understood the participant information provided.

I understand that my taking part is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time and will not be asked any questions about why I no longer want to take part.

I understand that my words, if quoted in publications, presentations, reports, web pages, or other research outputs, will be anonymous and that my personal details will remain confidential.

I agree for the recordings to be archived and understand that, if other researchers wish to have access to this data, they will have to agree to preserve confidentiality and anonymity.

I understand that I may not benefit directly from the study.

I have been given a copy of this consent form.

Signature

Date

If you have any questions or would like any more information, please contact me on 01803 391772 or by email at Clare2.Ferguson@live.uwe.ac.uk or by writing to me, Clare Ferguson, at: 27 Lammas Lane, Paignton, Devon, TQ3 1PS.

Appendix H

The following are the forms used for words either not present in De Garis's 1982 dictionary or present, but showing orthographical variation.

acore	still/yet
aen	a/an (m)
aidgulle	needle
aitre	cow barn
allumaette	match
amouraeux	lover
aos	bone
aoute	other
arlevaïe	afternoon
(s')assieis	sit
atou	with
autchun	any (m + f)
baïce	bike
beibi	baby
betaot	soon
boanjour	good morning
boeu	beef
boxe	box
caltchutaïr	calculate
caoud	hot
chaemtiere	cemetery
chaose	thing
chaoux	show
chva	horse
cisiaux	scissors
collecteur	collector
combian	how many
concert	concert
consilleux	adviser
cote	coast
coummaerce	business, commerce
coum tchique	how
creiyance	belief
cuisaenne	kitchen
daos	back
dauve	with
dedans	inside
demi	half
desnaïr	dinner
Dju	God
d'mesme	so

dmie	half
draette	straight
echarlotte	shallot
ecllaer	lightning
enne	a/an (f)
enne amas	a lot (m + f)
faoux	false
faute	fault
four	oven
fre (m)	cold
frede (f)	cold
fromage	cheese
gaouche	left
gouverneux	governor
guere	war
guere	hardly
guettaïr	to watch
haut	high
hiaer	yesterday
huvlin	spider crab
iaoue	water
iocque	only
jardinnair	to garden
jaune	yellow
jouaette	toy
laong	long
lettre	letter
livre	book
llet	bed
mantcher	to miss
maontogne	mountain
mesme	same
metier	craft, occupation
mie	middle
moin	hand
mointi	half
naer	black
naon	no
naons	us
oeu	egg
oeuvraïr	to come into berry (e.g. tree)
omi	friend (m + f)
opres	after
ougniaon	onion
palette	wooden oven peel
paoure	poor
paraesse	parish
pas d'aoute	no more

pasque	because
piaeché	place (noun)
politaesse	politeness
pouchin	chicken
pourchent	percent
prechaeux	preacher
princesse	princess
ptitese	smallness, narrowness
putaot	rather
ranbillair	forget
raose	rose (noun)
raxeux	razor
riocque	only/just
royale	royal
rpaos	rest
ruinnaïr	to ruin
saec	dry
sauce	sauce
Serk	Sark
siaers	eyes
souorichiere	mousetrap
souoris	mouse
souventer	after, following
taï	such
tcheure	fetch
tchi que	who (int pron)
tchi que	what (int pron)
tchian	dog
terrous	always
tour	turn (noun), tour
vaeux	seen (past part 'veies')
vaissiaux	dishes
vende	sell
vert	green
veux, vaeux	light
viaer	old
visiteur	visitor
voleux	burglar

Appendix I

CEFR Oral Assessment Criteria Grid¹

	RANGE	ACCURACY	FLUENCY	INTERACTION	COHERENCE
C 2	Shows great flexibility reformulating ideas in differing linguistic forms to convey finer shades of meaning precisely, to give emphasis, to differentiate and to eliminate ambiguity. Also has a good command of idiomatic expressions and colloquialism.	Maintains consistent grammatical control of complex language, even while attention is otherwise engaged (e.g. in forward planning, in monitoring others' reactions).	Can express him/herself spontaneously at length with a natural colloquial flow, avoiding or backtracking around any difficulty so smoothly that the interlocutor is hardly aware of it.	Can interact with ease and skill, picking up and using non-verbal and intonational cues apparently effortlessly. Can interweave his/her contribution into the joint discourse with fully natural turntaking, referencing, allusion making etc.	Can create coherent and cohesive discourse making full and appropriate use of a variety of organisational patterns and a wide range of connectors and other cohesive devices.
C 1	Has a good command of a broad range of language allowing him/her to select a formulation to express him/herself clearly in an appropriate style on a wide range of general, academic, professional or leisure topics without having to restrict what he/she wants to say.	Consistently maintains a high degree of grammatical accuracy; errors are rare, difficult to spot and generally corrected when they do occur.	Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously, almost effortlessly. Only a conceptually difficult subject can hinder a natural, smooth flow of language.	Can select a suitable phrase from a readily available range of discourse functions to preface his remarks in order to get or to keep the floor and to relate his/her own contributions skilfully to those of other speakers.	Can produce clear, smoothly-flowing, well-structured speech, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.
B 2 +	Can express him/herself clearly and without much sign of having to restrict what he/she wants to say.	Shows good grammatical control; occasional 'slips' or non-systematic errors and minor flaws in sentence structure may still occur, but they are rare and can often be corrected in retrospect.	Can communicate spontaneously. Often showing remarkable fluency and ease of expression in even longer complex stretches of speech. Can use circumlocution and paraphrase to cover gaps in vocabulary and structure.	Can intervene appropriately in discussion, exploiting a variety of suitable language to do so, and relating his/her own contribution to those of other speakers.	Can use a variety of linking words efficiently to mark clearly the relationships between ideas.
B 2	Has a sufficient range of language to be able to give clear descriptions, express viewpoints on most general topics, without much conspicuous searching for words, using some complex sentence forms to do so.	Shows a relatively high degree of grammatical control. Does not make errors which cause misunderstanding, and can correct most of his/her mistakes.	Can produce stretches of language with a fairly even tempo; although he/she can be hesitant as he or she searches for patterns and expressions, there are few noticeably long pauses.	Can initiate discourse, take his/her turn when appropriate and end conversation when he/she needs to, though he/she may not always do this elegantly. Can help the discussions along on familiar ground confirming	Can use a limited number of cohesive devices to link his/her utterances into clear, coherent discourse, though there may be some 'jumpiness' in a long contribution.

				comprehension, inviting others in, etc.	
B 1 +	Has a sufficient range of language to describe unpredictable situations, explain the main points in an idea or problem with reasonable precision and express thoughts on abstract or cultural topics such as music and films.	Communicates with reasonable accuracy in familiar contexts; generally good control though with noticeable mother tongue influences.	Can express him/herself with relative ease. Despite some problems with formulation resulting in pauses and 'cul-de-sacs', he/she is able to keep going effectively without help.	Can exploit a basic repertoire of strategies to keep a conversation or discussion going. Can give brief comments on others' views during discussion. Can intervene to check and confirm detailed information.	<i>No descriptor available</i>
B 1	Has enough language to get by, with sufficient vocabulary to express him/herself with some hesitation and circumlocutions on topics such as family, hobbies and interests, work, travel, and current events.	Uses reasonably accurately a repertoire of frequently used 'routines' and patterns associated with more predictable situations.	Can keep going comprehensibly, even though pausing for grammatical and lexical planning and repair is very evident, especially in longer stretches of free production.	Can initiate, maintain and close simple face-to-face conversation on topics that are familiar or of personal interest. Can repeat back part of what someone has said to confirm mutual understanding.	Can link a series of shorter, discrete simple elements into a connected, linear sequence of points.
A 2 +	Has sufficient vocabulary to conduct routine, everyday transactions involving familiar situations and topics, though he/she will generally have to compromise the message and search for words.	<i>No descriptor available</i>	Can adapt rehearsed memorised simple phrases to particular situations with sufficient ease to handle short routine exchanges without undue effort, despite very noticeable hesitation and false starts.	Can initiate, maintain and close simple, restricted face-to-face conversation, asking and answering questions on topics of interests, pastimes and past activities. Can interact with reasonable ease in structured situations, given some help, but participation in open discussion is fairly restricted.	Can use the most frequently occurring connectors to link simple sentences in order to tell a story or describe something as a simple list of points.
A 2	Uses basic sentence patterns with memorised phrases, groups of a few words and formulae in order to communicate limited information in simple everyday situations.	Uses some simple structures correctly, but still systematically makes basic mistakes.	Can make him/herself understood in very short utterances, even though pauses, false starts and reformulation are very evident.	Can answer questions and respond to simple statements. Can indicate when he/she is following but is rarely able to understand enough to keep conversation going of his/her own accord.	Can link groups of words with simple connectors like 'and', 'but' and 'because'.
A 1	Has a very basic repertoire of words and simple phrases related to personal details and particular concrete	Shows only limited control of a few grammatical structures and sentence patterns in a memorised	Can manage very short, isolated, mainly pre-packaged utterances, with much pausing to	Can ask and answer questions about personal details. Can interact in a simple way but communication is	Can link words or groups of words with very basic linear connectors like 'and' or 'then'.

	situations.	repertoire.	search for expressions, to articulate less familiar words, and to repair communication.	totally dependent on repetition, rephrasing and repair.	
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¹ This grid has been compiled from the original CEFR Oral Assessment Criteria Grids. CIEP (France). (2008) *Council of Europe: European Language Portfolio*. Available from: http://www.coe.int/T/DG4/Portfolio/?L=E&M=/main_pages/illustrationse.html [Accessed 1 June 2010].

Appendix J

Distribution of sample by external factors

Age					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	43	1	2.8	2.8	2.8
	48	1	2.8	2.8	5.6
	59	2	5.6	5.6	11.1
	61	1	2.8	2.8	13.9
	62	1	2.8	2.8	16.7
	63	2	5.6	5.6	22.2
	67	2	5.6	5.6	27.8
	70	1	2.8	2.8	30.6
	71	2	5.6	5.6	36.1
	72	1	2.8	2.8	38.9
	73	2	5.6	5.6	44.4
	74	3	8.3	8.3	52.8
	76	1	2.8	2.8	55.6
	79	2	5.6	5.6	61.1
	80	2	5.6	5.6	66.7
	81	2	5.6	5.6	72.2
	82	1	2.8	2.8	75.0
	84	1	2.8	2.8	77.8
	85	1	2.8	2.8	80.6
	87	3	8.3	8.3	88.9
	88	2	5.6	5.6	94.4
	89	1	2.8	2.8	97.2
	100	1	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Age group

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	under 56	2	5.6	5.6	5.6
	56-65	6	16.7	16.7	22.2
	66-75	11	30.6	30.6	52.8
	76-85	10	27.8	27.8	80.6
	over 85	7	19.4	19.4	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Frequency of use as a child

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0%	6	16.7	16.7	16.7
	17%	2	5.6	5.6	22.2
	33%	4	11.1	11.1	33.3
	50%	2	5.6	5.6	38.9
	66%	5	13.9	13.9	52.8
	83%	8	22.2	22.2	75.0
	100%	9	25.0	25.0	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Frequency of use now

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2%	5	13.9	17.2	17.2
	5%	7	19.4	24.1	41.4
	10%	2	5.6	6.9	48.3
	15%	1	2.8	3.4	51.7
	20%	2	5.6	6.9	58.6
	22%	1	2.8	3.4	62.1
	30%	2	5.6	6.9	69.0
	50%	6	16.7	20.7	89.7
	75%	1	2.8	3.4	93.1
	90%	2	5.6	6.9	100.0
	Total	29	80.6	100.0	
Missing	999	7	19.4		
	Total	36	100.0		

Variety of use as a child

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no GF spoken	6	16.7	16.7	16.7
	informal GF only	1	2.8	2.8	19.4
	formal and informal GF	29	80.6	80.6	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Variety of use now

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no GF spoken	4	11.1	11.1	11.1
	informal GF only	14	38.9	38.9	50.0
	formal and informal GF	18	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Evacuated in WW2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no	32	88.9	88.9	88.9
	yes	4	11.1	11.1	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Language acquisition

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1st LL	30	83.3	83.3	83.3
	2nd LL	6	16.7	16.7	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Sex

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	female	18	50.0	50.0	50.0
	male	18	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	up to 16	27	75.0	79.4	79.4
	post 16	7	19.4	20.6	100.0
	Total	34	94.4	100.0	
Missing	999	2	5.6		
Total		36	100.0		

Socioeconomic status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	intermediate managerial, administrative or professional	7	19.4	23.3	23.3
	supervisory, clerical, junior managerial	4	11.1	13.3	36.7
	skilled manual workers	9	25.0	30.0	66.7
	semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers	2	5.6	6.7	73.3
	homemaker	8	22.2	26.7	100.0
Total		30	83.3	100.0	
Missing	999	6	16.7		
Total		36	100.0		

Knowledge of standard French

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	33	91.7	91.7	91.7
	no	3	8.3	8.3	100.0
Total		36	100.0	100.0	

Member of a GF group

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes (now or in past)	20	55.6	64.5	64.5
	no	11	30.6	35.5	100.0
	Total	31	86.1	100.0	
Missing	999	5	13.9		
Total		36	100.0		

		Region			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Torteval	9	25.0	25.0	25.0
	St Pierre du Bois	12	33.3	33.3	58.3
	St Saviours	3	8.3	8.3	66.7
	Castel	6	16.7	16.7	83.3
	Forest	1	2.8	2.8	86.1
	Vale	4	11.1	11.1	97.2
	St Sampson	1	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

		Proficiency			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	13	36.1	39.4	39.4
	2	1	2.8	3.0	42.4
	3	2	5.6	6.1	48.5
	4	1	2.8	3.0	51.5
	5	1	2.8	3.0	54.5
	6	1	2.8	3.0	57.6
	7	1	2.8	3.0	60.6
	9	2	5.6	6.1	66.7
	10	1	2.8	3.0	69.7
	11	2	5.6	6.1	75.8
	12	1	2.8	3.0	78.8
	13	3	8.3	9.1	87.9
	14	1	2.8	3.0	90.9
	15	1	2.8	3.0	93.9
	16	2	5.6	6.1	100.0
	Total	33	91.7	100.0	
Missing	999	3	8.3		
	Total	36	100.0		

Appendix L

External factor by external factor correlation

Correlations

		EIV1	EIV2	EIV3	EIV4	EIV5	EIV6	EIV7	EIV8	EIV9	EIV10	EIV11	EIV12	EIV13	EIV14	EIV15
Age EIV1	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.971**	.554**	.104	.367*	-.272	.313	-.256	-.373*	-.087	.526**	-.119	.498**	.207	-.579**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.000	.001	.621	.039	.132	.082	.158	.036	.648	.006	.516	.007	.256	.001
	N	32	32	32	25	32	32	32	32	32	30	26	32	28	32	29
Age group EIV2	Correlation Coefficient	.971**	1.000	.561**	.088	.437*	-.211	.290	-.323	-.339	-.055	.480*	-.115	.473*	.227	-.595**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.	.001	.675	.012	.245	.107	.071	.058	.774	.013	.530	.011	.212	.001
	N	32	32	32	25	32	32	32	32	32	30	26	32	28	32	29
Frequency of use as a child EIV3	Correlation Coefficient	.554**	.561**	1.000	.557**	.582**	.105	.303	-.516**	-.436*	-.167	.378	.036	.301	.055	-.453*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.001	.	.004	.000	.568	.092	.002	.013	.378	.057	.846	.120	.764	.014
	N	32	32	32	25	32	32	32	32	32	30	26	32	28	32	29
Frequency of use 'now' EIV4	Correlation Coefficient	.104	.088	.557**	1.000	.060	.287	-.015	.031	-.226	-.084	.259	.228	.016	-.264	-.315
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.621	.675	.004	.	.774	.164	.942	.883	.276	.689	.257	.273	.945	.203	.144
	N	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	25	21	25	22	25	23
Variety of use as a child EIV5	Correlation Coefficient	.367*	.437*	.582**	.060	1.000	-.168	.143	-.880**	-.183	-.277	.130	.097	.280	.142	-.299
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.039	.012	.000	.774	.	.359	.436	.000	.317	.138	.526	.596	.148	.437	.115
	N	32	32	32	25	32	32	32	32	32	30	26	32	28	32	29
Variety of use 'now' EIV6	Correlation Coefficient	-.272	-.211	.105	.287	-.168	1.000	.173	.098	-.057	.274	-.207	.237	-.260	.075	.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.132	.245	.568	.164	.359	.	.343	.592	.755	.142	.311	.192	.181	.683	.849
	N	32	32	32	25	32	32	32	32	32	30	26	32	28	32	29
Evacuated in WW2 EIV7	Correlation Coefficient	.313	.290	.303	-.015	.143	.173	1.000	-.122	-.378*	.049	.340	-.098	.375*	.300	-.121
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.082	.107	.092	.942	.436	.343	.	.507	.033	.797	.090	.595	.050	.096	.533
	N	32	32	32	25	32	32	32	32	32	30	26	32	28	32	29
Language acquisition	Correlation Coefficient	-.256	-.323	-.516**	.031	-.880**	.098	-.122	1.000	.107	.111	.000	-.083	-.238	-.125	.179

EIV8	Sig. (2-tailed)	.158	.071	.002	.883	.000	.592	.507	.	.559	.559	1.000	.651	.222	.494	.353
	N	32	32	32	25	32	32	32	32	32	30	26	32	28	32	29
Sex	Correlation Coefficient	-.373*	-.339	-.436*	-.226	-.183	-.057	-.378*	.107	1.000	.134	-.501**	.000	-.027	-.010	.190
EIV9	Sig. (2-tailed)	.036	.058	.013	.276	.317	.755	.033	.559	.	.481	.009	1.000	.890	.955	.323
	N	32	32	32	25	32	32	32	32	32	30	26	32	28	32	29
Education	Correlation Coefficient	-.087	-.055	-.167	-.084	-.277	.274	.049	.111	.134	1.000	-.379	-.134	-.167	-.223	-.038
EIV10	Sig. (2-tailed)	.648	.774	.378	.689	.138	.142	.797	.559	.481	.	.056	.481	.414	.237	.849
	N	30	30	30	25	30	30	30	30	30	30	26	30	26	30	27
Socioeconomic status	Correlation Coefficient	.526**	.480*	.378	.259	.130	-.207	.340	.000	-.501**	-.379	1.000	.120	.410*	.332	-.271
EIV11	Sig. (2-tailed)	.006	.013	.057	.257	.526	.311	.090	1.000	.009	.056	.	.559	.047	.098	.201
	N	26	26	26	21	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	26	24	26	24
Knowledge of SF	Correlation Coefficient	-.119	-.115	.036	.228	.097	.237	-.098	-.083	.000	-.134	.120	1.000	.106	.007	-.136
EIV1	Sig. (2-tailed)	.516	.530	.846	.273	.596	.192	.595	.651	1.000	.481	.559	.	.591	.969	.480
	N	32	32	32	25	32	32	32	32	32	30	26	32	28	32	29
Member of a GF group	Correlation Coefficient	.498**	.473*	.301	.016	.280	-.260	.375*	-.238	-.027	-.167	.410*	.106	1.000	.054	-.412*
EIV13	Sig. (2-tailed)	.007	.011	.120	.945	.148	.181	.050	.222	.890	.414	.047	.591	.	.787	.036
	N	28	28	28	22	28	28	28	28	28	26	24	28	28	28	26
Region	Correlation Coefficient	.207	.227	.055	-.264	.142	.075	.300	-.125	-.010	-.223	.332	.007	.054	1.000	-.067
EIV14	Sig. (2-tailed)	.256	.212	.764	.203	.437	.683	.096	.494	.955	.237	.098	.969	.787	.	.729
	N	32	32	32	25	32	32	32	32	32	30	26	32	28	32	29
Proficiency	Correlation Coefficient	-.579**	-.595**	-.453*	-.315	-.299	.037	-.121	.179	.190	-.038	-.271	-.136	-.412*	-.067	1.000
EIV15	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.001	.014	.144	.115	.849	.533	.353	.323	.849	.201	.480	.036	.729	.
	N	29	29	29	23	29	29	29	29	29	27	24	29	26	29	29

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Internal factor by internal factor correlation

IIV7	Sig. (2-tailed)	.139	.047	.031	.353	.841	.235	.	.000	.000	.000	.055	.052	.795	.557
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
semantic class of trigger verb	Correlation Coefficient	.092	-.174	-.192	-.001	.097	-.018	.889**	1.000	.887**	.925**	.186	-.156	.007	-.093
IIV8	Sig. (2-tailed)	.362	.083	.056	.991	.336	.860	.000	.	.000	.000	.064	.122	.948	.360
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
tense of trigger verb	Correlation Coefficient	.122	-.153	-.181	.109	.108	.067	.833**	.887**	1.000	.823**	.173	-.166	.006	-.093
IIV9	Sig. (2-tailed)	.227	.129	.072	.280	.284	.510	.000	.000	.	.000	.085	.099	.954	.356
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
structure of trigger clause	Correlation Coefficient	.039	-.165	-.175	.014	.096	-.047	.736**	.925**	.823**	1.000	.157	-.096	-.014	-.046
IIV10	Sig. (2-tailed)	.697	.101	.081	.889	.341	.643	.000	.000	.000	.	.120	.340	.889	.653
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
relative pronoun	Correlation Coefficient	-.095	.031	-.044	.108	.085	.170	.193	.186	.173	.157	1.000	-.114	-.072	.029
IIV11	Sig. (2-tailed)	.346	.760	.664	.286	.398	.090	.055	.064	.085	.120	.	.258	.476	.778
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
modal pos in utterance	Correlation Coefficient	.165	-.079	.117	.074	.230*	-.015	-.195	-.156	-.166	-.096	-.114	1.000	.047	.167
IIV12	Sig. (2-tailed)	.100	.432	.248	.464	.021	.884	.052	.122	.099	.340	.258	.	.644	.097
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
distance between trigger (clause) and subordinate clause	Correlation Coefficient	.182	.048	.090	.133	-.052	-.010	.026	.007	.006	-.014	-.072	.047	1.000	-.093
IIV13	Sig. (2-tailed)	.069	.634	.372	.188	.608	.922	.795	.948	.954	.889	.476	.644	.	.359
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
register	Correlation Coefficient	.015	.132	.032	.138	.068	.059	-.059	-.093	-.093	-.046	.029	.167	-.093	1.000

IIV14	Sig. (2-tailed)	.880	.191	.754	.171	.503	.559	.557	.360	.356	.653	.778	.097	.359	.
	N	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

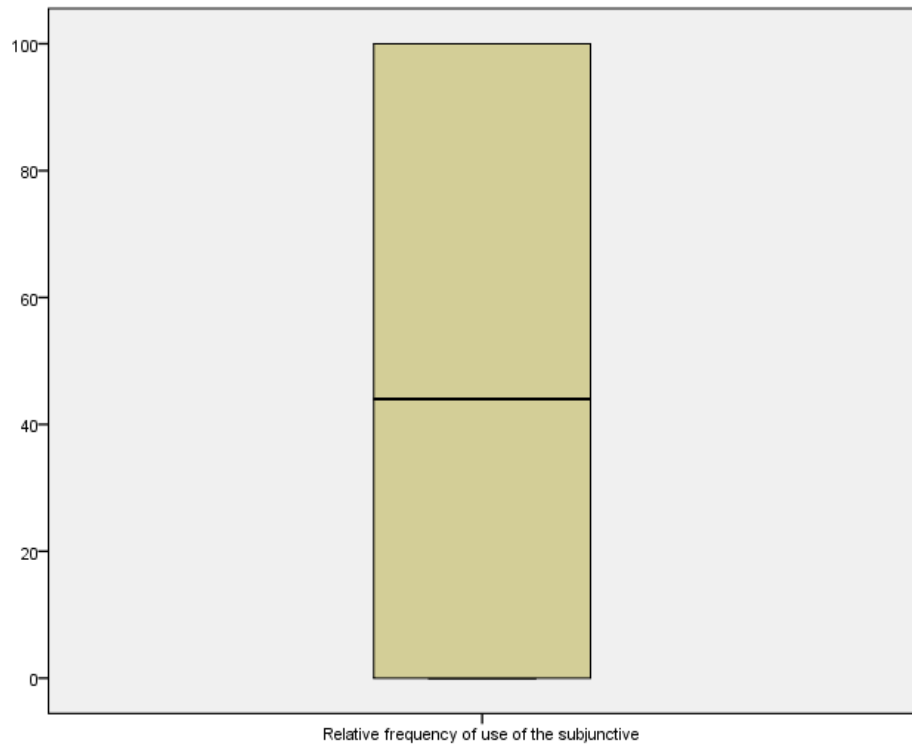
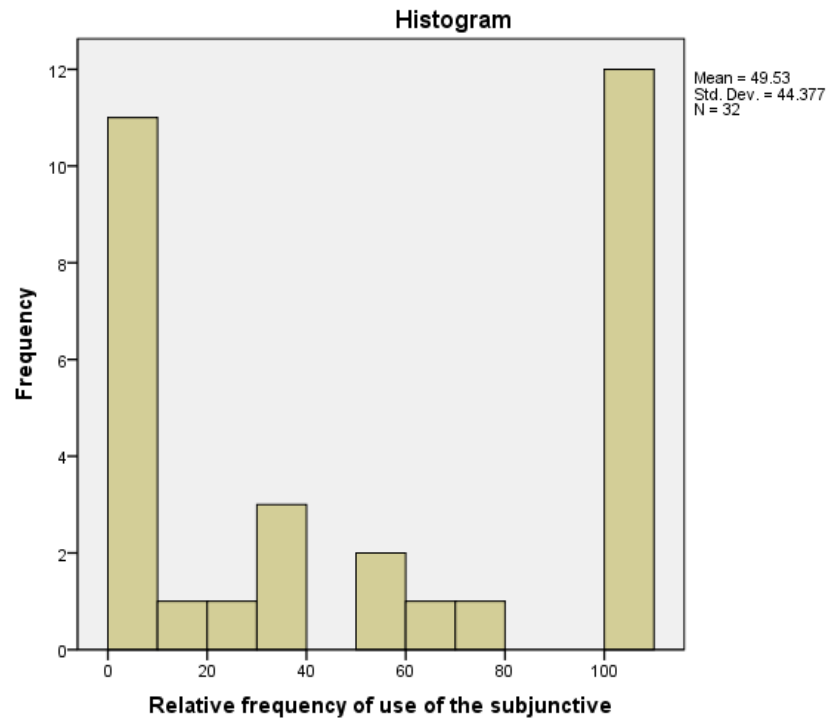
Appendix M

The statistical output below shows the results of testing for normal distribution of DV3 (relative frequency of use of the subjunctive).

Descriptives			Statistic	Std. Error
Relative frequency of use of the subjunctive	Mean		49.53	7.845
	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	Lower Bound	33.53	
		Upper Bound	65.53	
	5% Trimmed Mean		49.48	
	Median		44.00	
	Variance		1969.354	
	Std. Deviation		44.377	
	Minimum		0	
	Maximum		100	
	Range		100	
	Interquartile Range		100	
	Skewness		.062	.414
	Kurtosis		-1.833	.809

Tests of Normality						
	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Relative frequency of use of the subjunctive	.247	32	.000	.778	32	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction



Appendix N

The statistical tables below show the distribution of mood choice across the fourteen internal factors.

grammatical person * mood choice Crosstabulation

		mood choice			
		indicative	subjunctive	Total	
grammatical person	1ps	Count	26	17	43
		% within grammatical person	60.5%	39.5%	100.0%
	2ps	Count	2	6	8
		% within grammatical person	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	3ps	Count	16	12	28
		% within grammatical person	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%
	1pp	Count	1	4	5
		% within grammatical person	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%
	3pp	Count	9	5	14
		% within grammatical person	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
	autchun	Count	2	0	2
		% within grammatical person	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	44	100
		% within grammatical person	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

grammatical subject type * mood choice Crosstabulation

		mood choice			
		indicative	subjunctive	Total	
grammatical subject type	noun phrase	Count	6	1	7
		% within grammatical subject type	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	pronoun	Count	41	37	78
		% within grammatical subject type	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%
	existential 'there'	Count	0	1	1
		% within grammatical subject type	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	existential 'it'	Count	2	1	3
		% within grammatical subject type	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	no overt subject	Count	7	4	11
		% within grammatical subject type	63.6%	36.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	44	100
		% within grammatical subject type	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

noun phrase head * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
noun phrase head	+human +animate	Count	43	32	75
		% within noun phrase head	57.3%	42.7%	100.0%
	-human +animate	Count	1	1	2
		% within noun phrase head	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	-human -animate	Count	8	6	14
		% within noun phrase head	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%
	n/a	Count	4	5	9
		% within noun phrase head	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
Total	Count		56	44	100
	% within noun phrase head		56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

embedded verb * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
embedded verb	aver	Count	6	3	9
		% within embedded verb	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	ête	Count	18	10	28
		% within embedded verb	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
	allair	Count	1	11	12
		% within embedded verb	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%
	vnir	Count	0	1	1
		% within embedded verb	.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	pouvier	Count	3	0	3
		% within embedded verb	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	saver	Count	2	4	6
		% within embedded verb	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	faire	Count	4	2	6
		% within embedded verb	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	dire	Count	2	5	7
		% within embedded verb	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
	maette	Count	1	1	2
		% within embedded verb	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	other	Count	19	7	26
		% within embedded verb	73.1%	26.9%	100.0%
Total	Count		56	44	100
	% within embedded verb		56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

frequency of embedded verb in data * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
frequency of embedded verb in data	1	Count	1	2	3
		% within frequency of embedded verb in data	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
	4	Count	9	6	15
		% within frequency of embedded verb in data	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	6	Count	1	11	12
		% within frequency of embedded verb in data	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%
	7	Count	2	5	7
		% within frequency of embedded verb in data	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
	9	Count	6	3	9
		% within frequency of embedded verb in data	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	13	Count	19	7	26
		% within frequency of embedded verb in data	73.1%	26.9%	100.0%
	18	Count	18	10	28
		% within frequency of embedded verb in data	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	44	100
		% within frequency of embedded verb in data	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

form of embedded verb * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
form of embedded verb	suppletive	Count	40	38	78
		% within form of embedded verb	51.3%	48.7%	100.0%
	regular	Count	16	6	22
		% within form of embedded verb	72.7%	27.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	44	100
		% within form of embedded verb	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

trigger * mood choice Crosstabulation

		mood choice		Total	
		indicative	subjunctive		
trigger	i' faout qué	Count	16	29	45
		% within trigger	35.6%	64.4%	100.0%
	voulie qué	Count	10	7	17
		% within trigger	58.8%	41.2%	100.0%
	à mais qué	Count	1	1	2
		% within trigger	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	dànué qué/entertchié qué/jusqu'à tchi qué	Count	10	2	12
		% within trigger	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
	pour qué/afin qué	Count	3	2	5
		% within trigger	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	dévànt qué	Count	16	3	19
		% within trigger	84.2%	15.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	44	100
		% within trigger	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

semantic class of trigger verb * mood choice Crosstabulation

		mood choice		Total	
		indicative	subjunctive		
semantic class of trigger verb	volitive	Count	26	36	62
		% within semantic class of trigger verb	41.9%	58.1%	100.0%
	n/a	Count	30	8	38
		% within semantic class of trigger verb	78.9%	21.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	44	100
		% within semantic class of trigger verb	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

tense of trigger verb * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
tense of trigger verb	present	Count	11	24	35
		% within tense of trigger verb	31.4%	68.6%	100.0%
	synthetic future	Count	1	1	2
		% within tense of trigger verb	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	perfect	Count	1	0	1
		% within tense of trigger verb	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	imperfect	Count	5	11	16
		% within tense of trigger verb	31.3%	68.8%	100.0%
	conditional	Count	8	0	8
		% within tense of trigger verb	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	n/a	Count	30	8	38
		% within tense of trigger verb	78.9%	21.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	44	100
		% within tense of trigger verb	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

structure of trigger clause * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
structure of trigger clause	negative	Count	6	7	13
		% within structure of trigger clause	46.2%	53.8%	100.0%
	affirmative	Count	20	29	49
		% within structure of trigger clause	40.8%	59.2%	100.0%
	n/a	Count	30	8	38
		% within structure of trigger clause	78.9%	21.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	44	100
		% within structure of trigger clause	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

relative pronoun * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
relative pronoun	overt	Count	48	43	91
		% within relative pronoun	52.7%	47.3%	100.0%
	null	Count	8	1	9
		% within relative pronoun	88.9%	11.1%	100.0%
Total	Count		56	44	100
	% within relative pronoun		56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

modal pos in utterance * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
modal pos in utterance	present	Count	4	0	4
		% within modal pos in utterance	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	absent	Count	52	44	96
		% within modal pos in utterance	54.2%	45.8%	100.0%
Total	Count		56	44	100
	% within modal pos in utterance		56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

distance between trigger (clause) and subordinate clause * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
distance between trigger (clause) and subordinate clause	none	Count	52	43	95
		% within distance between trigger (clause) and subordinate clause	54.7%	45.3%	100.0%
	1-2 words	Count	1	0	1
		% within distance between trigger (clause) and subordinate clause	100.0%	.0%	100.0%
	3+ words	Count	3	1	4
		% within distance between trigger (clause) and subordinate clause	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		56	44	100
	% within distance between trigger (clause) and subordinate clause		56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

register * mood choice Crosstabulation

		mood choice		Total	
		indicative	subjunctive		
register	individual interview	Count	38	22	60
		% within register	63.3%	36.7%	100.0%
	group interview	Count	18	22	40
		% within register	45.0%	55.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	44	100
		% within register	56.0%	44.0%	100.0%

Appendix O

The table below shows the crosstabulation of tense of trigger verb (IIV9) with embedded tense (DV2).

		tense of trigger verb * tense of embedded verb Crosstabulation										
		tense of embedded verb										
		present	past historic	analytic future	synthetic future	imperfect	conditional	pluperfect	present subjunctive	imperfect subjunctive	ambiguous / unclear indicative	Total
present	N	9	0	1	0	1	0	0	23	1	0	35
	%	25.7%	.0%	2.9%	.0%	2.9%	.0%	.0%	65.7%	2.9%	.0%	100.0%
synthetic future	N	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
	%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	50.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
perfect	N	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	%	.0%	100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
imperfect	N	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	3	8	0	16
	%	6.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	18.8%	6.3%	.0%	18.8%	50.0%	.0%	100.0%
conditional	N	0	0	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	2	8
	%	.0%	.0%	.0%	12.5%	25.0%	37.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	25.0%	100.0%
n/a (nonverbals)	N	3	9	0	0	17	0	1	3	5	0	38
	%	7.9%	23.7%	.0%	.0%	44.7%	.0%	2.6%	7.9%	13.2%	.0%	100.0%
Total	N	13	11	1	1	23	4	1	30	14	2	100
	%	13.0%	11.0%	1.0%	1.0%	23.0%	4.0%	1.0%	30.0%	14.0%	2.0%	100.0%

Appendix P

The statistical tables below show the distribution of mood choice across the fifteen external factors. Where the total number of tokens is lower than 100 in some of the tables below, it means data is missing for that factor for one or more participants.

		age * mood choice Crosstabulation			
		mood choice			
		indicative	subjunctive	Total	
age	43	Count	0	2	2
		% within mood choice	.0%	4.5%	2.0%
	48	Count	5	0	5
		% within mood choice	8.9%	.0%	5.0%
	59	Count	3	0	3
		% within mood choice	5.4%	.0%	3.0%
	61	Count	1	0	1
		% within mood choice	1.8%	.0%	1.0%
	62	Count	0	1	1
		% within mood choice	.0%	2.3%	1.0%
	63	Count	8	1	9
		% within mood choice	14.3%	2.3%	9.0%
	67	Count	3	2	5
		% within mood choice	5.4%	4.5%	5.0%
	70	Count	2	1	3
		% within mood choice	3.6%	2.3%	3.0%
	71	Count	1	1	2
		% within mood choice	1.8%	2.3%	2.0%
	73	Count	6	1	7
		% within mood choice	10.7%	2.3%	7.0%
	74	Count	5	5	10
		% within mood choice	8.9%	11.4%	10.0%
	76	Count	3	3	6
		% within mood choice	5.4%	6.8%	6.0%
	79	Count	5	8	13
		% within mood choice	8.9%	18.2%	13.0%
	80	Count	2	0	2
		% within mood choice	3.6%	.0%	2.0%
	81	Count	3	0	3
		% within mood choice	5.4%	.0%	3.0%
	82	Count	0	2	2
		% within mood choice	.0%	4.5%	2.0%

85	Count	1	0	1
	% within mood choice	1.8%	.0%	1.0%
87	Count	6	4	10
	% within mood choice	10.7%	9.1%	10.0%
88	Count	0	4	4
	% within mood choice	.0%	9.1%	4.0%
89	Count	2	6	8
	% within mood choice	3.6%	13.6%	8.0%
100	Count	0	3	3
	% within mood choice	.0%	6.8%	3.0%
Total	Count	56	44	100
	% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

age group * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
age group	under 56	Count	5	2	7
		% within mood choice	8.9%	4.5%	7.0%
	56-65	Count	12	2	14
		% within mood choice	21.4%	4.5%	14.0%
	66-75	Count	17	10	27
		% within mood choice	30.4%	22.7%	27.0%
	76-85	Count	14	13	27
		% within mood choice	25.0%	29.5%	27.0%
	over 85	Count	8	17	25
		% within mood choice	14.3%	38.6%	25.0%
Total		Count	56	44	100
		% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

frequency of use as a child * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
frequency of use as a child	0	Count	7	3	10
		% within mood choice	12.5%	6.8%	10.0%
	17	Count	5	2	7
		% within mood choice	8.9%	4.5%	7.0%
	33	Count	6	7	13
		% within mood choice	10.7%	15.9%	13.0%

50	Count	4	1	5
	% within mood choice	7.1%	2.3%	5.0%
66	Count	16	4	20
	% within mood choice	28.6%	9.1%	20.0%
83	Count	13	9	22
	% within mood choice	23.2%	20.5%	22.0%
100	Count	5	18	23
	% within mood choice	8.9%	40.9%	23.0%
Total	Count	56	44	100
	% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

frequency of use 'now' * mood choice Crosstabulation

		mood choice		Total	
		indicative	subjunctive		
frequency of use 'now'	2	Count	14	1	15
		% within mood choice	28.6%	3.6%	19.5%
	5	Count	16	6	22
		% within mood choice	32.7%	21.4%	28.6%
	10	Count	5	1	6
		% within mood choice	10.2%	3.6%	7.8%
	15	Count	6	1	7
		% within mood choice	12.2%	3.6%	9.1%
	20	Count	0	3	3
		% within mood choice	.0%	10.7%	3.9%
	22	Count	0	2	2
		% within mood choice	.0%	7.1%	2.6%
	30	Count	0	1	1
		% within mood choice	.0%	3.6%	1.3%
	50	Count	5	9	14
		% within mood choice	10.2%	32.1%	18.2%
	75	Count	0	2	2
		% within mood choice	.0%	7.1%	2.6%
	90	Count	3	2	5
		% within mood choice	6.1%	7.1%	6.5%
Total	Count	49	28	77	
	% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

variety of use as a child * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
variety of use as a child	no GF spoken	Count	7	3	10
		% within mood choice	12.5%	6.8%	10.0%
	informal GF only	Count	5	0	5
		% within mood choice	8.9%	.0%	5.0%
	formal and informal GF	Count	44	41	85
		% within mood choice	78.6%	93.2%	85.0%
Total	Count	56	44	100	
	% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

variety of use 'now' * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
variety of use 'now'	no GF spoken	Count	1	1	2
		% within mood choice	1.8%	2.3%	2.0%
	informal GF only	Count	26	23	49
		% within mood choice	46.4%	52.3%	49.0%
	formal and informal GF	Count	29	20	49
		% within mood choice	51.8%	45.5%	49.0%
Total	Count	56	44	100	
	% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

evacuated * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
evacuated	no	Count	54	40	94
		% within mood choice	96.4%	90.9%	94.0%
	yes	Count	2	4	6
		% within mood choice	3.6%	9.1%	6.0%
Total	Count	56	44	100	
	% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

language acquisition * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
language acquisition	1st LL	Count	49	41	90
		% within mood choice	87.5%	93.2%	90.0%
	2nd LL	Count	7	3	10
		% within mood choice	12.5%	6.8%	10.0%
Total	Count		56	44	100
	% within mood choice		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

sex * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
sex	female	Count	16	22	38
		% within mood choice	28.6%	50.0%	38.0%
	male	Count	40	22	62
		% within mood choice	71.4%	50.0%	62.0%
Total	Count		56	44	100
	% within mood choice		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

education * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
education	up to 16	Count	40	28	68
		% within mood choice	71.4%	77.8%	73.9%
	post 16	Count	16	8	24
		% within mood choice	28.6%	22.2%	26.1%
Total	Count		56	36	92
	% within mood choice		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

socioeconomic status * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
socioeconomic status	intermediate	Count	14	5	19
	managerial, administrative or professional	% within mood choice	29.8%	16.7%	24.7%
	supervisory, clerical, junior managerial	Count	4	0	4
		% within mood choice	8.5%	.0%	5.2%
	skilled manual workers	Count	27	15	42
		% within mood choice	57.4%	50.0%	54.5%
	semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers	Count	0	1	1
		% within mood choice	.0%	3.3%	1.3%
	homemaker	Count	2	9	11
		% within mood choice	4.3%	30.0%	14.3%
	Total	Count	47	30	77
		% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

knowledge of SF * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
knowledge of SF	yes	Count	52	41	93
		% within mood choice	92.9%	93.2%	93.0%
	no	Count	4	3	7
		% within mood choice	7.1%	6.8%	7.0%
Total	Count	56	44	100	
	% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

member of a GF group * mood choice Crosstabulation

			mood choice		Total
			indicative	subjunctive	
member of a GF group	yes (now or in past)	Count	41	26	67
		% within mood choice	85.4%	74.3%	80.7%
	no	Count	7	9	16
		% within mood choice	14.6%	25.7%	19.3%
Total	Count	48	35	83	
	% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

region * mood choice Crosstabulation

		mood choice		Total	
		indicative	subjunctive		
region	Torteval	Count	13	13	26
		% within mood choice	23.2%	29.5%	26.0%
	St Pierre du Bois	Count	18	7	25
		% within mood choice	32.1%	15.9%	25.0%
	St Saviours	Count	9	6	15
		% within mood choice	16.1%	13.6%	15.0%
	Castel	Count	7	12	19
		% within mood choice	12.5%	27.3%	19.0%
	Forest	Count	1	0	1
		% within mood choice	1.8%	.0%	1.0%
	Vale	Count	8	4	12
		% within mood choice	14.3%	9.1%	12.0%
	St Sampson	Count	0	2	2
		% within mood choice	.0%	4.5%	2.0%
Total		Count	56	44	100
		% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

proficiency * mood choice Crosstabulation

		mood choice		Total	
		indicative	subjunctive		
proficiency	1	Count	13	22	35
		% within mood choice	24.1%	52.4%	36.5%
	2	Count	3	1	4
		% within mood choice	5.6%	2.4%	4.2%
	3	Count	4	2	6
		% within mood choice	7.4%	4.8%	6.3%
	4	Count	3	3	6
		% within mood choice	5.6%	7.1%	6.3%
	6	Count	5	0	5
		% within mood choice	9.3%	.0%	5.2%
	7	Count	5	3	8
		% within mood choice	9.3%	7.1%	8.3%
	9	Count	0	6	6
		% within mood choice	.0%	14.3%	6.3%
	10	Count	6	1	7

	% within mood choice	11.1%	2.4%	7.3%
11	Count	4	0	4
	% within mood choice	7.4%	.0%	4.2%
12	Count	3	0	3
	% within mood choice	5.6%	.0%	3.1%
13	Count	1	0	1
	% within mood choice	1.9%	.0%	1.0%
14	Count	5	0	5
	% within mood choice	9.3%	.0%	5.2%
15	Count	0	2	2
	% within mood choice	.0%	4.8%	2.1%
16	Count	2	2	4
	% within mood choice	3.7%	4.8%	4.2%
Total	Count	54	42	96
	% within mood choice	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Appendix Q

The DVD-R attached to the back cover contains the data used in this study transcribed in ELAN plus the accompanying MP3 sound recordings. In order to access this data, ELAN should be downloaded from the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics website at the following address: <http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>.

Glossary

<i>i' faout qué</i>	it is necessary that
<i>voulier qué</i>	to want/wish that
<i>dévànt qué</i>	before
<i>pour qué/afin qué</i>	so that/in order that
<i>à mais qué</i>	when
<i>dànnqué/entertchié qué/jusqu'à tchi qué</i>	until

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