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The Variation of English in Guernsey/ Channel Islands

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This Ph.D. dissertation portrays the linguistic situation of the Channel Islands from a diachronic point of view: the language contact between English and Norman French and the process of anglicization of the islands during the 19th and 20th centuries.
The main concern of the study is an examination of the variety of English spoken in Guernsey on the basis of interviews with 40 selected informants. The analysis includes grammatical, phonological and lexical features, and discusses the influence of other varieties of English and of the local Norman French dialect (Guernesiais).

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FOR

NODI, HELEN, WIEBKE,
THERESA AND KILIAN

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Last but not least, I want to thank my two little daughters, Helen and Wiebke, for distracting me so successfully at the right moments, and my wife, Nodi, for her help with the reading of the proofs and her loving support while I worked on this project.

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Abbreviations

DCE: Procter, P. et al. (eds.) (1978), *Dictionary of Contemporary English*. London: Longman (completely revised in 1987).

EDD: Wright, J. (1898-1905), *The English Dialect Dictionary*. Oxford (reprint Norwich, 1970: Fletcher).

FO: Cf. chapter 4.2. (p. 75-82).

FY: Cf. chapter 4.2. (p. 75-82).

LAE: Orton, H./Sanderson, S./Widdowson, J. (1978), *The Linguistic Atlas of England*. London: Croom Helm.

LANE: Kurath, H. et al. (eds.) (1939-43), *Linguistic Atlas of New England*. New York: AMS Press (reprint 1972).

LS: Viereck, W. (1975), *Lexikalische und grammatische Ergebnisse des Lowman-Survey von Mittel- und Südengland*. München: Fink Verlag.

MO: Cf. chapter 4.2. (p. 75-82).

MY: Cf. chapter 4.2. (p. 75-82).

OED: Murray, J. et al. (eds.) (1989). *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: OUP (2nd edition).

RP: Received Pronunciation

SCE: Scargill, M.H. (1974), *Modern Canadian English Usage*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

SED: Orton, H. et al. (eds.) (1962-71), *Survey of English Dialects*. Leeds: Arnold.

SND: Grant, W./Murison, D. (eds.) (1931-76), *The Scottish National Dictionary*. Edinburgh: The Scottish National Dictionary Association.

SOED: Onions, C.T. et al (eds.) (1944), *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: OUP (3rd edition, reprinted with corrections 1977).

St.E.: Standard English

St.F.: Standard French

Notes on the examples from the tape recordings

The examples from the tape recordings are marked by an indentation on the left-hand side and by a preceding horizontal line. Following each example the exact location on the tape is given in parentheses. The first figure refers to the informant and the second to the counter on my cassette recorder (Uher CR 210). Thus, a sequence of figures such as (32.572) denotes that the example is taken from the interview with informant no. 32 and occurs at location 572 according to the counter of my cassette recorder. Within an example the following conventions apply:

[...]: omission of part of the example

[tractors]: supplementary information to facilitate comprehension for the reader

Int:
27:
Int: ⎫⎪⎭ a dialogue between the interviewer and an informant (cf. e.g. p. 104)

h'm, ah, oh: hesitation phenomena

\- : a speech pause

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0. Introduction

The Channel Islands (Alderney, Guernsey, Jersey, Sark) have traditionally been regarded in dialectology as a French-speaking area. This can be explained by the fact that the original language of the Channel Islands' inhabitants is a form of Norman French that has been preserved up to the present day. However, the Norman French found in the Channel Islands is spoken today by only a relatively small and constantly decreasing number of people. Since the beginning of the 19th century, English has gained more and more influence and has gradually replaced the local Norman French. Furthermore, there are clear indications that the latter will become extinct within the foreseeable future.

That the Channel Islands are considered a francophone area is underlined by the fact that the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (ALF) by Gilliéron/Edmont (1902ff.)[1] and the regional dialect atlas for Normandy *Atlas Linguistique et Ethnographique Normand* (Brasseur, 1980ff.)[2] embrace the Channel Islands. Additionally, they are included in the project *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE), with one locality in Guernsey and one in Jersey. Here again, they are regarded as a Romance terri-

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[1]Cf. the ALF (vol.I, map 1 - *noms français des localités*). Edmont carried out fieldwork for the ALF in 4 different localities in the Channel Islands: 396 Sainte-Anne [Alderney], 397 La Trinité [Jersey], 398 L'île de Serk [Sark], 399 S.-Pierre-Port [Guernsey].

[2]The *Atlas Linguistique et Ethnographique Normand* covers Guernsey, Sark and Jersey. Data-collection was no longer possible in Alderney in the 1970s because the local Norman French had already become extinct by that time (cf. Brasseur, 1980ff.:introduction).

tory only[3]. It is readily apparent that the Norman French of the Channel Islands constitutes a field of research that is particularly noteworthy and interesting for dialectologists. One has only to think of the relative geographical isolation of the islands, prompting one to speculate on a possible preservation there of particular - and maybe older - linguistic forms. Similarly, it is reasonable to assume that the peculiar linguistic and political situation of the Channel Islands, together with their traditionally close relations with Great Britain, has had the effect of considerably reducing the normative influence of Standard French here. Finally, it seems highly advisable to collect as many linguistic data as possible before the Norman French of the Channel Islands ceases to exist as a living language, as is already the case in Alderney.

It is perfectly possible - from a historical point of view - to regard the Channel Islands as a francophone area; however, there can be no doubt that English clearly is the dominating language today. The arrival of English saw the start of a period of bilingualism, one which can be expected to lead to monolingualism in English. The reasons of the language shift from Norman French to English are manifold and will be discussed in detail in the present study. Moreover, a detailed description will be given of the domains of language behaviour in Guernsey, Jersey and Sark in which Norman French can still maintain its position over English. It will also be necessary to examine the rôle of Standard French. Although it is still one of the official languages in the Channel Islands, Standard

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[3]In Alinei et al. (1983:LXI) Guernsey and Jersey are indeed listed with the French localities of the ALE. In a footnote it says: "Les îles anglo-normandes s'inscrivent formellement dans le réseau de la Grande Bretagne. Comme le comité français les a traitées, on les a notées dans ce réseau". In Alinei et al. (1986:LXXVII) they are listed separately, but the addition "gallo-roman" shows that they are regarded as a French-speaking area by the ALE.

French is used today only on certain formal or ceremonial occasions, and is in no position to endanger the predominance of English.

In spite of the current linguistic situation in the islands, research has exclusively been concerned with the local Norman French. Viereck (1983:29-30) is the first to draw attention to the English of the Channel Islands and his article *The Channel Islands: An Anglicist's No Man's Land* (Viereck 1988) represents a very informative introduction to everyone interested in the topic. Apart from this, one can find only a few short remarks in the literature about the variation of English in the Channel Islands[4]. Some other authors restrict themselves to a description of the general linguistic situation[5]. To my knowledge, so far there are no studies dealing with Channel Island English in any detail. The worth of an analysis of this variety of English is confirmed by Brasseur, the author of the *Atlas Linguistique et Ethnographique Normand*:

> Il faut ajouter que dans ces îles où deux langues sont en contact, il serait sans doute très intéressant d'étudier l'anglais régional. En effet, selon un enseignant guernesiais, des élèves anglophones, ayant des parents anglophones, s'expriment parfois en utilisant des calques du français.
>
> (Brasseur, 1977:101)

The special linguistic circumstances in the Channel Islands make Channel Island English a noteworthy object of research, and it is hoped that the present study will be an interesting

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[4]Cf. Tomlinson (1981:18-20), Hublart (1979:47-48), Brasseur (1977:101). Mention should also be made of a short article by Le Pelley (1975), which presents some features of Guernsey English.

[5]Price (1984:207-216) is particularly informative in this respect. Cf. also Le Maistre (1947), Spence (1960:5-11), Spence (1984) and Brasseur (1977).

contribution to research on linguistic variation and language contact.

In the first part of this study the reader will be provided with some background information concerning the geography, history, administration and economy of the Channel Islands. This will be followed by a survey in some detail of the islands' history, together with the current linguistic situation. The second part of the study relates to my empirical research work conducted in Guernsey. It takes as its starting point a discussion of important theoretical and methodological aspects. The actual description and analysis of the variation of English in Guernsey embraces grammatical, phonological and lexical features.

The opening chapters, on the general linguistic situation, treat the Channel Islands as an entity; the linguistic analysis proper, on the other hand, has to be restricted for practical and methodological reasons to Guernsey. It seemed more advisable to examine one island in more detail than to deal with all the islands in what would inevitably have been a more superficial way. Furthermore, an equal treatment of all the islands would have called for far more extensive and time-consuming fieldwork, because it would have necessitated an adequate and comparable number of interviews in all the islands. It is certainly not justifiable to examine the variation of English in one island only (in this case Guernsey) and then generalize the results on the assumption that they are valid for the other islands, too: it cannot be excluded in advance that differences between the individual islands also exist.

1. The Channel Islands

The following pages will examine some important extra-linguistic aspects which are relevant to an understanding of the linguistic situation in the Channel Islands generally and to which reference will be made in the course of this study. The main point of concentration will be on the unique and intermediate position of the Channel Islands between Great Britain and France.

1.1. Geography

Alderney, Guernsey, Jersey, Sark and certain other, smaller islands form an archipelago that lies off the coast of Normandy, west of the Cotentin peninsula in the Bay of St.Malo[1]. The French term for the Channel Islands is usually *les Iles Anglo-Normandes*, *les Iles de la Manche* being used only infrequently. The Channel Islands enjoy a special political status and do not officially form a part of the United Kingdom; nonetheless, they are still closely linked with Great Britain from many points of view, including the political one. Only the small *Iles Chausey* near Granville are under French administration.

In spite of the political connections with Great Britain, for which a historical explanation can be found, a brief look at the map indicates that the Channel Islands belong far more to France, from a geographical point of view, than to Great

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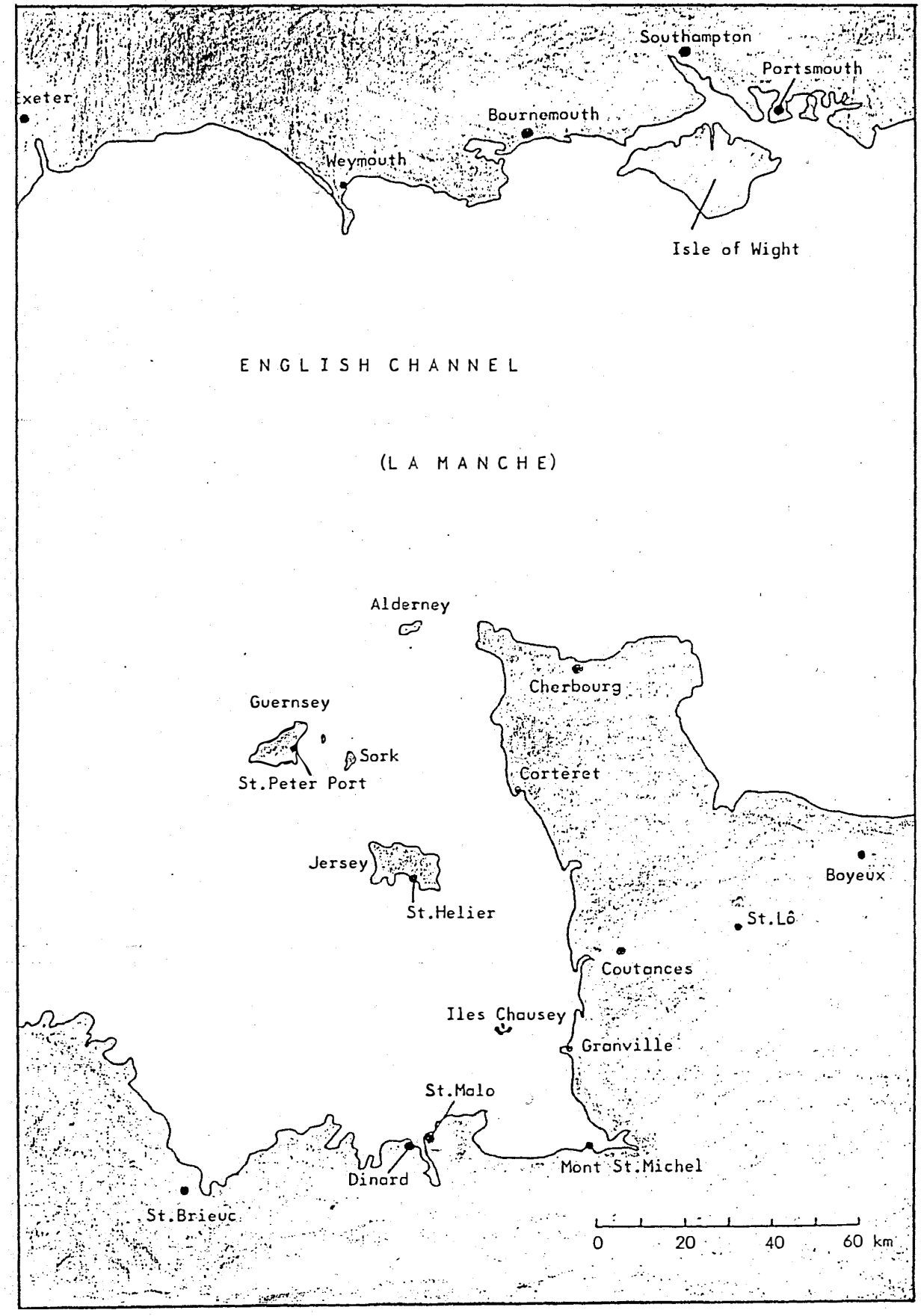
[1]For the geography of the Channel Islands, cf. Guillot (1975:7-13) and Mead (1979:10ff.).

Britain (cf. Map I, p. 7). Jersey is only about 25 km from the French coast, whereas the south coast of England is about 150 km away. Guernsey is farthest away from the French mainland, at a distance of about 45 km. But it is still about 120 km from Guernsey to Southern England. The geographical position of the Channel Islands is of some linguistic importance. Given the relative proximity of Normandy, it is hardly surprising that the original language of the inhabitants of the islands has been Norman French for centuries.

Jersey is the largest of the Channel Islands (116 km^2) and is inhabited by some 73,000 people, resulting in an average density of population of 629 people per km^2. The capital is St.Helier (32,000 inhabitants), in the south of the island. The main areas of population are along the south coast, whereas the north of Jersey is less densely populated and is used predominantly for agriculture.

Guernsey (French *Guernesey*), the second-largest and most westerly island, has an area of 62 km^2. It is inhabited by some 54,000 people, however, producing a very high density of population for the island (871 people per km^2), one in fact higher than that of Jersey or of the other Channel Islands. The capital of Guernsey is St.Peter Port (16,000 inhabitants), in the east of the island, which generally is largely urbanized. The more rural areas of Guernsey are to be found in the west and southwest.

Alderney (French *Aurigny*) is the most northerly of the Channel Islands and the one that is closest to the French mainland. The distance between Alderney and the Cap de la Hague at the northwestern point of the Cotentin peninsula is only about 15 km. With an area of 8 km^2, Alderney is comparatively small. The number of inhabitants amounts to 1,700. Even smaller than Alderney is Sark (French *Sercq*), situated 11 km to the east of Guernsey. Sark is 5 km^2 large and is inhabited by some 600 people.



Map I: Geographical Position of the Channel Islands

1.2. History

In the 9th century A.D., Normans from Scandinavia came marauding to the northwestern coasts of France[2]. They soon started to settle there, especially around the lower course of the River Seine, and gave this region its name: *Normandy* - the land of the Northmen (Normans). They gradually succeeded in extending their area of influence. In 841 they conquered Rouen and undertook further raids along the Seine valley as far as Paris. The indigenous Franks had great difficulty in stopping the Norman advance, and finally an agreement was reached in 911 between the King of the West Franks, Charles le Simple, and the leader of the Normans, Rollo. The King ceded the area around Rouen as far as Lisieux to the Normans and recognized Rollo as Duke of Normandy. In return, the latter acknowledged the Frankish King as his overlord.

At this point in time, the Cotentin peninsula and the Channel Islands did not yet belong to the Duchy of Normandy. It was only after Rollo's death that his son Guillaume Longue Epée (William Longsword) integrated the Cotentin and the Channel Islands in 933 into his sphere of power. From this time onwards the Channel Islands became a permanent part of the Duchy of Normandy, something which is also apparent from the typically Norman administration and jurisdiction, which has survived at least in part up to the present. With regard to the ecclesiastical administration, the Channel Islands became part of the diocese of Coutances. From a juridical point of view, they were the property of the Dukes of Normandy, who awarded most of the estates as fiefs to Norman monasteries or noblemen.

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[2]Extensive information about the history of the Channel Islands can be found in Lemprière (1974), Uttley (1966), Guillot (1975:24-55).

The year 1066 marks a date that is of prime historical importance not only for Normandy and England but also for the Channel Islands, because it associates the latter for the first time with the English Crown. With the exception of a few short breaks, this association has existed ever since. After his victory over the Anglo-Saxon King Harold at the Battle of Hastings, on 14th October 1066, Duke William II of Normandy (William the Conqueror) ascended to the English throne, which meant that the Duchy of Normandy was united with England. That the present inhabitants of the Channel Islands are conscious of the historical significance of the year 1066 became evident during my fieldwork. When asked whether the Channel Islands belong to England or not, some of my informants answered with a smile that the Channel Islands by no means belong to England, but rather that just the opposite is true, that England belongs to the Channel Islands. After all, they would then point out, the Channel Islands had been on the winning side in the Battle of Hastings in 1066, and they as Normans had conquered England.

A further date of central importance in the history of the Channel Islands is the year 1204, when King John (nicknamed *Lackland*) lost all his possessions on the Norman mainland to King Philippe Auguste of France. The Channel Islands were not conquered by the French, but remained the property of the English King in his function as Duke of Normandy. This created a very difficult situation for the Channel Islands, one which Lemprière (1974:28) describes as follows:

> Before 1204 the islands had had nothing to fear from Normandy, as they were part of the duchy, but from then on Normandy was part of a foreign country with whom England, and later Great Britain, was to be frequently and for long periods at war.

Although the Channel Islands were repeatedly attacked by the French in the period after 1204, they remained loyal to the

English Crown, which rewarded their loyalty with privileges and recognized the special political status of the islands. In a treaty of 1259, King Henry III renounced all claims to continental Normandy, but the Channel Islands were not specifically mentioned. From this can be concluded that both England and France tacitly accepted the existing conditions and were only interested in maintaining the prevailing status quo of the islands. The historical development outlined above produced this exceptional situation, one which has lasted up to the present. The Channel Islands are the only part of the ancient Duchy of Normandy that has remained under English influence without having ever actually been part of England.

The geographical position naturally lent the islands a strategic importance and it is readily understandable that England was strongly interested in keeping possession of the Channel Islands. As a consequence, England granted them a relatively high degree of independence and freedom. They were not annexed to the English kingdom, but the English king continued to reign over them in his capacity as Duke of Normandy, being represented in the islands by a personal envoy who at different times held the title of *Warden*, *Lord (Lady) of the Isles* or *Governor*, and who is called *Lieutenant Governor* today.

During the Hundred Years' War (1339-1453) between England and France, the Channel Islands were a frequent target for the French. They continued to suffer from French attacks during the civil war which immediately followed in England (the so-called Wars of the Roses, 1455-85) between the Houses of Lancaster and York, because the French, as allies of the House of Lancaster, fought against the Yorkist King Edward IV. In this period, the inhabitants of the Channel Islands lived in permanent fear of French raids, which caused not only death, destruction and pillage but also the loss of vital crops. The situation deteriorated to such an extent that the islanders

and King Edward IV jointly petitioned Pope Sixtus IV for help. He thereupon issued a monition in 1481 wherein was declared that everybody attacking the islands would be punished with excommunication and anathema. In 1483, this monition was reinforced by a papal bull, which also included the important addition that the Channel Islands and the surrounding waters should be regarded as neutral in times of war. At the same time, the islands were allowed to trade with anybody, including the French. Their neutral status in war-time, which was generally observed, finally brought peace to the Channel Islands and lasted for more than 200 years, until it was revoked by King William III in 1689. In 1569, Queen Elizabeth I dissolved the last official connection linking the Channel Islands to the Norman mainland. The islands, which had previously been part of the diocese of Coutances, were henceforth placed under the spiritual leadership of the Bishop of Winchester.

With the revocation of neutrality in 1689 the Channel Islands regained their great strategic significance. From that time onwards until the 19th century they served as bases for privateers, who were legally permitted to capture enemy ships. The trade in booty and smuggling clearly contributed to the wealth of the islands in this period. Furthermore, they served as outposts and military bases for the English during the 18th and the early 19th century in their armed conflicts with France. The French again attempted to conquer the islands in 1779 and in 1781, although both attacks failed. It was above all the strong fortifications and other war preparations by the islanders which caused the French to refrain from further attacks. During the French Revolution the Channel Islands became a place of refuge for French exiles seeking political asylum; many of them settled in St.Helier. During the Napoleonic Wars the Channel Islands again retained their rôle as outposts and military bases on account of their geo-

graphical position, although they were not directly involved in any events of war.

After the end of hostilities in 1815, the Channel Islands experienced a period of economic success and generally expanding wealth in the 19th century. Trade flourished, tourism started to grow and people from Britain began to emigrate to the islands. The First World War had no direct effect upon the Channel Islands, although many islanders served in the British army. In the Second World War, however, the situation was completely different. Following the occupation of France by German troops in the spring of 1940, the British Government came to the conclusion that the Channel Islands could not be defended. It was therefore decided to withdraw all military forces from the islands and to declare them a demilitarized zone. The occupation of the Channel Islands by German troops took place between 30th June and 3rd July 1940. The islands thus became the only British territory that had to suffer German occupation during World War II. Before the Germans took possession of the Channel Islands a considerable part of the population was evacuated to England, consisting especially of children, adolescents and other people who wanted to leave. All the inhabitants of Alderney (ca. 1,500) decided to leave the island. One fifth of Jersey's population (ca. 10,000), and half of that from Guernsey (ca. 17,000) were evacuated.

A five-year occupation then began for those who had stayed, a period still vivid in the memories of the older inhabitants of the Channel Islands and often chosen as a topic of discussion in the course of my fieldwork. During the German occupation the islanders had to endure such dangers and inconveniences as seem to be generally typical of countries occupied by foreign forces, including interrogations, arrests, searches, strict press censorship, food rationing, confiscation of private property and curfews. After the landing of the allied forces in Normandy in June 1944, the Channel Islands were not im-

mediately liberated but remained under the control of the Germans until the end of the war in May 1945. The Allies thought that a conquering of the islands would be too costly and too dangerous for the civilian population, due to the strong fortifications. Moreover, they held the view that the islands could not be held by the Germans in the long run because the latter had meanwhile been cut off from any supplies. As a result, the food situation became so critical towards the end of 1944 that it was necessary to obtain an Anglo-German agreement enabling the civilian population to be supplied with food and medicine by the International Red Cross until the end of the war.

Only a few weeks after the end of the war, the evacuees began to return from England. The Channel Islands were able to recover fairly quickly. Public wealth increased, and the standard of living of many islanders today is relatively high. One should not forget tourism, which grew rapidly after the war and now plays a major part in the general welfare. Furthermore, a large number of wealthy British people have settled in the Channel Islands, mainly for tax reasons. When Great Britain joined the EEC in 1973 Jersey and Guernsey (together with Sark and Alderney) simultaneously became Associated Members, giving them a special political status within the Community that accords them certain rights and conditions.

1.3. Administrative, economic and transportational aspects

Together with the Isle of Man, the Channel Islands enjoy a special status, one singling them out as the only dependencies of the British Crown in Europe and therefore distinguishing

them from colonies and other dependencies overseas[3]. As the islands do not belong to the United Kingdom, they are not directly subject to the British Government, which represents them merely in foreign affairs and matters of defence. They send no representatives to the House of Commons and, on the whole, have succeeded in preserving a high degree of autonomy. They have their own legislative assemblies (States), administrative and tax systems, and also their own legal system. However, all laws passed by the States have to be officially approved by the Crown, which reaches a decision based on the recommendation of the Privy Council. This effectively means that the British Government has to give its consent. The British Ministry of the Interior (Home Office) fulfils an important rôle in the Privy Council because it is the department within the government that is responsible for all matters relating to the Channel Islands. But it should be emphasized that there is no direct connection as such between the British Government and the islands, and that all matters have to be dealt with via the Privy Council and the Crown, since the islands are directly attached to the Crown.

In spite of their relative autonomy, the Channel Islands cooperate closely with Great Britain in many fields. In particular, certain tasks which the Channel Islands themselves are ill-equipped to handle are taken over by the respective British institutions. Thus inhabitants of the Channel Islands are entitled to attend British universities and teachers' training colleges. Patients requiring special treatment are admitted to British hospitals, and criminals who have to serve a longer prison sentence are handed over to the British authorities.

The Channel Islands are divided into two administrative districts (bailiwicks), namely the Bailiwick of Jersey and the

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[3]For the administration of the Channel Islands cf. Guillot (1975:56-73).

Bailiwick of Guernsey. The latter also includes the islands of Alderney and Sark. The civil head in each bailiwick is known as the Bailiff, who is not elected but is appointed by the Crown. He is the president both of the legislative assembly (States of Jersey and States of Guernsey, respectively) and of the local law-court (Royal Court). In the States, laws and decrees for the respective bailiwick are debated and passed. Unlike Britain there are no political parties. With the exception of a few members appointed by the Crown, most members of the States are elected because they are personally known to the people in the parishes. Similarly, it is not possible to talk of a governing majority or an opposition. States Committees are formed from the members of the States, and they deal with the individual fields of government such as finance, policing and traffic. One of the most important privileges of the States is that of tax legislation, which has led to the Channel Islands' becoming a tax haven. In contrast to Britain, there is no value-added tax, capital gains tax or inheritance tax. Income tax stands at a uniform rate of 20 per cent and is therefore particularly favourable for people with a very high income.

The parishes, of which there are twelve in Jersey and ten in Guernsey, function as smaller administrative units. They delegate elected representatives to the States. The body responsible for the handling of matters within the individual parishes is the parish council or *douzaine*.

In past eras agriculture, fishing, knitwear, the export of granite and cider, ship-building and trade, as well as smuggling and privateering, contributed to a varying degree to the prosperity of the islanders[4]. Today, however, it is tourism that is of central importance to the Channel Islands' economy. With the appearance of mass tourism after the Second

[4]For the economy of the Channel Islands cf. also Guillot (1975:106-123) and Rink (1983:15ff, 78ff).

World War the Channel Islands were also fully discovered as a holiday resort. As a consequence, a strong tourist industry was developed, and the number of hotels and guest houses continues to increase. In addition, there is a great number of self-catering units (flats, bungalows, cottages) that can be rented by holidaymakers[5].

It is particularly noteworthy that the great majority of visitors to the Channel Islands are British. A survey carried out among 2,063 tourists in Guernsey between April and October 1983 showed that 91% of them came from the United Kingdom, 2% from Jersey or Alderney and 7% from other countries[6]. In a comparable survey in Jersey, 80% of the holidaymakers were British, 13% French and the remaining 7% of various other nationalities[7]. The fact that it is mostly British people who visit the Channel Islands can be explained first of all by the traditionally close connections of the islands with Great Britain. Other reasons may be the very mild climate, the absence of passport controls or Customs, and the fact that people still get good value for money when they spend their holidays there. Furthermore, the feeling that the Channel Islands convey to British visitors is twofold: on the one hand, they can believe to be in a remote place, but at the same time, they can feel very much at home. This is because the general character of the Channel Islands today is very British, manifesting itself across a wide range of phenomena

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[5]According to the Official Holiday Accommodation List issued by the States Tourist Board, there were 145 hotels, 187 guesthouses and 675 self-catering units for holiday accommodation in Guernsey in 1985.

[6]Cf. Rotham (1984:12).

[7]Cf. Economic Adviser's Office (1983:4). It should be noted that the surveys mentioned above do not include visitors on day-trips to the islands. During the high season a certain number of French people visit the Channel Islands, especially Jersey, just for one day.

from purely external things such as left-hand traffic and typical British food to the language itself.

Another substantial source of income for the Channel Islands continues to be agriculture and, for Guernsey in particular, horticulture. In Jersey, more than half of the island's surface is used for agricultural purposes, especially for dairy-farming and the growing of early potatoes, tomatoes and cauliflowers. Nearly all agricultural products are exported to Great Britain. The same is true for Guernsey, whose main exports are tomatoes and flowers. As the climate is less favourable here than in Jersey, these crops are grown under glass. One therefore finds a great number of greenhouses in Guernsey, which cover a considerable part (almost 10%) of the total surface of the island and which immediately catch the eye of visitors arriving by plane.

As a consequence of the favourable tax conditions, the Channel Islands have developed into important centres of banking and finance. Numerous British banks and companies have branches or agencies in the islands in order to avoid taxation in Great Britain. The Channel Islands profit considerably from the banking and finance business. On the one hand, it creates jobs for the local population. On the other hand, the taxes that are paid by the banks and companies help support the public treasury of the islands. Likewise, wealthy British citizens have come to settle in the Channel Islands for tax reasons. Even if these "rich immigrants" or "tax evaders" are not always popular with the locals, their taxes and expenditure of money have contributed to a considerable extent to the prosperity of the Channel Islands.

Today the Channel Islands are confronted with the problem of overpopulation. Since the Second World War the number of inhabitants has rapidly risen because of immigrants from Great Britain, resulting in the decision on the part of the administrators of the islands to regulate the flow of immigrants

by law. In 1951, 57,310 people were living in Jersey; by 1981, this number had risen to 72,970. Guernsey had 43,603 inhabitants in 1951 and 53,313 in 1981[9]. According to the States' Office in Guernsey, the latest census, from March 1986, shows that the population of Guernsey rose by more than 2,000 between 1981 and 1986, reaching a total of 55,482 people. The increase was caused solely by immigration (in 2,154 cases), the natural increase in population during the same period being a mere 15 persons. The census of 1986 also demonstrates that 90% of the immigrants came from the United Kingdom and 3% from Portugal, the remaining percentage being made up of diverse other nationalities. The Channel Islands continue to be attractive to British citizens because the standard of living is relatively high and the rate of unemployment is very low. Meanwhile, there are plans in Guernsey to introduce legislation that will further restrict immigration. And the people in the Channel Islands unanimously believe that the number of inhabitants should not rise any further.

The Channel Islands are dependent on good traffic connections with the outside world for the tourist industry and the import and export of goods. There are daily connections by boat and plane from Jersey and Guernsey both to Great Britain and to France, so that the islands can be reached without any problems all year long. Moreover, the individual islands are interconnected by boat and plane services, Sark alone being reachable only by boat. During the main season in the summer, there is a considerable increase in the number of boat crossings and flights to and from the Channel Islands. A look at the traffic statistics clearly shows how closely the islands are linked to Great Britain today. The connections that they maintain to the Continent, including France, are

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[8]Cf. Census of Jersey (1982:9).

[9]Cf. Census of Guernsey (1981:11).

correspondingly low. The following tables list the number of air passengers from and to Guernsey and Jersey, divided according to destination or point of departure[10].

Table 1: Passenger movements through Guernsey Airport

	British Airports	Continental Airports
1982	293,357	26,501
1983	332,571	24,492
1984	375,075	26,492

Table 2: Passenger movements through Jersey Airport

	British Airports	Continental Airports
1983	1,056,685	87,710
1984	1,112,400	91,045

The figures demonstrate that air traffic between Guernsey or Jersey and the Continent is less than 10% of that with Great Britain.

As for the connections by boat, it should be pointed out that the ferry companies have felt compelled to reduce the number of crossings for economic reasons. The consequence is that connections between the Channel Islands and the Continent have disappeared altogether because they are not profitable enough. For example, in the autumn of 1986 Guernsey's only

[10]The tables were compiled according to statistical information provided by the airport authorities in Guernsey and Jersey.

direct boat link with France (Cherbourg) was discontinued, which meant that the Continent could then only be reached indirectly by boat via Jersey to St.Malo.

2. The linguistic situation of the Channel Islands

A consideration of the diachronic aspect is essential if one is to fully understand the current linguistic situation in the Channel Islands. Accordingly, the linguistic development of the Channel Islands up to the present unquestionable dominance of English will be traced. Furthermore, the causes that were or still are responsible for the decline of the local Norman French will be examined in some detail. There are indeed a variety of causes for the language shift to English, and they can only be comprehended within the general context of the Channel Islands. As for the description of the historical development, we can rely on written statements by a number of authors and other sources to provide an overall picture that is as comprehensive as possible. Subsequently, the current linguistic situation will be analysed, with attention focused on Guernsey. There are two reasons for this. First of all, the study as a whole is concerned primarily with that island. Secondly, the general linguistic situation in Guernsey, Jersey and Sark is largely identical. It seems therefore justified to take Guernsey as an example of the Channel Islands as a whole[1]. A further comment is still necessary as far as the Norman French of the Channel Islands is concerned. So far I have avoided using such terms as *dialect*, *patois or parler local* in this connection. In particular, amateurs of the local Norman French and others who advocate its preservation emphasize that it is a language in its own right, mainly because Norman French can look back on a long and independent tra-

[1]For the historical development and current linguistic situation in Jersey also cf. Hublart (1979:23-49).

dition of its own[2]. I do not want to discuss the distinction between *dialect* and *language* at this point. It should suffice to point out that linguists generally agree on the impossibility of making this distinction simply on the grounds of purely linguistic criteria, since it is based rather on extralinguistic (social, political, cultural etc.) factors[3]. In considering the social, political and cultural circumstances in the Channel Islands, it becomes obvious that the terms *dialect* or *patois* are far more appropriate. Furthermore, it is particularly revealing that many speakers of the local Norman French use these terms - and especially *patois* - themselves, when talking about their own form of French. The most common terms in English are *Guernsey French*, *Jersey French* or *Sark French*, respectively. It is also possible to employ the Norman French names *Guernesiais*, *Jèrriais* and *Sercquiais*, which I intend to do in the present study. Alternatively, I will refer to the Norman French dialects of the Channel Islands.

2.1. The period before 1815

As a consequence of the loss by King John (Lackland) of the Norman mainland to France in 1204, the Channel Islands found themselves in an exceptional political situation. As the only part of the former Duchy of Normandy, they remained attached to the English Crown, which granted them a high degree of autonomy and special privileges as a reward for their loyalty. As far as the linguistic situation was concerned, the political connections of the Channel Islands with England had no far-reaching consequences during the following centuries. The

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[2]Cf. e.g. Le Maistre (1947:2-3).

[3]Cf. the discussion on *dialect* and *language* in Trudgill (1983:14-17) or Hudson (1980:30-37), for example.

native inhabitants, their culture and - not least - their language were Norman, which linked them much more to the nearby French mainland than to relatively distant England. Guillot describes the situation of the Channel Islands and their relations to England and France after 1204 in the following way:

> En fait, les îles bénéficiaient d'une grande liberté. Leur éloignement de l'Angleterre empêchait, à une époque où les communications étaient encore très lentes, tout rattachement effectif à un comté anglais. Par ailleurs, leurs traditions et leur langue étaient normandes, ce qui les rapprochait davantage du Cotentin que des provinces anglaises où la culture jusque-là en partie anglo-normande, était en train de devenir specifiquement anglaise.
> (Guillot, 1975:31-32)

Le Patourel, who examines the political and economic situation of the Channel Islands during the Middle Ages, similarly stresses their close links to the French mainland:

> The importance of this close connexion between the Channel Islands and Normandy throughout the Middle Ages cannot be overemphasized. The Islanders were of the same racial blend as the Normans of the Cotentin, they spoke the same dialect, with their own local variations, traded with the same money and lived under the same customary law.
> (Le Patourel, 1937:35)

The geographical position, trade, culture and language kept the Channel Islands in close touch with the French mainland. As distances played a far greater rôle during the Middle Ages than is the case today, the contacts of the islands with the outside world mainly took place with France. Moreover, from 1483 onwards the islands were considered neutral in times of war and were permitted to trade with anyone, including England's enemy, France. As far as church matters were concerned, they remained part of the Norman diocese of Coutances

until 1569[4]. Taking into account the above-mentioned factors, together with the relative remoteness of the islands and the low mobility of people in earlier times, it is hardly surprising that the language of the native population remained Norman French for centuries.

To all appearances, the English influence in the Channel Islands during the Middle Ages was very limited. English garrisons were established very soon to defend Castle Cornet in Guernsey and Mont Orgueil Castle in Jersey against the French; however, the number of English soldiers was relatively small[5]. In 1345, for instance, the garrison in Castle Cornet consisted merely of approximately forty men, two thirds of whom were English and one third native Channel Islanders (cf. De Guérin, 1905:71, 75-76).

Only after the neutrality of the Channel Islands had been revoked in 1689 were larger military units brought to the islands. According to one report, the English garrison of Guernsey in 1798 consisted of almost 6,000 men (cf. De Guérin, 1905:80-81). It was above all the tradespeople and the inhabitants of the capital towns of St.Peter Port and St.Helier who came into contact with the English language through the medium of the soldiers stationed in the vicinity. Furthermore, the Channel Islands in the 18th century were centres of international trade, smuggling and privateering, the islands thereby establishing an increasing number of contacts with the outside world (cf. Uttley, 1966:143ff.). Their extensive trade relations reached as far as America, and especially Newfoundland. The spread of Guernsey's contacts, for instance, can be

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[4]For the neutrality of the Channel Islands and their ecclesiastical administration, cf. Lemprière (1974:40, 53-54).

[5]For the history of the English garrisons in Guernsey and Jersey cf. De Guérin (1905).

seen from a report dating from the year 1800 (cf. Jacob, 1830:386-388). As this report shows, many of the goods traded in Guernsey were destined for the English market:

> But a great part of our trade consists in the deposit of goods brought hither, to be regularly re-imported into Great Britain and Ireland, from France, Spain and Portugal.
>
> (Jacob, 1830:387)

English merchants also came to settle in St.Peter Port and St.Helier (cf. Dury, 1950:41). It was in these places that the English influence exerted itself most strongly, English thereby being in a position to gain an initial foothold. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that the general political atmosphere in the 18th and early 19th centuries contributed to a growth in English influence. The Channel Islands were under constant threat of attack by the French until Napoleon's defeat in 1815. As they were in danger of losing their independence, they sought to intensify their contacts with England, for England alone was in a position to protect the interests of the Channel Islands in an effective manner in the face of continuing French pressure. And England was obviously very much interested - if only for strategic reasons - in the Channel Islands.

2.2. The 19th century

After staying in the Channel Islands for two years in the 1830s, the Englishman Henry Inglis wrote in a guidebook:

> [...] there are certain points of interest attached to the Channel Islands, peculiarly their own [...] their native civilized inhabitants, their vicinity to the coast of France, and the general use of the French language.
>
> (Inglis, 1844:2)

Talking about Jersey, he elucidated what was meant by "French language" in this case:

> The universal language is still a barbarous dialect.
> (Inglis, 1844:72)

He continued:

> French [St.F.], though the language of the court proceedings, and of the legislature, is not in common use even among the upper ranks: nay, the use of it, is even looked upon as affectation; and although the English language be sufficiently comprehended for the purposes of intercourse, and is most usually spoken in the best mixed society, it is certainly not understood by many, in its purity.
> (Inglis, 1844:72)

One can conclude from this source that the everyday language of the native population of Jersey during the 1830s was Jèrriais, the use of Standard French and English apparently being still rather limited. But Inglis, who, incidentally, regarded the existence of a "barbarous dialect" as an obstacle to modern civilization, also reported on the beginnings of a process of anglicization:

> Children are now universally taught English; and amongst the young, there is an evident preference of English. The constant intercourse of the tradespeople with the English residents; and the considerable sprinkling of English residents in Jersey society, have also their effect.
> (Inglis, 1844:73)

Inglis held the view that Guernsey - in comparison with Jersey - had reached a higher degree of civilization, this being apparent "above all, in a more perfect understanding of the English language" (Inglis, 1844:214).

Let us turn to an examination of the reasons for the increased anglicization of the Channel Islands during the 19th century.

One important factor in this process can be seen in the English immigrants who came to settle in the capital towns of St.Helier and St.Peter Port and their peripheries from 1815 onwards[6]. At first, it was especially former British naval and army officers who took up residence in Jersey and Guernsey. As their pension comprised only half of their former pay, they were attracted to the Channel Islands by the cheap cost of living and low taxes. The comparatively mild climate also proved attractive. In 1834, the aforementioned Henry Inglis estimated that at least 3,000 British citizens - excluding British tradespeople - had settled in Jersey, three quarters of whom were former officers with their families (Inglis, 1844:75). In Guillot's opinion, the period after 1815 marks the proper beginning of the anglicization of the Channel Islands:

> C'est à partir de cette époque, après 1815, que la langue anglaise commence à se répandre et à être couramment parlée dans les îles, ce qui n'avait pas été le cas jusque-là.
>
> (Guillot, 1975:47)

Due to immigration, and probably also due to a certain increase among the local population, the number of people living in Guernsey and Jersey grew rapidly during the 19th century. Jersey had 28,600 inhabitants in 1821, 57,020 in 1851 and 52,576 in 1901 (cf. Census of Jersey, 1982:9). According to Uttley (1966:174), there were 15,000 English residents living in Jersey in 1840. As the total population was 47,544 (Census 1841), this means that 31.54% were English. The number of people living in Guernsey amounted to 20,302 in 1821, a figure which continued to grow, reaching a total of 29,757 inhabitants in 1851 and 40,446 in 1901 (cf. Census of Guernsey,

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[6]With regard to English immigration during the 19th century, cf. Lemprière (1974:156ff., 172) and Uttley (1966: 174-175, 189).

1981:11).The census of 1891 provides the following information about the origin of the inhabitants[7]:

Table 3: Birthplaces of persons enumerated in Guernsey and adjacent islands

	Males	Females	Total
total enumerated	18,261	19,455	37,716
where born:			
Guernsey	13,719	15,206	28,925
England	2,746	2,383	5,129
Wales	43	27	70
Scotland	93	87	180
Ireland	238	227	465
Jersey	587	640	1,227
Isle of Man	3	2	5
British Colonies and Dependencies	189	232	421
Born at Sea	3	3	6
Born Abroad (British Subjects)	23	33	56
Born Abroad (Foreign Subjects):			
France	539	565	1,104
Other countries	78	50	128

As Table 3 indicates, 28,925 (or 76.69%) of the inhabitants of Guernsey at the end of the 19th century were natives of this island. The corollary of this, of course, is that as early as this almost a quarter of the population was not born in Guernsey. By far the largest group of non-natives were of

[7]For the figures in Table 3 cf. Census 1891 (1893:4).

British or Irish origin. Altogether, 5,844 people came from England, Wales, Scotland or Ireland, which was after all 15.49% of the total population. The number of people born in France was comparatively small (1,104 persons or 2.92% of the total population).

Sjögren, who carried out fieldwork on Guernesiais in 1926, reports on a wave of immigration of people from England and Ireland towards the end of the 19th century. They found work in the quarries in the north of the island and contributed to the anglicization of this part of Guernsey:

> Il y avait eu une assez importante immigration d'Anglais et d'Irlandais à la fin du XIXe siecle. Ils travaillaient dans les carrières. Il va sans dire que ces immigrés et leurs descendants n'avaient pas appris le guernesiais, et leur présence avait naturellement favorisé d'abord la régression, puis la disparition, du patois.
>
> (Sjögren, 1964:XVI)

Another important factor in the increased anglicization of the Channel Islands can be seen in the improvement of communications and traffic links with Great Britain. In 1794, a regular postal service between the Channel Islands and Weymouth was established (cf. Lemprière, 1974:135-136). From 1858 onwards, Guernsey and Jersey were connected by submarine cable to the British telegraphy system (cf. Uttley, 1966:181). Of major importance for the traffic with Great Britain was the introduction of steamboats. They were faster and more reliable than sailing boats and a regular service between England and the islands could be established in 1824.

> Cross channel communications were improving, sail was gradually giving way to steam. [...] Summer services ran almost daily with the journey to Southampton being completed in about 10 hours. The improved service benefited the island [Guernsey] from both the private and commercial point of view.
>
> (Johnston, 1982:66-67)

Tupper points out how it was only after the introduction of steamboats that people from Britain came to visit the Channel Islands regularly or even decided to settle there.

> It was only after 1824, when a steamer from Southampton and another from Portsmouth first commenced plying weekly, that strangers can be said to have visited these islands in summer, or made them their permanent residence, very few coming over before that time, unless on business, or as belonging to the garrison and squadron.
>
> (Tupper, 1876:403)

In an edition of the French journal *Revue des deux Mondes* of 1849, an unnamed author deplores the growing English influence in the Channel Islands, which can be attributed to the improved traffic links:

> Les temps changent; la navigation à vapeur, après avoir été une source de prosperité pour l'archipel, pourrait bien aussi déterminer sa ruine. Ces îles sont désormais trop près de Londres; l'élément anglais s'y implante rapidement, et trop de voix interessées jasent sur ce petit monde.
>
> (N.N., 1849:962)

A further cause for the anglicization of the Channel Islands was the appearance of tourism during the 19th century. Guidebooks and travel reports began to appear early on in the century (cf. Lemprière, 1974:157), and the Channel Islands generally became better known to the British public[8]:

> The islands first became well known because of the large number of 'residents' who had settled there [...]. The residents were visited by friends and relations and this resulted in the islands becoming still better known, until they were finally recognized as tourist resorts in the late 1820s or early

[8]The number of visitors who travelled to Jersey during the summer months via the English ports of Southampton and Weymouth was 17,001 in 1879, 18,915 in 1880 and 19,403 in 1881 (figures taken from Lemprière, 1974:196).

> 1830s. At first only a trickle of visitors made its way to the islands, but as the century advanced this trickle became a steady flow.
> (Lemprière, 1974:157)

Trade relations with Great Britain also played a prominent rôle in the increase of English influence[9]. As traffic links improved, so trade with Great Britain expanded considerably. On the one hand, the islands were important free-trade areas for British imports and exports. On the other hand, the islands themselves exported their own - mainly agricultural - products to Great Britain. All in all, the 19th century was a peaceful period of economic progress for the Channel Islands, during which their attachment to Great Britain became ever greater. Uttley comments on the situation towards the end of the century in the following way:

> One thing was certain, the links with England, social, cultural, economic, were now closer than they had ever been. Denys Corbet, the schoolmaster from the Forest parish, might lament in his patois poems that the old order was changing and that the island's [Guernsey] Gallic vernacular was dying out. But the islands were moving with the times.
> (Uttley, 1966:190)

Moreover, there is both direct and indirect evidence from the 19th century confirming the advance of English in the Channel Islands. In a revised edition of the book *The Channel Islands* by Ansted/Latham, published in 1893, we read:

> During the present century the English language has both in Guernsey and Jersey, made vast strides, so that it is difficult now to find a native even in the country parishes who cannot converse fairly well in that tongue.
> (Nicolle, 1893:387)

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[9]Cf. Uttley (1966:182-190) and Dury (1950:40-46).

In 1886, Fleury observes the disappearance of the Norman French patois of the Cotentin peninsula; as far as the Channel Islands are concerned, he remarks:

> Dans les îles anglo-normandes, l'anglais lui [= le patois] fait une concurrence plus redoutable encore, de sorte qu'il est condamné à mourir dans un temps qui ne peut pas être très reculé. Les vieillards seuls le parlent dans sa pureté. La jeune génération le dédaigne, ainsi que les contes et les usages d'autrefois.
>
> (Fleury, 1886: *introduction*)

Further evidence for the decline of Guernesiais and the growing influence of English in Guernsey may be seen in the following:

> Being proud of my native isle, and of much that belongs to it, I often feel sorry that our good old local tongue is practically dying out, offering but little, if any, resistance to the inroads of the English language.
>
> (Le Bougourd, 1897:183)

> As the English language is rapidly replacing our patois, many words and expressions will be lost for ever, and we ought to save what we can before it is too late.
>
> (Tourtel, 1916:300)

Although the fears expressed in the quotations above that the Norman French dialects will become extinct have remained unrealized up to today, there can still be no doubt that English made considerable progress in the Channel Islands during the 19th century. The appearance of the first newspapers can be taken as a significant indication of the growing influence of English at the beginning of the century[10]. The first English newspaper (*The Star*) was published in Guernsey in 1813, while Jersey's earliest English newspaper was the *British Press*, first published in 1822. It is interesting to note that all

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[10]Cf. Lemprière (1974: 129-130, 161) and Uttley (1966:164).

the existing newspapers before that time had been in French (that is, Standard French). The first French-language newspaper appeared in Jersey as early as 1784, while the publication of the first French-language newspaper in Guernsey dates back to 1789. The appearance of the first English newspapers meant that an English-language and French-language press existed side by side during the 19th century[11].

An illustration of the bilingualism of the press in Guernsey can be found in the advertisement pages of the French-language newspapers around 1820, containing advertisements both in French and in English. In contrast, the English newspapers of the same period do not include any advertisements in French. From this fact, certain conclusions can be drawn about the general attitude towards the two languages. It was expected of the francophone natives that they should be able to read English advertisements. The readers of the English-language newspapers, however, were not expected to read advertisements in French.

An example of a bilingual advertising section in a French-language newspaper can be seen in the following extract from a paper in Guernsey, namely *L'Indépendance* of 22nd April 1820 (page 3). It is noteworthy that some of the advertisements appear both in English and in French. This is true, for instance, of the two pairs of advertisements at bottom left and top right:

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[11]Inglis (1844:220) reports that while he was staying in Guernsey in the early 1830s there were five newspapers altogether, two of which were in English. Le Cerf (1862:92-93) mentions seven newspapers for Jersey, three of which were in French, the other four in English. In Guernsey, according to Le Cerf (1862:264), there existed one newspaper in French and three others in English.

CEUX qui ont quelque demande sur la Briquerie de Pierre Le Roy et Co. au Foulon, sont requis d'envoyer leurs comptes à la dite Briquerie, sous quinze jours de cette date ; faute à eux de ce faire, on n'en prendra nulle connoissance.

PIERRE LE ROY et Co.

Avril 20e, 1820.

THE house of Ann's Place, are to be sold. Apply to John Arnold.

LA MAISON du Sieur Joseph Grout et femme, située aux Canichers, sera louée au plus offrant, Lundi prochain, 24 du courant, à 10 heures du matin, devant le Prévôt du Roi, ou Député, Commis de la Cour.

THE house in High-Street, occupied by Mrs. Bailhache, will be sold by public auction, on the spot, on Wednesday, 3d May next. The sale will commence at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. For further particulars, enquire of T. Trachy.

J. B. LE ROY, has now unloading in the harbour, a cargo of Newcastle coals, of a superior quality, at 12s. per quarter.

J. B. LE ROY, fait savoir, qu'il a maintenant en décharge dans le havre de la chaussée, une cargaison de charbon du Neufchâteau, d'une qualité supérieure, à 12s. le quartier.

TO LET,

THE HOUSE in Pollet Street, now occupied by Mr. Hannibal Sheppard, and formerly belonging to the late Mr. John La Serre. Possession to be taken at Midsummer next. Apply to Mr. Ab. Le Mesurier, Carrefour, or at Mr. Poore's, New-Town.

A LOUER, pour entrer en possession à la Saint-Jean prochaine, la maison au Pollet, présentement occupée par Mr. Hannibal Sheppard, et qui appartenoit ci-devant à feu Mr. Jean La Serre. S'adresser à Mr. Abraham Le Mesurier, au Grand Carrefour, ou chez Mr. Poore, à la Ville-Neuve.

JOHN MOURANT, has a parcel of good Barcelona wine for sale.

A VENDRE—Une vache, à choisir sur deux, de couleur propre pour Angleterre, qui seront à terme le 19 Avril. S'adresser à Pierre Ogier, au Valle, proche les Bourdeaux

A VENDRE—Une génisse pleine, qui sera à terme le 27e du courant, de couleur propre pour Angleterre, comme aussi un jeune poulain, âgé d'un an. S'adresser à Thomas Le Messurier, aux Sages, à Torteval.

THE HOUSE lately occupied by John Carey, esq. at the Pied-de-la-Varde, is to let, furnished or unfurnished. For particulars, apply to John Valrent.

With regard to Jersey, it can be added that the publications of the Royal Jersey Agricultural and Horticultural Society have been in English since the year of the Society's foundation (1833). One can conclude from this that English had acquired social prestige by this date and was sufficiently widespread among the natives in Jersey, whether urban or rural.

Further proof of the growing influence of the English language can be drawn from its use in the insular parliaments (States of Guernsey, States of Jersey). At first, only Standard French was permitted during the debates of these institutions. The Norman French dialects were obviously considered not worthy enough to be used for official or public purposes. As early as 1846, the town council (*Douzaine*) of St.Peter Port in Guernsey introduced a motion to admit English as a language in the States of Guernsey. The document explaining the reasoning behind such a step contains - among others - the following arguments:

> La Douzaine sensible que dans l'état actuel de la société la langue Anglaise est la langue du commerce et de l'usage le plus général dans la dite ville et paroisse [St.Peter Port], Sensible qu'une grande partie de ses membres est dans l'incapacité de s'exprimer librement dans aucune autre langue, Sensible de l'importance d'une expression libre et facile des opinions et des sentiments de tout Député envoyé aux dits Etats, Sensible enfin que les dits Etats ont sanctionné l'usage de la langue Anglaise dans leur assemblée, en permettant à un Magistrat de la Cour Royale de se servir constamment de la dite langue, a déclaré [...].
>
> (Billet d'Etat, 1846:16)

However, the motion of the Douzaine of St.Peter Port was rejected. The same happened to a motion introduced in 1853, which pleaded for the optional use of English in the sessions of the States of Guernsey (cf. Billet d'Etat, 1853:18-23). Due to the traditional structures in the States, it took a while before English became accepted in this domain.

In 1895, the States once again discussed the issue; once again there was no majority in favour of English. By 1898, the time had finally arrived, and English was admitted - in addition to French - into the sessions of the States:

> Les Etats, tout en affirmant de nouveau l'importance de conserver la langue française comme la langue officielle du pays, ont néanmoins été d'avis, vu le grand avantage d'accorder pleine liberté de discussion dans toutes affaires traitées devant les Etats, qu'à l'avenir il sera loisible à tout membre des Etats de s'exprimer à son choix en français ou en anglais [...].
>
> (Billet d'Etat, 1898:VIII)

The deputies responsible for the motion in 1898 adopted the arguments put forward by the Douzaine of St.Peter Port in 1846 (cf. Billet d'Etat, 1846:16), and added:

> These arguments [of 1846] apply with wider scope and greater force now, half a century later. We venture to assert that it is more difficult for the Town

> Douzaines to select competent deputies able to follow a debate in French than it is for the Country Douzaines to choose Deputies who understand English. Neither legislation nor the desire to conserve old custom can avail to check the natural growth of English in Guernsey, through which it has resulted that many Guernseymen, while retaining all their love for their island and its ancient institutions, have been unable to retain Norman-French as their mother tongue.
>
> (Billet d'Etat, 1898:301-302)

Earlier on, Tupper had also given his opinion with regard to the question of English in the States:

> [...] certainly the time has arrived that such inhabitants of Guernsey as cannot express themselves freely in French and fully two-thirds of the natives cannot - should be permitted to speak in English, in the States or insular parliament. [...] nine-tenths of the members [of the States of Guernsey] perfectly understand English.
>
> (Tupper, 1876:114-115)

When Tupper points out that two thirds of the natives had no adequate command of French, he is obviously referring to Standard French. It cannot be concluded that these two thirds spoke English, because there may well have been a group of people who knew only the Norman French dialect, Guernesiais. But Tupper claims that at least a passive knowledge of English was well advanced in Guernsey at that time.

English was introduced into the States of Jersey during the same period[12]. In 1893, a motion asking for the optional use of English was rejected. In 1900, a renewed motion was successful, and from then onwards the members of the States of Jersey were also allowed to use English during the debates.

As far as language in schools was concerned, English had become the general medium of instruction in Guernsey by the end

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[12]As for Jersey, cf. Hublart (1979:32-33).

of the 19th century (cf. Tomlinson, 1981:13). Tupper (1876:491) reports on various schools in St.Peter Port that had taught exclusively in English since their foundation in 1823, 1839 and 1849. In the rural parishes, where Guernesiais was the mother tongue of most of the children, French was retained as a language of instruction until approximately 1900. Indeed, French was the only medium of instruction here until about 1870, and up to the turn of the century both English and French were used for teaching[13]:

> Gradually, however, by a method of infiltration English was being introduced and up to, say, 1900 French and English were working side by side, at least it was so in the country schools. Naturally, as most of the children in these schools only spoke patois on arrival there at 5 or 6 years of age its use had to be tolerated as well. [...] This attempt at bilingual instruction in the schools was eventually abandoned for obvious reasons and French gave way to English, its stronger and more useful rival.
> (Martel, 1965:708)

The fact that English has been the sole language of instruction in Guernsey since 1900 was further confirmed by my older informants, who stated that they were taught only in English during their childhood.

Another factor which may well have contributed to the diffusion and social prestige of English in the Channel Islands is to be seen in the existence of two renowned schools, namely Elizabeth College in Guernsey and Victoria College in Jersey,

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[13]Cf. Sjögren (1964:XIV) and Martel (1965:708). The following source reveals that bilingual education for the rural population was common in the 1860s:

"In all the parishes in the various islands there are schools for the education of the children of the farmers and small proprietors. In these instruction is given in French and English." (Ansted, 1862:553)

both along the lines of the English public schools[14]. After Elizabeth College had been given a new constitution, together with a new building, in 1824, it became an influential educational institution. It was highly praised by Inglis (1844:184-185), mainly because graduates from the University of Oxford taught at this school and because the public examinations in the summer were also organized by members of the same university.

Tupper makes a particularly interesting comment on the linguistic situation in the Channel Islands in the 19th century:

> Of the three following languages it must be remembered that the 1st [Norman French], although it is older than the second by some centuries, is still in common use among the peasantry in Guernsey - that the 2nd [Standard French] is necessarily spoken in the parochial churches, in many of the dissenting chapels, in the States, and in the proceedings, both oral and written, of the Royal Court - and that the 3rd [English] is the speech of the upper classes, throughout the island. Thus, there are <u>three</u> languages daily employed in the Anglo-Norman islands.
>
> (Tupper, 1876:54)

As Tupper observes, English was the language of the upper strata of society, from which we can deduce its considerable social prestige. Tupper's statement is confirmed by other sources. Earlier, Inglis (1844:72) had already written with regard to Jersey: "English [...] is most usually spoken in the best mixed society". And Le Cerf reports on the use of English in society and business in Jersey:

> la langue anglaise est presque généralement employée dans les rapports de société et dans les relations de commerce.
>
> (Le Cerf, 1862:109)

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[14]With regard to Elizabeth College, cf. Uttley (1966:178-179) and Inglis (1844:182-187); as for Victoria College, cf. Lemprière (1974:178-179).

The same was true of Guernsey: "l'anglais est réservé pour les rapports d'affaires et les relations de société" (Le Cerf, 1862:264).

Another important aspect is that English was particularly widespread among the population of the two main towns, St.Helier and St.Peter Port. The following extract from an article in *The Dublin University Magazine* of 1846 emphasizes the predominant position of English in St.Peter Port:

> This character of the language [Guernesiais] must, however, be limited, in its application, to the rural districts. In the town, where English is everywhere spoken, the Guernsey dialect takes a secondary place, and, as a natural consequence, is much encroached upon by its more powerful rival.
> (N.N., 1846:630)

This source is confirmed by Tupper (1876:54), who points out that the Norman French dialect was above all the language of the ordinary rural population, something which set it off against the urban population. It will be remembered that the linguistic contrast between urban and rural areas was also mentioned above, in the discussion of the introduction of English into the States of Guernsey (cf. p.33-35). As the Norman French dialect was a language characteristic of peasants and other ordinary people in the country, it was soon looked upon as backward, antiquated, uneducated and of low social prestige. In contrast to English, the dialect enjoyed but little social status. And indeed, the lack of social prestige has probably been one of the most important reasons for the decline of the Norman French dialects in the Channel Islands.

The low prestige of the dialects becomes further apparent in the fact that before the arrival of English, Standard French was preferred in public and official matters. It is indicative

that Standard French was commonly called *le bon français* (cf. Le Maistre, 1947:3). This expression has continued to exist and today the literal translation *good French* is also frequently used in English when people want to refer to the Standard French language. Standard French is considered to be civilized and correct, whereas the Norman French dialects are regarded as inferior and corrupt varieties of French, deviating from the norm of the standard. This assessment is still widespread today among the dialect speakers themselves.

In the 19th century, as Tupper (1876:54) explains, Standard French was used in the churches as well as in the insular parliaments (States) and the law-courts. Furthermore, the first newspapers in the Channel Islands appeared in French, and French was the language of instruction in school (cf. above). As far as the language in the churches was concerned, there were services both in French and in English in the town church of St.Peter Port around 1830:

> There are two French services, and one in English, performed on every Sunday; [...] There are quarterly sacraments, both in French and English.
> (Jacob, 1830:132-133)

The parallel use of English and French in the churches of St.Helier and St.Peter Port is confirmed by the following source:

> The principal services, both in the parish church of St.Helier's, Jersey, and in the town church of St.Peter's Port, Guernsey, are in French. There is, however, a garrison service on Sunday morning (in English), after the French service, at St.Peter's Port church, and a regular English service, with sermon, in the afternoon, in both parish churches.
> (Ansted, 1862:560)

As early as 1818 the Church of St.James the Less was consecrated in Guernsey, intended specifically for services in English. Uttley comments:

> This church had been built, under the patronage of Lord Saumarez, to fill the need for an Anglican service in English for the new English residents and for the upper strata of Guernsey society who were becoming more and more anglicized.
> (Uttley, 1966:179)

In 1882, the newspaper *The British Press and Jersey Times* reported on a dispute in St.Peter Port that had been caused by the newly appointed rector, G.E. Lee, who - without asking the community had stopped conducting the morning service in French and was using English instead (cf. Davies, 1982:44). The Bishop of Winchester himself was called in to settle the dispute. The outcome of the controversy was that the service continued to be held in English, and this soon became fully institutionalized. The rector refused to conduct the service in French, claiming that more people would attend a service in English and that only a very few people were against English in church anyway.

As this example illustrates, English gradually succeeded in establishing itself in the religious sphere also, an area traditionally reserved for French. The situation in the rural districts was somewhat different. Here, French was evidently in common use in the churches until the end of the 19th century. It is noteworthy in this context that the inscriptions on gravestones in the rural parishes of Guernsey were written in French up to about 1900. It is only since then that they have been written in English.

In the 19th century, French also received some support from a number of French immigrants, who settled in the Channel Islands after 1815, mainly in Jersey. There was a French quarter in St.Helier around Halkett Street and Hilgrove

Street, which came to be known as *French Lane* (cf. Lemprière, 1974:157). Moreover, the Channel Islands were a place of refuge for French exiles, in particular after Louis Napoléon's coup d'état in 1851[15]. In 1853, there were 108 French political refugees living in Jersey (cf. Lemprière, 1974:180). But there are no indications that French ever established itself during the history of the Channel Islands as a language commonly spoken by the native population (cf. also Price, 1984:208). For centuries the Norman French dialects were the ordinary language, while French (Standard French) remained confined to the public and official domains (parliament, law courts, church, school, press). The following comment by Delamaire (with reference to Jersey) can therefore be considered to be justified:

> Pendant des siècles, [...], le français fut la langue écrite officielle de l'île, mais la langue qu'on parlait communément était l'idiome local.
> (Delamaire, 1968:350)

2.3. The 20th century

The process of the anglicization of the Channel Islands has generally continued during the present century. The close economic, cultural and political links which the islands have with Great Britain have been further intensified. Since the turn of the century tourism has greatly increased. In 1913, the number of British visitors to Guernsey stood at 50,000. In Jersey, where tourism has been more important than in Guernsey, the number of holidaymakers rose to 200,000 in the course of the 1930s (cf. Uttley, 1966:188, 195). After the

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[15]One of these exiles was the French writer Victor Hugo, who lived in Jersey until 1855 and then spent the next 15 years in Guernsey, where he wrote among other works *Les Misérables*, *Les Travailleurs de la Mer* and *L'Homme qui Rit*.

First World War, the first "rich residents" came to settle in the Channel Islands for tax reasons (cf. Lemprière, 1974:215-216). As English became the only language of instruction in school at the beginning of the 20th century, it also advanced in the rural parishes, which could be seen as the strongholds of the Norman French dialects. The dialects continued to be used here as the common language within the family and among the local population, whereas English was used at school, when talking to strangers or when in town (St.Peter Port or St.Helier) (cf. Tomlinson, 1981:13).

The establishment of a regular air service in 1933 served to render the Channel Islands even more easily accessible from Great Britain. A further important factor in the continued process of anglicization was the appearance of radios, telephones and cinemas. These brought even the inhabitants of the rural areas into daily contact with English (cf. Lemprière, 1974:214-216). An event with linguistic consequences - especially with regard to Guernsey - was without doubt the evacuation of large parts of the population during the Second World War. Before the German invasion in 1940, 10,000 people from Jersey and 17,000 people from Guernsey were taken to Britain for reasons of safety (cf. Uttley, 1966:199, and Lemprière, 1974:217-218). In Guernsey it was decided to evacuate all the schoolchildren[16]. Whole classes were evacuated as a unit, in many cases without the pupils' parents. They spent the period until the end of the war in different parts of Britain. During this time those children who had grown up with Guernesiais lost contact with that language and most of them, on returning to Guernsey after the war, could speak only English. It is interesting to note that their English also included linguistic features from different regions of Britain. Martel comments:

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[16]For the evacuation of the schoolchildren cf. also Tomlinson (1981:14).

> But it [Guernesiais] received a severe, if not a fatal blow in 1940, when the children and many others left prior to the German occupation to seek safety in England, Scotland and Wales. The children, our hope for the future, returned in 1945 speaking nothing but English, some with a Scotch accent, others showing a strong Yorkshire or Lancashire influence - but all or nearly all had forgotten their 'guernesiais'.
>
> (Martel, 1964:54)

In the course of my fieldwork in Guernsey, the evacuation of the schoolchildren during the Second World War was frequently mentioned as the decisive factor in the decline of Guernesiais. However, it has to be stressed that the language shift from Guernesiais to English - as demonstrated above - had started much earlier, and that a variety of reasons played - and continue to play - a rôle in this process. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that the evacuation of the schoolchildren served to accelerate the anglicization process in Guernsey.

A considerably detailed account of the linguistic situation in Guernsey in the 1920s is provided by the Swedish linguist Sjögren, who carried out fieldwork on Guernesiais in 1926 (cf. Sjögren, 1964). He observed that English had clearly displaced Guernesiais in the urban parishes of St.Peter Port and St.Sampson by that time[17]:

> Dans les deux centres urbains, Saint-Pierre-Port (Saint Peter Port), centre commercial et culturel, et Saint-Samson (Saint Sampson's), petit port d'exportation du granit, cette lutte [entre l'anglais et le guernesiais] était déjà terminée en faveur de l'anglais. Si l'on pouvait compter sur les doigts ceux qui y parlaient encore guernesiais, le nombre de ceux qui le comprenaient n'était guère plus élevé.
>
> (Sjögren, 1964:XV)

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[17]For the individual parishes of Guernsey, cf.Map II, p.45.

Map II: The Parishes of Guernsey

With regard to the rural part of St.Sampson, Sjögren points out:

> Dans la partie rurale de la paroisse de Saint-Samson, la situation du parler normand était déjà précaire. Il y avait encore des familles pour lesquelles le guernesiais était resté la langue familiale, mais, dans la majorité des foyers, les enfants, s'ils comprenaient souvent ce qu'ils appelaient, d'un terme péjoratif, le «Guernsey gibberish», ne parlaient que l'anglais.
> (Sjögren, 1964:XV-XVI)

The derogatory term "Guernsey gibberish" once again indicates the low prestige that Guernesiais possessed among the younger generations. They were able to understand it, but showed a clear preference for English. Sjögren reports that in the parish of Vale in the north of the island Guernesiais was in decline and the number of young people with an active command of the language was limited[18]. In St.Martin, situated to the south of St.Peter Port, the young people spoke English almost exclusively. In the central parish of St.Andrew, only seven of a class of 40 children between the age of 10 and 12 spoke the Norman French dialect at home. Of the remaining 33 children, some used Guernesiais with their grandparents.

Sjögren, too, emphasizes the special social prestige of English, which contributed to the disappearance of Guernesiais:

> Il y avait, en effet, des familles où les parents, qui parlaient encore le guernesiais entre eux, tenaient à parler l'anglais en la présence des enfants, par ambition sociale, encore que leur connaissances de l'anglais fussent loin d'être satisfaisantes. Il va sans dire que la conception selon laquelle l'anglais était socialement supérieur accélérait la disparition du patois.
> (Sjögren, 1964:XVII)

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[18]For information on the individual parishes of Guernsey cf. Sjögren (1964:XV-XIX).

Sjögren's experience was confirmed by a number of my informants, who stated that their parents preferred to use English in their presence, although the parents among themselves nearly always used Guernesiais. According to my informants, their parents talked to them in English so that they would not be at a disadvantage at school, and also because English would be far more useful for them later in life than the local Norman French dialect anyhow. Sjögren found that Guernesiais was still commonly used in the rural parishes in the west and southwest of Guernsey (Câtel, St.Saviour, Forest, St.Peter in the Wood and Torteval): "Là, le guernesiais avait conservé sa primauté et était resté profondément vivant parmi la population tout entière" (Sjögren, 1964:XVIII). These parishes were both of a rural character and the most distant from the centre of English influence, St.Peter Port. There were still a very few elderly people in these parishes who did not speak English at all, while many of the younger people used Guernesiais as their everyday language. Sjögren comments on the younger generation in the parish of Câtel:

> Tous les jeunes, sauf les immigrés, comprenaient le patois, et la majorité d'entre eux, du moins dans la partie la plus éloignée de Saint-Pierre-Port, le parlait. Si, le soir, on s'arrêtait auprès d'un groupe d'adolescents, [...], on les entendait toujours parler guernesiais. C'était là leur moyen d'expression normal, et l'anglais, qu'ils avaient appris à l'école, était pour eux une langue étrangère dont ils se servaient dans les circonstances autres que celles de la vie normale.
> (Sjögren, 1964:XIX)

A report on the linguistic situation in Jersey shortly after the Second World War is provided by Le Maistre. He has been occupied with the Norman French dialect of Jersey for many years and is also the author of a comprehensive dictionary on Jèrriais (cf. Le Maistre, 1966). In his article, Le Maistre clearly points out that Jèrriais, as well as Guernesiais and

Sercquiais, is threatened with extinction and that it can only be a matter of time until the Norman French dialects of the Channel Islands - as in Alderney - cease to exist. He draws attention to the important fact that Jèrriais possesses no prestige, and that it is regarded as a corrupt and inferior form of Standard French:

> There are many, many people in the Island to-day who more than ever despise their native tongue and try to ignore it. [...] the peasant's psychology is such that he considers Jèrriais as an inferior tongue, a corruption of modern French ('lé bouon français', as he says) and of which he is more or less ashamed.
> (Le Maistre, 1947:3)

As in Guernsey, Jèrriais has been preserved above all in the rural parishes in the north of Jersey. In the urban areas, however, English clearly dominates. "In St.Helier no children have been brought up to speak Jèrriais for at least 50 years" (Le Maistre, 1947:4). Furthermore, Le Maistre doubted if there were children in the other southern parishes of St.Brélade, St.Clément, Grouville and St.Saviour speaking Jèrriais. The number of such children in the central parishes of St.Lawrence and St.Peter was constantly decreasing. The number of Jèrriais-speaking children could also be observed to be falling rapidly in the northeastern parishes of St.Martin and Trinity. According to Le Maistre, Jèrriais was best preserved in the northwest of the island, especially in the parish of St.Quen, where it was still used by children, although there were only a few children who did not speak English by the time they first entered school.

After the Second World War the number of tourists in the Channel Islands continued to rise. In 1969, 720,000 visitors came to Jersey and 230,000 to Guernsey (cf. Guillot, 1975:111). Various surveys during the last few years have shown that most of the tourists are British. They make up 91%

of the total in Guernsey and 80% in Jersey[19]. In chapter 1.3. (page 13-20) it was also demonstrated how closely the Channel Islands are linked to Great Britain today with regard to politics, economy and traffic communications.

Moreover, British immigrants have contributed to the further advance of English, very often settling in the rural areas, which means that the strongholds of the Norman French dialects have been attacked from within, so to speak. Tomlinson comments with regard to Guernsey:

> Pendant la période d'après-guerre beaucoup d'Anglais, à la recherche de la tranquillité ou de conditions économiques favorables à leurs affaires, vinrent s'installer dans l'île, souvent dans des régions rurales où, jusque là, on parlait exclusivement le guernesiais. La présence de ces nouveaux résidents et des estivants, devenus chaque année plus nombreux, détruisit l'homogénéité linguistique de ces extrémités de l'île où le patois avait résisté le plus longtemps.
>
> (Tomlinson, 1981:14-15)

Immigration from Britain has also been one reason for the general increase in the population of the Channel Islands since 1945. In Guernsey, the number of inhabitants rose from 43,603 in 1951 to 53,313 in 1981 (Census of Guernsey, 1981:11); in Jersey, there were 57,310 inhabitants in 1951 and 72,970 in 1981 (Census of Jersey, 1982:9). The extent to which the present inhabitants are not native Channel Islanders is particularly interesting and noteworthy. Information on this aspect is given in Tables 4 and 5:

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[19]Cf. chapter 1.3., p.16.

Table 4: Guernsey: Birthplace of resident population

Guernsey	36,072	67.7 %
Alderney	211	1.5 %
Sark	99	
Jersey	485	
United Kingdom	14,179	26.6 %
E.E.C.	866	4.2 %
Elsewhere	1,401	
Total	53,313	100 %

(figures from Census of Guernsey, 1981:17)

Table 5: Jersey: Birthplace of population

Jersey	38,818	53.2 %
Elsewhere in the British Isles	26,806	36.7 %
France	1,233	1.7 %
Other EEC Countries	1,732	2.4 %
Portugal	2,321	3.2 %
Elsewhere	2,060	2.8 %
Total	72,970	100 %

(figures from Census of Jersey, 1982:23)

Only 36,072 (= 67.7%) of Guernsey's 53,313 inhabitants were born on that island, while 14,179 originally came from the United Kingdom. In Jersey, only 38,818 (= 53.2%) of the inhabitants were natives, whereas 26,806 (= 36.7%) stated "born elsewhere in the British Isles". It is obvious that the relatively high proportion of native British people in the Channel Islands must also bring linguistic consequences with it.

In addition to radio, television has also become an important factor of influence since the Second World War. As a result of the mass media, the English language has been able to enter into practically every household, including those that still use the Norman French dialect within the family. Thanks to radio and television, all dialect speakers come into daily contact with English in their home environment. It is possible to receive all four main British television channels (BBC 1, BBC 2, ITV and Channel 4). In addition, there is a private regional station broadcasting in English (Channel TV), as well as local radio stations (Radio Guernsey, Radio Jersey). Both Radio Guernsey and Radio Jersey are in English, broadcasting a short news bulletin in Guernesiais or Jèrriais respectively only once a week. French television can be received in the Channel Islands if one possesses a special aerial, but people hardly ever take advantage of this opportunity.

Tomlinson (1981:15) cites the general use of cars and the flight connections with Great Britain as further reasons for the continuing decline of Guernesiais after the war. These means of transport have put an end to the relative immobility of the dialect speakers, which helped to preserve Guernesiais in the past. The local schools do not support Guernesiais, either. They have the English school system as their model and do not offer any opportunity for maintaining the local Norman French dialect.

Efforts have repeatedly been made to answer the question of how many people still speak the Norman French dialects of the

Channel Islands today. Unfortunately, the local censuses do not give any information on language use, so that all figures given so far are based on rough estimates. But it is generally agreed that the number of speakers of Guernesiais, Jèrriais and Sercquiais is steadily decreasing. Nevertheless, it appears to be problematic to give any absolute figure for the number of dialect speakers, as their proficiency in the dialect varies. For instance, there is, a group of people who can largely understand the dialect but who feel that they are not able to speak it themselves. Others can hold a conversation in the dialect only with difficulty. Other dialect speakers again do not have the opportunity to speak the dialect very often, because it may be that their husband or wife does not understand it or because their colleagues at work speak nothing but English, so that they do not feel very confident in the dialect. On the other hand, there are older people who use the dialect more or less constantly. One is therefore faced with the problem of which criteria are to be applied when ascertaining who may truly be characterized as a dialect speaker.

Some figures should nevertheless be mentioned here to give at least a rough impression of the diffusion of the dialects at the present time. Tomlinson (1981:17) estimates that there are still approximately 6,000 speakers of Guernesiais today, which would be 11% of the total population of Guernsey. However, Brasseur (1977:100) thinks: "A Guernesey, 10.000 sur les 52.000 habitants sont susceptibles de pratiquer le parler local." My fieldwork in Guernsey leads me to suspect that the figure given by Tomlinson is far more realistic.

In Sark, there are - according to Brasseur (1977:100) - still 60 speakers of Sercquiais out of a total population of 600 people, only 120 of whom were actually born on the island, however. Le Maistre agrees that there remain about 60 speakers

of Sercquiais[20]. As for Jersey, Le Maistre thinks that there are approximately 10,000 speakers of Jèrriais today, which is 13 - 14% of the total population. In 1960, Spence also believed that there were 10,000 speakers of Jèrriais (cf. Spence, 1960:11). But in an article from 1984 he says: "The number is certainly lower today, for young people are not joining the ranks of the dialect speakers" (Spence, 1984:345).

There are no speakers left of Auregnais, the Norman French dialect of Alderney. According to Le Maistre, there were still some 30 people in the 1930s who could speak Auregnais; the last natural speakers died about 25 years ago.

The rapid decline of the Norman French dialects of the Channel Islands after the Second World War is obvious. It is particularly apparent in the younger generation, in which there are hardly any dialect speakers. According to Le Maistre, only a very few people below the age of 30 can be found in Jersey who can speak the local dialect. Tomlinson confirms that the same is true for Guernsey:

> Pour les jeunes, c'est-à-dire ceux qui ont moins de 30 ans et qui sont d'ailleurs presque exclusivement anglophones, le patois est complètement incomprehensible et sans prestige.
>
> (Tomlinson, 1981:17)

Moreover, all speakers of the Norman French dialects today are bilingual; that is, they are also speakers of English. In this context, one can pose the question about the modes of use in which the Norman French dialects, on the one hand, and English, on the other, are employed within the speech community. Or, to use Fishman's terms, the question is: "Who speaks what language to whom and when?" (cf. Fishman, 1972). As mentioned above, one aspect is related to the age of the

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[20]Le Maistre's estimates of the number of dialect speakers were made during a private conversation in April 1985.

speakers: in other words, the speakers of the Norman French dialects tend to be older, the large majority today being over 50. As people below the age of 30 - with only a few exceptions - do not speak the dialects, it is reasonable to assume that there will be no more natural speakers of Guernesiais, Jèrriais and Sercquiais in the foreseeable future.

On the whole, the dialects are confined to the rural areas. In Guernsey these are found mainly in the west and southwest, in Jersey in the north and northwest. The dialect speakers tend to be typically local farmers, fishermen or simple craftsmen with a low level of mobility. Tomlinson characterizes the speakers of Guernesiais as follows:

> Généralement ce sont des gens âgés de plus de 50 ans qui travaillent sur leurs propriétés comme agriculteurs ou cultivateurs de tomates et qui ne se déplacent que très peu.
>
> (Tomlinson, 1981:16)

The children of those dialect speakers who are between 30 and 50 years of age frequently have a considerable command of Guernesiais. Normally, however, they only speak English - according to Tomlinson (1981:16) - because they want to appear modern, or because their husband or wife can speak only English, or because their place of work is in town. During my fieldwork in Guernsey I could listen to conversations in which the older people spoke Guernesiais whereas the younger ones answered in English. On such occasions it was also possible to observe the phenomenon of *code switching*. Tomlinson confirms this:

> Il faut signaler, cependant, qu'il n'est pas rare d'entendre une conversation entre des gens des deux catégories [the group of people over 50 and the group of people between 30 and 50] dans laquelle l'interlocuteur emploie le patois tandis qu'il reçoit des réponses en anglais. Au cours de ces conversations on rencontre fréquemment des phrases

> commencées en patois et terminées en anglais ou vice versa.
>
> (Tomlinson, 1981:16)

A further important restriction upon the use of the Norman French dialects of the Channel Islands is related to the interlocutor. My informants stated unanimously that they address only those people in Guernesiais of whom they know that they are able to understand the language. Consequently, the group of potential interlocutors is limited to the members of one's own family, friends, neighbours and other acquaintances. Strangers are always initially addressed in English. Furthermore, my informants agreed that there is a switch to English whenever someone joins in the conversation who does not understand Guernesiais. They saw it as impolite to continue in Guernesiais in such a case since an interlocutor who did not understand Guernesiais would otherwise be excluded from the conversation and would probably have the feeling that people were talking about her/him or were attempting to conceal something.

One sphere where Guernesiais may still be found particularly frequently is between husband and wife in older couples where both partners are dialect speakers. Some of these people in fact claimed that they speak Guernesiais at home more or less constantly. But they, too, switch to English if anyone comes along who does not understand Guernesiais. Another reason for the rapid decline of Guernesiais as a language within the family is the inability of one of the partners to understand the dialect, the consequence being an abandonment by the dialect speaker of his or her dialect and the adoption of English instead. It is only in very rare cases that an English-speaking partner has learned the Norman French dialect.

The fact that the Norman French dialects are used solely in family circles and between acquaintances implies - and this is mentioned here only for the sake of completeness - that they

do not play a rôle in other domains of language behaviour (cf. Fishman, 1972:18ff.) such as school, the press, or administration.

In the light of the considerable period of time during which the Norman French dialects and English have been in a contact situation in the Channel Islands, the occurrence of borrowing and interference phenomena will hardly be surprising[21]. English influence on the dialects can be shown at various linguistic levels. It is particularly obvious in the lexicon. The frequent use of anglicisms can be explained on the one hand by a decrease in the knowledge of the dialects, along with the consequent increase in the use of English terms. On the other hand, borrowings from English are commonly used for many concepts of modern life for which there are no words in the dialects. Thus, for example, English terms have been taken over for technical innovations such as *car*, *television*, *bike*, *wireless*. Spence comments on the lexical borrowings from English:

> Many anglicisms have come into use over the centuries - cf. the widespread use in the dialects of forms based on *blacking (= shoe polish)*, *cook*, *kiss*, *shop* and so on - and as individual islanders' knowledge of the dialects becomes less secure, so they use more and more anglicisms. All recent technical vocabulary is inevitably English, so conversations about motor vehicles, modern machines and techniques are copiously sprinkled with English words (cf. [ɑ: ty frymɛ le tɔplaits d la gri:nhaus ?] *Have you closed the toplights of the greenhouse*?).
>
> (Spence, 1984:347)

People in the Channel Islands are very conscious that the Norman French dialects are threatened with extinction, and efforts are being made by individuals and institutions to pre-

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[21]Cf. Brasseur (1977:101), Collas (1934:224-225), Le Maistre (1947:5, 11), Sjögren (1964:XIVff.), Spence (1984: 347).

serve the local language and culture. This is also one of the aims of *La Société Jersiaise* and *La Société Guernesiaise*. The latter includes a *Philological Section*, which is specifically concerned with the study and preservation of Guernesiais. Other institutions exclusively dedicated to the Norman French dialects are *L'Assembllaïe d'Guernesiais* (founded in 1956) in Guernsey, and *L'Assembliée d'Jèrriais* (founded in 1951) together with the *Don Balleine Trust* (founded in 1943) in Jersey. These societies organize meetings, public lectures, drama productions and religious services in order to promote thereby the use of Guernesiais and Jèrriais. They also strive to preserve the dialects in their written form by means of various publications[22]. The influence of the societies is limited, however. *L'Assembllaïe d'Guernesiais* has more than 500 members, but according to the president of this society, Mrs. M. Torode, only 100 can be called active members. Moreover, it is quite curious that the language employed at the annual meetings of *L'Assembllaïe d'Guernesiais* is by no means exclusively Guernesiais, English also being used on this particular social occasion.

Some years ago, an attempt was made in a school in Guernsey to teach children Guernesiais on a voluntary basis. The instruction was not very intensive (30 minutes once a week after school), and after some time the whole project had to be abandoned because of a lack of interest on the part of the children. Additional problems were that the people giving the lessons had no training in language teaching and that there was a lack of teaching material. In 1985 and 1986 it was also possible to learn Guernesiais in evening classes. However, the number of people who made the effort to acquire knowledge in

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[22] *L'Assembllaïe d'Guernesiais* produces an annual bulletin in Guernesiais. From 1952 to 1977 *L'Assembliée d'Jèrriais* published a quarterly bulletin in Jèrriais (*Bulletin d'Quart d'An*), which was succeeded in 1979 by the half-yearly *Chroniques du Don Balleine*, also in Jèrriais.

Guernesiais in this way was limited. As far as Jèrriais is concerned, there is a textbook by Birt (1985), intended to promote the teaching and revival of Jèrriais.

Mention should also be made of the various dictionaries that have been compiled in Guernsey and Jersey to preserve the dialects at least in a written form. The first to appear was Metivier's *Dictionnaire* on Guernesiais, which dates back to the 19th century (Metivier, 1870). In 1924, *La Société Jersiaise* published a *Glossaire du Patois Jersiais* (*Société Jersiaise*, 1924). The most comprehensive and important lexicographical work on Jèrriais is the dictionary by Le Maistre (1966), who is also the editor of a collection of tape recordings in Jèrriais (Le Maistre, 1979). As for Guernesiais, there is the *Dictiounnaire Angllais - Guernesiais* by de Garis (1982). All the aforementioned dictionaries face the problem of spelling, as is generally true for all linguistic varieties that have no codified orthography. Unfortunately, the dictionaries do not include a phonetic transcription. The notation of the lexical items is based on a graphical system that principally employs the orthography of French, extended with the help of diacritical marks and combinations of letters. However, the graphical systems used in the dictionaries lack uniformity and clarity, which reduces their value for the linguist.

As far as linguistic research on the Norman French dialects is concerned, the following publications should be noted: Brasseur (1977, 1978), Collas (1934), Lewis (1895), Sjögren (1964), Spence (1957a and b, 1960, 1984, 1985, 1987) and Tomlinson (1981). As mentioned above, the Channel Islands are also included in the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (cf. Gilliéron/Edmont, 1902ff.) and the *Atlas Linguistique et Ethnographique Normand* (cf. Brasseur, 1980ff.).

The rôle of Standard French in the Channel Islands during the 20th century also needs to be discussed[23]. Although French is still one of the official languages in both bailiwicks, it has been superseded by English in all spheres and is used today only for certain formal and ceremonial purposes. In 1926, English was declared to be an official language of the States of Guernsey alongside French (cf. Billet d'Etat, 1926:5). The official records of the States proceedings (*Billet d'Etat*), which had been exclusively in French up to this date, were thereafter written partly in English and partly in French until 1946. Since then English alone has been used for the *Billet d'Etat*. As for the proceedings and documents of the Royal Court, the parties involved had had a choice between English and French for a long time. The consequence of this was that English became the norm in the course of time and today it is the only language used in court.

As Price (1984:214) reports, English was declared the recognized language of the States of Jersey in 1946, and it was decided that French should be retained only for formal and official occasions. During the 20th century, English quickly became the dominating language in the Royal Court of Jersey as well. According to Le Bois (1976:8), a trial in French in the 1930s was rare, while an interpreter would be needed today if one of those involved could speak only French. In Jersey and Sark, French is still used in one particular field, namely in property conveyancing. In Guernsey, English replaced French in this sphere in 1969.

French traditionally held a strong position as a language of worship. Just after the Second World War, Le Maistre (1947:9) noted that Wesleyan Methodism had "contributed considerably to preserve the French language" but he also pointed out that a service conducted in French had become very rare. Today, there

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[23]Cf. also Price (1984:213-215) and, especially for Jersey, Hublart (1979:33-36).

are no longer regular church services in French, with the exception of Catholic masses in a church in St.Helier and another in St.Peter Port. However, they are intended for French-speaking inhabitants and guests rather than for the native population.

Standard French has lost its former functions in the public sphere and today it merely plays a rôle on certain formal or ceremonial occasions. Thus, for example, the prayers at the beginning of the sessions of the States in Guernsey and Jersey are said in French. During votes by acclamation the deputies in the States use *pour* and *contre*. When the roll is called they answer *présent*, and if anyone is absent formulas such as *absent de l'île*, *malade*, *indisposé* or *excusé* are used. During the debates themselves one encounters French expressions such as *projet de loi*, *requête*, and *sursis*, as well as terms that are also commonly employed by the whole population, such as *conseiller*, *douzaine* and others.

Further evidence for the widespread use of French in the Channel Islands in former times can be seen in inscriptions on older buildings such as *Ecole élémentaire* or *Salle paroissiale*. The numerous place-names and street-names of French origin (e.g. *La Rue de l'Eglise*, *La Rue du Tertre*) or Norman French origin (*La Route des Camps*, *La Rue du Douit*)[24] are equally striking to see. And one should not forget the many French surnames, which are admittedly nearly always combined

[24]A list of the pronunciation of place-names in the Channel Islands is included in Pointon (1983:269-274).

with English Christian names today[25].

What are the chances of survival for the Norman French dialects of the Channel Islands in the future? In a simple consideration of the age structure of the speakers, the situation of Jèrriais, Guernesiais and Sercquiais must be described as very critical. A revival of the dialects seems very doubtful. The people and institutions that do their best to preserve the dialects are generally pessimistic about the future. So far, they have not succeeded in winning larger sections of the population for their cause. Even today, the dialects do not enjoy much social prestige. Too many people for too long a time have considered them as "peasant", "backward", "countrified" or "semi-literate". Indeed, during my fieldwork in Guernsey I observed that speakers of Guernesiais were smiled at in the pub and that people told jokes about them.

There is little doubt among experts that the Norman French dialects of the Channel Islands will die out in the foreseeable future - most probably within the next 50 years. This

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[25]The use of names is indicative of the linguistic change in the Channel Islands. In the early phase of the language contact between English and Norman French, English surnames were phonetically changed or translated:
"Les Anglais qui s'etablissaient dans les îles voyaient leur nom expliqué ou déformé, sinon traduit. Un de mes amis me signalait, il n'y a guère, la mention dans un registre paroissial de Serk du mariage d'une fille de l'endroit «avec un Engloys surnommé Ironarm, autrement dit Bras-de-Fer», et dans la même petite île de Serk on prononce encore *Boincâr* le nom de *Baker* introduit très anciennement d'Angleterre." (Lechanteur, 1957:248)

Today the situation is reversed. As Le Maistre (1947:10) notes, family-names and place-names are often anglicized: "[...] peculiar renderings are Bree for Brée, Loose for Luce, Syvry for Syvret, and Major for Mauger. [...] Place names also suffer from anglicization. [...] Devil's Hole, Five Mile Road, Six Roads, Swiss Valley which all have good old names. Then there are atrocities as 'The Dike' for Le Dicq, 'Millard's Corner' for La Grande Charrière."

view is also shared by such ardent supporters of the dialects as Frank Le Maistre in Jersey and Marie de Garis in Guernsey[26]. Finally, two linguists may be quoted who conclude their articles on the Channel Islands in the following terms:

> It is sad to think that what has been a fundamental component of local culture in the Channel Islands should be threatened with rapid extinction, but one feels that unless there is a miracle, the local vernaculars will have disappeared completely within fifty years, and probably even earlier.
>
> (Spence, 1984:351)

> It can only be a matter of a few decades at most before Jersey, Guernsey and Sark are as anglicized as Alderney already is.
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> (Price, 1984:215)

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[26]Both gave their opinions in personal discussions with the author.

3. Language contact and linguistic variation

3.1. Research on language contact

The preceding analysis of the linguistic situation in the Channel Islands has shown that Guernsey offers an example of language contact: that is, English comes into contact there with Guernesiais. The direct point of language contact is to be found with bilingual individuals, those people who speak both Guernesiais and English. The English monolinguals are indirectly involved in this language contact, as they live in a community that includes bilinguals.

Interest in language contacts goes back quite a long way; however, it was not until the 1950s that in-depth research in this field first began. Pioneering work on language contact was conducted by Uriel Weinreich and Einar Haugen, their publications *Languages in Contact* (Weinreich, 1953) and *Bilingualism in the Americas* (Haugen, 1956) proving to be very influential for later research and providing the first major contributions towards a theory of language contact. Both Weinreich's and Haugen's works were based on their own research results on language contacts. Weinreich had examined Romansch-German bilingualism in southern Switzerland in particular, while Haugen had investigated the contact between Norwegian and English in the United States.

A survey of the research on language contact until the mid-1970s is given by Haugen (1973) and Clyne (1975)[1]. Since that

[1]For a comprehensive bibliography of research on language contact cf. Clyne (1975:195ff.) and especially Mackey (1972).

time, the interest in language contact has continued unabated. Examples of the many other works include the more recent collections of papers by Kolb et al. (1977), Ureland (1979), Nelde (1980, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c, 1983d), Meid/Heller (1981), Jongen et al. (1983) and Oksaar (1984). An examination of the literature on language contact soon reveals quite clearly that it is an interdisciplinary field of research, one in which linguistic, sociological, psychological, communicative, pedagogical and political aspects all have their part to play. It is often well-nigh impossible to separate the different aspects in each individual case. The different perspectives from which language contacts can be examined are equally apparent in the report by Clyne. He deals with four major fields of research, of which a short summary will be given here:

a.) the field 'language' (Clyne, 1975:16ff.)
- refers to the aspect of linguistics proper. The focus is on the linguistic analysis of the languages that are in contact with each other. Of major interest is the question of interference (mutual influence between languages) in its various forms, together with the causes. Other important aspects within the linguistic analysis are, for example, the integration of loanwords, the switching from one language to another within a single sentence or text (*code switching*), the interrelation between language contact and linguistic change, and pidginization and creolization.

b.) the field 'bilingual(s)' (Clyne, 1975:66ff.)
- refers to the psycholinguistic aspect. Relevant factors are, for example, second-language acquisition, the cognitive development of bilingual children, bilingual education at school, the dominance of a given language, the interdependence of linguistic systems, and psychological aspects of interference and code switching.

c.) the field 'speech community' (Clyne, 1975:99ff.)
- refers to the sociolinguistic aspect. The interrelationship of language and society is examined and the social functions of the languages in contact are analysed, especially in connection with the question: *Who speaks what language to whom and when?* (cf. Fishman, 1972). Other aspects relevant to the sociolinguistic aspect include language maintenance and language shift, diglossia and bilingualism, and language planning and policy.

d.) the field 'communication process' (Clyne, 1975:151ff.)
- refers to the pragmalinguistic aspect. Topics discussed in this field include speech acts, the rôle relationships of the speakers, culture-dependent rules of communication, verbal and nonverbal communication, and the decoding of utterances.

After presenting these four fields of research, Clyne (1975:177ff.) considers the practical application of the research on language contact. It can indeed be of assistance in solving many kinds of practical problems, such as the language acquisition of bilingual children, bilingual education at school, language instruction for immigrant children, and second-language acquisition in different age groups.

Without doubt, language contact in Guernsey could also be examined from different perspectives. As the title of the present study indicates, however, we are primarily concerned here with a linguistic analysis (cf. field a. above). Important aspects arising from the sociolinguistic situation (cf. field c. above) have already been discussed in chapter 2.

3.2. Interference and transference

An essential aspect of the linguistic analysis is the investigation of the extent to which the languages in contact influence each other. Weinreich uses the term *interference* for all forms of such mutual influence between languages:

> Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as *interference* phenomena. It is these phenomena of speech, and their impact on the norms of either language exposed to contact, that invite the interest of the linguist.
> The term interference implies the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language [...].
>
> (Weinreich, 1953:1)

According to Weinreich, interference presupposes the existence of a bilingual person. The familiarity of this person with two linguistic systems can result in elements of the one language becoming transferred to the other, the norm of the respective languages being violated thereby and their structure changed. The term *interference* causes problems, however, on account of its use in the literature being by no means uniform[2]. Haugen, for example, differentiates between *interference*, *switching* and *integration*[3]:

> Precision would thus require us to distinguish three stages in diffusion: (1) *switching*, the alternate use of two languages, (2) *interference*, the over-

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[2]For a discussion of the term *interference* cf. Tesch (1978:31ff.), Schottmann (1977) and Hellinger (1980). As for the numerous publications on linguistic interference, cf. the bibliography by Dechert et al. (1984).

[3]For a distinction between *interference*, *code-switching* and *integration* cf. also Baetens Beardsmore (1982:41ff.).

> lapping of two languages, and (3) *integration*, the regular use of material from one language in another, so that there is no longer either switching or overlapping, except in a historical sense.
> (Haugen, 1956:40)

Juhász defines interference in a much broader sense, stating that interference is also possible within a single linguistic system:

> Interferenz ist die durch die Beeinflussung von Elementen einer anderen oder der gleichen Sprache verursachte Verletzung einer sprachlichen Norm bzw. der Prozeß dieser Beeinflussung.
> (Juhász, 1973:646)

In the light of the differing uses of the term *interference*, Clyne suggests *transference* and *transfer* as terms for all forms of influence between languages:

> Wir werden [...] den schon bei Weinreich (1953) vorkommenden Terminus *Transferenz* gebrauchen für die Übernahme von Elementen, Merkmalen und Regeln aus einer anderen Sprache [...]. Als *Transfer* wird jede Transferenzerscheinung bezeichnet werden. Transferenz umfaßt auch Erscheinungen bei Einsprachigen, die auf den Sprachkontakt anderer Sprecher zurückzuführen sind [...].
> (Clyne, 1975:16)

According to Clyne's definition, *transference* denotes the process, *transfer* the result, when elements, features or rules are adopted from another language. The following chapters will also employ *transference* and *transfer* as general terms for the mutual influence between languages. The term *interference* has a possible disadvantage in that it is one of the central notions in contrastive linguistics, where it normally denotes the interfering influence of the mother tongue in foreign-language learning[4]. As a result, it has a somewhat negative

[4]Cf. Hellinger (1977:10ff.) and Hellinger (1980).

connotation, something which is also apparent in the description of interference as "negative transfer" (cf. Hellinger, 1980:192). But interference can only be rated as negative from a normative point of view. From a linguistic point of view, the mutual influence between languages in natural contact situations such as that in Guernsey is neither good nor bad, but merely a fact that has to be acknowledged and taken into account in linguistic analysis.

Transference phenomena potentially occur on all linguistic levels, and the different linguistic levels in fact frequently form the basis for the classification of transference phenomena[5]. Thus, Weinreich (1953:64-65) distinguishes between phonic, grammatical and lexical interference. Additional distinctions are possible. Weinreich (1953:18-19) subdivides phonic interference into *under-differentiation of phonemes*, *over-differentiation of phonemes*, *reinterpretation of distinctions* and *phone substitution*. Clyne (1975:17-18) demonstrates in a survey how varied transference phenomena can be. He lists the following types of transference:

lexical: the transference of lexemes (form and context), e.g. *Playboy* in German.

semantic: the transference of sememes (units of meaning), e.g. the German verb *realisieren* in the sense of 'to be fully conscious, to understand' following the English model *to realize*.

morphemic: the transference of bound morphemes, e.g. *Düsseldorfer* used as an adjective in English.

morphological: the transference of a word-formational process, e.g. *house-door* following the model *Haustür* in German.

phonematic: the transference of a phoneme (or its absence), e.g. the use of /v/ instead of /w/ by German learners of English.

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[5]Cf. Tesch (1978:83ff.) or Juhász (1973:647-648).

phonic: the transference of a phone, e.g. the use of [l] instead of [ɬ] by German learners of English.

prosodic: the transference of suprasegmental features of a language such as stress, rhythm, pause or pitch contour.

tonematic: the transference of tonemes from tone languages (e.g. Norwegian) or the absence of distinctions made by tonemes in tone languages under the influence of a non-tonal language.

syntactic: the transference of a syntactic rule, e.g. the position of the verb in a subordinate clause: *wenn ich war jung* following English word order.

lexico-syntactic: the simultaneous transference of a syntactic rule and of a related lexeme (or several related lexemes, e.g. *if der Vater hat keine Farm*.

typematic: the transference of a letter, e.g. *Grunde* instead of *Gründe* in German.

graphematic: the transference of a grapheme, i.e. a group of letters that represent one phoneme in another language, e.g. /ʃ/ in *shreiben* instead of *schreiben* under the influence of English.

lexico-graphematic: the transference of a whole word following the graphematic rules of one language in order to replace a homophone in a second language, e.g. *house* instead of *Haus* in German.

Hellinger (1977:12-15) does not classify phenomena of "interference"[6] according to linguistic levels, but describes instead individual types of "interference", which are independent of a particular linguistic level. She differentiates between:

a) *substitution:* Under this heading Hellinger deals with two different cases. The condition for case no. 1 is that the

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[6] In contrastive linguistics, *interference* is the usual term for any form of inter- or intralinguistic influence and it is also used accordingly by Hellinger.

foreign language include an element that has no equivalent in the native language. In this case, the learner follows the principle of greatest possible approximation; that is, he replaces the foreign element by the native one that bears the greatest similarity to the foreign element. A typical example of this kind of "interference" is the substitution of /s/ for /θ/ and /z/ for /ð/ by German learners of English. As there are no dental fricatives in the phonological system of German, words such as /θɪn/ or /ðɪs/ are pronounced */sɪn/ and */zɪs/. The similarity between /θ/ and /s/ is to be seen in the fact that both sounds are voiceless fricatives. When /θ/ is replaced by /s/ merely the place of articulation is changed, from dental to alveolar. A corresponding similarity exists between /ð/ and /z/ the only difference being that these sounds are voiced. At the level of syntax so-called word-for-word translation can also be interpreted as substitution. Here, a native syntactic pattern is transferred to the foreign language, e.g.: **Play you football?* (*Spielst du Fußball?* in German). As case no. 2, Hellinger discusses the application of native distributional rules to a foreign language in connection with elements that occur in both languages. Voiced consonants are possible in word-final position in English but not in German. As a consequence of the distributional rules of German, the German learner of English is likely to replace voiced consonants in word-final positions with their respective voiceless sounds. Thus, for example, /hed/ will be pronounced */het/.

b) *over-/under-differentiation:* Weinreich (1953:18) employs these terms only for the phonological level. According to Hellinger, however, they can also be applied to the syntactic and lexical level. Over-differentiation occurs if a differentiation is made in the foreign language under the influence of the native language, although this differentiation does not exist in the foreign language itself. The distinction made between *gehen* and *fahren* in German can induce the German learner

of English to use **drive home* instead of *go home*. In contrast, under-differentiation occurs if an obligatory differentiation in the foreign language goes unnoticed by the learner because his native language does not make this differentiation. The German verb *bringen* has two equivalents in English, namely *to bring* and *to take*, depending on the direction of movement. This can cause the German learner to form a sentence such as **Can you bring me to the station?*

c) *over-/under-representation:* Over- or under-representation manifests itself in a deviation from the normal frequency of linguistic structures in a foreign language due to the influence of the native language. This type of "interference" cannot be identified directly as a mistake; rather, it only becomes apparent in longer sequences of text as certain linguistic structures occur too frequently (over-representation) or too rarely (under-representation). It is not possible, for instance, to delete the relative pronoun in German as it is in English: *the man I saw* instead of *the man that (whom, who) I saw*. It can therefore be assumed that a German learner of English prefers the construction with relative pronoun and uses it too often (over-representation). On the other hand, he will delete the relative pronoun not often enough, thus preventing the construction without relative pronoun from reaching its usual frequency in English (under-representation)[7].

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[7]Hellinger discusses two other types of "interference", namely *over-generalization* and *hypercorrection*. They are different from the others because they are intrastructural, i.e. they can be explained within one linguistic system and are not caused by language contact.

Over-generalization can occur both in first-language acquisition and in foreign-language learning. A rule that has been internalized is transferred to cases in which this rule is not applicable, e.g. in analogy to the regular formation of the past tense (*love - loved*), forms such as **drived* or **teached* are produced. According to Hellinger, hypercorrection as such is not regarded as a mistake. But in combination with other - especially extralinguistic - factors it can help to identify speakers as belonging to a particular social class. As an ex-

3.3. Aspects of the linguistic variation in Guernsey

In view of the language contact in Guernsey between English and Guernesiais, it is self-evident that a study of the variation of English will deal with the question which features of English can be attributed to Guernesiais influence. In other words, the task here is to identify those features which can be explained by transference from Guernesiais. The analysis can obviously take into consideration only those features demonstrating a deviation from Standard English. An influence by Guernesiais that supports structures of the standard language is possible, at least theoretically. From a linguistic point of view, however, such an influence cannot be pursued any further, because it is no longer possible to identify those transference phenomena which support standard structures.

As far as transference phenomena from Guernesiais are concerned, there is also the necessity of taking the diachronic aspect into consideration. During the time when the language shift to English was not as advanced as is the case today, there existed - above all in the rural areas - a substantial number of speakers of Guernesiais who were not really familiar with English. Their daily language was Guernesiais and they used English only exceptionally, for example during an occasional visit to town or when talking to strangers. There were still people in Guernsey in the 1950s who could speak little or no English. Some of my informants assured me that during that period the English of people normally speaking Guernesiais was even more strongly marked by transference phenomena than today. These speakers had a typical pronunciation of their own and used certain syntactic structures. Thus, they

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ample of hypercorrect language behaviour she cites the use of postvocalic /r/ in words such as *guard* or *far* by the lower middle class in New York (cf. Labov, 1966).

frequently translated their Guernesiais "word for word" into English.

Moreover, it is realistic to assume - and there are parallels in comparable language contact situations - that certain features of transference became well established in English in the course of time and were passed on to subsequent generations. The result of this may be that features of transference can occur even in the speech of people who are no longer speakers of Guernesiais. This would mean that Guernesiais exercises a substratum influence on English[8].

It is certainly interesting and worthwhile within a study of the variation of English in Guernsey to search for features of transference. In my view, however, one would not be justified in confining oneself solely to this aspect. It is equally important to examine the extent to which influence has been - and still is - exerted by other varieties[9] of English, espe-

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[8]Clyne (1975:51) cites a number of speech communities in which the influence of a language can be shown, although the people themselves no longer speak this language. A substratum influence of German is evident, for example, in the English of the American Midwest or in the English of certain rural areas in Southern Australia. Bähr (1974:155ff.) discusses the substratum influence of Gaelic on English in the Scottish Highlands.

[9]The term *variety* is to be understood as a relative linguistic entity. Depending on the purpose of a linguistic analysis, one can differentiate - with a certain degree of abstraction - between more or less specific forms of a language that are to be considered as a whole. In this way, we can speak for example of the variety *Scottish English* to characterize the form of English used in Scotland. Should it be necessary or desirable, however, we can also distinguish within Scottish English between further varieties such as *Glasgow English* or even *working class Glasgow English*, etc.

A distinction commonly made in linguistics is related to the terms *accent* and *dialect*, which will also be used in this study where appropriate. *Accent* denotes a linguistic variety that is distinguished from other varieties through pronunciation. *Dialect* refers to a variety that is different from other varieties in terms of grammar and, possibly, vocabulary.

cially British English. It can easily be seen that features occurring in varieties of British English are also found in Guernsey because of the manifold contacts of Guernsey with Great Britain and in particular because of the great number of British immigrants. As pointed out in chapter 2.3., non-natives make up one third of the present population of Guernsey. And it is safe to assume that the immigrants do not speak Standard English exclusively. It is therefore quite likely that the immigrants have brought with them nonstandard features from other varieties and have contributed to their diffusion in Guernsey.

The influence of other varieties of English on the English of Guernsey also has to be considered under a diachronic perspective. Contacts between Guernsey and Great Britain have steadily expanded during the 19th and 20th centuries, and even in the 19th century a considerable number of British people lived in Guernsey[10] who could have acted as mediators of nonstandard features. When dealing with the individual nonstandard features of English in Guernsey, it is necessary to discuss the possibility of transference from Guernesiais. On the other hand, it is also important to examine whether the use of a particular feature is paralleled in other varieties of English.

As for the terms *variety*, *accent*, *dialect* cf. for example Chambers/Trudgill (1980:5).

[10]Cf. chapter 2.2.

4. Collection of data

4.1. Preliminary remarks

As the linguistic literature and various works of reference provided only little information on the status and use of English in Guernsey, it was necessary first of all to carry out a pilot study to clarify certain practical and methodological questions. A ten-day visit to Guernsey in the spring of 1985 made possible an exploration of the general linguistic situation through conversations with local people. Moreover, local libraries could be checked for any relevant material, and they indeed contained some very useful sources of information about the linguistic history of Guernsey.

During this first visit a number of tape recordings with people of differing social backgrounds were also made, including people from St.Peter Port and rural areas, speakers of Guernesiais and monolingual speakers of English, males and females. These recordings enabled the testing of various interview techniques and topics and their analysis with regard to the use of nonstandard features. The actual interviews with the selected informants which form the basis of this study took place during a two-month stay in Guernsey in the autumn of 1985.

4.2. Selection of informants

One of the central questions that has to be answered in connection with empirical studies on language is related to the

selection of informants[1]. Traditional dialectologists have characteristically been interested in a particular type of informant, which Chambers/Trudgill (1980:33ff.) refer to with the acronym *NORM*, the individual letters of which stand for *non-mobile*, *older*, *rural*, and *male*. The informants for the SED, for example, were also informants of this type: that is, they were local people from rural areas with an agricultural background. They were almost exclusively above the age of 60 and most of them were men[2]. The reason for selecting older, male, local people from rural areas is obvious. In traditional dialectology, one is interested in a special kind of linguistic data, namely in the traditional rural dialects. One wishes to record them before they disappear altogether. It is beyond question that the selection of *NORM* informants only takes into consideration a particular social group of speakers and cannot be representative of the whole population. However, it should be pointed out that traditional dialectology lays no claim to representativeness.

If one wants to make qualified statements about the linguistic behaviour of the total population of a region or town, it is necessary that one adopt an adequate method of selection. It is not sufficient for the fieldworker to choose his informants more or less arbitrarily on the basis of personal contacts, because the results may become biased and distorted. It is in

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[1]As for the selection of informants in dialectology cf. Francis (1983:66ff.), Petyt (1980:110ff.) and Viereck (1975a: 10ff.).

[2]The introductory volume of the SED states: "Great care was taken in choosing the informants. Very rarely were they below the age of sixty. They were mostly men: in this country men speak vernacular more frequently, more consistently, and more genuinely than women. Bilingual speakers could not be shunned: as a result of our educational system, the inhabitants of the English countryside can readily adjust their natural speech to the social situation in which they may find themselves. But dialect speakers whose residence in the locality had been interrupted by significant absences were constantly regarded with suspicion." (Orton, 1962:15-16).

fact a requirement that more objective methods of informant selection be applied. As it is not feasible to interview every individual person in a given population, the aim of the selection procedure must be to obtain a group of informants that is as representative as possible. The so-called *scientific random sample* plays a central rôle in achieving this. The basic principle of a random sample is that everybody in a population must have an equal chance of belonging to the group of informants that is actually interviewed later on.

In the wake of Labov (1966), a number of sociolinguistic studies appeared in Great Britain that were concerned to work with a group of informants that was representative of the whole population[3]. Trudgill (1974), for example, comments on his sample of 60 informants in Norwich:

> The sample is large enough and sufficiently scientifically devised to permit reasonably confident assertions to be made concerning the population as a whole, and small enough to permit accurate and intensive study over a limited period of time.
> (Trudgill, 1974:21)

But the employment of random sampling also involves certain problems[4]. Thus, there are no definite guidelines in dialectology as to how many informants have to be selected so that the group of informants is truly representative of the whole population[5]. Labov (1966) carried out interviews with a total of 155 people for his study in New York. He holds the view that a relatively small number of informants is sufficient for reliable statements with regard to the social stratification of linguistic variables:

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[3]Cf. also Heath (1980) and Petyt (1985).

[4]A critical examination of selecting informants by means of random sampling can be found in an article by Romaine (1980:166ff.).

[5]Cf. also Radden (1979:19ff.) and Pollner (1985:136-137).

> [...] we find that the basic patterns of class stratification, for example, emerge from samples as small as 25 speakers. [...] From a very large sample of 700 interviews, 25 were selected for analysis, and extremely regular patterns of social stratification emerged for a number of linguistic variables.
>
> (Labov, 1972:204)

A comparison of several studies in Britain reveals considerable differences with regard to the size of the group of informants considered representative. Trudgill (1974) interviewed a total of 60 people in Norwich, which at that time had 118,000 inhabitants (ratio 1:1,967). For his study in Cannock (Staffordshire), Heath (1980) chose 80 informants from the electoral register, which included 34,423 people (ratio 1:430)[6]. The random sample of Petyt (1985) in West Yorkshire (Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield) consisted of 98 informants. Here the electoral register with 371,172 people also served as the basis for the sample (ratio 1:3,787).

The current high mobility of the population leads to the problem that a random sample may include people who are non-natives. Here again, different solutions have been put forward. Trudgill (1974:25) considered only those persons who had previously lived in Norwich or East Anglia for at least 10 years. In Petyt's study (1985:59), it was a requirement that the informants had lived in the area of Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield from the age of 11 onwards. An exclusion of non-natives from the linguistic analysis in any sort of way inevitably means that the selected group of informants is less representative of the total population of a town or region.

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[6]The obvious disadvantage of taking the electoral register as the basis of a random sample is that only those people can be reached who have the right to vote. People below the age of 18 either have to be disregarded or must be selected in a separate sampling procedure. As there is no comprehensive registration of inhabitants at a local level in Britain, however, the electoral register remains the most efficient basis for a random sample.

Further reductions in the representativeness of a random sample result from the impossibility of interviewing certain informants on grounds of absence, illness or senility, while others may simply refuse to take part in an interview.

On the other hand, several more recent studies dispense with a representative random sample. Their aim is to analyse the linguistic behaviour of particular social groups, and the selection of the informants is not based on statistical methods. In her study of three working-class districts in Belfast, Milroy (1980:40ff.) used the concept of *social network*. She found her informants through private contacts and introduced herself to the individual informants as "a friend of a friend". Similarly, it is not the aim of Cheshire (1982) to interview a representative cross-section of the population of Reading or to demonstrate that linguistic variables correlate with certain extralinguistic factors. She specifically analyses the variety of English spoken by working-class adolescents in Reading.

> The relationship that exists between the socioeconomic status of speakers and their use of nonstandard variable forms has been well documented, and no attempt will be made to replicate these findings here. Instead, the analysis focuses on speakers of a single socioeconomic class (the "working class"), in an attempt to gain some insight into the more subtle aspects of variation.
>
> (Cheshire, 1982:1)

Cheshire met her informants on two adventure playgrounds, which she frequented over a longer period of time. She established a friendly relationship with the youngsters and recorded their conversations on tape.

Another example of a linguistic study that is concerned with a particular social group is Edwards (1986). Edwards' informants are 45 blacks from Dudley (West Midlands) between the age of 16 and 23, all born in Britain as children of immigrants from

Jamaica. Edwards (1986:52ff.) expressly states that it is not possible to achieve a random sample of young black speakers in Britain[7]. Edwards' alternative was to work with a judgement sample. In this sampling procedure, certain criteria (such as social class, age, sex, and ethnic group) are first laid down in order to define exactly the type of informant relevant for the study. Thereafter, only those informants are selected who comply with the various criteria.

Following a consideration of the various possibilities with regard to the present study, I decided not to use a random sample. Accordingly, it is not my intention to infer the linguistic behaviour of the total population from a representative group of informants[8]. The selection of informants is based on criteria that seemed especially relevant from a linguistic point of view. First of all, those people were of particular interest to me who were still speakers of Guernesiais. The aim was to identify the nonstandard features of these speakers and to investigate which features can possibly be explained in terms of a transference from Guernesiais. Altogether, 20 speakers of Guernesiais (10 males, 10 females) were selected as informants. Certain restrictions imposed themselves through the choice of Guernesiais speakers. As nearly all Guernesiais speakers live today in the rural parishes in the west and southwest of Guernsey, my informants

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[7]According to Edwards, the reasons for this are, first, the irregular social and geographical distribution of the black population in Britain, and secondly, the absence of a suitable register for obtaining a random sample. There are no lists in Britain providing information on the ethnicity of the population.

[8]A random sample seemed particularly inappropriate in the light of the heterogeneous population structure in Guernsey. Almost a third of the present inhabitants were not born in the island but originate from different parts of Great Britain (cf. chapter 2.3., p.49-51). Thus, the problem with a random sample would have been whether and to what extent non-natives should be included in the study.

likewise came from this area (Torteval, St.Peter in the Wood, Forest, St.Saviour, Câtel, cf. Map II, p.45). They were all natives and had always lived in Guernsey. There was also a limitation as far as age was concerned because most Guernesiais speakers are over 50 today. The age of the informants ranged from 56 to 96; as a rule, they were between 60 and 80 years of age.

Furthermore, only informants from the lower social classes were selected. A social classification is possible on the basis of the informants' occupation as well as their education. Typically, the Guernesiais speakers interviewed were workmen (e.g. people employed in the numerous greenhouses), gardeners, small-property farmers or fishermen without further education. The selection of speakers from the lower social classes is based on the assumption that it is they who use nonstandard features most frequently. It is generally true in British English that members of the lower social classes show the highest degree of deviation from the standard language in their linguistic performance[9]. My decision was not to restrict the fieldwork to Guernesiais speakers, but also to study the speech behaviour of monolingual speakers of English. At the same time, these persons should be considerably younger than the Guernesiais-speaking informants. Accordingly, a group of 20 people (10 males, 10 females) between the ages of 19 and 32 were selected. These informants were natives who had lived in Guernsey all their life. Like the Guernesiais-speaking informants, they belonged to the lower social classes. They left school at the age of sixteen; as regards their professions, they were workmen (partly in greenhouses), small-property farmers, or gardeners, or they worked in a local supermarket.

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[9]For the same reason Cheshire, for example, chose her informants from the lower classes: "Since this study aims to discover patterns of linguistic variation in nonstandard English, it makes sense to choose speakers from the lower end of the socioeconomic scale, who will use nonstandard linguistic forms most consistently" (Cheshire, 1982:6).

Consequently, a total of 40 informants were interviewed for this study, divided into 2 main groups. The first consisted of the older informants (and Guernesiais speakers), while the second comprised the younger informants (monolingual speakers of English). A further division resulted from the sex of the informants. It is therefore possible to distinguish four different groups of informants, for which the following abbreviations will be used:

MO (Males, Old) = groups together the older, male informants, Guernesiais speakers (informants no. 1, 5, 9, 13, 15, 17, 21, 32, 43, 44).

FO (Females, Old) = groups together the older, female informants, Guernesiais speakers (informants no. 3, 6, 10, 14, 16, 18, 20, 33, 48, 50).

MY (Males, Young) = groups together the younger, male informants, monolingual speakers of English (informants no. 2, 19, 27, 28, 31, 37, 40, 41, 42, 53).

FY (Females, Young) = groups together the younger, female informants, monolingual speakers of English (informants no. 35, 36, 38, 39, 46, 47, 51, 52, 54, 55).

These groups of informants were constituted with the intention of comparing them with each other and identifying the differences or similarities between them with regard to the use of nonstandard features.

4.3. The interviews

The advice and help of individuals familiar with the sociolinguistic situation in Guernsey provided a reliable basis for locating potential informants for this study[10]. In addition, other personal contacts with local people proved to be very

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[10]In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Harry Tomlinson for his kind assistance.

useful. These could easily be made in various pubs that are frequented mainly by the local population.

The locating of speakers of Guernesiais did not cause any serious problems. The social links among the natives in the rural parishes of Guernsey are well developed and in general people know quite well who still speaks Guernesiais in everyday life. Most of the older informants were able to give us the names and addresses of further Guernesiais speakers who might be willing to take part in an interview. Contact with the younger informants was similarly established through various circles of friends or acquaintances. Indeed, it was my experience in Guernsey that it is generally an advantage to approach the informants with the recommendation of a friend. The initial insecurity of the informants is less and the interviewer will normally gain their confidence more easily, since both sides share a mutual acquaintance.

It should be noted that my informants showed a high degree of willingness to cooperate. Of the 58 people originally invited to participate in an interview, only 3 refused[11]. One had the impression that most of the informants were more than ready to take part in an interview and regarded it as a kind of distraction from their daily routine. Only in the case of some of the younger female informants was it initially difficult to persuade them to take part in an interview. They appeared to be somewhat shy, sometimes doubting their suitability for an interview. When they were told that a friend had also been successfully interviewed, however, they finally agreed to take part as well.

The majority of the informants were called on at home; if possible, the interview took place straight away. With other

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[11]The number of informants was finally reduced to 40 because several interviews were also conducted with non-natives and because some of those interviewed did not fulfil all of the required criteria (cf. chapter 4.2.).

informants, it was necessary to arrange a separate meeting. This is true in particular of those informants with whom the first meeting occurred in the local pub. The place of the interview was normally the home of the informant, only 4 informants being interviewed in a pub. My experience with interviews in pubs was by no means negative. One must merely ensure that the physical and acoustic conditions are such as to enable the interview to be conducted largely free of any disturbing external influences. In many cases, one will have to abandon the intention of carrying out an interview in a pub simply because of the level of noise.

All informants were interviewed individually. When the situation arose, the presence of another person (the spouse or friend) for the duration of the interview was permitted, the latter being requested not to take part in the conversation[12]. The length of the interviews naturally varied, lasting as a rule between 40 and 50 minutes.

My aim was to make the interview situation as informal as possible for the informants, because one can assume that they are more likely to use nonstandard features when they find themselves in an informal speech situation (for example in conversation with members of their family or with friends) and when they are paying relatively little attention to their own speech. However, certain problems arise if one intends to record a natural and informal speech style. These problems are inherent in the nature of an interview. First of all, an interview does not come about because of a natural need for communication between the informant and the interviewer; rather, communication between them is consciously arranged and controlled, and is to a very large extent one-sided. The interviewer merely asks the questions, to which the informant

[12]These people were informed that my intention was to record the opinions of the particular individual alone, with no influence from others.

responds. Secondly, the external circumstances of an interview have to be described as rather formal. As the informants know only too well that they are being recorded on tape, they cannot help paying particular attention to their speech[13]. Moreover, the presence of a microphone is still something exceptional for most people, so that they find it difficult to speak in a completely relaxed manner.

Another reason why an interview is basically a relatively formal speech situation is related to the fact that the informant and the interviewer normally are not acquainted with each other. When talking to a stranger, informants will prefer to use a style of speech that is appropriate to this kind of situation and their language will certainly not be as informal as in an ordinary conversation with a friend, a good acquaintance or a family member. Labov describes the fundamental problem in recording natural, informal, everyday conversation in an interview by means of the well-known term *observer's paradox*:

> [...] the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation.
> (Labov, 1972:209)

Empirical language studies aim to examine how people talk in everyday life rather than in a relatively formal interview. Yet in order to analyse the ordinary linguistic behaviour of people, the linguist has hardly any other choice than to tape them during an interview.

As for the present study, the attempt was made to reduce the

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[13] A fairly typical remark in this connection was made by one of the older female informants:

3: *Are you going to tape me now?*
Int: *Well, yes.*
3: *Oh, so I must be careful of what I'm saying.*

degree of formality of the interviews to such an extent as to elicit the most informal speech-style possible[14]. It seems to be of major importance that the informants not be told the real purpose of the interviews: in other words, they were not informed explicitly that their speech would be subjected to a linguistic analysis[15]. Such a procedure seems to me to be ethically acceptable, especially since the interviews carried out for this study led to no further consequences for the informants and their identity remains concealed. If the informants had been told that it was my intention to analyse their speech, they would inevitably have used a less natural and more formal style. They would have paid particular attention to their speech and would have tried to speak as correctly as possible or in such a manner as they thought would be expected of them. Alternatively, others might not have been prepared to take part in an interview at all.

I told the informants that I was a German student intending to write a study on Guernsey and that I wanted to gather information and opinions from natives on life in the island. I added that I was interested in the local Norman French dialect, Guernesiais, and its status. I also explained to the informants why I wanted to tape them, namely because it would be too troublesome and time-consuming to write down all the given information. This seemed plausible, and none of the informants objected to being recorded on tape.

The interviews were concerned with three major topics: I. *Life in Guernsey*, II. *Personal Life*, III. *Language*. The following questionnaire served as a basis for discussion:

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[14]For Labov's suggestions as to how the *observer's paradox* can be overcome, cf. Labov (1972:209ff.).

[15]Such a procedure implied that the informants were not asked about the use of specific linguistic features. In a further study it would definitely be very interesting to record informants' attitudes and opinions on individual linguistic items and compare them with actual linguistic usage.

I. Life in Guernsey

1. Were you actually born in Guernsey? Have you lived here all your life? Even in this parish?

2. Do you like living in Guernsey? Discuss.

3. Don't you find it sometimes difficult to live on an island (e.g. going away for a holiday, medical care, travelling facilities, shopping, entertainment)? Have you done much travelling? Where have you been? Jersey, Alderney, Sark?

4. Do you think that Guernsey is a part of England? Do you think that you are English?

5. What is your opinion as far as tourists are concerned? Do you mind the tourists? Discuss (e.g. Guernsey overcrowded in the summer, hired cars, the island's economy).

6. Do you think that Guernsey is generally overpopulated? Should more people be allowed to settle in Guernsey? Discuss (e.g. immigration laws, local and open housing market).

7. What are the shopping facilities like in Guernsey? Where do you normally go shopping?

8. Discuss the traffic problems (too many cars, small roads, parking in town, public transport). Should there be a free bus service? Is it difficult to find one's way in Guernsey? Should there be more sign posts?

9. Do you like the people of Guernsey? And the people who have settled here? Discuss the relationship between the locals and the English people who have come to live in Guernsey. What do you think about the people of Jersey?

II. Personal life

1. What do you do for a living? Discuss the informant's job. What other jobs have you had in your life?

2. Does your family (children, parents) also live in Guernsey? Where do they live? What do they do?

3. What are your personal interests/hobbies (e.g. TV programmes, sports, football)? What do you do in your spare time?

4. Discuss the German occupation. Find out about the informant's personal experience of the occupation (extraordinary events, stories, adventures).

III. Language

1. Do you know anything about the local patois? Do you speak it? When? Where? To whom? Who speaks Guernsey French? How many people still speak it?

2. For English monoglots: Would you like to speak Guernsey French?

3. Why do young people prefer to speak English? What are the reasons for the decline of Guernsey French?

4. For Guernesiais speakers: When did you learn English? Do you sometimes mix the two languages? Do you ever use English words when speaking Guernsey French? (Examples).

5. What sort of English do people speak in Guernsey? Do they have an accent? Can you recognize a Guernseyman by his speech? Do you know any particular traits of the English spoken in Guernsey?

6. Can you think of any local expressions or sayings in English (e.g. *cherree*, ... *eh*, ... *me*, ... *is it?*)?

After the interview itself, the occupation, sex and age of the informant was noted down.

The questions above served only as a guideline for the conversation with the informant, however. The interviews were carried out in a flexible way. The questionnaire could be changed, extended or shortened according to the circumstances so as to produce the most relaxed discussion possible. In any case, a simple questioning of the informant was to be avoided. A more effectively informal atmosphere tended to be achieved during the interviews if the initiative did not lie exclusively with the informant. I took an active part in the conversation and was anxious to engage the informants in a real discussion.

Allusions to the informants' personal interests or preferred topics were followed up, these then being discussed in greater detail. Some informants liked to talk about their job or their hobbies, others about their life history or the German occupation during the Second World War. The questions were not asked to obtain certain information; rather, the attempt was made - wherever possible - to establish a link between the questions and the personal life of the informants. They were to talk about matters that really concerned them, and they were encouraged to describe their own experiences. Longer reports were more than welcome, as it was not the content that mattered but only the fact that they should talk as naturally and informally as possible.

A Sony cassette recorder TCM-111 and a Sony condenser microphone ECM-2005 were used for the recordings. The advantage of a cassette recorder of this type is that it is very compact, can easily be stowed away in a jacket pocket and can be

switched on and off unobtrusively at the microphone. In my experience, a large tape recorder, which has to be properly installed before the interview, is more intimidating to the informants and makes them more aware of the formal character of the interview. Moreover, I found it more productive not to place the microphone in a stand in front of the informant; instead, I usually sat down beside the informant and put the microphone in the crook of my arm, so that the informant did not constantly have to look at it. In this way, he was not permanently reminded that he was being recorded on tape and this contributed to an altogether more informal atmosphere during the interviews.

5. Grammatical features

The present chapter discusses both morphological and syntactic features that occurred during the interviews with the informants[1]. Each feature is first described and illustrated with a number of examples. Whenever possible, the evidence for the features is supported by other sources including newspaper cartoons, literary works or radio broadcasts. Complementary information is also sometimes drawn from notes taken during my fieldwork in Guernsey. The occurrence of the individual features in other varieties is checked in order to ascertain whether there may have been an influence on the English spoken in Guernsey. Subsequently, the possibility of a transference from Guernesiais is considered, since this may likewise be the reason for the presence of the feature in Guernsey. Finally, there is a quantitative analysis of each feature for the four groups of informants.

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[1]Only one of the features (cf. chapter 5.13.) was not recorded on tape but was found outside the actual interview situation. Obviously, as the corpus used for this study is limited, it cannot be claimed that the list of features discussed here is exhaustive. Thus, some of the features mentioned by Viereck (1988) in his article on the Channel Islands were not recorded during my interviews, namely: *I went and see [...].* (St.E. *I went and saw [...]*), *the news are* (St.E. *is*) *favourable*, the use of the objective forms of the personal pronouns for the nominative, *Us people have such poor memories*, certain non-concord features, *The people doesn't know*, *My terms is*, the omission of relative pronouns, *It was us won* or *There wasn't much had to be done* and the use of *this there* and *that there* instead of the demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that*. However, I think that all the important and most frequent nonstandard features occurring in Guernsey are dealt with in the present study.

5.1. Existential *there* + *to be* + plural subject

This feature relates to the subject-verb concord[2] between a form of *to be* and a following subject in the plural. The analysis of the corpus revealed that after an introductory existential *there* a singular form of *to be* (*is*[3] or *was*) is used, even if the following subject is plural, with the result that subject and verb differ in number. In St.E., however, the corresponding plural forms of *to be* (*are* or *were*) are used in this context[4]. Cf. the following examples from the corpus:

- Well, there's ten parishes and for sure there's seven different ways of speaking the patois in the island. (32.572)
- There might be a space there for your car to be - parked and there's some white lines. (43.334)
- [...] because there's so many cars on the road and I won't get there fast. (37.175)
- All the cars were taken off the road. There was no cars on the road, only, well only the army h'm vehicles. (32.82)
- It was after curfew. They came down this lane and there was some Germans watching out. (39.637)

The construction *there is/was* + plural subject occurs in numerous other varieties of English. For example, Petyt (1985:237) found many instances of it among his informants in West Yorkshire. Petyt adds that two subgroups can be distinguished with regard to this feature. On the one hand, there

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[2]For the term *concord* cf. Quirk et al. (1985:755ff.).

[3]Existential *there* + *is* is frequently contracted to *there's*.

[4]Cf. Thomson/Martinet (1986:119).

are examples such as *there was grammar schools, there isn't the jobs*, which are definitely classified as nonstandard[5]. On the other hand, there are sentences such as *there's a lot of people coming, there's a few banks* in which *there is/was* is followed by *a lot of, a few* or *plenty of*. These are generally rated as far more acceptable.

Miller/Brown (1982:16) refer to the construction *there's* + plural subject as a feature of Broad Scots. However, they also consider it typical of St[andard] Sc[ottish] E[nglish]. Sabban cites numerous examples of *there is/was* + plural subject in her study of the variation of English in the Gaelic-speaking area of Scotland. She states that this construction was used by all of her informants:

> Die Vernachlässigung des Concord in existenziellen *there*-Sätzen [...] ist ein generelles Phänomen, das unabhängig vom Alter oder sonstigen Merkmalen der Informanten in jedem Tonbandprotokoll mindestens einmal, in aller Regel jedoch mehrfach vertreten ist. Qualitativ gesehen differenziert das Phänomen in diesem Kontext also nicht zwischen den einzelnen Sprechern.
>
> (Sabban, 1982:301)

As far as the diffusion of *there is/was* + plural subject in traditional dialects in England is concerned, the SED by Orton et al. (1962-71) cannot render any assistance, as no item of the SED questionnaire relates to this construction. The results of the American Linguistic Atlas demonstrate that the construction *there's* + plural subject is common in American English[6]. As Atwood (1953:29-30) reports, the singular form *there's* dominates in all eastern parts of the United States.

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[5]Petyt (1985:237) employs the term "substandard" in this context. In the present study, however, the more neutral term *nonstandard* is preferred for all phenomena that are not part of the standard language.

[6]As for *there is/was* + plural subject in American English, cf. also Wolfram/Fasold (1974:157-158).

Yet this does not apply to informants with the comparatively best education[7], something which points to a social distribution of the form *there's* + plural subject:

> The present tense form is recorded in the context 'There (are) many people who think so'.
> The singular form *there's* (/ðərz/, /ðɛrz/, and so on) is heavily predominant in all areas except in cultured speech. [...] A majority (from two thirds to three fourths) of the cultured informants in all areas use the plural form *there are*.
>
> (Atwood, 1953:29-30)

A comparable phenomenon to the construction *there is* + plural subject is the use of *is* (*'s*) after an introductory *here* (in the context: *Here (are) your clothes*) as elicited by the American Linguistic Atlas. According to Atwood (1953:29), the social distribution of *here's* and *there's* + plural subject in the eastern United States is very similar. As for *here's* + plural subject, he states:

> In the M[iddle] A[tlantic] S[tates] and the S[outh] A[tlantic] S[tates] *here's* is universal in Type I and almost so in Type II (nine tenths use it)[8].
> In N[ew] Eng[land] and the S[outh] A[tlantic] S[tates] about half the cultured informants use the singular *here's*; in the M[iddle] A[tlantic] S[tates] a little over one third do so.
>
> (Atwood, 1953:29)

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[7]These informants are designated "cultured informants" and, according to Kurath's classification, belong to informant type III. Kurath grouped the informants for LANE in the following way.

Type I: Little formal education, little reading and restricted social contacts.
Type II: Better formal education (usually high school) and/or wider reading and social contacts.
Type III: Superior education (usually college), cultured background, wide reading and/or extensive social contacts.

(Cf. Kurath, 1973:44)

[8]"Type I" and "Type II" relate to the different groups of informants as described above.

The results of the LS[9] are also of particular interest because they give information as to which verb forms are used in the same context (*here (are) your clothes*) in the southern part of England. As Viereck (1985:256, 280) shows, the standard variant *here are your clothes* was recorded in the examined area only twice, both examples occurring in Kent. The most widespread form in the LS is *here's your clothes*. This form is exclusively used to the north of Surrey and Kent and to the east of Buckinghamshire and Warwickshire. Other forms attested by Lowman are *here be thee clothes*, *here be your clothes* and *here your clothes*.

The study by Breivik (1983:206-208) indicates that the construction *there is/was* + plural subject generally occurs in contemporary English. He briefly discusses the verb forms which can follow existential *there*. As his examples from the corpus *Survey of English Usage* demonstrate, *there is/was* + plural subject is by no means restricted to certain regional or social varieties of English, but can also be found in a corpus designed to represent educated present-day English[10].

Breivik points out that sentences such as *There's two men here* are quite common in spoken English and appear mainly in informal speech situations. The construction *there was* + plural subject is similarly encountered in informal contexts and is appropriately documented in the *Survey of English Usage*[11]. Usage in written English is different, however. According to Breivik, examples of the construction *there is/was* + plural subject are extremely rare in the written texts of the *Survey of English Usage*:

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[9]For a general description of the LS, cf. Viereck (1975).

[10]For the *Survey of English Usage* in general cf. Quirk (1968:70-87).

[11]Cf. the examples in Breivik (1983:208).

> In written English, on the other hand, there is a strong tendency for *be* to match the logical subject in number. (This is not surprising in view of the school grammarians' rigid insistence that the logical subject should determine concord in *there* clauses.)
>
> (Breivik, 1983:208)

Moreover, the general occurrence of the construction *there is/was* + plural subject is confirmed by the fact that it is mentioned in descriptive grammars of English such as Quirk et al. (1985), where it is characterized as "informal":

> It [existential *there*] often determines concord, governing a singular form of the verb even when the following 'notional subject' is plural:
> *There's some people in the waiting room*. <informal>
> occurs alongside:
> *There are some people in the waiting room*.
>
> (Quirk et al., 1985:1405)

In connection with the construction *there is/was* + plural subject, Quirk et al. (1985:756, note a) comment that in sentences containing this construction *there* functions as a pseudo-subject which determines the form of the verb. Such an explanation of the construction *there is/was* + plural subject is in agreement with the general rule of concord, which can be formulated as follows: "A subject which is not clearly semantically plural requires a singular verb" (Quirk et al., 1985:756, note a). In this context, the singular form is to be regarded as the unmarked form, and it is the form to be used in neutral cases when the subject does not contain any explicit indication of plurality. And this is indeed true of *there* used as a pseudo-subject. As for number, *there* is indeterminate and consequently followed by the unmarked singular form *is* or *was*.

As the construction *there is/was* + plural subject occurs in many varieties of English and as it is also generally used in informal present-day English, it is hardly surprising that it

is found in Guernsey, too. However, the construction is of special interest here because there are indications which suggest that the frequent use of this construction in Guernsey is also caused by transference from Guernesiais. The corpus contains examples in which *there's* is used in connection with a time reference, and this represents a clear parallel to a corresponding construction with [ja] in Guernesiais (St.F.: *il y a*):

a) I don't smoke now. [...] There's four years I don't smoke. (1.311)
Guernesiais[12]: [ja katr ã kə ʒən fym pɑ][13]

b) [...] after the Norman conquest, there's nearly a thousand years we are British - we are not English, we are British. (9.172)
Guernesiais: [ja kazi ɛ̃ mil ã kə nuze õgje]

c) I haven't heard from them there's two years now. (43.95)
Guernesiais: [ʒə nɛ pɑ wi djai ja kazi daizã oʃtair]

The above-mentioned syntactic structures with *there's* are not acceptable in St.E. The present perfect is required in the same context in St.E., followed by the preposition *for* and the respective time reference:

St.E. cf. a) I haven't smoked for four years.
cf. b) We have been British for nearly a thousand years.
cf. c) I haven't heard from them for two years now.

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[12]The examples of Guernesiais cited in this work are based on my own studies and also on the dissertation by Tomlinson (1981). In contrast to Tomlinson, I do not employ the transcription system normally found in French dialectology; instead, I prefer to use the IPA system.

[13]Cf. also the corresponding construction with *il y a* in St.F.: *il y a quatre ans que je ne fume pas*.

The following syntactic structures containing *there is* in combination with *ago* or *back* are also unusual in St.E.:

- there is three years ago that I started that job - gravedigging. (43.587)
  St.E. I started that job three years ago.
- But many, many years ago, when I started, oh well there is 43 years back, well it was all French, you see, it was all French. (32.594)
  St.E. [...] when I started 43 years ago [...]

Altogether, nine instances of the use of *there's* in connection with a time reference could be found in my corpus, with the following four informants: 1 (3 times), 9 (once), 32 (twice), 43 (3 times). All these informants are older men (group MO) and still speak Guernesiais.

Tomlinson confirms that syntactic structures with *there's* of the above type are phenomena of transference and that there is an obvious connection between the use of *there's* in the English of Guernsey and [ja] (*il y a*) in Guernesiais:

anglais parlé à Guernesey	anglais 'standard'
'there's a week that we don't see him' (il y a une semaine qu'on ne le voit pas)	'we have not seen him for a week'

> Ici on reconnaît la traduction littérale de 'il y a' et l'emploi du présent de l'indicatif là où l'anglais emploie normalement le passé composé.
> (Tomlinson, 1981:18)

On the one hand, one can accept that the use of *there's* in the above sentences is based on a transference from Guernesiais; on the other hand, it also seems realistic to assume that [ja] generally has an influence on the use of *there's* in the English of Guernsey. [ja] as a so-called presentative occurs

frequently in Guernesiais, as does *il y a* in spoken French[14]. It can easily be seen that a frequent and familiar syntactic pattern such as [jə] is transferred into English by using *there's*. But this equation of [jə] and *there's* is generalized: that is, it also occurs in cases in which the plural form *are* is required in St.E. because of the following plural subject.

Indeed, one can point to the formal parallels between [jə] and *there's*. The presentative [jə] is singular in form and remains unchanged even if followed by a plural subject: [jə kat vɑk dõ lə kurti] (*there are four cows in the field*). In analogy to [jə], *there's* is used in English. Like [jə] it is singular in form and remains unchanged before a plural subject. The syntactic structure *there was* + plural subject can similarly be explained as a transference phenomenon. The only difference here is that the source of influence is the past tense form of the presentative [javɛ] (St.F.: *il y avait*). But like [jə], it is invariable.

To sum up, it can be stated that there are in fact two reasons for the occurrence of the structure *there is/was* + plural subject in Guernsey. First of all, it is likely that this feature has been adopted from other varieties of English. Moreover, *there is/was* + plural subject is common in informal present-day English anyhow. Due to the many immigrants from Great Britain, the great number of British tourists that come to Guernsey every year, and the manifold contacts between Great Britain and Guernsey, it seems only natural that *there is/was* + plural subject is also found in Guernsey. Secondly, there are clear indications that the frequent occurrence of this

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[14]With regard to the presentative *il y a* in modern spoken French, cf. Söll (1980:159-162). The study by François (1974:466-470) demonstrates how frequently the presentatives *il y a* and *c'est* are used in modern spoken French. The analysis of her corpus (Corpus d'Argenteuil) revealed that out of a total of 1781 verb forms as many as 300 were *c'est*, while 116 were *il y a*.

structure in Guernsey is based on a transference from Guernesiais. The parallels in the use of *there is/was* + plural subject and a corresponding structure with [jə] and [javɛ] are evident.

In my view, it is virtually impossible to determine more precisely to what extent the syntactic structure *there is/was* + plural subject in the English of Guernsey has been influenced by other varieties of English or by Guernesiais. The two sources of influence that can be put forward to account for the frequent use of *there is/was* + plural subject in Guernsey are by no means mutually exclusive. Indeed, it is reasonable to assume that they reinforce and complement each other.

It is interesting to note that Shuken (1984) states that the use of the structure *there is/was* + plural subject in the variety of English in the Gaelic-speaking area of Scotland is due to transference from Gaelic:

> Gaelic influence would seem to be reflected in the following constructions: [...] sentences beginning *There is/was*, where the focused item is brought forward in the sentence, e.g. *There's not many in Invernesshire are Gaelic-speaking*, *There's that many English people here now*, *it's English you talk mostly*.
>
> (Shuken, 1984:155)

Although Shuken fails to mention the corresponding Gaelic structure, it is readily conceivable that transference plays a rôle in the use of *there is/was* + plural subject in that variety. In addition to an influence from Gaelic, however, one should also take into consideration the possibility of influence from other varieties of English. For example, *there's* + plural subject is generally widespread in Scottish English, too (cf. Miller/Brown, 1982:16). As in Guernsey, one can therefore put forward two reasons for the structure *there is/was* + plural subject.

Based on the analysis of my data from Guernsey, the following table lists the results of the use of *there is/are* + plural subject.

Table 6: *there is/are* + plural subject

informant group	instances of occurrence		percentages	
	there is	*there are*	*there is*	*there are*
MO	90	13	87.4 %	12.4 %
FO	86	23	78.9 %	21.1 %
MY	128	13	90.8 %	9.2 %
FY	96	10	90.6 %	9.4 %

These figures demonstrate that *there is* + plural subject clearly dominates in all four groups of informants. There are no great differences between the individual groups. Only in the case of group FO is the score somewhat lower, yet even in this group the percentage of *there is* + plural subject reaches almost 80%. Nor are there considerable differences between the older informants (groups MO and FO), who speak Guernesiais, and the younger ones (groups MY and FY), who are no speakers of Guernesiais. With the latter groups the frequency of *there is* + plural subject is even slightly higher.

Similar results were obtained for the structure *there was/were* + plural subject, although the overall number of occurrences is much lower. In all four groups of informants the percentage of *there was* is above 80%. Group FY even used this form exclusively.

Table 7: *there was/were* + plural subject

informant group	instances of occurrence		percentages	
	there was	*there were*	*there was*	*there were*
MO	20	5	80 %	20 %
FO	43	5	89.6 %	10.4 %
MY	10	2	83.3 %	16.7 %
FY	15	0	100 %	0 %

As Table 6 and 7 show, *there is/was* + plural subject is very widespread among the informants. It is noteworthy that this is even the case in a relatively formal speech style (interview with a stranger). If only because of the interview situation, one could have expected that the percentage of the standard forms *there are* and *there were* would be higher. And it is realistic to assume that the percentage of *there is* and *there was* occurrences increases in a less formal style.

Table 8: (non)variable use of *there is/was* + plural subject

informant group	number of informants using *there is/was* exclusively	number of informants also using *there are/were*
MO	4	6
FO	2	8
MY	5	5
FY	5	5
Total	16	24

Table 8 shows that out of a total of 40 informants 16 (= 40%) exclusively used *there is/was*. These informants are found in all four groups. Indeed, among the younger ones (groups MY and FY) as many as half of the informants used *there is/was* categorically.

5.2. The particle *eh*

Another very noticeable feature in Guernsey is the use of a particle which is generally represented in writing as *eh*[15]. Its phonetic realization normally is the diphthong /eɪ/. However, a short /e/ is also possible as a variant pronunciation. Three different modes of usage can be distinguished in connection with the particle *eh*:

a) By using *eh* a hearer can ask a speaker to repeat an utterance that the hearer has not heard properly. There is a rising intonation on *eh*.

- Int.: What sort of trouble did you have there?
  1: Eh? (1.425)
- Int.: What did he say?
  2: Eh? (2.485)

b) The particle *eh* is used as a tag that is added to a statement to induce the hearer to express his/her opinion on what is said by the speaker[16]. The intonation on *eh* in this case,

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[15]Cf. also Tomlinson (1981:20).

[16]As Bublitz (1978: 165-166) observes, the advantage of the tag *eh* compared to other tag questions lies in its simple and universal use. *Eh* is lexically empty and basically constitutes only a phonetic expression that serves to produce a rising tone. The essential function of *eh* is to carry the interrogative intonation which asks the hearer to comment on the speaker's statement.

too, is characteristically rising. In this function *eh* takes the place of other tag questions[17] that depend in their form on the preceding statement:

- Int.: What's your favourite [football] team?
  27: Liverpool.
  Int.: Liverpool?
  27: Yeah, they're the best, eh? (27.60)
  (here *eh* substitutes for *aren't they?*)

- It's the parking that's the worst. But still you've got to put up with it, eh? (33.123)
  (here *eh* substitutes for *haven't you?*)

c) Thirdly, *eh* is used as a phatic element, i.e. it serves to establish or to maintain the contact between speaker and hearer, and to ensure the continuation of the communication. It can occur repeatedly at relatively short intervals within one speech cycle, without giving the hearer a real opportunity to voice his/her opinion. The aim of the speaker is merely to secure the hearer's attention. The length of articulation of *eh* is often reduced and the rising intonation on *eh* which is typical of (a) and (b) is frequently omitted[18].

- In the old days, you see, when we were children, there was no television eh, we had no electric anyway eh - yes a gramophone eh, that's all what we had you see, music eh, there was no wireless eh. (10.312)

---

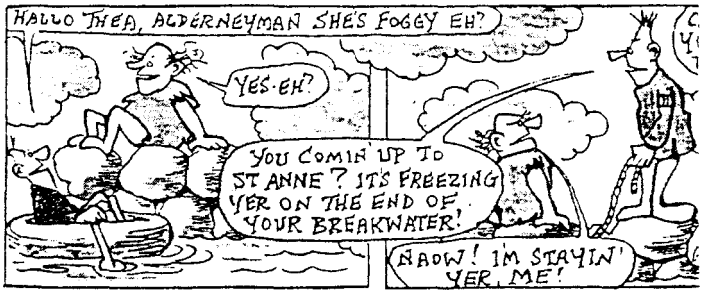
[17]With regard to tag questions in present-day English cf. Quirk et al. (1985:810ff.).

[18]The difference between *eh* as a tag (b) and the phatic use of *eh* (c) is not always easy to determine. Indeed, the point of transition between the two is by no means clear-cut.

- And my family eh, my father eh, my my father's family eh, we were six children - six children - when we were at the table eh, eating [...]. (9.596)

People in Guernsey are very much aware of the high frequency of *eh*, and many of the informants referred to *eh* when they were asked about characteristic features of the English used in Guernsey. Indeed, it has become a stereotype that a true Guernsey (= Guernseyman) uses lots of *ehs* in his speech.

Eh regularly appears in the cartoon strip *Stone de Croze*[19]. Compare the following cartoon extracts from Guppy (1979):



During my stay in Guernsey there was a weekly short comedy programme on Radio Guernsey in which the commentator talked to a person - called Eugène Le Pleut in the programme - who imitated a Guernesiais speaker. One could observe that Eugène Le Pleut also used *eh* frequently. Here is a short extract from

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[19]The central character of these cartoons, Stone de Croze, is supposed to represent the "original Guernseyman" who speaks in a "true Guernsey accent" (cf. Guppy, 1979: preface). In reality, the English of Guernesiais speakers is caricatured in the strips.

the programme (recorded from Radio Guernsey on 11th Oct. 1985):

- Eugène: [...] well, I haven't got a bag of spanners but I can still feel like one, eh? Samuel?
  Commentator: I suppose so.
  Eugène: Eh? Eh?

A discussion of the reasons for the frequent use of the particle *eh* in Guernsey first requires the acknowledgement that *eh* is common in many other varieties of English. Some linguists in fact maintain that *eh* is a particular feature of Canadian English[20]. This view is opposed by Avis (1972). In his article he is exclusively concerned with the particle *eh*, his intention being to prove that *eh* occurs by no means solely in Canadian English:

> The purpose of this paper is simply to demonstrate that the so-called interrogative *eh?* is not a Canadianism - in spite of recent uninformed claims to the contrary.
>
> (Avis, 1972:92)

By means of numerous quotations from British, American and Canadian literature, together with further examples from magazines and newspapers, Avis is able to show that *eh* is used not only in Canada. Furthermore, he presents a classification of the particle *eh* according to its different modes of usage[21].

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[20]Cf. Orkin (1971:77-78) or Scargill (1974:29).

[21]Cf. Avis (1972:96-103). Avis depicts among other things the modes of usage which I also observed in Guernsey:

"(1) A simple request for repetition, uttered with rising intonation.
(2) The equivalent of a disjunctive-question tag, appended to a statement, and marked by rising intonation; as an alternative to *isn't it?*, *do you?* and so on, *eh?* invites agreement and calls for some kind of affirmative response, whether that

Concerning the alleged Canadianism *eh* he writes:

> [...] it should seem quite obvious that *eh?* is no Canadianism - for it did not originate in Canada and is not peculiar to the English spoken in Canada. Indeed, *eh?* appears to be in general use wherever English speakers hang their hats; and in one form or another it has been in general use for centuries.
>
> (Avis, 1972:95)

The question remains as to why the particle *eh* is commonly considered a Canadianism. Avis (1972:91) reports, on the one hand, that *eh* is one of the features often mentioned by US Americans when asked about the characteristics of Canadian English. On the other hand, he points out that the frequency of *eh* in Canada is indeed very high and that the modes of usage of *eh* in Canadian English may be unusual for other varieties of English. What is more, Canadians themselves are well aware that *eh* is a particular and frequent feature in their language variety and therefore they regard it as typically Canadian.

> [...] there can be no doubt that *eh?* has a remarkably high incidence in the conversation of many Canadians these days. Moreover, it seems certain that in Canada *eh?* has been pressed into service in contexts where it would be unfamiliar elsewhere. Finally it would appear that *eh?* has gained such recognition among Canadians that it is used consciously and frequently by newspapermen and others in informal articles and reports and attributed freely in reported conversations with all manner of men, including athletes, professors, and politicians.
>
> (Avis, 1972:95)

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response is verbalized or not (cf. French *n'est-ce pas?*).[...] (8) The 'narrative *eh?*' - found primarily in oral evidence of Canadian origin - occurs in extended discourse, often with disconcerting frequency. [...] such interjections are often very short in duration and they often lack the characteristic rising contour."

For the distribution of *eh* as a request for repetition in regional varieties of American and British English cf. also LANE (map 594) and LS (Viereck, 1975:236).

In order to explain the high frequency of *eh* in Canadian English, Avis puts forward a noteworthy hypothesis. He thinks it possible that the frequent use of *eh* also results from a transference from Canadian French. *Eh* is widely used in Canadian French, and this fact may have assisted in spreading *eh* in English:

> *Eh?* is a common contour-carrier among French Canadians (along with *eh bien* and *hein?*), as it has been in the French language for centuries. This circumstance may have contributed to the high popularity of the interjection in Canada generally.
> (Avis, 1972:102-103, footnote 30)

With regard to Canada, one should call attention to the *Survey of Canadian English* (SCE)[22], the questionnaire of which contains two questions concerned with the particle *eh*:

> Question 24. Do you use the expression
> *So that's what he thinks, eh?*
> A. yes
> B. no
> C. sometimes
>
> Question 38. If you want a friend to repeat something you didn't hear clearly, do you ask him to do so by saying *eh*?
> A. yes
> B. no

As Bähr (1981:81) states in his analysis of the results of the SCE, no real geographical variation in the use of *eh* in either question 24 or question 38 can be observed. The particle is found in all of the Canadian provinces, and there are no great differences between the individual provinces. The results of both questions, however, reveal a certain correlation between

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[22]For the *Survey of Canadian English* cf. Scargill (1974) and Bähr (1981).

the use of *eh* and the degree of education; in other words, the more education a speaker has received, the less likely this speaker is to use *eh*.

In the following tables, the results for Quebec are compared with the results for the whole of Canada[23]. This comparison is particularly interesting since a high proportion of the population in the province of Quebec is French-speaking. According to Bähr (1981:55), this was the case with 80% of the population in 1971.

Question 24: Percentages that answered this question with "yes":

					level of education[24]		
	fathers	mothers	sons	daughters	I	II	III
Quebec	27	23	22	26	26	31	18
Canada	24	15	20	27	21	17	15

The results show that the number of informants in Quebec who stated that they would use *eh* in the given context was above the national average, except for the group of daughters. The figures on the right indicate that the use of *eh* is dependent on the degree of education. Both in Quebec and in Canada as a whole, the informants with a higher level of education believed that they use *eh* less frequently.

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[23]The percentages given are based on Bähr (1981:187, 194).

[24]With regard to the degree of education of the informants (parents only) it should be noted:

I is the group with a lower, II the group with an intermediate and III. the group with a higher level of education (cf. Bähr, 1981:40).

Question 38: Percentages that answered this question with "yes":

	fathers	mothers	sons	daughters	level of education I	II	III
Quebec	30	29	37	39	28	28	26
Canada	26	17	27	24	24	21	15

The results for this question are very similar to those of question 24. The figures for Quebec are above the Canadian average in all groups of informants. Again, one can observe a correlation between the level of education and the use of *eh*. Unfortunately, the absolute figures in the two tables above (question 24 and 38) are not directly comparable with each other because in question 24 the informants had three options of response (A. *yes*, B. *no*, C. *sometimes*). In question 38 they could only choose between A. *yes* and B. *no*.

On the basis of the results of the SCE, however, it can be stated that the frequency of *eh* in Quebec is above average in comparison to Canada as a whole. A possible explanation of this fact is an influence from Canadian French. Thus, the results support Avis' assumption that the prevalence of *eh* in Canadian French has contributed to the diffusion of *eh* in Canadian English[25].

That *eh* is certainly no Canadianism by origin is already evident from the fact that the SOED lists this particle in the following senses:

(1) *an exclam[ation] of sorrow* [first recorded in] 1567.

(2) *an interjectional particle of inquiry, often inviting assent* [first recorded in] 1773.

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[25]Cf. the quotation above (Avis, 1972:102-103).

(3) *Eh?: colloq[uial] or vulgar = What did you say?* [first recorded in] 1837.

In addition to the SOED, references to the particle *eh* in Quirk et al. (1985) confirm that it is current in St.E. and not restricted to particular varieties of English. They mention *eh* under the heading 'invariant tag question':

> Several other tag questions inviting the listener's response may be appended to statements and exclamations. They have the same form whether the statement is positive or negative, and take a rising tone: [...] *She didn't pass the exam, eh?* /eɪ/
> (Quirk et al., 1985:814)

In this mode of usage Quirk et al. characterize *eh* as "casual, may be impolite". Quirk et al. (1985:853) also note that *eh* can be employed to ask someone to repeat an utterance, but they describe this use of *eh* as an "impolite request for repetition".

There can be no doubt that the particle *eh* generally occurs in present-day English. In order to explain the high frequency of *eh* in Guernsey, it is important to draw attention to the possibility of a transference from Guernesiais; my informants confirmed that *eh* occurs equally frequently in Guernesiais and that it is used in the same way as in English (cf. above pp. 103-105):

a) as a request to repeat an utterance. The question [tʃik tɑ di] ('What did you say?') may be used additionally: [ei tʃik tɑ di].

b) as a tag: [il ɑ fɛ kau onjɛ ei] ('It has been warm today, eh?') [la mair e ryd ei] ('The sea is rough, eh?')

c) as a phatic element: [ma fɔmil ei la fɔmil də mõ pɛr ei nuzɛtɛ sizɛfã kã nuzɛtɛ a la tɑb ei] ('My family eh, the family of my father eh, we were six children when we were at the table eh').

Both Le Pelley (1975:18) and Tomlinson (1981:20) cite *eh* as one of the features in the English of Guernsey that can be attributed to the influence of Guernesiais[26]. And indeed it seems plausible that a short, common and multi-purpose particle such as *eh* should be transferred from Guernesiais into English and consequently used so frequently in Guernsey.

The use of *eh* in the function of a) seldom occurred in the recordings with my informants. An obvious reason for this is that it happened only rarely that an informant did not understand and asked for something to be repeated. In addition, there are many other ways in English of expressing the fact that an utterance has not been understood, such as *sorry?*, *pardon?* etc., and formulae such as these are regarded as more polite than *eh*. The analysis of the corpus is therefore limited to the uses of *eh* under b) and c). The absolute number of occurrences is given in the following table. As the total length of each recording is not identical in the four groups of informants, a value of minutes and seconds was calculated to indicate at what intervals *eh* occurred on average during the interviews.

Table 9: Frequency of *eh* in the modes of usage b) and c)

informant group	number of occurrences	average time between occurrences of *eh*
MO	147	2 min. 59 sec.
FO	136	3 min. 11 sec.
MY	118	3 min. 38 sec.
FY	92	4 min. 34 sec.

[26]Hublart (1979:47-48) confirms that *eh* is also one of the features of the English used in Jersey which in his view is due to transference. He speaks in this context of "de pures imitations du français".

It has to be stressed that these figures are mean values. The individual informants varied considerably in their use of *eh*. Informants no. 31, 44, 50, and 54 did not use it at all, whereas *eh* was particularly frequent with informants no. 5 (54 occurrences), no. 10 (39 occurrences), no. 40 (31 occurrences) and no. 51 (31 occurrences). As shown by the table above, *eh* was common in all four groups of informants. Yet it appeared more often with the older informants (speakers of Guernesiais). It was used less frequently by the younger men and especially by the younger women.

Without doubt, the relatively formal character of the interview situation induced the informants to employ *eh* less often than usual. I can say from personal experience that *eh* is particularly common in informal speech contexts (for example, during a conversation in a pub or within the family), and that the frequency of *eh* can be much higher than was the case during the interviews.

5.3. The use of the definite article

Another feature of the English used in Guernsey is related to the definite article *the*. One can observe that the definite article appears in contexts in which it is not normally used in St.E. The definite article occurs particularly:

a) in connection with names of languages, such as *English*, *French*, *Guernsey French* etc.[27]:

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[27]The definite article in combination with names of languages also occurs in the novel *The Book of Ebenezer Le Page*, in which the author, G.B. Edwards, imitates the language of people whose mother tongue is Guernesiais, as in the following example: "She didn't speak the English, and could only read the Bible in French. My mother spoke the English a little, and the big Bible was in English" (Edwards, 1982:27).

As far as the language in this novel is concerned, Edwards

- Well he, he knew h'm, my father knew the good French - and the English and the patois. (43.797)
  St.E. My father knew good French and English and the patois.

- It seems to me our language is more like the French than like the English. (18.84)
  St.E. [...] our language is more like French than like English.

- No, they never did the Guernsey French at school. (52.223)
  St.E. No, they never did Guernsey French at school.

b) in connection with adverbials of direction and position, especially in combination with *town* and with street-names:

- Only if you want to, well, do extra shopping then you'd go into the town to do it. (33.159)
  St.E. [...] then you'd go into town to do it.

- he's got a chain of h'm shops in the, in the Fountain Street. (33.201)
  St.E. he's got a chain of shops in Fountain Street.

c) in connection with adverbials of time expressing a regular repetition[28]:

(1982:483, 486) writes: "Ebenezer Le Page [the central character of the novel] writes his book in a variant of Guernsey English. It is the language of a man whose unselfconscious, natural speech is the patois of his island. [...] The north [this is the part of Guernsey from which Ebenezer originates] has always been the most English-speaking part of the island: but of rough English. Ebenezer owes his vocabulary and idiom to quarrymen and seamen; and his vagaries of singular and plural are as much English bad grammar as due to the anomalous features of Norman French."

[28]Cf. a corresponding use of the article in the novel *The Book of Ebenezer Le Page*, e.g.: "[...] which he used to buy from Tozer in Smith Street on the Saturday night." (Edwards, 1982:24)

- He gives the news out on the wireless in h'm in patois on the Friday. (18.416)
  St.E. He gives the news out on the wireless in patois every Friday.

- 18: And we go the Saturday evening like - old time dancing.
  Int: So you do that quite regularly?
  18: Yes, every Saturday evening. (18.368)
  St.E. And we go every Saturday evening [...].

d) before plural noun phrases with generic reference[29], such as *Guernsey people*, *children*; thus, the speaker is not referring in these cases to a particular group of people from Guernsey or a particular group of children but is talking about people and children in general terms[30].

- As a whole I believe the Guernsey people - are h'm friendly and they work together. (5.194)
  St.E. As a whole I believe Guernsey people are friendly.

- Int.: Was that not very difficult [to learn English]?
  20: No, because the children, they'll pick up languages very quickly. (20.94)
  St.E. No because children, they'll pick up [...].

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[29]Cf. Quirk et al. (1985:265ff.).

[30]In St.E. the occurrence of generic *the* with plural noun phrases is restricted to two particular cases:
a) nationality nouns, e.g. *the Chinese*, *the English*
b) phrases with an adjective head referring to a group of people, e.g. *the unemployed*, *the blind*, *the rich*
(cf. Quirk et al. 1985:283).

e) before the noun *school* (referring to the institution) and in the idiomatic expression *go by bus*[31]:

- But I mean that [Guernsey French] wasn't taught in the school, you see. (32.631)
  St.E. [...] wasn't taught in school.
- It was always by the bus we went, because h'm [...]. (13.250)
  St.E. We always went by bus [...].

The definite article is often used in other varieties of English in a manner different to that of St.E., although the contexts in which it occurs may vary[32]. Miller/Brown (1982:17) mention the use of the definite article as a special feature of Broad Scots and quote the following examples[33]: *the day* (= *today*), *the now* (= *just now*), *the morn* (= *tomorrow*), *have the hiccoughs/flu/measles* etc., *at the kirk/school*, *through the post* (= *by post*), *up the stairs* (= *upstairs*), *the both of them*. In his study of Farnworth (Greater Manchester), Shorrocks (1981:507-515) describes a total of 15 different contexts where the local speech variety can have the definite article in contrast to St.E., as for example with articles of clothing (*with the clogs on*) or with illnesses (*he's copped [caught] the measles*).

Furthermore, there are varieties in which the use of the definite article can be explained by the contact of English with another language. According to Bliss (1984:148-149), the special use of the definite article in Irish English is due to a transference from Irish. As for the contexts, he comments:

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[31]With regard to the absence of the definite article in these contexts in St.E. cf. Quirk et al. (1985:277-278).

[32]Cf. also Wright (1905:259-260) and Edwards/Weltens (1985:118).

[33]On Scottish English cf. also Macafee (1983:51).

> The definite article is often used in contexts where S[tandard] E[nglish] would have no article at all. In particular, it is used with names of diseases, languages, counties, and certain festal seasons:
> *He was taken bad with the jaundice.*
> *She was a stranger with only the book Irish.*
> *A lonely parish in the County Wicklow.*
> *I had a few jars over the Christmas.*
> (Bliss, 1984:149)

Shuken (1984:155) likewise mentions the use of the definite article as one of the features of English in the Gaelic-speaking area of Scotland. She attributes it to the influence of Gaelic and quotes the examples *spoke the Gaelic/English*, *fishing with the long lines*. A detailed analysis of the use of the definite article by the Gaelic-speaking population in Scotland is given by Sabban (1982:380-418). She distinguishes between different contexts in which the definite article occurs, e.g. in connection with public institutions (*go to the school*), before names of diseases (*have the cold*), before names of meals (*have porridge for the dinner*), before names of languages (*have the English*), before verbal nouns expressing occupational or other activities (*the fishing*), before concrete mass nouns and collective nouns (*have much of the snow*) and before proper nouns (*the Loch Mealt*).

On the one hand, Sabban deals with the question of whether the nonstandard use of the definite article can be based on a transference from Gaelic. And, indeed, an influence of Gaelic is possible in all contexts, as there is a parallel use of the definite article in Gaelic. On the other hand, an examination of other varieties of English, in particular Scottish English, shows that in many cases they also employ the definite article in the same contexts. The situation is consequently rather complex, because not only Gaelic but also other varieties of English - above all Scottish English - are a possible source of influence for the use of the definite article.

The following discussion will examine the individual contexts of the definite article in the English in Guernsey, together with possible explanations of the use of the article.

a) names of languages

As mentioned above, there are parallels for the occurrence of the definite article before names of languages in Irish English (cf. Bliss, 1984:149) and in the English of speakers of Gaelic in Scotland (cf. Sabban, 1982:392-397). Under the entry *the* (4), the EDD says that the definite article can be used "before the names of sciences or branches of learning", e.g. *the botany*, *the Latin*. All the examples cited in the EDD originate from Scotland (Banffshire, Aberdeen, Perth). The EDD comments that in Aberdeen and Perth the definite article is no longer common, although still used in this context. The SND (entry *the* 5.3) confirms the use of the article before "branches of learning, foreign languages, philosophy and the like", but characterizes it as "somewhat obsolete". It is explicitly stated that *the* is still commonly used before the name *Gaelic*, and that this use is based on a transference from Gaelic.

The question is whether the varieties mentioned above can have exerted an influence on the use of the definite article in Guernsey. Such an influence cannot and should not be totally excluded. Altogether, however, it seems far more likely that the reason for the nonstandard use of the definite article in Guernsey is a transference from Guernesiais. For the definite article is employed before names of languages in Guernesiais as well[34]: [mõ pɛr savɛ lə bwõ frãse e lõgje e lə patwa] (*My father*

[34]My informants on Guernesiais agreed that it would be very unusual to omit the article in this context. In St.F., however, the definite article is optional:
Il parle (le) français.
Il parle (l')anglais.
Cf. Grevisse (1980:338).

knew the Good French and the English and the patois). A clear indication of transference is to be found in the expression *the good French*, which is obviously based on a literal translation from Guernesiais ([lə bwɔ̃ frɑ̃se]).

b) adverbials of direction and position

Direct parallels for the use of the definite article in combination with *town* in other varieties of English could not be found in the literature. But there are varieties where the definite article occurs before geographical names. In Irish English, *the* is employed together with names of counties (Bliss, 1984:149). Sabban (1982:412) observed a few examples of the definite article before geographical names with English-Gaelic bilinguals in Scotland, e.g. *the Loch Mealt*, *the Billingsgate*. Shorrocks (1981:511-512) recorded *the* before place- and street-names in Farnworth: *my father came from the Kearsley Mos*s, *by the Bosco [bel] Road*.

As in context a), it is far more probable that the use of the article before adverbials of direction and position is caused by transference. In Guernesiais the definite article is employed in the same contexts: [nu vɑ a la vil pur ʃɔpɑi] (*we go to the town for shopping*), [il ɑ de ʃɔp dɔ̃ la ry d la fantoin] (*he has got shops in the Fountain Street*). It is also interesting to note that some parish-names in Guernsey include the definite article: *the Vale*, *the Forest*, *the Câtel*. Here again, the obvious reason is a transference from Guernesiais, because the definite article is also part of the name in Guernesiais: [lə vɑl], [la fɔrə], [lə kɑte]. The informants always used the definite article in connection with the names *Vale* and *Forest*:

- And I do business in the Vale (54.12)
- Actually I was born in the Forest(14.16)

This usage is universal in Guernsey and is also adopted by non-natives. The use of the definite article varies with the name *Câtel*, however:

- No, I used to live in the Câtel (5.27)
- We were born in Câtel (33.590)

The other parish-names (*Torteval*, *St.Peter's* etc.) are used without the definite article in Guernesiais; accordingly, it does not occur in the equivalent English names, either. In addition, there are many other place- and street-names with the definite article in Guernsey, for example *the Corbière*, *the Vauxbelets*, *the Pollet*, *the Longue Rue*, the Norman French counterparts of which equally use the definite article (*La Corbière*, *Les Vauxbelets*, *Le Pollet*, *La Longue Rue*).

c) adverbials of time expressing a regular repetition

A parallel use of the definite article in other varieties of English could not be detected, but a possible explanation is a transference from Guernesiais[35]: [nuzi vɑ lə samdi o ser] (*we go there the Saturday evening*).

d) plural noun phrases with generic reference

A corresponding use of *the* could not be found in other varieties for this context either. The reason for the feature would appear to be a transference from Guernesiais[36]: [lezɛfã aprõ vit ɛ̃ lõgaʒ] (*the children learn a language quickly*).

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[35]With regard to the use of the definite article in Guernesiais to express a regular repetition cf. also Tomlinson (1981:149).

St.F. employs the definite article in the same way: *Il vient le lundi* (= *chaque lundi*). Cf. for example Chevalier et al. (1964:225) or Le Bidois (Tome I, 1935:48).

[36]Like Guernesiais, St.F. employs the definite article in the same context. Cf. Grevisse (1980:335).

e) the noun *school* (referring to the institution) and the idiomatic expression *go by bus*

Instances of the use of the definite article in combination with *school* can be found in Scottish English, as is indicated in the SND (entry *the* 3), in Aitken (1979:106) and in Miller/Brown (1982:17)[37]. The EDD (entry *the* 2) remarks with regard to the definite article: "used in a general indefinite sense before certain words such as - church, school, grace, bed &c." Wright's instances of *the* before the noun *school* originate from Scotland but also from the north of England (Northumberland, Westmoreland and West Yorkshire). That the article is common in this context in the north of England is confirmed by the results of the SED. The relevant item of the SED is question VIII.6.1: *Children are not taught to read and write at home, they must ... (go to school)*. When answering this question the informants in the north-western part of England frequently employed the definite article (*ga/gan/go to the school*), cf. Map III on p.122. The article did not occur in more southern areas, however. A further indication of the use of *the* in combination with *school* in the north of England is given by Shorrocks (1981:513).

In spite of the above-mentioned parallels, it is equally possible - and in my view more likely - that the use of the article in this context is caused by transference from Guernesiais: [lə dʒɛrnəzje nətɛ pɑ aprai a lekol] (*Guernsey French wasn't taught in the school*). As far as the use of *the* in the idiomatic expression *to go by bus* is concerned, one can assume that the reason here, too, is an influence from Guernesiais. There is no evidence for a parallel use of *the* in other varieties: [nuze tuʒur alɑi dõ la bɔs] (*we always went by the bus*). The hypothesis of transference is corroborated by the fact that the corpus includes three instances where not only

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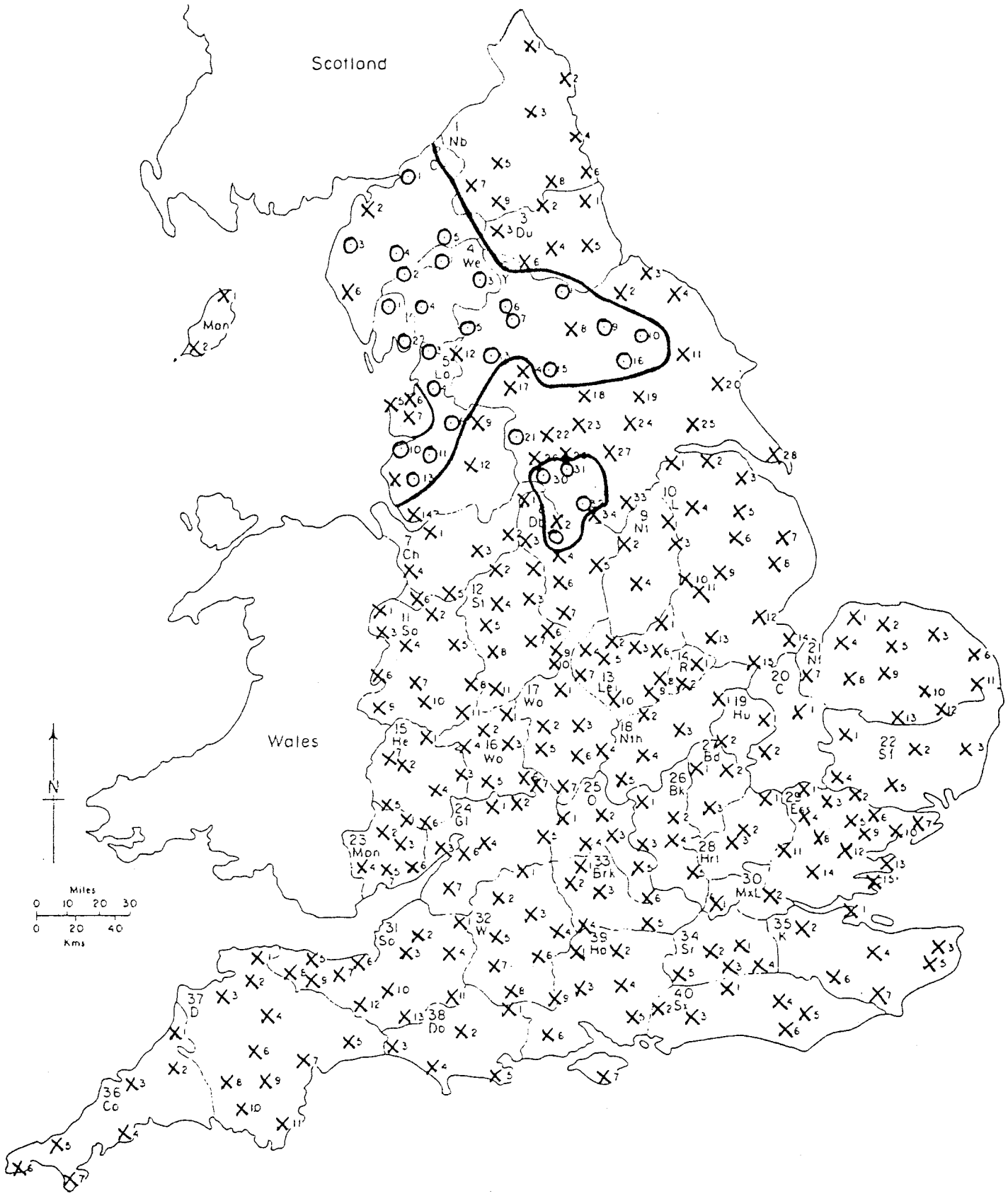
[37]Cf. also Sabban (1982:382-386).



Map III: *go to school* (SED VIII.6.1)

× *(to) school*
○ *to the school*

the article but also the preposition *in* is used, which corresponds to the preposition [dõ] in Guernesiais. Cf. for example:

- And if I go without my husband, I go in the bus, because I don't want to drive the car in town. (18.107)

The expression *to go in the bus* is evidently a literal translation from Guernesiais: [aɪɑi dõ ɪa bɔs] .

In conclusion, it can be stated that in all the contexts discussed above a transference from Guernesiais may be the reason for the nonstandard use of the definite article, although an influence from other varieties of English cannot be totally excluded in certain contexts. In the corpus, nonstandard *the* occurred mostly in context a (*the* before names of languages), and is accordingly listed separately in the following table. The instances of nonstandard *the* in the other contexts (b-e) were far less frequent and are grouped together here.

Table 10: Nonstandard use of the definite article *the*

informant group	number of occurrences context a		number of occurrences contexts b-e		total number of occurrences	
MO	44	96	43	85	87	181
FO	52		42		94	
MY	2	6	11	21	13	27
FY	4		10		14	

A clear difference becomes apparent with regard to the nonstandard use of the definite article between the older in-

formants (and Guernesiais speakers) and the younger informants. Whereas the feature occurs with all informants in groups MO and FO, it is limited to individual cases in groups MY and FY. Nonstandard *the* could not be observed at all in the case of five of the younger informants, while a further eight younger informants used it only once. It can therefore be stated that the speech behaviour of the younger informants with respect to this feature is considerably closer to the standard language.

5.4. The emphatic use of the objective forms of the personal pronouns

One can notice in Guernsey that the objective forms of the personal pronouns (*me*, *you*, etc.) serve an emphatic purpose[38]: in other words, the subject is repeated by means of the respective pronoun at the end of the sentence and thereby stressed[39]:

- Int.: Do you have an idea, how many people still speak Guernsey French?
  48: Caw, I can't say, me. (48.326)
- There was a few [crystal sets]. My brother-in-law had one. But we didn't have any, us. (48.585)

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[38]According to Hublart (1979:48) emphatic *me* (*me, I do*) is equally found in Jersey.

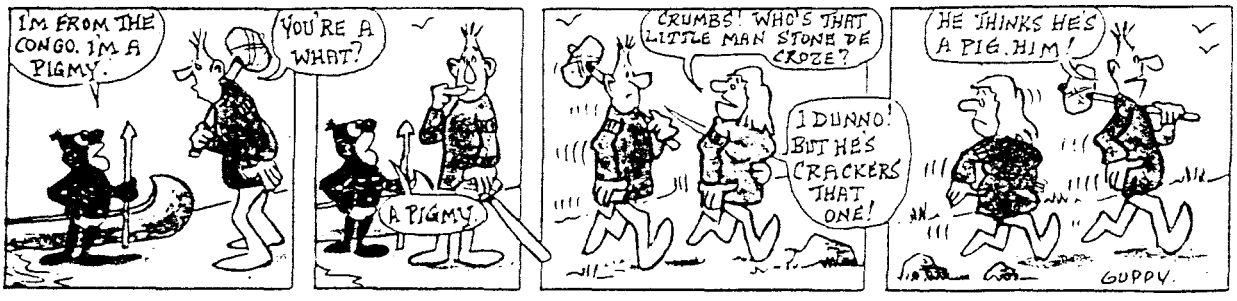
[39]The objective forms of the personal pronouns can adopt the following functions in St.E. (cf. Quirk et al., 1985:337): a) subject complement e.g. *It was him*, b) object e.g. *I saw him*, c) prepositional complement e.g. *I gave it to him*. In informal usage they also occur in short responses in which the predicate has been deleted: e.g. A: *Who's there?* B: *Me.*, or in comparative constructions: e.g. *He is more intelligent than her*.

There are also examples in the corpus where the objective forms of the personal pronouns appear not at the end but at the beginning of the sentence:

- [...] and she can sort of keep the old songs and that going. Me, I'm tone-deaf. I can't sing. (20.628)

- Int: Have you had any other jobs in your life?
  54: Me, I did promotional work. I still do from time to time, when I'm desperate for money. (54.575)

Several works refer to the special use of the objective forms of the personal pronouns in Guernsey, for example Tomlinson (1981:19): *he don't like work, him. We eats in the kitchen, us*[40]. The article by Le Pelley (1975) already contains in its title (*I am Guernsey - me!*) an instance of this particular feature. Indeed, the emphatic use of the objective forms of the personal pronouns has become a stereotype that one often employs to caricature the English of Guernesiais-speakers. It is one of the features that occurs with high frequency in the *Stone de Croze* cartoons (Guppy, 1979). In the first strip the joke is that Stone de Croze interprets *I'm a Pigmy* as *I'm a pig, me.*



[40]Tomlinson (1981:18ff.) explicitly states that the special use of *me*, *you*, etc. in Guernsey is caused by transference.

The same feature similarly appears in the novel *The Book of Ebenezer Le Page*, for example: "The older I get and the more I learn, the more I know I don't know nothing, me." (Edwards, 1982:21)[41]. People in Guernsey are well aware of the peculiarity of using *me*, *you*, etc. emphatically. Several of my informants volunteered the comment - without any prompting on my part - that constructions such as *I'm going to town, me.* were typical of Guernsey and could be found especially in the speech of older Guernesiais-speakers.

As Shorrocks (1981:542) has observed, the objective forms of the personal pronouns are also used emphatically in Farnworth (Greater Manchester). The following statement was made by an informant who had worked in several jobs: *Aye* (*yes*) [...] *I've gone round, me.* But there is no further evidence of this feature in other varieties of British English.

According to Marckwardt (1980:153), emphatic *me* occurs sentence-finally in Cajun English in Louisiana: *I was late, me.* This is particularly noteworthy because a transference from a variety of French is likely to be the reason for this feature. Cajun English is spoken by a French-speaking ethnic group, called Cajuns (also known as Acadians). The ancestors of the Cajuns (Acadians) were French settlers who first came

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[41] In a commentary on the language of the novel Edwards (1982:486) explicitly refers to emphatic constructions such as *I am going to town, me. Are you going to town, you?* and characterizes them as typical of "Guernsey English".

to live in Nova Scotia, Canada, but were expelled from there by the English in 1755 and later settled in Louisiana[42]. Mention should also be made in this context of the novel *The Grandissimes: A Story of Creole Life* (1880) by George W. Cable. In this book, Cable imitates a variety of English as spoken by francophones in Louisiana. The linguistic analysis of the novel (cf. Evans, 1977) shows that one of the linguistic features employed by Cable is the emphatic use of the objective forms of the personal pronouns:

> Notable too is the use of an emphatic pronoun, usually a repeated first-person singular form in the objective case (*I would say dad, me, fo' time' a day*).
>
> (Evans, 1977:235)

The reason for the emphatic use of the objective forms of the personal pronouns in Guernsey is evidently a transference from Guernesiais. In this language the personal pronouns [mɛ], [tɛ], [li], [jel], [nã], [vu], [jai] are used parallel to their English counterparts, thus serving an emphatic purpose[43]:

[kɔ: ʒən pø pɑ dir mɛ] (*Caw, I can't say, me.*)

[ʒə mõ ve pur la vil mɛ] (*I'm going to town, me.*)

[mɛ ʒɑ̃ dyr] (*Me, I'm deaf.*)

Tomlinson (1981:60) states that the emphatic personal pronouns of Guernesiais appear predominantly at the end of the sentence:

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[42]Regarding the French language in Louisiana cf. Read (1963:XVII-XXIV).

[43]In St.F. the personal pronouns *moi, toi*, etc. are similarly used for emphasis: *Je le sais bien, moi. Sais-tu, toi le prix d'un tel sacrifice?* (cf. Grevisse, 1980:535 and Chevalier et al., 1964:229, 231).

> Le pronom sous sa forme accentuée occupe souvent une position à la fin de l'énoncé.
> [ʒə l kuni pɑ mɛ][44] *moi, je ne le connais pas.*

One can observe that in the English of Guernsey emphatic *me, you*, etc. mainly occur sentence-finally, too (cf. also the following table).

Table 11: Use of emphatic *me, you*, etc.

informant group	*me, you*, etc. sentence-initially	*me, you*, etc. sentence-finally	total number of occurrences
MO	1	3	4
FO	4	4	8
MY	0	3	3
FY	1	0	1
Total	6	10	16

All in all, the frequency of emphatic *me, you*, etc. in the corpus is not particularly high. A reason for this may be that the feature is socially stigmatized. In Guernsey it is regarded as a characteristic of older Guernesiais-speakers and is accordingly avoided, especially in conversation with an unknown person. The feature is indeed more frequent with the older informants. The somewhat greater frequency in group FO can be explained by the fact that 4 out of a total of 8 occurrences were produced by just one informant (no. 48). But it has to be stressed that the emphatic use of the objective forms of the personal pronouns is also found with younger

[44] The phonetic transcription has been changed here to the IPA system.

people who are not speakers of Guernesiais themselves. This is confirmed by further examples such as *I'm having another pint, me. I've got to work, me.* that I noticed in non-interview situations.

5.5. The interrogative *Is it?*

Two different contexts can be distinguished regarding this feature:

a) *Is it?* may generally be used to react to a statement made by an interlocutor. In St.E., however, a short question such as *Does he?, Has she?* occurs in the same context, its form depending on the preceding statement[45]. The communicative function of *Is it?* varies and is marked by a differing intonation. When the intonation is falling (*Is it?*) it signifies that the speaker accepts the statement of his interlocutor (he may simultaneously well nod approvingly). It is in fact not a question in the proper sense of the word, but rather an expression of surprise, and the interlocutor is encouraged to confirm his statement.

- Int.: These tractors are not very popular in Germany. We think they are too light.
  41: Is it? (41.298)
  St.E. Do you?

- Int.: My daughter was born on 26th January.
  27: Is it? (27.451)
  St.E. Was she?

---

[45]From a formal point of view, short questions of this type consist of an operator, adopted from the preceding statement, plus a subject in the form of a pronoun. If the preceding statement does not contain an operator, a form of *do* is introduced (cf. Quirk et al., 1985:79-81, 807).

When the intonation is rising (Ís it?) it signifies that the speaker is asking a real question. He wants to verify the interlocutor's statement and is inducing him to re-affirm its truthfulness.

- Int.: You've got something there.
  13: Ís it? (13.201)
  St.E. Háve I?

The special use of the question *Is it?* in Guernsey is also briefly referred to by Tomlinson (1981:19): *I have been to Sark. Is it?* (St.E. *Have you?*) and by Le Pelley (1975:18).

b) Additionally, *is it?* can be employed as an invariant tag question[46]. The intonation in this case is rising. The speaker first draws a conclusion from the context and, by using the tag *is it?*, asks the interlocutor to respond to it. In St.E. tag questions can be used in a comparable way, namely in constructions in which both statement and tag are positive:

Your car is outside, ís it?

You've had an accident, háve you?

Quirk et al. comment on this type of sentences:

> The tag typically has a rising tone, and the statement is characteristically preceded by *oh* or *so*, indicating the speaker's arrival at a conclusion by inference, or by recalling what has already been said.
>
> (Quirk et al., 1985:812)

In contrast to the use of *is it?* in Guernsey, the form of

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[46]Neither Tomlinson (1981) nor Le Pelley (1975) mention the use of *is it?* as a tag. But notice the reference in Edwards (1982:486): "[...] the tendency for a sentence, having made a statement, to turn its tail up at the end and ask the question *Is it?*"

the tag in St.E. is determined by the preceding statement. As the following examples demonstrate, *is it?* can occur in Guernsey as a tag in connection with both a statement and a question.

- In the summer you're talking about the sun dusk around ten, is it? (37.120)
  St.E. [...] are you?
- So you are over here till what end, end of this month do you say, is it? (37.628)
  St.E. [...] are you?, also possible: [...] do you?
- How did you get here, by walking, is it? (16.334)
  St.E. You got here by walking, did you?

With regard to *Is it?* in context a), there is no evidence for a parallel use in other varieties of English. But there are two parallels for *is it?* in context b). According to Shuken (1984:153), *is it?* occurs as an invariant tag in the Gaelic-speaking area of Scotland, e.g. *What do you do, just take that to Gaelic, is it?* In her opinion, an influence from Gaelic is responsible for this feature. Edwards/Weltens (1985:119) note that "S[outh] Wales English can have undifferentiated tags, e.g. *He's going, is it?*"

In spite of these parallels, it seems more justified to assume that the reason for the use of *is it?* in Guernsey is a transference from Guernesiais, as is also assumed by Tomlinson (1981:19) and Le Pelley (1975:18). For in Guernesiais the form [eʃ], corresponding to English *is it?*, is used in an identical way.

context a):

A: [ʒə rõkantri mɛs lə paʒ jar] **B:** [eʃ]

A: *I met Mr. Le Page yesterday.* **B:** *Is it?*

context b):

[kɔm tʃik te vny iʃai a pi eʃ]

How did you get here, by walking, is it?

The parallel use of *is it?* in English and [eʃ] in Guernesiais is equally obvious in interrogative sentences that I could note outside the actual interviews:

- Is it that you have met P.J.?
  St.E.: Have you met P.J.?
- Why is it that you Germans are so interested in Guernsey French?
  St.E. Why are you Germans [...]?

The structure *is it that* in the above sentences is redundant in St.E. and can be explained by transference[47]. In Guernesiais, the forms [eʃk][48] (St.F. *est-ce que*) and [purtʃi eʃk] (St.F. *pourquoi est-ce que*) are used in analogy to *is it that* and *why is it that* in English. In consideration of this fact one can indeed suppose that *is it?* in English and [eʃ] in Guernesiais are elliptical structures, i.e. the following subordinate clause has been deleted:

context a):

A: *I met Mr. Le Page yesterday.*

B: *Is it (that you met Mr. Le Page yesterday)?*

context b):

How did you get here, by walking, is it (that you got here by walking)?

---

[47]Le Pelley (1975:18) also refers to sentence structures of this kind: *Is it that you are going in town?*

[48]As to the interrogative form [eʃk] in Guernesiais cf. Tomlinson (1981:72).

Table 12: The interrogative *is it?*

informant group	number of occurrences context a)	number of occurrences context b)
MO	1	0
FO	1	3
MY	7	4
FY	0	1
Total	9	8

It lies in the nature of an interview that questions by the informants are less frequent than in other speech situations, as it is mainly the interviewer who asks the questions, which the informant in turn is supposed to answer, and not vice versa. This is certainly one of the reasons why *is it?* is not particularly frequent in the corpus. It can nevertheless be stated that the feature is not limited to older Guernesiais speakers but is also used - as is confirmed by further evidence from outside the interview situations - by younger people who do not speak Guernesiais.

5.6. Prepositional phrases

5.6.1. The prepositions *to* and *in/at*

The use of prepositions in Guernsey deviates from St.E. in various ways. One can observe, for instance, that *to* occurs in prepositional phrases denoting a position, where St.E. has *in*

or *at*[49]:

- I've worked to this place - oh since I left school - seven, seven years ago. (28.317)
- I usually do my shopping to Le Riche [proper name] at Cobo and to Besain [proper name]. (14.460)
- There's not much now you can't buy to that shop. (10.411)

The use of *to* instead of *in/at* in Guernsey is confirmed by Tomlinson (1981:18): *he is to town* (St.E. *he is in town*) and by Le Pelley (1975:18): *I saw you to the market yesterday* (St.E. *I saw you at the market yesterday*). Furthermore, the novel *The Book of Ebenezer Le Page* contains several examples of the same feature, for example: "He had learnt it from books when he was to school." (Edwards, 1982:347). According to the EDD (entry *to*, II.2.), the preposition *to* can be used in place of "at; esp. before a place-name". Surprisingly, Wright also quotes an instance from Guernsey: *I got it to the shop*[50]. The other examples in the EDD, however, reveal that the preposition *to* denoting a position is mostly combined with another preposition (*over*, *up*), so that there is no direct parallel to Guernsey in these cases: *She livin' miles away an' him over to Jenkinses* (South Wales), *He lives over to Gosport* (Hampshire), *Mrs. Laver up to Hall* (Somerset). In the OED (entry *to* A.I.4) *to* is equally entered as "Expressing simple

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[49]In St.E. *to* is used merely in connection with a destination, whereas *in/at* expresses a static position (cf. Quirk et al., 1985:673ff.).

[50]This instance is recorded following the abbreviation "Guern.". Although it is not included in the list of abbreviations of the EDD (vol. I, XVIII-XIX), this abbreviation doubtless stands for Guernsey: the list of correspondents (EDD, vol. I, XIII) shows that Wright corresponded with a certain Miss G.H. Gosselin from Guernsey, who is also mentioned with her initials (G.H.G.) as the source of the above instance.

position: At, in (a place, also fig. a condition, etc.)", but with the addition "Now only dial.[ectal] and U.S. colloq.[uial]". The following examples are quoted - among others - in the OED: [...] *they have enough of it to home* [1835-40], *I bought this to Taunton* (Somerset) [1889], *You can get real handsome cups and saucers to Crosby's* [1901]. *Were you ever to the Botanic Gardens?* [1977].

The EDD (entry *to*, II.2.) also records two examples of the prepositional phrase *to home* instead of *at home*: [...] *Master Brown ain't to home* (Derby[shire]), *Thy waife and children to home* (Oxford[shire]). However, the results of both the LS and the SED demonstrate that *to home* does not commonly occur in traditional English dialects[51]. There are only a few cases in which it is theoretically possible that *to home* is used, this occurring in those places where the fieldworker noted down a syllabic /t/ which may stand for either *at* or *to*. But syllabic /t/ occurs in the LS in only one place in Kent and Sussex, and in the SED in one place in Kent, Sussex and Wiltshire (cf. Viereck, 1975:166).

The situation is different in some American dialects. Here *to home* is quite common. Kurath (1949:17) notes:

> The phrase *to home* ... is still widely used by the side of *at home* among the rural population of New England, the central part of New York State, and on the upper Susquehanna, less commonly along Lake Erie.

Furthermore, one can find examples in the commentary of map 403 of the LANE which prove that *to* as a preposition denoting position occurs not only in the phrase *to home* but also in

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[51]The relevant questionnaire item in the LS is question 18.4: *If you go to someone's house and he is not there, they say, no he is not* _____.
while in the SED it is question VIII.5.2: *But some lazy people like to read the Sunday papers, and so they ... stay at home.*

other contexts, such as *both to school and to home*, *he was to my house*, *she was to the Probate Court*. As is confirmed by McDavid/McDavid (1960:11), the same feature is widespread in the North Central States as well:

> Among the grammatical features characteristic of Northern speech [...] *to* as a preposition of location - in such contexts as *sick to the stomach*, *(he isn't) to home* - [...] [is] well established throughout the area of Northern settlement.

It can be added that the SCE examines the question whether *to* is equally common in Canadian English in the contexts named by McDavid/McDavid. The relevant questions of the SCE are:

Question 22: *Which do you say?* A. *sick at the/my stomach*; B. *sick to the/my stomach*; C. *sick in the/my stomach*; D. *stomach-sick*.

Question 97: *Which do you say?* A. *He's to home*. B. *He's at home*.

In question 22 *sick to the stomach* was by far the most frequently chosen answer. 76.25% of all the informants stated that they would use this expression. In contrast, *He is to home* does not seem to be very widespread in Canada, only 2.75% of the informants favoured this answer[52].

The question remains as to the extent to which the specific use of the preposition *to* in Guernsey has been influenced by other varieties of English. As a result of a lack of evidence - especially for British English - no clear solution to the problem can be offered. The existing parallels in British English are scarce. The LS and the SED unfortunately give no further information as to the use of *to*. They merely show that

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[52]For a more detailed analysis of the results to questions 22 and 97 of the SCE cf. Bähr (1981:77-79, 158-159, 186, 218).

even *to home* instead of the standard *at home* does not occur in England, with the exception of a few doubtful cases.

On the other hand, a possible explanation for this feature in Guernsey is a transference from Guernesiais. The preposition *to* has several equivalents in Guernesiais which can be employed to denote both position and destination[53]:

Position:	Destination:
[ʒə dmær a sɑ̃i pjɛr pɔr]	[ʒə ve a sɑ̃i pjɛr pɔr]
(*I live in St.Peter Port*)	(*I go to St.Peter Port*)
[ʒə dmær õ sɛrk]	[ʒə ve õ sɛrk]
(*I live in Sark*)	(*I go to Sark*)
[ʒakat si lə riʃ]	[ʒə ve si lə riʃ]
(*I buy at Le Riche's*)	(*I go to Le Riche's*)

One can therefore talk of transference in so far as the special quality of [a], [õ], [si] to function as prepositions of position and destination is transferred to the preposition *to* in English. The transference hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that at the same time the preposition *in* is used in Guernsey to express destination, where St.E. has *to*[54]:

- But if - if I go in Sark, they've got their own French - but at times I've got a job to understand them. (44.25)
- We send them [the flowers] in England - we send them to the English markets. (18.330)

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[53]The corresponding prepositions *à*, *en*, *chez* in St.F. can equally express both position and destination (cf. Chevalier et al., 1964:402-404 or Grevisse, 1980:1118ff., 1180ff.).

[54]Cf. also the remark by Le Pelley (1975:18) that *going in town* is used instead of *going to town*.

Likewise, *at* can occur as a preposition of destination:

- I was a fisherman before and we went h'm we used to take our fish at France and that. (41.62)
- Only two years ago I went, eh, at Tunbridge Wells for a conference. (32.678)

There is an interesting parallel to Guernsey in Cajun English in Louisiana, where *in* is employed as a preposition of destination, too, thus: *He went in France*. According to Brown (1986:400), this is an instance of transference from Cajun French. She thinks that *in France* is a rendering of the corresponding prepositional phrase *en France* in French. There is no further evidence that *in* or *at* can be used as prepositions of destination in other varieties of English. As in the case of the preposition *to*, one is justified in assuming a transference from Guernesiais to be the reason for this feature in Guernsey, since the equivalent prepositions of *in/at* in Guernesiais, namely [a], [õ], [si], can express position as well as destination.

In summary, one may state that the prepositions *to* and *in/at* in Guernsey do not follow the distribution of St.E., but are variable in their use. *To* and *in/at* may occur as prepositions of position and destination. This is in fact a parallel to Guernesiais, as the latter uses the same prepositions ([a], [õ], [si]) to denote both position and destination.

Table 13: The prepositions *to* and *in/at*

informant group	number of occurrences of nonstandard *to*		number of occurrences of nonstandard *in/at*	
MO	18	31	30	41
FO	13		11	
MY	8	11	6	6
FY	3		0	

With regard to the nonstandard use of the prepositions *to* and *in/at*, a difference between the older and the younger informants becomes evident. Most of the deviations from St.E. were recorded in group MO, whereas only a few instances of nonstandard prepositions were found in group FY. With the younger informants, the preposition *to* expressing a position is still more frequent than the prepositions *in/at* expressing a destination.

5.6.2. Deletion of the preposition *at* in the phrase *at home*

In Guernsey the preposition *at* can be omitted in the prepositional phrase *at home*:

- I didn't evacuate. [...] No, I wanted to stay home. (14.125)
- My wife understood but she couldn't speak it [Guernsey French]. So we used to speak in English home. (1.476)
- An whether he actually still lives home or not I don't know. (31.870)

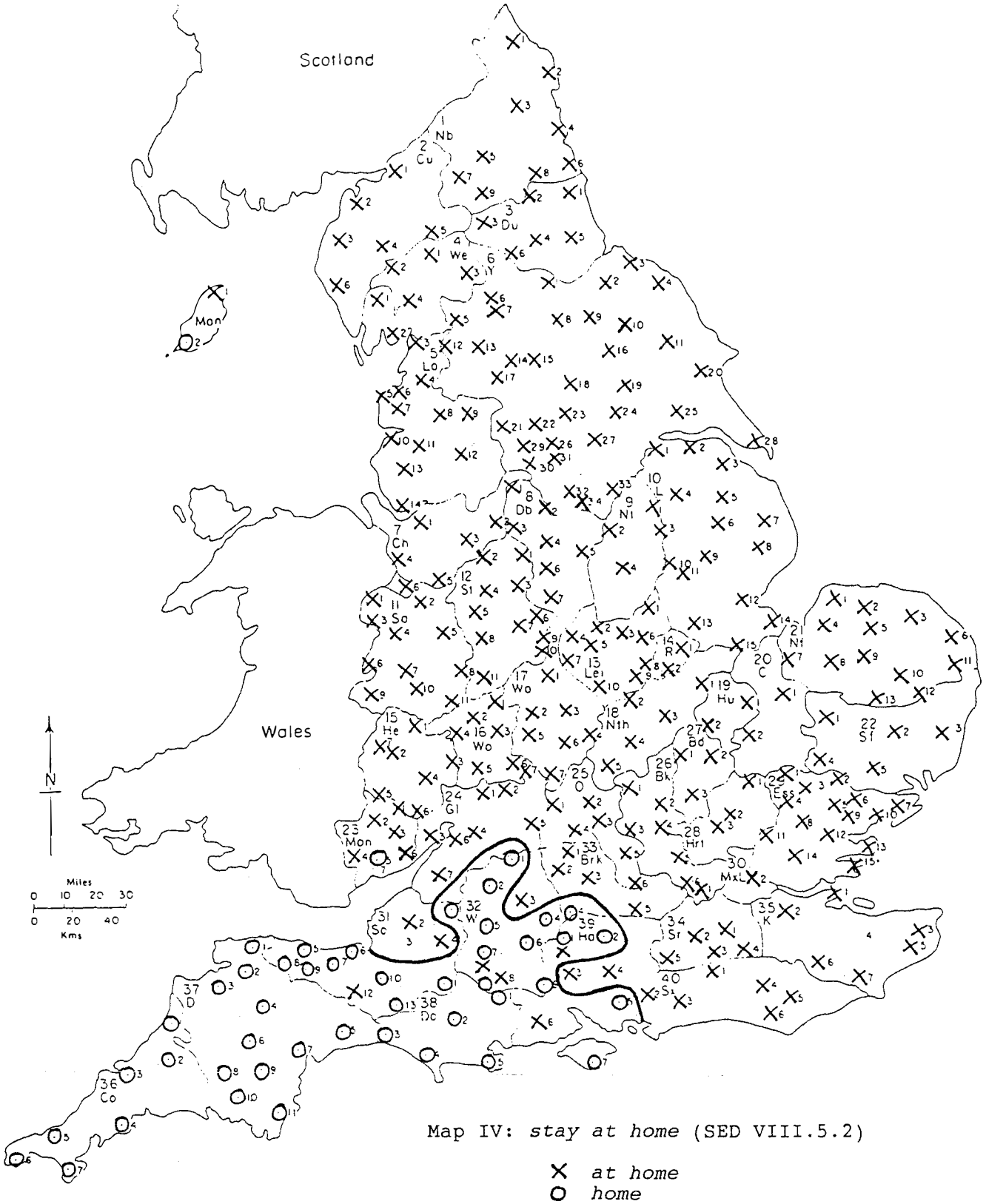
Various linguistic atlases demonstrate that *home* instead of

the standard phrase *at home* occurs - at least in certain contexts - in other varieties of English as well. In the LS (question 18.4), *(he isn't) home* was recorded in Somerset and Devon (cf. Viereck, 1975:166 and map 117). The results of question VIII.5.2 of the SED show that *stay* (*bide/cower/stop*) *home* is common in the southwest of England (Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, cf. Map IV, p. 141). Furthermore, *stay home* was recorded once in Monmouthshire and in the Isle of Man. According to map 403 of the LANE (*he is not at home*), *home* is found - if relatively rarely - in New England, along with *to home* and *at home*.

Tomlinson (1981:20) similarly notes that *home* can be used instead of *at home* in Guernsey: *I've got one, home.* He goes on to explain this feature:

> Il y a dans ce cas une confusion avec la forme sans préposition que l'on emploie en anglais 'standard' avec la notion de destination, par exemple, he goes home [...] I arrive home.

Evidently, the deletion of *at* in the phrase *at home* is not directly caused by a transference from Guernesiais, since the phrases corresponding to *at home* in Guernesiais contain a preposition: [a la mezã] (St.F. *à la maison*) or [si mɛ], [si tɛ], etc. (St.F. *chez moi, chez toi* etc.). But it is quite possible that Tomlinson's explanation is correct, that Guernesiais speakers, when learning English, disregarded the rules of using *home* (as a destination: *I go home*) and *at home* (as a position: *I stay at home*). The consequence was a generalization of *home*; in other words, they employed *home* for both a destination and a position. The corpus contains altogether seven instances of this feature. Five of them were produced by older informants and two by younger informants.



Map IV: *stay at home* (SED VIII.5.2)

× *at home*
O *home*

Various verbs occur in combination with (*at*) *home* in the data of the SED: *bide*, *cower*, *stay*, *stop* (cf LAE: map L62).

5.7. Present tense verb forms

With regard to verb forms in the present tense, two deviations from St.E. can be observed. On the one hand, the ending *-s* is not restricted to the 3rd person singular but occurs in other persons as well:

- If I wants to go down the road I jump in my van or in the car. (43.280)
- All the boys that goes there at my age, we start speaking in French, in patois. (9.550)
- Sometimes I goes to the pub for a bar lunch, for a few beers. (37.625)

On the other hand, the 3rd person singular can have the same form as the other persons in the verb paradigm, the 3rd person singular thus remaining uninflected:

- Well he speak English but he know patois just like me. (48.490)
- Well up to now, h'm, I don't do it myself, because my daughter do it. (1.236)
- When I go on holiday to France my son always say [...] (20.648)

Tomlinson (1981:19) confirms the existence of the above-mentioned nonstandard verb forms in Guernsey, giving the following examples: *We eats in the kitchen, us. He don't like work, him.* Nonstandard verb forms ending in *-s* are one of the frequent features appearing in the *Stone de Croze* cartoons intended to imitate the kind of English typical of Guernesiais speakers.

The uninflected form of the third person singular repeatedly occurs in the novel *The Book of Ebenezer Le Page*, for example: *It say in the Bible* [...]. *He have holes in the shell on his back* [...] (Edwards, 1982:28, 37).

It is well-known that nonstandard present tense verb forms are not unusual and can indeed be found in many varieties of English[55]. The ending *-s* in persons other than the third person singular is discussed in the works of Cheshire (1982:31-43), Shorrocks (1981:566-572), Thomas (1985:218) and Aitken (1984:105), for example. After examining the relevant literature Edwards/Weltens come to the following conclusion with reference to present tense verb endings in British English:

> The most widespread non-standard feature is the extension of the third person singular *-s* to other persons - in most cases to all persons. This seems to be common in Scotland, parts of N.England, Herefordshire, parts of S.Wales and parts of S.England (particularly [the] S[outh] W[est]).
> (Edwards/Weltens, 1985:108)

It should be noted that the use of nonstandard verb forms ending in *-s* can be subject to different restrictions in individual varieties. In Cheshire's analysis of the speech of adolescents in Reading (Berkshire), for example, she demonstrates that the frequency of nonstandard *-s* depends on the

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[55]Cf. Hughes/Trudgill (1987:16-17).

subsequent syntactic structure (cf. Cheshire, 1982:39-42). It is also particularly frequent with certain verbs, called *vernacular verbs* (cf. Cheshire, 1982:42-43). That nonstandard present tense verb forms ending in *-s* are common in varieties of American English, too, is exemplified by Wolfram/Fasold (1974:153-156).

The uninflected verb form in the third person singular (e.g. *he know*) is to be found in British English above all in East Anglia. In his sociolinguistic study of Norwich, Trudgill (1974:55-63) deals with this feature in some detail. He demonstrates that the use of uninflected verb forms correlates with the social class of the speaker and also with the speech style (formal style as opposed to casual style). The feature is extremely frequent with the lower social classes in Norwich:

> In their everyday speech, lower working-class (LWC) (Class V) speakers use a very high percentage, almost 100% of marker-less forms. The type 'she love' is clearly the norm for this class.
> (Trudgill, 1974:61)

Wakelin (1984:82) states that forms such as *she wear* can still be found in rural dialects in the south of England. The results of the SED show that *he do* (question IX.5.1) and *he have* (question IX.6.1) occur in East Anglia and in many parts of the south and southwest of England (cf. maps M34 and M41 of the LAE). With regard to *he do(es)*, the LS (question 7.3) largely agrees with the results of the SED (cf. Viereck, 1985:252-253, 274). The form *he do* regularly appears in the LS in East Anglia, Cambridgeshire and North Hertfordshire. It occurs sporadically in the South East and the West Midlands, while it is widespread again in the South West. The standard form *he does* clearly dominates in the Home Counties and the Central Midlands, however. Furthermore, the uninflected form in the third person singular is a common feature of many non-

standard varieties of American English[56]. Wolfram/Fasold (1974:153) go so far as to state:

> In perhaps every American English nonstandard dialect the standard *-s* (or *-es*) suffix marking nonpast tense when the subject of the sentence is third-person singular is variably absent.

With respect to nonstandard present tense verb forms in Guernsey, Tomlinson (1981:19) only mentions deviations from St.E. in the third person singular and the first person plural. I cannot confirm that such a restriction exists. There are examples in the corpus (e.g. *I knews*, *you wants*, *they meets*) which prove that nonstandard verb forms occur in all persons. Obviously, it is impossible to explain these forms in terms of a direct transference from Guernesiais. But it is possible - at least in principle - that they result from the language contact situation. This would mean that the rules of distribution governing the present tense verb forms were not internalized by the Guernesiais speakers when they acquired English, resulting in a variable use of the verb forms with or without the *-s* ending.

An indication that this hypothesis may indeed be true is provided by informant no. 1. As a regular speaker of Guernesiais he produced clear instances of transference (e.g. *there is four years I don't smoke* etc.) comparatively frequently. At the same time, he was the informant with the highest number of nonstandard present tense verb forms (20 instances). He had a strong tendency to generalize the uninflected form for all persons. 21 examples of the third person singular can be found with this speaker, 19 of which (= 90%) are uninflected and only 2 inflected forms. There is one instance where he uses a

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[56]Cf. for example McDavid (1972:138). On uninflected forms such as *he do*, *she have*, *it make* in the speech of black and white people in the USA, cf. McDavid (1967:35-39) and McDavid (1969:87-88).

verb form with nonstandard *-s* (*you wants*).

Table 14: Nonstandard present tense verb forms

informant group	number of occurrences of nonstandard *-s*	number of occurrences nonstandard forms in the third person singular (including *he, she, it don't*)	number of occurrences of *he, she, it don't*
MO	16	29	5
FO	1	10	2
MY	14	5	5
FY	0	0	0

Altogether, the frequency of nonstandard verb forms in the present tense is lower with the younger informants. It is noticeable that they use the uninflected form in the third person singular very restrictively. In each of the five instances found in group MY the form in question is *don't*. As Hughes/Trudgill (1987:17) point out, this form occurs in many varieties of English:

> The individual form *don't*, in fact, is very common indeed throughout the English speaking world in the third person singular.

Map M37 of the LAE shows that the form *he don't* is widely used in traditional dialects in the southern half of England[57].

Group FY exhibits no deviations from St.E. with respect to present tense verb forms. In contrast, group MY still has a certain number of verb forms with nonstandard *-s*. Indeed,

[57]The relevant question of the SED (IX.5.2) is: *I do care for it, but he ...*

there is no noticeable difference here between groups MY and MO. It is noteworthy that the feature correlates with sex as it occurs only once with a female informant (in group FO).

Mention should also be made here of a peculiar use of the present tense, namely the so-called *historic present*: One of the older informants repeatedly (9 times) employed the expressions *I says* or *they says* while referring to the past:[58]

- He said h'm he said: Would you do it again?
  I says: No, I says, I won't do it again. - I was scared. (43.517)

The historic present can be found in many other varieties of English, too. It is used as a stylistic device in story-telling[59]:

> In other dialects, including many in Scotland and Northern Ireland, the forms with *-s* in the first and second persons and in the third person plural are a sign of the 'historic present', where the present tense is used to make the narration of past events more vivid: [...]
> *I goes down this street and I sees this man hiding behind a tree ...*
> (Hughes/Trudgill, 1987:17)

There is no indication that the appearance of the historic present in Guernsey is caused by transference. It would seem to have been adopted from other varieties of English.

5.8. Emphatic *that one*

In Guernsey demonstrative *that* is used in conjunction with the

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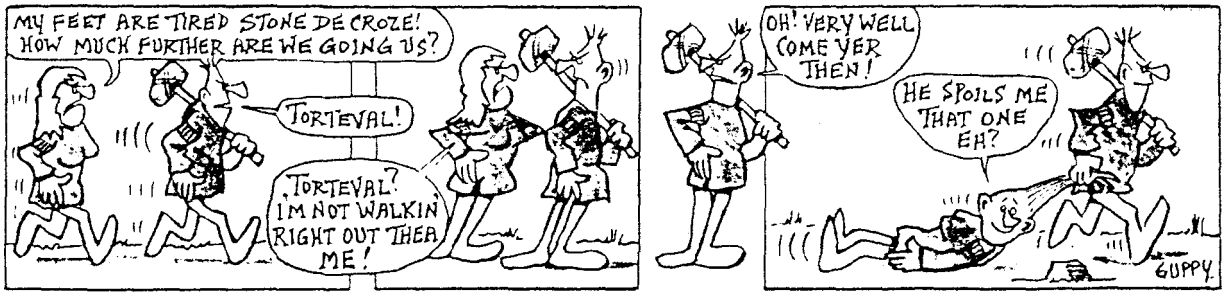
[58]Instances of the historic present were not counted as nonstandard present tense verb forms (cf. table 14).

[59]Cf. e.g. Petyt (1985:237) or Shorrocks (1981:571-572).

pro-form *one* in sentence-final position. The function of *that one* is to emphasize the subject of the sentence:

- I'd like to know what he know. He's got something in the head, that one. (48.360)

Examples of emphatic *that one* also appear in the *Stone de Croze* cartoons:



There are no comments in the literature on a comparable use of *that one* in other varieties of English[60]. As Guernesiais employs the forms [ʃtɛn nɑ] (St.F. *celui-là*) and [ʃɛt lɑ] (St.F. *celle-là*) parallel to *that one* in English, it seems very likely that the reason for this particular feature in Guernsey is transference: [i l ɑ d tʃɛ dõ lə tet ʃtɛn nɑ] (*He's got something in the head, that one*[61]). The corpus contains only the one example of emphatic *that one*, quoted above. However, other examples were to be heard outside the actual interview situations. And it became obvious that the feature also occurs in the speech of younger people who are not speakers of

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[60]In Irish English one finds the expression *It's a fine day that*, which, according to Joyce (1979:40), is based on a parallel syntactic structure in Irish.

[61]In the above-mentioned example (48.360), one should also note the parallel use of the definite article in English (*in the head*) and in Guernesiais ([dõ lə tet]). Normally St.E. has the possessive pronoun *in his head* in this context. Concerning the use of the possessive pronouns and the definite article with parts of the body cf. Quirk et al. (1985:270-272, 363).

Guernesiais:

- Maggie Thatcher, she isn't even feminine, that one.

  She is very nice, that one, eh?

5.9. *isn't it* as a tag question

The form *isn't it* can be used as an invariant tag question, thus taking the place of other St.E. tag questions (e.g. *don't they*, *was she*, etc.) which depend in their form on the preceding sentence[62]:

- I don't want to use my good car to the salt water. They rust quick enough, isn't it? (43.293)
- They perhaps think that they're a bit more than that you know a bit more than us, isn't it? (17.276)

In two other examples by younger informants, one can observe that *isn't it* is phonetically realized as [ɪnɪt] (*in't it*):

- I have got no chance, in't it? (41.303)
- They came from Ireland and - anywhere over England you know, Scotland, in't it? (2.89)

Brasseur (1977:101) confirms the use of *isn't it* as a universal tag question in the Channel Islands, as in *you have got it, isn't it*. A parallel can be found in Welsh English:

> Of fairly common occurrence in rural varieties of Welsh English is the generalization of the 3rd singular tag *isn't it* to replace the appropriate person reference, in forms like:
> *You're going home now, isn't it?*
> *She came to see me yesterday, isn't it?*
> (Thomas, 1984:192)

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[62] Cf. Quirk et al. (1985:810ff.).

Cheshire (1982:61) quotes the form *in't it* as a tag question in Reading, as in: *She makes her laugh, in't it?*

There may well be an influence here from other varieties of English, but it is equally possible that the reason for this feature is transference, as is also assumed by Brasseur (1977:101). In Guernesiais, the interrogative form [(n)eʃ pwi] (St.F. *n'est-ce pas*) is used parallel to *isn't it* [i fɛ bal onjɛ (n)eʃ pwi] (*It's nice weather today, isn't it*). The instances of *isn't it* (*in't it*) as an invariant tag question in the corpus are limited to the four examples mentioned above. It is therefore not possible to draw any far-reaching conclusions from this feature.

5.10. The present tense used instead of the standard present perfect

With some of the older informants, one can observe the phenomenon that they employ the present tense to denote an action which began in the past and which has continued up to the present. In St.E. only the present perfect is acceptable in this case (cf. Quirk et al., 1985:189ff.). The present tense can appear in sentences where *there's* is combined with an adverbial of time (cf. p. 91ff.):

- There's nearly a thousand years we are British - we are not English, we are British. (9.172)

Furthermore, there are other examples in the corpus where the informants substitute the present tense for the present perfect:

- And I'm in charge of it for 24 years. (5.400)
- That's h'm what over 30 years she is dead. (1.678)

There are parallels for an analogous use of the present tense

in other varieties of English. In each case, however, it seems likely that transference from another language is the reason. Thus Sabban (1982:59ff.) noticed the use of the present tense with her Gaelic-speaking informants in sentences like *I'm a widower now for six years*, which can be explained by a transference from Gaelic (cf. Sabban, 1982:99ff.). Bliss (1984:143-144) quotes corresponding examples from Irish English where Irish is a probable source of influence[63]: *I know Tom about twelve or thirteen years*.

The use of the present perfect can indeed pose problems for learners of English, if their native language does not employ the perfect tense in the same manner as English. McDavid (1972:134) points out:

> Native speakers of continental European languages need to master the perfect phrase in such expressions of time as *I have been in Chicago for five years*.

A comparison with languages such as German (*Ich bin seit fünf Jahren in Chicago.*) or French (*Je suis à Chicago depuis cinq ans.*), which have the present tense in the same context, demonstrates the difference in the use of the tenses[64].

The reason for the use of the present tense instead of the present perfect in Guernsey is evidently a transference. In Guernesiais, the present tense is employed for actions which began in the past and which have continued up to the present[65]: [ale mɔrt dpi trõt ã] (*She has been dead for thirty years*). The feature occurred nine times in the corpus,

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[63]On this particular feature in Irish English cf. also Harris (1984:132) and Joyce (1979:84-85).

[64]Cf. also Comrie (1976:60).

[65]The perfect tense of Guernesiais is used for actions which were completed in the recent past (cf. Tomlinson, 1981:103).

with the following informants: no. 1 (5x), no. 5 (1x), no. 9 (1x), no. 13 (1x), no. 21 (1x). It is interesting to note that all these informants are members of group MO (older men and speakers of Guernesiais).

5.11. Deletion of *'s* in the local genitive[66]

There are elliptical expressions in the genitive case in St.E. (called *local genitive*) which denote a place, such as *at the chemist's*, *at Bill's*, *at St.Paul's*. In these cases a subsequent noun, modified by the genitive, has been omitted. Different nouns may be inserted depending on the context, such as *shop*, *house*, *flat*, *cathedral*, and so on. In Guernsey it is possible that the *'s* of the local genitive is absent. This can be observed in particular with names of shops and department stores:

- There's some shops like Creasey, well you look in the window and everything is very expensive, you know. (18.196)
- [...] because I had been brought up a lot to my grandmother. (9.602)
- We used to go to Burton, but they are out of business now. (3.146)

Tomlinson (1981:18) also mentions the deletion of *'s* in the local genitive: *he bought it to Creasey* (St.E. *he bought it at Creasey's*). In his opinion, the reason for this feature is an influence from Guernesiais, a view which seems justified. Evidence for the feature in other varieties of English is missing. Local genitives such as *at Creasey's* or *at my grandmother's* are a characteristic structure of English, for which

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[66] On the local genitive in St.E. cf. Quirk et al. (1985:329-330).

there is no parallel in Guernesiais. The corresponding phrases in Guernesiais are: [si krisi] (St.F. *chez Creasey*), [si ma grãmɛr] (St.F. *chez ma grand-mère*), causing the genitive *'s* to be omitted in English. It is noteworthy that the examples of the feature in the corpus are restricted to the older, Guernesiais-speaking informants (group MO: 6 examples, group FO: 7 examples).

5.12. Demonstrative and emphatic *là*

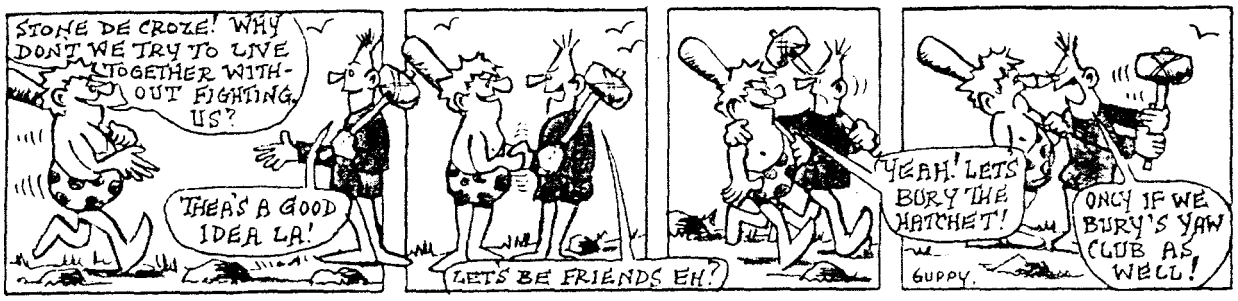
Informant no. 21 provided an instance of the use of *là* ([la]) to point to a certain place. While he was searching for a paper among his personal documents, he remarked:

- I wonder where it is now [...] I was rea[ding]. Ah là. (21.355)

In this context *là* is a demonstrative, equivalent to the phrase *there it is* in St.E. But *là* can also be simply an expressive element with no implication of pointing to a particular place, merely serving an emphatic purpose. Examples of this use of *là* can be found with informant no. 48:

- John and Bill, yes, they did learn it eh, the good French, là, not patois. (48.335)
- I don't know, they were very, you know, they weren't friendly là. (48.675)

The *Stone de Croze* cartoons contain further examples of *là* in English:



Only four instances of demonstrative and emphatic *là* occur in the corpus, in the speech of informants no. 21 and 48. Without doubt, *là* is a transference from Guernesiais[67].

5.13. *But yes*

The expression *But yes* is used in Guernsey as an emphatic form of consent, equivalent to *Yes, of course* in St.E. *But yes* is unusual in the standard language and is evidently a literal translation of the expression [me wi] (St.F. *Mais oui*) in Guernesiais. There are no examples of *But yes* in the corpus. The following instance of *But yes* occurred outside the actual interview:

- Int.: Does she go there every day?
  48: But yes.

Tomlinson (1981:19) confirms the use of *But yes* in Guernsey and the expression also occurs in the *Stone de Croze* cartoons:

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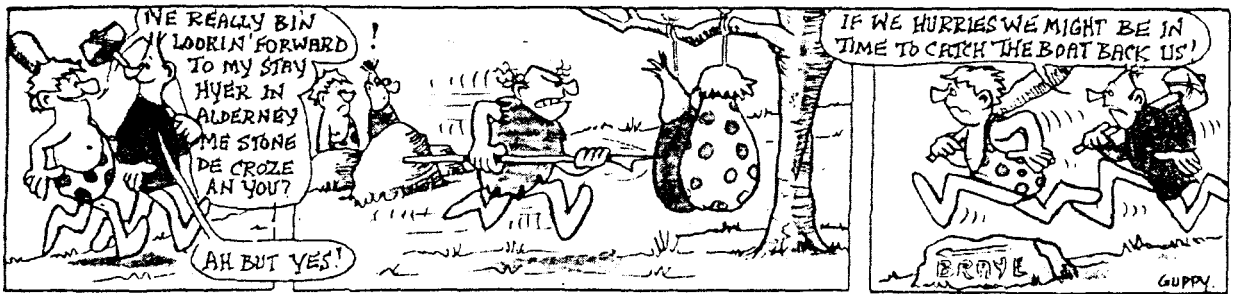
[67]Regarding *là* in St.F. cf. Dubois et al. (1966: entry *là*).



5.14. *After* as an adverbial of time

In St.E. *after* can be a preposition (e.g. *after breakfast*) or a conjunction (e.g. *after he had left*) (cf. Quirk et al., 1985:691, 998). However, some of the informants in Guernsey also used *after* in the function of an adverbial of time:

- We just do sort of one bit of one instrument and then h'm we do s.th. else after. That's all. (39.281)
- In fact if you come there on Friday we can go round town after. (37.651)
- There was no buses to take the children home after. (18.101)

Quirk et al. (1985:532) state that *after* is possible as an adverbial of time in St.E. They point out, however, that *afterwards* is the more usual form and they interpret the adverbial *after* as a preposition in a shortened prepositional phrase, e.g.: *The meeting is at six. I'm leaving now, but I'll see you after* (*the meeting*). According to the DCE (entry: *after*), *after* as an adverbial of time is characteristic of a very informal speech-style and not acceptable from a normative

point of view[68]:

> In very informal English it [*after*] is also used as an adverb with the same meaning as *afterwards* or *later*: *We had dinner and went home after*. Teachers and examiners do not like this use of *after* in an expression of time [...].

On the other hand, it is also possible that the adverbial use of *after* in Guernsey is based on an influence from Guernesiais. The corresponding form of *after* in Guernesiais, [opre], can be both a preposition [opre lə dɛʒœnɑi] (*after breakfast*) and an adverbial of time[69]: [nu vɑ s purmənɑi par lɑ vil opre] (*we go for a walk round town afterwards*). There are twelve instances of *after* used as an adverbial of time in the corpus: group MO (3x), group FO (4x), group MY (4x), group FY (1x).

5.15. Pronominal apposition

Pronominal apposition is a syntactic structure in which a personal pronoun immediately follows its antecedent noun:

- Anne, she still speaks Guernsey French. But she was brought up in Torteval, you see. (14.943)
- But the David Browns [tractors], they all you know, they're different. (41.317)
- My auntie, she can understand a lot of what people are saying. But she can't speak it [Guernsey French]. (46.92)

---

[68]Cf. also Thomson/Martinet (1986:96): "*after* (preposition) must be followed by a noun, pronoun or gerund [...]. If we do not wish to use a noun/pronoun or gerund, we cannot use *after*, but must use *afterwards* (= *after that*) or *then*."

[69]Similarly in St.F., where *après* is both a preposition and an adverbial of time (cf. Dubois et al., 1966: entry *après*).

The pronominal apposition is a feature that generally occurs in colloquial English (cf. Hughes/Trudgill, 1987:21); according to Cheshire (1982:27), it is particularly typical of narrative style[70].

With regard to Guernsey, it is possible that an influence from Guernesiais also plays a rôle, as pronominal apposition is also a commonly employed syntactic structure in Guernesiais:
[æn a parl lə dʒɛrnəzje] (*Anne, she speaks Guernsey French*).
[mõ grãpɛr i savɛ lə bwo frãse] (*My grandfather, he knew the Good French*).
33 instances of pronominal apposition can be found in the corpus, distributed as follows (number of occurrences in brackets): group MO (10), group FO (12), group MY (6), group FY (5).

5.16. The nonstandard past tense verb forms *done*, *come*, *seen* and *was*

Done, *come*, *seen* occur as past tense forms of the verbs *do* (main verb), *come*, *see*:

- I done it, well about three to four months I suppose it was. (42.405)
- They come over here over here what - nine months and they had to go back. They couldn't get on with the locals. (40.384)
- There was a German h'm German officer passing on a horse and he seen him. (9.361)

---

[70] Wright (1905:270) comments: "In all the dialects of Sc[otland] and Eng[land] there is a tendency to introduce a redundant personal pronoun after a noun when emphasis is required; this is especially frequent after a proper name, as *Mr. Smith, he came to my house.*"

The form *was* is not restricted to the first and third person singular:

- So - the children, when the children was born, well she spoke English all the time. (1.482)

The past tense forms *done*, *come*, *seen* appear frequently in British English[71]. According to Hughes/Trudgill (1987:15-16), such forms can be explained by a process of regularization in the morphological system of irregular verbs. With regular verbs, the forms of the past tense and the past participle, which is used in the formation of the present perfect, are identical, thus *(I) worked* and *(I) have worked*. Many irregular verbs have different forms for the past tense and the past participle:

verb	past tense	present perfect
do	*I did*	*I have done*
come	*I came*	*I have come*
see	*I saw*	*I have seen*

In many nonstandard varieties there is a tendency, in analogy with regular verb forms, no longer to distinguish between the past tense and past participle of irregular verbs. The past participle forms are also used as past tense forms, which means that the difference between past tense and present perfect is made obvious only by the presence or absence of *have*[72]:

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[71]For the same feature in American English cf. Wolfram/Fasold (1974:151-153).

[72]As Hughes/Trudgill (1987:15) comment, the process of regularization can equally take place in the other direction, the past tense form being used as a past participle: *go, I went, I have went*. Cf. also Macafee (1983:49).

verb	past tense	present perfect
do	*I done*	*I have done*
come	*I come*	*I have come*[73]
see	*I seen*	*I have seen*

The tape-recordings in Hughes/Trudgill (1987) from different regions in Britain and from Northern Ireland confirm the widespread use of the forms in question[74]. *Done* occurs in the recordings of London (p. 47), South Wales (p. 58), Liverpool (p. 69) and Belfast (p. 85); *come* in the recordings of London (p. 47), West Midlands (p. 61), Liverpool (p. 69), Belfast (p. 85); and *seen* in the recording of Newcastle (p. 74). Cheshire (1982:48-49) observed that her informants in Reading categorically used *done* as the past tense form of the main verb *do*. They also very often employed *come* as a past tense form. *Seen* as a past tense also occurred. By far the most frequent form, however, was *see*.

Was as a general past tense form of *be* is by no means restricted to Guernsey. Edwards/Weltens (1985:110) give the following areas of distribution for this nonstandard form: Scotland, parts of Northern England, Southwest Wales, Herefordshire, Southwest England, Reading[75].

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[73]In the case of *come*, as with *hit* or *put* in St.E., all three forms (infinitive, past tense and past participle) are identical.

[74]In addition, various linguistic atlas projects provide information on the regional distribution of the individual nonstandard forms:
done: LS and SED do not contain a questionnaire item on the past tense form of *do* (main verb). On *did/done* in the Eastern United States cf. Atwood (1953:9).
come: On the LS cf. Viereck (1975:317 and map 333); on the SED cf. Francis (1961:2, 4-5) and LAE (M51); on the Eastern United States cf. Atwood (1953:9).
seen: On the LS cf. Viereck (1975:317-318 and map 334); on the SED cf. Francis (1961:12-13); on the Eastern United States cf. Atwood (1953:20).

[75]On nonstandard *was* cf. also the results of the linguistic

There is no evidence that the nonstandard past tense forms *done*, *come*, *seen* and *was* are the result of a transference from Guernesiais. The frequency of these forms in the corpus is not particularly high. There are 25 examples altogether, distributed as follows (number of occurrences in brackets):

done: group MO (6), group FO (1), group MY (2);
come: group MO (3), group FO (1), group MY (5);
seen: group MO (1);
was: group MO (6).

5.17. Unmarked plurality

When following a numeral, nouns of measurement such as *foot*, *pound*, *year* may not be marked for plurality:

- So I run 1,100 foot of it, we, we've got 5,000 foot at the place. (37.633)
- You get 14 pound a month. (52.696)
- I used to go to their barracks. I was about - I was ten year old. (43.159)

Unmarked plurality with nouns of measurement is one of the general nonstandard features found in many other varieties of English[76]. Edwards/Weltens (1985:114) comment:

> In British dialects it is almost a universal rule that after numerals, nouns of measurement and quantity retain their singular form, e.g. *twenty year*, *two dozen*, *twenty pound*, *three area*, *six pint*.

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atlases: on the LS cf. Viereck (1985:258-259, 283); on the SED cf. LAE (maps M22 and M23); on the Eastern United States cf. Atwood (1953:28-29).

[76]Cf. Hughes/Trudgill (1987:20), Sabban (1982:427ff.) or Wright (1905:263).

In Guernsey the feature occurred with both the older (groups MO and FO) and the younger informants (groups MY and FY). There is no reason to assume a transference from Guernesiais.

5.18. Adverbs without *-ly*

In St.E. the usual rule of forming adverbs from adjectives is to add the ending *-ly*: *quick - quickly*, *grave - gravely*[77]. In Guernsey it is possible for the ending *-ly* of adverbs to be absent, the adjective form thus occurring in adverbial function:

- You send a box of flowers, well it'll cost, well I can't tell you exact, but say about 3 pound fifty. (18.345)
- You get wherever you're going pretty quick. (37.180)
- Golly, I've never thought about it like that. Honest, I haven't. (35.36)

Omission of the adverb ending *-ly* is a widespread phenomenon in English[78]:

> The StE formation rule to form adverbs of manner from adjectives by adding the suffix *-ly* (*slow - slowly*) is optional in virtually all dialects; adverbs without *-ly* are indeed more common in most dialects, e.g. *He writes real quick*; *He went on terrible*.
>
> (Edwards/Weltens, 1985:113)

There is no indication that the occurrence of the feature in Guernsey is due to an influence from Guernesiais. 31 examples

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[77]Exceptions to this rule are forms such as *fast*, *hard* and others which can be both adjective and adverb. Cf. Thomson/Martinet (1986:48).

[78]Cf. also Hughes/Trudgill (1987:20).

can be found in the corpus, distributed as follows: group MO (8), group FO (5), group MY (8), group FY (10).

5.19. Multiple negation

In St.E. a sentence like *He had some lunch* can be negated in two different ways. Either the negative element is included in the verb phrase: *He didn't have any lunch*; or *some* is replaced by the appropriate negative element *no*: *He had no lunch* (cf. Quirk et al., 1985:776ff.). This example shows that negated sentences in St.E. usually contain only one negative element[79] and that after a negative element in a sentence only so-called nonassertive items such as *any*, *anybody*, etc. are possible[80]: *I couldn't get any anywhere*. In the case of multiple negation several negatives occur within one sentence. The overall meaning of the sentence remains negative, the individual negative elements not cancelling each other out: *I couldn't get none nowhere*. The following examples of multiple negation are taken from the recordings in Guernsey:

- I don't understand nothing about reading. My mind is blank. They couldn't learn me nothing. (1.648)
- It don't make no difference to us. (9.195)
- They don't say nothing to anybody. They really sort of keep themselves to themselves. (28.255)

---

[79]An exception to this rule is presented by sentences in which one negative is cancelled by another negative so that - according to the rules of logic - the meaning of the sentence is positive again, something which can be illustrated by paraphrasing: *Not many people have nowhere to live* (= *Most people have somewhere to live*). (Cf. Quirk et al., 1985:798-799).

[80]On assertive, nonassertive and negative items in English cf. Quirk et al. (1985:782-784).

Multiple negation is a very common nonstandard feature in present-day English. With regard to British English, Edwards/Weltens (1985:107) note:

> The construction [multiple negation] is very widespread, as examples of it were given for virtually all dialects that were studied.

Wolfram/Fasold (1974:162) confirm that the same is true of American English:

> Another universally nonstandard feature of English grammar is negative concord or the double or multiple negative. Sentences like *He ain't got nothing* come to mind immediately in connection with nonstandard speech.

Quirk et al. (1985:787) similarly refer to multiple negation as a feature of nonstandard English. Prescriptive grammarians condemn multiple negation mainly on the grounds of logic, and it is considered to be "wrong" by many speakers of English, despite its widespread use. As multiple negation is particularly typical of the lower social classes, it is socially stigmatized and possesses little prestige (cf. Hughes/Trudgill, 1987:14).

There are no indications that the use of multiple negation in Guernsey could be the result of transference from Guernesiais. Rather, multiple negation constitutes a general feature of nonstandard English, one which also occurs in Guernsey. There are altogether 24 instances of it in my corpus: group MO (14), group FO (5), group MY (5), group FY (0). Almost all cases involve double negation. Only one sentence contains more than two negative elements:

- They don't give you no road or nothing. (2.155)

6. Phonological features

In this chapter, selected phonological variables occurring in Guernsey English will be discussed and analysed quantitatively[1]. Within the scope of the present study I do not intend to compare the complete phonological systems of English and Guernesiais with a view to drawing conclusions about potential instances of transference. If there are differences in the phonological systems, this does not necessarily imply that the result will be transference. For example, dental fricatives (/ð/, /θ/) do not exist in the phonological system of Guernesiais. One could expect this to lead to a substitution, with speakers of Guernesiais replacing /ð/ and /θ/ by other phonetically similar sounds such as /d/ and /t/ or /z/ and /s/. But this was not the case with any of my informants, and there is no evidence to suggest that /ð/ and /θ/ are substituted by any other sounds in Guernsey. It may be that a substitution of /ð/ and /θ/ took place at some earlier

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[1]Other phonological features not examined here in any greater detail include the use of glottal stops, especially for /t/ in words such as *better, a lot*; h-dropping, as for example in *happy* or *hedge*; the realization of initial /h/ as [j] (thus, *here* may be pronounced [jɪə]) and the insertion of a medial [j] after an initial consonant as in *garden* ['gja:dn̩].

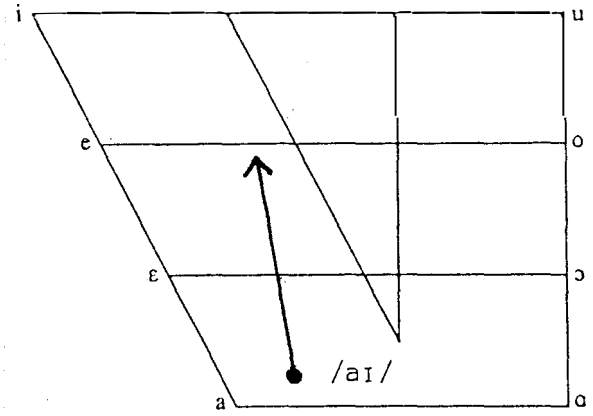
Another noticeable aspect of Guernsey English is the occurrence of features that are related to the suprasegmental level (stress, intonation), in particular among older Guernesiais speakers. One finds for example that the normal stress pattern in certain words is changed as in *Guernseyman* ['gɜ:nzɪ'mæn], *interested* [ɪntə'restɪd] or *educated* [edju'keɪtɪd]. Additionally, it may be that the difference between stressed and unstressed syllables is less marked. Thus, words such as *potatoes* or *tomatoes* are pronounced ['pɔ,teɪ,təʊz] and ['tɔ,ma,təʊz] with secondary stress on the second and third syllables respectively (cf. also Tomlinson, 1981:20).

stage in the language contact, but today the language shift towards English is very much advanced. All present speakers of Guernesiais are also competent speakers of English and familiar with the sounds of English.

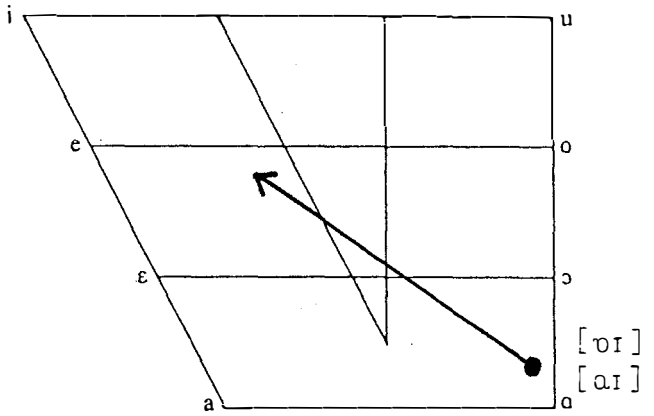
6.1. The diphthong /aɪ/

There is the tendency in Guernsey for the starting point of the diphthong /aɪ/ to be further back than in RP. As a result, words like *fight* or *buy* are pronounced [fɑɪt] and [bɑɪ]. Additionally, the first element of the diphthong can become rounded, which produces the pronunciation [fɒɪt] and [bɒɪ].

/aɪ/ (RP):



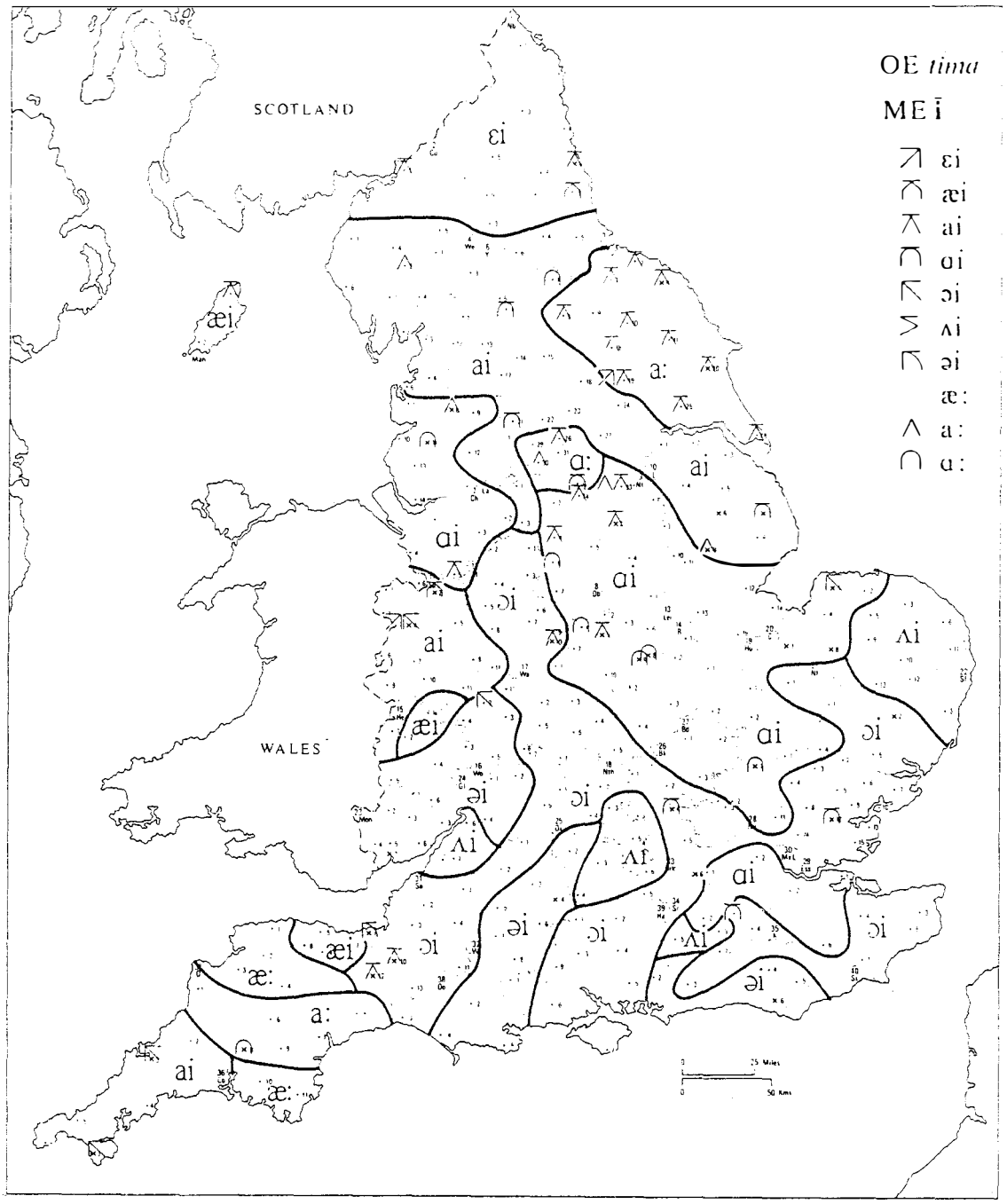
Realization of /aɪ/ in Guernsey:



The realization of /aɪ/ as [ɑɪ] or [ɒɪ] is not only to be found in Guernsey: it is also common in various other accents of English. It is particularly typical of the Cockney accent (London) and of urban areas in the south of England in general (cf. Wells, 1982:149, 308)[2]. As the maps Ph103ff. in the LAE

[2]Cf. also Gimson (1980:132).

demonstrate, the equivalent of RP /aɪ/ in many traditional rural accents is also [ɑɪ] or [ɔɪ]. Map V (map Ph108 of the LAE) displays the regional pronunciation of /aɪ/ in *time*.



Map V: The pronunciation of /aɪ/ in *time* (LAE: map Ph108)

The variant pronunciations [ɑɪ] and [ɔɪ] are generally very widespread. The areas in which they occur extend from the

south and east of England, over the Midlands, up to Lancashire. Certain varieties of Irish English equally have [ɑɪ] or [ɒɪ] in place of /aɪ/, which has led to the stereotype view in the United States that speakers of Irish English pronounce *nice time* as 'noice toime' (cf. Wells, 1982:425-426)[3].

The question of whether the variable pronunciation of /aɪ/ in Guernsey may also be due to a transference from Guernesiais cannot be resolved conclusively. It cannot be a case of phone substitution, since the diphthong [ai] exists in Guernesiais (cf. Tomlinson, 1981:34). But it is noteworthy that the diphthong [ɑi] is a typical and frequently occurring sound in Guernesiais. Verbs which end in *-er* in St.F. have the diphthong [ɑi] in the same position in Guernesiais, for example [dunɑi] (St.F. *donner*). Similarly, the ending [ɑi] is used in the second person plural of the present tense (ending in St.F. *-ez*): [vu dunɑi], [vu finisɑi], [vu võndɑi] (St.F. *vous donnez, vous finissez, vous vendez*); in the imperative plural (ending in St.F. *-ez*): [dunɑi], [finisɑi], [võdɑi] (St.F. *donnez!, finissez!, vendez!*); and in the past participle of verbs whose participle forms end in *-é(e)* in St.F.: [dunɑi] (St.F. *donné(e)*).

Table 15: Realization of the diphthong /aɪ/ as [ɑɪ] or [ɒɪ]

informant group	percentages
MO	35.8
FO	21.0
MY	27.1
FY	12.2

[3]The back starting point of the diphthong /aɪ/ is also a feature found in New York City (cf. Wells, 1982:503ff.).

The analysis of the corpus reveals that the feature occurred most frequently with group MO (older men and speakers of Guernesiais). In slightly more than a third of all cases /aɪ/ was realized as [ɑɪ] or [ɒɪ]. The feature was quite common with the younger men (group MY) as well. Their percentage value is above that of group FO (older women and speakers of Guernesiais). Group FY (younger women) clearly came closest to the standard in their pronunciation of /aɪ/.

6.2. The pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/

The pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ is a prominent and simultaneously distinguishing feature of accents of English[4]. In this context one speaks of *rhotic* and *non-rhotic* accents. In rhotic accents an /r/ in preconsonantal position (e.g. *farm* /fɑrm/) and in absolute-final position (e.g. *far* /fɑr/) is realized, whereas this does not happen in non-rhotic accents (e.g. /fɑ:m/ and /fɑ:/) (cf. Wells, 1982:75-76). In contrast to RP, which is a non-rhotic accent, non-prevocalic /r/ may be pronounced in Guernsey. It is then usually realized as a retroflex frictionless continuant [ɻ].

The pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ in accents of British English is of a complex nature. As far as the traditional rural accents in England are concerned, non-prevocalic /r/ is still quite widespread. A number of maps in the LAE provide information concerning the geographical distribution of non-prevocalic /r/: compare, for instance, maps Ph145 (*floor*), Ph146 (*door*), Ph155 (*flour*), Ph156 (*flowers*), Ph157 (*hour*),

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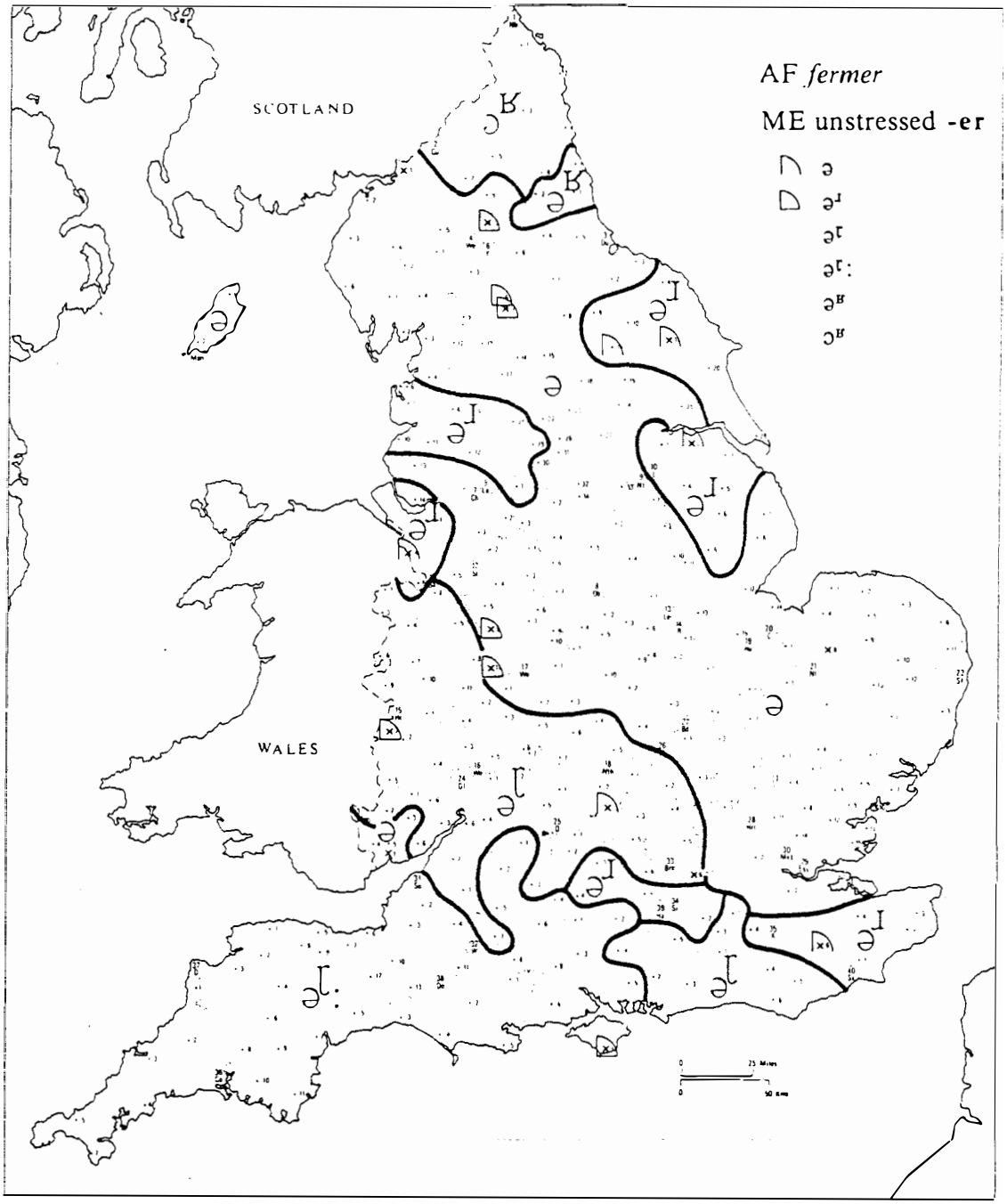
[4]Another frequently employed label is *post-vocalic* /r/. Yet this term is not quite appropriate, as it literally means '/r/ after a vowel'. Words such as *carry* or *sorry* also contain an /r/ after a vowel but are not included in this feature. Following Trudgill (1983:20ff.), I prefer to use the term *non-prevocalic* /r/ instead.

Ph193 (*four*), and Ph244 (*butter*). As an example, I have selected map Ph245, which displays the areas in which /r/ is pronounced in the ending *-er* of *farmer*.



Map VI: The pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ in the ending *-er* in *farmer* (LAE: map Ph245)

As Map VI illustrates, non-prevocalic /r/ is still found in a large area in the south and west of England. Further areas of diffusion cover parts of Lancashire, East Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. It also appears in the far north of England, where it is realized as a uvular fricative. A consideration of urban accents reveals a different situation. Map VII (p. 171), taken from Hughes/Trudgill (1987:34), shows in which urban areas non-prevocalic /r/ still occurs, namely in the southwest and west of England and in a small part of Lancashire, north and east of Manchester. Furthermore, the map indicates that non-prevocalic /r/ is also common in Scotland and Ireland[5]. To Map VII must be added the qualification that the pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ obviously depends not only on the region but also on other factors such as the social class of the speaker or the degree of formality of the speech situation.

> The prestige norm, however, exerts a steady pressure towards non-rhoticity. Thus the urban speech of, say, Bristol or Southampton is more accurately described as variably rhotic, the degree of rhoticity being reduced as one moves up the class and formality scales.
>
> (Wells, 1984:59)

The realization of non-prevocalic /r/ has been declining in England for some centuries. This process first started in the southeast and has since spread to other parts of the country (cf. Hughes/Trudgill, 1987:32). The loss of non-prevocalic /r/ is mainly due to the fact that the pronunciation of words such as *farm* or *far* without a realization of the /r/ enjoys more social prestige and that linguistic change takes place in the direction of the more prestigious form.

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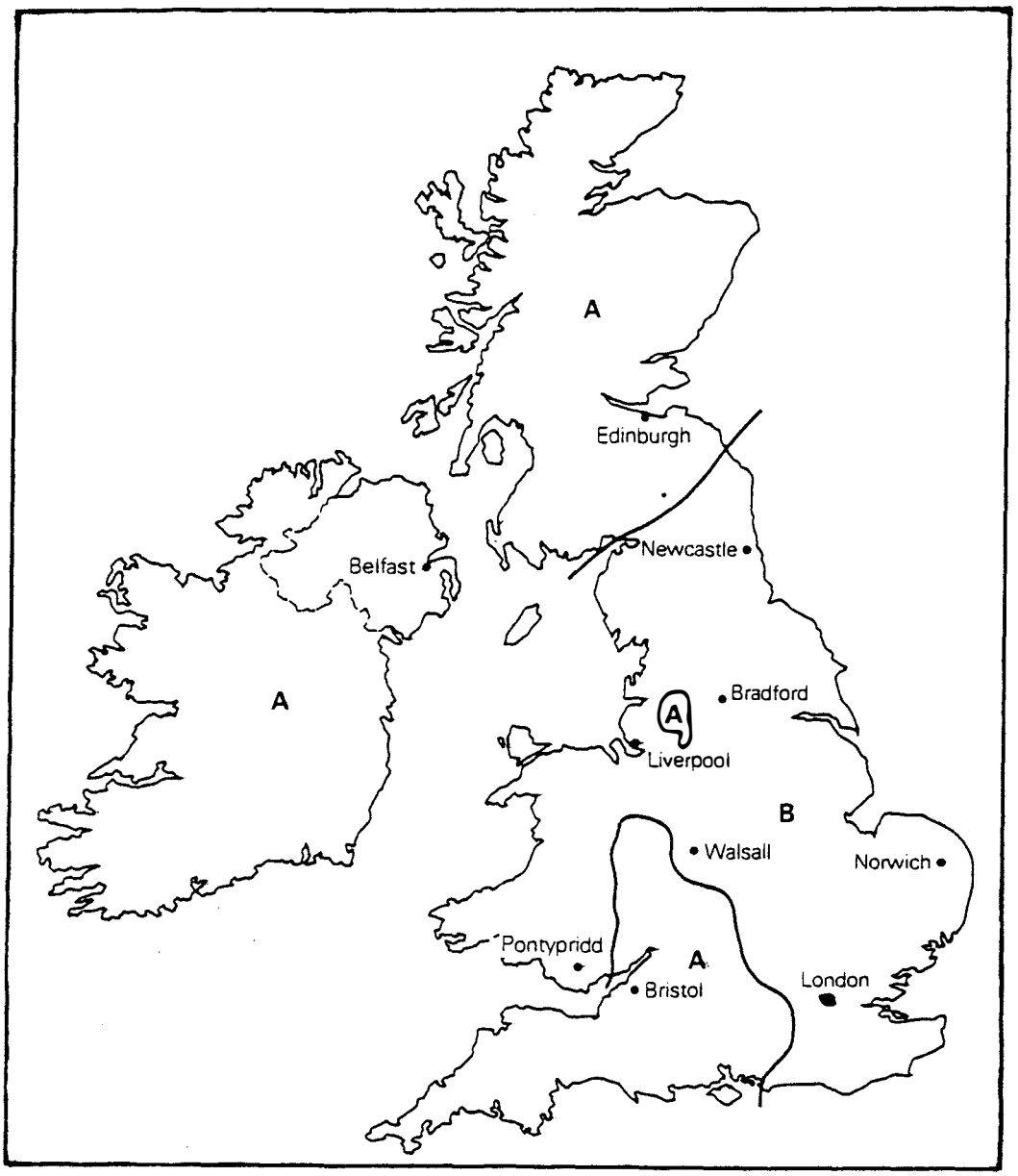
[5]For the occurrence of non-prevocalic /r/ in British, Irish and American English, and other varieties of English cf. also Wells (1982).



Map VII: *non-prevocalic* /r/ *in urban speech*
A = *non-prevocalic* /r/ *present*
B = *non-prevocalic* /r/ *absent*
(cf. Hughes/Trudgill, 1987:34)

On the one hand, the realization of non-prevocalic /r/ in Guernsey can be attributed to an influence from other varieties of English. On the other hand, however, an influence from Guernesiais is also possible. /r/ occurs in Guernesiais

both in preconsonantal (e.g. [parti], St.F. *parti*) and in absolute-final position (e.g. [var], St.F. *vert*). Consequently, a Guernesiais speaker is quite accustomed to pronouncing an /r/ in the said phonetic environments. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that Guernesiais speakers of earlier periods who learnt English only at school tended to realize non-prevocalic /r/ under the influence of English orthography: in other words, their pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ would be based on a spelling pronunciation.

A clear indication that the realization of non-prevocalic /r/ is indeed influenced by Guernesiais becomes apparent in the English ending *-er*, which can be pronounced in Guernsey as [ær]. Thus, the pronunciation of words such as *better* or *youngster* is ['betær] (cf. 9.421) and ['jʌŋstær] (cf. 44.108). Here we evidently have a case of transference, the ending [ær] also being used in Guernesiais as in [lə pɔrtær] (St.F. *le porteur*) or [la lanʒær] (St.F. *la longueur*). Another argument for the English ending *-er* being identified with the ending [ær] in Guernesiais is based on the fact that the latter is also found in English loanwords used in Guernesiais. In this way, the English words *shutter* and *mourner* have become [lə ʃɔtær] and [lə mɔrnær] in Guernesiais (cf. Tomlinson, 1981:265, 325).

Table 16: Pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/

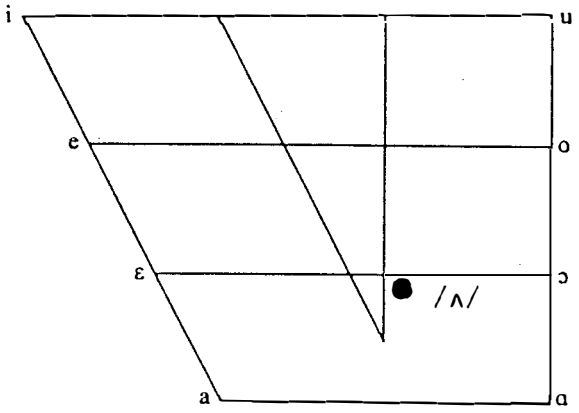
informant group	percentages
MO	9.2
FO	4.3
MY	1.2
FY	0.0

As Table 16 reveals, the pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ was not very widespread among the informants. The feature was found with the highest frequency in group MO. With the younger informants, it occurred only very occasionally, and then solely in group MY. One can conclude, therefore, that the pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ is becoming increasingly rare in Guernsey as well. The group scores conceal the differences between the individual informants. It seems, in fact, that the pronunciation of non-prevocalic /r/ tends to be a feature of individual speakers. Even in groups MO and FO it occurs by no means with all informants.

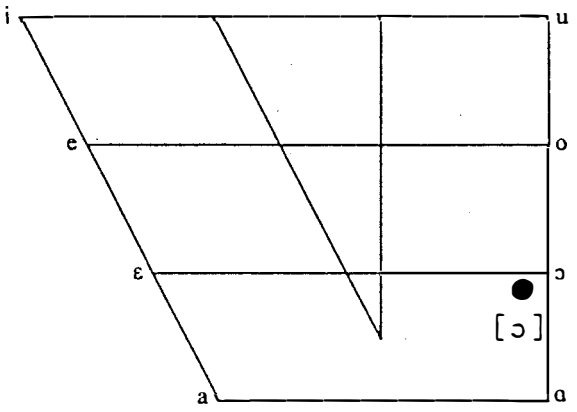
6.3. The vowel /ʌ/

In Guernsey the RP vowel /ʌ/ can be pronounced as [ɔ]. Thus, words such as *sun*, *much*, *duck* are realized as [sɔn], [mɔtʃ], [dɔk]. From a phonetic point of view, the RP vowel /ʌ/ is a sound which is half-open to open, centralized-back or central and unrounded (cf. Wells, 1982:131-132 and vowel chart below). The realization of /ʌ/ in Guernsey is somewhat further back; above all, the vowel is rounded.

/ʌ/ (RP):



Realization of /ʌ/ in Guernsey:



Parallels to this feature in other varieties are very hard to find. In the data of the SED, [ʊ] is very occasionally used in place of the standard /ʌ/. In the responses to question IV.6.14 (*ducks*) [ʊ] occurs three times in Kent (35.3, 35.5, 35.6), once in Essex (29.15) and once in Hampshire (39.7). The pronunciation of the item *sun* (question IX.2.3) with [ʊ] was recorded twice in Kent (35.4, 35.6), once in Wiltshire (32.3) and once in the Isle of Man (0.1)[6].

With regard to the pronunciation of /ʌ/ as [ɔ] in Guernsey, it seems more plausible to assume a transference from Guernesiais than an influence from other varieties of English. Guernesiais does not have a vowel sound like English /ʌ/. There is the sound [ɔ], however, which is quite similar to /ʌ/ in its phonetic quality (half-open, back). But in contrast to /ʌ/ it is rounded (cf. Tomlinson, 1981:34). One can assume that this phonetically similar sound takes the place of /ʌ/ in English, that it is an instance of phone substitution. Moreover, the transference hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that the same phone substitution occurs with English loanwords in Guernesiais. Thus, the word *bus* is pronounced [la bɔs] in Guernesiais.

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[6]As Barry (1984:169) explains, [ʊ] is substituted for the RP sounds /ʌ/ and /ʊ/ in Manx English, as in e.g. *nuts*, *stump*, *butcher*, *put*.

Table 17: Realization of the vowel /ʌ/ as [ɔ]

informant group	percentages
MO	19.6
FO	18.0
MY	8.7
FY	10.3

The quantitative analysis of the variable shows a generational difference. The older informants scored about 10% higher than the younger ones. As it does not seem likely that younger people will increase their pronunciation of /ʌ/ as [ɔ] later in life, one can assume that the feature will generally become less frequent in the future.

6.4. The variable *-ing*

This feature is related to the realization of the ending *-ing* in words such as *working* or *fishing*. The pronunciation of *-ing* in Guernsey varies between [ɪŋ] and [ɪn]; thus, the place of articulation of the final nasal is either velar (as in RP) or alveolar. The variation between [ɪŋ] and [ɪn] is not restricted to verbal forms, occurring with other words ending in *-ing* as well, such as *something*, *during*, *morning*. Yet it is only found in unstressed syllables. Consequently, [ɪn] does not occur in words such as *king*, *string* etc. (cf. also Wells, 1982:262).

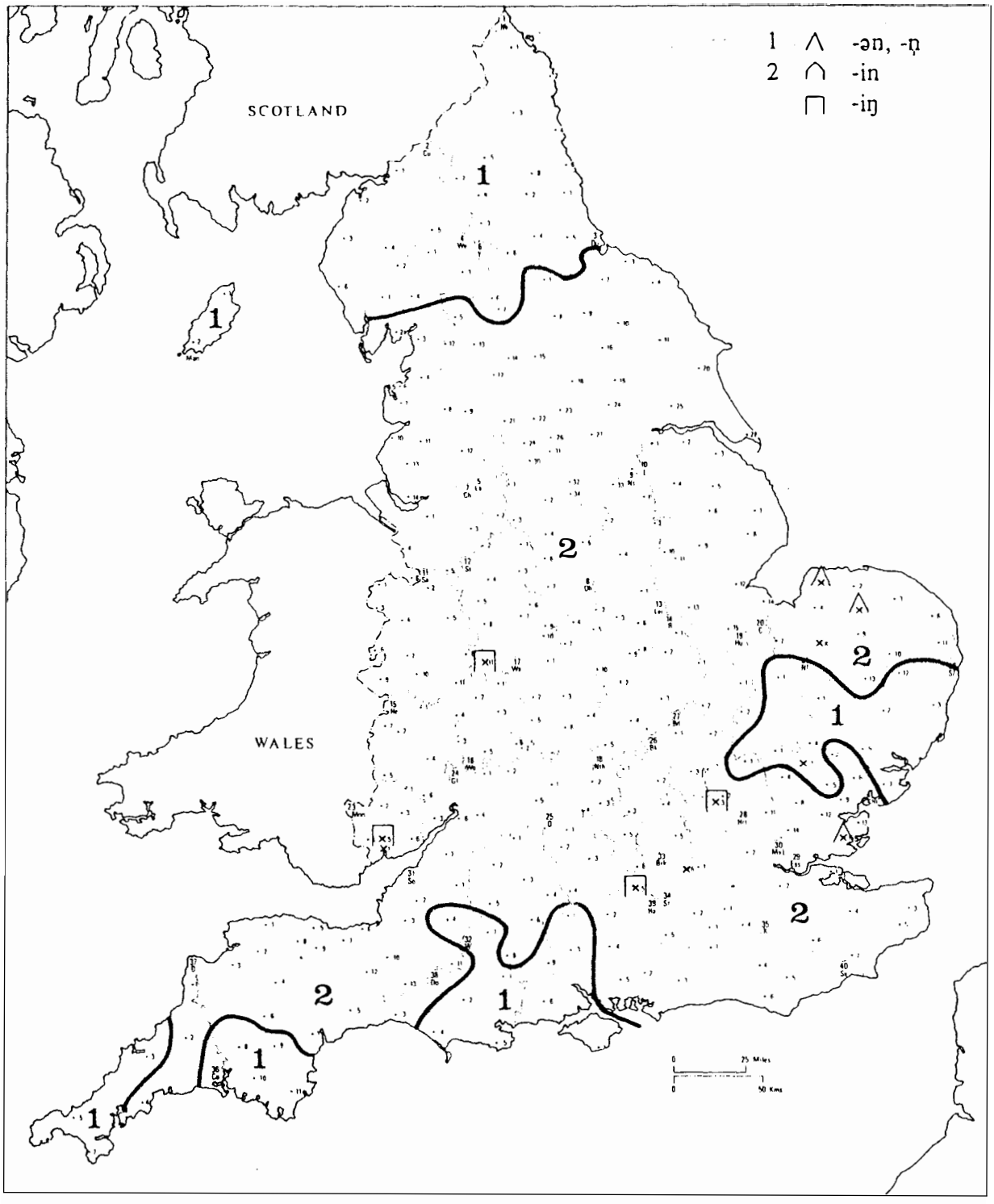
The variable pronunciation of the ending *-ing* is a very widespread feature, and can be found in nearly all parts of the English-speaking world, the form [ɪŋ] possessing more social prestige than [ɪn].

> At the present day it seems that almost every English-speaking community exhibits a social or stylistic alternation between the two possibilities, the form with the velar nasal [ɪŋ] being 'high' and that with the alveolar [ɪn] 'low'.
> (Wells, 1982:262)

Various maps in the LAE (M56, M57, M58, and M59) give evidence of the realization of the ending *-ing* in traditional dialects in England. Map VIII (map M56 of the LAE, cf. p.177) is concerned with the pronunciation of the ending *-ing* in *cursing*. It shows that the variant [ɪŋ] occurs only sporadically in the examined area. The most widespread form is [ɪn]. In the southwest, the north and parts of East Anglia, one encounters the ending [ən] or syllabic [n̩].

The pronunciation of the ending *-ing* as [ɪn] is no recent phenomenon. It was commonly used in England in the 16th and 17th centuries, and in the 18th century it became a feature of fashionable speech (cf. Gimson, 1980:199). Even today it is regarded as a stereotpye characteristic of older members of the aristocracy. They are often caricatured as being particularly interested in *huntin'*, *shootin'* and *fishin'*. There is evidence that the pronunciation [ɪŋ] is indeed based on a spelling pronunciation which emerged in the early 19th century (cf. Wyld, 1936:289 and Horn/Lehnert, 1954, vol. II: 841-842).

The variable *-ing* has been of special importance in sociolinguistic research, as it has been repeatedly used to demonstrate a correlation between linguistic variation and extralinguistic factors. Probably the first study to prove such a correlation on the basis of a quantitative analysis is Fischer (1958). He examines the variable *-ing* in connection with a group of children in New England, and comes to the conclusion that the use of the variants [ɪŋ] and [ɪn] depends upon the sex, social class and degree of formality of the speech situation. Labov (1966:270ff.) equally discusses the



Map VIII: The pronunciation of the ending *-ing* in *cursing*
(LAE: map M56)

variable *-ing* in his very influential study on the social stratification of English in New York City. A number of sociolinguistic studies, such as Trudgill (1974:91ff.), Petyt (1985:174ff.), and Pollner (1985:210ff.), deal with the same variable in urban varieties of British English, and reveal the interdependence of the variation between [ɪŋ] and [ɪn] and certain extralinguistic factors.

As for Guernsey, there are no indications that a transference from Guernesiais plays a rôle in the realization of *-ing*. The variable *-ing* is another example of a general nonstandard feature which also occurs in Guernsey.

Table 18: Pronunciation of the ending *-ing* as [ɪn]

informant group	percentages
MO	33.9
FO	28.2
MY	46.2
FY	37.1

As shown in Table 18, the frequency of [ɪn] for *-ing* in the four groups of informants ranges from 28 to 46%. The highest incidence of the feature was found among the younger male informants, followed by the younger women. Similarly, among the older informants it was the men who pronounced *-ing* as [ɪn] more frequently than the women. As in many other places, the variable *-ing* is well-established in Guernsey and the results suggest that this will continue to be so in the future as well.

7. Lexical features[1]

7.1. Borrowings from Guernesiais and French

The number of lexical borrowings from Guernesiais or French which have become firmly established in the English of Guernsey is decidedly limited[2]. They are mostly terms that have traditionally been connected with the local administration and culture. In addition to the words listed below, there are other - mainly amusing or particularly expressive - phrases of Guernesiais which may also be familiar to monolingual speakers of English, among them [tɛtɛ] 'shut up', [mõ vjar] 'my old man', [fiʃ lə kã] 'clear off'. But it cannot be maintained that expressions of this kind are in common use in Guernsey today.

l'Assembllaïe d'Guernesiais - is the name of a society which was founded to support the use of Guernesiais.

- It's in the name of l'Assembllaïe d'Guernesiais, you see. (18.705)

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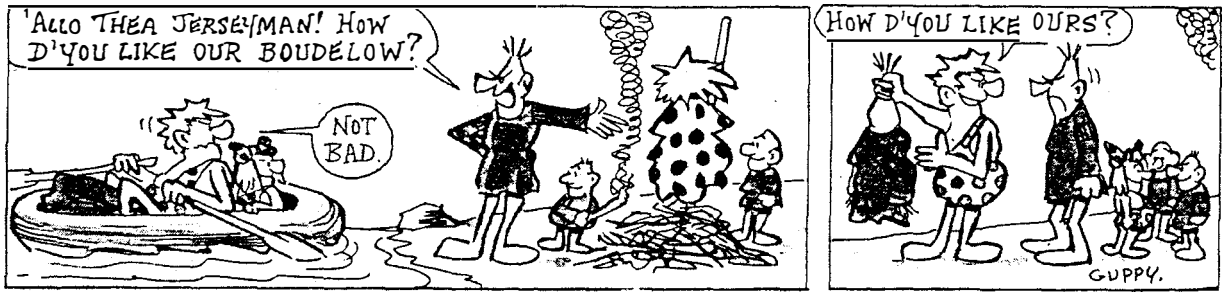
[1]The following list of lexical items was compiled from the interviews with the informants and supplemented by other items commonly found in the local press (newspapers, magazines, etc.). Some of the administrative terms were drawn from Loveridge (1975), *The Constitution and Law of Guernsey*.

[2]Cf. also Le Pelley (1975:18).

Bailiff - is the civic head in the Bailiwick, President of the States and of the Royal Court, appointed by the Crown.

Billet d'Etat - written records of the proceedings in the States of Guernsey. The Billets d'Etat have been kept continuously since 1605.

boudelow - is the name of a Guy Fawkes figure burnt each year on 5th November. This tradition celebrates the conspiracy of Guy Fawkes, who attempted to blow up the Houses of Parliament in 1605 (the Gunpowder Plot). As de Garis (1985: entry *Guy Fawkes*) explains, *boudelow* is based on the expression *bout dé l'an* [budəlã] 'end of the year'. In former times, a log of wood, the *bout dé l'an*, was traditionally burnt in Guernsey on New Year's Eve. This custom was gradually superseded by the Guy Fawkes Night, celebrated on 5th November. However, the term *boudelow* was kept, and was also used for the Guy Fawkes figure. Cf. the following extract from the cartoons *Stone de Croze*:



Chief Pleas - legislative assembly and governing body in Sark.

Her Majesty's Comptroller - legal adviser to the Crown and to the States, corresponds to the Solicitor General in England, appointed by the Crown.

conseiller - twelve members of the States of Guernsey have the

title *conseiller*. They are elected by an electoral college, called States of Election.

constable - primarily is an administrative official in a parish and not a police officer as in Britain. Each parish has two constables, a senior and a junior constable. The Norman French forms are *lé grànd counnétablle* and *lé p'tit counnétablle* respectively (cf. de Garis, 1982:125).

crapaud - is the nickname for a Jerseyman[3].

- 2: I've got nothing against the Jersey people.
  Int.: So you don't call them -
  2: Crapauds. Oh no [laughter]. (2.168)

douzaine - the local parish council in Guernsey.

- Every Friday, well, we have to go to the Douzaine room [...] (32.332)

douzenier - a member of the parish council.

- From there, if you want, well you can stand for douzenier. (32.352)

la gazette officielle - title of a column for public notices in the *Guernsey Evening Press and Star* newspaper.

greffe - registry office in Guernsey.

- I used to work at the Greffe. (51.498)

Her Majesty's Greffier - Clerk to the Royal Court and to the States, appointed by the Crown.

jurat - twelve members of the Royal Court hold this title.

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[3]The inhabitants of Guernsey are nicknamed *Guernsey donkeys*, because they are said to be as stubborn as a donkey.

Like the *conseillers*, they are elected by the electoral college, States of Election.

mouzzie - is an adjective denoting soft fruit or vegetables just before they become rotten (cf. Le Pelley, 1975:18).

patois - is occasionally used to refer to the local Norman French dialect, Guernesiais. However, the most common term in English is *Guernsey French*.

- I've never heard my husband say a word in patois. (3.190)

Her Majesty's Procureur - legal adviser to the Crown and to the States, corresponds to the Attorney-General in England and is appointed by the Crown.

procureur of the poor - each parish in Guernsey has two procureurs of the poor, whose function today is limited to certain administrative tasks within the parish.

- The two previous years I was what they call procureur of the poor. (32.331)

projet de loi - draft of a bill which is brought before the States of Guernsey by one of the States Committees.

requête - petition before the States of Guernsey, signed by at least seven of its members.

Seigneur/Dame of Sark - is the title of the Lord/Lady in the Fief of Sark.

Seneschal - President of the Chief Pleas (legislative assembly) in Sark.

Société Guernesiaise (The Guernsey Society of Natural Science and Local Research) - a local society, founded in 1882,

which is concerned with various fields of knowledge, such as archaeology, history, geography, etc.

- There is l'Assembllaïe d'Guernesiais and then there is la Société Guernesiaise. (21.461)

States (of Deliberation) - is the legislative assembly and the government of Guernsey.

sursis - the adjournment of a motion in the States.

vergee - a measure of area current in Guernsey; one vergee equals 1,960 square yards (ca. 1,640 m^2).

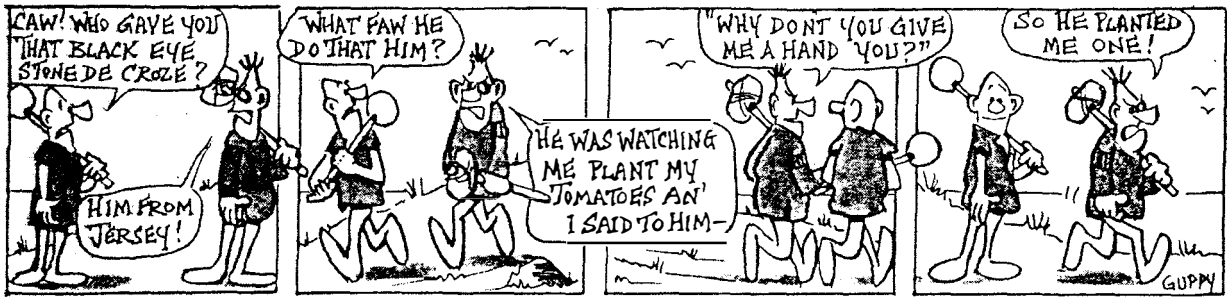
- I've got h'm - I do seven and a half vergees. (41.440)

7.2. Further particularities in the vocabulary

caw (caw blimey) - is an expression of surprise on the part of the speaker[4]:

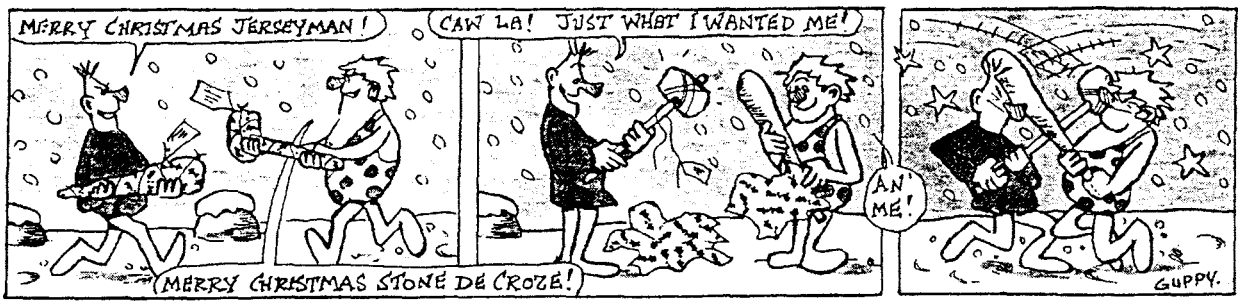
- Caw, I don't know. (14.876)
- Caw, that is a difficult one (27.169)
- Int.: How often do you actually go into town?
  55: Caw blimey - three or four times a week. (55.261)

[4]According to my informants *caw* is equally common in Guernesiais.



Another graphic representation of *caw* is *cor*. *Caw* (*cor*) is a British slang expression, derived from the word *God*[5]. *Corblimey*[6] and *gorblimey* exist in British English, too. According to Onions (1966: entry *gorblimy*), the latter form is a rendering of *God blind me*[7].

In Guernsey one can also hear the expressions *caw là* and *caw chapin*, of which the latter parts are obviously taken over from Guernesiais. *Caw là* and *caw chapin* occur repeatedly in the *Stone de Croze* cartoons[8]:



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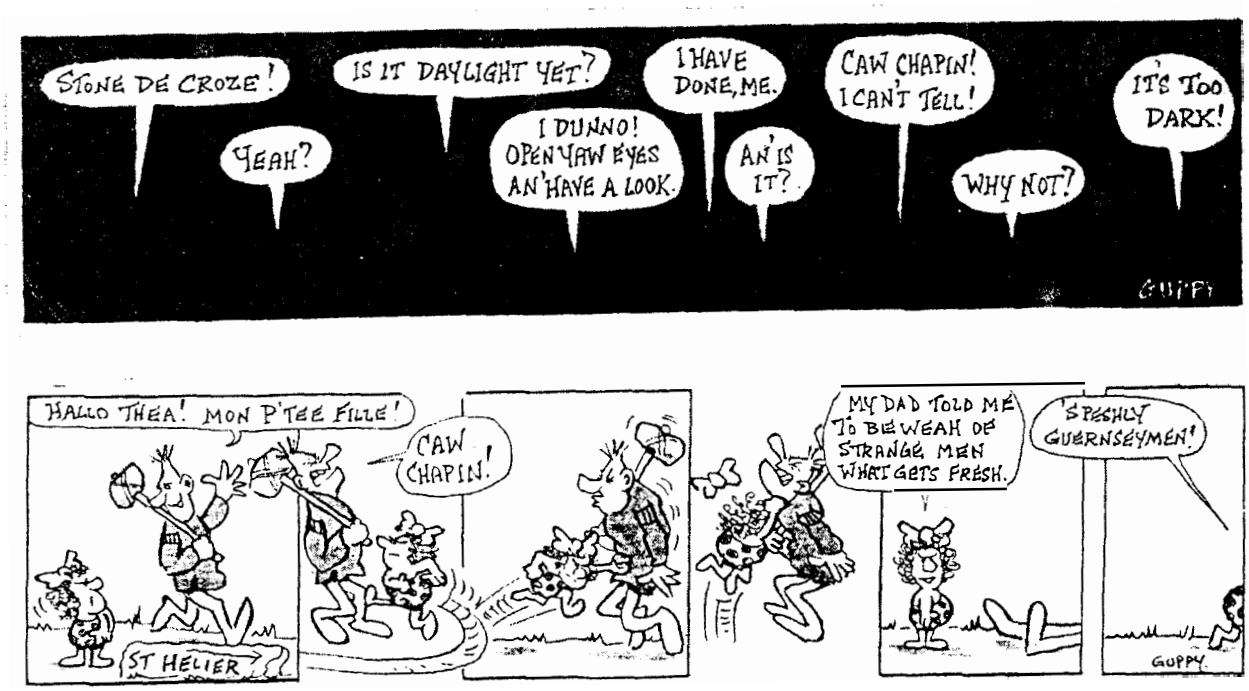
[5]Cf. Partridge (1984: entry *cor*) and Onions (1966: entry *god*).

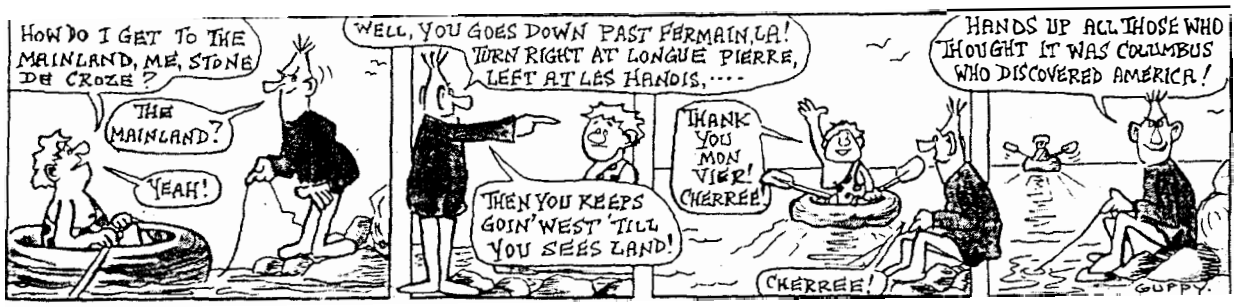
[6]Cf. DCE (entry: *corblimey*).

[7]Cf. also Partridge (1984: entry *gorblim(e)y*).

[8]*Là* in *caw là* is an expressive element. For *là* cf. chapter 5.12. (pp.153-154). The meaning of *chapin* in *caw chapin* is not known.



cherree /tʃerɪ/ - is a common, informal expression for saying good-bye and is apparently derived from *cheerio*[9].



- Ah there is Peter [...] Cherree. (43.731)

Outside the interviews I frequently observed that the particle *eh* is added: /tʃerɪ eɪ/ .

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[9]My informants asserted that *cherree* is also used in Guernesiais.

eisteddfod[10] - originally a Welsh word denoting a cultural festival in Wales, in Guernsey *eisteddfod* similarly is the name of an annual gathering offering local culture (music, poetry, theatre plays):

- For five consecutive years I've been to the eisteddfod. (32.552)

Guernsey - is not only the name of the island, but can also occur in adjectival function. The use of Guernsey as an attributive adjective is quite acceptable in St.E.:

- We had a Guernsey master - teaching us German. (43.535)
- It's his Guernsey French, he is a Guernsey boy. (20.578)

It is unusual, however, that *Guernsey* also appears in predicative function and is employed in analogy to other adjectives such as *British* or *French* which denote nationality:

- I'm either British or Guernsey but not English. (54.149)
  St.E. I'm either British or a Guernseyman [...]
- No he was Guernsey, my father was Guernsey. (27.382)
  St.E. [...] My father was a Guernseyman.
- Well yes, we're Guernsey, but still well - we have still so much to do with England. (18.92)
  St.E. [...] we're Guernsey people[...]

Guernsey (noun) - is the name of a special type of pullover,

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[10]Cf. DCE (entry *eisteddfod*): "a meeting in Wales at which poets, singers, and musicians compete in many activities in Welsh."

produced in Guernsey:

- I've knitted what they call the Guernseys. (3.292)
- I don't like knitting Guernseys. (14.544)

Guernsey can also refer to the native breed of cattle found in Guernsey:

- Int.: What sort of cows do you have here?
  13: All Guernseys, we can't have any other breed. (13.913)

Jersey - can be a predicative adjective like *Guernsey*:

- But you can tell that he's Jersey. (33.477)
  St.E. [...] that he's a Jerseyman.

Jersey[11] (noun) - is the name of:

a) a type of pullover
b) a type of cloth
c) the native breed of cattle found in Jersey

to learn - is employed in the sense of the St.E. verb *to teach*:

- They couldn't learn me nothing. (1.648)
- And we had been learnt what to take and not what to take in the size of fish. (9.504)
- Years ago, our people, they learnt us how to fish. (9.514)

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[11]Cf. DCE (entry *jersey*): 1. "a tight knitted woollen garment for the upper part of the body", 2. "a kind of fine usu[ally] woollen cloth used esp[ecially] for women's dresses" and DCE (entry *Jersey*): "a type of cow with light brown hair, that produces cream and milk of very good quality."

Hughes/Trudgill (1987:21) note that the use of *to learn* instead of *to teach* is a general feature of nonstandard English. The results of the LS confirm that various forms of *to learn* (*learnt*, *learned*, *learn*) occur almost universally in the context: *who (taught) you how to do that?* (question 53.1) in the Midlands and southern England. The form *taught* was recorded by Lowman only in Kent and Surrey (cf. Viereck, 1985:268-269, 297).

Within the SED, question III.13.17 provides information as to the use of *to learn* in place of the standard verb *to teach*: *That dog knows some clever tricks. I expect it was its owner that ... (taught) it.* The informants' responses to this question are displayed on Map IX (p. 190). The forms *learnt/learned* dominate in all the examined area. The frequency of *taught* or *teached* is greatest in the southeast of the country (Home Counties); in other regions they merely occur sporadically.

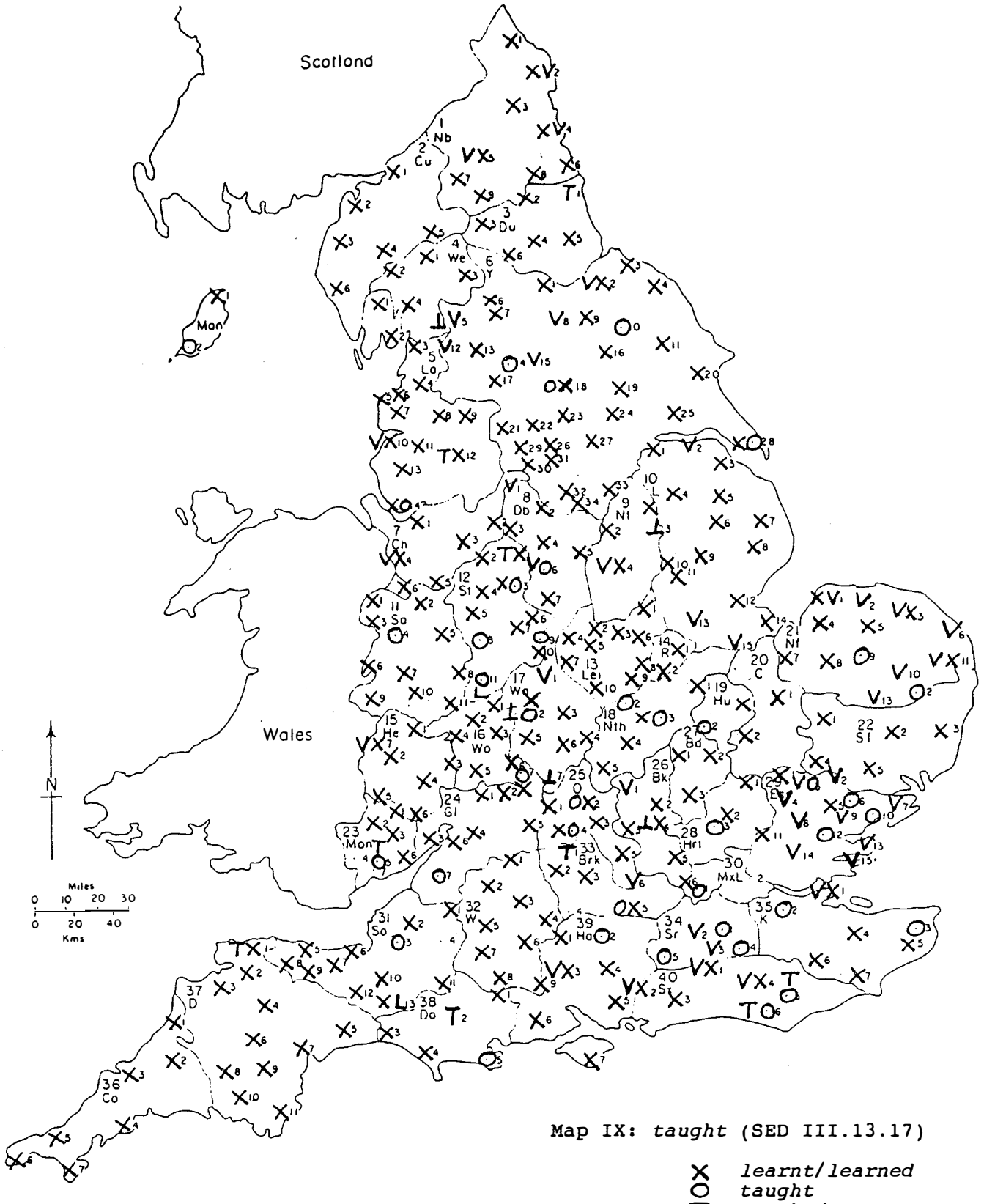
to leave - can be used in the sense of *to let*, *to allow*:

- And I wanted to go to work but they wouldn't leave me go. (16.143)
- They left him go, when he had done his h'm week. (48.550)
- But like I say, if we leave more English people come and live in the island it would be more crowded yet. (44.632)

In the OED (entry *leave* v^1, I, 3e) *to leave* is also recorded in the sense of 'to allow, permit, let', but this usage is characterized as "colloquial" and "chiefly

U.S."[12]: *Leave the weeds go. Somebody 'll come chop 'em some day* [1935]. *But I said to him how can I pay you if you don't leave me wear it and I lose my job* [1940].

[12]Bliss (1984:145) states that imperative constructions beginning with *let you* are commonly found in Irish English: *Let you stay here till I come back*. In the province of Munster, however, *let* is substituted by *leave* in sentences of this type.



Map IX: *taught* (SED III.13.17)

X *learnt/learned*
O *taught*
T *teached*
V *trained up*
L *showed*
⊥ *broke (in)*

8. Concluding remarks

In summary, I would like to point out some of the more basic aspects of the linguistic variation in Guernsey and discuss linguistic variation in language-contact situations in general. First of all, it should be remembered that certain features in the English of Guernsey are due to a transference from Guernesiais. Thus, syntactic structures such as *There is four years I don't smoke* or *Caw, I can't say, me* are clearly based on parallel structures in Guernesiais. On the other hand, one finds nonstandard features which are generally widespread in contemporary English and therefore also occur in Guernsey, examples of these being multiple negation, adverbs without the ending *-ly* or - on the phonological level - the realization of *-ing* as [ɪn]. There is no evidence which suggests that Guernesiais has ever exerted an influence on features of this kind. Rather, it can be assumed that they have arrived in Guernsey because of the manifold connections of the island with Great Britain and because of the many British immigrants in Guernsey.

Furthermore, there are quite a number of features in which an influence from Guernesiais as well as from other varieties of English seems plausible, for example in the construction *there is/was* + plural subject or in the use of the particle *eh*. In individual cases it is virtually impossible to ascertain which influences are responsible and to what extent. At best, certain hypotheses can be put forward. If a certain feature occurs only very restrictively in other varieties of English - and especially in those of British English - the probability is increased in principle that a transference from Guernesiais plays a rôle, provided of course that there is a parallel

structure in Guernesiais. If a feature may be influenced by other varieties of English and at the same time also by Guernesiais, it does not mean that both sources of influence are mutually exclusive. It is quite possible in this case that we have a convergence: that is, a particular feature is supported both by other varieties of English and by a transference from Guernesiais. One can advance the hypothesis that a feature such as *eh* is used in Guernsey with a high frequency precisely because it occurs in English anyway and is also very common in Guernesiais.

Various general observations of particular note can be made with respect to the results of the individual features in the four groups of informants. Although the frequency may vary, most of the features occur with both the older (Guernesiais speakers) and the younger informants (not speakers of Guernesiais). The only exceptions are the use of the present tense instead of the standard present perfect (e.g. *I'm in charge of it for 24 years*) and the use of *there's* in combination with an adverbial of time (e.g. *there's nearly a thousand years we are British*). These features were found only in group MO. The deletion of *'s* in the local genitive (e.g. *I had been brought up to my grandmother*) also occurs only in groups MO and FO. In each case a transference from Guernesiais is the most likely source for the features.

As in other speech communities of language contact, one can provide evidence for substratum influence in Guernsey, in as much as features originally due to transference may be found with people who themselves are not bilingual. In this way, features such as the emphatic use of the objective forms of the personal pronouns or the short interrogative *Is it?* occur equally with younger informants. Transference phenomena from Guernesiais may have been altogether more frequent during earlier phases of the language shift; nonetheless, some features at least attained a more general diffusion, and thus

can now also be found with people who are monolingual speakers of English. Accordingly, it does not seem justified to regard features of transference as merely transitional phenomena which will disappear as soon as the language shift is complete.

As far as the frequency of the individual features in the different groups of informants is concerned, it is important to make certain differentiations. In the case of the syntactic structure *there is/was* + plural subject, it became apparent that its frequency is equally high with both older and younger informants. It is not really surprising that this structure is so common with younger people as well. *There is/was* + plural subject is generally widespread in contemporary English and can be regarded as a characteristic of informal, spoken English usage. In contrast, it is possible to observe differences of frequency between the older and the younger informants, as is the case with the nonstandard use of the definite article *the* or the use of the prepositions *to* (for a position) and *in/at* (for a destination). Here the younger informants' linguistic behaviour is far more in accordance with standard speech, revealing the influence of St.E. on this group. Generally, it seems fair to assume that St.E. exerts a strong normative influence in Guernsey today. As in other places, this influence is disseminated by the schools and the modern mass media (radio, television, the press). Another influential factor in Guernsey can be seen in the numerous immigrants from Great Britain, who live together with the natives in a relatively small space. Many of the immigrants belong to the higher social classes; from a linguistic point of view, their language approaches the standard.

In the discussion of possible transference phenomena in English, a comparison with other language-contact situations can provide useful illumination. Sabban (1982) deals with the question of the extent to which Gaelic may have influenced the

variety of English used by the Gaelic-speaking community in Scotland. Her results are indeed analogous to mine for Guernsey. On the one hand, there are features which clearly point to a transference from Gaelic, such as the syntactic structure *be* + *after* + verb-*ing* (Sabban, 1982:161). On the other hand, Sabban discusses features which in her view cannot be explained by an influence from Gaelic but which have been adopted from other varieties of English, especially Scottish English, such as the nonstandard past tense form *seen* (Sabban, 1982:194) or multiple negation (Sabban, 1982:336ff.)[1]. But with other features Sabban is also faced with the problem that it is impossible to definitively ascertain whether it is a transference from Gaelic or an adoption from other varieties of English which has taken place, as for example with the nonstandard use of the definite article *the* (Sabban, 1982:380ff.) or the inversion in indirect interrogative sentences (Sabban, 1982:460ff.). With regard to the question of Gaelic influence on the local variety of English, she arrives at the following conclusion:

> Die Diskussion dieser Frage im Verlauf der Arbeit hat gezeigt, wie schwierig es ist, hier zu eindeutigen Aussagen zu gelangen. Es gibt kaum ein Phänomen, bei dem nicht andere Erklärungsmöglichkeiten, entweder für sich genommen oder im Verein mit dem G[älischen], in Betracht kämen.
> (Sabban, 1982:552)

If a certain feature can be accounted for by transference from Gaelic as well as by influences from other varieties of

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[1]Cf. also Sabban (1982:553) and Sabban (1985:138-140). Following Bähr (1974), Sabban (1982:13-14) refers to the variety examined by her as "Kontaktenglisch" (contact English). This term is somewhat misleading, since one cannot explain - at least, not exclusively - many of the features occurring in this variety by language contact with Gaelic. And Sabban leaves open the question as to whether features which in her opinion have nothing to do with language contact are part of "Kontaktenglisch" or not.

English, it is reasonable to assume that - as is the case in Guernsey - the different sources of influence converge and have a complementary function. Shuken confirms such a convergence of different influences for the phonological level:

> It is difficult to attribute specific sources to many features of H[ebridean] E[nglish], since most occur in more than one potential source. For instance, vowel length oppositions are a characteristic of Gaelic; but long vowels in words such as *boat*, *weak*, *take* occur in other varieties of English. Retroflexion is characteristic of Gaelic and H[ebridean] E[nglish], but also occurs in other forms of Sc[ottish] E[nglish]. [...] In these cases, it might be more appropriate to speak of *reinforcing* sources or influences. Then again, the differences between H[ebridean] E[nglish] and other varieties of English may in some cases be a matter of degree. For instance, a certain amount of devoicing of voiceless consonants occurs in most varieties of English; but it may be that this occurs more frequently in H[ebridean] E[nglish] than in other varieties, or in more (or different) environments or positions in the word.
>
> (Shuken, 1985:150)

A further variety of English for which the question can be raised as to whether there is influence from another language or from other varieties of English is Irish English[2]. The particular rôle of an Irish substratum influence has been emphasized repeatedly in linguistic research[3]. Harris (1984a) critically discusses this theory. He acknowledges that an original transference from Irish is very likely in the case of certain features of Irish English; with respect to other features, however, he thinks it doubtful that only an influence from Irish is responsible.

Various syntactic structures exist in Irish English which are

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[2]Cf. also Trudgill (1986:148-152).

[3]Cf. for example Bliss (1972) or Todd (1975).

equivalent to the present perfect tense in St.E. and are generally explained by transference from Irish. Thus one finds the construction *be* + *after* + verb-*ing* (e.g. *she is after selling the boat* - St.E. *she has just sold the boat*), which, according to Harris, is clearly due to transference from Irish: "[...] there can be little doubt that it is a calque on the Irish construction" (Harris, 1984a:319). Moreover, there are constructions in Irish English such as: *He's dead a long time* (St.E. *He's been dead a long time*), *He went out* (St.E. *He has gone out*) and *She has the boat sold* (St.E. *She has sold the boat*) which, as Harris explains, are not exclusively caused by a transference from Irish. He is able to show that the structures just mentioned also occurred in earlier periods of the English language and are still partly used in various other regional varieties of English at the present time. He explains the existence of these structures in Irish English above all by the generally conservative character of this variety, which has preserved features from Early Modern English times until today, something which is also the case at the phonological level:

> In the light of the historical evidence briefly summarized here, we may conclude that, in the area of the grammar under discussion, only H[iberno] E[nglish] PI [the construction: *be* + *after* + verb-*ing*] can be said to have its origins exclusively in Irish interference. The nonstandard distribution of the other forms *vis-à-vis* the standard perfect appears to reflect Early Modern English patterns. The effects of Irish interference on the latter can perhaps best be regarded as reinforcing and indirect [...] rather than exclusive and direct.
>
> (Harris, 1984a:322-323)

It follows from Harris' analysis that one can assume a convergence of different sources of influence at least for certain features of Irish English as well. The problem remains as to the extent to which each influence comes into effect. With regard to the structures mentioned above, it seems that Harris

attaches more importance to the preservation of these features since the Early Modern English period than to a transference from Irish. At this point, one can critically ask on what basis Harris makes his assessment and how one can actually measure the relative strength (or weakness) of an influence. In any case, it seems mandatory to me that any discussion of linguistic variation in language contact situations should first of all thoroughly examine each feature and then carefully analyse every possible source of influence; only in this way can contradictions in the linguistic analysis be avoided.

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