

MULTILINGUALISM:
Empowering Individuals
Transforming Societies

MULTILINGUALISM: EMPOWERING INDIVIDUALS, TRANSFORMING SOCIETIES

The online presence of standard and non-standard Breton

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Regional languages in France

- Historically neglected by the French state
 - "La langue de la République est le français"
- Increasing official presence
 - Presence in education
 - Road signage
- Standardisation enacted by specific bodies

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Breton

- Around 200000 speakers (Broudic, 2013:10)
- Academic literature divides them into *new speakers* and *traditional speakers*

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New versus traditional speakers

New speakers	Traditional speakers
Younger, middle-class, mobile, and well-educated	Older, working class, usually farmers
Located in larger towns and cities	Located in rural hamlets
Live all over Brittany	Restricted to western Brittany
Acquire Breton as a second language	Acquire Breton through intergenerational transmission
Acquire Breton in formal education	
Use Breton as much as possible	Restrict use of Breton to intimate settings
Militant promotion of Breton	Speak Breton only because of linguistic ability
Proud of Breton identity	No strong sense of Breton identity
Use 'standardised' Breton	Use dialectal Breton
French-influenced linguistic structure	Linguistic structure not influenced by French
Celtic-derived lexicon	French-influenced lexicon

(See e.g. Jones, 1995; Hornsby, 2005; Timm, 2001; German, 2007)

The lexicon of Breton

- Identified as prominent feature of new versus traditional speaker distinction

French	TB	NB
<i>promenade</i>	pourmenadenn	baleadenn
<i>raison</i>	rezen	abeg
<i>boulangerie</i>	boulangerezh	baraerezh

adapted from Timm, 2001:456

- Now regulated by the Office public de la langue bretonne



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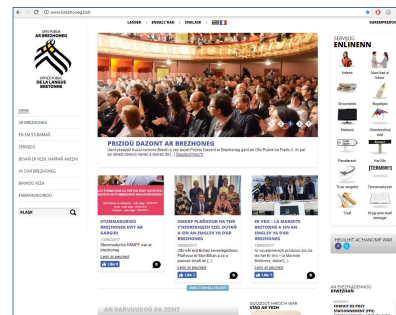
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(See e.g. Jones, 1995; Hornsby, 2005; Timm, 2001; German, 2007)

Breton on the internet: official representation



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Breton on the internet: official representation

“N’eo ket ken bras-se an diforc’hioù ha sellet a reont dreist-holl ouzh an taol-mouezh hag an distagadur. N’eus ket nemeur a ziforc’hioù a-fet geriaoueg ha yezhadur. Peurvuiañ e c’haller kompren mat an eil egile, ha hep tamm diaezamant ebet zoken evit an dud a oar lenn ha skrivañ.
... A-nebeudoù, gant sikour an holl o deus strivet aze, ez eus bet diazezet ur yezh skouerikaet evit gallout en em dennañ e kement degouezh a vefe hag evit bezañ gouest da vont diouzh emdroadur an teknologiezhioù er bed a vremañ.”

(<http://www.brezhoneg.bzh/55-istor.htm>)



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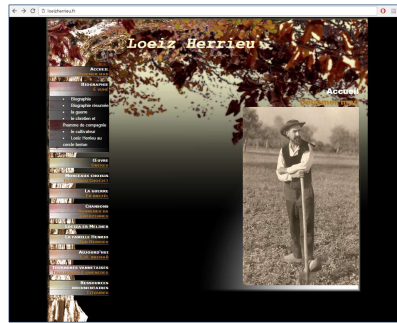


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Breton on the internet: non-standard representation



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digemer mad	degemer mat
é vuhé	e vuhez
obéreu	oberoù
testenneu choéjet	testennoù choaziet
er brezél	ar brezel
sonneueu ha gwerzenneueu	sonioù ha gwerzhioù
tud Herrieu	tud Herrieu
L. H. bremañ	L. H. bremañ
troieenneu é gwenedeg	troiennoù e gwenedeg
titoureu	titouroù

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Central Breton

Salud deo'h,

Fenos vo laket un añrejistramant ma gwraet ba-ti J. barzh **Skrigneg**, assames oa-i ga É. deus **Skrigneg** 'e, deut oan assames ga **Tanguy Sollicec**. Trañskrivet an traoù ganen-me, michañs a blijjo deo'h

Salud deoc'h,

Fenoz **e** vo lakaet un añrejistramant **graet** ba-ti J. barzh Skrigneg, **asambles** oa-hi gant É. deus Skrigneg **ivez**, deut oan **asambles gant** Tanguy Sollicec. Trañskrivet **e** oa an traoù ganin-me, **emichañs e** blijjo deoc'h

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Salud deoc'h,

Fenoz **e** vo lakaet un **enrolladenn** **graet e-barzh** ti J. **e** Skrigneg, **a-gevret** oa-hi gant É. deus Skrigneg **ivez**, deut oan **a-gevret** gant Tanguy Sollicec. **Treuzskrivet e** oa an traoù ganin-me, **emichañs e** blijjo deoc'h

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Facebook e brezhoneg

- Largest of several Facebook groups dedicated to Breton, with around 10000 members
- 'Open group': anyone can read and search posts
- Associated with new speakers
- Specific bilingual site: competence in French expected but use of it discouraged

Kasit **ho kemenadennoù e brezhoneg** mar plij
Ha chomit dereat ha doujus
Merci de **rédiger vos messages en breton**
et de rester courtois et respectueux

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Lexical variation

- Many non-'official' French borrowings

French	Attested	Advised
téléphérique	teleferik	fungarr
sexiste	seksist	revelour
reptiles	reptilianed	stlejviled
drapeau	drapo	banniel

- International borrowings: *organek, TV*
- Dialectal words: often prepositions
- Longer dialectal posts attract dialectal replies

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Some more examples

	< French/ International	# Tokens	# Speakers	< Celtic	# Tokens	# Speakers
'radio'	radio	4	3	skingomz	0	0
'telephone'	telefon	0	0	pellgomz	5	3
'internet'	internet	9	8	kenrouedad	2	2
'television'	tele/TV	1	1	skinwel	1	1
'thank you'	mersi	6	4	trugarez	6	6

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Preliminary conclusions

- No overall lexical homogeneity
 - Celtic words and words of French origin coexist
 - Non-standard dialects continue to be used to some degree
- Respelling is often sufficient for a word used in French to be accepted in Breton
- Use of non-standard features allows expression of more localised identity and difference from French

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