

Towards a shifters' view of language shift. A comparative study of Lima and Lille

Abstract: In this study we compare language shift (from Quechua to Spanish) among Andean migrants to Lima in the late 20th century to the abandonment of Flemish by 19th century Belgian migrants to Lille and the abandonment of the traditional Romance vernacular, Picard. After sketching language policy and the economic and social conditions which prompt migration, we seek to show how migration is a self-improvement project which appears incompatible to the subjects concerned with maintenance of the ancestral language, despite its clear symbolic value. While the abandonment of Quechua in Lima generally happens suddenly (as opposed to a more progressive decline in rural areas), the gradual eventually complete desocialisation of Picard in Lille has been transformed into a top-down scenario through a surprising series of cultural phenomena in the early 20th century.

1. Introduction

At first blush, this may seem to be the most arbitrary of comparisons. To be sure, the idea of comparing currently ongoing language shift among Quechua-speaking migrants in Lima (Peru) (Marr, 1998; 2011) with historic language or dialect shift (in the late 19th and early 20th centuries) in Lille (Pooley, 2004) derives in part from the search for synergies among researchers with highly disparate interests being thrown together in a research centre covering an academic area labelled for administrative convenience 'languages'. On closer examination, however, the influx of Flemish-speaking migrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries into the area now known as Lille-Métropole appears to manifest parallels to the Peruvian case in that the abandonment of a clearly differentiated tongue and the consequent linguistic and cultural assimilation occurred rapidly. The situations clearly differ in that the assimilation of the Flemish in northern France took place, as Landrecies (2001) has it, in a 'contexte dialectal picard'. Traditionally, the degree of difference between a maximally differentiated language pair such as Quechua and Spanish and a highly distinctive pair such as French and Flemish, would appear to warrant a different treatment from cases where the dominated variety is linguistically very close to its roof language as in the case of Picard and French. As we argue however, from the speakers' perspective, what is/was being abandoned is/was in all three cases a dialect and in each case they are/were giving up what they, and indeed the wider community, regard(-ed) at at least some level as an inferior form of language life, imbued in a positive sense with only very local values, and encumbered with a weight of ideologised negative history, which invades the most intimate recesses of the community psyche, and against which well-meaning discourses of status enhancement seem powerless. If, then, as Fishman (1991: 349) observed, status planning is the key issue in language revitalisation, then success or failure depends on the efficacy of the strategies conceived to raise the value of an endangered language in the eyes of its own natural constituency.

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In the sections that follow, we begin in Section 2 by placing the cases of Quechua and Picard in a historical and wider geographical context, in an attempt to explain why these languages should be endangered despite their purported illustrious histories. We seek to place Quechua against the broader backdrop of hispanophone America and sketch the common economic, political and cultural factors before attempting a similar exercise with Picard extending the comparison to a number of contexts of Romance-speaking Europe.

The linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of discourses of status are presented for Quechua in Section 3 and for Picard in Section 4. These sections discuss firstly Peruvian and French language policies with particular reference to the languages concerned. As is the case of many threatened languages, Quechua and Picard are umbrella terms for a range of varieties, lacking a clearly perceptible unity, particularly for ordinary speakers. This perception of dialect fragmentation is reviewed from the perspective of both linguists and ordinary speakers. The final parts of Sections 3 and 4 seek to evaluate the major lines of discourses designed to enhance the status of Quechua and Picard, before weighing the pragmatic and symbolic value of the respective varieties. Section 5 is central to the overall argument in that it seeks to explain the motivations of 'language shifters'. For provincial migrants to Lima, this is based on recent fieldwork, which provides a valuable perspective for the brief parenthesis of the historical reconstruction of the shift of Flemish-speaking migrants (covered in greater detail in Pooley, 2006) and Picard-speaking residents, making use of the body of contemporary and post-shift testimony available for Lille. In Section 6 we turn to the question of language maintenance, attempting a critique of the defence strategies of both professional linguists and regional activists. While some Quechua-speaking communities apparently remain resistant to shift, the historic example of northern France seems to warn against an assumption of immutability, although, as we observe in Section 6, changing circumstances may result in a favourable change of fortune regardless of language policy.

2. The anatomy of endangerment in the Quechua and Picard-speaking areas

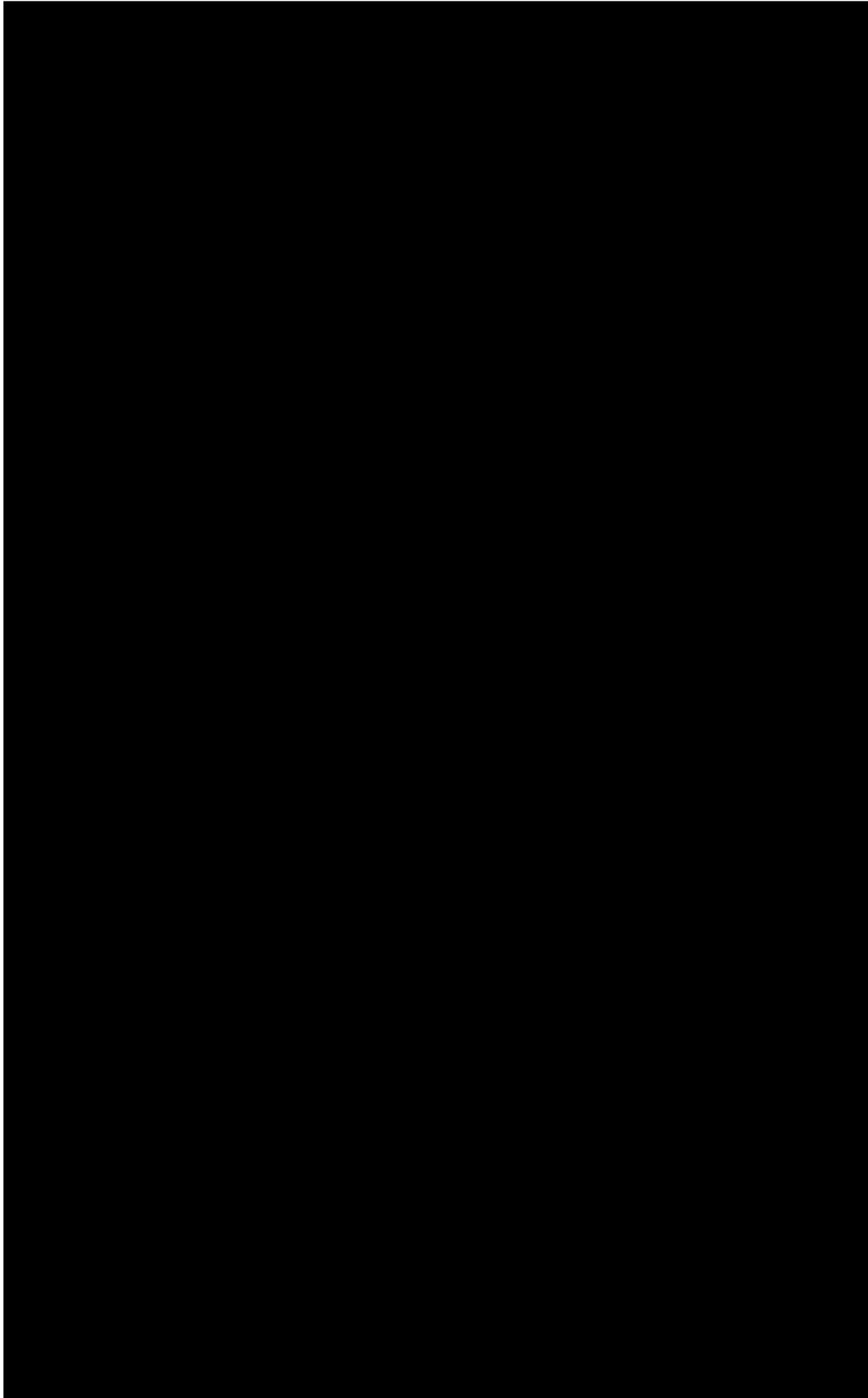
2.1 The Quechua-speaking areas in the Hispanic American sociolinguistic context

It may first of all seem surprising that what is arguably the fourth most spoken language in the Americas should be regarded in any way as endangered. Consideration, however, of the overall situation in the five nation states within whose territory Quechua came to its greatest degree of spread from the mid-16th to the early 17th centuries may yield some helpful indications as to why this might be the case. Moreover, and more pertinent for this study, the form of endangerment as characterised in the various scenarios described by Campbell and

Muntzel (1989: 182-186) appears to be different in an urban setting such as Lima, where the evidence that we present in later sections points strongly to sudden abandonment by its speakers in contrast to the rural areas, where it seems to be much more a case of gradual decline.

In Table 1 we have attempted to collate a breakdown of the major ethnic backgrounds and first languages of the populations of the five modern nation-states – Peru, Chile, Ecuador,

Bolivia and Argentina (Map 1) – covering the maximum spread of the Inca empire.



While we are conscious of the hazardous nature of the enterprise as regards achieving a high level of accuracy, the broad indications that emerge nonetheless appear clear-cut. In all five

countries, Spanish L1 speakers are the most numerous, and a significant proportion of ethnic Quechuas, and indeed people from other numerous ethnic groups, such as the Aymaras and Mapuches, have been assimilated into the Spanish-speaking majority, numerically highly dominant in Argentina and Chile, where people of European and Mestizo (part-European) background are in the majority. In Ecuador and Peru the proportions of people of indigenous and migrant origin are more evenly balanced, and this is reflected in speaker numbers. Although Peru, like Bolivia, has an Amerindian majority, only in the latter country are Spanish L1 speakers outnumbered by speakers of the major indigenous languages, Quechua and Aymara. Such broad-brush national-level breakdowns should not, however, cause us to overlook the fact that Quechua, Aymara and Mapudungun speakers may actually be in the majority in limited areas. In regimes that consider themselves unitary republics, it may be problematical to create what are effectively special enclaves and it raises all sorts of issues regarding links between traditional life modes and the continued socialisation of indigenous languages.

Table 1. Population, ethnic labelling and proportions of Spanish L1, Quechua and other significant groups of indigenous language speakers in Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and Argentina (Source: Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001; Leclerc, 2009a; 2009b; 2009d; 2009e; 2009f)

	Peru	Ecuador	Bolivia	Chile	Argentina
Population	28.1m (2005)	12.6m (2001)	7.9m (2001)	16.3m (2006)	40.2m (2000)
European	12%	11.1%	5.1%	19%	81.4%
Mestizo	32%	38%	30.5%	70.7%	10%
Amerindian	54.7%	40%	63.9%	8%	3.7%
Black		6.3%			
Middle Eastern		-			4.7%
Other	1.3%	1%	0.5%		0.2%
Main L1					
Spanish L1	76%	78%	43%	93.2%	97%
Quechua	14.7%	11.9%	36.4%	0.007%	0.02%
Aymara	1.4%		22.5%	0.005%	0.0007%
Mapudungun				6.7%	

A brief glance at other countries in Hispanic Latin America largely confirms these trends (Table 2). Indeed, four of the six countries profiled have over 90% of L1 Spanish speakers. Of these four countries, only Mexico has clusters of indigenous language speakers numbering over a million people (Nahuatl and Maya) but even these numbers constitute only around 1% of the population. It should be borne in mind too that these figures refer to speakers of

languages belonging to the Nahuatl and Maya families, of which there are around 25 not necessarily incomprehensible clusters in each case. The demographic weight of Maya speakers is proportionally greater in Guatemala but still less than that of Spanish L1 speakers. Paraguay stands out as the notable exception with a mere 6% of monolingual hispanophones and a significant majority of the population who speak and/or understand one or other of the dialects of Guaraní.

Table 2. Population, ethnic labelling and proportions of Spanish L1, and most numerous groups of indigenous language speakers in Mexico, Guatemala, Paraguay, Uruguay, Colombia and Venezuela (Sources: Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001; Leclerc, 2009b; 2010a; 2010b; 2010c; 2010d; 2011)

	Mexico	Guatemala	Paraguay	Uruguay	Colombia	Venezuela
Population	113.m (2010)	12.5m (2005)	5.7m (2002)	3.6m (2010)	49.6m (2010)	28.7m (2010)
European	9%	0.8%	2.3%	86%	20%	16%
Mestizo	61%	43%	94%	7%	57.6%	61%
Amerindian	28%	54%	1.4%		0.8	1.5%
Black	0.5	2%			21%	10%
Other	1.4%	0.2%	2.3%	7%	0.6%	11.3%
L1						
Spanish L1	95%	69%	6%	93.1%	98.6%	91%
Guaraní			88%			
Portuguese			3.2%			
Nahuatl	1.1%					
Maya	1.1%	39.2%				
Zapoteco	0.06%					
Otomi	0.06%					
Guajiro					0.02%	
Xinka		0.14%				

The Paraguayan example shows that even within the context of Spanish rule people of European and part-European descent may adopt an indigenous language as their L1, although elsewhere, and this is clearly the case in the Quechua-speaking territories, the indigenous languages of Latin America have been best maintained where there are significant numbers of people of the corresponding ethnicity, and where L1 Spanish speakers are proportionally fewer. While such broad-brush ethnolinguistic factors are undoubtedly of importance, factors of a different order – political, economic and cultural – may be considered at least equally significant.

2.2 Political, economic and cultural factors

Larraín (2000: 7-8; 22-23) characterises the political history of Latin America since the Spanish Conquest as being divided into six stages presented in summary form in Table 3.

Table 3. Broad periodisation of Latin American history (adapted from Larraín, 2000)

Approximate periods	Brief summary
1492 till 1810-1825	Colonial period. Semi-feudal. Centrality of Catholic ideology
Independence till 1900	Oligarchic modernity with considerable economic expansion and embracing of new ideas, but the social order remains largely untouched
1900-1950	The crisis of oligarchic modernity and beginnings of populist modernisation
1950-1970	Postwar expansion and modernisation of economy; development of mass media (including TV). Economic Commission for Latin America. Beginnings of welfare policies with benefits unevenly distributed.
1970-1990	Age of dictatorships; huge international debt; hyperinflation and shrinking of economy
Post 1990	Neo-liberal modernisation and economic expansion

Despite obvious historic discontinuities, in particular the break with Spanish rule, power has been generally concentrated in the hands of either the Spanish, or those acculturated indigenous elites who benefited from the regime (Gruzinski, 2002: 55). After independence, power passed into the hands of westernised elites, whether criollo or mestizo, which, as Klarén (2000: 95) has it, formed an entrenched and powerful oligarchy, whose members were wealthy and favoured with influential connections.

While there are undoubtedly differences – Chile was demonstrably better organised than Peru or Bolivia at the time of the War of the Pacific – successive Peruvian regimes had much in common with most other Latin American countries. The country has been governed by a succession of civilian and military dictatorships interspersed with sometimes brief periods of democracy. The power base has been emphatically urban and Spanish-speaking with indigenous peoples largely marginalised, lumped together as a monolithic ethnic underclass (Klarén, 2000: 155). This urban elite has tended to look outside national borders for cultural inspiration, particularly to France¹ and the UK (e.g. the export of guano) and increasingly from the 20th century onwards to the USA for business and finance. As regards the latter, it has resulted in an economy over-dependent on the export of raw materials, huge foreign debts

¹ Many Peruvian writers and artists were heavily influenced by French culture and the modernisation of Lima in the late 19th/early 20th centuries was to a great degree influenced by Paris (cf. Klarén, 2000; Higgins, 2005: 110 for examples).

and rampant inflation, leaving a significant proportion of the population in poverty to the point where many suffer from malnutrition.

Undoubtedly such hardships affect the indigenous population disproportionately and over the centuries many have made common cause with the downtrodden to foment rebellion against regimes which represent a narrow spectrum of society. While, for instance, one of the most recent was the Maoist-inspired *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), the history of Peru has been punctuated by uprisings underpinned by a form of Inca nationalism, perhaps the most iconic of which was that of Túpac Amaru II in 1780-81. Such insurgencies undoubtedly romanticise the Inca regime, which was, as Klarén (2000: 29) notes, far from a socialist paradise *avant la lettre*. It was rather a hierarchical exploitative society held together by a militarised state and a repressive legal code and where religion was used as a kind of cultural cement in order to exert power over the masses. It was, however, at least arguably a kinder regime than that imposed by the Spanish colonisers, characterised by the sense of alienation and despair described by Wachtel (1977) resulting from the collapse of the world which the indigenous people knew and the apparently demonstrable impotence of their gods. There was at the same time a sense of cultural superiority on the part of the Spanish, which is clearly still very much with us, although relayed by a Hispanic (European and Mestizo) elite. In recent years, the principle of greater inclusiveness in the national polity and the recognition of the rights of indigenous peoples have been enshrined in statute. Some of this legislation, e.g. in Guatemala (Leclerc, 2009b), although highly commendable, is too recent for its outcomes to be evaluated. There are undoubtedly a number of examples where laudable legislation, both in Peru and in other countries, has not been followed up by positive implementation or has, unintentionally or otherwise, led to hispanisation, as has happened in the case of primary schooling in the first language.

In artistic and in scholarly work, the theme of *indigenismo* constitutes a minor thread periodically gaining greater prominence, but rarely making any strong claims about even the most spoken minority languages. The term *indigenismo* is of course broader than Quechua or Aymara and seems to suggest an outsider's monolithic perspective, whereas for the insiders, there are considerable differences. Any nostalgia for the Inca past must be tempered by the fact that their domination was relatively short-lived and overlaid sometimes well developed cultures. Moreover, despite the absence of writing, the sociolinguistic situation could be described as diglossic with Quechua being used as a lingua franca over a linguistically diverse area, while within Quechua varieties, the variety of the Cuzco-based elite held a special place (Klarén, 2000: 21, 29). The Incas also deliberately displaced

conquered peoples, thereby undermining older customs and practices and in many cases causing language shift (see *inter alia* Mannheim, 1991; Torero, 1974; Cerrón-Palomino, 1989). Since the Conquest, the perceived superiority of Hispanic culture, increasingly bolstered and infused by European and American influences, has relegated Quechua largely to an inferior position strongly associated with rurality. Since Lima is central to our focus, we now turn to consider its development against a wider backdrop.

2.3 Urbanisation, migration and poverty

Urbanisation is widely cited as one of the most frequent contributory factors to language shift (Jones and Singh, 2006; Graddol, 2006), since in a great number of cases, including the two case studies that we have chosen to focus on, it results in minority-language speakers rubbing shoulders with speakers of one of the world's twenty most spoken languages, which include both Spanish and French. Over the course of the 20th century Peru has been transformed from a country where the majority of the population lived in rural areas to one where 'urbanites' are in a decisive majority. The phenomenon of urbanisation may be perceived as a means of escaping poverty through better education, albeit possibly for the next generation, and greater employment prospects.

Table 4 sets a broad backdrop to our discussion of urbanisation, literacy, poverty and health issues in hispanic America. Broadly speaking one would expect a degree of correlation between urbanisation and literacy² (overwhelmingly in Spanish) and between both these factors and economic development. This is reflected to a degree by the two indicators of per capita income and the Human Development Index.³ The most prosperous countries – Argentina, Chile and Uruguay – (at least \$4k per capita and HDI value of .8 or better) have high rates of urbanisation and literacy and relatively low rates of non-western diversity. Among the nations whose territories include historic Quechua-speaking homelands, the countries with the highest proportions of speakers, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador, are significantly less well-off than Chile and Argentina. Quechua is by and large a language (or cluster of varieties) spoken in the *sierra* and this is reflected to some degree in the overall numbers of urban dwellers. What such broad figures tend to mask is distribution of wealth and the character of the urbanisation.

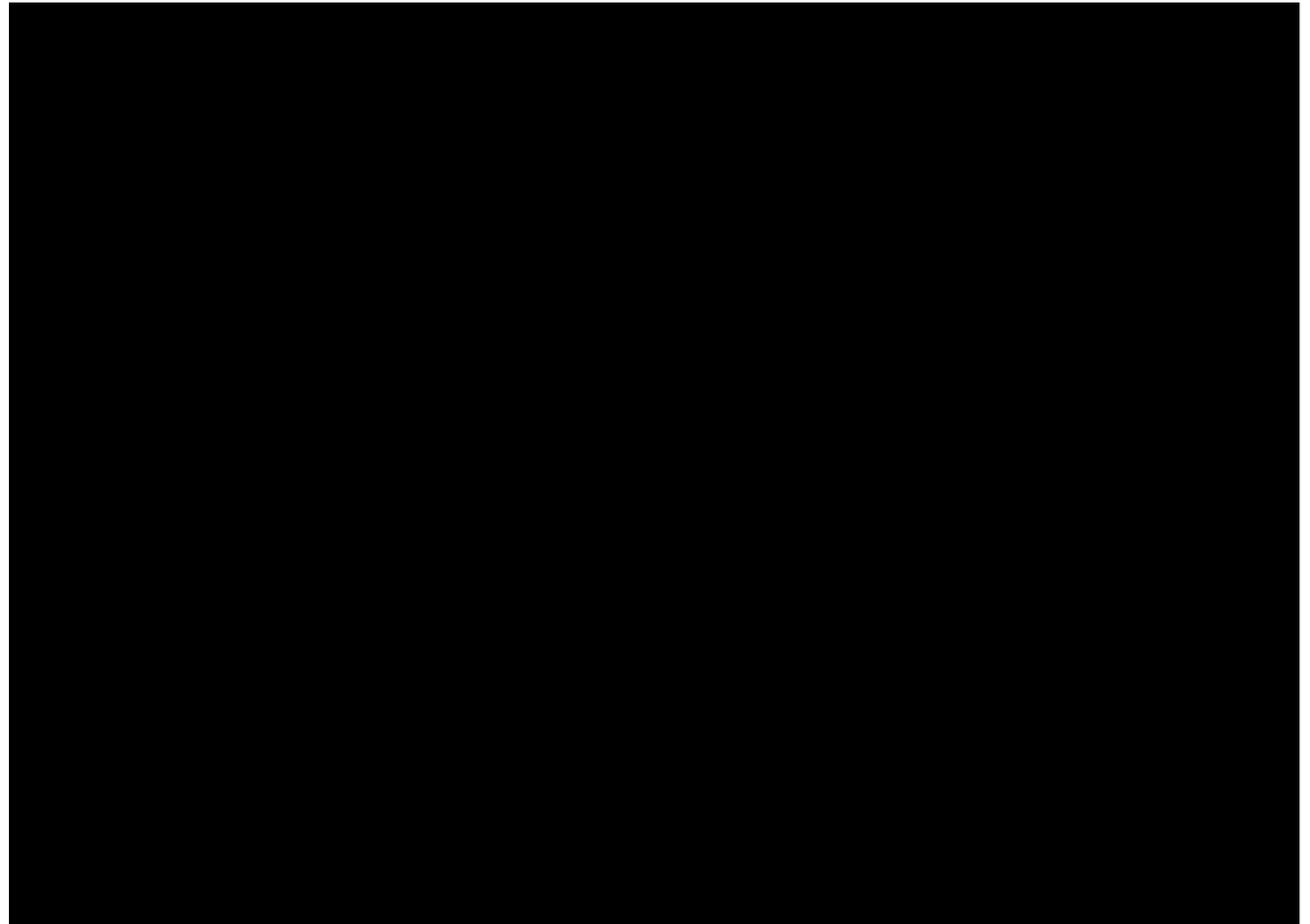
² Official literacy rates can differ significantly from functional literacy rates, but this is only indicated in the cases of Bolivia and Paraguay.

³ HDI is based on an annual UN development report on life expectancy, infant mortality, income and health, with values ranging from 0.2 to 0.98.

Table 4. Urbanisation, literacy, income and health and development indices (HDI) in selected hispanic America countries. (Source: Johnstone and Mandryk, 2001)

With Quechua speakers	Urban dwellers	Literacy rates	Per Capita Income (\$ US)	HDI
Peru	71%	87%	\$2.6k (8% US)	.739 (80/174)
Argentina	88%	95%	\$8.06k (23.5% US)	.827 (39/174)
Bolivia	61%	77% (<50%?)	\$830 (3% US)	.652 (112/174)
Chile	86%	95%	\$4.86k (15% US)	.844 (34/174)
Ecuador	62%	90%	\$1.5k (5% US)	.747 (72/174)
Non-Quechua				
Colombia	70%	70%	\$2.14k (7% US)	.768 (57/174)
Guatemala	40%	56%	\$1.47k (5% US)	.624 (116/174)
Mexico	72%	89%	\$3.7k (12% US)	.786 (50/174)
Paraguay	55%	90% (<?)	\$2k (6.3% US)	.730 (84/174)
Uruguay	90%	97.5%	\$6.13k (19.5% US)	.826 (40/174)
Venezuela	87%	90.9%	\$3.48k (11% US)	.792 (48/174)

Distribution of wealth is very uneven. In Peru, estimates of the number of people living in extreme poverty and suffering from malnutrition vary from 40% to 60% (Map 2, Riofrio, 2003). Migration to urban centres is perceived as a means to escape poverty and Lima (along with the contiguous port of Callao) is clearly the preferred destination, given the rapid increase in the city's population over recent decades, to the point where it has clearly become a mega-city accommodating at least 25% of Peruvians. Clearly, many migrants are prepared to take a longer-term view of the migration project, hoping for better life chances for their children than they themselves enjoy. Migrants keep coming despite very high unemployment (77.4% in the 1990s) and the prospect of living in shantytowns (euphemistically renamed *pueblos jóvenes* or *asientos humanos*) where 46% of dwellings had no drainage, 28% no electricity and 38% no street lighting at the turn of the century (Higgins, 2005). From the perspective of language shift, what may appear surprising in the light of the andeanisation of the population is that in our study very few minority-language speaking migrants want to use their L1 within the Limeño space. Even specifically Andean popular cultural phenomena, like traditional music and song, tend to use the medium of Spanish.



Founded as a colonial city in 1535, because of the nearby harbour at Callao which provided access to the sea and connections with Panama and Spain, and by 1542 capital of the then vast viceroyalty of Peru, Lima has since the 1540s been the physical and cultural gateway to and from the outside world. As internal infrastructure has been improved, e.g. through the building of railways in the 19th century, the city has increasingly emerged as the hub of internal transport connections. Its dominance over the rest of the country has fluctuated according to economic fortunes, e.g. during the silver boom of the 16th and 17th centuries when the mining town of Potosí (now part of Bolivia) outstripped Lima in terms of demographic expansion. The dominance of tertiary functions, such as handling the two-way flow of imports and exports, housing the the offices of estate owners and a wide range of service providers, not to mention the main government and church organisations, universities and printing presses, enables the city to weather crises better than regions where industry is the main economic driver.

From the 1530s it has been an emphatically hispanophone space which has proved able to absorb speakers of other languages and dialects. Most migrants come primed to shift.

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Hornberger and King (2001) mention how even in rural traditionally Quechua-speaking communities, families have more and frequent recourse to Spanish. Nettle and Romaine's (2000) proposal to keep languages alive in their historic environment through concerted programmes of support seems difficult to realise in communities where extreme poverty is prevalent and migrating even to squalid shantytowns and making some kind of living through the informal economy is an attractive option. As Gruzinski (2002) has it, Spanish has already penetrated the Quechua imaginary. While bilingualism would appear to be the way forward, the evidence which we present suggests that this can only happen if speakers are confident of both their mastery of Spanish and their social status.

2.4 Picard and the Oil languages

Notwithstanding all the difficulties associated with defining and numbering speakers of a language so linguistically close to its roof variety (French), Picard arguably displays the greatest degree of vitality of any Oil languages spoken in France in terms of published estimates of the numbers of speakers. Even this degree of vitality is less than reported in the only country where the language was spoken historically – Belgium. While the reliability of both sets of figures quoted for France (Kloss and McConnell, 1984; Kloss, McConnell and Verdoodt, 1989; Héran, Filhon and Deprez, 2002) may be, and indeed have been, questioned (e.g. Pooley, 2006b; Blanchet, Calvet, Hilléreau et Wilczyk, 2005), significant haemorrhaging of speaker numbers is hardly in doubt. Rough approximations would suggest for the final decades of the 20th century an attrition rate of around 80% for France, which would appear to approximate to older speakers dying with no more than negligible transmission to subsequent generations, possibly exacerbated by migration and/or the higher birth rates of groups of migrant (and therefore non-inheritor) background. The table suggests that in Belgium attrition is also significant, albeit less dire than in France, around 56% for Picard and 46% for Walloon.

Table 5. Estimated speaker of Oil languages in France and Belgium showing percentage of population. Sources: Ball (1997) adapted from Kloss and McConnell (1984), Kloss, McConnell and Verdoodt (1989); Commission of the European Communities (1986); Héran, Filhon and Deprez (2002); Fauconnier (1998)

	France		Belgium	
	Ball (1997)	Héran <i>et al.</i> (2002)	Kloss <i>et al.</i> (1989)	Fauconnier (1998)
Oil languages		570,000 (2%)	1,822,000 (58%)	1,000,000 (22%)
Norman	700,000 (23%)			
Picard	2,000,000 (36%)		450,000	200,000
Walloon			1,400,000	<750,000
Lorrain			22 000	<20,000
Franco-provençal	30 000 (2%)			

Such indications as have been documented suggest somewhat greater numbers of young speakers of all endogenous languages in Wallonia than in France. Francard (1999) estimates that around 10% of young people were able to speak their heritage variety in the 1990s, compared to around 3% noted on the basis of a language test by Pooley (2004) in Lille.

Overall, these figures suggest that 'near languages' (Oïl and Francoprovençal) manifest greater vitality in France and Belgium than in francophone Switzerland, where estimates of the percentage of speakers ranged from 0.7% to 6% in the early 1990s (Kristol, 1996). Vitality was greater in the Catholic cantons of Fribourg (4%) and the Valais (6%), whereas in the Protestant cantons (Genève, Vaud, Neuchâtel, Berne) less than 1% of the population claimed to speak the traditional tongue. There are, however, small enclaves of vitality, such as Evolène (Valais) (Pannatier, 1995; Maître and Matthey, 2004) where a significant proportion of the population acquired the local variety of Francoprovençal.

Differential rates of attrition can be attributed to less direct influence of republican centralist ideology outside France, particularly in Belgium, where compulsory primary education was not introduced until 1918, compared to the 1880s in France, although significant proportions of the populations (80%+ both in France as whole and in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais) had some schooling before that date. Illiteracy rates were much higher among the working-classes, whose use of Picard forms and varieties were correspondingly greater.

Although regional variation is potentially greater within the federal arrangements of Switzerland, the impetus of the Reformation encouraged literacy for personal Bible reading rather earlier than in other parts of francophone Europe.

Comparison with neighbouring European countries shows that the so-called *dialetti* of Italy, several of which are sufficiently differentiated from Standard Italian to constitute distinct

languages enjoy much greater, albeit dwindling vitality (Berruto, 1995). According to Berruto around 60% of Italians were bilingual in the late 1980s, although only a third of the population used the dialect exclusively at home, a proportion nearly halved (between 15% and 19%) by the end of the century (Parry, 2002: 50).

In Spain, comparable and sometimes greater degrees of vitality are bolstered by a federal regime which accords a high degree of autonomy to the regions, including the freedom to impose, promote or encourage the use of regional languages in public life. To take two examples of languages sometimes considered to be dialects of Castillian, Galician and Asturian, it cannot be claimed that they enjoy the same socio-cultural impetus as Catalan and Basque, but given the successes achieved in Catalonia and the Basque Country, there are manifestations of linguistic vitality in Galicia and Asturias which would be barely imaginable in France. To be sure, there are also signs of attrition. In Galicia, the 1991 census noted that 91% of the population spoke the heritage language (Mar-Molinero, 1997), whereas ten years later, the proportion was of L1 speakers was down to around 74% (including around 11% of respondents who claimed two mother tongues in Galician and Castillian). A study by the Galician Institute of Statistics in 2003 noted 72% of Galician L1 speakers with 16% of bilinguals. This relatively high level of vitality is backed up by a considerable number of legislative measures affecting most areas of public life, including education and industry as well as official status, and equal standing in the regional parliament (Beswick, 2007; Leclerc, 2009c).

Asturian is clearly a much more closely comparable case to Picard, being traditionally perceived as a dialect of the national language. Speakers of the language constitute only a minority of the population and attrition rates appear to be high. A report by the International Committee for the Safeguarding of Linguistic Rights in Asturias (ICSLRA, 2004) notes a significant shift in the balance between Asturian and Castillian of L1 speakers and family-based usage in the last decade of the 20th century.

Table 6. L1 speakers and family-based use of Asturian and Castillian in Asturias. 1991 and 2002 (Leclerc, 2009c)

L1	1991	2002
Asturian	35.9%	16%
Castillian	31.8%	60%
Both	5.8%	20%
Family language	1991	2002
Asturian	41.6%	19%
Castillian	36.4%	55%
Both	20.8%	23%

Under the regional autonomy laws of 1981, Asturian, also known as Bable, has protected but not official status. A law dating from 1998 permits *inter alia* the use of Asturian in public administration and in the media,⁴ authorises a translation agency and supports the teaching of the language in schools.⁵ Considerable language-planning initiatives have been undertaken by a publically funded academy, the *Academia de la Llingua Asturiana* set up in 1981, which has been instrumental in normalising spelling (1981), and publishing a grammar (1998), a dictionary (2000) and a literary history (2002). Although laudable, such projects seem to have achieved relatively little in terms of re-socialising the language. However encouraging such measures may appear from the perspective of linguistic diversity, they are far from being wholeheartedly approved of by the majority of the population. Even the generous leeway permitted by the Spanish constitution to the various autonomous regions is by no means a guarantee of generalised public support for regional languages, particularly if they are structurally close to the roof language and only spoken by a minority of the population.⁶

2.5 Political, social and cultural factors in Lille

Lille emerged as a town of some significance between the 11th and 14th centuries because it was linked into what Hohenberg and Lees (1995) called the network system of cities, the second most prosperous pole of commercial and urban development after northern Italy at the time – Flanders. Although the more northerly Flemish-speaking cities of Bruges and Ghent were the clear leaders in this time of economic boom, more southerly Romance-speaking towns such as Lille (with a population of 30,000 in 1300) and Arras and Douai (estimated populations of 20,000) enjoyed considerable commercial success. This period of economic boom underpinned considerable cultural and literary activity, particularly in Arras, and it is during this period that the most prestigious medieval Picard texts were produced. As Pooley (2004) has argued, this literary output was the key element of an aborted process of standardisation, whether the Haugen (1966) or Le Dû and Le Berre (1996) model is used. In the first case, one can argue that there is selection, acceptance and elaboration of function for high literary genres and administrative texts but certainly little or no codification. Le Dû and

⁴ Asturian has very little presence on television. One public radio station *Radio Sele* broadcasts entirely in Asturian and can potentially reach 800,000 listeners, and one private one uses the language for about an hour per week. There are a few print titles with modest circulations.

⁵ About 30% of pupils receive some teaching (Leclerc, 2009c)

⁶ As is clearly the case for Aragonais spoken by around 6% of the population.

Le Berre (1996) Le Dù and Le Berre (1996) see language as a social phenomenon with interlinkage between social and linguistic institutions defined as:

une fonction stabilisée dans l'ordre du social, dotée de règles communes en vue d'une utilité particulière

They propose three types of institution:

- 1) 'institutions d'usage' or local customs, e.g. selling eggs by the dozen
- 2) 'institutions coutumières' or regional customs, e.g. Saints' days
- 3) formal legal institutions, e.g. the laws of a nation-state

Certainly the use of Picard qualified as a set of local customs throughout its history, and possibly during the Middle Ages through as a set of regional customs, although this is not a universally held view. Some scholars, such as Cerquiglini (1991) and Carton (1992) argue that there was a composite Oïl writing system with minor regional variations, whereas others, in particular, Lodge (2004) argue that there were several closely related regional languages, of which one (Francien) became hegemonic for political, economic and social reasons. As a result of this hegemonic position, writings in other varieties were absorbed into a common national canon.

This relatively autonomous literary flowering was curtailed after the French king felt constrained to intervene militarily in Flanders to prevent a marital alliance between the House of Flanders and one of his greatest rivals, the English royal family.

In 1369 Flanders came under the aegis of the Duke of Burgundy, through matrimonial alliance, and through the vagaries of succession and the reach of the Holy Roman Empire later came under the rule of the Habsburgs and Spain. From around the 1630s, France attempted on several occasions to invade Flanders and eventually proved to be successful from 1665. Although for several decades, the fortunes of hostilities swung back and forth, Lille became definitively part of France in 1713, sanctioned by the Treaty of Utrecht following five years of stout resistance of an attempted Anglo-Dutch invasion.

Table 7. Some key dates in the sociolinguistic history of Lille

Rulers	Dates	Relation to France
Counts of Flanders	989-1304	High degree of autonomy towards France, though counts were technically vassals. Part of a bilingual county.
France	1304-1369	Under French rule. Decline of region as a literary centre.
Burgundy	1369-1482	Autonomous. But strong cultural influence. Population remains Picard-speaking
Austria	1482-1555	
Spain	1555-1667	
France	1667 to present	Under French rule, disputed until 1713. Evidence language shift among higher classes
	1789-1794	Revolution. Creation of <i>départements</i> . One language-one nation policy announced
	1835	Hugo report. Region deemed to have significant numbers of non-French speakers
	1863	Duruy report. Area not considered non-French Speaking
	1870	Urban population outstrips rural
	1881-1886	Ferry Laws introducing free, compulsory secular primary education.
	1914-1918; 1939-1944	Occupied by German forces. Large-scale displacements of populations

Louis XIV quickly established Lille as a northern outpost, fortifying the city with Vauban's citadel and installing a garrison several-thousand strong. Infrastructure projects such as the digging of canals and building of roads were pursued to 'correct' the natural northern orientation of the city, and create transport links in all directions within the recently established borders.

There are some indications that this period corresponds to language shift among the higher social strata, as the first texts containing passages of written 'patois' start to appear around 1740. It may be more helpful to suggest that members of the higher social groups became markedly less bidialectal in their linguistic practices, since students from Picardie attending university in Paris three centuries earlier could, according to such eminent observers as Roger Bacon, speak a readily understandable but regionally marked variety of French.

While under the Old Regime, Lille became the capital of the *généralité* of Walloon Flanders, internal territorial divisions were radically reorganised under the Revolutionary regime which set up *départements*, which were designed to replace traditional regional attachments within a unified secular nation-state in which as Ager (2000: 35) puts it:

the use of a single standard language would symbolise the unity of the community. The political community, the speech community and the cultural community would occupy the same geographical space.

The key policy of free, compulsory, secular primary education in French was not achieved until the 1880s through the Ferry Laws, but even before then the social impetus to acquire education meant that around 80% of the population had some literacy by the time the legislation was enacted.

The 19th century was the time of industrial expansion, not only for Lille, but for the whole of the region of Nord–Pas-de-Calais, including the geographically close rivals of Tourcoing and Roubaix. The city and nearby region attracted migrants from the rural hinterland and from across the Belgian border, since a trade agreement between the United Kingdom and France signed in 1830 had devastated the previously prosperous manufacturing sector in Flanders. Migrants came and continued to come over a prolonged despite harsh working conditions and subsistence wages, for often the alternative was even greater hardship or even the distinct possibility of starvation, whereas larger towns at least had welfare systems even if social promotion was not necessarily a trans-generational goal. The Belgian presence was significant in Tourcoing and Lille, and during the 1870s formed the majority of the population of Roubaix. Indeed, the majority of the population of the Nord was urbanised by around 1870, about 60 years before the rest of France. Urban dialects known as *patois ouvriers* developed, significantly levelled in relation to the most distinctive rural varieties, with considerable elements shared with generalised vernacular French (often referred to as *français populaire*). Long military service (between two and five years) and the hiatus of World War One (repeated in comparable, if not identical, form during World War Two) brought working-class men of all regions together often in situations where those from the Paris region, given the relative populations, were usually likely to be the most numerous. It was during the Great War that the term 'Ch'ti' or 'Ch'timi' was coined, creating a nickname that has increasingly come to be owned by the population, whereas the term Picard understandably tends to be associated with the region of Picardie, rather than the Nord–Pas-de-Calais. World War Two seemed to galvanise national sentiments in the region, and the progress of industry and a period of sustained economic growth raised aspirations.

Picard is also an erudite term, defined for the purposes of linguistic geography as late as 1957 by Dubois. The modern region of Picardie lumps together historically picardophone and non-picardophone areas the *départements* of the Somme, the Aisne and the Oise (parts of the latter

two were historically part of Île-de-France). For people living outside modern Picardie, self-identification as Picard can only be based on an erudite view of the ancestral language.

Any claim that Picard is the ancestral language has to be tempered against the socio-economic and administrative developments of the 20th century. Significant new influxes of migrants both before and after World War Two, firstly dominated by Italians and Poles and from the mid-century onwards by southern Europeans and north Africans, as well as the more recent arrivals of *inter alia* Sub-Saharan Africans, Turks and Vietnamese. Industrial decline and the metropolisation of Lille, creating an urban entity which includes historic rivals like Roubaix and Tourcoing. The decline of staple industries, particularly textiles, has hit industrial towns such as Roubaix and Tourcoing much harder than Lille, which maintained regional administrative functions and took the lead in developing high-level service-sector jobs and a transport hub, where it is at the heart of regional, national and international connections in the area. Migration and the development of the service sector undermines the community base of Picard in Lille, which as a living language is strongly, even inextricably, associated with the *patois ouvriers* of the industrial era. Economic constraints mean that the industrial heartlands have been settled by people of diverse origins for whom Picard has no cultural resonance, and indeed, has imported rival vernaculars, such as Arabic and Berber (Pooley and Mostefai-Hampshire, 2010) into the area.

Within the region this expanded Lille is the economic,⁷ demographic,⁸ social and cultural⁹ centre-point, but on the national level Paris has been a mega-city since the Middle Ages, and has exerted continued influence since the 1660s. Decisions regarding territorial divisions both within the region, from the creation of the *généralité* of Flanders in the 17th century, the *départements* of the Nord and Pas-de-Calais in the 18th century to the modern regions of Nord–Pas-de-Calais and Picardie in the 20th and the city of Lille itself, from the 17th-century fortifications to the expansion of 1858 to the metropolisation of the 1960s have been taken or heavily influenced by central government or their agencies. Rather than resent such interventions as imposed, the identities and orientations thus created have been not only accepted but espoused.

2.6 Summary

⁷ 36% of employment in Nord–Pas-de-Calais, 38.7% of tertiary sector jobs, including over 80% of R & D and 50% of health-sector employment in the region (INSEE, 2000: 7).

⁸ 29% of population of the Nord–Pas-de-Calais.

⁹ E.g. 66% of all HE students. A national renowned art gallery, most theatres, cinemas and largest shopping centre in the Nord–Pas-de-Calais.

Both Quechua and Picard are languages partly or wholly imported by imperialist invaders, whose cultural superiority overlaid previous rulers of the territories concerned. Both were in turn overlaid by colonial forces also considered culturally superior, coming clearly from without in the case of the Spanish in Peru, but also arguably the French, although it has to be recognised that Flanders came under French rule for prolonged periods well before 1667. While Inca culture and Indian ethnicity may still be motivation for revolt, although in recent times outweighed by more pressing economic concerns, Lille has, with the notable exceptions of the German occupations of 1914-1918 and 1939-1944, generally come to terms with regime change and pursued its peace-time activities. Despite being relatively well-off in relation to immediately comparable languages, Quechua and Picard are clearly endangered. Quechua may arguably be the fourth most spoken language in the Americas but it exists generally in highly fragmented and stigmatised varieties, which do not clearly represent a common ethnic identity (though this is much less the case for Ecuador). In all of the five nation-states where it is spoken, it is a minority language, more spoken where literacy rates are low and often used as L1 by groups who are economically poor, which is certainly the case in Peru. Although a national symbol, it is strongly associated, as the following sections will attest, with the past, whereas in Paraguay, the national linguistic emblem of Guaraní is not only used by a majority of the population but this active and current use is integral to national identity.

One could argue that Picard is the best placed of any of the Oil languages in France, though within the European francophone space Walloon is clearly better placed overall. Compared to neighbouring countries of the Romance linguistic area, the Oil languages are significantly more de-socialised than the Italian *dialetti* and some of the languages traditionally regarded as dialects of Castilian, such as Asturian. No languages closely related to roof languages are expanding, and not even the generous opportunities afforded by Spanish legislation can always reverse this trend.

As will be argued in subsequent sections, scholarly recognition of common languagehood for both Quechua and Picard does not necessarily hold much value for ordinary (actual and potential) speakers, who perceive local differences much more readily. In the case of Picard, this learned term is arguably alienating for ordinary users, and has to be designated in other ways to create cultural resonance.

In both cases, language abandonment coincided with urbanisation and poverty. In the 19th century, starving peasants from the rural hinterland and across the Belgian streamed into the Nord in search of factory work, while the shantytowns of Lima have expanded, largely

through migration from the rural Andes. Migration to the city implies/d transposition into hispanophone or francophone space, although for a time the urban vernaculars of Lille could be regarded as ambiguous as to their francité or picardité. Unlike Lima, Lille is not a megacity central to national life and space, but geographically peripheral and thus well placed to foster regional particularisms, although these tend to be light-hearted in character. Serious identity factors, however, are more related to the national polity and institutions.

The nature of language shift seems in neither case to correspond to one or other of the scenarios of language described by Campbell and Muntzel (1989: 182-186). The shift from Quechua seems to be relatively gradual in the *sierra* and sudden in the urban areas, particularly in Lima. In Lille, the shift from Picard as a social practice was gradual and class-related but, as we argue, in recent times partly reversed through the shows performed by patois associations and certain extremely successful DVDs and films to add a curious case study to the limited repertoire of bottom-to-top death scenarios.

3. Dialect or language?

3.1 Status recognition and enhancement

Both Quechua and Picard could now be said to enjoy a level of official recognition which exceeds the perceptions of their (actual and potential) speakers – Quechua, to varying degrees, since the 1970s in Peru and Flemish and Picard since 2001¹⁰ in France. In some respects, although the local manifestations may differ, this degree of recognition both outstrips and undermines any efforts of language campaigners to enhance the status of the languages among their natural constituencies. Both languages are perceived by their speaker bases as highly fragmented and deriving such value as they have from local identities, manifested by often highly localised varieties. These historical associations are moreover largely contingent on economic undergirdings that do not sit easily with modernity. Revitalisation in any serious sense cannot mean a mere return to the past but would imply quantum leaps in terms of both the domains for which the respective languages could be used and a radical transformation of the mindset which would enable speakers to wish to maintain their 'community' languages in forms and in circumstances that most could hardly imagine at present and perhaps would not actually desire if they fully grasped the consequences.

3.2 Legislation on Quechua in Peru

¹⁰ That is to say since the widening of the remit of the *Délégation Générale à la Langue Française et aux Langues de France* (DGLFLF). Prior to that, Flemish enjoyed official recognition in the form of standard Dutch, which is widely taught in schools and is obviously an important regional language in the historic Low Countries

Since the 1970s, the Peruvian government has passed a number of pieces of legislation which accorded in apparently unambiguous terms not only recognition as a language but varying (not to say fluctuating) degrees of official recognition. In an effort to promote national unity the military government of 1968-1980 granted Quechua equal status with Castilian in March 1975 (Decree no 21156). This law made the teaching of Quechua compulsory at all educational levels and its use was authorised in law courts where both parties were monolingual speakers. The failure of this policy prompted subsequent governments to restrict the official use of Quechua as well as Aymara to certain geographical areas by revisions of the constitutions in 1979 (Article 83) and 1993 (Article 48), the latter stipulating 'las zonas donde predominan, también lo son el quechua, el aimara y las demás lenguas aborígenes, según la ley'. The 1993 constitution also guaranteed the right of the Quechua, Aymara and other indigenous communities to receive primary education in their L1, although a law passed in 2001 reinstated, at least on paper, the teaching of Quechua and Aymara at all levels in the areas where they are predominant. In practice, Quechua is only used in the first three years of primary school and even then often without the whole-hearted support of local parents. Such a system encourages a transitional bilingualism to facilitate the acquisition of Spanish rather than full-on minority-language maintenance. It emphatically does not, despite the intentions of the legislation passed under the presidency of the Quechua (by ethnicity but not by linguistic competence) Alejandro Toledo, set out to make bilinguals of L1 Castilian speakers. His successor Alan García, facing violent confrontations between the *indigenista* movements and the major oil companies, clamped down on the indigenous populations, leaving Quechua and Aymara with a vague co-official status in certain areas (Leclerc, 2009a).

3.3 Dialect fragmentation

The terms of these various pieces of legislation give the impression that Quechua has been perceived by successive governments as a single language or at least that there is generally recognised standard form which can be used in the education system. That is far from being the case. Lemaire (2009a) lists around thirty sub-ethnicities of Quechua, with populations ranging from 1.9 million in the case of Quechua Cuzco to 250 in the case of Quechua Pacaraos. While speakers of Cusqueño Quechua are the most numerous, their variety would not be readily accepted in schools in other parts of the country, such as Ayacucho (1 million) and Puno (500,000) (Map 1). As will become clear in the next section, dialect fragmentation is significant and the development of generally accepted normalised written and formal

(The Nord, Belgium and the Netherlands). Compared to other regional languages, promotion of a standard variety is seen very positively.

varieties which might be used in the education system nationwide is still some way off. Most Quechua speakers are illiterate at least in their L1 and literacy for them, generally if not overwhelmingly, implies literacy in Spanish. Many Peruvians, including crucially the Limeño (Lima-based) elite of mainly European descent and indeed the vast majority of monolingual Spanish speakers from the higher social strata more generally, have the habit of referring to Quechua as a *dialecto*, mainly on the grounds that it is/was traditionally unwritten, and that it carries insufficient prestige – compared with Spanish – to be described as a *lengua*. Such stereotypical perceptions are by no means the prerogative of urban hispanophones, but are ideologised and deeply embedded in the psyche of all Peruvians.

It would perhaps be more accurate to state that Quechua is not a dialect but a series of dialects but with no nationally recognised and normalised roof variety. Indeed, the normalisation of such a roof variety has constituted an ideological battlefield among *quechuistas* for many years now (Itier, 1992; Niño-Murcia, 1997; Marr, 2002). Common among the deeply embedded and ideologised attitudes is the notion that Quechua cannot be written down, or is not worthy of being written down (Marr, 1998).

The geography of the Andean regions is undoubtedly favourable to the emergence of sharply contrasting dialects. Such differences are accentuated by strong ethnocentrism and considerable cultural diversity, which undoubtedly hamper mutual understanding, exacerbated by a mindset which anticipates lack of mutual intercomprehension even in cases where linguists can demonstrate correspondences. Of course, such correspondences may be below the surface and thus remain opaque to the great majority of speakers. The fragmentation of Andean culture militates against either the desire for or any sense of commonality. Expressed in terms of Houdebine's (1996) Linguistic Imaginary model, there are no communicational norms for speakers wishing to communicate with people from outside their home area, nor indeed much awareness of a dialect continuum, nor any great degree of recognition of the validity of varieties other than their own. Perhaps most crucially, the Andean peoples like to think of themselves as different, and linguistic differences help reinforce this. This lack of a common 'roof' variety persists despite the language policies of the imperial powers. The pan-imperial koiné of the Inca empire did little to alter the underlying multilingualism of the Andes, nor did the use of a *lengua general* under the Spanish colonial regime, despite (or perhaps because of) its undoubted utility as 'una de las armas más útiles para la conquista' and 'instrumento para la destrucción del mundo andino' (Torero, 1974: 181). To some degree, the adoption of such a koiné may have been a class issue, since the higher social strata clearly had

greater mastery of this so-called general variety, although such competence was never evenly spread either socially or geographically. As Torero also observes, however, the spread of Quechua, perhaps particularly among the elite, undermines claims that Quechua and Aymara are 'indigenous' or 'native' languages, in a region with a long history of language shift, spread and loss, whether this be through warfare, commerce, population movement or any other possible means of language dissemination.

Consequently, Quechua speakers are strongly glottocentric and the varieties which they speak and with which they identify are limited by highly localised communicative effectiveness and symbolic value. Where some communities with comparable internal diversity are motivated to seek out commonalities, Quechua speakers' default setting underscores differences, with the effect that *virtually all* other dialects appear to some degree 'strange' or 'incomprehensible', and generally less pleasing on the ear, even in cases of dialect pairs that scholars would feel constrained to classify as closely related. For instance, when a speaker of the Oyón dialect (in the *departamento* of Lima) claims that his Quechua would be of little use in Cusco this may objectively prove to be false. He is, though, quite convinced that his own speech is simply better:

Pero en el quechua, el cusqueño, es la pronunciación más ruda, más áspera. No es tan dulce y expresiva como la nuestra, ¿no? o sea de Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Apurímac. Es más dulce. Una palabra te puede decir varias (Marr, 1998: 149).

But in Quechua, the Cusco variety, the pronunciation is harsher and rougher. It isn't as soft and expressive as ours, is it? or [the dialects] of Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Apurímac. [Ours] is gentler. And one word can mean different things.

This is in fact, relatively speaking, a rather wider than usual frame of reference (i.e. a dialect cluster rather simply a local variety), as in the following more typical comment by an informant concerning a variety spoken in a neighbouring village, some three kilometres from her own, suggests.

Y el pueblo vecino al frente tenía otro quechua que, no nos gustaba, tenía bastante dejo. Nosotros, natural nomás [...] Sí, es diferente. No le digo al ... acá a Llocllampampa por ejemplo le agregaban otros más. Sus deijos, no sé como se dice, sí.

And the neighbouring village opposite had another kind of Quechua, which we didn't like, since they had quite a strong accent. Our accent is just natural ... yes it's different. What I'm telling you... over in Llocllampampa for instance they add things. Their accents, I don't know what you call them.

Glottocentrism also implies that the home variety is more attractive, and mocking the sometimes minor divergences of other speakers is a favourite pastime. Such phenomena may reflect long-standing animosities of the kind that often build up among 'local rivals' and are particularly deeply embedded in Andean culture. Moreover, the citing of differences tends to

be presented as *prima facie* proof of incomprehensibility, as is the case with Cusco speakers who typically give the example of *unu* 'water', which is *yaku* in some other varieties, the implication being that if such a basic term is so different, the rest of the variety must be well nigh impenetrable. In other cases, minor differences provoke head-shaking or even hilarity. For instance, 'nostril' is *singa* in Wanka, *sinqa* in Cusco Quechua and *senqa* in Ancash. Despite a certain ability to recognise and imitate variants, speakers reject differences as part of an alien tongue, and probably a sub-standard one (proof of oddity and inferiority). Second-language learners sometime refer to the difficulty of finding interlocutors of the appropriate variety since speakers of other varieties tend not to accept to engage in a conversation.

Studies of the perceptions of voluntary Andean migrants to Lima demonstrate that no Quechua koiné has developed in the city, nor would it occur to most first-language speakers residing in the national capital to do anything other than switch to Spanish, except in a few identifiable niche contexts where the speakers share (and are absolutely certain that they share) the same local origins (and perhaps the same family) and thus the same local variety.

Even many middle-class language campaigners do not argue for a common language-based supra-ethnic Quechua identity. Generally speaking, they go at best beyond the immediately local. Thus ball-park figures for the total number of speakers (3.7 million according to Leclerc, 2009a) with estimates as high as 800,000 for Lima in the 1990s are, to say the least, misleading, since, on the one hand, they give an impression of unity in contrast to the fragmentation on the ground, and on the other hand in the large urban areas, they play down the extremely low number of actual users. Lumping such high numbers together tends to give an impression of homogeneity, whereas the 'community' of potential speakers in Lima in particular would include many 'forgetters', 'deniers', semi-speakers as well as fully competent native speakers or lifelong bilinguals, who virtually never use the language in daily life, and are convinced that they could not use it with most of their so-called fellow speakers.

3.4 Discourses of status enhancement

Andean migrants to Lima (population 7.3 million) and other large urban centres (though at most a tenth of the capital in terms of population) such as Arequipa (population 656,000), Trujillo (530,000) and Iquitos (275,000) almost invariably seem to shift to Spanish, as do, in increasing proportions, non-migrants, although the speaker base in the Andean regions of Peru and beyond may *appear* relatively secure.¹¹ This hemorrhaging of speaker numbers is

¹¹ It certainly seemed highly secure in the 1970s and early 1980s (López *et al.*, 1984; Albó, 1979)
Tim Pooley and Tim Marr

taking place despite widespread awareness of a positive discourse of status enhancement propounded by defenders of the language.

Very few Peruvians would deny that Quechua holds an emblematic place in Peruvian culture as the language of the Inca empire, and that this last constitutes a historical touchstone of national pride and identity. In both official, elite discourse (school textbooks, broadsheet newspapers, 'cultural' television programming, the *Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua*) and in popular discourse, Quechua is almost universally supposed to have originated in imperial Cusco and is hence accorded a lofty place within the hierarchy of symbols of *peruanidad*. Such a *peruanidad* is, however, very much tied to the past and contrasts sharply with current perceptions, although the stigmatising effect of such representations is rarely, if ever, expressed overtly or directly.

Such stigmatisation is, however, discernible in a number of indirect ways, for instance, if one asks the reasons why Quechua-speaking migrants to the national capital who have shifted very quickly to Spanish do not use their L1, or why Quechua-speaking parents are not always as keen as well-meaning language campaigners might expect to have their children educated in their first language. The reasons given enable the investigator to accumulate a series of contrasts, which suggest very strongly that the former glories of the Inca empire are no serious match for modernity (Marr, 1998: 161; Marr, 2011). Quechua is perceived fundamentally as a rural variety with only local (or at most regional) communicative usefulness. It is a marker of past traditions, but is strongly associated with a static and even backward society that is the very antithesis of progress and modernity. The fissiparous character of Andean society also helps nurture a sense of marginalisation and poverty. This deeply ingrained set of associations is diametrically opposed to the connotations of educatedness, urban prosperity, international communication, modernity and aspiration attributed to Spanish. In a nutshell Quechua (that of today's Peru, not of the former imperial Cusco) connotes a static, economically deprived and somewhat closed traditional, backward and backward-looking society whereas Spanish symbolises an open, international and forward-looking outlook on life offering clear possibilities of self-betterment and empowerment. Many Quechua-speaking migrants to Lima faced with the irreconcilable conflict: *sierra* versus modern urban community, opt for the latter, since their L1 is almost invariably a local variety which tends to tie them culturally and psychologically to a particular village, province or department (both in the speakers' eyes and in those of others) rather than to a notional pan-Quechua 'nation'.

That these associations may be unravelled can be demonstrated by language maintenance among apparently comparable groups of both Quechua and Aymara speakers in Bolivia, where indigenous tongues are preserved among such solid exemplars of modernity as skilled industrial workers. However, much well-intended campaigning in Peru serves only to reinforce the negative associations of Quechua (and Aymara). The mythification of the Inca past (Rojas, 1980: 47) is a key aspect of the discourse of the Cusco-based *Academia Mayor de Lengua Quechua*. The *Academia* may evoke past glories in the most eulogistic terms, such as 'el gran idioma de los Incas', 'la lengua inca', 'el mundo clásico peruano', 'la lengua de los reyes incas', 'lengua quechua imperial', 'nuestro gran idioma clásico'. Such slogan-making, though, is apt to leave most Quechua-speaking peasants quite unmoved. While the *Academia* has no power to legitimise the language it purports to promote, its discourse does nothing to untangle the tight-knit woof of negativity surrounding Quechua. Promoting a glorious past merely serves to vaunt an era that is long gone and awareness of it is woefully insufficient to stir current pride in their heritage, particularly since the *Academia* tends to promote a particular variety, indeed a specific sociolect, viz., that of the Cusco haute bourgeoisie, known as Qhapaq Simi or Apu Simi. The *Academia* and its allies hence consciously distance themselves from the Runasimi of the peasantry. Their Qhapaq Simi, they claim, is the direct descendant of the Inca tongue, conceived of as pure and monolithic in contrast to the corruption (and consequent fragmentation) elsewhere (Marr, 2002; Niño-Murcia, 1997). Qhapaq Simi is, of course, an ideological construct, one heavily self-conscious sociolect pretentiously promoted at the expense of others. Consequently, the great majority of Runasimi speakers, if they were to bother to listen to the discourse of such privileged bilinguals, would find themselves caught up in what Pooley (2004) calls the 'double bind' of bad Spanish (that is, Spanish spoken with the Andean accent known as a *moteo*) and 'bad' Quechua.

The quasi-official status of the *Academia* (it is recognised by the Peruvian government as the major representative body for Quechua) affords it considerable potential influence. While the state may look benignly upon this supposedly most 'Peruvian' of languages, though, it is a long way from returning to the officialising discourse of the 1970s, an explicit form of legitimation by the authority of the state which would carry greater weight and indeed might conceivably at least prove to be a tool to cut through the entrenched barrier of minorisation. While it is salutary to recall Cooper's (1989: 103) observation that symbols are not created by legislation but by history, the vast majority of Quechua speakers appear to look for

legitimation not from history but from the body politic. In a context of shift, where people generally feel a tinge of sadness at the abandonment of their ethnolinguistic origins, but one which is easily outweighed by the potential rewards of the life changes involved, this line of discourse plays out as reasonable and plausible and effectively transfers responsibility for revitalisation from speakers themselves to others.

3.5 The symbolic and the pragmatic

During fieldwork among in-migrants in the so-called *pueblos jóvenes* in Lima, it was curious to observe on how many occasions opportunities to speak Quechua were passed up (e.g. Marr, 1998: 1). At a fiesta for people from the Andean village of Pausa, attended virtually exclusively by first-language speakers of Quechua and their descendants, not to mention a stalwart defender of Andean culture, the language of communication used was overwhelmingly Spanish. This (perhaps paradoxically) by no means unusual occurrence is symptomatic of the overwhelming pragmatic value of Spanish for Quechua speakers who have settled in urban areas. To be sure, Quechua might have been used, but it is never obligatory. In other words, there are no Quechua-requiring, only a few Quechua-permitting, contexts in Lima. The terminology of code-switching leads one to seek domains, but in this case it is more realistic to speak of 'niches'.

Among rural migrants to Lima, the use of Quechua is only permitted in a limited number of mainly private and to some extent semi-private settings among participants known to each other particularly through close family relationships, in particular husband-wife or adult-elderly parent or sibling or perhaps to a lesser extent home-town acquaintance. Even these intimate family relationships do not preclude some switching to Spanish, sometimes according to the parts of the house in which the conversation took place, e.g. during fieldwork a mature woman and her mother were observed to use Quechua in the kitchen and in the mother's bedroom but not in other parts of their dwelling, even though no other participant was involved. Parents often do not use Quechua to address their children even if all concerned are mother-tongue speakers (Marr, 1998: 49).

In exchanges which take place outside the immediate family circle, participants also have to be sure of their interlocutors' competence in the appropriate variety. Even then, exchanges in Quechua are rarely sustained over long periods, but code switches occur to index solidarity in a certain number of 'nested' social areas such as greetings, small talk and jokes. Switches to Quechua in Lima never seem to be unself-conscious but are always motivated. Even in the private and semi-private sphere, the use of Quechua is largely symbolic, and invariably highly

marked even if alcohol has loosened tongues (e.g. Marr, 1998: 63). Code choice holds greater significance than the information encoded.

In most of the public sphere the only valued use of Quechua appears to be for the ritual insulting of non-Quechua speakers. The capacity to insult strangers with impunity is regarded as a valued resource, and a visitor to the *sierra* (whether from Lima or abroad) may be assailed by a hail of insults by small boys. For Lima-born children of Quechua-speaking migrants, this might in fact be the only Quechua discourse that they master. In marked contrast to other discourses, that of insult and obscenity is perceived as bringing real power and advantage to the person who controls it. If a non-Quechua speaker hears a variety of the language spoken in their presence, the talk is unlikely to be complimentary. Among Quechua speakers verbal jousting is embedded in the culture and in-marriers may have to learn to defend themselves against teasing.

Aside from these Quechua-permitting niches, the indisputable symbolic value attributable to the language does not translate into preferred use by its speakers. As for the use of Quechua in public, it is undoubtedly possible but is even more restricted than in the private and semi-private spheres and by no means risk-free. The symbolic value of the language for the nation does not extend to its speakers, since most of them have as their L1 a despised and stigmatised variety

Middle-class and upper-class bilinguals, particularly if they are of European descent, may be sufficiently confident to address a stranger in Quechua, partly because they are unlikely to be perceived as a monolingual (hence uneducated, hence low-status) Andean *campesino*. To address a stranger with an Andean physiognomy in Quechua in large urban areas may well be taken amiss, since such addressees are likely to believe that the addressor assumes them to be an illiterate, monolingual (monodialectal) peasant with all the stigma that such perceptions can evoke. It may even be seen as a deliberate attempt to belittle the interlocutor, who is almost certain to assume that s/he is being taken for 'un quechuahablante, un antiguo, un pobrecito'. As Van Den Berghe and Primov (1997: 141) put it:

Upper-class mestizos [in Cusco] who are secure enough in their status so that no one will suggest that they are of Indian origin may vaunt the merits of Quechua, but in the working class and petty bourgeoisie of the small towns Spanish is clearly the prestige language, and Quechua is deprecated as a peasant tongue ...

The only positive connotation of the use of Quechua is to index solidarity based on shared background. In the urban context, it sets the speakers apart, and implies a judgement on the relationship, which makes it virtually incompatible with use to a stranger.

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In public discourse, for instance by politicians, the use of Quechua can be positively received by a sympathetic audience, motivated by *peruanidad* but not necessarily from the natural constituency of Quechua speakers in terms of social status and ethnic and geographical origin. To address poor, rural folk in Quechua would be likely to be taken as an insult, even if the politician in question is of Quechua background, as was the case for the vice-president in the Fujimori government in the early 1990s, Máximo San Román.

As pointed out in Section 2.4, some discourses propounded with the intention of promoting the status of Quechua tend to create what might be called a form of embedded diglossia, where the demotic varieties spoken by the many minorised, and indeed stigmatised, varieties are ignored in favour of what amounts to elitist sociolects. Such sociolects may be taken as vague symbols of *peruanidad*, but the identity value of most varieties for the majority is not pan-Peruvian, let alone pan-Andean but local, even (literally) parochial. Much discourse intended to be status-enhancing has the opposite effect since it reinforces the association with the rural Andes, the past and therefore backwardness. Even some teaching manuals, e.g. Soto Ruiz (1993) reinforce the association of the *quechuahablante* with the rural Andes. Small wonder that the great majority of students in Quechua-language classes in Peru are non-Peruvians.

Quechua is thus both idealised and rejected. Moreover, the discourse of cultural authenticity is perceived as a kind of entrapment in a mythologised past, which is stripped of any real pragmatic value since it is construed as being incompatible with modernity (Marr, 2011). Positive attitudes towards the symbolic weight of the language do not translate into positive acts such as learning, speaking and transmitting it to children. The so-called halo-isation of Quechua, then, does not necessarily lead to action. Most Lima-born children of Andean migrants express pride in their heritage but do not want to speak the heritage language for all that. Quechua is regarded as a cultural artefact, a repository of symbolic values, but not for use as an everyday system of communication, and certainly not as the *Academia Mayor de la Lengua Quechua* would have it, the mother tongue of all Peruvians. It is a cultural symbol compromised by the unhelpful discourse of some of the already powerful but not a means of empowerment for most L1 speakers and their children. It appears to evoke cultural rather than political nationhood since reference to a glorious mythologised past contrasts all too poignantly with the current associations of backwardness, isolation and stagnation.

4. Picard

4.1 Status and recognition

For at least half a millenium, Picard was an anonymous and unconsidered victim of policies designed to promote, and more recently to protect, the status and use of French. It is traditional to begin summaries of the centralist tradition with the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539, which decreed that all legal documents should be drafted 'en langage maternel françois et pas aultrement' effectively making the 'King's French' the language of state. The tradition of strong government from the centre, with concomitant, often ruthless suppression of parallel or regional power centres, was also manifested in the initiatives of Louis XIII's chief minister Richelieu in the early 17th century, and this centralising policy was reflected also in a concern to codify the written standard language, although it is arguable that Richelieu's takeover of what became the *Académie Française* in 1635, was ultimately less important than the tide of opinion among the élite of the royal court and their eager emulators in the bourgeois ranks (cf. Cooper, 1989).

There appears, however, to have been little concern before the Revolution to impose the standard language on the rural populace via schooling. As Lodge points out (1993: 213), the state was 'at best indifferent to the language used by the mass of its subjects, at worst very ready to exploit the advantages it gained from the linguistic exclusion of the peasantry from economic and political power'. Lodge cites an *intendant* called d'Etigny, an official of the *ancien régime* roughly equivalent to the contemporary *préfet*, who in 1759 betrayed in a very telling formulation the pre-revolutionary attitude to language planning. The underlying attitude is of course divide-and-rule, expressed through the total discouragement of social mobility:

Je ne crois pas qu'il soit nécessaire de faire de grands raisonnements pour prouver l'inutilité des régens [instituteurs] dans les villages. Il y a de certaines instructions qu'il ne convient pas de donner aux paysans; rien n'était si commun lorsque je suis arrivé dans cette généralité que de voir des enfants de petits laboureurs, vigneron, même de journaliers, abandonner leurs villages pour chercher à sortir de leur état, soit en apprenant à écrire pour pouvoir entrer chez les procureurs et dans des bureaux, soit en se donnant au latin pour devenir avocats ou prêtres, ce qui peuplait le pays de fainéants et de mauvais sujets qui, en diminuant le nombre des cultivateurs, augmentait celui des gens inutiles et sans ressources pour la société.

The ideology of the Revolution was radically different. In the name of equality every citizen was to learn French, since laws were drafted in the national capital in that language. To be sure, there was a brief period, when a bilingual policy was operated, up until 1794, a year in which two crucial documents were published: Barère's speech to the Committee of Public Safety and Grégoire's report entitled *Sur les moyens d'anéantir les patois et d'universaliser l'usage de la langue française*. Under the dismissive label of patois were included all varieties other than French, from the 'near' Oïl languages to highly differentiated (sets of)

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varieties such as Breton and Basque. Universalising the use of French applied firstly to France and, at least in the view of some more recent commentators, such as Chanut (1996), to public domains. The universality of French was bolstered by its popularity among the élites all over Europe over much of the 18th century and was extended to all the contiguous francophone areas of Europe in the immediate aftermath of the Revolution, as the conquests of Belgium and Switzerland clearly indicate.

When the revolutionary goal of free and compulsory state primary education for all children in France was finally realised through the Ferry Laws of the 1880s, the Oïl language-areas were not perceived as regions where large swathes of the population were ignorant of French, i.e. spoke another language (in particular by the Duruy report of 1863) (Weber, 1979), as in Brittany or in (Flemish-speaking) Flanders. While industrialisation and urbanisation undeniably favoured shift to French, it was the hiatuses caused by the two world wars that marked significant stages in language loss, not least in Lille, which was in both cases in the combat zone. Not only was it occupied by foreign troops, native Lillois were displaced, be it for military service, or out of personal choice with the result that the population was greatly reduced only to recover its pre-war levels in the aftermath of war. After World War Two the climate of national political opinion towards indigenous minority languages started to change. In 1951 the first piece of legislation in favour of regional languages (the Deixonne Law, which allowed for optional classes in four regional languages in schools in the appropriate regions) was passed, although implementation, through ministerial circulars, was painfully slow (a quarter of a century in the case of the said Deixonne Law). The 1980s, under the two Mitterrand governments (1981-1986; 1988-1993) outside the periods of cohabitation (1986-1988; 1993-1995) and the turn of the century (under the Jospin prime-ministership during the first Chirac mandate (1997-2002) were unquestionably the most favourable periods to regional languages, and a number of measures were introduced in response no doubt to changes in international opinion regarding indigenous minorities. Yet at the same time when the encroachment of Anglo-American influences into French popular culture (Looseley, 1995; Dauncey, 2003) were considered serious enough to warrant counter-measures, e.g. the *Fête de la Musique* introduced in 1982 and the Pelchat amendment of 1993, which prescribed a minimum air-time on radio for songs in French. Also the clause added to the constitution in 1992 stating that 'la langue de la République est le français' was motivated by the desire to maintain the profile of French in international fora and the Loi Toubon of 1994 updating the Bas-Lauriol Law of 1975 was designed to protect the place of French in public spheres such as marketing and employment in France. Government and non-government organisations set

up in France to protect and/or promote French both on home soil and abroad proliferated, numbering around 200 by the turn of the century (Offord, 2003). This (over-)protectiveness of French provoked a reaction sufficient and persistent enough for the Jospin administration that came to power in 1997 to (re-)consider the status of the regional languages in the light of the European Charter for regional and minority languages, dating from 1992. The first report commissioned by the government (Poignant, 1998) recommended signature but advised that a legal opinion be sought, taking the widespread view that the Oïl Languages had become regional varieties of French, but at the same time listing a number of near languages, namely some French-based creoles, as possible candidates for support. The legal opinion given by Carcassonne (1998) advised that there were sufficient paragraphs in the Charter which were compatible with the constitution for the government to sign. This second report mentions the Oïl languages collectively and Flemish individually while the Cerquiglini (1999) report of the following year, published to coincide with signature (May 1999) listed both Flemish and eight individually named languages including Picard amid the possible candidates for support when the Charter was subsequently ratified (which has not yet happened). Intervention by President Chirac led to the Charter being reconsidered by the Constitutional Council, who differed with Carcassonne as to its constitutionality. The result was controversy and stalemate, partially alleviated in 2001 by the changing of the remit of the *Délégation Générale à la Langue Française* (DGLF) to include the *Langues de France* thereby being renamed the *Délégation Générale à la Langue Française et aux Langues de France* (DGLFLF). A further consequence is that while in one way government policy has turned full circle compared to the traditional republican ideology with regard to official recognition of the 'languagehood' of the minorised indigenous languages, it is very much a qualified languagehood, which had the (probably not unforeseen?) effect of undermining the position of the languages highly differentiated from French, such as Basque or Breton, which had been given recognition half a century earlier. The inclusion of near languages, traditionally regarded as dialects, as well as of creoles and migrant languages, as well as non-European languages spoken in overseas territories has both muddied the waters of language policy on the domestic front and flies in the face of the European Charter, should a future French government ever be minded to sign, which would not be before 2012 at the very earliest, following the benign inaction of the second Chirac presidency and President Sarkozy's flat refusal to sign.¹² Not that signature of the Charter represents a panacea, particularly at Level

¹² During the presidential election campaign of 2007, he made statements like the following in Caen : «Si je Tim Pooley and Tim Marr

II (the only level of recognition that Flemish and Picard could aspire to) which would put the onus on regional activists to devise a project exceeding the historic (and historical?) vindication of 2001.

Any teaching of the Oïl languages in state schools has been the result of local regional initiatives as in the case of Gallo for which a test was included in 1988 as an optional extra in the Baccalauréat examination. Implementation always depended on the continued good will of linguistically competent teachers, and the wave of enthusiasm of the 1980s has clearly begun to ebb.

4.2 Dialect fragmentation

Much, indeed most, scholarly work on Picard comes from the discipline of dialectology, which until very recently (e.g. Carton and Lebègue, 1989; 1998), referred to the manifold local manifestations as patois. While the latter term may be used with relative neutrality as in this case, there is no doubt that in the dominant historical narrative the term was used with highly pejorative connotations. This narrative recounts that the Gallo-Roman dialect divisions emerged by a process of *Abstand*, i.e. fragmentation through lack of contact, during the Merovingian period (6th and 7th centuries), and remained such until around the 14th century when one variety, the 'dialect' of the king (sometimes referred to as Francien) and the politically powerful achieved hegemony. As the 19th century lexicographer Littré (1873) put it:

Avant le XIV siècle, il n'y avait pas en France de parler prédominant: il y avait des dialectes et aucun de ces dialectes ne se subordonnait à l'autre

Once French emerged as the language of state, challenging Latin and gradually evincing it from a growing number of H functions (in the classic diglossic sense), the status of the other dialects plummeted:

Aussi quand cette langue générale se forme, les dialectes déchoient et deviennent des patois, c'est-à-dire des parlers locaux dans lesquels les choses littéraires importantes ne sont plus traitées. (Littré, 1873, Volume II).

The French term *dialecte* bespeaks a written tradition used over a wide area, such as a region, whereas a patois is purely oral and used locally. Only patois have concrete manifestations,

suis élu, je ne serai pas favorable à la Charte européenne des langues régionales, non pas parce que je conteste les langues régionales, qu'au contraire je veux soutenir et développer, mais parce que je ne veux pas que demain un juge européen ayant une expérience historique du problème des minorités différente de la nôtre puisse décider qu'une langue régionale doit être considérée comme langue de la République au même titre que le français. Car au-delà de la lettre des textes il y a la dynamique des interprétations et des jurisprudences, qui peut aller très loin. J'ai la conviction qu'en France, terre de liberté, aucune minorité n'est opprimée et qu'il n'est donc pas nécessaire de donner à des juges européens le droit de se prononcer sur un sujet qui est consubstantiel à notre pacte national et n'a absolument rien à voir avec la construction de l'Europe.»

albeit limited and despised ones, compounded by connotations of rurality, i.e. yokel and backward. *Dialectes*, on the other hand, corresponded at best minimally to any form of social practice, but rather were umbrella terms for a family of patois. In other words, they are abstractions, of which speakers, limited, as Houdebine's (1996) Linguistic Imaginary model has it, to their own restricted communicational norms, demarcated by historical areas of actual interaction rather than the historical linguist's view of commonality, are largely unaware.

Not that the French dialectological tradition has always sought to show the distinctiveness of *dialectes*, be they Oïl, Oc or Francoprovençal, as regional varieties on a par with their medieval counterparts. The *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (Gilliéron and Edmont, 1902-10) was inspired by an ethos of national unity undergirded by the national language with countless speech forms merging into one another 'par des nuances imperceptibles' to use the words of Gaston Paris (1888):

dans une masse linguistique de même origine que la nôtre, il n'y a réellement pas de dialectes; il n'y a que des traits linguistiques

effectively using the notion of a dialect continuum to argue for the fundamental unity of all Gallo-Romance varieties. Not that such a continuum stopped abruptly at national borders, nor indeed was it purely synchronic. The apparent autonomy of, for instance, Gallo- and Ibero-Romance derived from the contingency of the political separation of their speakers. Centres of influence, such as Paris, were considered, largely on pragmatic grounds, advantageous for civilisation. According to the linguistics of the time, as another pioneering dialectologist, Abbé Rousselot (1887), expressed it, labels such as French and Latin were also ultimately unscientific since their unity could be demonstrated in diachronic continuity. Similarly, the patois and standard French were sister varieties belonging to Vulgar Latin, which could in turn be shown to belong to Indo-European. Although other linguists did eventually take issue with what Fourquet (1956: 196) dubbed as this 'atomistic' view, this was largely after work on the second generation of dialect atlases, known as the *Atlas linguistique de la France par régions*, had begun. The regional divisions reflected a purely pragmatic division of labour rather than an affirmation of clearly differentiated regional varieties.

By the time that fieldwork for the *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique picard* (ALPIC) (Carton and Lebègue, 1989; 1998) was carried out, data of an acceptable quality, i.e. of sufficient dialectality to be included in a dialect atlas was no longer readily available. Like Carton and Lebègue, most linguists working on the picardophone area subscribed to the Holy Grail of 'pure patois', in contrast to more sociolinguistically aware colleagues investigating

other regions (e.g. Bloch, 1921). These so-called pure patois had therefore to be at least partially reconstructed from somewhat converged varieties referred to as Dialectal French, used by the oldest and most 'dialectal' speakers available, thus constraining the choice of field-sites to locations where such people could be found. While the use of the term patois in this context is not pejorative and was used until near the end of the 20th century, Carton (2000) manifests a shift of labelling, stating that in purely descriptive terms, it is only possible to speak of 'parlers de type de picard', whereas the term 'langue picarde' has legitimacy in sociolinguistic contexts, such as language policy, where it does service as an image-enhancing and overarching cultural banner. The number of *parlers picards* that may be postulated varies according to one's perspective. If one were to take *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (Gilliéron and Edmont, 1902-10) which showed around six to eight micro-dialects per *département* which according to Dauzat (1927: 76) represented about one in 50 of the varieties that could be heard in the late 19th century, one could hazard an estimation of more 1,000 in France plus around 300 in the picardophone area of Belgium, allowing for the most minor (but always well known to native speakers) divergences between localities. More recently, Debrie (1983: 9) suggested that there are seven major dialect groups as follows:

d'une manière générale, les parlers de l'Amiénois se démarquent des parlers du Vimeu et du Ponthieu à l'ouest et au nord-ouest, des parlers de l'Artois au nord, des parlers du Vermandois et du Santerre à l'est et au sud-est et des parlers du Nord-Beauvaisis au sud

Map 3. The Picard-and Flemish-speaking areas (adapted from Debrie, 1983)



although this suggests far finer-grained differentiation in the south (Somme) than in the north of the Picard-speaking area (Map 3), as defined by the dialectologist Raymond Dubois (1957) and applied by the *ALPIC* and is certainly far less satisfactory than Dauzat's (1927: 139) suggestion of three main dialect groups – Picard, Artesian and Hennuyer – which corresponds to the three main territorial divisions of Picardie, Artois and the Hainaut with Flanders as a contact zone between the Artois and the Hainaut. While this might be satisfactory for traditional rural varieties, urbanisation centred around Lille, Lens and the Bassin Minier saw the emergence of an urban variety known as Ch'ti or Ch'timi (a nickname coined during World War One), which, although not dialect-atlas material, has, through various commercial successes (Section 5.2) become well-known to the general public, who would perceive groupings not too dissimilar to those of Dauzat, Picard (Picardie), Ch'ti, Rouchi (French Hainaut), Belgian Hainaut.

4.3 Discourses of status enhancement

Since the 1980s, a number of dialect societies have sprung in various parts of the Lille metropolitan area, as well as in various other parts of the traditional picardophone area. Many
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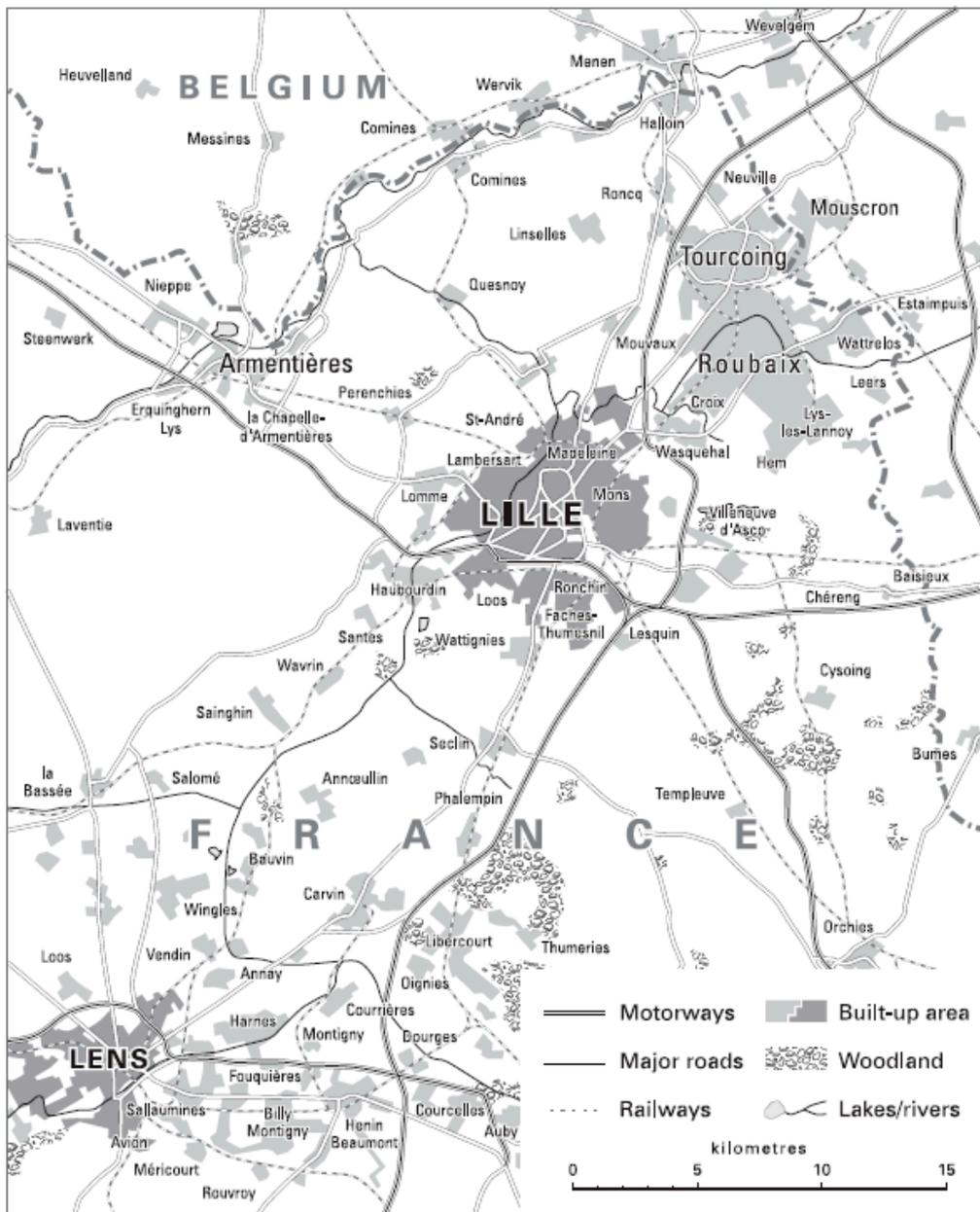
of them bear titles such as *Les patoisants de Roubaix* or *Les veillées patoisantes de Tourcoing*, since to allude to Picard might cause misunderstanding and possibly alienation, since the label 'Picard' is generally associated with the modern region of Picardie. Anyone sufficiently interested to attend a meeting may be surprised to find, to take the example of the Tourcoing association, that:

notre Association a pour buts de défendre et promouvoir la langue picarde, et de transmettre ce patrimoine aux générations futures.

At one level the new attendee is presented with the claim that the local patois is a form of Picard and maybe that her/his linguistic repertoire constitutes a form of bilingualism. The languagehood of Picard is however linked to a heritage that can be passed on to future generations. This linguistic heritage consists not of a set of oral practices but of the body of writing making up the modern Picard tradition, which consists mainly of poems and songs going back to the early 18th century (beginning with the work of François Cottignies circa 1678-1740).

Discourses designed to enhance the perceived status of Picard seek to draw glory from the medieval texts consisting of literary works and town charters. There is widespread acknowledgement (e.g. Cohen, 1967) that the Picard literary tradition centred around Arras outshone for a time all other writings in Langue d'Oïl including those in the Île-de-France variety (Francien). By around 1400, however, the hegemony of Francien was confirmed and the works composed in (linguistic) Picardie in the previous two centuries were subsumed into what was to become the French literary canon. Indisputably, the current prestige of such works derives therefrom, and some scholars would regard the variety in which they were written as the French of the Picard region at the time, as is the case of Norman, at least in the view of Lepelley (1995). After 1400, a distinctive regional form of writing continued in areas not yet under French jurisdiction, such as Flanders, although few works of great merit remain from that period of (at least comparative) literary silence.

Map 4. Le pays des Chtimis



The modern Picard writing tradition can be dated from the early 18th century with the work of François Cottignies, who wrote and performed comic songs which contained some patois on the streets of Lille. Patois was used not as a means of self-expression, but to give a voice to the other, whether such alterity came from the less privileged classes of Lille or from nearby towns, particularly Tourcoing (Map 4), whose inhabitants, the Tourquennois, were the butt of many a jibe. The emergence of such works points to language shift, which seems to have occurred among the higher social strata within a generation of Lille being incorporated into the Kingdom of France, whether this is dated from the conquest of 1667 or the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713, since which time the city has belonged to France.

Such works were produced by the literate for the amusement of speakers sufficiently confident in their usage or perhaps their aspirations to be able to laugh at the portrayal of *patoisants*. While this marks the beginning of singer-songwriter poet tradition, of which Lille is arguably the literary capital, most writers, including some of the most emblematic, such as Alexandre Desrousseaux (1820-1892) and Jules Watteuw (1849-1947), from the 18th to the mid-20th century did not set out to develop a modern Picard literary language (Carton, 1992). Indeed, many of the best-known regionalist writers tried their hand at writing in French, before finding success through Picard, and when writing in 'patois', they did not hesitate to use converged forms. Indeed, as Carton (1965: 59) discussing the work of François Cottignies observed, overdoing dialectal features aroused suspicion with regard to authenticity. Pierrard (1966: 36) cites a number of Lillois writers who openly stated that they consciously francified their usage, e.g. Louis Debuire du Buc (1816-1898):

Si j'ai chanté en patois de Lille, j'ai toujours cherché à franciser, et mes confrères, quoi qu'on dise, ont subi le même entraînement. Je l'ai fait remarquer souvent, le patois de Lille se francise de plus en plus; c'est un progrès auquel je m'associe de tout coeur. Aussi, lorsque l'occasion se présente de substituer, sans inconvénient, les mots français aux mots patois, je n'hésite point à le faire, car ils sont de nos jours employés indifféremment dans le langage populaire.

Such a viewpoint is deemed not compatible with the perspective of continuity since medieval times widely propagated by the *associations patoisantes*, as expressed for instance by André Lévêque of the (now defunct) *Ch'ti qu'i pinse* association:

Nous ne devons plus avoir honte de ce que nos nommons notre 'patois'. C'est une langue, qui a ses lettres de noblesse, son originalité, ses richesses. On a parlé picard au XIII^e siècle. On n'a pas cessé depuis.

The alternative viewpoint with arguably greater academic respectability claims that the modern patois derive from Picard, i.e. the language of the medieval texts, and that patois writers like Desrousseaux managed to salvage what was recoverable from what for instance the historian Pierre Pierrard (1972: 146) regarded as a mess created by code-mixing:

l'platiau de Lille, un patois issu du picard, mais terriblement abâtardi, sans orthographe, pénétré et déformé par l'argot et le mauvais français. Desrousseaux eut le mérite de mettre de l'ordre dans ce magma, et, tout en maintenant une francisation d'ailleurs irréversible, de valoriser les mots picards échappés au désastre

Contemporary writers and performers are divided as whether they should follow Desrousseaux and Debuire du Buc and use a converged variety readily understandable to non-speakers or try to reverse convergence and francisation by seeking to use more authentically Picard terms. By and large the choice of approach depends on the audience, the former being favoured by commercially minded performers and the latter by the *associations patoisantes*,

although philological earnestness does not preclude success. It is the leaders of such associations and the linguists that often assist them who have invested the greatest stake in promoting the languagehood of Picard. The major plank in the argument for status enhancement was the fact that Picard is the medium of a thriving literature and ... a unified writing system. At least, a sensible suggestion was put forward by Fernand Carton in 2001, and endorsed by the most successful federative grouping *Insanne*. The system is an adaption of the conventions proposed by Feller in the early 20th century for Walloon, which are in general use. Carton's orthography is sufficiently flexible to represent features of different regions, which are readily recognisable for readers, but they have not been generally adopted by established writers (who might feel constrained to rewrite their publications). The resolution of this debate was to a large extent pre-empted by the French government's decision to give responsibility for the regional languages to the *Délégation Générale à la Langue Française* which was renamed *Délégation Générale à la Langue Française et aux Langues de France*. For many regionalists, and particularly those involved in the Picard associations, this decision brought about at a stroke the realisation of one of their major aims, i.e. achieving recognition for Picard as a (regional?) language. This recognition created two major difficulties. For the proponents of Picard and other near languages, it would require a rethink of the purpose of their corpus-planning programme. For advocates of languages long (since the Deixonne Law of 1951) accorded recognition as regional languages such as Basque and Breton, linguistic policy had gone full circle. Grégoire's report of 1794 had reduced all indigenous varieties (about 30 in number) other than French to the status of patois, whereas the decision of 2001 had lumped a far larger number (75), which including both the near languages of the Hexagon and those of the overseas territories under the pleasanter sounding, but nonetheless minorising label of 'langue de France', the crucial points being firstly, that in any given region, there would be a bilateral competition between French and a variety of lesser status, whose place of 'honour' would be confined largely to small cultural gatherings, and secondly, that such languages are part of the national heritage and that support for specific groups (whether defined by language or any other means) goes against the fundamental republican principle of equality.

4.4 The symbolic and the pragmatic

Given the degree of shift that has already occurred and the observed lack of family-based transmission, it is difficult to envisage any line of argument regarding possible promotion of Picard on the grounds of practical utility. The severity of the hemorrhaging of speakers (in the order of 80%) is undoubtedly exaggerated by the juxtaposing of the two million (36% of the

relevant areas) claimed by Kloss, McConnell and Verdoodt (1989) and the 570,000 noted for all Oïl languages by Hérán, Filhon and Desprez (2002), but mainly because the first figure quoted bears no relation to reality, despite its prestigious source.

Historically, it was arguably the language of everyday communication for the whole population of Lille until the 17th century, and for the more modest strata until the late 19th and early 20th centuries, albeit not in the 'mythologised' forms deemed appropriate for dialect atlases and monographs but within a bilingual (bidialectal) repertoire that covered varying ranges of a language continuum defined by the frequency and salience of regional markers. While there are undeniably still speakers whose speech is dialectally marked, very few would require or even expect their interlocutors to reciprocate. The value of Picard therefore shifts well nigh exclusively to the symbolic.

The valorising symbolism surrounding Picard also relates more or less exclusively to the past, and particularly to the medieval and post-17th century writing traditions, often presented in terms of continuity. Within associative circles the key argument seems to revolve around the languagehood of Picard. To cite a prominent member of the *Patoisants de Roubaix*, cited in the *Nord-Éclair* in 1994:

Il s'agit du picard, pratiqué de l'Oise jusqu'au bord de la Normandie et au-delà de Mons. Le mot de patois est impropre. Le picard et le français sont deux langues issues d'une souche commune.

As alluded to in Section 3.3, the setting up of the *DGLFLF* in 2001 with its concomitant recognition of *inter alia* Picard as a *Langue de France*, raises a problem of language planning for regional activists. While this degree of recognition probably exceeded their expectations in the 1980s and 1990s, it confronts them with the dilemma of defining where to go from this point. The languagehood of Picard opens up only one set of niches within the singer-songwriter and comic-sketch tradition, supplemented by the writings that largely derive from it. Enthusiasts of such activities may see the value of a common normalised language allowing for local differences which pose few real difficulties to the highly literate but create an all too real stumbling block for the less well educated. This common Picard identity was never a historical reality, hampered by a lack of political or administrative unity. To be sure, medieval texts refer to the *natio picardorum*, but this term referred in the 13th century referred to one of four groupings of students at the universities of Paris and Orleans, the other three *nationes* being the French, the English and the Normans (Picoche, 1985). The Picard nation consisted of those students from the dioceses of Beauvais, Amiens, Noyon, Arras, Thérouanne, Cambrai, Laon, Tournai – which as Eloy (1997: 59) remarks corresponds

remarkably to the picardophone area defined by Dubois (1957) – plus Liège and Utrecht. The students of the Picard nation excelled in music leading to the creation of the polyphonic school in the early 15th century (Hoden, 1998). In the late 16th century Henri IV complimented the citizens of Montreuil-sur-Mer (Pas-de-Calais) by referring to them as *fidelissima Picardorum natio*.

The Picard-speaking area is divided between Belgium and France, and within France five *départements* only two of which can be arguably of entirely picardophone tradition, the Somme and the Pas-de-Calais, whereas the Nord has a historically Flemish-speaking part to the west and the Aisne and the Oise contain areas which were part of the Île-de-France. Picard, particularly in the Nord–Pas-de-Calais is a learned term associated with the modern region of Picardie, and thus does not resonate either with Nordistes or Pas-de-Calaisiens or with the Franciliens living in south of Aisne and Oise. For most of the population and I would venture to suggest including many attendees at *patoisant* meetings, the identity value resides in a local variety and the personal associations that it evokes.

As with Quechua in Peru, the dilemma of promoting a valorising pan-picard identity that resonates with the potential constituency that remains compatible with their historical and personal memories not only remains unresolved and but has been confused by well meaning but unwary spokespeople, such as Delomez (1992: 5):

les poètes œuvrant ou ayant œuvré au Nord de la France et qui se sont exprimés ou s'expriment encore, non pas en langue française de leur époque, mais dans la langue (car c'est bien une langue, nous le verrons) qu'ils considèrent comme étant propre à leur terroir, à leurs racines profondes, à leur petite patrie régionale ou locale. Cette langue, qui s'est épanouie surtout dans le milieu populaire, a pu être qualifiée de dialecte, voire, quelque peu péjorativement de patois.

What Delomez appears to be claiming is that the writing tradition underpins a single (une langue) common language, while individual writers used their local varieties, which resonate identity factors, deriving from geographical locality and social class. What is more, he goes on to affirm the 'incontestable unité' of Picard, despite the absence of a 'conscience picarde'. At least two able linguists, Jean-Michel Eloy (1997) and Alain Dawson (2006), have attempted the bail-out of demonstrating linguistic unity through in the first case, distinctive morphology and in the latter by common underlying forms defined within Optimality Theory. Both inevitably only discuss one aspect of the language, but their analyses suffice to demonstrate the illusion of seeking to define by linguistic criteria a common Picard, that is both internally coherent and clearly distinct from both French and other Oïl varieties, particularly Norman and Walloon. The *départements* and regional divisions have perhaps

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greater identity value than some pan-picard discourses might lead us to believe. Inhabitants of the Nord–Pas-de-Calais would not identify with Picardie, seeing themselves as part of a more dynamic, forward-looking region with the focus of a large regional centre – Lille. Modern Picardie, on the other hand, has its heartland of the Somme, but the historically anomalous juxtaposition with the Aisne and Oise, despite the construction of new transport links does not readily stir the blood of the population in a positive sense. Moreover, the success of the modern literary tradition in Picard, whether by singer-songwriters or comic sketches is fundamentally light-hearted. This light-hearted identity is captured in much of the Nord–Pas-de-Calais by the term *Ch'ti* or *Ch'timi*, which contrasts with the serious identity values of being modern Nordistes within the French polity and cultural traditions. As the former Prime Minister, long-term mayor of Lille and president of the *Communauté urbaine* Pierre Mauroy (1994: 138) put it:

La révolution industrielle a fait de nous un peuple 'patchwork'; un peuple sans cesse augmenté, bouleversé, enrichi par des apports successifs d'immigrés. Car les machines et les usines réclamaient toujours davantage de bras. Alors, aux Picards et aux Belges, sont venus se joindre des Italiens, des Polonais, des Espagnols, des Africains du Nord ou de l'Ouest, des Asiatiques ... À la longue, tous sont devenus des Nordistes, un peuple d'ouvriers.

In other words, the Picard identity has been overlaid by a number of others. The Nordiste identity corresponded in the 19th century to the progress of industrialisation and holds good, albeit with need of adaptation, in the post-industrial age. Among younger Lillois, this has some linguistic support in that use of marked regional French variants such as the back *a* in open final syllables corresponds to a high score for a Regional Loyalty Index (Pooley, 2004: 402), whereas awareness of Picard does not. Since 2002, awareness of the notion of *Ch'ti*, the mixed urban vernacular that emerged in the industrial era, has increased exponentially, partly through the Assimil booklets on *Ch'ti* (Dawson, 2002) and Picard (Dawson, 2003) which sold in the tens of thousands but more particularly through the unprecedented successes of the comedian Dany Boon, whose DVD entitled *A s'baraque et en ch'ti* (2003) which registered sales in the hundreds of thousands of copies and the biggest box-office hit of any French film with *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis* (2008). While the first effort is arguably both funnier and more authentic, it requires knowledge of the region and its types, that might be largely lost on a wider audience. *Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis* increased awareness of *Ch'ti* to the point where tourists came to the principal location of Bergues (in the traditional Flemish-speaking area!) hoping to hear *Ch'ti* spoken, and it became not uncommon for people to indulge in jocular conversations by imitating the sometimes 'dog Picard' speech forms portrayed in the film.

Such awareness has, to say the least, seriously undermined the arguments put forward over a quarter of a century by academics and serious amateurs regarding the *picardité* of Lillois and Nordiste vernacular speech. That an academic like Alain Dawson helped to promote the division of the Picard-speaking area of popular perception and the very notion of *Ch'ti* by the publication of his two booklets, was by no means universally appreciated, particularly among regional activists some of whom had made their feelings regarding the appellation known in no uncertain terms, as was the case with Claude Hoden of the *Comité régional picard du Nord-Pas-de-Calais*:

Quant au 'ch'timi', ce n'est pas une variété du picard mais un jargon vulgaire, du français argotique patoisé. Ce faux patois génère un faux folklore, une vraie chienlit qui souille et offense l'éminente dignité des Picards.

Far from sullyng the eminent dignity of the Picards that most Lille residents would not identify with, *Ch'ti* represents part of the relaxed side part of regional identity that comes to the fore when there is no need to stand on one's dignity. Hoden equally deplores the promotion of the notion of Flanders and the Flemish aspects of local culture. From the perspective of the *Office du Tourisme*, it is undeniably easier to promote regional exoticism to tourists through the Flanders (and thus Flemish) heritage, than by claiming a share of *picardité* that in the popular mindset is associated with Picardie and particularly the *département* of the Somme.

5. The shifter's perspective of shift

5.1 Why migrants to Lima are shifting

As pointed out in Section 3, there are no ring-fenced Quechua-requiring domains, only at most a few highly porous Quechua-permitting niches even when all participants are L1 speakers. In many respects, to move to Lima and the other major coastal cities is to move into a hispanophone domain, more or less defined by geography. The social-linguistic practices of the *sierra* are not seen as transferable and voluntary migrants shift quickly despite living with and/or frequenting others with comparable origins. To be in Lima means fundamentally to speak Spanish, whereas Quechua is a symbol of being tied to the land, of subscribing to a *runa* culture, which is by definition inappropriate for an urban, industrial lifestyle. Quechua is not a 'mobile' language but remains firmly associated with the *sierra* only.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, few in-migrant parents seek to transmit their first language to their children despite a number of frequently cited factors presumed to favour maintenance or at least retard attrition, being present: both parents being L1 speakers; the presence of Quechua-

speaking grandparents; apparent strong family loyalty to the ethnolinguistic heritage; frequent trips to the home area.

In terms of the self-improvement programme that migration represents, there appears to be little incentive for parents to teach or young people to learn Quechua. It has neither societal prestige nor functional utility and clashes with the highly prized values of youth, modernity, technical skills, material success and education. That is not to deny that considerable receptive skills may be acquired by young people within the family but even in this safest of all environments, they are rarely seriously expected to answer in Quechua. Indeed, silence and laughter may be regarded as appropriate (or at least acceptable) responses when addressed in Quechua even by a close relative.

In the public sphere, such as at markets, on buses or in the street to use Quechua or Aymara or indeed any other indigenous language would be unusual. While it is by no means a mark of low status to be bilingual in Spanish and Quechua, the risk of being perceived as a monolingual Quechua speaker bears considerable stigma. In many communities, the use of mixed code may emerge as a solution to express a two-fold identity, but in the Peruvian context, mixing is taken as an indicator of ignorance of Spanish, and by extension ignorance and backwardness across the board. Hence it is deemed preferable to speak Spanish badly than risk signalling total ignorance of that language by using Quechua, as one subject put it:

Hablar quechua significa que tú no sabes hablar castellano. La gente prefiere hablar castellano aunque hablan mal. [To speak Quechua means that you can't speak Castilian. People would rather speak Castilian, even if they do so badly.]

Even in mixed form, Quechua has increasingly become a strong and unmistakable class indicator of the lowest and most exploited social stratum, marking out oppression but also constituting a block to escape, almost invariably a symbol of powerlessness. As De Vries (1988: 92) observes, this marks a shift of perception from its historical ethnic connotations:

[L]os terminos 'criollo', 'mestizo' e 'indio' originalmente indicaban características étnicas. En este momento se los utiliza como indicadores de clase social y proveniencia cultural. [The terms 'creole', 'mesquito' and 'Indian' originally referred to ethnic characteristics, but these days they are used to indicate social class or cultural origin.]

In the urban context, Quechua speakers do not merely avoid using their L1, they often deny knowledge of it, even if their Spanish is less than perfect or if they speak with a marked *moteo* accent, which is also highly stigmatised, as is the case of the sad deracinated figure who says:

Siñor, no, yo no hablar quechua [Sir, I no speak Quechua]

Another telling example is the account of a middle-aged native Quechua-speaking woman in the *pueblo joven* of Tablada de Lurín, on the desert outskirts of Lima, a recent migrant herself, who explained how she tried to comfort her primary school-aged nephew when he was upset. A Quechua speaker recently arrived from the *sierra*, he had been teased remorselessly at school – mainly by fellow Quechua speakers (or self-styled ex-speakers), inevitably – because of his speech and background:

A mi sobrinito lo fastidian, le dicen. Por ejemplo sobrenombre le ponen. Dicen los amigos, este... los amigos decir ¿no? papa seca. Ese molesta pues. Ese queja, me dice: tía, papa seca me dice. Y le digo: ¿pero si la papa seca es rica? Después le dicen papa huayro. Entonces le digo: ¿por qué tienes que ... por qué te molestas porque si la papa huayro es rica con ajicito?

[They tease my nephew, they say things to him. For example they give him nicknames, his friends, er... his friends call him, you know, *papa seca*. So he gets annoyed. He complains to me, he says: Auntie, they're calling me *papa seca*. And I say to him: So what, if *papa seca* is nice to eat? And then they call him *papa huayro*. So I say to him: why do you need to... why does that annoy you, when *papa huayro* is nice with chilli sauce?]

To refer to an Andean person as different types of Andean potato *papa seca* and *papa huayro* point to unsophisticated rurality. It is noticeable too that the teasing comes from fellow pupils who share his origins. The sociolinguistic environment of shantytown Lima is unforgiving and the nephew will almost certainly grow up considering himself a Spanish speaker, and almost certainly do his utmost to suppress any knowledge of Quechua or any traces of a *moteo* accent (Marr, 2011).

The motivation for migrating from the *sierra* is to improve one's lot, whether in the immediate or in the longer term. Such improvement is perceived as incompatible with the maintenance of Quechua, irredeemably associated with the poor and the powerless, with lack of education and lack of opportunity. In the eyes of the Andean migrant, social advancement is not to be achieved through attempting to raise the status of Quechua but by abandoning it. Attempts to maintain the language through community-based initiatives, such as mother-tongue creches, after-school clubs, social or youth clubs, radio, television, community newspapers, sports and cultural events, would be of little use, and that despite the well-earned reputation for self-help among the inhabitants of the *pueblos jóvenes*, as exemplified by such projects as house building, night schools and soup kitchens. If Lima-based Quechua speakers really did want to preserve their L1 as social practice in their new environment, they would have taken positive steps to ensure it happened. Yet, as one informant put it, 'no podemos regresar al quechua'. To return to Quechua would be a regressive step, which would prejudice the possibility of success through education and hard work, and does not marry with the

forward-looking modern view that they have of themselves. Such a perspective is encapsulated in the song *Somos Estudiantes* by the musical group Los Shapis – themselves Andean migrants:

Somos estudiantes
somos del Perú.
Somos profesores
para nuestra niñez,
médicos seremos
para la orfandad.
Somos ingenieros
para nuestro país
arquitectos somos
de nuestro destino.

They see themselves as (aspiring to be) part of the professional classes of a modern Peru, as architects of their own destiny, full of self-belief and self-reliance. The numerous national flags fluttering outside the shacks of the *pueblos jóvenes* of Lima signal a claim for inclusion in the national polity, for incorporation into national discourse. The migrant has a strong sense of personal responsibility for her/his destiny with a pragmatic and unsentimental mindset (see e.g. Franco 1991). This is by no means unique to Peru; Edwards (1994: 85) observes on the basis of a range of language-shift situations around the world: 'a powerful concern for linguistic practicality, communicative efficiency, social mobility and economic advancement'. What is more, the actual manifestation of language shift is a late-order phenomenon, since the corresponding shift in self-identity often takes place (or at least is well under way) before departure. Migration entails a change of culture, where everything is subject to scrutiny and re-evaluation. The loss of Quechua is indicative of a desire for change and self-betterment, not merely a sign of cultural subjugation and poor self-image. To leave one's village may on the contrary be perceived as a means of liberation from the constraining aspects of tight-knit social networks.

This is not to say that the abandoning of Quechua is not tinged with regret, but any such regret is far outweighed by the prospect of a better life in the city. Andean migrants often evoke the possibility of a return to their region of origin, or the possibility of their children learning Quechua at a later and more appropriate time. Moreover, however apparently favourable their sentiments in the abstract with regard to their children learning Quechua, parents tend to reveal ambivalent views about the appropriateness, usefulness or desirability of the language when real-life language choices are encountered. This deep-lying negativity is of course quickly discerned by children, making the rejection of Quechua a learned response acquired in primary socialisation.

This and indeed other aspects of their discourse suggest a shift of responsibility, e.g. the suggestion heard from a number of speakers that others are ashamed of speaking Quechua, though they themselves are not. Perhaps more importantly, the responsibility of legitimation (and therefore the teaching) of Quechua is seen to lie with the government (Section 3). They await state endorsement of its place in the modern nation. In the current circumstances, they argue, the time and effort which would be required to learn Quechua could be better spent on something more useful, not least English. In contrast to the stigmatisation of Spanish-Quechua code mixing, the use of English words in Spanish discourse is, as is the case in many communities, perceived as sophisticated and trendy.

5.2 Why Flemish-speaking migrants shifted

The case of the Flemish-speaking migrants in Lille and northern France in the 19th and early 20th centuries has much in common with contemporary migration to Lima from the Andes. An underprivileged group, desperate for work but desirous of self-betterment, speaking varieties of Flemish which were not necessarily intercomprehensible, walked across a highly porous national border to a country whose national language was the language of culture and upward mobility in their homeland. Like the Quechua-speaking in-migrants to Lima, many Belgian migrants, the majority of whom were of Flemish background to Lille were primed for language shift before they set out. Although at various points in the 19th century, they formed either significant minorities (25% in Tourcoing around 1850; 30% in Lille around 1870) or a numerical majority (55% in Roubaix in the 1870s¹³), they were quickly assimilated leaving few if any marks on the local vernacular, that are demonstrably from the corresponding period (Pooley, 2006a).

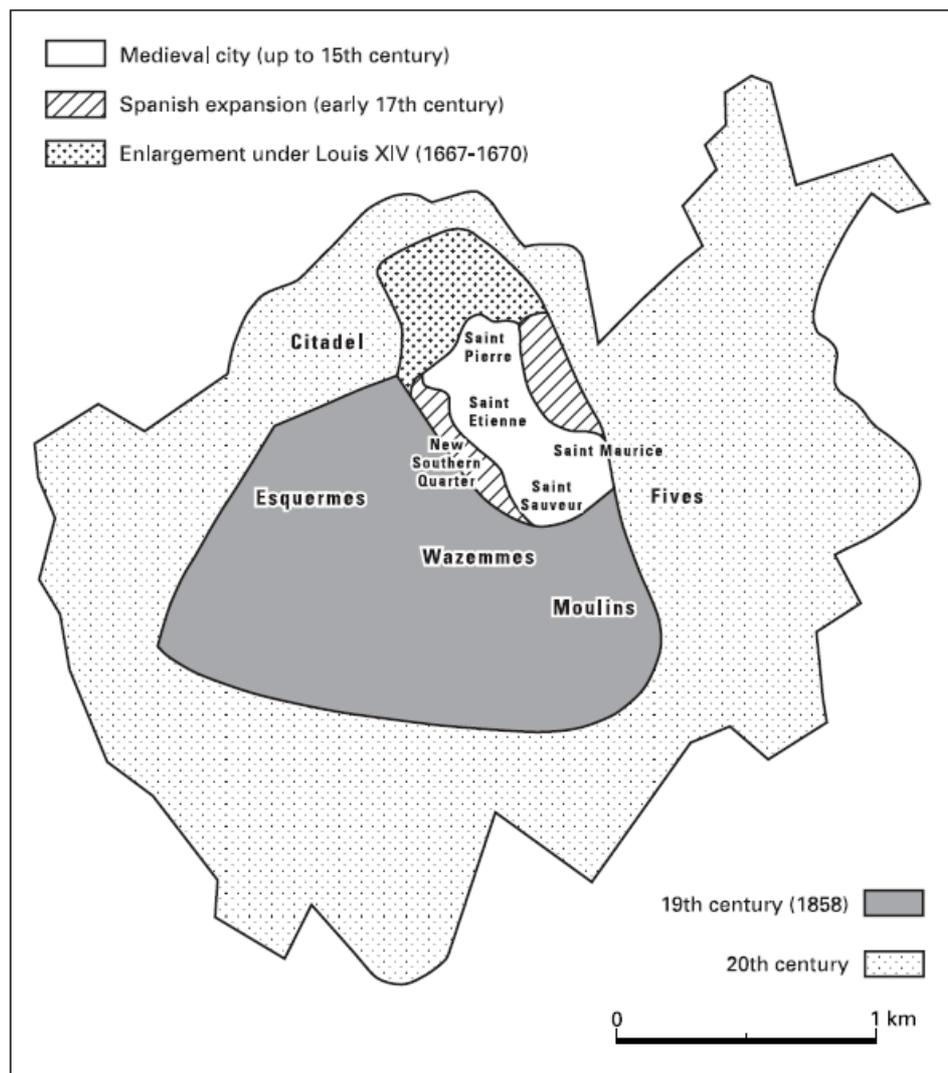
Landrecies (2001) calls this a 'triangulaire inédite', or an unprecedented trilingual situation, where the Flemings were assimilated to French through Picard. Pooley (2006a) observes that the migrants' target variety was French, which they acquired in picardised form, thereby both contributing to the process of shift and that of maintenance. The expansion of Lille in 1858 by imperial decree, added three areas to the city, two of which become famous for a time as Flemish areas, Wazemmes and Fives. With the demolition of the traditional working-class quarter, Saint-Sauveur, home of the most marked traditional variety, the mantle of Lillois *picardité* passed to Wazemmes (Map 5). The memoirs of Jean Vindevogel (1984), a descendant of Flemish-speaking migrants, recounts how by the 1930s, Wazemmes had

¹³ These figures are for Belgian nationals, In Roubaix, around 88% of these were thought to be Flemish-speaking.

become a bastion of patois, indeed even more so than areas of the surrounding countryside. He relates too how Wazemmes residents, often with strongly Flemish patronymics, welcomed new arrivals from Flanders with a certain irony and a confirmed sense of superiority.

The readiness of the Flemish to adapt was encouraged by the hostility of French workers, who resented their presence, because they were ready to accept lower rates of pay and and in the late 19th century, xenophobic attitudes were openly expressed even by respected intellectuals (MacMaster, 2001: 113).

Map 5. The growth of Lille showing 19th century enlargements



5.3 The geographical spread of Picard (or any Oïl) Language

No identifiably Picard-speaking community has established itself outside the home area. At various times, migration to Paris has been relatively intense, as was the case around 1846-1847, following disastrous harvests. While there may have been high numbers of people from the Nord around the Gare du Nord, they seem to have been ready to adapt. Indeed,

perceptions of Paris among often impecunious *Nordiste* factory workers were so positive that its speech forms (both standard and vernacular) bore such considerable prestige that they were (as they had been in previous eras) an obvious target for imitation.

It has been claimed that a Picard-speaking community established itself in Friedrichsdorf in the Taunus (Jahnel, 1994). Friedrichsdorf was one of three villages where French-speaking – as they came to be perceived – Huguenot communities settled having fled persecution in their homeland. 42% of the settlers in Friedrichsdorf were from Picardie and a study based on documents relating to business transactions in the 18th and 19th centuries by Miléquant (1969) estimated the lexis to be 62% Picard.

The most convincing example of an Oïl-language community establishing itself as such is the Walloon community who settled in Wisconsin in the 1850s and still maintain a Namurois variety relatively free of French influence (Klinkenberg, 1999: 507). Such a phenomenon requires a considerable degree of isolation, network strength and absence of literacy in French at the time of departure.

5.4 The Lillois' perspective on shift

The notion of Picard as a language largely postdates the social practices of orality that go to make up what Eloy (1997) calls the phenomenon of Picard – 'le fait picard'. The Lillois would not have thought of themselves as shifting languages, possibly not of even of shifting dialects, since it is highly unlikely that they would have regarded the target variety of shift as a dialect. Shift was by no means a sudden phenomenon, but took place over a period of about 300 years. The incorporation into France, at first resented in the 1660s but thoroughly embraced after the Dutch occupation of 1708-1713, caused the higher social strata of Lille to shift apparently within a generation leaving the local patois (as the speakers themselves saw them) as (lower) class dialects. By the early 20th century, the patois were not merely working-class dialects but lower working-class dialects.

An oral history project carried out in Roubaix between 1990 and 1995 (David, Guillemin and Waret, undated), collected testimonies from people old enough to remember the latter part of the industrial heyday. The perception was that factory workers spoke patois but sought to adapt in the presence of the foreman or the factory boss:

Rares étaient les ouvriers qui parlaient français. Ça commençait à parler français aux environs du contremaître, du directeur.

The informants also had a strong sense of the situational appropriateness of patois, which was the favoured means of communication for playing games in a café, but inappropriate for formal occasions like church services.

Quand ils allaient au bistrot boire un coup, faire une manille ou une partie de cartes, «i parlent pato», évidemment. Si t'allais à la messe ou à une communion, on s'efforçait de parler français.

Data gathered in the 1980s by Pooley (1996) and by Hornsby (2006b) suggest different degrees of attrition with regard to social practices in Roubaix and in Avion (Lens conurbation). The Roubaix corpus yielded precious few examples of code-switching, whereas the Avion recordings provide a greater number of linguistically consistent stretches of Picard discourse to justify the claim that mature adults and older speakers, but not younger speakers, could be switching codes. Attrition in Roubaix, and indeed in the rest of Lille-Métropole, was sufficient for a variationist approach, with its implicit assumption that a single variety is being dealt with, to be adopted. One resoundingly clear result was that even among the working classes the least well educated informants (not having the equivalent of the *Brevet d'Études du Premier Cycle*) used Picard variants significantly more than those who had that level of education. By way of contrast, Lefebvre's (1991) study which is based on recordings made in the 1970s of informants with the Baccalauréat and higher education, makes no reference to Picard variants, save arguably the sociolinguistically ambiguous pre-rhotic raised *a* as in *tard* [tæɾ].

For the more modest strata of the population, the two world wars caused high levels of displacement (halving the population of Lille for a period of four to five years). While the nickname *Chiti* or *Chtimi* dates from the Great War, the decimation of regional units and the reforming in regionally mixed ones often meant that returning soldiers had shifted to French by the end of the conflict. The Second World War also gave rise to prolonged absences and dialect contact, with myriad unrecorded acts of accommodation. Throughout the first four decades of the Third Republic (1872 to 1914) (Mayer, 1985: 14) (1870-1944), military service lasted between two and five years throwing young men from all parts of France together in barrack rooms and parade grounds. It is fair to assume that in most cases, men from the Parisian region were numerically dominant and the forms of their vernacular French (labelled by some as *français populaire*) clearly enjoyed considerable sub-cultural capital and some of its features had already been adopted in numerous varieties of patois.

While the policy of linguistic unification through education first formulated in the 1790s was largely held up by lack of means (particularly schools and teachers) for most of the 19th century, it undoubtedly caught the wind of public opinion. Even before compulsory state primary

education for all was introduced in the 1880s, rates of literacy were rising significantly. In Lille 30% of the population attended school in the 1820s and literacy rates reached 50% by mid-century. By the end of the 19th century, illiteracy rates among conscripts had dropped to below 5%.

While women had less access to literacy than men in the 19th century, their role as mothers and primary care-givers caused them to be put under pressure to bring up their children, as far as possible, in the language of upward mobility. It may be true that in an industrially prosperous region like Lille, which produced enough wealth to feed not only its own children but also numerous migrants there was less pressure to move towards French norms. The textile industry provided more paid employment for women than coal mining, fishing or agriculture, to name three other important economic activities in the picardophone areas. The latter three activities tended to divide gender roles more sharply, with men as breadwinners through a difficult (and in the case of fishing and mining) dangerous occupation, but which gave rise to intense professional pride and interpersonal solidarity. In mining and fishing communities, the role of women was largely limited to the domestic sphere, although they were often expected to find ways of supplementing the family income.

Studies of other regional-language communities in France (Maurand, 1981; Hadjadj, 1981) show ambitious women leaving their community and being unwilling to marry local men in a manner reminiscent of Gal's (1978) well-known study in Austria entitled *Peasant men can't find wives*. More recently a study of a regional accent feature in southern France by Armstrong and Unsworth (1999) showed that girls' greater mental mobility corresponded significantly to behavioural differences.

Portrayals of heroines in regionalist literature, for instance by Marie-Paule Armand (1990; 1995) in novels such as *La maîtresse d'école* or *La Courée* depict women trying to break out of a restrictive social milieu which has no lack of sanctions designed to correct non-conformists. This is of course the downside of tight-knit working-class networks, which may hold back able and ambitious individuals. Within present-day Lille-Métropole the *commune* of Gondcourt (Cochet, 1933) stood out in the 19th century as the home of a particularly marked variety of Picard with a highly distinctive array of diphthongs, often singled out for special treatment by Flutre (1977) in his masterly overview of phonetic variation in Picard. Historical sources show that other villages of the Métropole – such as Wicres, Cobrieux and Neuville – where industry did not take root in the first wave of industrialisation in the 1830s and 1840s were full of beggars who occasionally resorted to violence in times of particular hardship. By comparison Lille,

Roubaix and Tourcoing had well developed welfare systems, from which indigent residents, in or out of work, could find succour in times of dire necessity (Pouchain, 1998: 45). Cochet notes too that in the neighbouring town of Seclin (to Gondécourt) the patois was considerably more francofied, although less so than in the larger towns, i.e. Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing.

6. Reflections on language maintenance

6.1 The maintenance of Quechua in Peru

While as sociolinguists we in one sense deplore any case of language loss, as human beings it is hard not to acknowledge the human dilemma that maintenance of Quechua raises. That the language is wedded to contingent facts of the past does not imply that a future could not be envisaged in which Quechua has a valued place. Hornberger and Coronel-Molina (2004) and Hornberger and King (2001), for example, have laid out a strong case for language planning which could potentially lead to revitalisation. At bottom, reversing language shift requires finding acceptable ways of being modern in Quechua. While for recent migrants to Lima and other large coastal cities from the *sierra*, the language must seem safe on home territory, this is far from being the case long-term. Urbanites already constituted 71% of the population at the turn of the century, and the population of Lima (7.3m) represents more than ten times the second largest city of Arequipa (650,000), and twice as many as the possibly optimistic estimate of the total number of speakers by Leclerc (2009a). Such a degree of demographic dominance backed by economic, political and cultural power point to a situation where the capital will (continue to) set social trends. While much of this study concentrates on the kind of urbanisation attributable to the expansion of cities, world-wide trends suggest that this will be followed by forms of periurbanisation or urbanisation of the countryside. There are already indications (in such phenomena as *pueblos jóvenes* and *asentamientos humanos* well away from urban centres) that such trends are under way. The sociolinguistic history of Peru contains a number of examples where the dominant Spanish-speaking groups deliberately closed off the avenues by which indigenous peoples could acquire Spanish (Cerrón-Palomino, 1989). For the Andean peoples, therefore, the acquisition of Spanish is a hard-won right that education in Quechua may appear to undermine, since it may appear to eliminate the far wider range of options and desired self-identity that Spanish seems to offer. This would explain at least some of the marked ambivalence, even hostility, noted e.g. by Weber (1994, 2000) by Andean parents towards the idea of mother tongue education for their children.

Besides, literacy in Quechua for many would necessitate the acquisition of a second dialect, always assuming that a common national standard (or possibly set of standards) could be

agreed. For central government, Quechua is not the only minority language to be supported. Fresh consideration would have to be given e.g. to Aymara and the Amazonian languages among which a selection would almost certainly have to be made. In other words, it requires a vision of the future that is not being widely expressed and therefore most Quechua speakers and potential speakers have difficulty even imagining it, in contrast to the clearly visible possibilities of advancement on offer through Spanish.

Much will depend on how the currently underdeveloped parts of the country are modernised. It is certainly a logical possibility that modernisation will cause hispanisation to advance too fast for an acceptable form of modernity mediated through Quechua to develop to the point where a solid community base can emerge. In the current circumstances, shifting to Spanish is not 'a traitorous repudiation of the past, but good sense' (Edwards, 1984), not a surrender to centralist oppression but cultural victory for the pioneering spirit that desires a place at the table in a modernised Peru. To speak Spanish, to take ownership of the dominant language is felt by the shifters themselves not as mere adaptation to the ways of the *criollo* elite, who are perceived as lazy, self-seeking and reliant on nepotism, but as a challenge to their traditional superiority and an attempt to appropriate those parts of that culture associated with modernity, progress, education and material advancement.

6.2 The Maintenance of Picard in France

While Quechua in Lima is arguably in a post-shift situation, speakers can look to an apparently solid speaker base not only in the Peruvian hinterland but also in neighbouring countries, notably Bolivia and Ecuador. Such degrees of vitality, which appeared historically unassailable, may prove vulnerable to changing social conditions. Northern France provides the examples of Flemish, which in the mid-19th century appeared to some observers at least irremovable in French Flanders (Trénard, 1974) in contrast to the Romance dialects which were showing clear signs of convergence. Informants who do not or no longer speak their local variety of Picard commonly advise academic investigators to go to a certain place, where a broad variety is assuredly spoken. In the great majority of cases, this proves to be a comforting illusion of cultural memory rather than a current reality.

In the Nord-Pas-de-Calais Picard is either a notion used by a relatively small group of intellectuals and activists. Even among intellectuals, the term may be used to refer to the body of texts in the medieval *dialecte* and the modern patois are 'issus du picard' (e.g. Pierrard, 1966). To be sure, modern Picard is a recently adopted cover term for an overwhelmingly light-hearted and comic body of writing dating back to the early 18th century, which is now,

so it is argued, no longer to be seen as a manifestation of literary diglossia but a noble writing tradition. Such socially marginal niche-usage is not incompatible with the most vehement historic texts on linguistic policy, such as the Grégoire's report of 1794. The Nord represents a clear success for the linguicidal policies first ideologised in the 1790s. While Grégoire portrayed what is now known as Metropolitan France as a multilingual country with around 30 patois spoken in addition to the national language, Cerquiglini (1999) counted 75 candidate varieties for the label 'Langues de France' in the whole of political France, including its overseas *départements* and territories. Applying the principle of equality leaves the long recognised (since the Deixonne Law of 1951) and highly distinct languages in the same position as the near languages, for which distinctiveness has to be demonstrated. The apparently favourable change of label does not alter the fact that on the ground each community of speakers finds itself in an unequal two-way fight with French, a language on which successive French governments have lavished protective measures. In other words, the position of minority languages has improved but far more slowly than that of French. In any case, the highest stated aim of policy towards minority languages (Carcassonne, 1998) is the maintenance of the *status quo* through language classes and cultural activities, which does not of course begin to address the problem of the dwindling speaker base.

The notion of Picard leaves even generally well informed people in Lille and the Nord-Pas-de-Calais baffled. Both Ch'ti and Flemish are both more redolent of local/regional identity. The notion of Ch'ti had already struck an increasingly positive but minor chord with the population at large, with the label being used for instance, for a city guide and a brand of beer (see Pooley, 2007 for fuller details). Since 2003 the unprecedented commercial successes of Dany Boon have raised the profile beyond all expectation at both regional and since 2008 at national level. It opens up the light-hearted strand of identity, as opposed to the more dignified 'gens du Nord'. Historically the notion of Ch'ti does not cover the whole of even the traditionally Romance-speaking Nord-Pas-de-Calais. It downplays Artois and more particularly the Rouchi of the Valenciennes area (Hainaut) subsumed under Ch'ti by Dawson (2002).

The *Office du Tourisme de Lille* has 'sold' the city in part on its historic place in Flanders, allowing slippage between the political and the linguistic interpretation of the terms *Flandre* and *flamand*, for instance through the Flemish names of regional dishes and folkloric customs. This commercialised exoticism overrides historical anachronisms. The development of Lille as the heart of the *métropole* has given rise to expansion through the creation of the new town Villeneuve d'Ascq and the subsuming of the city's closest and fiercest historical

rivals, Roubaix and Tourcoing, as well as dozens of other urban, periurban and rural *communes*. Currently being implemented is a plan to create a transfrontier metropolis which would include francophone Tournai and Flemish-speaking Kortrijk. The city thus acquires a Flemish corner where in the current climate in Belgian Flanders is more likely to lead to a greater degree of bilingualism in both communities than language shift.

The 'comebacks' of Ch'ti and Flemish are hardly textbook examples of reversing language shift but they are certainly curious and ironic reversals of fortune.

7. Concluding remarks

While loss of linguistic diversity is generally to be regretted, it is salutary to take a wider view of the life-style choices that language (or dialect) shift represents. Given the ideologised nature of the choices facing exploited industrial workers or struggling peasants, to elect to move to the city or seek either self-betterment or an improved standard of living for one's family is a noble project, if not a matter of dire necessity. Both Nordistes and Andeans see themselves as assiduous workers, who take pride in overcoming harsh conditions and many an obstacle, *inter alia* the acquisition of a good mastery of the appropriate language of empowerment which opens up far wider horizons. In the post-shift situation of northern France, people can look back with pride and pleasure at where they came from or discover something of their regions's history, albeit more in a light-hearted than a seriously studious manner. Besides, this study has clearly shown that apparently serious historical arguments count for very little for ordinary people, more pre-occupied with the immediately pressing concerns of material survival. Minority identity is a relative luxury, which may be savoured more easily once the exigencies of the mainstream culture are met and overcome. Nor does linguistic distance from the roof variety count for very much in the bilateral struggle for communicative space. What is happening in Lima is clearly a dangerous long-term threat to the vitality of Quechua in the whole of Peru, given the ideological climate emanating from a politically, economically, demographically and culturally dominant and strongly hispanic national capital. Only a radical change of mindset both within the Spanish-speaking elite and the Quechua-speaking communities themselves might change the apparently inexorable course of events. A change of outlook in the former is highly unlikely without pressure from the latter, a situation which requires articulate bilingual spokespersons to create a positive discourse that their more modestly endowed fellow speakers can receive. The nature of the language death scenario in Lille and northern France has changed unexpectedly over the last few years. Picard has been granted the status of 'Langue de France', while few if any language

planning measures by volunteer associations have gained full acceptance. In terms of social practice, an apparently unproblematic case of gradual death has been transformed into a particular bottom-to-top scenario, where the arguments and labelling of scholars have been swept away in the imaginary of the general public by the tide of popular successes (particularly by Dany Boon) that reflect the perspectives of (the descendants of) ordinary speakers.

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