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A Grammar of the Norman French of the Channel Islands

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Georg Bossong  
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Anthony Liddicoat

# A Grammar of the Norman French of the Channel Islands

The Dialects of Jersey and Sark

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## Abbreviations

-	..... form not present in the dialect	O.N.	..... Old Norse
adj.	..... adjective	O.Occ.	... Old Occitan
adv.	..... adverb	O.S.	..... Old Scandinavian
Ar.	..... Arabic	obs.	..... obsolete
arch.	..... archaic	Occ.	..... Occitan
artic.	..... articulated	onomat.	.. onomatopœia, onomatopœic
Aur.	..... Auregnais	p.p.	..... past participle
Bret.	..... Breton	pers.	..... person, personal
C	..... consonant	pl.	..... plural
C.J.	..... Central Jèrriais, Central Jersey	pr.	..... pronominal
coll.	..... collective	pr.p.	..... present participle
conj.	..... conjunction	Pre-Celt...	Pre-Celtic
Corn.	.... Cornish	Pre-I.E.	... Pre-Indo-European
Du.	..... Dutch	Pre-L.	.... Pre-Latin
E.J.	..... Eastern Jèrriais, Eastern Jersey	Pre-Rom...	Pre-Romance
Eng.	..... English,	pron.	..... pronoun
exclam.	... exclamative	Pt.	..... Portuguese
f.	..... feminine	S	..... semivowel
Fr.	..... French	S.	..... Sercquiais, Sark
Frk.	..... Frankish	s.	..... substantive
G.	..... Gaulish	sg.	..... singular
Gk	..... Greek	Sp.	..... Spanish
Gmc.	..... Germanic	St B.	.... St Brelade, St Breladais
Gr.	..... Grouville, Grouvillais	St C.	.... St Clement, St Clementais
Gu.	..... Guernesiais	St H.	.... St Helier
i.	..... intransitive	St J.	.... St John, St Jeannais
intens.	.... intensifier	St L.	.... St Laurence, St Laurençais
It.	..... Italian	St M.	... St Martin, St Martinais
J.	..... Jèrriais, Jersey	St My.	.. St Mary, St Mariais
L.	..... Latin	St Ou.	... St Ouen, St Ouennais
m.	..... masculine	St P.	.... St Peter, St Pierrais
M.Du.	.... Middle Dutch	St S.	.... St Saviour, St Sauveurais
M.E.	.... Middle English	Tr.	..... Trinity, Trinitais
M.H.G.	... Middle High German	tr.	..... transitive
n.d.	..... no date	V	..... vowel
O.Dan.	... Old Danish	v.	..... verb
O.E.	..... Old English	var.	..... variant
O.F.	..... Old French	W.J.	.... Western Jèrriais, Western Jersey
O.H.G.	.... Old High German		



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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1. General Introduction

This study aims to present a general study of two closely related Norman dialects spoken in the Channel Islands — those of Jersey and Sark, with analysis of both synchronic and diachronic features of the dialects. In addition to the dialects spoken on these islands, Norman French dialects are also spoken on Guernsey. The Norman French dialect of Alderney, however, died out in the first half of the twentieth century. There are three separate dialect areas in the Channel Islands:

- (i) Jersey and Sark
- (ii) Guernsey
- (iii) Alderney

The local idioms of these three areas appear to have developed independently of each other since the arrival of Norman French in the Channel Islands in the tenth century. The dialect of Sark, unlike the dialects of the other other islands, does not have its independent beginnings until the sixteenth century when the island was colonised by forty families, most of whom came from a single Jersey parish. The relationship between the dialects spoken on the four islands is represented schematically in Figure 1.

Although the dialect of Sark is in fact derived from the *parler* spoken in the Jersey parish of St Ouen, developments in the idioms have been so divergent that it seems reasonable to refer to them as independent dialects with a common source. Given the common origin of these idioms, emphasis will be placed on comparison of the two and the way in which each has developed.

In addition, although the dialect of Jersey has often been treated as a unit, it must be borne in mind that there are some dozen local *parlers* spoken on the island. Where the local variation is significant it has been indicated, but most of the data included are based on the *parlers* of the western part of the island and, in particular, that of St Ouen.

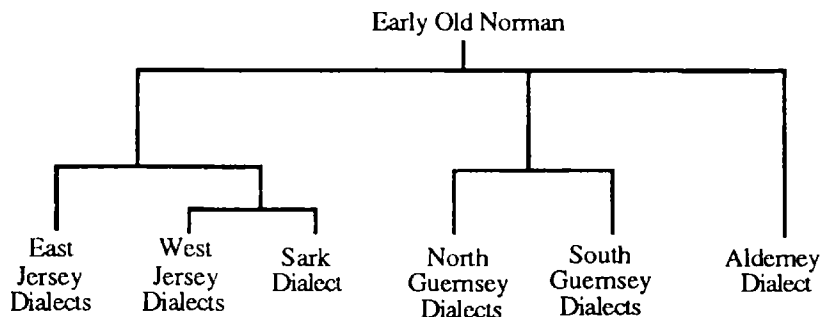


Figure 1: The Channel Islands' dialects

## 1.2. The Norman dialect

The limits and principle characteristics of the Norman dialect were first established by Joret in 1883 using a small number of phonetic criteria. The isogloss which separates those areas in which /ka/ has become /ʃ/ from those in which it has been preserved marks the southern boundary of Norman. Over a large part of Normandy it represents part of a tight bundle of isoglosses which reinforce this southern boundary. (See Figure 2.) This line, which was adjusted by Lechanteur (1967), does not correspond with the political frontiers of Normandy but rather divides Normandy into two along an east-west axis. The larger northern area tends to be more conservative than the southern area which has much in common with the dialect of the Ile-de-France.

The western boundary of Normandy is formed by the isogloss which marks the limit of the differentiation of Latin  $\bar{e}$  into *oi*. The mediæval diphthong *ei* is preserved in the area east of Eu, while to the west the diphthong evolves to /oi/ > /we/ > /wa/.

A third isogloss divides Normandy into two regions along a north-south axis. This is the isogloss which traces the development of  $\delta + k$  to /ie/ or /qi/. It begins to the east of Honfleur and passes to the east of Pont-l'Évêque and Lisieux, then through Vimoutiers, Argentan and Ecouché and to the south-east of Briouze and Passais. The western variety, to which the Channel Islands' dialects belong, is traditionally called *bas normand* or Low Norman and it is this region and, in particular, the extreme north-west, which has remained most conservatively Norman.

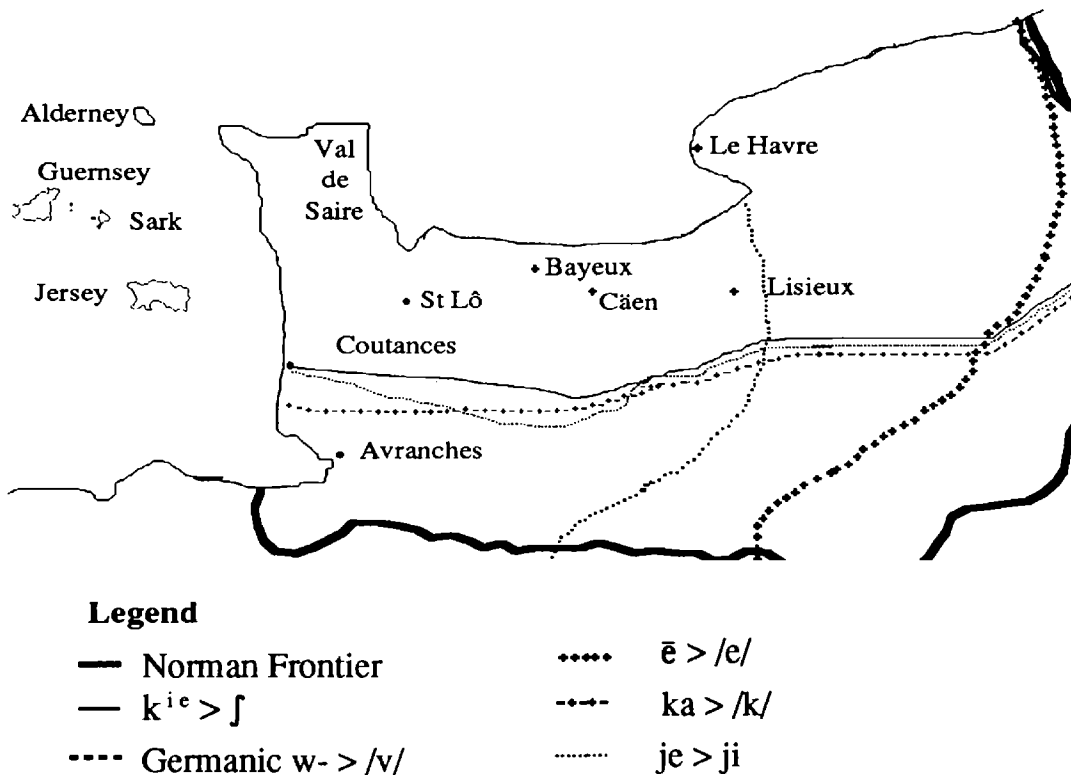


Figure 2: Normandy: the principle isoglosses

The conservative nature of the north-west extremity of *Basse-Normandie* is attested by Lechanteur (1967: 217):

Un fait certain : pour le dialectologue parlant le français central et circulant d'est en l'ouest, du Pays de Caux à Auderville, l'impression de dépaysement croîtra sans arrêt, non seulement à cause d'une phonétique de plus en plus complexe, mais parce qu'un vocabulaire de plus en plus inconnu frappera ses oreilles. Il suffit, pour s'en convaincre, d'écouter un enregistrement d'œuvre dialectal en cauchois et immédiatement après un de la Hague (ou des Iles). Pour le voyageur venant du sud, le dépaysement sera aussi grand, mais il risque surtout d'être beaucoup plus brutal, lors du passage de la ligne Joret.

[One thing is certain, for the dialectologist who speaks central French and is travelling from east to west, from the Pays du Caux to Auderville, the sense of disorientation will keep growing, not only because of a more and more complex phonology, but because more and more unknown vocabulary will strike his ears. To convince yourself of that, it is enough to listen to a dialect recording in Cauchois and straight after it one from La Hague (or the [Channel] Islands). For a traveller coming from the south the disorientation will be as great but is possibly more violent when one crosses the Ligne Joret.]

This is further highlighted by Lepelley who geographically defines the more conservative regions of Normandy as Bessin, the Cotentin Peninsular and the Channel Islands.

Ces trois régions constituent la zone la plus isolée de la Normandie: aucun point de cette zone n'est éloigné de plus de 20 km de la mer, mais tous sont situés à plus de 40 km de la limite méridionale du domaine normand normanisant, et à plus de 90 km des frontières de la Normandie. C'est incontestablement ce qui a permis aux parlers de cette région de conserver, plus longtemps que la plupart des autres parlers Normands, leur originalité et leur vitalité. (Lepelley 1974)

[These three zones make up the most isolated area of Normandy — no point in this area is more than 20 km from the sea, but all of them are located more than 40 km from the southern boundary of the Norman-speaking region and more than 90 km from the Norman border. Incontestably it is this which has permitted the *parlers* of this region to preserve their original vitality longer than most other Norman *parlers*.]

## 1.3. Jersey and Sark

### 1.3.1. The Geographical Background

The Channel Islands are a small group of islands lying in the English Channel in the gulf formed by the Cotentin and Breton peninsulas. There are four main islands in the group: Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and Sark, as well as a number of smaller, mostly uninhabited, islands and rocks.

Jersey is the largest of the main islands with an area of 115 square kilometres and a population of 76,050<sup>1</sup> and Sark the smallest with an area of 6 square kilometres and 584 inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> The population density on these islands is therefore quite high: 661.30 people per square kilometre on Jersey, over half of whom live in the parish of St Helier, and 97.33 people per square kilometre on Sark.

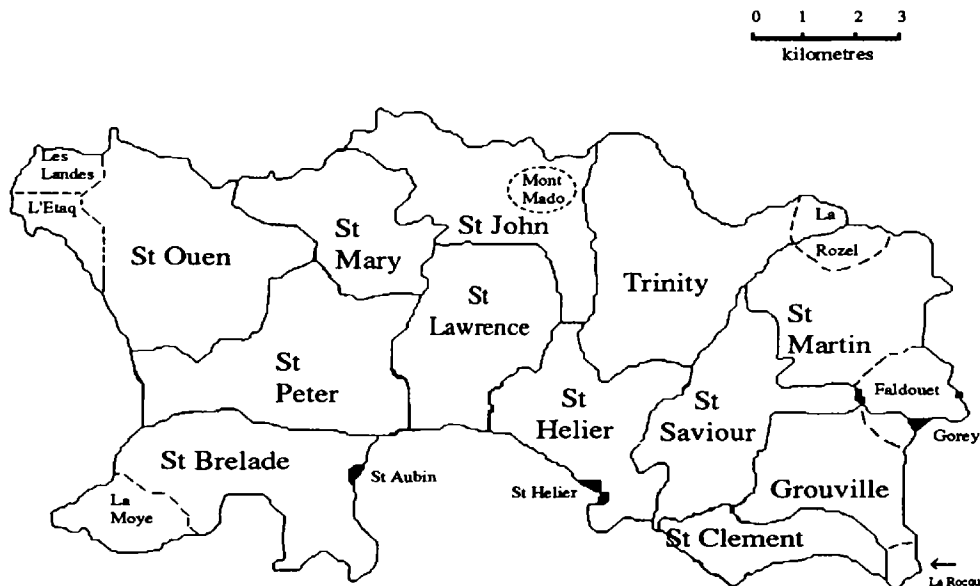


Figure 3: Jersey

The economy of both islands centres around agriculture and tourism, and on Jersey, banking is added to this. Agriculture on both islands takes the form of market gardening and the raising of dairy cattle, both of which are land intensive and therefore suitable for the small holdings found on these islands. Until the mid nineteenth century both islands relied very heavily on agriculture, Jersey as an exporter of rural produce and Sark as primarily a subsistence economy. The importance of agriculture for the economies of both islands, but most especially for Sark, is waning due to a lack of suitable land and, at the same time, the high returns of finance and the tourist trade are supplanting farming as an economic force.

This trend from primary to tertiary industry has forced both islands to focus their trade and commercial relations on the macrocommunity represented by Great Britain, and this in turn has had ramifications for the cultural life of the islands.

### 1.3.2. The Historical Background

#### 1.3.2.1. Before 933

While there is evidence of settlement in the Channel Islands dating back to the third millenium B.C., little can be known for certain about the linguistic situation in the Channel Islands before the arrival of the Norse colonists, but it would appear that the Latin

language was imposed on the Islands (as it was elsewhere in Gaul) when the Roman legions invaded the Channel Islands in the second century A.D.

In the fifth and sixth centuries the islands were occupied by Celts escaping the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Great Britain and the islands formed a part of Brittany until the tenth century. The ties between the Channel Islands and Brittany were further strengthened when Breton Christian missionaries such as St Samson, St Maglorius and St Helier converted the Channel Islands and established monasteries and churches which were associated with religious houses on the mainland.

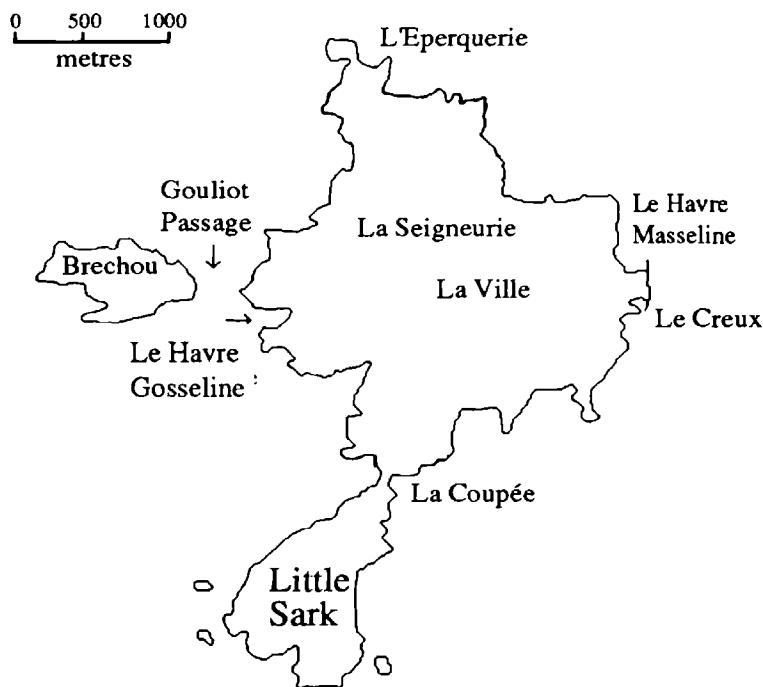


Figure 4: Sark

#### 1.3.2.2. After 933

The modern linguistic history of Jersey begins in 933 when William Longsword conquered the Channel Islands and brought Norman French to the islands, and it is this idiom – which has entirely replaced the older idioms of the islands – that is the source of all the modern *parlers*.

The Norse colonists appear to have brought with them a Romance language with Norse loan-words and, as the number of Norse elements in the Channel Islands idioms is much the same as the other Norman dialects, it would seem to indicate that the usual tongue of the duchy of Normandy was already French only two decades after the beginning of Norse rule.

It is difficult to say when the Channel Islands dialects developed a recognizable local character. The mediæval poet Wace in the *Roman de Rou* (verses 5302-5305) identifies himself as a Jerseyman:

Jo di e dirai ke jo sui  
Wace de l'isle de Gersui,

Ki est en mer vers l'occident,  
 Al fieu de Normandie apent.  
 En l'isle de Jersui fu nez...

[I say and will say that I am Wace from the island of Jersey, which is in the sea towards the west [and] belongs to the fief of Normandy. I was born on the island of Jersey ...]

Although he uses a vocabulary containing many Norman elements, there are no forms in his writings that could be deemed peculiar to the Channel Islands.

When William the Conqueror became king of England, the Channel Islands remained as a part of the duchy of Normandy.<sup>3</sup> On William's death they were lost to the English monarch. The islands were reunited to the English crown during the reign of Henry I only to be separated again in the reign of Stephen and returned in the reign of Henry II. The Channel Islands were finally separated from Normandy in 1204 when Philip II seized mainland Normandy for France, leaving the Channel Islands as a possession of the English monarch. King John then established a separate administration in each of the islands, thereby establishing their independent identity. This independence was formally recognized in the treaty of 1360 which ceded Normandy, with the exception of the Channel Islands, to France.

This political division of Normandy did not affect most of the relationships between the Islands and the mainland. The Channel Islands lay in the French diocese of Coutances, and later of Nantes, until the time of the Reformation and, even then, clergy were either French Huguenots or Channel Islanders trained in France. Many Channel Islands' estates were held by mainland landlords or by local branches of the great families of the Cotentin peninsula and, among the upper classes, social ties with the mainland were strong.

During the Middle Ages Sark was settled and abandoned several times and from the fourteenth century it was uninhabited, with the exception of the occasional pirate base, until the sixteenth century. In 1563 Elizabeth I granted Sark to Hélier de Carteret as a fief, and two years later he landed in Sark with a party of thirty-nine tenants to begin permanent occupation of the island. Hélier de Carteret and most of his tenants were inhabitants of the parish of St Ouen and took their own local *parler* to Sark, and thus the *parler* of the parish of St Ouen forms the basis of the modern dialect.

### 1.3.2.3. The Modern Period

The Channel Islands maintained their Norman identity intact until the nineteenth century when anglicization became a dominant force in the commercial and social life of the islands.

English made its presence felt in Jersey long before this. Towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, most of the social, religious and economic ties between the Islands and France had disappeared, and England became more and more the focus of Island activity. Anglicization received a further impetus in Jersey when a permanent garrison of British troops was stationed on the Island towards the end of the eighteenth century. After this period English became the usual language of polite society and of the commercial establishments of the city of St Helier and was quite widespread by the beginning of the nineteenth century. After the Napoleonic Wars Jersey was seen as an economically advantageous place to which discharged officers with a moderate income could retire. The early nineteenth century marks the

beginning of widespread English settlement in Jersey and by 1840 a third of the island's population of 45,000 was of English origin. The English language became increasingly common in the social and commercial life of the island. A Frenchman writing in the early 1860s remarked that:

La langue anglaise est presque généralement employée dans les rapports de société et dans les relations de commerce. (Le Cerf 1980: 109)

[The English language is almost universally used in social dealings and in commerce.]

The anglicization of Sark was delayed until the middle of the nineteenth century because the island was seldom visited by Englishmen before this time. In 1787 one such visitor, a Methodist missionary, reported in a letter to John Wesley that the English language was unknown on the island (Ewen and De Carteret 1969: 105). The first influx of Englishmen came in 1835 when miners were imported from England to work a tin mine in Little Sark, and by the 1850s a number of wealthy English families had established summer residences on the island. Although Sark became a popular summer resort for the English, the island's population was still predominantly Norman at the end of the Second World War. Since this time, the necessity of English for the tourist industry led to a decline in the use of the local dialect even before English settlement became a common part of life on the island.

The older generation of dialect speakers tends to be trilingual and is fluent in English, French and dialect, although many of these have limited vocabularies in English and French. Each language was reserved for a different domain of community life. French was the "high" formal, official language used in public and private religious services, politics and law, the dialects furnished the "low" informal, colloquial variety used with friends and family, and English held the "middle" ground, being used for commercial and social dealings with strangers and non-dialect speakers.<sup>4</sup>

This situation does not often obtain in the middle generation, but a number of this middle generation are trilingual. A smaller group of bilingual subjects are fluent in English and dialect but either do not speak French or speak it as a foreign language. Most of this bilingual group received their education after the Second World War. The majority of the middle generation are, however, monoglot English speakers.

Dialect has not been used for the rearing of children for at least the last thirty years in Jersey and for a longer period in Sark, however a child reared to speak dialect has been the exception rather than the rule for a much longer period of time. In a report made to the Jersey Society of London in 1947 Frank Le Maistre claimed that no child had been brought up to speak Jèrriais in St Helier for at least fifty years and that there were no longer any children speaking Jèrriais in St Clement, Grouville and St Saviour and, while there were children who had been brought up to speak dialect in all the other parishes, such children were rare in St Lawrence, and it was really only in St Martin and St Ouen that dialect speaking children were common (Lechanteur 1949: 213). Thus, the entire under-thirty age group and most of the under-fifty age group constitute a monoglot English speaking community which has replaced the older norm of a trilingual community. Some members of the forty to fifty age group have a passive knowledge of the dialect, and who respond in English if they are addressed in dialect, claimed not to be able to produce a dialect utterance. The dialect is completely dead among members of the under-thirty age group, almost all of whom lack even a passive knowledge of the dialect.

The dialect has survived best in rural areas where contact with the English-speaking commercial world was minimal, and where the now defunct village markets were conducted in the local idiom. In rural Jersey the use of dialect was encouraged by the presence of large numbers of French farm labourers, mostly from Brittany. It is interesting to note that dialect speakers tend to address their French employees in dialect rather than in standard French. This use of dialect has also greatly declined because most farm labourers and domestic servants now come from Portugal rather than France. In 1947 Le Maistre had been able to say that English was seldom heard in the north-eastern rural part of St Ouen (Lechanteur 1949: 212), but this is no longer the case. It is, however, the only part of Jersey in which one may still commonly encounter people using the dialect outside their immediate family circle. The 1988 Jersey census included a question about langague for the first time. In the census some 6,000 people reported a knowledge of Jèrriais, although the figure may be misleadingly high as some of the speakers reported their birthplace as Portugal. (Le Maistre personal communication).

The decline of French in the official life of the Islands has reflected the decline of the dialects in the private lives of the Channel Islanders and, with the decline in its use, there has come a decline in its prestige and in its usefulness.

French was the usual written language of educated Channel Islanders and also the official language of the Church, the States and the Courts, but was rarely if ever spoken outside these formal spheres. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Inglis (n.d.: 730) states that:

French, though the language of court proceedings and of the legislature, is not in common use even among the upper ranks: nay, the use of it is even looked upon as an affectation...

The mass media have exerted a very strong influence on the dialect-speaking community and seem to have played a decisive role in limiting the use of dialect in the home. The radio, especially, made English a daily presence in even the most conservative, isolated, rural homes where previously only the local dialect had ever been heard.

French was used in the worship of both the Anglican and Methodist Churches up until the beginning of the Second World War, although its use had greatly declined in most Anglican Churches well before this date. With the exception of the French language services occasionally arranged by the *Assemblée d'Jèrriais*, French has not been used for ecclesiastical purposes in Jersey since the mid-1950s. In Sark the decline of French in the Church has been slower and, although all services are now held in English, hymns are sometimes sung in French.

French was made optional in the deliberations of the States of Jersey in 1900, but in the 1920s it was still the usual working language. Lord Coutanche (1963: 404) records that at this time: "French was the language largely used in legislation and debate". In 1946 English was declared the official language for the work of the States, although records were kept in French until 1966. The Royal Court of Jersey adopted English officially in 1963, although trials in French had already become rare by 1930. In most parish assemblies English has completely replaced dialect. In the parish assemblies of St Ouen and St Mary the local dialect is occasionally used but most business is conducted in English. In the Chief Pleas of Sark a tenant can still request that the debate be carried out in French, and the official notices of the local administration are still published in French. Property conveyance is still carried out in French

in both Jersey and Sark and an attempt to do away with this practice in Jersey in 1982 was successfully resisted by the legal profession.

The Channel Islands' dialects are therefore (Norman) French dialects spoken in an otherwise English-speaking community. As such they would be classed as atypical or divergent dialects and are therefore unique among Norman dialects. The Romanian linguist Todoron (1956: 101) says of such a classification:

Am puteau numi aceste dialecte și altale de felul lore care nu se varsă în limbă națională, dialectele atipice (în opoziție cu cele care se dizolvă în limba națională pe care le-am numit tipice) sau de tip specific. Am mai putea întrebuinta și altă terminologieă dialecte convergente și dialecte divergente. Preferam terminologia dintîi, pentru că ni se pare mai precise. În general, dialectele sînt divergente morîn în care predomină procesul de diferențiere, convergente în orduinea în care predomină procesul de integrare.

[I could call these dialects, and others of their type, which do not spill over into the national language, atypical dialects (in opposition to those which dissolve into the national language, which I could call typical). I could also use another terminology: convergent dialects and divergent dialects. I prefer the latter terminology because it appears more precise. In general, dialects are divergent where the process of differentiation predominates, convergent where that of integration predominates.]

In the two localities chosen for study the local idiom is in decline. They are moribund because they are being abandoned in favour of English, rather than by linguistic erosion as occurs with the mainland dialects. There are some phonological, syntactic and lexical influences from English found in the languages (Liddicoat 1990). The morphological, syntactical and lexical characteristics of English and Norman are, however, so dissimilar that the basic character of Jèrriais and Sercquiais is still Norman French, and the basic structures of the idioms are still well preserved.

Depuis longtemps l'auteur lui-même m'a fait part de son scepticisme touchant l'avenir de son langage naturel, soumis à la pression fatale bien que non-systématiquement organisée de l'anglais. Qu'il se dise qu'en Normandie continentale l'évolution est la même et que notre langue commune y est soumise à la pression du français, moins frappante sans doute mais plus insidieuse parce que la langue officielle non seulement attaque le Normand de front mais le mine par l'intérieur. Au moins le jersiais meurt-il debout en brave insulaire fidèle. (Lechanteur 1949: 211)

[For a long time now the author has shared with me his scepticism about the future of his native language, subjected to the fatal, although not systematically organised, pressure of English. It is said that in continental Normandy the evolution is the same and our common language is subject to the pressure of French, doubtless less striking but more insidious because the official language not only attacks Norman from the front but undermines it from within. At least Jersey Norman French will die standing up as a brave and faithful islander.]

The mainland Norman dialects, however, are typical or convergent dialects existing side by side with French which is morphologically, syntactically and lexically similar. These dialects are rapidly losing their distinctive character and are merging with Standard French to become *patois francisé* or *français patoisé*.

## 1.4. Sources

Data for a description of a dialect may be acquired from three types of sources. The first is written sources, such as dialect dictionaries, works dealing with phonological or grammatical description of the idioms, etc. These sources tend to be of varying quality. The best written sources are the *Atlas linguistique de la France* and the *Atlas linguistique et ethnographique de Normandie*. These two works provide detailed phonetic information and a reasonably large lexical corpus. The material given provides minimal information about morpho-syntactical elements of the dialects and does not give the items in context but rather as isolated units. In addition the narrow phonetic transcription of the elicited forms does not readily allow for analysis of the phonemic oppositions at work in a given dialect.

Moreover the *ALF* has considerable problems related both to the method and geographical extent of the inquiry which tend not to be found in the *ALEN*. The principal problems arise from Edmont's methodology — the first translation offered for various various French idioms were noted. Thus, 'easy' translations similar to the French form were often elicited and the true dialect item missed.

In addition there are for Jèrriais a small number of dictionaries and glossaries. That of Spence (1960) is the most useful, giving forms mainly from the parish of St John in I.P.A. transcription. Le Maistre's (1966) dictionary is rich in synonyms, archaic and defunct forms, and represents a pristine state of the dialect from which most anglicisms are excluded.<sup>5</sup> The early *Glossaire* of Langlois et al. (1924) tends to be ambiguous in orthography and of limited value for the study of the dialect. There is also a grammar which gives complete paradigms of regular and most irregular verbs (Birt 1985). The usefulness of this work, the Le Maistre dictionary and the *Glossaire* for the present study is limited by the fact that none gives precise phonetic information.

A second method of collecting relevant data is through the consultation of dialect literature. This literature tends to be archaic and purist in its approach to the idiom and usually avoids recent borrowings. Its syntax is more complex than normal spontaneous utterances, and it tends to use a larger vocabulary than is usual for spoken communication. Nevertheless, one may assume that a form found in a published work of recent composition is in use and recognizable to readers, even if it is rare or archaic.

The orthography of dialect literature does not give a precise indication of pronunciation and may mark oppositions in the written form which are not found in the spoken language. Furthermore, if the date of a work is unknown it is difficult to judge whether or not it reflects the current state of the language. In view of this, only texts written by people still living or recently deceased were used in this study, and the imprecision of the orthography was largely overcome by asking informants to read aloud passages of text and to discuss the forms found in the text.

The written form, however, did have some influence on the forms given: for example an informant from St Ouen used /D/ < /-z-/ more consistently in a text in which -z- was written as -th- than in a text where this graphy was not used or than in spontaneous speech.

The published dialect literature for Jersey is quite rich. The *Bullétin d' Quart d' An d' l'Assemblée d' Jèrriais* and the *Chroniques du Don Baleine* have published many poems and short stories and, in addition, two dialect books have been published in the last decade (Le Feuvre 1973 & 1976). The types of written sources described above are

of limited value for the dialect of Sark which has no written grammatical description and almost no literature.<sup>6</sup>

A third source of data can be found in recorded material produced by the speakers themselves. The Don Balleine Trust has produced a series of tapes entitled *La language normand de Jersey* which feature readings in various Jersey *parlers* accompanied by some discussion in the *parler* of St Ouen. The readings are principally prose and poetry texts, some written by nineteenth century authors, accompanied by some songs in Jèrriais. These tapes present an interesting record of pronunciation, and the commentaries and conversations are particularly useful. The readings themselves, however, tend to represent a relatively pristine, 'literary', and sometimes antiquated variety of the *parlers*. The tapes are accompanied by transcribed texts using the orthography of Le Maistre (1966) which are useful for cross reference with the written forms. No such recordings have been produced for the dialect spoken on Sark.

The fourth, and most reliable method, is to obtain forms from spontaneous speech. This provides more accurate information about the pronunciation and frequency of a given form and also facilitates the collection of more typical, less pristine dialect forms. Such data for the present study were collected during an investigation carried out by the author in Jersey and Sark during the course of 1985.

Chaurand (1972: 183) says of the linguistic questionnaire:

...celui-ci n'est pas un catalogue d'interrogations qui doivent être suivies d'une réponse mot à mot. Il est un point de départ, le moyen d'introduire un thème, de relancer une conversation qui tourne court, de parer à une défaillance de mémoire.

[...it is not a catalogue of questions which must be followed by a word for word answer. It is a departure point, the means to introduce a topic, to restart a conversation which has come to a sudden end, to overcome a memory lapse.]

With this in mind the present investigation was conducted around a loosely constructed questionnaire which was varied to suit the informant. It was put in English with a minimum of intervention. This occurred only when an informant needed prompting to give a complete answer. If the informant was not able to respond to a particular question, or if he for some reason did not wish to respond, the question was not pursued.

The questionnaire involved general questions about the present day: the weather, everyday actions, etc., and past events involving personal reminiscences, mostly about the changes the informant has seen in his own community in his own lifetime. The informant was also encouraged to speculate on the future — either the next day or the more remote future.

The investigation therefore dealt with past, present and future time but was oriented very much to past time. This was done primarily to avoid modern innovations for which the dialect had no indigenous term and used instead borrowings from English. The data collected were therefore taken from non-technical rural and domestic topics in which microstructure interference was kept to a minimum.

Other things being equal, the oldest speakers tended to show the least divergence from dialect in microstructure, and the youngest generation of adults showed the

most. This was coupled with a random factor in the transmission of linguistic information with low frequency words not being passed on to the next generation. It was thus common for younger speakers to be ignorant of many lower frequency items and to be obliged to ask for an explanation of unusual terms which occurred in conversation.

Some forms may be difficult to collect from spontaneous speech – in particular second person verb forms of lower frequency verbs. The solution to this was to ask directly how a given form would be expressed in dialect, either in isolation or in a short sentence placing the form in context.

The principal problem with this method was that one had difficulty collecting faithful dialectal forms because the informant tended to be influenced by the phrase he was asked to translate. Direct questioning was, therefore, used as a last resort in order to fill gaps which were left by the data collected in spontaneous speech, and only data verified by more than one informant has been included herein.

The information used in this study came basically from information collected using a loosely structured questionnaire. The basic form of the questionnaire included the following topics:

1. Count from 1 to 20
2. Count by tens from 10 to 100
3. What are the days of the week?
4. What are the months of the year?
5. What are the seasons of the year?
6. Where were you born?
7. Where did you go to school?
8. What was Jersey/Sark like when you were young?
9. How has Jersey/Sark changed since then?
10. What do you think will be the future for Jersey/Sark?
11. What did you do this morning?
12. What are you going to do this afternoon/tomorrow?
13. To whom do you speak Jèrriais/Sercquiais?
14. Describe the room we are in? your house? your farm?
15. Do you have any hobbies?

Informants were encouraged to expand on any material they seemed to enjoy discussing, but were not forced to give answers if they did not seem willing to do so. The questionnaire was pursued in a more detailed and rigorous manner on the island of Sark than on Jersey. Information gained was supplemented from the linguistic atlases, in particular *ALEN*. Other written sources were used as reference, especially to help determine the meaning of a particular item, but were not a primary source of data. Written texts were sometimes used on Jersey, largely to encourage the informants, and also to elicit examples of more formal speech patterns. The material gained was mostly of interest in the analysis of the sound patterns of the language. The lack of a written variety of Sercquiais which was recognized and used by speakers made the usefulness of such a method negligible.

Table 1: Informants' ages and place of origin

Informants	Age Group	Place of Origin
J1.....	60-70 .....	St John, Jersey
J2.....	70-80 .....	Trinity, Jersey
J3.....	70-80 .....	Trinity, Jersey
J4.....	30-40 .....	St Ouen, Jersey
J5.....	70-80 .....	St Mary, Jersey
J6.....	60-70 .....	La Moye, Jersey
J7.....	70-80 .....	St Ouen, Jersey
J8.....	60-70 .....	St Ouen, Jersey
J9.....	30-40 .....	St Martin, Jersey
J10.....	70-80 .....	St Ouen, Jersey
S1.....	60-70 .....	Sark
S2.....	70-80 .....	Sark
S3.....	80-90 .....	Sark
S4.....	50-60 .....	Sark
S5.....	70-80 .....	Sark
S6.....	60-70 .....	Sark
S7.....	50-60 .....	Sark
S8.....	60-70 .....	Sark



## Chapter 2 Diachronic phonology

### 2.1. The vowel /a/

The vowel /a/ in Jèrriais and Sercquiais is derived either from an etymological /a/ in a closed syllable or from a pretonic initial /a/ in either open or closed syllables. The point of articulation of /a/ in the dialects under discussion is more central than that of standard French.

<i>batr</i>	<i>batr</i>	to hit	* <i>batt(u)ěre</i>
<i>ka</i>	<i>kat</i>	cat	<i>cattu-</i>
<i>hale</i>	<i>halə</i>	to pull	Frk. * <i>halôn</i>
<i>tabj</i>	<i>tabλ</i>	table	<i>tab(ũ)la</i>
<i>kafi</i>	<i>kafɪ</i>	to drive	* <i>captiāre</i>
<i>ave</i>	<i>ave</i>	to have	<i>haběre</i>
<i>varvɔtə</i>	<i>varvɔutə</i>	wind mill	OS <i>varri</i>
<i>arb</i>	<i>arb</i>	fruit tree	<i>arböre-</i>
<i>ra</i>	<i>rat</i>	rat	<i>rattu-</i>

In Eastern Jèrriais the vowel /a/ before a nasal consonant becomes [ɔ]. In Western Jèrriais it is slightly velarized and may have nasal resonance. In Sercquiais /a/ usually undergoes the same slight velarization with nasal resonance before /n/ but may be labialized to [ɔ] before /m/.

WJ	EJ	S		
<i>amě, amē</i>	<i>ɔmē</i>	<i>ɔmē</i>	friend	<i>amīcu-</i>
<i>fam, fām</i>	<i>fɔm</i>	<i>fɔm</i>	woman, wife	<i>fēmīna</i>
<i>gam, gām</i>	<i>gɔm</i>	<i>gɔm</i>	game	Eng. <i>game</i>
<i>aneɪ, āneɪ</i>	<i>ɔneɪ</i>	<i>ānvi</i>	year	<i>annāta</i>
<i>baɲi, bāɲi</i>	<i>bɔɲi</i>	<i>bāɲi</i>	to bath	<i>balneare</i>
<i>gaɲi, gāɲi</i>	<i>gɔɲi</i>	<i>gāɲi</i>	to win	Frk. * <i>waidanjan</i>
<i>maɲi, māɲi</i>	<i>mɔɲi</i>	<i>māɲi</i>	manor	<i>manoriu-</i>

Collas records that, in the north eastern Jèrriais *parler* of La Rozel, /a/ tends to be velarized to [ɔ] wherever it is found in final position (see Collas n.d: section 146). This information could not, however, be verified as the *parler* of La Rozel was no longer spoken in 1985.

<i>kɔ</i>	cat	<i>cattu-</i>
<i>ɔ</i>	rat	<i>rattu-</i>
<i>fjɔ</i>	hollow	<i>flaccu-</i>
<i>mɔ</i>	my (f.s.)	<i>mea</i>

## 2.2. /aɪ/

When the vowel /a/ is lengthened, it has a posterior articulation [ɑ:] in Western Jèrriais and Sercquiais. The vowel tends to be closer and rounder in Eastern Jèrriais. Informant J8 from St Martin used [ɔ:], and informants J2 and J3 from Trinity parish further closed this vowel to [ɔ:].

The /a/ is lengthened by the loss of a consonant or the neutral vowel /ə/.

St Ou.	Tr.	St M	S		
<i>aɪtr</i>	<i>ɔɪtr</i>	<i>ɔɪtr</i>	<i>aɪtr</i>	fire-place	* <i>astrācicu-</i>
<i>baɪ</i>	<i>bɔɪ</i>	<i>bɔɪ</i>	<i>baɪ</i>	low (m.)	<i>bassu-</i>
<i>gaɪ</i>	<i>gɔɪ</i>	<i>gɔɪ</i>	<i>gaɪ</i>	boy	Frk. * <i>wrakjo</i>
<i>gaɪf</i>	<i>gɔɪf</i>	<i>gɔɪf</i>	<i>gaɪf</i>	cake	Frk. * <i>wastil</i>
<i>i maɪf</i>	<i>i mɔɪf</i>	<i>i mɔɪf</i>	<i>i maɪf</i>	he chews	<i>masticat</i>
<i>i paɪl</i>	<i>i pɔɪl</i>	<i>i pɔɪl</i>	<i>i paɪl</i>	he speaks	* <i>para(b)ɔlat</i>
<i>paɪt</i>	<i>pɔɪt</i>	<i>pɔɪt</i>	<i>paɪt</i>	dough	<i>pasta</i>
<i>pjaɪtr</i>	<i>pjɔɪtr</i>	<i>pjɔɪtr</i>	<i>pjaɪtr</i>	plaster	(em) <i>plastru-</i>
<i>travaɪ</i>	<i>travɔɪ</i>	<i>travaɪ</i>	<i>travaɪ</i>	work	<i>tripaliu-</i>

The intervocalic consonants /-z-/, /-s-/ or /-r-/ derived from *-rr-* exert a lengthening influence on the preceding vowel.

St Ou.	Tr.	St M	S		
<i>baɪr</i>	<i>bɔɪr</i>	<i>bɔɪr</i>	<i>baɪr</i>	bar	* <i>barra</i>
<i>baɪs</i>	<i>bɔɪs</i>	<i>bɔɪs</i>	<i>baɪs</i>	low (f.)	<i>bassa</i>
<i>ɛkraɪðe</i>	<i>eikrɔɪze</i>	<i>eikrɔɪze</i>	<i>ɛkraɪzɛ</i>	to crush	OS <i>krasa</i>
<i>grɔɪs</i>	<i>grɔɪs</i>	<i>grɔɪs</i>	<i>grɔɪs</i>	fat (f.)	<i>crassa</i> x <i>grösssa</i>
<i>i paɪs</i>	<i>i pɔɪs</i>	<i>i pɔɪs</i>	<i>i paɪs</i>	it passes	<i>passat</i>
<i>kaɪs</i>	<i>kɔɪs</i>	<i>kɔɪs</i>	<i>kaɪs</i>	box, case	<i>capsa</i>
<i>taɪs</i>	<i>tɔɪs</i>	<i>tɔɪs</i>	<i>taɪs</i>	cup	Ar. <i>tāssa</i>

The ancient group /aa/ is simplified to become a long vowel.

St Ou.	Tr.	St M	S		
<i>aɪ</i>	<i>ɔɪ</i>	<i>ɔɪ</i>	<i>aɪ</i>	age	<i>ætāticu-</i>

The consonant /-l/ whether maintained or lost has a lengthening effect on a preceding /a/. This change particularly affects the Latin suffixes *-aliu-* and *-acūlu-* which both become /aɪ/.

St Ou.	St M	S		
<i>aɪl</i>	<i>ɔɪl</i>	<i>aɪl</i>	garlic	<i>alia</i>
<i>travaɪ</i>	<i>travɔɪ</i>	<i>travaɪ</i>	work	* <i>tripāliu-</i>
<i>gubernɔɪ</i>	<i>gubernɔɪ</i>	<i>gubernɔɪ</i>	rudder	<i>gübērnacūlu-</i>
<i>tramaɪ</i>	<i>tramɔɪ</i>	—	trammel	<i>tremacūlu-</i>
<i>petraɪ</i>	<i>petrɔɪ</i>	<i>petraɪ</i>	breast	<i>pēctorale-</i>

## 2.3. The group /ar/

### 2.3.1. Conservation of /a/

#### 2.3.1.1. stressed /a/

The vowel /a/ maintains its open timbre before /r/ in both tonic and initial positions when it is found in a non-palatal environment.

<i>dar</i>	<i>dar</i>	tooth of saw	<i>dardu-</i>
<i>hard</i>	<i>hard</i>	clothes	Frk. * <i>hard</i>
<i>bar</i>	<i>bar</i>	bar	* <i>barra</i>
<i>mað</i>	<i>mar</i>	pond	ON <i>marr</i>
<i>amaðe</i>	<i>amare</i>	to moor	Du. <i>marren</i>
<i>paðe</i>	<i>pare</i>	(interior) wall	* <i>parēte-</i>
<i>mari</i>	<i>mon</i>	angry	Frk. * <i>marrjan</i>
<i>martē</i>	<i>martē</i>	hammer	<i>martēllu-</i>
<i>arb</i>	<i>arb</i>	fruit tree	<i>arbōre-</i>
<i>fale</i>	<i>fale</i>	must (inf)	<i>fallēre</i>

### 2.3.2. Closure of /a/

#### 2.3.2.1. /kar/ and /gar/

The vowel /a/ is closed to /e/ before the consonant /r/ when the group /ar/ is preceded by a (palatalized) velar consonant. The change occurs in both stressed positions and unstressed initial positions. In some infinitive verb forms, substantives and adjectives, the group /ar/, which has become /er/, undergoes further closure to become /ir/ after an affricate.

Where /a/ is preceded by a velar consonant and followed by intervocalic /r/ it becomes /er/.

<i>ƿeðwǽr</i>	<i>kjērweǽr</i>	nag	<i>caronia</i>
<i>ǰere</i>	<i>gjēret</i>	hock of horse	G * <i>garra</i>
<i>ǰertjeð</i>	<i>gjērtir</i>	garter	G * <i>garra</i>
<i>ƿeðje</i>	<i>kjērje</i>	to cart	* <i>carriare</i>
<i>ƿeðet</i>	<i>kjēret</i>	cart	<i>caru-</i>
<i>ǰeðād</i>	-	warren	<i>varena</i> x Gmc. <i>warōn</i>

Where /a/ is preceded by a velar consonant and followed by an implosive /r/ it is closed to /er/. Where this combination is found in final position the vowel is further closed to /i/.

<i>naǰi</i>	<i>naǰi</i>	to row	<i>navigare</i>
<i>ƿerbō</i>	<i>kjērbō</i>	charcoal	<i>carbōne-</i>
<i>ƿerpāƿi</i>	<i>ƿērpati</i>	carpenter	<i>carpētariu-</i>
<i>ǰemi</i>	<i>gjēmi</i>	to warn	Frk. * <i>warnjan</i>
<i>ǰergō</i>	<i>ǰērgō</i>	gibberish	* <i>gargone-</i>

## 18 Chapter 2. Diachronic phonology

A palatal consonant after /r/ has the same closing effect on the group /ar/.

<i>āberfi</i>	<i>āberki</i>	to embark	<i>barca</i>
<i>serkj</i>	<i>sèrkλ</i>	weed	<i>sarcūla</i>
<i>eipeŋ</i>	<i>εpeŋ</i>	savings	Gmc. * <i>sparnjan</i>
<i>teðjeð</i>	<i>tèrir</i>	augur	* <i>tarrare</i>
<i>terzi</i>	<i>terçri</i>	to be late	* <i>tardicare</i> compare OFr. <i>targier</i>

Before [r] derived from /-rr-/ this change may not take place.

<i>karr</i>	<i>korr</i>	comer	<i>carru-</i>
<i>karot</i>	<i>karot</i>	carrot	* <i>carrota</i>
<i>karros</i>	<i>korris</i>	carriage	It. <i>carrozza</i>
<i>varvotē</i>	<i>varvotē</i>	restive	OS <i>varri</i>
<i>bar</i>	<i>bar</i>	bar	<i>barra</i>

The /a/ is preserved in borrowings from French.

<i>karāt</i>	<i>karāt</i>	forty	<i>quarante</i>
<i>karfyle</i>	<i>karkyle</i>	to calculate	<i>calculer</i>
<i>dε:kjare</i>	—	to make known	<i>déclarer</i>

The /r/ in the forms *karfyle* and *karkyle* is a case of rhotacism of /l/ in an unstressed syllable as the result of dissimilation.

### 2.3.2.2. Closure of /ar/ in other positions

The closure of the vowel /ar/ to /er/ is rare outside a velar environment, but in the initial position it is found in a small number of bisyllabic words where the vowel /a/ becomes /e/ before a simple /r/. In the dialect of Sark, this vowel tends to be realized as a very open allophone intermediary between /æ/ and /ε/. This very open /ε/ vowel has been transcribed by the symbol /è/.

<i>il eðe</i>	<i>il ère</i>	he would have	<i>habère + habet</i> <sup>2</sup>
<i>i seða</i>	<i>i sèra</i>	he will know	<i>sapère + habet</i>
<i>eðek</i>	<i>èrek</i>	fish bone	* <i>aresta</i>

The group /ar/ in words borrowed from English undergoes closure in both dialects with English /a/ becoming /er/ in Jerriais and Sercquiais.

<i>sper</i>	<i>spèr</i>	spar
<i>jerd</i>	-	yard
<i>terpolē</i>	<i>tèrpolē</i>	tarpaulin
<i>deme</i>	<i>dème</i>	to darn
<i>sterte</i>	-	to start
<i>merlespik</i>	-	marlinspike

The Jèrriais verb *tare* ‘to tar’, and the Sercquiais form *jard* ‘yard’, show an exceptional conservation of the /a/.

## 2.4. Conservation of /er/

A number of words have conserved the timbre /e/ where French has reintroduced the the vowel /a/, often as a hypercorrection.

<i>dertr</i>	<i>dèrtr</i>	scurf	<i>derbīta</i> compare Fr. <i>dartre</i>
<i>lerm</i>	<i>lèrm</i>	tear	<i>lacřīma</i> compare Fr. <i>larme</i>
<i>be:lō</i>	<i>be:lō</i>	lop-sided	<i>bis lōnge</i> compare Fr. <i>barlong</i>

## 2.5. arracher

The words *erafi* in Jèrriais and *èrafi* in Sercquiais, both of which mean ‘to pull away’, ‘to tear away’, seem to be derived from *\*exradicare*, rather than *\*aradicare* as in French *arracher*. The closure of the vowel can only be explained as the conservation of the original prefix, because closing of the vowel /a/ in initial position is not found elsewhere in the dialects. For example, the /a/ is preserved in words such as Jèrriais *arō:ðe*, Sercquiais *arouze*, ‘to water’, from *\*arrōsare*, Jèrriais *arive*, Sercquiais *arivwə*, ‘to arrive’, from *arrivare*.

## 2.6. car, quart

The form *kar* ‘for’ derived from *quāre*, seems to have replaced an older *\*ker*/*\*fer* under the influence of standard French. This form has disappeared in all Channel Islands’ dialects except Guernesiais, where it survives as *fer*.

The form *kar* ‘quarter’ seems to be conserved, again under the influence of standard French, due to the risk of homonymic conflict with *fer* ‘third’.

## 2.7. The vowel /e/

The timbre of the opposition /e/ ~ /ɛ/ varies from *parler* to *parler*. In St Ouennais and Sercquiais there is no opposition between open and closed /e/ which are both realized as an open vowel [ɛ], and, in Sercquiais also as [ɐ] or [œ]. The vowel /e/ is also opened to [ɛ] in the *parlers* of St Peter, St Mary, and St Brellade, however, the phonemic distinction is still maintained as the vowel /e/ is opened to [œ].

Elsewhere the phoneme /e/ usually has the same timbre as in standard French. It tends to be unstable in Sercquiais and in a number of Eastern Jèrriais *parlers* where its pronunciation is lax and may even diphthongize. The diphthongized form yields [ei] in Eastern Jèrriais and [ɔi] in Sercquiais, while more lax pronunciations yield a central vowel: [ø] in Eastern Jèrriais and [ɐ], or in labial environments [œ], in Sercquiais.

The realizations of this vowel is illustrated in the treatments of the word /se/ 'thirst' derived from Latin *site*– yields the following forms (see Collas n.d. section 167):

se	found in most <i>parlers</i> as standard or as a variant:
sɐ	Sark:
sei	St Martin, St John, Trinity:
sø	Grouville, St Martin:
sæ	St Peter, St Mary, St Brelade.

The timbres of /e:/ and /ɛ:/ show less variation in the two dialects. In Sercquiais /e:/ tends to be opened to [ɛ:] and the /ɛ:/ whether a reflex of /ɛ:/ or /e:/ is often diphthongized as [ɔi] when it occurs word finally. In Jèrriais /e:/ is everywhere realized as [ei] except in St Ouennais where it is realised as the pure vowel [ɛ:]. In the parishes of St Peter, St Mary and St Brelade the vowel tends to be more open and is often realized as [ɛi] or [ɛ:]. The phoneme /ɛ:/ usually retains its timbre [ɛ:] but it opens to [æ:] in the *parlers* of the western parishes of St Peter, St Mary and St Brelade.

WJ	St P, St My, St B	St O	S		
mei	mei	me:	mwɔi	month	mɛ(n)sa
fei	fei	fɛ:	fwɔi	times	vices
dei	dɛ:	dɛ:	dɔi	finger	dʒĩtu-
eikoul	ækoul	ɛkol	èkoul	school	schola
pulei	pulæ:	pule:	pulɔi	hens	pũllas

## 2.8. The sources of /e/

### 2.8.1. stressed ɛ and ɪ in open syllables

In word final position before a fallen final /-l/ and before a /-t/ which has fallen in Jèrriais and is unstable in Sercquiais, stressed ɛ and ɪ in open syllables evolve to /e/ in both dialects. In Jèrriais this vowel is realized as the diphthong [ei] in all positions except in the infinitive flexion which is derived from *-ēre*. However, in St Ouennais /e/ exists as a simple vowel /ɛ/ in all positions, and in Sercquiais the timbre is again highly variable as [ɛ] and [ɐ].

J	St Ou.	S		
mei	mɛ	mwɐ	me (dis. pr.)	mɛ
tei	tɛ	tɐ	you (dis. pr.)	tɛ
sei	sɛ	sɐ	one (dis. pr.)	sɛ
sei	sɛ	se	thirst	site-
ave	avɛ	avwɐ	to have	habɛre
dve	dɛ	dvwɐ	to have to	debɛre
puve	puvɛ	puvwɐ	to be able to	*potɛre

<i>vule</i>	<i>vule</i>	<i>vulø</i>	to want	* <i>volēre</i>
<i>vale</i>	<i>vale</i>	<i>valø</i>	to be worth	<i>valēre</i>
<i>sei</i>	<i>sɛ:</i>	<i>sø</i> var. <i>set</i>	evening	<i>sēra</i>
<i>i vei</i>	<i>i vɛ:</i>	<i>i vwet</i>	he sees	<i>videt</i>
<i>i sei</i>	<i>i sɛ:</i>	<i>i set</i>	he is (subj.)	<i>sīt</i>
<i>i bei</i>	<i>i bɛ:</i>	<i>i bwet</i>	he drinks	<i>bībet</i>
<i>irfei</i>	<i>irfɛ</i>	<i>irfet</i>	he received	<i>recīpit</i>

When lengthened, the reflex of stressed  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{\gamma}$  is realized as [ɛ:] in St Ouennais and [ei] elsewhere in Jèrriais. In Jèrriais the opposition of length between /e/ ~ /e:/ is lost as both are realized as [ei] in all positions, although the unstressed vowel may lose part or all of the atonic element of the diphthong. In St Ouennais, however, the opposition is still fully intact as /e/ ~ /e:/ because diphthongization has not taken place in this *parler*. In Sercquiais the opposition of length still exists although the vowel tends to be open in all positions, even in the infinitive flexion.

J	St Ou.	S		
<i>vei</i>	<i>vɛ:</i>	<i>vwe:</i>	way	<i>vla</i>
<i>vei</i>	<i>vɛ:</i>	<i>vwe:</i>	to see	<i>videre</i>
<i>sei</i>	<i>sɛ:</i>	<i>sɔi</i>	silk	<i>sēta</i>
<i>ty sei</i>	<i>ty sɛ:</i>	<i>ty sɛ:</i>	you are (subj.)	<i>sīs</i>
<i>krei</i>	<i>krɛ:</i>	<i>krɔi</i>	chalk	<i>crēta</i>
<i>ikrei</i>	<i>ikrɛ:</i>	<i>ikrɔi</i>	he believes	<i>crēdes</i>
<i>ɸei</i>	<i>ɸɛ:</i>	<i>ɸɛ:</i>	to fall	<i>cadēre</i>
<i>asjei</i>	<i>asjɛ:</i>	<i>asjɛ:</i>	to sit	<i>sedēre</i>
<i>mei</i>	<i>mwe:</i>	<i>mwe:</i>	dung heap	<i>mēta</i>
<i>trei</i>	<i>trɛ:</i>	<i>trɔi</i>	three	<i>trēs</i>
<i>frei</i>	<i>frɛ:</i>	<i>frɔi</i>	fresh	Frk. * <i>frisk</i>
<i>eipei</i>	<i>ɛ:pɛ:</i>	<i>èpɔi</i>	thick	* <i>spīccu-</i>

### 2.8.2. $\bar{e}$ and $\bar{\gamma}$ followed by /j/

The Latin vowels  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{\gamma}$  followed by /j/ become the open vowel /ɛ/ in both dialects when word final and before an unstable /-t/ in Sercquiais.

<i>frɛ</i>	<i>frɛt</i>	cold	<i>frīgīdu-</i>
<i>drɛ</i>	<i>dret</i>	straight	<i>directu-</i>
<i>ɛitre</i>	<i>ɛtret</i>	narrow	<i>strictu-</i>
<i>solɛ</i>	<i>sɔulɛ</i>	sun	* <i>sōlīcūlu-</i>
<i>sɔmɛ</i>	<i>sumwɛ</i>	sleep	<i>sōmnīcūlu-</i>
<i>ɔrtɛ</i>	<i>ɔrtɛ</i>	toe	<i>articūlu-</i>

The word 'finger', *dei* in Jèrriais and *det* in Sercquiais, derived from Latin *dīgītu-* is, however, an exception in which a close vowel is found in Jèrriais, while the open timbre is found in Sercquiais.

In some words  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{\gamma}$  followed by /j/ are closed to /e/, which is realized in Jèrriais as the diphthong [ei] but in Sercquiais and St Ouennais is opened to /ɛ/. This treatment is common before an unstable /-r/ in Sercquiais.

J	St Ou.	S		
<i>nei</i>	<i>nɛ</i>	<i>nèr</i>	black	<i>nīgru-</i>
<i>jei</i>	<i>jɛ</i>	<i>jɛt</i>	bed	<i>lèctu-</i>

### 2.8.3. stressed *a* in open syllables

stressed etymological /a/ in open syllables becomes [ɛ] in word final position before a fallen final /-l/ and before a fallen /-t/ in Jèrriais which is unstable in Sercquiais.

<i>bje</i>	<i>bλɛ</i>	barley	Frk. <i>*blad</i>
<i>kje</i>	<i>kλɛ</i>	key	<i>clave-</i>
<i>pre</i>	<i>prɛt</i>	field	<i>pratu-</i>
<i>bōte</i>	<i>bōtɛ</i>	kindness	<i>bōnītate-</i>
<i>fō:se</i>	<i>fōuse</i>	hedge	<i>fōssatu-</i>
<i>sɛ</i>	<i>sɛ</i>	salt	<i>sale-</i>
<i>itɛ</i>	<i>itɛ</i>	such	<i>tale-</i>
<i>ʃɛ</i>	<i>ʃɛ</i>	what	<i>quale-</i>
<i>i sɛ</i>	<i>i sɛt</i>	he knows	<i>sapɛt</i>
<i>bō:te</i>	<i>bōute</i>	beauty	<i>bēllītate-</i>

Before the fallen final consonant /-r/ stressed /a/ closes to /e/ in Jèrriais (/ɛ/ in St Ouen) but remains open in Sercquiais where the timbre is highly variable, usually [ɛ] or [ɐ].

J	St Ou.	S		
<i>me</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>mwèr</i>	sea	<i>mare-</i>
<i>ame</i>	<i>amɛ</i>	<i>amwèr</i>	bitter	<i>amaru-</i>
<i>kje</i>	<i>kjɛ</i>	<i>kλɛ</i>	clear	<i>claru-</i>
<i>dune</i>	<i>dōne</i>	<i>dunɐ</i>	to give	<i>donare</i>
<i>pɑ:le</i>	<i>pɑ:le</i>	<i>pɑ:lɛ</i>	to speak	<i>*parabōlare</i>
<i>ale</i>	<i>ale</i>	<i>alɛ</i>	to go	<i>ambulare</i>
<i>pɔrte</i>	<i>pɔrte</i>	<i>pɔrtɛ</i>	to carry	<i>portare</i>

When lengthened, the short vowel /ɛ/ derived from free stressed *a* maintains its timbre to become /ɛ:/.

<i>ne:</i>	<i>ne:</i>	nose	<i>nasu-</i>
<i>ase:</i>	<i>ase:</i>	quite, enough	<i>ad + satis</i>
<i>dōne:</i>	<i>dune:</i>	gave (p.p.f. and pl.)	<i>donata, etc.</i>
<i>pāse:</i>	<i>pāse:</i>	thought	<i>pensata</i>
<i>pɑ:le:</i>	<i>pɑ:le:</i>	spoke (p.p.f. and pl.)	<i>*parabōlata, etc</i>
<i>ale:</i>	<i>ale:</i>	went (p.p. f. and pl.)	<i>ambulata, etc.</i>
<i>amade:</i>	<i>amare:</i>	tied (p.p. f. and pl.)	Du. <i>marren + ata</i>

## 2.8.4. a + j

Stressed etymological *a* followed by a yod usually becomes /ɛ/ when word final in Jèrriais, and where it occurs before an unstable /-t/ in Sercquiais.

<i>le</i>	<i>let</i>	milk	<i>lacte-</i>
<i>le</i>	<i>le</i>	ugly	Frk. <i>*laid</i>
<i>fɛ</i>	<i>fɛt</i>	deed	<i>factu-</i>
<i>i fɛ</i>	<i>ifɛt</i>	he does	<i>facit</i>
<i>i ple</i>	<i>iptɛt</i>	it pleases	<i>placit</i>

However, in the reflexes of the Latin *habeo*, /a/ followed by /j/ becomes /e/ in final position.

WJ	S		
3 <i>e</i>	ɔ̃ <i>ɛ</i>	I have	<i>*ajjo</i> < <i>habeo</i>
3 <i>dɔ̃nne</i>	3 <i>dunne</i>	I shall give	<i>donare</i> + <i>*ajjo</i>
3 <i>finiðe</i>	ɔ̃ <i>finire</i>	I shall finish	<i>finire</i> + <i>*ajjo</i>
3 <i>vɛ̃ndre</i>	ɔ̃ <i>vɛ̃dre</i>	I shall come	<i>venire</i> + <i>*ajjo</i>

When lengthened, the group /a/ plus /j/ becomes /eɪ/. This phoneme is realized in Jèrriais as the diphthong [ei], except in St Ouen where it becomes /ɛɪ/. In Sercquiais, where the close /e/ is everywhere opened, it is realized as the vowel [ɛɪ] or the diphthong [ɔi].

J	St Ou.	S		
<i>bei</i>	<i>bɛɪ</i>	<i>bweɪ</i>	berry	<i>baca</i>
<i>ipei</i>	<i>i pɛɪ</i>	<i>ipwɔi</i>	he pays	<i>pacat</i>
<i>brei</i>	<i>brɛɪ</i>	<i>brɛɪ</i>	trousers	G. <i>*braca</i>
<i>mei</i>	<i>mɛɪ</i>	<i>mɛɪ</i>	but	<i>magis</i>
<i>vrei</i>	<i>vɛɪ</i>	<i>vɔi</i>	true	<i>vɛra</i>

## 2.8.5. ɛ̃ in a closed syllable

The short Latin vowel ɛ̃ in a closed syllable becomes /e/ before a lost final /-t/, /-k/ or /-r/ and in the suffix *-ɛ̃llu-*. In Jèrriais this is usually realized as the vowel [e], ([ɛ] in St Ouen). In Sercquiais it is the open vowel /ɛ/. Where the final consonant is pronounced the vowel is opened to [ɛ] in all *parlers*.

J	St Ou.	S		
<i>sɛt</i>	<i>sɛt</i>	<i>sɛt</i>	seven	<i>sɛ̃pte-</i>
<i>fɛ</i>	<i>fɛ</i>	<i>fwɛr</i>	iron	<i>fɛ̃ru-</i>
<i>ive</i>	<i>ive</i>	<i>ivwɛ</i>	winter	<i>ivɛ̃nu-</i>
<i>be</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>bwɛ</i>	beautiful	<i>bɛ̃llu-</i>
<i>barte</i>	<i>barte</i>	<i>barte</i>	boat	OE <i>bāt</i> + <i>-ɛ̃llu-</i>
<i>twe</i>	<i>twe</i>	<i>twɛ</i>	spout (of kettle)	Frk. <i>*tutha</i> + <i>-ɛ̃llu-</i>

2.8.6. *ɛ̄* and *ɣ* in closed syllables

The Latin vowels *ɛ̄* and *ɣ* in closed syllables become /e/ in Jèrriais and /ɛ/ before the consonants /-t/ and /-k/.

<i>nɛ</i>	<i>nɛt</i>	tidy	<i>nĩtidu-</i>
<i>sɛ</i>	<i>sɛk</i>	dry	<i>šĩccu-</i>
<i>imɛ</i>	<i>imɛt</i>	he puts	<i>mĩttit</i>
<i>nave</i>	<i>novwɛt</i>	turnip	<i>napu- + ʔĩttu-</i>

The vowels *ɛ̄*, *ɣ* and *ɛ̃* all go to /e:/ when lengthened and all words have both a diphthongized and a nondiphthongized form which may show labial weakening.<sup>3</sup> In Sercquiais the diphthongized forms are more common than simple vowels.

J	St Ou.	S		
<i>prei</i>	<i>prɛ:</i>	<i>prɔi</i>	ready	<i>præstu-</i>
<i>prei</i>	<i>prɛ:</i>	<i>prɔi</i>	near	<i>prɛsse</i>
<i>fei</i>	<i>fɛ:</i>	<i>fwɔi</i>	ridge (of roof)	Frk. * <i>fĩrst</i>
<i>ei</i>	<i>ɛ:</i>	<i>ɔi</i>	east	OE east
<i>ʒnei</i>	<i>ʒnɛ:</i>	<i>ʒnɔi</i>	broom (plant)	<i>genesta</i>
<i>bwei</i>	<i>bwɛ:</i>	<i>bwɔi</i>	tree	Ger. * <i>bosk</i>

2.8.7. /we/ derived from *ɔ̄ + j*

## 2.8.7.1. Short /we/

The combination of a short Latin *ɔ̄* and a /j/ would have produced an ancient diphthong /oj/ as in Old French. This diphthong has developed in Jèrriais and Sercquiais along the same lines as in standard French, but its contemporary realization in the dialects exhibits a more primitive stage than does Modern French. As for French, one can trace the closing of the initial element of the diphthong, and an accompanied opening of the final element, along with a shift of the stress from the initial to the final element: /oj/ > /óe/ > /oé/ > /we/ and /wɛ/. Jèrriais and Sercquiais, however, show no opening to /wa/ as in French.

<i>kwɛf</i>	<i>kwɛf</i>	chimney cowl	<i>cofea</i>
<i>glwɛð</i>	<i>glwɛr</i>	glory	<i>gloria</i>
<i>istwɛð</i>	<i>istwɛr</i>	history	<i>historia</i>

## 2.8.7.2. Lengthened /we/

In final position before the consonant /s/ or the vowel /ə/, both of which are lost, the vowel undergoes compensatory lengthening to become [wei] in Jèrriais ([wɛ:] in St Ouen) and [wɛ:] or [wɔi] in Sercquiais.

J	St Ou.	S		
<i>bwei</i>	<i>bwɛ:</i>	<i>bwɛ:</i>	wood, tree	Gmc. * <i>bōsk</i>
<i>krwei</i>	<i>krwɛ:</i>	<i>krwɛ:</i>	cross	<i>crūce-</i>

<i>wei</i>	<i>wɛ:</i>	<i>wɔi</i>	goose	<i>auca</i>
<i>vwei</i>	<i>vɛ:</i>	<i>vɔi</i>	voice	<i>vöce-</i>
<i>nwei</i>	<i>nɛ:</i>	<i>nɔi</i>	nut	<i>nüce-</i>

The same result is found in the interior of the word when the vowel is lengthened by an intervocalic /-s-/ or /-z-/, and also where a preconsonantal /s/ or /r/ has been lost in the modern language.

J	St Ou.	S		
<i>mweizi</i>	<i>mɛ:ði</i>	<i>mɛ:zi</i>	to go bad	<i>*mücire</i>
<i>weize</i>	<i>ɛ:ðe</i>	<i>ɛ:zɐ</i>	bird	<i>aucëllu-</i>
<i>pweizð</i>	<i>pɛ:ðð</i>	<i>pɛ:zð</i>	poison	<i>potiðne-</i>
<i>bweize</i>	<i>bɛ:ðe</i>	<i>bɛ:zɐ</i>	bushel	<i>buxitëllu-</i>
<i>tweizð</i>	<i>tɛ:ðð</i>	<i>tɛ:zð</i>	fleece	<i>to(n)siðne-</i>
<i>bweit</i>	<i>bɛ:it</i>	<i>bɛ:it</i>	box	Gmc. <i>*bösk-</i>

In the *parlers* of the eastern parishes of Jersey the intervocalic consonants /-s-/ and /-ss-/, which become [z] and [s] respectively, seem to have absorbed the preceding /j/ which thus has had no diphthongizing effect on the vowel *ø*.

<i>mɔzi</i>	to go bad	<i>*mücire</i>
<i>bɔze</i>	bushel	<i>büxítëllu-</i>

Before a final consonant group *ð* followed by /j/ is lengthened to become /wɛ:/, realized in Jèrriais as [wei], ([wɛ:] in St Ouen) and in Sercquiais as [wɛ:] or [wɔi].

J	St Ou.	S		
<i>mweitr</i>	<i>mɛ:itr</i>	<i>mɔitr</i>	moist	<i>müscïdu-</i>
<i>rweitr</i>	<i>rɛ:itr</i>	<i>rɛ:itr</i>	rancid	?

### 2.8.8. The suffix *-üçülu-*

In the suffix *-üçülu-* the group *ð* followed by /j/ is reduced to [u]. This seems to be the result of a metathesis of the /l/ and the /j/ which has prevented the diphthong from forming, and has created instead a final /-λ/ which in turn has been lost. The evolution is then /*\*ɔklu-*/ > /*\*ujl-*/ > /*\*ulj-*/ > /*uλ-*/ > /*u-*/.

<i>ɜnu</i>	<i>ɜnu</i>	knee	<i>genüçülu-</i>
<i>fanu</i>	<i>fanu</i>	fennel	<i>*fenüçülu-</i>

However, Latin *ocülu-* 'eye' has an irregular evolution in both dialects. This is the only word in which both diphthongization and depalatalization of the /l/ are found: /*\*ɔklu-*/ > /*\*ueλ-*/ > /*\*je-*/ which becomes [ji] in Jèrriais and [ji] in Sercquiais. The earlier stage of the diphthong can be seen in the plural form [jer]. Similar evolutions are found elsewhere in Romance, notably Aragonese *uell..*

2.8.9. The suffix *-oriu-*

In all Channel Islands dialects the suffix *-ōriu-* falls together with *-atōre-* and both are realized as /æ:/. The evolution of *-ōriu-* may involve a metathesis of the /r/ and the following /i/. Thus the Vulgar Latin form /-ɔrju-/ becomes /-ɔjr/ which is reduced to /-ɔr/ and is later rediphthongized before /r/ to become /æ:/. It is often realized in Sercquiais as the diphthong [ɛy].<sup>4</sup>

<i>razæ:</i>	<i>razɛy</i>	razor	<i>rasōriu-</i>
<i>miðœ:</i>	<i>mirey</i>	mirror	* <i>mīrare</i> + <i>-ōriu-</i>
<i>tiðœ:</i>	<i>tirey</i>	draw	<i>tirare</i> + <i>-ōriu-</i>
<i>drefœ:</i>	<i>drefɛy</i>	sideboard	<i>directiare</i> + <i>-ōriu-</i>
<i>foɟœ:</i>	<i>foufɛy</i>	reaper	<i>falcatoē-</i>
<i>smœ:</i>	<i>smɛy</i>	sower	<i>sematoē-</i>

2.8.10. /e/ and /ɛ/ in *parlers* other than St Ouennais and Sercquiais

In the *parlers* of Eastern, Central and parts of Western Jersey the vowel /e/ is usually derived from Latin or Germanic *a* or from epenthetical /e/ introduced before /s/. It is found in the following environments:

(a) in the infinitive flexion of first conjugation verbs and third conjugation verbs with weak infinitives:

<i>pa:le</i>	to speak	* <i>parabolare</i>
<i>vule</i>	to wish, to want	* <i>volēre</i>
<i>dune</i>	to give	<i>donare</i>
<i>ave</i>	to have	<i>habēre</i>

(b) in the second person flexion corresponding to French *-ez*:

<i>dorme</i>	(you) sleep	<i>dormite</i>
<i>vne</i>	(you) come	<i>vēnite</i>
<i>dune</i>	(you) give	<i>donate</i>

(c) in stressed syllables before fallen secondary final consonants:

<i>me</i>	sea	<i>mare-</i>
<i>ite</i>	such	<i>tale-</i>
<i>se</i>	salt	<i>sale-</i>

(d) in stressed open syllables:

<i>pre</i>	field	<i>pratu-</i>
<i>bei</i>	bay	<i>baia</i>
<i>tei</i>	tea	Turk. <i>têh</i>

(e) as an epenthetical vowel before ancient /s/:

<i>eitr</i>	to be	* <i>essĕre</i>
<i>eitrĕ</i>	straw	<i>strame-</i>

The vowel /e/ is derived from Latin or Germanic  $\text{ɪ}$ ,  $\text{ē}$  or  $\text{ĕ}$  in two environments:

(a) in stressed syllables before fallen secondary final consonants:

<i>be</i>	beautiful	<i>bĕllu-</i>
<i>fa:te</i>	castle	<i>castĕllu-</i>

(b) as a stressed vowel before ancient /s/ in closed syllables:

<i>beit</i>	animal	<i>bĕsta</i>
<i>teit</i>	head	<i>tĕsta</i>

The vowel /e/ is usually derived from Latin or Germanic  $\text{ɪ}$ ,  $\text{ē}$  or  $\text{ĕ}$ . It is found in initial or stressed closed syllables.

<i>servi</i>	to serve	<i>servire</i>
<i>letr</i>	letter	<i>littĕra</i>
<i>kōsej</i>	advice	<i>consĕliare</i>

The vowel /ε/ is derived from Latin or Germanic *a* in the following environments:

(a) in the past participle endings of first conjugation verbs and a small number of fifth conjugation verbs:

<i>pa:le</i>	spoken	* <i>parabōlare</i>
<i>dune</i>	given	<i>donare</i>
<i>ave</i>	had	<i>habĕre</i>

(b) in imperfect endings corresponding to French *-ais*, *-ait* and *-aient*:

<i>ty dōrme</i>	(you) sleep
<i>i vne</i>	(he) comes

(c) in the present subjunctive forms of the verb *ave* 'to have':

<i>k ʒ ε</i>	<i>k ty ε</i>	<i>k il ε</i>
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All /e/ and /ε/ phonemes become the open vowel /ε/ before a pronounced /r/.

<i>fer</i>	to do	<i>facĕre</i>
<i>εrb</i>	grass	<i>hĕrba</i>
<i>ver</i>	worm	<i>verme-</i>

<i>per</i>	father	<i>patre-</i>
<i>mer</i>	mother	<i>matre-</i>
<i>frer</i>	brother	<i>fratre-</i>

## 2.9. The diphthongization of /e:/

### 2.9.1. Diphthongization in both dialects

In both dialects the long vowel /e:/ tends to diphthongize. In Jèrriais the diphthongization is straightforward: the vowel /e:/ develops a close, unstressed element becoming [ei]. In Sercquiais the diphthongization of /e:/ seems to have evolved according to the same process as in Jèrriais to become /ei/, but the stressed vowel has undergone a further opening and velarization to become [ɔi]. This process of diphthongization has not affected the *parler* of St Ouen which has the pure vowel [ɛ:] as the reflex of /e:/.

<i>dei</i>	<i>dɔi</i>	thimble	<i>diŋtāle-</i>
<i>pei</i>	<i>pɔi</i>	pea	<i>pīsu-</i>
<i>pei</i>	<i>pɔi</i>	weight	<i>pē(n)su-</i>
<i>frei</i>	<i>fɔi</i>	cold	<i>fřǵidu-</i>
<i>eipei</i>	<i>èpɔi</i>	thick	<i>spīccu-</i>
<i>vei</i>	<i>vɔi</i>	way	<i>vīa</i>
<i>vei</i>	<i>vɔi</i>	to see	<i>*vidēre</i>
<i>sei</i>	<i>sɔi</i>	silk	<i>sēta</i>
<i>3 sei</i>	<i>ɕ sɔi</i>	I am (subj.)	<i>šim</i>
<i>krei</i>	<i>kɔi</i>	chalk	<i>crēta</i>
<i>ikrei</i>	<i>ikɔi</i>	he believes	<i>crēdes</i>
<i>ʃei</i>	<i>ʃɔi</i>	to fall	<i>cadēre</i>
<i>mei</i>	<i>mwɔi</i>	month	<i>me(n)se-</i>
<i>bei</i>	<i>bwɔi</i>	berry	<i>baca</i>
<i>ipei</i>	<i>ipwɔi</i>	he pays	<i>pacat</i>
<i>brei</i>	<i>brɔi</i>	trousers	G <i>braga</i>
<i>pānei</i>	<i>pānɔi</i>	basket	<i>panāriu-</i>
<i>hei</i>	<i>hɔi</i>	hedge	Frk. <i>*hagja</i>
<i>fei</i>	<i>fwɔi</i>	times	<i>vīces</i>
<i>prei</i>	<i>prɔi</i>	ready	<i>prēstu-</i>
<i>3nei</i>	<i>3nɔi</i>	broom (plant)	<i>gēnēsta</i>
<i>grei</i>	<i>grɔi</i>	to dress	ON <i>greiða</i>

### 2.9.2. The diphthong /ɔi/ and sentence stress

The diphthong [ɔi] is normally found only in word final position and then only when the word bears the sentence stress. As the dialect has a strong secondary stress on the

stressed syllable of the initial syntagma, the vowel may be stressed not only at the pause but also in initial non-proclitic position. In unstressed positions in the interior of the phrase the result is /ɛ:/.

(1) *ty puore ʃe: ddā*  
 you be able+impf 2s fall+inf loc  
 you might fall in

(2) *ty puore ʃoi*  
 you be able+impf 2s fall+inf  
 you might fall

(3) *lɛ: dfuojr*  
 the mantle-shelf

(4) *sy l oi*  
 prep def art fs mantle-shelf  
 on the mantle-shelf

(5) *tre: smēn*  
 three weeks

(6) *j ēn at roi*  
 there pron have+pres 3s three  
 there are three

(7) *ty tɛ rɔit*  
 you be+pres 3s right  
 you are right

(8) *wɛ:k tɻ tɔi*  
 where you be+impf 2s  
 where you were

(9) *pre: aprɔi*  
 near after  
 soon after

With secondary stress the diphthong /ɔi/ is not as tense as in final position and is pronounced as a slightly shorter and slightly closer vowel which tends to [ɔi] in some idiolects.

(10) *mwe: doi sɔ nɔi*  
 my+mpl finger be+pres 3pl clean  
 my finger are clean

(11) *dɛ ɔi par mɔi*  
 two time prep month  
 twice a month

(12) *ʒ m ā voi a la pwɛk*  
 I me+refl pron go+pres 1s prep def art fs fishing  
 I am going fishing

(13)	ʒ	m	ā	vɔi	a	la	pwek
	I	me+refl	pron	go+pres 1s	prep	def art fs	fishing
	I am going fishing						

### 2.9.3. Diphthongization of plural suffixes

In Sercquiais the reflex of the masculine plural form of the Latin suffixes *-ittu-* and *-icūlu-* is the diphthong [ɔi]. The unstable */-t/* found in the singular in Sercquiais is always lost in this position. In St Ouennais the opposition */ɛ/ ~ /ɛ:/* is found, but in the rest of the Jèrriais *parlers* the diphthong */ei/* is found in the plural forms.

Sercquiais:

sg.	pl.		
<i>fwet</i>	<i>fwɔi</i>	whip	<i>fagu- + ʔittu-</i>
<i>fyret</i>	<i>fyɔi</i>	ferret	<i>*fuʔittu-</i>
<i>navet</i>	<i>navɔi</i>	turnip	<i>napu- + ʔittu-</i>
<i>ɔrte</i>	<i>ɔrɔi</i>	toe	<i>articūlu-</i>

St Ouennais:

sg.	pl.		
<i>fwe</i>	<i>fwe:</i>	whip	<i>fagu- + ʔittu-</i>
<i>fyðe</i>	<i>fyðe:</i>	ferret	<i>*fuʔittu-</i>
<i>nave</i>	<i>nave:</i>	turnip	<i>napu- + ʔittu-</i>
<i>ɔrte</i>	<i>ɔrte:</i>	toe	<i>articūlu-</i>

Jèrriais:

sg.	pl.		
<i>fwe</i>	<i>fwei</i>	whip	<i>fagu- + ʔittu-</i>
<i>fyðe</i>	<i>fyðei</i>	ferret	<i>*fuʔittu-</i>
<i>nave</i>	<i>navei</i>	turnip	<i>napu- + ʔittu-</i>
<i>ɔrte</i>	<i>ɔrtei</i>	toe	<i>articūlu-</i>

## 2.10. Lengthening of /e/

### 2.10.1. /e/ lengthened by loss of */-r/* or */-s/*

The vowel */e/*, which has undergone lengthening due to the loss of */-r/* or */-s/*, and occurs before a consonant which has become word final, goes to [ei] in Jèrriais, except for St Ouennais where it has the timbre [ɛ:]. In Sercquiais it is usually realized as [ɛ:].

J	St Ou.	S		
<i>teit</i>	<i>te:t</i>	<i>te:t</i>	head	<i>těsta</i>

<i>beit</i>	<i>be:t</i>	<i>bwe:t</i>	animal	<i>běsta</i>
<i>meil</i>	<i>me:l</i>	<i>mwe:l</i>	blackbird	<i>měřula</i>

There is a slight tendency to labialize the vowel /e/ in some of the eastern *parlers* of Jersey.

<i>bøit</i>	animal	<i>běsta</i>	<i>møil</i>	blackbird	<i>měřula</i>
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### 2.10.2. /e/ lengthened by /z/ or /s/

The spirants /s/ and /z/ lengthen the preceding vowel and have caused diphthongization of Romance /e/ in most *parlers*, but the pure vowel /e:/ is found in St Ouennais and Sercquiais.

J	St Ou.	S		W Gmc.
<i>breiz</i>	<i>bre:z</i>	<i>bre:z</i>	embers (coll.)	* <i>brasa</i>
<i>eipeis</i>	<i>ε:pe:is</i>	<i>èpe:is</i>	thick (f.)	<i>spīcca</i>
<i>greis</i>	<i>gre:is</i>	<i>gre:is</i>	fat	<i>crassa</i>

However, in the two very high frequency words *sez*, 'sixteen', and *trez*, 'thirteen', the simple vowel has been maintained.

### 2.10.3. /e:/ in initial syllables

In initial syllables the lengthened vowel /ε:/ is not distinguished from /e:/; in most Jèrriais *parlers* both are rendered as [ei], while in St Ouennais and Sercquiais both are realized as [ε:].

J	St Ou.	S		
<i>beifji</i>	<i>be:ʔji</i>	<i>be:kji</i>	to dig over	* <i>bessīca</i>
<i>deiz̥a</i>	<i>dε:ʒa</i>	<i>dε:ʒ̥a</i>	already	<i>de+ex+iam</i>

## 2.11. Short /e/ before a final consonant

### 2.11.1. Common features

The short stressed vowel /e/, whatever its etymology, becomes [ε] in most *parlers* when it is found before a final consonant or consonant group.

<i>set</i>	<i>set</i>	seven	<i>sěpte-</i>
<i>perdr</i>	<i>perdr</i>	to lose	<i>perdēre</i>
<i>sel</i>	<i>sel</i>	saddle	<i>sělla</i>
<i>ʃer</i>	<i>ʃer</i>	stag	<i>cervu-</i>
<i>ver</i>	<i>ver</i>	green	<i>vīřide-</i>
<i>ʒmet</i>	<i>ʒmet</i>	I put	<i>mitteo</i>
<i>bel</i>	<i>bel</i>	beautiful (f)	<i>bella</i>

2.11.2. Short /ɛ/ in the *parlers* of Western Jèrriais

The short vowel /ɛ/ opens to [æ] in the Western Jèrriais *parlers* of St Peter, St Mary, St Brelade before a final consonant when the consonant is /-k/, /-t/, /-g(r)/, /-d/, /-ʃ/, /-ʒ/, /-vʀ/, /-fj/ derived from /-fʎ/, or /-l/ derived from a depalatalized /-λə/.

St P, etc.	J	S		
<i>træfj</i>	<i>trɛfj</i>	<i>trɛfλ</i>	clover	<i>trifōliu-</i>
<i>bæk</i>	<i>bɛk</i>	<i>bɛk</i>	beak	<i>bēc̣cu-</i>
<i>butæł</i>	<i>butɛł</i>	<i>butɛł</i>	bottle	<i>būṭṭicūla</i>
<i>dæt</i>	<i>dɛt</i>	<i>dɛt</i>	debt	<i>dēḅita</i>
<i>mægr</i>	<i>mɛgr</i>	<i>mɛgr</i>	thin	<i>mac̣ru-</i>
<i>ræd</i>	<i>rɛd</i>	<i>rɛd</i>	stiff, steep	<i>rīg̣idu</i>
<i>i fæf</i>	<i>i fɛf</i>	<i>i fɛf</i>	he does (subj.)	<i>facit</i>

This opening, however, does not occur in cases where a semivowel precedes the vowel – in this position the vowel is conserved as [ɛ]. This does not apply to those words in Sercquiais where the former diphthong /ie/ does not evolve to [jɛ] but to [iə].

St P, etc.	W & EJ	S		
<i>fjɛł</i>	<i>fjɛł</i>	<i>fjəł</i>	leaf	<i>fōlia</i>
<i>drwɛt</i>	<i>drwɛt</i>	<i>drwɛt</i>	straight (f.)	<i>*directa</i>

The vowel /e/ does not open to [æ] in the *parlers* of St Peter, etc. before /ð/, /z/ or /r/ derived from *-rr-*, or before /l/ derived from /-lə/.

St P, etc.	J	S		
<i>i pɛz</i>	<i>i pɛz</i>	<i>i pwɛz</i>	he weighs	<i>pe(n)sat</i>
<i>fɛð</i>	<i>fɛð</i>	<i>fɛr</i>	to do	<i>fac̣ɛre</i>
<i>i sɛr</i>	<i>i sɛr</i>	<i>i ṣɛr</i>	he presses	<i>*serṛat</i>
<i>bɛł</i>	<i>bɛł</i>	<i>bwɛł</i>	beautiful (f.)	<i>bēlla</i>

The consonants /ð/ and /l/ derived from /-lə/ tend to be weak consonants and perhaps cannot produce the tension required to open the vowel.

## 2.11.3. /ɛr/ in Sercquiais

In some environments the vowel /e/ tends to open when followed by the consonant /r/. The resulting form may be the very open allophone [ɛ̃].

The vowel /r/, when still articulated in the modern *parler*, opens the preceding /e/ whether it is stressed or unstressed, but such opening is not found where the consonant is lost.

<i>j̣ɛr</i>	yesterday (procl.)	<i>ḥɛri</i> compare <i>ji</i>	yesterday (attrib.)
<i>ṿɛr</i>	worm	<i>ṿɛru-</i>	
<i>ṿɛrɛyl volāt</i>	chicken pox	<i>ṿɛrola-</i>	

## 2.11. Short /e/ before a final consonant 33

stressed /e/ tends to open before an articulated final /-r/ which has become final through the loss of a consonant.

<i>vwèr</i>	green	<i>vīrīde-</i>
<i>kuvwèr</i>	covered (p.p.)	* <i>cōpěrtu-</i>
<i>bwèr</i>	cradle	G * <i>bertia</i>
<i>sèr</i>	Sark	?
<i>pumjèr</i>	apple-trees	<i>pōmarios</i>

The final groups /l+s/ or /λ+s/ which have rhotacized to /r/ exert an opening influence on stressed /e/.

<i>vjèr</i>	old	* <i>věřicūlos</i>
<i>jèr</i>	eyes	<i>ōcūlos</i>

The vowel /e/ tends to open before a final /r/ derived from the etymological geminate /-rrə/.

<i>vèr</i>	glass	<i>vītra</i>
<i>tèr</i>	land, earth	<i>těra</i>
<i>pjèr</i>	stone	<i>pětra</i>

An implosive /r/ also exerts an opening influence on the stressed vowel /e/ when it is followed by a stable articulated consonant.

<i>vwèrt</i>	green (f.)	* <i>vīrīda</i>
<i>kuvwèrkλ</i>	lid	<i>cōpěrcūlu-</i>
<i>èrb</i>	grass	<i>hěrba</i>

## 2.12. The influence of affricates on /e/

The vowel /e/ preceded by an affricate assimilates to the high articulation of the preceding consonant to become /i/. This evolution is particularly important in the development of the forms of a number of pronouns.

### 2.12.1. *ʃi* (Fr. *quel* / *quelque*)

The pronoun *ʃi*, and the etymological compound form *ʃik*, both derived from the Latin *qualis*, equate with the French *quel*, and the closure of /e/ < a is found in both simple and compound forms.

<i>ʃikōba</i>	<i>ʃikōba</i>	what a noise!
<i>ʃilāne:</i>	<i>ʃilānvi</i>	which year?
<i>ʃik fe</i>	<i>ʃik fwpi</i>	sometimes
<i>ʃiʃǣ</i>	<i>ʃiʃǣ</i>	someone
<i>le ʃi k ty vjer</i>	<i>lə ʃi k ty vjer</i>	what do you want?

2.12.2. *ʃi* (= Fr. *quoi*)

The pronoun *ʃi*, which represents the stressed form of the Latin *que*, equates with the French *quoi*.

<i>kɔm ʃi k</i>	<i>kum ʃi k</i>	how? (= <i>comme quoi est-ce que?</i> )
<i>i n sɛ: ʃi k i fɛ</i>	<i>i n sɔi ʃi k i fwɛt</i>	he does not know what he is doing.

The pronoun *ʃi* alternates with *ʃeik* in Jèrriais. This form represents the syntagma *qu'est-ce que* and is a continuation of an ancient form */\*ʃek/* with no closure of the vowel after the affricate.

## 2.12.3. Demonstratives

In the singular forms of the demonstrative the unstressed vowel is usually deleted before a following vowel creating the consonant cluster [ʃt] in both genders.

<i>ʃt arlɛvɛ:</i>	<i>ʃt arlɔvɛ:</i>	this/that afternoon
<i>ʃt ɔm</i>	<i>ʃt um</i>	this/that man

But where a *voyelle d'appui* is needed to prevent a group of three consonants, and in certain fixed phrases, the vowels /u/ and /y/ may replace the /ə/.

<i>ʃy pɛji</i>	<i>ʃy pweji</i>	this/that country
<i>ʃyna</i>	<i>ʃunna/ʃuna</i>	that one
<i>ʃy pjɛʃ</i>	<i>ʃy pjɛʃ</i>	this/that piece, this/that plot of land

## 2.13. Closing action of the hiatus

The unstressed vowel /e/ in hiatus with another front vowel is either reduced to /j/ or, if the syllabic structure is protected by association with other forms in its paradigm which have stressed /e/, it is closed to [i] and a glide yod develops between the two vowels.

<i>vjaʒ</i>	<i>vjaɕ</i>	voyage	<i>vɫāticu-</i>
<i>ɔvjɛ</i>	<i>ɔvjɛ</i>	to send	<i>invɫāre</i>
<i>apjɛ</i>	<i>apjɛ</i>	to lean	<i>*appɔdlare</i>
<i>ʒ sijɔ</i>	<i>ɕ sijɔ</i>	we are (subj.)	<i>slamus</i>
<i>ukrijɔ</i>	<i>ukrijɔ</i>	you believe	<i>crɛdɛtis</i>

2.14. *lɛ*

The word *lɛ* 'ugly' derived from the Frankish *\*laid*, has the unmarked feminine form *lɛ* which has been remade by analogy with its masculine form. The expected feminine form would be */\*lɛ:/*.

## 2.15. The suffix *-ata*

Latin *-ata* becomes /ɛ:/ in both idioms, and this /ɛ:/ is usually realized as [ɔi] in Sercquiais. It is, however, never diphthongized in Jèrriais.

<i>fymɛ:</i>	<i>fymɔi</i>	smoke	<i>fūmata</i>
<i>alɛ:</i>	<i>alɔi</i>	path	<i>ambulata</i>
<i>sɛðɛ:</i>	<i>sɛrɔi</i>	evening	<i>*serata</i>
<i>ʒurnɛ:</i>	<i>ɕʒurnɔi</i>	day	<i>*diurnata</i>
<i>salɛ:</i>	<i>salɛ:</i>	salted (f.)	<i>salata</i>
<i>dɔnɛ:</i>	<i>dunɔi</i>	given (p.p. f. and pl.)	<i>donata</i>

## 2.16. The diphthong /je/

The diphthong /je/ in Sercquiais often has a different stress from the usual Romance form of the diphthong /je/ (as in It. *piède*, Fr. *piéd*, Sp. *pie* ) and represents a development of a diphthong /ie/.

### 2.16.1. The sources of the diphthong /je/

The short vowel *ɛ* in a stressed open syllable evolves to /je/.

<i>pi</i>	<i>pɪ</i>	foot	<i>pɛde-</i>
<i>fjɛr</i>	<i>fiər</i>	proud	<i>fɛru-</i>
<i>ji</i>	<i>ji</i>	yesterday	<i>hɛri</i>

The stressed vowel /a/ becomes /je/ when it is preceded by a palatal consonant, this is particularly important for the Latin suffix *-ariu-*.

<i>piʃji</i>	<i>piʃ</i>	pity	<i>pietate-</i>
<i>marʃi</i>	<i>marʃ</i>	market	<i>mɛrcātu-</i>
<i>ɛɕji</i>	<i>ɛɕ</i>	to help	<i>adiutāre</i>
<i>fjɛð</i>	<i>fiər</i>	dear (f.)	<i>cara</i>
<i>pɔmji</i>	<i>pumɪ</i>	apple-tree	<i>pɔmāriu-</i>

The short vowel *ɛ* followed by a /j/ becomes /je/.

<i>dmi</i>	<i>dmi</i>	half (adj.)	<i>*dimɛdiu-</i>
<i>ji</i>	<i>ʎɪ</i>	her	<i>*illæi</i>
<i>pjɛn</i>	<i>piən</i>	comb	<i>pɛctine-</i>

The short vowel *ɔ* in contact with /j/ is diphthongized to /je/ in the Channel Islands rather than to /ɔi/ as in Standard French.

<i>gji</i>	<i>gʎɪ</i>	mistletoe	G <i>*clɔdiu-</i>
<i>ɔ̃ni</i>	<i>ɔ̃ni</i>	boredom	<i>inɔdia</i>
<i>ji</i>	<i>ʎɪ</i>	place	<i>lɔcu-</i>