

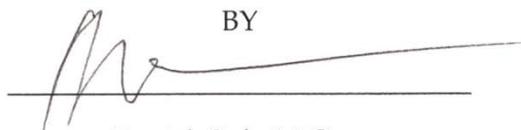
GRAND ILLUSIONS; ELUSIVE FACTS: THE SURVIVAL OF REGIONAL
LANGUAGES IN FRANCE DESPITE 'THEIR PROGRAMMED DEMISE':

PICARD IN PICARDY AND PROVENÇAL IN PROVENCE

AN ABSTRACT

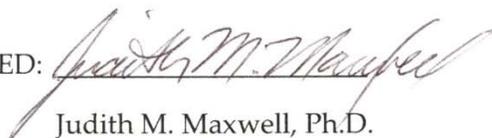
SUBMITTED ON THE TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF MAY 2017
TO THE INTERDISCIPLINARY PROGRAM IN LINGUISTICS
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
OF THE SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS OF TULANE UNIVERSITY
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY



Patrick Seán M'Creagh

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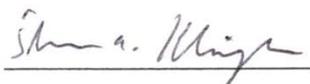


Judith M. Maxwell, Ph.D.

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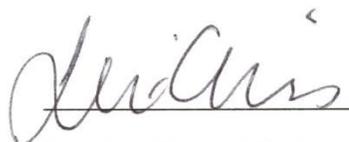
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Abstract

This dissertation studies the survival, or resistance, of regional languages in France through the use of two case studies: Picard in Picardy and Provençal in Provence. In order to create the French nation, the revolutionaries of 1789 decided upon the necessity of political unity. In order to facilitate, or create, this unity, the cultural provinces were abolished and generic *départements* were created in their stead. However, when political unity did not occur overnight after the territorial change, the revolutionaries determined that national unity, both political and cultural, would be attained through the imposition of the French language. It was thus language that was deemed to be the greatest separating factor of the French at this period. In 1794, Abbé Grégoire called for the “programmed demise” of the regional languages through education in and of French. While this program was not officially enacted until the Third Republic (1870-1914), due to numerous factors, these languages were supposed to have died long ago. While their numbers of speakers have decreased, and there are no longer any monolingual regional language speakers, they still exist. How is this fact possible? Despite explanations attributed to enduring diglossia, the extended process of language shift or time itself, this study focuses on regional identity and posits that the durable bond between regional identity and language is the explanation.

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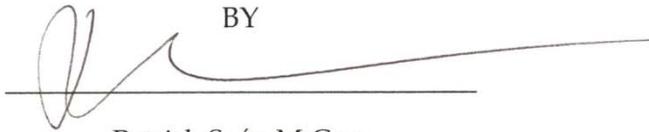
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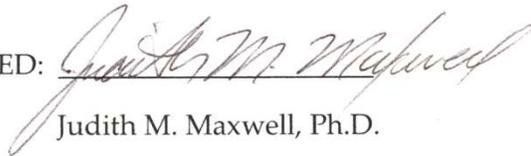
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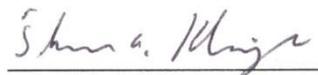


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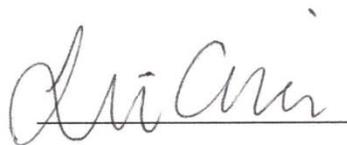
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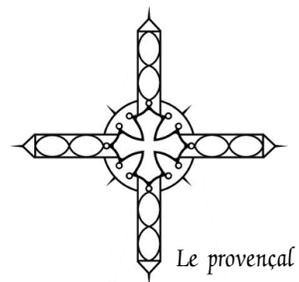
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Por mes geins
Pèr mi gènt / Per meis gents



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Table of Contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures and Tables	xiv
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Importance of Dictionaries	1
Vital Role of Dictionaries in France	2
<i>Langue, Dialecte and Patois in the Encyclopédie (1765)</i>	4
“Dialectes et Patois” in <i>Encyclopædia Universalis</i>	6
Linguistic Differentiation	7
Political and Social Aspect	8
Linguistic Aspect	10
Sociolinguistic Aspect	10
Dialects	12
<i>Patois</i>	15
Analysis	16
Language and Identity	18
Regional Identity	19
Case Studies	21
Picard and Picardy	22
Provençal and Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur	23
Regional Language Territory	24
Frenchification Statistics	25
1835 Number of Language Speakers	25

Weber's Map and Analysis	27
1880's Map	31
Regional Language Speakers	32
1999 Family Study	32
2011 Analysis and Estimates	35
2013 Estimates	38
Picard	38
Provençal	39
Research Problem	40
Hypothesis	43
Chapter Two: Nationalism	44
Linguistic Nationalism	45
Language versus Dialect	47
Language	46
Dialect	50
Language Ideology	54
Standard Language: National Domain	56
French Language Ideology	60
Written Histories	63
Prescriptive Ideas	66
History of French Language Ideology	68
<i>Ancien Régime</i>	68
Jacobin Revolution	71
French Nation-Building	72
National Period	76
Francoprovençal Debate	78
Francien	80

Chapter Three: Unity and Diversity, from <i>l’Ancien Régime</i>	89
Unity under the <i>Ancien Régime</i>	89
Diversity under the <i>Ancien Régime</i>	90
Provincial Consciousness	91
1789 Revolution	93
Results of 1789 Revolution	104
<i>Département</i> Used to Study France	104
Third Republic Ideology Change	116
School Policy	119
<i>Petite and Grande Patrie</i>	121
<i>Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft</i>	122
School Manuals	125
Cherish in Order to Serve	128
<i>Les deux France</i> (The Two Frances)	129
Chapter Four: Regionalism	136
Regionalism versus Regionalization	136
History of French Regionalism	138
Reinvention of the Region	140
Cultural Awakening of the Provinces	142
Everyday Regionalism	146
Regionalism and Political Competition	148
Conservative Regionalism	149
Politicization of Cultural Regionalism	149
Political Stalemate	153
Nationalist Regionalism	155
Regionalism in Local Political System	161
Is there a French Exception?	161

Chapter Five: <i>Observatoire Interrégional du Politique</i> Studies: 1985-2004	169
OIP Trends: 1985-1998 and 2000	171
1993 OIP Study	172
1995 OIP Study	174
1997 OIP Study	176
1998 OIP Study	179
2000 OIP Study	181
General Synthesis	181
OIP Trends: 1997, 1999, 2001 and 2004	182
2001 OIP Study	183
2004 OIP Study	184
Strength of Regional Identity in 1998	185
Moreno Question and France	187
Chapter Six: Methods of Research	195
Background Summary	195
Research Setting and Context	200
Rationale for Research Approach	202
Data Sources	204
Picardy Questionnaire	205
Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (PACA) Questionnaire	206
Research Sample	208
Sample Size	208
Picardy	209
PACA	209
Sample Characteristics	209
Picardy	209
PACA	211

Data Collection Methods	212
Collection Procedure	216
Chapter Seven: Case Studies	217
Picardy	217
What is Picardy?	217
Etymology of Picardy	218
Picardy Before “Picardy”	220
Feudal Picardy	223
Rise of the Cities	223
Picard Nation	225
<i>Langue d’oc, Langue d’oil and Langue picarde</i>	226
Historic Province of Picardy	228
French History in Picardy	230
Administrative Region of Picardy	232
Picard Regional Identity	235
Identity of Elected Officials	235
The Picard Language	236
Vocabulary	238
First Article of Universal Declaration of Rights	239
Number of Speakers	239
Hauts-de-France	243
2009 Territorial Reform	244
2014 Territorial Reform	245
Opinion Poll	246
Different Scenarios	250
Two Normandies and Picardy	250
Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne	250

Picardy and Nord-Pas-de-Calais	250
Poitou-Charente, Centre and Limousin	251
One Brittany	251
Alsace and Lorraine	252
Reactions	252
Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	253
Provence Before "Provence"	253
Provence in the Middle Ages	254
Renaissance	259
<i>Troubadours</i>	260
Historic Province of Provence	260
First Immigrations	266
Municipal Autonomy	268
Regionalism in Provence	269
Administrative Region of PACA	273
Two Provinces	275
Provençal Regional Identity	277
The Provençal Idiom	278
First Article of Universal Declaration of Rights	280
Number of Speakers	281
Views on Provençal by the Provençaux	281
History of term "Province" in France	286
Administrative Regions	291
Chapter Eight: Study Results	293
Picardy	293
All Respondents for Picardy	293
Regional Identity	297

Picard Language	307
Born in and Live in Picardy Respondents	314
Regional Identity	318
Picard Language	328
Understand Picard Respondents	335
Regional Identity	339
Picard Language	350
Speak Picard Respondents	357
Regional Identity	361
Picard Language	371
Speak and Understand Picard Respondents	378
Regional Identity	381
Picard Language	391
Provence Alpes-Côte d’Azur	398
All Respondents for PACA	398
Regional Identity	403
Provençal Idiom	412
Born in and Live in PACA Respondents	421
Regional Identity	426
Provençal Idiom	435
Understand Provençal Respondents	444
Regional Identity	448
Provençal Idiom	457
Speak Provençal Respondents	465
Regional Identity	469
Provençal Idiom	477
Speak and Understand Provençal Respondents	485

Regional Identity	489
Provençal Idiom	497
Chapter Nine: Discussion	506
Picardy	506
Regional Identity	506
Picard Language	522
Conclusion for Picardy	530
Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	532
Regional Identity	532
Provençal Idiom	548
Conclusion for PACA	557
Chapter Ten: Conclusion and General Discussion	560
Appendix	563
Original Picardy Questionnaire in French	564
Original PACA Questionnaire in French	582
English Translation of Picardy Questionnaire	602
English Translation of PACA Questionnaire	615
Pages of <i>Le Courrier picard</i> in Picard and French	630
References	642
Biography	661

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1: Languages of France	25
Figure 2: Maps of Frenchification	28
Figure 3: Entrenched Areas of <i>Patois</i>	31
Figure 4: 18 th Century Province of Picardy	229
Figure 5: Region of Picardy	233
Figure 6: <i>Départements</i> of Picardy	233
Figure 7: Picard Linguistic Domain	242
Figure 8: Detail of Picard Linguistic Domain	243
Figure 9: Hauts-de-France	243
Figure 10: New Regions and Names	243
Figure 11: The Three Provinces	258
Figure 12: Historic Provence	262
Figure 13: Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	274
Figure 14: <i>Départements</i> of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur	274
Figure 15: Provençal Linguistic Domain	280
Picardy Results:	
<i>All Respondents for Picardy:</i>	
Territorial Demographics: All Respondents for Picardy	294
Gender: All Respondents for Picardy	294
Age Group: All Respondents for Picardy	295
Profession: All Respondents for Picardy	296
Education: All Respondents for Picardy	297
Considering Yourself Picard: All Respondents for Picardy	297
Primary Territorial Attachment: All Respondents for Picardy	298
Common Interests: All Respondents for Picardy	299

Closeness: All Respondents for Picardy	300
Difference: All Respondents for Picardy	301
Best Representation of Picardy: All Respondents for Picardy	302
Defending Traditions: All Respondents for Picardy	303
Priority Tradition: All Respondents for Picardy	305
“Do Not Touch My Picardy”: All Respondents for Picardy	304
Best Defines Picardy: All Respondents for Picardy	306
Picard People: All Respondents for Picardy	306
Regional Peoples: All Respondents for Picardy	307
Classify Picard: All Respondents for Picardy	308
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : All Respondents for Picardy	309
<i>Patois</i> : All Respondents for Picardy	310
Speak Picard: All Respondents for Picardy	310
Understand Picard: All Respondents for Picardy	311
Variations in French: All Respondents for Picardy	312
Picard and French: All Respondents for Picardy	312
Teaching Picard: All Respondents for Picardy	313
Role of Picard: All Respondents for Picardy	314
<u><i>Born in and Live in Picardy Respondents:</i></u>	
Territorial Demographics: Born in and Live in Picardy	315
Gender: Born in and Live in Picardy	315
Age Group: Born in and Live in Picardy	316
Profession: Born in and Live in Picardy	317
Education: Born in and Live in Picardy	318
Considering Yourself Picard: Born in and Live in Picardy	318
Primary Territorial Attachment: Born in and Live in Picardy	319
Common Interests: Born in and Live in Picardy	320

Closeness: Born in and Live in Picardy	321
Difference: Born in and Live in Picardy	322
Best Representation of Picardy: Born in and Live in Picardy	323
Defending Traditions: Born in and Live in Picardy	324
Priority Tradition: Born in and Live in Picardy	325
“Do Not Touch My Picardy”: Born in and Live in Picardy	326
Best Defines Picardy: Born in and Live in Picardy	327
Picard People: Born in and Live in Picardy	327
Regional Peoples: Born in and Live in Picardy	328
Classify Picard: Born in and Live in Picardy	329
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : Born in and Live in Picardy	330
<i>Patois</i> : Born in and Live in Picardy	331
Speak Picard: Born in and Live in Picardy	331
Understand Picard: Born in and Live in Picardy	332
Variations in French: Born in and Live in Picardy	333
Picard and French: Born in and Live in Picardy	333
Teaching Picard: Born in and Live in Picardy	334
Role of Picard: Born in and Live in Picardy	335
<u><i>Understand Picard Respondents:</i></u>	
Territorial Demographics: Understand Picard	336
Gender: Understand Picard	336
Age Group: Understand Picard	337
Profession: Understand Picard	338
Education: Understand Picard	339
Considering Yourself Picard: Understand Picard	340
Primary Territorial Attachment: Understand Picard	341
Common Interests: Understand Picard	342

Closeness: Understand Picard	343
Difference: Understand Picard	344
Best Representation of Picardy: Understand Picard	345
Defending Traditions: Understand Picard	346
Priority Tradition: Understand Picard	347
“Do Not Touch My Picardy”: Understand Picard	347
Best Defines Picardy: Understand Picard	348
Picard People: Understand Picard	349
Regional Peoples: Understand Picard	350
Classify Picard: Understand Picard	351
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : Understand Picard	352
<i>Patois</i> : Understand Picard	353
Speak Picard: Understand Picard	353
Understand Picard: Understand Picard	354
Variations in French: Understand Picard	355
Picard and French: Understand Picard	355
Teaching Picard: Understand Picard	356
Role of Picard: Understand Picard	357
<u><i>Speak Picard Respondents</i></u> :	
Territorial Demographics: Speak Picard	358
Gender: Speak Picard	358
Age Group: Speak Picard	359
Profession: Speak Picard	360
Education: Speak Picard	361
Considering Yourself Picard: Speak Picard	362
Primary Territorial Attachment: Speak Picard	363
Common Interests: Speak Picard	364

Closeness: Speak Picard	364
Difference: Speak Picard	365
Best Representation of Picardy: Speak Picard	366
Defending Traditions: Speak Picard	367
Priority Tradition: Speak Picard	368
“Do Not Touch My Picardy”: Speak Picard	368
Best Defines Picardy: Speak Picard	369
Picard People: Speak Picard	370
Regional Peoples: Speak Picard	371
Classify Picard: Speak Picard	372
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : Speak Picard	373
<i>Patois</i> : Speak Picard	373
Speak Picard: Speak Picard	374
Understand Picard: Speak Picard	375
Variations in French: Speak Picard	375
Picard and French: Speak Picard	376
Teaching Picard: Speak Picard	377
Role of Picard: Speak Picard	377
<u><i>Speak and Understand Picard Respondents:</i></u>	
Territorial Demographics: Speak & Understand Picard	378
Gender: Speak & Understand Picard	379
Age Group: Speak & Understand Picard	379
Profession: Speak & Understand Picard	380
Education: Speak & Understand Picard	381
Considering Yourself Picard: Speak & Understand Picard	382
Primary Territorial Attachment: Speak & Understand Picard	383
Common Interests: Speak & Understand Picard	384

Closeness: Speak & Understand Picard	384
Difference: Speak & Understand Picard	385
Best Representation of Picardy: Speak & Understand Picard	386
Defending Traditions: Speak & Understand Picard	387
Priority Tradition: Speak & Understand Picard	388
“Do Not Touch My Picardy”: Speak & Understand Picard	389
Best Defines Picardy: Speak & Understand Picard	390
Picard People: Speak & Understand Picard	390
Regional Peoples: Speak & Understand Picard	390
Classify Picard: Speak & Understand Picard	392
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : Speak & Understand Picard	393
<i>Patois</i> : Speak & Understand Picard	393
Speak Picard: Speak & Understand Picard	394
Understand Picard: Speak & Understand Picard	395
Variations in French: Speak & Understand Picard	395
Picard and French: Speak & Understand Picard	396
Teaching Picard: Speak & Understand Picard	397
Role of Picard: Speak & Understand Picard	398

PACA Results:

All Respondents for PACA:

Territorial Demographics: All Respondents for PACA	399
Gender: All Respondents for PACA	400
Age Group: All Respondents for PACA	401
Profession: All Respondents for PACA	402
Education: All Respondents for PACA	403
Considering Yourself Provençal: All Respondents for PACA	403
Primary Territorial Attachment: All Respondents for PACA	404

Common Interests: All Respondents for PACA	405
Closeness: All Respondents for PACA	406
Difference: All Respondents for PACA	407
Best Representation of Provence: Speak & Understand Picard	408
Defending Traditions: All Respondents for PACA	409
Priority Tradition: All Respondents for PACA	410
Best Defines PACA: All Respondents for PACA	411
Provençal People: All Respondents for PACA	411
Regional Peoples: All Respondents for PACA	412
Classify Provençal: All Respondents for PACA	413
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : All Respondents for PACA	414
<i>Patois</i> : All Respondents for PACA	415
Speak Provençal: All Respondents for PACA	416
Understand Provençal: All Respondents for PACA	417
Variations in French: All Respondents for PACA	417
Provençal and French: All Respondents for PACA	418
Provençal and Occitan: All Respondents for PACA	419
Provençal: All Respondents for PACA	419
Teaching Provençal: All Respondents for PACA	420
Role of Provençal: All Respondents for PACA	421
<u><i>Born in and Live in PACA Respondents:</i></u>	
Territorial Demographics: Born in and Live in PACA	422
Gender: Born in and Live in PACA	423
Age Group: Born in and Live in PACA	424
Profession: Born in and Live in PACA	425
Education: Born in and Live in PACA	426
Considering Yourself Provençal: Born in and Live in PACA	426

Primary Territorial Attachment: Born in and Live in PACA	427
Common Interests: Born in and Live in PACA	428
Closeness: Born in and Live in PACA	429
Difference: Born in and Live in PACA	430
Best Representation of Provence: Born in and Live in PACA	431
Defending Traditions: Born in and Live in PACA	432
Priority Tradition: Born in and Live in PACA	433
Best Defines PACA: Born in and Live in PACA	434
Provençal People: Born in and Live in PACA	434
Regional Peoples: Born in and Live in PACA	435
Classify Provençal: Born in and Live in PACA	436
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : Born in and Live in PACA	437
<i>Patois</i> : Born in and Live in PACA	438
Speak Provençal: Born in and Live in PACA	439
Understand Provençal: Born in and Live in PACA	439
Variations in French: Born in and Live in PACA	440
Provençal and French: Born in and Live in PACA	441
Provençal and Occitan: Born in and Live in PACA	441
Provençal: Born in and Live in PACA	442
Teaching Provençal: Born in and Live in PACA	443
Role of Provençal: Born in and Live in PACA	444
<u><i>Understand Provençal Respondents:</i></u>	
Territorial Demographics: Understand Provençal	445
Gender: Understand Provençal	445
Age Group: Understand Provençal	446
Profession: Understand Provençal	447
Education: Understand Provençal	448

Considering Yourself Provençal: Understand Provençal	448
Primary Territorial Attachment: Understand Provençal	449
Common Interests: Understand Provençal	450
Closeness: Understand Provençal	451
Difference: Understand Provençal	452
Best Representation of Provence: Understand Provençal	453
Defending Traditions: Understand Provençal	453
Priority Tradition: Understand Provençal	454
Best Defines PACA: Understand Provençal	455
Provençal People: Understand Provençal	456
Regional Peoples: Understand Provençal	457
Classify Provençal: Understand Provençal	458
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : Understand Provençal	459
<i>Patois</i> : Understand Provençal	459
Speak Provençal: Understand Provençal	460
Understand Provençal: Understand Provençal	461
Variations in French: Understand Provençal	461
Provençal and French: Understand Provençal	462
Provençal and Occitan: Understand Provençal	463
Provençal: Understand Provençal	463
Teaching Provençal: Understand Provençal	464
Role of Provençal: Understand Provençal	465
<u><i>Speak Provençal Respondents</i></u> :	
Territorial Demographics: Speak Provençal	466
Gender: Speak Provençal	466
Age Group: Speak Provençal	467
Profession: Speak Provençal	468

Education: Speak Provençal	469
Considering Yourself Provençal: Speak Provençal	469
Primary Territorial Attachment: Speak Provençal	470
Common Interests: Speak Provençal	471
Closeness: Speak Provençal	471
Difference: Speak Provençal	472
Best Representation of Provence: Speak Provençal	473
Defending Traditions: Speak Provençal	474
Priority Tradition: Speak Provençal	475
Best Defines PACA: Speak Provençal	476
Provençal People: Speak Provençal	476
Regional Peoples: Speak Provençal	477
Classify Provençal: Speak Provençal	478
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : Speak Provençal	479
<i>Patois</i> : Speak Provençal	479
Speak Provençal: Speak Provençal	480
Understand Provençal: Speak Provençal	481
Variations in French: Speak Provençal	481
Provençal and French: Speak Provençal	482
Provençal and Occitan: Speak Provençal	483
Provençal: Speak Provençal	483
Teaching Provençal: Speak Provençal	484
Role of Provençal: Speak Provençal	485
<u><i>Speak and Understand Provençal Respondents:</i></u>	
Territorial Demographics: Speak & Understand Provençal	486
Gender: Speak & Understand Provençal	486
Age Group: Speak & Understand Provençal	487

Profession: Speak & Understand Provençal	488
Education: Speak & Understand Provençal	489
Considering Yourself Provençal: Speak & Understand Provençal	489
Primary Territorial Attachment: Speak & Understand Provençal	490
Common Interests: Speak & Understand Provençal	491
Closeness: Speak & Understand Provençal	491
Difference: Speak & Understand Provençal	492
Best Representation of Provence: Speak & Understand Provençal	493
Defending Traditions: Speak & Understand Provençal	493
Priority Tradition: Speak & Understand Provençal	494
Best Defines PACA: Speak & Understand Provençal	495
Provençal People: Speak & Understand Provençal	496
Regional Peoples: Speak & Understand Provençal	497
Classify Provençal: Speak & Understand Provençal	498
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : Speak & Understand Provençal	499
<i>Patois</i> : Speak & Understand Provençal	499
Speak Provençal: Speak & Understand Provençal	500
Understand Provençal: Speak & Understand Provençal	501
Variations in French: Speak & Understand Provençal	501
Provençal and French: Speak & Understand Provençal	502
Provençal and Occitan: Speak & Understand Provençal	503
Provençal: Speak & Understand Provençal	503
Teaching Provençal: Speak & Understand Provençal	504
Role of Provençal: Speak & Understand Provençal	505

Discussion Tables:

Picardy:

Considering Yourself Picard: Picardy	507
--------------------------------------	-----

Primary Territorial Attachment: Picardy	508
Common Interests: Picardy	509
Total Common Interests: Picardy	510
Closeness: Picardy	511
Positive Closeness: Picardy	511
Difference: Picardy	513
Important Differences: Picardy	513
Picard People: Picardy	514
Regional Peoples: Picardy	515
Longevity of Regional Peoples: Picardy	516
Best Representation of Picardy: Picardy	518
Best Defines Picardy: Picardy	519
“Do Not Touch My Picardy”: Picardy	520
Importance of Defending Traditions: Picardy	521
Total Importance of Defending Traditions: Picardy	521
Priority Tradition: Picardy	522
Classify Picard: Picardy	523
<i>Patois</i> : Picardy	524
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : Picardy	526
Variations in French: Picardy	527
Picard and French: Picardy	528
Teaching Picard: Picardy	529
Role of Picard: Picardy	530
<u><i>Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur</i></u> :	
Considering Yourself Provençal: PACA	533
Primary Territorial Attachment: PACA	534
Common Interests with Residents of PACA: PACA	535

Total Common Interests with Residents of PACA: PACA	535
Closeness to Residents of PACA: PACA	536
Positive Closeness to Residents of PACA: PACA	537
Common Interests with Residents of City: PACA	538
Total Common Interests with Residents of City: PACA	538
Closeness to Residents of City: PACA	539
Positive Closeness to Residents of City: PACA	540
Difference: PACA	541
Important Differences: PACA	541
Best Representation of PACA: PACA	542
Best Defines PACA: PACA	543
Provençal People: PACA	544
Regional Peoples: PACA	545
Longevity of Regional Peoples: PACA	546
Importance of Defending Traditions: PACA	547
Total Importance of Defending Traditions: PACA	547
Priority Tradition: PACA	548
Classify Provençal: PACA	549
Define <i>Dialecte</i> : PACA	550
<i>Patois</i> : PACA	551
Variations in French: PACA	552
Total Variations: PACA	552
Provençal and French: PACA	553
Provençal and Occitan: PACA	554
Provençal: PACA	555
Teaching Provençal: PACA	556
Role of Provençal: PACA	557

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In his acclaimed book *La méthode en lexicologie : Domaine français*¹, Georges Matoré (1953) stresses the pivotal role of words, and sometimes groups of related words, for the “inner” study of a society during a certain period of time wherein the word links the psychological and the sociological aspects of societal life. According to Matoré, a word carries a semantic charge which has its roots in preverbal behavior, and reaches to the most abstract and rationalized conceptual contents (Matoré 1953: 34-40). Since language and its usage are both influenced by society, words and word choices are never arbitrary as they are motivated by the basic needs, and interests of a particular society, by specific attitudes towards institutions, events, persons and by collective or individual associations, even when chosen by a single speaker during a specific speech event (Desmet, Rooryck and Swiggers 1990: 163). For instance, the words *centralisation* and *centraliser* first entered the French language in 1790 (Desmet, Rooryck and Swiggers 1990: 166)². Obviously, these new words and notions were central to

¹ “The Method in Lexicology: French Domain”. Unless otherwise noted, all translations were completed by this dissertation’s author.

² These terms are explained in the footnote on page 179.

the new republican ideology of a strong central State emanating out from Paris.

Desmet, Rooryck and Swiggers also highlight the fact that words which have been chosen for dictionaries are not just any words or anyone's words; they are the words of, and the words used by the élite of the society. Most often, words of the masses are not included in official dictionaries (Desmet, Rooryck and Swiggers 1990: 164). "Books of reference' depend upon the cultural institution, without being controlled by it, as are school manuals and books; they are indispensable and contribute to the cultural institution by reflecting its attitudes" (Rey 2007: 9). Books of reference, such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, grammar books and school manuals, thus reflect the attitudes of the society that created them. "It is easy to forget that dictionaries, like grammar-books, are not objective mirrors of linguistic reality, but that they are written by people and as such reflect not only the individual value-systems of their authors but also the interests of particular social groups" (Lodge 1993: 162).

Dictionaries and encyclopedias play a vital role in French society. "In their role as legitimizers of certain words at the expense of others and as specifiers of the meaning and value of words, dictionaries have achieved an importance in French culture which is rarely encountered elsewhere" (Lodge 1993: 162). France has a long encyclopedic tradition, which dates back to 1745 during the Golden Age of Dictionaries (Leca-Tsiomis 2001: 1). "The goal of an

encyclopedia is to gather scattered knowledge on the surface of the earth; to then expose this knowledge in a general manner to people with whom we live and to transmit it to people who will come after us; so that the work of past centuries will not have been useless for the centuries to come” (Diderot quoted in Leca-Tsiomis 2001: 1).

In 18th century Europe, the French language dominated and became the language for diplomacy, culture, literature and science among the European élite who was quite willing to recognize French thought as the pioneer in philosophy, and its ideals of fraternity, tolerance and humanity. In 1751, two philosophers, Diderot and d’Alembert, published the first edition of the *Encyclopédie* (Donato 1993 (4-6): 960). “One of the striking features of the *Encyclopédie* is its absolutely French based viewpoint, a criticism that was consistently made by local societies of men of letters throughout Europe who undertook to translate the work and adapt it to their own national exigencies” (Donato 1993 (4-6): 960). Nations, such as Germany, Italy, Spain and Switzerland, balked at the condensation exhibited by the French philosophers when describing other nations or fields in which other nations excelled (Donato 1993 (4-6): 961).

For a nation to produce its own encyclopedia became tantamount to making a distinct cultural and political statement, one that was perceived as embodying national opinion on subjects as diverse as ‘Art Militaire’ and ‘Chymie’, not to mention those disciplines where a more pronounced

national slant could be expected, such as ‘Géographie’ and ‘Histoire Litteraire’” (Donato 1993 (4-6): 959).

The intelligentsia of these nations began to compose their own encyclopedias in which they openly critiqued the French point of view (Donato 1993 (4-6): 963). In 1754, the *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* was published in Germany, and in 1756, the *Giornale enciclopedico di Liegi* was published and tailored to the interests and tastes of the Italian public. Between 1770 and 1780, the Swiss released their encyclopedia, *Encyclopédie d’Yverdon*, and the Spanish followed suit in 1788 with *Enciclopedia Metódica* (Donato 1993 (4-6): 963).

The following definition of language from the *Encyclopédie* has become infamous in French linguistics as it ideologically defines *langue*, *dialecte* and *patois*:

If a *langue* is spoken by a nation composed of several equal and independent peoples, as were previously the Greeks and as are today the Italians and the Germans, with the general usage of the same words and of the same syntax, each people can have specific usages for pronunciation or for the endings of the same words; these subaltern usages, equally legitimate, constitute ‘dialectes’ of the national ‘langue’. If, as the Romans formerly and the French today, the nation is one regarding the government, there can only be in its manner of speaking one legitimate usage; all others that deviate in pronunciation, endings, syntax or in other possible ways is neither a separate *langue* nor a ‘dialecte’ of the national *langue*, but a ‘patois’ left to the populace of the provinces and each province has its own ‘patois’ (Beauzée 1765 (9): 249).

From this entry, one learned in the mid-1700s that France was not a nation composed of equal peoples or nations, but was one nation under one government, and as a result, only one language could exist, the national one. All others were neither separate languages nor dialects of the national language, but simply illegitimate *patois*. The ideology is palpable; language depends upon a political power. While different languages or manners of speaking were accepted in either Germany or Italy, they were not at all in France.

Seventy years later, the *Dictionnaire universel de la langue française, rédigé d'après le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, et ceux de Laveaux, Gattel, Boiste, Mayeux, Wailly, Corman, etc.* Tome 2³ (1835) by Charles Nodier and Victor Verger indicated that the terms *langage*, *langue*, *idiome*, *dialecte*, *patois* and *jargon* were synonyms, but also differentiated them. While the terms are differentiated, their definitions are still social and political, rather than truly linguistic. *Langage* "is suited to all who do or appear to make their thoughts known"; a *Langue* "is the totality of usages proper to a nation, in order to express thoughts through words"; *Idiome* "expresses the particular views of a nation and the singular turns of phrase that they necessarily occasion in its manner of speaking"; *Dialecte* "is a manner of speaking a 'langue' in a state, relative to other manners of speaking

³ *Universal Dictionary of the French Language, written based upon the Dictionary of the French Academy and those of Laveaux, Gattel, Boiste, Mayeux, Wailly, Corman, etc. Volume 2.*

the same 'langue' in other states. Such are the different 'dialectes' of the states of Germany and of Italy"; a *Patois* "is a particular usage in the manner of speaking a 'langue' contrary to what one calls good usage in a nation that has only one government"; a *Jargon* "is a 'langage' particular to the people of certain vile states, such as paupers and crooks of all species; or it is a mixture of ways of speaking that hold to some dominant deficit of the mind or of the heart as with elegant youth with affected manners or female seducers" (Nodier and Verger 1835 (2): 9).

***Dialectes et Patois* Entry from the 1970 *Encyclopædia Universalis*⁴**

One hundred and thirty-five years after the aforementioned definitions appeared, the entry in a highly renowned, if not the most renowned, general French encyclopedia, attempted to be impartial and scientific, but still fell short. The entry reflected, and still largely reflects, current French societal views.

A summary of the entire encyclopedic entry appears below in an effort to attempt to understand the French view of French linguistic terms as well as their reflection of French societal views in modern France.

Dialectes et Patois

Linguistic differentiation is a general characteristic of all languages. No language is perfectly homogenous. Under language names, such as English,

⁴ The same version exists today in both the print and online versions (Encrevé 2013).

French and Norwegian, hide differences of usage relating to syntax, vocabulary and phonology depending upon the specific user. Furthermore, the fact that languages are composed of dialects is also normal for all living languages. The English spoken in Detroit is not exactly the same English spoken in Boston; the French spoken in Paris is not exactly the same French spoken in Marseille, and the Norwegian spoken in Oslo is not exactly the same Norwegian spoken in Bergen.

[L]anguages are not natural and autonomous organisms; [as] social phenomena, they closely depend upon the political systems in which they are inscribed. [...] In France, for example, the national political power has endlessly aimed, since the Revolution, to impose linguistic unification; encountering the existence of 'idiomes' different from the official language, its action consisted of creating conditions for their elimination by depriving them of 'oxygen' vital to their normal 'life' (Encrevé 1970: 531-532).

While numerous French administrations have chosen to specifically eliminate languages, other than French, in France since the late-1700s, languages do not quickly succumb, even if relegated to the secondary status of dialect, or even worse, to the tertiary status of *patois*, the status "closest to definitive extinction", since they continue to hold an important place, often unconsciously, in numerous people's lives (Encrevé 1970: 532).

Linguistic Differentiation

In France, “[o]ne could recognize, at first look, that the classification of different human ‘ways of speaking’⁵ into ‘langues’, ‘dialectes’ and ‘patois’ to be obvious and that one can immediately decide into which class each ‘manner of expression’⁶ belongs” (Encrevé 1970: 532). There is an implied negativity in the classification of the three terms and what they represent. This distinction is done through a hierarchy in which “real” languages – official, standardized, national languages – sit at the apex followed by dialects – deviations from the norm – and then even further inferior idioms, *patois*, rude deformations of the language spoken only in rural locales sit at the bottom (Encrevé 1970: 532). This nonscientific interpretation demonstrates an important ideological stance concerning linguistic differentiation from a political or sociological point of view and a linguistic one (Encrevé 1970: 532).

Political and Social Aspect

The political and social view holds that when a political power imposes itself in a territory, one of its first objectives is to diffuse its own language onto the said territory. This linguistic imposition tends to strip the original languages of the territory of their social value, which leads to their abandonment by the local and regional élite (Encrevé 1970: 532). This abandonment of the regional or local language tends to create the notion of the superiority of the new, national

⁵ The French term “langage” was used here in the original.

⁶ The French term “parler” was used here in the original.

language. Eventually, only the social classes the furthest removed from power still practice the regional or local languages. This process is all the more easily accomplished when the sociopolitical status of the languages involved results in a difference of aptitude for some of their functions (Encrevé 1970: 532).

Since a language must be sufficiently widespread to allow its speakers to use it in all domains, it is usually an official language, since an official, standardized language is supported by a central political power capable of adapting the language to the society's needs, such as the creation of new scientific and technical terms. A political power is also capable of fixing a written norm for the official language and diffusing it throughout the territory through obligatory education, as well as through all forms of communication – radio, television, press and literature. The political power thus holds a monopoly on the official, administrative and academic life of the official, standardized language. Non official languages in a territory will have much more difficulty in attempting to spread or enter these domains. “The effect being taken for the cause, the predominance of the national, official language will appear legitimate to all including the last users of the defeated languages” (Encrevé 1970: 532). The “defeated” language-speakers have been educated within the national system; therefore, they are part and parcel of the system and do not always question its results.

The Linguistic Aspect

While the sociopolitical view attaches an arbitrary value to the terms “*langue*”, “*dialecte*” and “*patois*”, the general linguistic viewpoint entails no value judgments. Instead, it holds that all languages are equal regardless of their inherent nature. The linguistic aspect removes any social connotations and solely looks at the language itself. Since each human language is a distinct language, no language can claim superiority over another despite their political or social roles in society (Encrevé 1970: 532). The existence of an official writing system or a literature has nothing to do with the linguistic nature of a language, but rather only depends upon the history of its development. “A ‘*dialecte*’ [and] a ‘*patois*’ are as much ‘*langue*’ as the most esteemed ‘*langues*’ of culture” (Encrevé 1970: 532). Linguistically speaking, there are no differences between a *dialecte*, *patois* and *langue*.

A second usage of the term “*langue*” involves its sociolinguistic classification. The analysis of linguistic systems assists in distinguishing one linguistic structure from another, but does not allow linguistic differentiation, which is often exhibited through a continuum or a sequence of discrete units. As a result, it is necessary to consider under what conditions different idioms are employed, such as the number and social position of the users and their relationship to the political power; however, it is also important not to fall into

the current classification system that identifies political and linguistic frontiers since linguistic communities survive a long time despite the political conditions in which they find themselves. This explains why the Walloon spoken in Belgium is not Belgian, but French, and why Alsatian is German, rather than French (Encrevé 1970: 532).

According to Encrevé, intercomprehension and genetic relatedness also play a part. As long as linguistic communication establishes itself without difficulty, linguists consider that two speakers are speaking the same language regardless whether their systems differ on certain points. When intercomprehension does not occur, linguists distinguish two languages. This situation happens when two languages, such as Basque and French, have no genetic relationship or when the genetic relationship only applies to the same language family, such as Breton and French, both members of the Indo-European family. However, when the two languages have the same origin and have only diverged relatively recently, all possible degrees between intercomprehension and no comprehension are possible. "One will thus distinguish related idioms as 'langue', 'dialectes' and 'patois' ensuring that 'langue' no longer designates the linguistic system, but rather a sociolinguistic reality; in fact, it is only an abbreviation for common 'langue'" (Encrevé 1970: 532).

Sociolinguistic Classification

In general, common languages are idioms that have been adopted as official languages by one or more national political powers. An intermediate term between common language and dialect is “minority language”. It applies to cases similar to those of Basque and Breton in France, in which there is no genetic relationship between the language of the national power on which they depend, and to which they are politically subordinate. Due to their linguistic originality, minority languages resist assimilation well, even though their status requires their users to be bilingual in a country that teaches through the national language. These languages often have a press and literature as well as access to the media, but generally, abandon technical domains in favor of the national language; as a result, they respond to the needs and desires of their users and everyday life (Encrevé 1970: 532).

Dialects

The French discern two different usages of the term “dialect”. In one, dialect opposes common language, and in the other, the relationship between dialect and language relates to a portion and the whole. The first usage is the most traditional and designates idioms widespread over fairly vast territories within a political entity whose official language is clearly distinct from them, even though from the same family. “These dialects are thus regional languages” (Encrevé 1970: 532). While the distinction between language and dialects is clear

by the standardization of the former, the borders between the different dialects often appears less discernible due to their genetic relationship. It is thus necessary to resort to a systematic set of facts that aims to define two distinct realities, rather than dialectical borders. This scenario explains the situation in ancient France in which dialects, such as Picard, Norman and Poitevin, coexisted with French, which was itself only a regional language spoken in Paris and its region derived from Latin, before the political unification of France from Paris turned it into the common language. Today, this is still the case in Germany; next to the common language, *Hochdeutsch*, Bavarian and Swabish are still spoken. In Italy, Neapolitan and Piedmontese have not been completely eliminated by Tuscan, which became Standard Italian. In all three cases, dialects and language previously held a status of equality and the national language began first as a language of a region whose population was unilingual (Encrevé 1970: 532-533).

The opposite scenario can also exist in which the official language is not the vernacular of any region and all inhabitants have either a dialect or a different language as their mother tongue. For example, in all countries having adopted Classical Arabic as their official language, their populations employ an Arabic dialect in everyday activities. In either case, intercomprehension between language and dialect is often limited or nonexistent and dialect speakers are

bilingual if they want to participate in national life. Yet, as long as the regional inhabitants communicate among themselves in dialect every day, the dialect keeps its unity since local divergences are neutralized in order to permit comprehension. The dialect then shows a certain vitality and often has a press, literature and sometimes even a radio and users come from all classes of the population as well as from the city and the countryside. "Yet, as soon as the common language is known by the totality of the nation's inhabitants, dialects present, in general, low resistance" (Encrevé 1970: 533). Once all residents speak the common language, dialects begin to falter since genetic relatedness favors the language and bilingualism facilitates linguistic assimilation. Contact between the two idioms favors the language. The social classes closest to power tend to either limit or abandon their dialect since it cannot compete with the language. "As soon as communication in the regional territory is as easy in the national language as in the dialect, regional dialects are on the path to a progressive elimination" (Encrevé 1970: 533). Effortlessly speaking the national language hinders the life of the dialect.

In a second sense, the term "dialect" no longer differentiates idioms distinct from the language, but rather regional varieties of the language. Here, according to Encrevé, the different local forms of French can thus be called dialects. While differences increase with the size of the territory, modes of

modern communication make it so divergences are limited and do not hinder intercomprehension or language unity. These local or regional forms do not oppose the language, but constitute it. For instance, Dutch, as a common language, is the set of dialects spoken in the Netherlands. Speakers of the different dialects are unilingual and the different local forms have, in principle, the same status; “however, in a very centralized country like France, while the French of Lille or of Bordeaux is obviously French, the French tend to consider the Parisian form as the most representative” (Encrevé 1970: 533).

Patois

Patois are idioms spoken in rural localities, usually associated with traditional agricultural activities. These idioms are distinct systems from the regional form of the national language and have no sort of norm, no writing system, and thus no press or literature.

For example, they are the relics of ancient dialects – that could have otherwise known a literary life – deprived of their status of regional language by the penetration of the national language. For these ‘manners of expression’ the status of ‘patois’ is the step immediately preceding total death” (Encrevé 1970: 533).

No longer serving as the means of communication between inhabitants of the region and only being used within the rural, local community, these idioms tend to diverge within a few kilometers of distance; communication thus tends to be easier in the national language, rather than in *patois*. “Such is the case of French

'patois', precarious remains of powerful dialects" (Encrevé 1970: 533). Within rural communities, only speakers situated at the bottom of the social hierarchy, such as peasants and agricultural workers, always use *patois*. The local bourgeoisie is unilingual in French and the rest of the residents speak a mixture of Frenchified *patois* and "patoisified" French depending upon their occupations and their interlocutors. Bilingualism is necessary for all *patois*-speakers, which involves these previously mentioned mixtures.

Because the 'patois' preserve a syntactical structure and a phonology clearly distinct from those of the common language, the 'patois' have no lexical productivity. Their own vocabularies, unsuitable to the modern world, diminish each day and they must in order to survive continually borrow from the national language; their independence is thus more and more threatened (Encrevé 1970: 533).

Patois are considered conservative or even worse, backward; the French tend to say that they cannot adapt to modern reality (Encrevé 1970: 533).

Analysis

This article clearly highlights the political and social factors involved in both the classification and function of languages as well as the perception of languages in France. The author thus demonstrates that the French linguistic system and its terms are social and political, rather than truly linguistic or scientific. He alludes to an inherent struggle in which the regional or minority languages are described as "defeated" languages in the face of the national language due to the linguistic unification of the population. Through this battle,

the political power attempts to eliminate other languages or linguistic varieties by depriving them of vital resources. As a result, *patois* are labeled as being “the closest to definitive extinction” or even “the step immediately preceding total death”. It is difficult not to see ideological undertones attached to this label as well as remarks associated with the mortality of its associated idioms.

Ideology is also evident when the author describes linguistic varieties, such as minority or regional languages, as he only refers to Basque and Breton, which are clearly linguistically different from French. There is no mention of Langue d’oc or the Langues d’oïl until he describes the dialectical situation in medieval France. At this point, the author mentions three Langue d’oïl as dialects, and indicates that they were equal in status with the dialect of Paris until this latter became the common language. However, due to the possibly intended vagueness, the reader is left to believe that these dialects no longer exist, until the author later defines *patois* as the remains of medieval dialects. At this point, it becomes clear that according to the author, the surviving *patois* in modern France are simply the relics of the dialects of ancient France, and today, France’s only dialects are dialects of French, such as the French of Lille. While the author employs the present tense for both usages of dialect in France, he clearly places the first in the past, which means that it no longer applies to modern France. As a result, French society’s view on language has not changed

much since the 1765 *Encyclopédie* entry. “This is why the ideology of the French language not only concerns the French language, but equally the regional languages of France. It is not only an ideology of the national language, but a national ideology of language” (Eloy 1998: 130).

Inherent in this description is the “programmed demise” of languages, other than French, called for by Grégoire in 1794 France (Bistolfi 2011; See pages 71-74 of this study). In fact, the author explains, without stating it, how political powers, such as France, attempt to and/or carry it out. For instance, describing *patois* as “the step immediately preceding total death”, the non-national languages in the linguistic struggle for unification as “defeated” and the spread of the national language causing “low resistance” among regional languages demonstrate the program enacted by the French political power. The descriptions are anything but ideologically neutral. In fact, the entire entry explains the “triumph of French” over the regional languages, even though the author attempts to mask that fact by employing examples from other countries. Furthermore, the triumph of French through linguistic and political unification forever linked national language and national identity in France.

Language and Identity

Language is a symbol of identity, and is thus employed by its speakers to demonstrate membership in a social group. Since people belong to several social

groups, they have several social identities. One can be a linguist, Norman, French and a resident of Luxembourg City all at the same time. Each one of these separate social identities may incorporate its own language or variety of language. A regional group has its regional language or certain dialect of the national language; linguists employ a certain vocabulary, etc. The fact that one speaks the language of the group gives him or her the feeling of belonging to the group (Byram 2006: 5).

National identity tends to denote a strong connection between language and a feeling of belonging; however, the same can occur at the regional level, especially if the region has, or historically has had, a language of its own. This situation has been demonstrated in Alsace, Brittany and Corsica in France, Bavaria in Germany, Lombardy and Veneto in Italy as well as many other places (Dargent 2001: 797-198).

Regional Identity

Regional identity is defined as “the consciousness of belonging to a specific human group whose point of reference [...] carries the name of a region” (Parisot 1995: 18-19). Regional identity can thus be seen as the set of common and specific traits that differentiates a locality from other communities whose residents are conscious of having common interests to defend (Parisot 1995: 19).

In two articles – one the French original and one an English translation –, political scientists Alistair Cole and Jean-Baptiste Harguindéguy, examine the social movements of three regional language communities in France: Corsican, Breton and Picard. In both articles, Cole and Harguindéguy demonstrate that the Corsican language and community work within the French State's framework in order to produce advantages for both the Corsican language and the Corsican community. However, they indicate that in Brittany the Breton *pays* fights the French State in which militants in Brittany attempt to provide institutional elements in Brittany for Breton, which are lacking at the State level. Cole and Harguindéguy employ Picard to represent the Langues d'oïl in which both its proximity to French and to Paris hinder its action for institutionalization; however, they also indicate that the Picard "movement" is independently the strongest among the Langues d'oïl since Gallo benefits from its connections with Breton militants in Brittany (Cole and Harguindéguy 2013).

Corsica, Brittany and Alsace are French regions always identified as exhibiting strong regional identities based upon linguistic and cultural criteria. The Ile-de-France and Centre also tend to be labeled as regions holding weak identities. The position of France's other regions tend to slightly move around depending upon the variable considered. In 2001, based upon 1998 data, Claude Dargent also found a strong regional identity to exist in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais

and Midi-Pyrénées. He identified medium strength regional identities in Languedoc-Roussillon, Aquitaine, Lorraine, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur and Limousin, and weak regional identities in the Ile-de-France, Centre, Picardy, Burgundy, Pays de la Loire, Rhône-Alpes, Poitou-Charentes and Lower Normandy (2001: 797).

However, a 2014 survey by *NewCorp Conseil* placed some regions into different categories. Corsica, Brittany and Alsace did not move, and neither did Nord-Pas-de-Calais or Midi-Pyrénées, but Languedoc-Roussillon moved into the strong regional identity category (Renaudin 2014)⁷. The intermediate group included Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Aquitaine, Lower-Normandy, Poitou-Charentes, Burgundy, Picardy, Rhône-Alpes, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, Pays de la Loire and Champagne-Ardenne (Renaudin 2014). Several regions moved from the weak category into the intermediate category in the 2014 survey, such as Picardy, Burgundy and Pays de la Loire. The regions categorized as holding weak identities in 2014 were the Centre, Upper-Normandy and Ile-de-France (Renaudin 2014).

Case Studies

Two regions were chosen to be studied based upon numerous criteria. As France has been historically and linguistically divided among the *Langue(s) d'oïl*

⁷ <https://newcorpconseil.wordpress.com/2014/04/15/la-fierte-dappartenance-regionale-des-francais/>.

in the north and the *Langue(s) d'oc* in the south, it was decided that one language should come from each group. Furthermore, it has been proposed, and is widely believed, that different types of provinces and territories have existed in France throughout France's history, ones with strong cultural and linguistic identities and ones with weaker cultural and linguistic identities or without these identities (Dargent 2001: 797). It was thus determined that a region from each group should be selected. In addition, due to the historical aspect, it was deemed important to select two regions that are related to former provinces and while it is widely known that France is a centralized State, certain provinces and regions have been more influenced by Paris than others. Provinces around Paris were integrated into the Kingdom of France much earlier than those further removed (Berlet 1913: 121). A region was selected based upon this final criteria as well.

Picard and Picardy

Picard and Picardy were chosen to be one case study for several reasons. During the 14th century, Picard, a fellow *Langue d'oïl* of French, was French's main rival to become the French national language. Picard is both linguistically and geographically close to French. Picardy borders Paris and the Ile-de-France. Non Picards tend to indicate that Picardy either has a weak or no real identity. "The low level of institutionalization of this network [region] is compounded by the lack of a strong feeling of belonging by the inhabitants of Picardy [...] (in

1998, 20% of Picards felt 'very proud' of their region, against 62% in Brittany and 55% on Corsica") (Dargent 2001: 787).

Among the French, the identity of Picardy is not well known; in fact, a 1991 SOFRES survey demonstrated that among the 22 regions of France, the identity of Picardy was the least known (Parisot 1996: 174). However, among the Picards themselves another survey of the same year demonstrated that 70.5% of the respondents stated that they felt "completely" or "quite" Picard (despite the fact that Picardness was not defined) (Parisot 1996: 174). Furthermore, 81% of elected officials in Picardy responded in a similar fashion (Parisot 1996: 174). A difference obviously exists among the French and the Picards on Picard identity.

Provençal and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

Provençal and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur were selected to be the other case study. Provençal, when used to refer to Langue d'oc in its entirety, has been seen to be French's internal historic rival during the Age of the Troubadours and the cultural supremacy of the South. Provençal is both linguistically and geographically relatively distant from French as it is linguistically closer to Latin than is French, and its region, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (PACA), is geographically distant from Paris and the Ile-de-France. Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur is listed as either being a region with a strong cultural and linguistic identity or an intermediate one (Dargent 2001: 797). According to a 2014 poll,

three-quarters of PACA residents were attached to PACA and 80% did not want it to disappear from the map of France. This idea was just a hypothetical question asked during the different scenarios proposed during the 2014 territorial reform by the polling agency (*Corse-Matin* 2014)⁸.

Regional Language Territory

Due to the Frenchification of France, no monolingual regional language speaker still exists today in France. Yet, while the territory of French expanded, the territory of the regional languages has remained surprisingly stable since the Middle Ages. In most cases, while the number of speakers decreased, the territory of each regional language did not decrease with notable exceptions (Cerquiglini 2003: 140 and Judge 2007: 121). The eastern limit of Breton's domain has moved a few hundred kilometers to the west. The territory of the Flemish domain has continued to slowly and irregularly recede. However, the limits between Romance Lorrain and Platt Lorrain in Lorraine have remained stable. In Poitou and Saintonge, the traditionally spoken *Langue d'oc* has been replaced by a *Langue d'oïl* (Judge 2007: 121). As a result, the regional language in Poitou – Poitevin-Saintongeais – is a *Langue d'oïl* with *Langue d'oc* characteristics (Cerquiglini 2003: 141).

⁸ <http://www.corsematin.com/article/derniere-minute/synthese-reforme-territoriale-va-t-on-vivre-dans-une-super-region-paca-corse>.

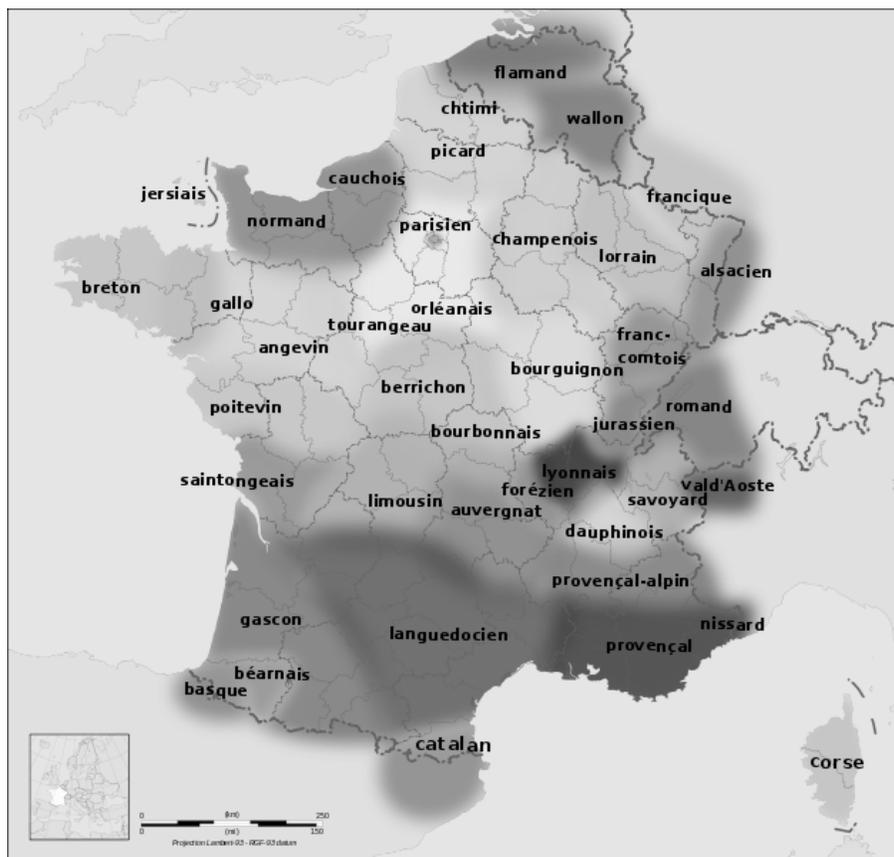


Figure 1: Languages of France and Their Territory, Based upon the Lexilogos.com map.

Frenchification of France: The Statistics

Abel Hugo attempted to indicate the number of inhabitants of France by the language they spoke in his book entitled *La France pittoresque*⁹ in 1835. Hugo concluded that the idea was much easier imagined than accomplished as the documents that included the relevant information were either missing or incomplete. However, working with what he could find, he indicated that of

⁹ *Picturesque France*.

France's 32,560,934 inhabitants in 1835: 196,000 spoke Italian, 120,000 spoke Basque, 1,100,000 spoke Breton, 1,150,000 spoke German, 180,000 spoke Flemish (Dutch) and 29,814,934 spoke French or a variety of diverse *patois* (1835: 16).

Of the French or a variety of diverse *patois* number, Hugo explained that there were only 26 French-speaking *départements* (including Paris) – Vendée, Loire-Inférieure, Ille-et-Vilaine, Manche, Calvados, Orne, Mayenne, Maine-et-Loire, Indre, Indre-et-Loire, Sarthe, Eure, Seine-Inférieure, Oise, Seine-et-Oise, Seine, Eure-et-Loir, Loir-et-Cher, Cher, Allier, Loiret, Seine-et-Marne, Aisne, Yonne and Nivère – with its center located between the cities of Tours and Blois. Hugo also explained that these *départements* spoke a certain-type of French and only because the French kings spent a considerable amount of time in these areas (1835: 16). Furthermore, Hugo states that the “French or a variety of diverse *patois* speaking group” included two large groups – *Oc* and *Oïl* – that did not exactly correspond to their ancient divisions. For the Langue d’oc, Hugo denoted “Provençal, Languedocien, Catalan or Limousin, Gascon, etc.” and indicated that these idioms cannot be called *patois*; however, in denoting the Langues d’oïl – “Lorrain, Picard, Walloon, Bourguignon, Franc-Comtois, etc.” –,

while he named the individual varieties, no indication concerning their status was made (1835: 16)¹⁰.

Eugen Weber created a map of the information provided by Hugo's 1835 information, which depicts no French-speaking majority in the extreme north (Somme [Picardy], Pas-de-Calais and Nord [both from Nord-Pas-de-Calais]), the extreme west (Côtes-d'Armor, Finistère and Morbihan [all from Brittany]), the east beginning with Champagne-Ardenne (Ardennes, Marne and Aube) and going east to the border with Germany and the entire south from and including Charente-Maritime, Deux-Sèvres, Vienne (all from Poitou-Charentes), Haute-Vienne, Creuse (both from Limousin), Allier (Auvergne), Saône-et-Loire and Côte-d'Or (both from Burgundy). The areas of transition – use of French and a local language – represent the Gallo domain of Upper Brittany (Ille-et-Vilaine), two *départements* of the Pays de la Loire (Loire-Atlantique and Vendée) and one *département* of Burgundy (Nivère) (Weber 1976: 68).

¹⁰ Hugo also denotes different subgroups for the *Oc* group – “Béarnais, Périgourdin, Saintongeais, Poitevin, etc.” and includes within the *Oïl* group – “Dauphinois and Vaudois” (1835: 16).

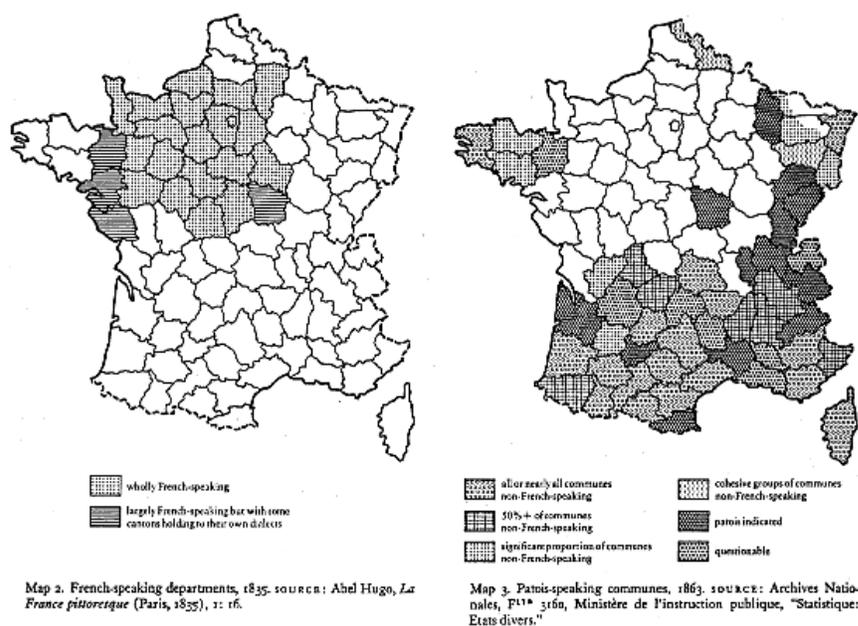


Figure 2: Frenchification in the Mid-18th Century, Weber 1976: 68.

In 1863, the Minister of Public Instruction also examined the spread of French and reported that in 28 short years, with the lack of free and mandatory education for everyone¹¹, French had spread to approximately 15¹² new *départements*, according to his unpublished study. The French language had penetrated two *départements* of the north – Somme and Pas-de-Calais – leaving the Nord *département* the only remaining “patois-speaking” northern *département*. In the northeast, French had penetrated one *département* over – Ardennes and Marne – and then had failed to penetrate the German-speaking area of Lorraine,

¹¹ This situation would not become a reality until 1881 and 1882 under Jules Ferry.

¹² On Weber’s map, created based upon the information from Hugo (1835), the Allier *département* is not colored in despite the fact that Hugo specifically mentioned it (Weber 1976: 68). Also, a few *départements* changed names since Hugo’s study.

but had gained the Lorrain (Oïl) section of Lorraine (Moselle and Meurthe-et-Moselle) to reach its boundary with Germany. In the east, it had moved two *départements* over – Aube and Côte-d’Or. Toward the southeast, French had penetrated to the depth of two *départements* – Saône-et-Loire and Loire – and toward the south it had gone one *département* deep – Creuse. To the southwest, French had garnered three more *départements* – Vienne, Deux-Sèvres and Charente-Maritime – to reach the Atlantic Ocean. To the west, it either did not gain ground or it lost ground.

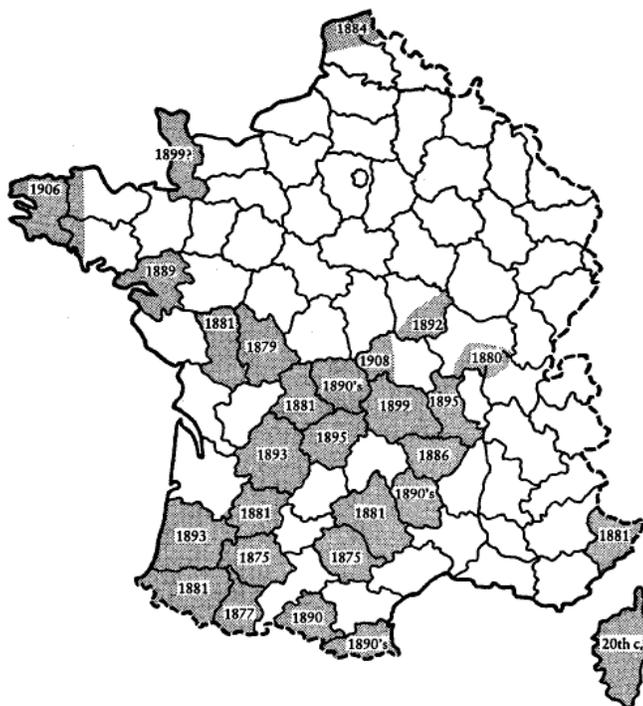
Hugo included Ille-et-Vilaine as a French-speaking *département* in 1835, while Drury did not in 1863. Another discrepancy between Hugo and Drury’s studies, as cartographically reported by Weber, is that the *département* of Nièvre was listed as primarily French-speaking by Hugo in 1835 and listed as an area of transition by Weber, but was reported to be a *patois*-speaking *département* in 1863 by Drury. This discrepancy highlights Hugo’s statement about relevant documents being either incomplete or missing. Furthermore, it highlights Weber’s statement concerning the French administration’s desire to overscore its programs and their progress (Weber 1976: 67)¹³.

¹³ Weber used the term “underestimated”; however, based upon the context, it is evident that he meant “overestimated”.

Despite the apparent territorial gain of French, in 1864, the Ministry of Public Instruction made the following remark: “Despite all efforts, the French language spreads only with difficulty” (Weber 1976: 70).

French’s gain of territory came primarily in the Langues d’oil domain, and at this period, the other Langues d’oil were simply believed, by the French administration, to be “bad French” (Cerquiglini 2003: 138). These reports thus tended to exclude idioms that were similar to French (Robb 2007: 54). In other words, the speakers of the other Langues d’oil were simply considered to be Francophones. As a result, official French statistics are extremely unreliable until the 20th century (Robb 2007: 65).

Numerous people who were recorded in statistics as Francophones would have only spoken French during certain life events, such as for an apprenticeship, traveling to markets or working in a town (Robb 2007: 65-66). “The use of minority languages was certainly under-reported, as it still is today” (Robb 2007: 65). Even today, there exist French people who speak languages other than French without knowing it. For instance, an elderly innkeeper in Villard (Upper Savoy) explained that in the 1940s while at school, he was punished for speaking improper French; however, he did not know if he was speaking French or Savoyard as their differences had never been explained (Robb 2007: 65).



Map 4. Documented entrenched areas of patois under the Third Republic.
 SOURCES: Various documents cited in the text. Note that this map and others
 of the kind that follow are not to be taken as exhaustive.

Figure 3: Entrenched Areas of *Patois* ca. 1880, Weber 1976: 75.

Based upon a map created from different sources, around 1880, the Langues d'oil region was simply referred to as the Francophone region; however, it was reported that *patois* was still widely spoken in 12 *départements* of the region (Robb 2007: 54). According to Robb's map, these *patois* included Picard, Champenois, Lorrain, Franc-Comtois, Poitevin and Gallo.

At the beginning of the Third Republic (1870), only half of French citizens knew French (Weber 1976: 70). It was not until the interwar years that the entire French population knew French (Weber 1976). Between 1945 and 1960, family

transmission of France's regional languages ceased in favor of French (Cerquiglini 2003: 139).

Today, approximately 225 years after the "programmed demise" of the regional languages called for by Grégoire, they have not succumbed (Judge 2007: 120). While they have certainly declined in number of speakers, in domains of usage – having been relegated to the private domain – and in modern technological vocabulary, they still exist. Most have even crossed over from the oral domain to the written one. While it is difficult to determine the number of speakers of these languages as French censuses do not enquire on linguistic issues, estimations do exist. Modern figures on the number of speakers of regional languages vary wildly, "but even the lowest estimates suggest that, in certain situations, a large minority of people still use the languages that were thought to be dying out in the nineteenth century" (Robb 2007: 65). The lowest estimates show that 2 million people still speak a dialect of Occitan, 1.5 million speak Alsatian, 500,000 speak Breton, 280,000 speak Corsican, 80,000 Basque (in France), 80,000 Flemish (in France) and 70,000 Francoprovençal (in France) (Robb 2007: 65).

1999 Family Survey

The 1999 French census was the first, and the last to date, to ask five supplemental questions – Family Survey – about both regional language and

immigrant language usage in France¹⁴ based on funding by the *Délégation générale à la langue française et aux langues de France*¹⁵ (Clanché 2002). The 6,700 language varieties mentioned in the Family Survey represent approximately 400 languages. For the regional languages, researchers reported on the ten most widely heard in childhood – Alsatian, Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, Flemish, Francoprovençal, the Langues d’oïl, Occitan or Langue d’oc and Platt Lorraine. Based upon this characterization, the Langues d’oïl and the different dialects of Occitan or Langue d’oc were grouped together. The survey revealed that 1,670,000 people spoke Occitan or Langue d’oc, 1,420,000 Langues d’oïl, 900,000 Alsatian, 680,000 Breton, 132,000 Catalan, 122,000 Corsican, 78,000 Platt Lorraine and 44,000 Basque (2002)¹⁶.

Among Occitan and the Langues d’oïl, the survey also demonstrated that 610,000 respondents frequently heard Occitan spoken in their home as a child, whereas 1,060,000 occasionally heard Occitan spoken in their home as a child; 570,000 participants heard a Langue d’oïl frequently spoken within the home as a

¹⁴ A supplemental questionnaire entitled *Histoire familiale (Family History)* enquiring on “their origins”, “their children”, “periods of dating”, “social history” and “languages of use” both national and regional was distributed to 380,000 men and women living in an ordinary domicile in addition to 6,600 people living in a community setting of which 1,700 were men and 4,900 were women (Cassan, Héran and Toulemon 2000: 25).

¹⁵ General Delegation to the French Language and to the Languages of France.

¹⁶ No figures were given for Flemish or Francoprovençal; the figures given for Catalan, Corsican, Platt Lorraine and Basque are for active adult bilinguals – regional language and French; the numbers given for active adult bilinguals for Occitan, Langues d’oïl, Alsatian and Breton – 526,000, 204,000, 548,000 and 304,000 (respectively) – are lower than the number of total speakers given above (Héran, et al. 2002: 4).

child, while 850,000 occasionally heard a Langue d'oïl spoken within the home as a child (Héran, Filhon and Deprez 2002: 3).

Researchers determined that among the regional languages, Alsatian was retransmitted 53% of the time to the next generation. Basque was retransmitted 42% of the time; Corsican 34% of the time; Catalan, Platt Lorraine and the Langues d'oïl 30% to 20% of the time. Francoprovençal, Breton, Flemish and Occitan or Langue d'oc were transmitted to the next generation 20% to 10% of the time (Héran, et al. 2002: 3). The Langues d'oïl, and Occitan or Langue d'oc were already only occasionally spoken within the home by a single parent within the last generation (2002: 2-3). The transmission of Breton, Catalan and Corsican had also become more occasional than frequent, but not as profoundly as among the Langues d'oïl and Occitan or Langue d'oc (Héran, et al 2002: 3). This situation was not the case with Alsatian wherein 660,000 individuals frequently heard it, and 240,000 others occasionally heard it. The situations for Platt Lorraine and Basque mirror that of Alsatian (Héran, et al. 2002: 3).

The results of the 1999 Family Survey indicate that all regional languages in France are endangered languages, and Francoprovençal is most at risk despite having survived basically intact into the 20th century, Occitan and Breton are also very much at risk. Since Basque and Catalan are both official languages in Spain, they are less at risk; however, the ambiguous relationship between Alsatian plus

Platt Lorrain and German and between Flemish and Dutch complicates matters. With that being said, the most surprising result revealed by the survey was the number of speakers and rate of transmission of the Langues d'oïl, which were often thought to be much lower (Judge 2007: 123).

The numbers obtained by the 1999 Family Survey are not definitive. For instance, the figures for Basque place it badly in terms of number of speakers and transmission; however, it has been a leader in the revivalist movement. Also, the study of natural transmission shows language regression, it does not account for institutional measures, such as education, in revitalizing or stabilizing the language (Judge 2007: 124). Furthermore, the survey neglected an important section of regional language transmission in France from grandparents to grandchildren. Numerous people have reported that it was not a parent, but a grandparent who taught them their regional language (Judge 2007: 124).

2011 Analysis

In 2011, Erramun Bachoc, a Basque linguist in France, compiled a quantity of speakers list for ten of the regional languages of France using the 1999 Family Enquiry data and data from Google Tablo. He determined that 3,000,000 people spoke Occitan or Langue d'oc, 900,000 spoke Alsatian, 400,000 Platt Lorraine,

204,000¹⁷ Langues d'oil, 172,000 Breton, 150,000 Corsican and Francoprovençal, 126,000 Catalan, 72,000 Basque and 30,000 Flemish (Bachoc 2011: Online¹⁸).

Bachoc also computed the vitality of these ten regional languages. According to Bachoc, for Alsatian, 240,000 people heard it occasionally as children; 660,000 heard it frequently as children; 410,000 were taught it either habitually or occasionally; 53% habitually transmitted it to their children and there are 548,000 active bilingual adults today (Bachoc 2011: Online). For Breton, 400,000 people heard it occasionally as children; 280,000 heard it frequently as children; 80,000 were taught it either habitually or occasionally; 12% habitually transmitted it to their children and there are 304,000 active bilingual adults today. For Catalan, 100,000 people heard it occasionally as children; 70,000 heard it frequently as children; 60,000 were taught it either habitually or occasionally; 30% habitually transmitted it to their children and there are 132,000 active bilingual adults today. For Corsican, 100,000 people heard it occasionally as children; 70,000 heard it frequently as children; 60,000 were taught it either habitually or occasionally; 34% habitually transmitted it to their children and there are 188,000¹⁹ active bilingual adults today. For Flemish, 50,000 people

¹⁷ This number appears to be the number of active adult bilinguals from the 1999 Family Enquiry.

¹⁸ <http://www.eke.eus/fr/culture-basque/euskara-la-langue-des-basques/euskara-et-sociolinguistique/sociolinguistique/les-langues-regionales>.

¹⁹ Number differs from the 1999 Family Enquiry of 122,000, but all other active bilingual numbers for the other languages match those numbers of the Enquiry.

heard it occasionally as children; 40,000 heard it frequently as children; 10,000 were taught it either habitually or occasionally; 12% habitually transmitted it to their children. For Francoprovençal, 140,000 people heard it occasionally as children; 70,000 heard it frequently as children; 15,000 were taught it either habitually or occasionally and 10% habitually transmitted it to their children. For Platt Lorraine, 100,000 people heard it occasionally as children; 70,000 heard it frequently as children; 50,000 were taught it either habitually or occasionally; 29% habitually transmitted it to their children and there are 78,000 active bilingual adults today (Bachoc 2011: Online).

The Langues d'oïl are presented together in one block; 850,000 heard it occasionally as children; 570,000 heard it frequently as children; 300,000 were taught it either habitually or occasionally; 27% habitually transmitted it to their children and 204,000 active, bilingual adults exist. For Occitan, 1,060,000 heard it occasionally as children; 610,000 heard it frequently as children; 240,000 were taught it either habitually or occasionally; 14% habitually transmitted it to their children and 526,000 active, bilingual adults exist today. For Basque, 50,000 people heard it occasionally as children; 50,000 heard it frequently as children; 20,000 were taught it either habitually or occasionally; 43% habitually transmitted it to their children and there are 44,000 active bilingual adults today (Bachoc 2011: Online).

2013 Estimates

In 2013, the Consultative Committee for the Promotion of Regional Languages and of Internal Linguistic Plurality submitted a report to the Minister of Culture and Communication that included estimated regional language speakers for ten regional languages in France. The report indicates that the 1999 Family Enquiry served as the basis for the number of speakers; however, no true mention is given to indicate how the number of speakers had been adjusted since the 1999 Family Enquiry (Paumier 2013: 94). Alsatian was reported to have 880,000 speakers; Basque 50,000; Breton 880,000; Catalan 110,000; Corsican 170,000; Flemish 80,000; Francoprovençal 210,000²⁰; Langues d'oïl 1,310,000; Occitan 2,200,000 and Platt Lorraine 80,100 (Paumier 2013: 94-95).

Picard

A *Groupe BVA* survey carried out at the end of the 1990s revealed that 18% of the residents of the Somme, the *département* of Picardy lying completely within the historic Picard linguistic domain, spoke Picard, and the *Défense et promotion des langues d'oïl* (DPLO) estimated that 50% of the residents of the Somme understood Picard (DPLO 2009: Online). Using population data for the Somme from the *Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques* (INSEE) for the last three years of the 1990s, it can be calculated that for 1999, 99,998 inhabitants

²⁰ This number may also include speakers in Switzerland and Italy; only 80,000 may be in France.

of the Somme spoke Picard and 277,774 understood it; in 1998, 99,827 residents spoke it and 277,298 understood it; for 1997, 99,661 spoke it, while 276,835 understood it²¹. The numbers may be somewhat lower than the actual number of speakers since according to the president of the association *Tertous*, Laurent Devime, many Picards refrain from admitting to speaking Picard for fear of being seen as a peasant; however, if one begins a conversation with them in French, and then switches to Picard, they will most often switch, too (Rey 1993).

In 1998, the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights estimated that 700,000 people spoke Picard; 500,000 in France and 200,000 in Belgium (OHCHR 1998: Online²²).

Provençal

In 1976, French diplomat Yves Barelli compared and compiled results from several local studies in order to create a representative Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur Regional Language and Culture study in which he determined that 720,000 people spoke Provençal, which represented 20% of the population. He also estimated that outside of the cities of Marseille and Toulon approximately

²¹ The INSEE population figures for the Somme were 555,547 in 1999, 554,595 in 1998 and 553,670 in 1997. The figures exist online at http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/detail.asp?reg_id=99&ref_id=estim-pop under "Estimation de population par département, sexe et âge quinquennal - Années 1975 à 2014". It is important to note that while it would appear that the number of Picard speakers increases from 1997 to 1999, it is the population of the Somme itself that has increased. Since I do not know in which year the survey took place, I have simply computed the calculations for the last three years of the 1990s. The figures should thus be looked at individually, rather than as a set.

²² <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Language.aspx?LangID=frn2>.

50% of the native population understood Provençal. Barelli also found the percentage of speakers under 30 years of age to be considerably weak (Barelli 2014: Online²³).

In 1999, Provençal linguist and native, Philippe Blanchet estimated that 1,000,000 people spoke Provençal; 500,000 as active speakers and 250,000 as fluent speakers (Blanchet 1999).

In 2010, the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights estimated that 354,500 people spoke Provençal and another 800,000 were knowledgeable of it (OHCHR 2010: Online)²⁴.

Research Problem

This study's question has not been truly asked nor investigated. While many documents attest to the spread of French, many less deal with the resistance of the regional languages. In general, the articles or documents that mention the resistance of the regional languages attempt to estimate the current number of speakers without truly investigating their survival. Occasionally, in passing, a scholar will make a comment about the regional languages still being important to certain members of the population; however, that is usually the

²³ <http://yvesbarelli.over-blog.com/article-combien-y-a-t-il-de-locuteurs-de-l-occitan-124363763.html>.

²⁴ <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Language.aspx?LangID=pro>; the reporter was Philippe Blanchet.

extent of it. This study therefore specifically asks, “How have the regional languages of France survived ‘their programmed demise’?”

Dismissed Hypotheses

Language Shift

While the three generation language shift theory explains the move of the French population from primarily speaking regional languages to predominately speaking French since the turn of the 20th century, it does not explain why certain members of the French populace have continued to learn, and to speak, the different regional languages of France (Fishman 1964).

Diglossia

Diglossia, the bilingual situation in which one language or language variety is used for High functions and another is used for Low functions (Ferguson 1959), also does not truly explain the survival of the regional languages since the French language has been used for both high and low language functions in France since the interwar years. Therefore, regional languages no longer truly play the role of low variety in everyday life. Today, if an adult speaks a regional language, it is due to choice, rather than to necessity. In other words, current French residents, who speak a regional language, choose to speak it, as well as when and with whom to speak it. They are not required to speak it as they also know French; however, French residents of earlier periods

may have only really known a regional language and either no or a limited amount of French. These earlier residents thus only had one language to employ and thus no choice. Yet, as they learned French in school, the regional language was slowly relegated to “low” functions, such as to the home, between friends, etc. and French took on “high” functions, such as in dealing with the administration, etc.

Spread of French

The spread of French is attributed to events of the 19th century: military conscription, obligatory education, printing of books, and especially, newspapers, emigration from the countryside to the city, development of transportation and the development of tourism (Dauzat 1930: 548). To this list, Eugen Weber added the use of television in the 1950s (1976). While these events explain the spread of French and the decline of the regional languages as was the purpose of Weber’s 1976 study – *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* –, they do not indicate how the regional languages continued to exist.

Time

Other documents assume that language shift takes considerable time, while others highlight that the situation of diglossia can also exist over an extended period of time. While both of these notions could be true, they seem to

be too off-the-cuff responses to truly explain the situation. It seems that something else must be responsible for the regional languages' resistance.

Study's Hypothesis

This study's hypothesis is as follows: Despite French nation-building and the marginalization of provincial or local France, regional and/or local entities still exist in France in which regional languages play an important role.

CHAPTER TWO

Nationalism

This chapter explores the importance attributed to language in nationalism and the nation-building domain. It also highlights how this phenomenon applies to France.

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According to philosopher and cultural anthropologist, Ernest Gellner, nationalism creates nations. "It is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round. Admittedly, nationalism uses the pre-existing, historically inherited proliferation of cultures or cultural wealth, though it uses them very selectively" (Gellner 1983 in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 64). Gellner indicates that nationalism is the imposition of a high culture on society, where low cultures had previously prevailed. This high cultural imposition occurs through "the diffusion of a school-mediated, academy-supervised idiom, codified for the requirements of reasonably precise bureaucratic and technological communication" (Gellner 1983 in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 65). It is also the creation of an anonymous and impersonal society composed of atomized

individuals connected and held together by this shared, high culture, which replaced the complex structure of local groups that used to be self-sustained.

Gellner argues that this situation is what actually happens despite the fact that it is the very opposite of what nationalism affirms and what nationalists believe.

Nationalists believe that nationalism “conquers in the name of putative folk culture” (Gellner 1983 in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 65) and that its symbolism is taken from the pristine life of the peasants. However, this pristine peasant life or culture that is tapped by nationalism has most often been reinvented and reinterpreted through purposeful manipulation. Therefore, according to Gellner, nationalism represents “a vision of reality through a prism of illusion”, wherein a high culture celebrates itself through song and dance that it has borrowed and stylized from a folk culture, which it actually believes itself to be defending and reaffirming (Gellner 1983 in Hutchinson and Smith 1994: 66).

Language and Nationalism: Linguistic Nationalism

The Bible “is the most direct source of the modern (post-Renaissance) conception of the nation as a people linked by birth, language and culture and belonging to a particular place” (Joseph 2010: 33). Before the Renaissance, religious belonging delivered the first division among peoples, and dynastic rule the second. Language was Latin, which was the sacred vehicle of divine rites and knowledge, whereas all local vernaculars were simply considered necessary

for daily communication, but were not considered to be languages at all. After the Renaissance, certain people began to read and/or hear the Bible read aloud, which had previously been solely reserved for the educated minority or clerics; as a result of Chapter 10, Verse 5 of the Book of Genesis, the notion of a link between a nation and a language became popular and began to spread. Certain people became interested in bestowing the status of language onto a local vernacular as well as allowing it to fulfill functions previously reserved solely for Latin. In this way, nation and language were forever linked in the national domain (Joseph 2010: 33-34).

Language is much more than a simple code for communication. It is a symbol infused with values and morals. There is an intimate symbolic link between a national language and national identity. Unlike a national anthem or a national flag, a national language produces and performs a national identity. The language provides the words through which to think and to speak, and thus it melts people into a national mass (Ost 2009: 313).

Sociology of language scholar Joshua Fishman states that true linguistic nationalism is not reached until language is viewed as more crucial than other collective symbols of national identity (Fishman 1972: 49). Language is often seen as the most salient collective symbol for national identity due to the fact that the unity of language is viewed as more enduring than other symbols (Fishman

1972: 49). Since modern nations desire to represent themselves as eternally distinct, language is often tapped as the secular symbol of the nation, while carrying with it all the sanctity that religion has given to texts, systems of writing, as well as word imagery.

This process demonstrates why many cultural and national militants believe that boundaries between languages are more fundamental, impermeable and durable than are political, religious or territorial boundaries. Language is thus seen as a natural division; it tends to be commensurate with a people, a culture and an approach to life (Judge 2000 in Barbour and Carmichael: 49). Since language is viewed as the symbol of uniqueness, authentic nationalism is thought to reside in language. Therefore, linguistic differentiation is often used to highlight the separateness of a people, whereas linguistic similitude is often used to highlight the unity of a people (Fishman 1972: 49-50).

Importance of Language versus Dialect in Nationalism

In 1931, Edward Sapir wrote the entry for “language” for the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. In this entry, Sapir highlights the role nationalism has played regarding language.

The gift of speech and a well ordered language are characteristic of every known group of human beings. No tribe has ever been found which is without language and all statements to the contrary may be dismissed as mere folklore. There seems to be no warrant whatever for the statement which is sometimes made that there are certain peoples whose vocabulary is so limited that they cannot get on without the supplementary use of

gesture, so that intelligible communication between members of such a group becomes impossible in the dark (Sapir 1931 (IX): 165).

In his first paragraph, Sapir counters numerous standard language ideologies, such as the French one, in which he points out that no tribe, or people, has ever been found without using language, and moreover, that no language requires its speakers to employ “gestures” to compensate for alleged missing elements in their language (Laurendeau 1994).

The relation of language to nationalism and internationalism presents a number of interesting sociological problems. Anthropology makes a rigid distinction between ethnic units based on race, on culture and on language. It points out that these do not need to coincide in the least – that they do not, as a matter of fact, often coincide in reality. But with the increased emphasis on nationalism in modern times the question of the symbolic meaning of race and language has taken on a new significance and, whatever the scientist may say, the layman is ever inclined to see culture, language and race as but different facets of a single social unity, which tends in turn to identify with such a political entity as England or France or Germany. To point out, as the anthropologist easily can, that cultural distributions and nationalities override language and race groups does not end the matter for the sociologist, because he feels that the concept of nation or nationality must be integrally imaged by the non-analytical person as carrying with it the connotation, real or supposed, of both race and language. From this standpoint it really makes little difference whether history and anthropology support the popular identification of nationality, language and race. The important thing to hold on to is that a particular language tends to become the fitting expression of a self-conscious nationality and that such a group will construct for itself in spite of all that the physical anthropologist can do a race to which a language and a culture as twin expressions of its psychic peculiarities. [...] (Sapir 1931 (IX): 167).

In this section, Sapir clearly highlights the role nationalism plays in language; the idea that a particular language becomes the expression of national self-consciousness among a people.

While language differences have always been important symbols of cultural difference, it is only in comparatively recent times, with the exaggerated development of the ideal of the sovereign nation and with the resulting eagerness to discover linguistic symbols for this ideal of sovereignty, that language differences have taken on an implication of antagonism. In ancient Rome and all through mediaeval Europe there were plenty of cultural differences running side by side with linguistic ones, and the political status of a Roman citizen or the fact of adherence to the Roman Catholic church was of vastly greater significance as a symbol of the individual's place in the world than the language or dialect which he happened to speak. It is probably altogether incorrect to maintain that language differences are responsible for national antagonisms. It would seem to be much more reasonable to suppose that a political and national unit, once definitely formed, uses a prevailing language as a symbol of its identity, whence gradually emerges the peculiarly modern feeling that every language should properly be the expression of a distinctive nationality. In earlier times there seems to have been little systematic attempt to impose the language of a conquering people on the subject people, although it happened frequently as a result of the processes implicit in the spread of culture that such a conqueror's language was gradually taken over by the dispossessed population. Witness the spread of the Romance languages and of the modern Arabic dialects. On the other hand, it seems to have happened about as frequently that the conquering group was culturally and linguistically absorbed and that their own language disappeared without necessary danger to their privileged status [i.e., the Franks]. Thus foreign dynasties in China have always submitted to the superior culture of the Chinese and have taken on their language. [...] Definitely repressive attitudes toward the languages and dialects of subject peoples seem to be distinctive only of European political policy in comparatively recent times. The attempt of czarist Russia to stamp out Polish by forbidding its teaching in the schools and the similarly repressive policy of contemporary Italy in its attempt to wipe out German from the territory recently acquired from Austria are

illuminating examples of the heightened emphasis on language as a symbol of political allegiance in the modern world (Sapir 1931 (IX): 167).

In the above section, Sapir indicates the manner through which the link of one nation with one language is a modern notion largely linked with the era of nation-building in Europe. He also clearly states that linguistic antagonisms are created by a political and national unit, rather than by languages or their speakers. In other words, nations and political entities employ a particular language as a symbol of the identity and unity of a group, most often a nation.

To match these repressive measures there is the oft repeated attempt of minority groups to erect their language into the status of a fully accredited medium of cultural and literary expression (Sapir 1931 (IX): 167). Many of these restored or semimanufactured languages have come in on the wave of resistance to exterior political or cultural hostility. Such are the Gaelic of Ireland, the Lithuanian of a recently created republic and the Hebrew of the Zionists. In other cases such languages have come in more peacefully because of a sentimental interest in local culture. Such are the modern Provençal of southern France, the Plattdeutsch of northern Germany, Frisian and the Norwegian *landsmaal* (Sapir 1931 (IX): 167-168).

Here, Sapir demonstrates that minority groups have been influenced by nationalism and also tap into their language as a symbol of their identity.

Edward Sapir also wrote the “dialect” entry for the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* in which he also clearly highlighted how the definition and attitudes towards it are influenced by nationalism.

This term [dialect] has a connotation in technical linguistic usage which is somewhat different from its ordinary meaning. To the linguist there is no real difference between a dialect and a language which can be shown to be related, however remotely, to another language. By preference the term is

restricted to a form of speech which does not differ sufficiently from another form of speech to be unintelligible to the speakers of the latter. Thus Great Russian and White Russian [Belarusian] are said to be dialects of the same language. [...] Literal mutual intelligibility, however, is not a criterion of great interest to the technical linguist, who is more concerned with the fact and order of historical relationships in speech. To him Venetian and Sicilian are equally dialects of Italian, although as far as mutual intelligibility is concerned these two might as well be called independent languages. [...] A group of dialects is merely the socialized form of the universal tendency to individual variation in speech. These variations affect the phonetic form of the language, its formal characteristics, its vocabulary and such prosodic features as intonation and stress. No known language, unless it be artificially preserved for liturgical or other non-popular uses, has ever been known to resist the tendency to split up into dialects, any one of which may in the long run assume the status of an independent language (Sapir 1931 (V): 123). [...]

In linguistics, dialects and languages are equal entities. While French linguists know that the French language is divided into dialects, traditional French language ideology holds that French is a unified language with no dialects; however, this belief is a myth (Lodge 1993: 4).

In less technical or frankly popular usage the term dialect has somewhat different connotations. Human speech is supposed to be differentiated and standardized in a number of approved forms known as languages, and each of these in turn has a number of subvarieties of lesser value known as dialects. A dialect is looked upon as a departure from the standard norm, in many cases even as a corruption of it. Historically this view is unsound, because the vast majority of so-called dialects are merely the regular forms of speech which antedate the recognized languages. Popular confusion on the subject is chiefly due to the fact that the question of language has become secondarily identified with that of nationality in the larger cultural and ethnic group which in course of time absorbs the local tradition. The language of such a nationality is generally based upon a local dialect and spreads at the expense of other dialects which were originally of as great prestige as the culturally more powerful one (Sapir 1931 (V): 123). [...]

Everyday usage of the term “dialect” is influenced by nationalism where dialects and languages are not equal.

As a result of cultural reasons of one kind or another a local dialect becomes accepted as the favored or desirable form of speech within a linguistic community that is cut up into a large number of dialects. This approved local dialect becomes the symbol of cultural values and spreads at the expense of other local forms of speech. The standardized form of speech becomes more and more set in its vocabulary, its form and eventually its pronunciation. The speakers of local dialects begin to be ashamed of their peculiar forms of speech because these have not the prestige value of the standardized language; and finally the illusion is created of a primary language, belonging to the large area which is the territory of a nation or a nationality, and of the many local forms of speech as uncultured or degenerated variants of the primary norm. [...] Local dialects are in a sense minority languages [...] (Sapir 1931 (V): 124).

Here, Sapir indicates that since the approved local dialect becomes the cultural symbol, other local dialect speakers become ashamed of their local dialect due to the increased prestige given to the approved local dialect, which becomes the standardized language through the setting of norms. He also indicates that these local dialects are actually minority languages since they have their particular forms.

Ever since the formation of the great national languages of Europe toward the end of the mediaeval period there have been many social and political influences at work to imperil the status of local dialects. As the power of the sovereign grew, the language of the court gained in prestige and tended to diffuse through all the ramifications of the official world. [...] In more recent days the increase of popular education and the growing demand for ready intelligibility in the business world have given a tremendous impetus to the spread of standardized forms of speech (Sapir 1931 (V): 124).

Sapir indicates that the survival of local dialects or minority languages since the social and political power of a central authority grew has been difficult since several trends have alluded to the importance of a standard language.

In spite of all these standardizing influences, however, local dialects, particularly in Europe, have persisted with a vitality that is little short of amazing. Obviously the question of the conservatism of dialect is not altogether a negative matter of the inertia of speech and of the failure of overriding cultural influences to permeate into all corners of a given territory. It is to a very significant degree a positive matter of the resistance of the local dialects to something which is vaguely felt as hostile. This is easily understood if we look upon languages and dialects not as intrinsically good or bad forms of speech but as symbols of social attitudes. Before the growth of modern industrialism culture tended to be intensely local in character in spite of the uniformizing influences of government, religion, education and business. The culture that gradually seeped in from the great urban centers was felt as something alien and superficial in spite of the prestige that unavoidably attached to it. The home speech was associated with kinship ties and with the earliest emotional experiences of the individual. Hence the learning of a standardized language could hardly seem natural except in the few centers in which the higher culture seemed properly at home, and even in these there generally developed a hiatus between the standardized language of the cultured classes and the folk speech of the local residents. Hence cockney is as far removed psychologically from standard British English as is a peasant dialect of Yorkshire or Devon. On the continent of Europe, particularly in Germany and Italy, the culture represented, for example, by standardized German or standardized Italian was until very recent days an exceedingly thin psychological structure, and its official speech could hardly take on the task of adequately symbolizing the highly differentiated folk cultures of German speaking and Italian speaking regions (Sapir 1931 (V): 125).

Sapir unmistakably indicates the cultural and affective differences between local dialects or minority languages and standardized languages. The former are

associated with kinship, while the latter are more alien and must be learned.

Moreover, the two languages are associated with two different cultures; a local one and a more universal or national one.

The Age of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century was, on the whole, hostile to the persistence of dialects, but the romantic movement which followed it gave to folk speech a glamour which has probably had something to do with the idealization of localized languages as symbols of national solidarity and territorial integrity (Sapir 1931 (V): 125).

Here, Sapir credits the Romantic Movement with conferring status upon minority languages since the Enlightenment preferred standardization.

A word may be added in regard to the social psychology of dialectic forms of speech. In the main, markedly dialectic peculiarities have been looked upon as symbols of inferiority of status, but if local sentiment is strongly marked and if the significance of the local group for the larger life of the nation as a whole allows, a local dialect may become the symbol of a kind of inverted pride. We thus have the singular spectacle of Lowland Scotch as an approved and beautiful linguistic instrument and of [C]ockney as an undesirable and ugly one. These judgments are extrinsic to the facts of language themselves but they are none the less decisive in the world of cultural symbolisms (Sapir 1931 (V): 126).

Above, Sapir demonstrates that a minority language can be a symbol of covert pride if local sentiment is high. Furthermore, he hints at the importance of language ideology in linguistic nationalism.

Language Ideology

While attempts have been made to define language ideology, a number of different emphases still exist. Most broadly, language ideologies have been demarcated as “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of

language in the world” (Rumsey 1990 quoted in Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity 1998: 4). When emphasizing linguistic structure and the activist nature of ideology, language ideologies have been defined as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979 quoted in Schieffelin et al. 1998: 4). Regarding the social aspect, language ideology has been described as “self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group” (Heath 1989 quoted in Schieffelin et al. 1998: 4) and as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (Irvine 1989: 255).

The moral and political aspects are truly significant, as they symbolize the social and linguistic relationships, and as a result, influence the ways through which speakers understand social life, wherein the assumptions they rest upon often imply an end result without any examination of the facts (Irvine 1989: 255). In other words, language ideology refers specifically to the ingrained, unquestioned beliefs held by people regarding language, and the ways in which those beliefs are projected onto its speakers (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006: 234).

Language ideology is thus not only about language, “rather, such ideologies envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology” (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 55-56). Since language ideology is a cultural system, it is also culturally specific; French language ideology thus represents the French or Francophone culture. Also, as a cultural system, language ideology is a learned philosophy in which a language speaker learns how to interpret and interact within his or her society¹. In this manner, language becomes a sign or symbol that transforms the language into a type of tool or power (Bourdieu 1991).

Language ideology can be viewed as the politicization of language since it, too, is a morally and politically loaded cultural system of ideas; language ideology and the politicization of language can thus be interpreted as synonymous.

Standard Language: National Domain

There is a universal tendency for groups to use language as the symbol of their collective identity in order to bond members of the group together, as well as to differentiate them from members of other groups; “us” versus “them” (Lodge 1993: 85). After the fall of the Roman Empire, Latin remained the sacred

¹ Neither cultural systems nor philosophies are innate; they are both learned.

language; however, newly independent and/or developing nations soon saw the importance of creating a national, sacred language of their own (Beaune 1991: 267).

Languages that are linked with nations and nationalisms are “standard languages”, rather than “vernacular languages” since standard languages are not natural languages, but have been created through manipulation. Sociolinguist Richard Hudson states, “Standard languages are the result of a direct and deliberate intervention by society” (Hudson in Battye et al. 2000: 9). Standard languages were established over several centuries and in response to objective and subjective pressures. Objectively, a standard language takes on a functional purpose, as it becomes the means to communicate, govern and educate effectively by suppressing variation and resisting change. Subjectively, since one form of language is chosen over others, attitudes tend to emerge with regard to the standard as being more elegant, clearer, or simply better than the other varieties (Battye et al. 2000: 9-10).

According to the credited pioneer of sociolinguistics Einar Haugen, the creation/standardization of a vernacular language is a national necessity (1966: 927). Since a nation can be seen as a society that combines familial, tribal and/or regional groups, it stimulates a loyalty above these groups, while at the same time discourages any loyalty to any other such groups or nations. The ideal is

thus internal cohesion and external distinction. As the encouragement of such loyalty demands free and intense communication within the nation, the national ideal requires a single, shared linguistic code through which to communicate, which is a standard language (Haugen 1966: 928).

“The development of linguistic norms [standardization] shadows the structure and evolution of social groups” (Lodge 1993: 85). The standardization process involves selection of a certain vernacular, codification of this vernacular, acceptance of the codified language, as well as a desire to use it in all domains and then elaboration of the new language by creating terms for new concepts (Haugen 1966: 931). Through this process, Haugen points out that when a nation selects a vernacular, it is for political, rather than linguistic reasons. Therefore, no single choice will please all those involved. For the emerging, selected language to gain national standing, it is most often chosen from one locale and this locale will be used as the standard reference for usage. In other words, this chosen locale will have the social authority to define “correct” or “acceptable” usage. While this reference may cause linguistic inequality, again, it is social or political, rather than linguistic (Haugen 1966: 931-933).

The emergence of European standard languages left an imprint on European cultures regarding how Europeans subconsciously view language and its role in society (Lodge 1993: 2). It has become internalized that language

homogeneity and uniformity are the ideals, and that the written language is better than the spoken one. Furthermore, the ideal language distribution is seen to be a separate language for every separate nation (Lodge 1993: 2-3).

In no European society did they take deeper root than in France, and their mark is to be seen in many aspects of French culture, witnessed for instance in the profound respect felt for literary authors seen as creators of *la belle langue* and in the cultivation of the French language as a central part of the “national patrimony” (Lodge 1993: 3).

As a result, these ideals have also considerably influenced the way in which the history of the French language has been written (Lodge 1993: 3).

When examining subjective attitudes to language in France, a significant feature exhibited is the depth of reverence felt towards the standard language. Linguistic prescriptivism and linguistic purism are inculcated ideas with deep roots in French society (Lodge 1993: 3)².

The belief that the ideal state of the language is one of uniformity and that linguistic heterogeneity is detrimental to effective communication is firmly entrenched, and as an expression of this belief the French language has acquired a rigidly codified standard form which exerts powerful pressures upon its uses (Lodge 1993: 3).

It is widely believed that the purest form of French exists in writing and that speaking often moves away from the ideal (Lodge 1993: 4). “The myth of the

² Linguistic prescriptivism is a readiness to condemn non-standard usages of a language in a language community, whereas linguistic purism is a desire to protect the standard from outside “contaminations” (Lodge 1993: 3).

'clarity' and 'logic' inherent in the standard French language is extremely pervasive" (Lodge 1993: 4).

French Public's View on Language in France: French Language Ideology

The French populace is aware that linguistic variation exists within French, and within France. "However, when it comes to describing these different language varieties the terminology (or metalanguage) at his/her disposal is usually heavily laden with value-judgments derived from a long and powerful tradition of prescriptivism" (Lodge 1993: 4). When a French person is asked to define the French language, he or she most often identifies it with the written standard, but will also probably regard the informal speech of the educated middle class, known as "Familiar French", as being "the French language" since standard languages are believed to have formal and informal varieties (Lodge 1993: 4). Most of the French populace would exclude slang or regional forms. The most persistent of the excluded "non-standard" varieties mentioned by the French is "Popular French", which is associated with the working-class (Lodge 1993: 4-5). After "Familiar French" and "Popular French" come the *dialectes* and *patois* "used by the rustic populace in the various provinces of France (Norman, Picard, Burgundian, etc.), and widely considered by the layperson to be 'debased, corrupt forms of French'" (Lodge 1993: 5).

Dialectes are usually seen as holding greater dignity than *patois* since the former are seen as having a written form and a higher level of standardization. "For many a French layperson, in fact, the *patois* are the lowest form of language life, associated as they are with the despised culture of the peasantry, and subject as they are to infinite variability" (Lodge 1993: 5). This view has been inculcated into the French since the days of Abbé Grégoire and his report (See pages 71-74).

Between the French language and *patois* are regional accents, which are deviations in pronunciation from the Parisian norm, and are typically equated with "Regional French" (Lodge 1993: 5). "The latter are obviously distinguished from the regional languages (Basque, Breton, Flemish, Alsatian, Corsican, Catalan and Occitan) which are felt (rightly in some cases) to be genetically different from French and which enjoy various levels of prestige/stigmatization" (Lodge 1993: 5).

The French populace's metalanguage in this area holds a major judgmental component. "The layperson tends not to view the different language varieties current in society in a detached way, instead attributing to each of them a *social* meaning based on culturally transmitted stereotypes" (Lodge 1993: 5).

The social ramifications of prescriptive attitudes on language are far-reaching; "since speakers of the standard tend to be credited with greater intelligence, trustworthiness, etc., than those who cannot 'rise above' the other

varieties, upward social mobility can be denied to non-standard speakers” (Lodge 1993: 12). “It is likely that the social norms presented by the French standard language derive much of their strength from the highly centralized nature of French society, strongly focused as it is on Paris” (Lodge 1993: 6). However, they are reinforced by the pinnacle role in which language, the French language, has played over the last 200 years in the definition of French national identity.

Standard French is much more than an efficient form of communication throughout France since it is also a powerful symbol that fosters national solidarity or internal cohesion and feelings of uniqueness in comparison with other nations or external distinction among the French populace (Lodge 1993: 6). While similar attitudes may exist elsewhere, France is the nation to have most deeply instilled, and perhaps realized, the ideal of “one nation, one language” (Lodge 1993: 6). “In few countries has language played a greater role in constituting national identity than in modern France. French is first and foremost a political idiom, enshrined by the leaders of the Revolution and the Third Republic as the language of the Republic and the Nation” (Cohen 2000: 21). As cultural icon, tool for social cohesion, symbol of the Republic and source of national pride, French has long defined the French nation (Cohen 2000: 21). Furthermore, just as respectful attitudes toward standard languages exist in most

European societies, “it is clear that these beliefs are particularly pervasive in France”, and they are far from only being apparent in the populace, but are also found in published histories of the French language by respected scholars (Lodge 1993: 7).

Written Histories of French

“It is not unfair to maintain that the way in which the history of the French language has traditionally been written [...] has in fact been heavily conditioned by reverential attitudes to the standard language and by linguistic prescriptivism” (Lodge 1993: 7).

After examining traditional histories of French, Lodge discovered that what was meant by “the French language” tended to simply refer to the standard language extending back in history to Francien, the purported medieval dialect of Paris (Lodge 1993: 7). These histories are only of the standard, and usually its written form, which seems to imply that other varieties – colloquial, regional, popular, etc. – are of no interest (Lodge 1993: 7-8).

This concentration on the evolution of a single variety of French often cloaks a teleological yearning on the part of the historian for linguistic homogeneity. This is to say that many traditional histories seem to have had as their underlying purpose to trace the gradual reduction of obstacles to linguistic uniformity and to point the way to the seemingly inevitable triumph of the standard language (Lodge 1993: 8).

Histories of French tend to employ the metaphor of a battle in which the winner is French. The unstated function of the histories of the 16th century was to confer

historical legitimacy onto the developing standard over other varieties, as well as onto its competition for status with more dignified languages, such as Latin or Greek (Lodge 1993: 8). While this one-dimensional approach was not monopolized by histories of French, it does define a major section of the histories of French.

With Romantic nationalism influenced by Wilhelm von Humboldt's view of language as an expression of the spirit of a people at the beginning of the 19th century, histories of French began to focus on exploring and defining France's cultural specificity or what made the French people unique. "Since the French language had come [...] to symbolize French national identity, many came to the view that the rise of the French language signified the rise of the French people" (Lodge 1993: 9). In fact, French historian Jules Michelet even stated, "The history of France begins with the French language; language is the principal symbol of a nationality" (Jules Michelet quoted in Verrière 2000: 154). It was thus consistent for linguistic historians to correlate events in the external history of the French language with events that they considered to be milestones in the sociopolitical as well as literary history of France. "Each was felt to be inextricably bound up with the other, and both were conceived of as fundamentally unique" (Lodge 1993: 9).

Lodge argues that this Romantic view of history seems to have laid the ground rules for histories of French for 150 years since even today's histories tend to continue to use this approach (Lodge 1993: 9). He points to the now commonplace traditional period divisions in the history of French to highlight this fact: AD 500-842 Proto-French, 842-1100 Early Old French, 1100-1350 "Classical" Old French, 1350-1500 Middle French, 1500-1600 Renaissance French, 1600-1789 Classical French, and 1789-present-day Modern French (Lodge 1993: 9-10). The bases for these different periods have been fixed with reference to a varied set of criteria that are most often geared to political or literary, and only occasionally to linguistic events. For instance, the Strasbourg Oaths occurred in 842, and represent the first texts attesting to the separateness of French from Latin. Both Classical periods incorporate texts that have become valued in French culture. Middle French represents a transitional phase when French moved from alleged stability in the 13th century to imposed stability in the 17th century, and the year of 1789 is a completely political choice. "It is highly likely that this periodization owes more to political and literary history and to French national 'mythology' than to the reality of linguistic or sociolinguistic development" (Lodge 1993: 10).

Very frequently the periodization of the history of French is dominated by specific metaphors; sometimes, they are architectural and other times they are

anthropomorphic. “Such approaches are of course steeped in prescriptivism and, even more importantly, they are not ideologically innocent” as they make assumptions about the importance of particular historical events, which may be less important to someone from a different political or philosophical leaning (Lodge 1993: 10-11). “One of the consequences of this approach to the history of the language is that we are often given not so much ‘French linguistic history’ as ‘a history of France from the point of view of the language’ (with strong emphasis on tracing and no doubt legitimizing the diffusion of the Parisian standard)” (Lodge 1993: 11).

Prescriptive Ideas about Language and Linguistic Norms in France

French society is a society in which linguistic prescription has become extremely powerful (Lodge 1993: 155). “It is clear, when one looks at the history [...] of [...] French, that standardization [...] commonly involves the superimposition of *sur-normes* and [...] a strong tradition of purism” (Lodge 1993: 156). *Sur-normes* or prescriptive rules are legitimized and maintained by a structure of beliefs concerning the nature of language, and what is considered to be correct and incorrect within it, which is ultimately dictated by the dominant social and aesthetic values of a society (Lodge 1993: 156).

Milroy and Milroy (1985) label this structure the “ideology of the standard”, which holds the following tenets:

1. The ideal state of a language is one of *uniformity*; everyone should ideally both speak and write in the same manner. Non-standard usage is to some degree improper, and language change is to be deplored;
2. The written language is the most valid form of the language. Languages without a written form are deemed not be languages, but rather *idiomes*, *patois*, *parlers*, etc. While prestige norms for speech exist, speaking is considered to be less grammatically correct than writing. The purest form of language is to be found in the work of the society's best authors selected by the aesthetic values of the dominant cultural tradition;
3. The purest social form of language is *inherently better* – more elegant, clearer, more logical, etc. – than other varieties as it is the one employed by persons of the highest status and the greatest potential for exercising power. Other social dialects are debased – sloppy, slovenly, uncultivated, failed attempts to express oneself correctly – corruptions of the standard used by people of lower status who exercise little power (Milroy and Milroy 1985 explained in Lodge 1993: 156-157).

In highly centralized France, prescriptive ideas about language, such as the “ideology of the standard”, which was reinforced through the spread of literacy, “are exceptionally strong and are not uncommonly used by ruling groups as an instrument of power” (Lodge 1993: 157).

The French Language in France: History of French Linguistic Nationalism

In this section, three milestones will be examined: linguistic erasure with the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts (1539), the Jacobin Revolutionary period (1789-1799) and the French National period (19th century) when French dialectology was in service to the French nation.

The “Angien Régime”: The French State and Linguistic Erasure

Linguistic Erasure

The first step in the process of constructing language as a key in French political life was erasure – erasure of all other linguistic categories in order that only French would ever be named. Erasure is particularly apparent in the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts (1539) under François I, which constitutes the first piece of linguistic legislation in France, making the king’s language the only judicial language of the kingdom (Lodge 1993: 126-127). Whether the ordinance instituted French as the sole judicial language or simply confirmed an existing reality is still a matter of debate as is the case of which languages were excluded – simply Latin and/or local languages (Courouau 2012: 35). Regardless of its intent, the important point here is the manner to which languages other than French were referred. Article 111 of the text reads:

[...] all legal decisions and all procedures pertaining either to the highest courts or to the lower or inferior ones, whether they concern records, inquests, contracts, commissions, wills or whatever other legal acts or instruments or whatever is dependent thereon [...] should be pronounced,

registered and delivered to the litigants *in the French mother tongue and in no other way* (Costa 2016: 67)³.

Other languages or linguistic varieties other than French were not mentioned at all. The mention of French, and only French, amounts to an act of social magic that not only ratifies an already prevailing situation in which French was the administrative language of the Kingdom of France, but also imposes the idea of French as the sole language of power, and as a result, makes all other languages and linguistic forms invisible (Bourdieu 1980: 66). Without knowing the true goal of the ordinance, it certainly turned language into a political concern in France (Lafont and Anatole 1970: 277). Moreover, the general importance of the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts lies more in the central place it holds in French national mythology than in what it actually achieved (Boulard 1999: 45 and Citron 2008: 240).

It highlights a very hierarchical model, which reveals the structure of power in France of the period. The language of the king was to become the language of law and administration throughout the kingdom; a process that was well under way in 1539. In addition, language and place were dissociated since French was not only to prevail where it was spoken, if French was truly spoken anywhere, but it was to also become the sole language of all official functions

³ Translated by Anthony Lodge with a slight change made by James Costa.

throughout the kingdom. While the languages of the people were not banned, they were removed from specific administrative functions. As a result, this removal left no room for minority or provincial nations or peoples (Costa 2016: 69).

The principle “Other” in *Ancien Régime* France was thus a social one – the people – rather than a geographic one; the people as opposed to the ruling élite, the poor as opposed to the wealthy. This situation was exemplified in the 17th century when grammarians codified French based upon the “good usage” of the élite while simultaneously differentiating it with usage of the people (Lodge 1993: 169). “Groupness based upon the construction of particular geographic areas is thus not the prime intention of the linguistic politics of the time [...]” (Costa 2016: 70). Elites in the provinces gradually relinquished their use of local languages in favor of French, which indicates that geographical categorizations of groupness were less important than the social aspect.

Local languages were the purview of the common people whose history was thought to be different from that of the élite. The aristocracy indicated that it was descended from the Frankish aristocracy, whereas it deemed that the people were descended from the Gaulish tribes that they had conquered (Naudet 1827: 402). Two different social groups with different inherited rights, privileges and duties inhabited the same place, the Kingdom of France; however, they

neither shared the same genealogies nor the same foundation stories or myths (Naudet 1827: 402).

The Jacobin Revolution (1789-1793)

The role played by language during the French Revolution of 1789 is not as obvious as is usually affirmed by regional language advocates in France. The revolutionary narrative was not based upon “center versus periphery” or one seeking to eliminate provinces simply because they were provinces. Actually, according to British historian Eric Hobsbawm, nationalism, linguistic or otherwise, was not even part of the initial revolutionary project. The initial vision was a unitary one in which the nation and the people would be constructed under a single State (Hobsbawm 1990: 18-23).

In August 1790, Abbé Grégoire launched his infamous national study “on the *patois* and the morals of the people of the countryside”, in order to ascertain the linguistic situation of the country; however, it was not until after the Reign of Terror in 1793 that the revolutionary project added a monolingual ideal. The bourgeoisie, the new ruling élite, had long viewed local or provincial manners of speaking as backward and unfit for modern times. While the monarchy and the nobility were opposed to the Revolution from the start, eventually the Revolution entered into conflict with the pope, and as a result, the Roman Catholic Church as a whole. As a result, hostility regarding the Revolution

acquired a mass base resting upon traditionalism in the Counterrevolution camp (Agulhon 2001: 57 and Pasquier 2012: 55). While the monarchical ideal of the *Ancien Régime* had no plan to impose the use of French on all subjects or even to turn them into a uniform group, the revolutionary ideal now rested upon both of these elements in order to make the French, French (Weber 1976).

French Nation-Building from 1793: Erasure and Homogenization from Paris

Due to insurrections against the Revolution in the Vendée, Marseille, Lyon as well as in other locations, coupled with the emergence of the antirevolutionary base, the revolutionary leaders developed two truly “Jacobin” traits: the recentralization of power and an anti-traditionalist view. In order to efficiently wage war, the revolutionaries decided to recentralize power. Functionaries sent to the provinces as representatives of Paris replaced the elected authorities, who had either become rebels or were no longer trusted. In their attempts to soften the Jacobin revolution in Paris, the Girondins were suspected of federalism, which hereafter became associated with collusion with the royalist resistance.

In order to ideologically support their cause, the Jacobins adopted a brutal anti-traditionalism, which clearly targeted regional idioms as exemplified through Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac’s diatribe: “Federalism and superstition speak Breton; emigration and hatred for the Revolution speak German; the counter revolution speaks Italian, and fanaticism speaks Basque. Let us cast out

these instruments of shame and terror” (Agulhon 2001: 57). The ideological connotation is obvious, speakers of anything other than French were the enemy and were responsible for shame and error.

In 1794, Abbé Grégoire presented his “Report on the Necessity and Means to Annihilate the ‘Patois’ and to Universalize the Use of the French Language” to the National Convention in which he listed the enemies:

We no longer have provinces and yet, we still have around 30 ‘patois’ that recall their names. Perhaps, it is useful to name them: Bas-Breton, Norman, Picard, Rouchi or Walloon, Flemish, Champenois, Messin, Lorrain, Franc-Comtois, Burgundian, Bressan, Lyonnais, Dauphinois, Auvergnat, Poitevin, Limousin, Picard, Provençal, Languedocien, Velayen, Catalan, Béarnais, Basque, Rouergat and Gascon. [...] To these ‘patois’, one must also add the Italian of Corsica and of the Alpes-Maritimes and the German of the Upper- and Lower-Rhine since both of these idioms are very degraded there. (Grégoire quoted in Buisson 1882: 1209)⁴.

According to Occitan sociolinguist Philippe Martel, Grégoire broke with French tradition and named the enemy, which both generated interest and debates on the subject, which ultimately gave linguistic otherness a form of existence (Martel in Costa 2016: 73). Furthermore, “[i]t could be argued that the type of work Grégoire commissioned also contributed to anchoring the ‘patois’ in the new

⁴ This list includes a few mistakes – “Picard” is mentioned twice and “Rouchi” is a synonym for Picard, rather than for Walloon. Today, this list would be somewhat different, such as “Messin” would probably appear as “Platt” and “Rouergat” would probably not appear since it is a variety of Languedocien; however, at the time, it was France’s first attempt at a linguistic survey, which included different goals than simply enumerating the *patois* of France (Cerquiglini 2003).

regimes of knowledge and of representation of knowledge developed at the time, based on corpora, lists of words and dictionaries" (Costa 2016: 73). Grégoire believed that universalizing the use of French by eradicating the *patois*, as well as languages of minority communities, such as Yiddish, was the best way to transmit general knowledge, to merge all citizens into the national mass and to create a French people (Perret 2009: 221-232).

As a result of Grégoire's report, French, or the idiom of cultured Parisians, was politically and socially elevated to the status of language, while all other idioms were politically and socially reduced to the status of *patois*. French speakers became the socially dominant class, whereas all other idiom speakers were socially reduced to the lower classes (Cerquiglini 2003: 138). Grégoire declared, "The sweet voice of persuasion can accelerate to the era where these feudal idioms will have disappeared" (Grégoire quoted in de Certeau et al. 1975: 302). According to Grégoire, it was the ideological apparatus of State via the national education system, rather than political coercion, which could rid France of its *patois* and encourage its citizens to learn French (Achard 1988: 56). Local idioms were thus described as "corrupt" French to hasten assimilation to the national tongue (Cerquiglini 2003: 138).

The narrative of the revised revolutionary project thus focused upon language that had been developed during the regime of erasure implemented

after the Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêtes. The revolutionary project expanded this regime by constructing linguistic “Others” in terms of time, place and group. With French occupying the role of language *par excellence*, the “non-language” gradually came to be referred to as *patois* a categorization that widely survives to the present day (Boyer 2005 and Gardy 2001).

Occitan scholar Jean-François Courouau traced the history of the term “patois” from the 13th to the 17th centuries and discovered eight categories to which the term related: sounds of animals, language of children, language of rural residents, language of the past, language of religious alterity, unintelligibility, different and peripheral languages as well as foreign languages (2005: 217-219). Another study by linguist Paul Laurendeau discovered that the term “patois” first characterized certain stigmatized ways of speaking in the 17th century, and gradually, in the 18th century, came to categorize all forms of speech in France, other than French, in a hierarchical manner: first, language, and then *patois* (Laurendeau 1994: 148). According to Henri Boyer, the article on *patois* in the *Encyclopédie* (1765) of Diderot and d’Alembert demonstrates this shift:

Corrupt language as spoken in almost all of the provinces: each has its own *patois*; thus we have the Burgundian *patois*, the Norman *patois*, the Champenois *patois*, the Gascon *patois*, the Provençal *patois*, etc. The language is only spoken in the capital. I have no doubt that it is thus for all living languages, and that such was the case for all dead languages. What are the different dialects of the Greek language, other than the *patois* of the different parts of Greece? (Diderot and d’Alembert 1765 (12): 174; emphasis in the original and Boyer 2005: 76).

Per this 18th century definition, the term “patois” was not simply derogatory, as it had already been so in the 17th century, but it now reflected the persistent hierarchization of certain forms of speech as subordinate to others, as well as labeled and constructed *patois* as an illegitimate sub-language.

The final stage toward the shift to contemporary usage occurred in the last decade of the 18th century wherein *patois* became a deprecated term for any speech deemed to be corrupt and without rules to be progressively stamped out (Boyer 2005: 77). In other words, *patois* came to describe “non-language” and the opposite of real languages, such as English, French and German, which were deemed to be discrete, bounded and describable objects. Since *patois* denoted non-language, it made the association between a language, a people and a territory, which modernity indicated constituted real languages, impossible. No territory or people of “Patoisie” exists; moreover, “Patoisants” are not the residents of “Patoisie”, but rather the mass of illiterate speakers of *patois* who were supposed to abandon their *patois* for the national language in order to fully access political consciousness (Costa 2016: 72-73).

National Period: French Linguistics and Dialectology in Service to the French Nation

At the outset of the 19th century, the main principles of the French national account were in place. Cultural, social and territorial “Otherness” had been dealt with in previous centuries. Linguistic “Otherness” had denied the nomination of

other languages or linguistic varieties, which conferred sole authority onto French alone. However, the *patois* remained, which raised a number of questions concerning the origins and history of the French language itself (Cerquiglini 2007).

The revolutionary period was soon succeeded by the nationalist period over the course of the 19th century, wherein the French nation and State were deemed to coincide. The nationalist project, like the revolutionary one, envisioned groupness as a territorially bound nation under one State (Costa 2016: 75). The infamous statement made by Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac in 1794 to the National Convention concerning his report on idioms, explicitly associated language with national loyalties – French to France and other idioms to the enemies of the Revolution (i.e., neighboring States) – and exemplified making language an element on which to articulate nationalist ideology. In his report, Barère de Vieuzac described French as being beautiful and linked to democracy and human rights, while languages, other than French, were either treated as tools for collusion between anti-revolutionary forces in France or enemies outside of France.

Over the course of the 19th century, French nationalists found it paramount to inculcate the idea that there could only be one community, the national one, fundamentally linked to time and space into French national

consciousness. France was to be presented as a project that had unfolded through time, only to be realized in the 19th century (Citron 2008 in Costa 2016: 75). As language, specifically the French language, had created the French nation, its ideology had to be defended and strengthened. As a result, two important events occurred concerning language in the France of the 1870s and 1880s. The first involved the linguistic description of France itself and the second the “pure” origins of French.

The Francoprovençal Debate

Revolutionary and nationalist ideology had long claimed that France was a monolingual country despite its historic bipartition between the Oïl in the North and Oc in the South. However, in 1874, Italian dialectologist Graziadio Isaia Ascoli proposed a hypothesis that a third idiom, Francoprovençal, existed between Oïl and Oc based upon the indeterminacy of a number of *patois* around Lyon in France, in eastern Switzerland and northeastern Italy (Costa 2016: 75-76).

This hypothesis soon led to the questioning of the limits of Oc, the possibility of it having limits, and hence to its existence as a separate language from French. Since certain forms resisted the usual classification into Oïl and Oc, Gaston Paris and Paul Meyer, two French dialectologists who dominated French linguistics during this period, took the opportunity to indicate that France was a tapestry of linguistic forms, out of which no languages – other than French, the

unifying force – could be carved. According to this view, France’s ideal unity was thus maintained. Per Paris and Meyer, there could be no dialects in the contemporary Gallo-Romance linguistic domain since this notion was reserved for the Middle Ages or Ancient Greece. Through *Romania*, a journal that they both founded, Paris and Meyer argued that the village was the territory for French dialectology, rather than the provinces since the speech of each village gradually faded into the variety of the next village; no province thus had its own language or dialect, but rather a surplus of *patois* (Bergounioux 1989). In ideological terms, France was linguistically one, a mosaic of idioms merging into one another. The various *patois* were simply viewed as remnants of a bygone era, to be studied before they vanished forever, but certainly not to be promoted as they belonged to France’s past.

Paris and Meyer’s view derived directly from the dominate perspective regarding language in 19th century France; the State was the source of legitimate language, French, and thus the *patois* were in no way relevant (Branca-Rosoff 1990: 49). As a result, the *patois* had been absorbed by French and were testimonies to its past, and as should only document this history. The insinuation was ideologically clear; only language was valorized and all vernaculars had to die in order for France to modernize and advance (Costa 2016: 76).

The Francoprovençal debate eventually led to the definition of a north-eastern linguistic limit for Occitan, as well as to the institutionalization, among linguists at least, of a third Romance language in France, Francoprovençal. The gradual acceptance of Francoprovençal did lead to the consolidation of the bipartition of France hypothesis, but at a time, when it no longer really mattered. Despite this debate and others that followed, the principle according to which languages, other than French, should not be named in official discourse and legislation persisted, and the 1880s Ferry laws on education specified: “French only shall be used in the schools” (Martel 2007 in Costa 2016: 76). No idioms were officially banned; they were merely treated as nonexistent (Costa 2016: 76).

Francien and the Notion of Dialect in France (1830-1900)

The second event, linked with the first, and possibly even having begun earlier, despite having ended later, was the appearance of the notion of dialect in French linguistics. Based upon conclusions reached by Paris and Meyer, it appears that French linguistics of the period primarily served the national project, rather than science (Bergounioux 1989).

In France, in the 1830s, French philology had no interest in dialects as there were deemed to be only relevant to Ancient Greece or the Middle Ages in France. However, in Germany and Romance Switzerland, new studies were being carried out, which highlighted the importance of dialects. The new

importance attributed to dialects was ignored in France until philologist Gustave Fallot discovered the German and Swiss studies. Almost immediately, he broke with the traditional French position and stated:

The ancient provinces of France had at first deep down the same manner of speaking, simply different in the details. When one began to write, in each of these provinces, in vernacular, one could only write in the idiom, or to better say, in the dialect of the province. It was only later that the French language properly speaking was born from a mixture and fusion of these different dialects; and it was only later again that it stripped them all from the rank of written languages and relegated them to the rank of 'patois'. [...] I do not believe, after several observations and comparisons, that it is necessary to divide the ancient French language into more than three principle dialects [...] Norman, Picard and Burgundian (Fallot 1839: 10 and 14).

This statement created much debate among Romance philologists in France of the period. In the 1850s, in the preface to his dictionary, Emile Littré even made his stance known:

Why dialects and not 'patois'? It is because the unity of language and of literature did not exist [...]. During this high period, it was the literatures of Normandy, Picardy and Ile-de-France that had the primacy in number and quality of works. When the 14th century finished [...] it was at this moment that these dialects ceased to exist in France and the 'patois' took their place. Thus one will define the 'patois' as a dialect that no longer has a literature and serves only the usages of the communal life (Littré quoted in Bergounioux 1989: 25).

Through this statement, Littré attempted to balance scholarly discourse through the appropriation of the educated by suggesting, without a single justification, that the Ile-de-France once had its own dialect in the Middle Ages (Bergounioux 1989: 26).

Several years later, after France's defeat in the 1870 Franco-Prussian War and after Prussia annexed Alsace and the Germanic-speaking portion of Lorraine under the notion that language and nation should coincide, French dialectologists, Gaston Paris and Paul Meyer, again rallied to the national cause through language as the revolutionaries had done a century earlier. They argued that the French language was a "direct and pure descendent" of Latin through the dialect of the Ile-de-France (Paris), and was thus less-marred by Germanic influences than Burgundian, Norman and Picard (Bergounioux 1989: 37-38). Suddenly, a single dialect now mattered. However, the entity Francien did not exist, the term was simply invented in 1889 by Gaston Paris in his co-created journal *Romania* as a result of France's loss in the Franco-Prussian War.

This loss was interpreted as a significant blow to French unity, and in order to counter a powerful German empire that was unified by Berlin and the *langue* of Luther, French republicans or Jacobins deemed it necessary to highlight the unity of France through Paris, and its unique and national *langue* (Cerquiglini 1998). Since French republicans of the period credited Prussia's win to the efficacy of its teachers in instilling love of the homeland, they deemed the school system to be the best manner through which Paris, a centralized power, would be able to both spread its *langue* and love of France as republican ideals (Cerquiglini 1998).

Several scholars, such as Bernard Cerquiglini, Léon Gautier, and Robert Loriot, have demonstrated that Francien, the purported *dialecte* of Paris, was nothing more than French philology and dialectology serving the French nation and homeland, and perhaps the State (Bergounioux 1989). The term was simply created in 1889 by Gaston Paris to replace the term “*dialecte de l’Ile-de-France*” for ideological reasons (Brochard 1993 (1): 841). Among all of the authors of the 19th century looking into Francien, only three works have ever been found that may possibly be Francien, whereas Gaston Paris always cited no less than 12 (Bergounioux 1989: 31). No speakers, archives or literature attest to the former existence of the Francien *dialecte*. The only “proof” of its former existence is accomplished through metaphorical rhetoric from geography, botany and fine arts (Bergounioux 1989: 35-38). There is no historical record of Francien until 1870 when France and future-Germany were at odds over Germanic-speaking Alsace and the Germanic-speaking portion of Lorraine after France’s defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (Bergounioux 1989: 35-38).

According to French linguist Bernard Cerquiglini, one explanation and two era-related myths surround Francien in French national ideology. The classical explanation holds that National French derived from Francien, the *langue* of the king installed in Paris, and due to the royal authority of the Capetian monarchy, it slowly spread to other areas of France. In the 17th century,

it was purified and became exemplified through the “good usage” of the royal court (Cerquiglini 1998). While this explanation explains monoglossia and the unity of the French *langue* by giving it a unique and pure source, it also perfectly serves the ideology that made the *langue* an affair of State. Moreover, it is a myth, and like any myth is an origin tale and an explanation of the world (Cerquiglini 1998).

The 19th century myth holds that Francien was the *dialecte* spoken in the Ile-de-France that became the *langue* of the king, and thus “won the day against Anglo-Norman, Picard, Burgundian [and] Occitan in a sort of battle of ‘dialectes’” (Cerquiglini 1998). This myth relates to a sort of linguistic Darwinism in which only the strongest survived. Obviously, Francien was deemed to be the strongest, and thus won the battle. This version of the myth is the one held by Ferdinand Brunot, the author of the 13-volume *Histoire de la langue française* (Cerquiglini 1998). “Francien must not be considered as a mixture [...]. It is essentially the ‘parler’ of a region, as Norman is the ‘parler’ of another” (Brunot quoted in Cerquiglini 1998).

Cerquiglini noted in 1998 that this myth still appeared in the *Le Petit Robert* dictionary under its definition for “Francien” (Cerquiglini 1998). In fact, the myth still appeared in the 2016 edition, “‘Dialecte’ of the Langue d’oïl, spoken in the Ile-de-France and in the Orléanais in the Middle Ages, which

triumphed over the other ‘dialectes’ in order to create French” (*Le Petit Robert* 2016: Online)⁵. The *Trésor de la langue française* dictionary credits the history of the term to Gaston Paris in 1889 to mean a “word created by the Romanists, from ‘France’ (with suffix –ien) in order to distinguish the ‘dialecte’ of the Ile-de-France, which gave birth to French, after having triumphed over the other ‘dialectes’” and also employs the triumphed metaphor (*TLFi* 2015: Online).

The 20th century myth deals with the discovery around 1950 that no text in pure Francien had ever been found. Numerous unclassified texts fall into a common *langue* category based upon a “scripta franca” or common script. While this discovery could have negated the myth, it was so strong that it was simply modified to imply that the common script was that of Francien, and if Francien was not the unique basis of its origin, it was its director (Cerquiglini 1998).

⁵ In *Le Petit Robert* (2016), confusion seems to reign concerning the term “Picard” since its editors categorizes it as both a *langue* and a *dialecte*. Under the entry “Picard”, Picard is classified as a *langue*, but under a separate entry entitled “Note on the Picard ‘langue’”, it is described as a group of *parlers* and a *dialecte*; the word *langue* does not appear in the definition despite its appearance in the heading. The editors then state, “Picard was deposited [...] by the ‘dialecte’ of the Ile-de-France”, which again seems to refer to its status of “dialecte” according to them. Interestingly, among the Langues d’oïl, Picard is the only one, other than French, to be categorized as a *langue* with a mention of Langues d’oïl in the plural under the entry “Picard”; all others are either categorized as either a *dialecte* or a *parler* of French of oïl, not even of Langue d’oïl or Langues d’oïl (*Le Petit Robert* 2016: Online). The entry for “Oïl” only gives Langue d’oïl in the singular and lists its *dialectes*; furthermore, the “Note on the ‘langue’” is entitled “French of Oïl”, rather than “Langue d’oïl”; it thus seems obvious where the editors of *Le Petit Robert* stand in reference to the different Langue(s) d’oïl; however, the Picard entry does deviate, which may simply be an error (*Le Petit Robert* 2016: Online).

Regardless of the version of the myth – 19th or 20th century – Cerquiglini highlights four problems with it – Francien never existed, no external nor internal descriptions exist, and the term “Ile-de-France” is relatively new (Cerquiglini 1998).

Unlike the terms “Picard” and “Burgundian”, the term “Francien” never existed during the Middle Ages. Linguistically, neither external nor internal descriptions point to the existence of Francien. Externally, the term “Francien” cannot apply to the Ile-de-France since this geographical name did not appear until the 15th century. Its geographical area did not exist since that of Picard touched Paris; therefore, maps that include Francien are simple conjecture (Cerquiglini 1998).

Internally, no descriptions of Francien exist; Francien is essentially defined as, and described in opposition to Picard, Norman and Burgundian, etc. “It is what is neither Picard nor Norman nor Burgundian, etc.” “It is what remains after the passage of the sieve, a non-dialectal ‘dialecte’, without characteristics, and of which the other ‘dialectes’ would only be variations or deviances” (Cerquiglini 1998). In volume one of *Histoire de la langue française*, Brunot states, “There should not be a need to return to [Francien’s] characteristics. They have been given all along, then opposed in the preceding pages to the different characteristics of the East, West, etc.” (Brunot 1933 (1): 325). However, “in the

preceding pages” – from page 310 to 325 –, no characteristics of Francien are given, only characteristics of Picard, Norman, Champenois, etc. (Cerquiglini 1998).

During the Middle Ages, Paris and its region did not hold the power they later did. While Paris held considerable sway in the 12th century due to the importance of the Abby of Saint Denis and the University of Paris, their *langue* was Latin, neither Francien nor French. French kings did not spend a considerable amount of time in Paris until after 1180. Most of them were not interested in literature; they were only interested in tales of their glory, which were written in Latin. Literature was written outside of Paris and its region, notably in Champagne, Normandy and Picardy. The first document – the Charter of Paris – written in the local *langue* of Paris was not written until 1249 (Cerquiglini 1998).

It was historian Jules Michelet through his 19-volume *Histoire de France* that created the central myth of Paris – “a central and balanced France”; yet, while Paris may be at the geographical center of the Oïl domain (Northern France), when the Oc domain (Southern France) is added to form present-day France, Paris is no longer at the geographical center. It is only ideologically deemed to be at the center (Cerquiglini 1998).

While classical philology was geographic and produced linguistic maps, at the end of the 19th century, French philology was determined by its biases – royal centralism followed by Jacobin centralism, purism, epistemological realism in which a single spoken *dialecte* was the origin of the written *langue*. French philologists of this period began searching for the lost first text that would prove its origin without truly considering the possible oral origin of the *langue* (Hilty in Cerquiglioni 1998). They were convinced that a first text existed, and that the texts they found were simply miscopied versions. However, what they failed to realize was that writers availed themselves of a common script that was read aloud by professional readers who would adapt it to the dialect of their audience; in front of Picard-speakers, the text would be read in Picard, whereas in front of Norman-speakers, it would be read in Norman. These speakers were listeners, rather than readers since they could not read (Cerquiglioni 1998).

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This chapter explored the concept of nationalism, how it often avails itself of language in order to construct a national community. It was also demonstrated how France has exemplified the connection between language and nation since the 1789 Revolution.

The next chapter explores the diversity and unity of France from the *Ancien Régime* to the present-day.

CHAPTER THREE

Unity and Diversity: Cultural, Linguistic and Territorial, from *l'Ancien Régime*

End of the 'Ancien Régime'

At the end of the *Ancien Régime*, the State of France exhibited contradictory traits. Certain alluded to its unity, whereas others attested to its diversity (Revel 1992 (3.1): 855). French historians tend to highlight one element or the other depending upon their goal; however, according to historian Jacques Revel, "France of the end of the 18th century is at the same time a relatively heterogeneous assembly and a State strongly conscious of its unity on which it had exercised for a long time strong aspirations for uniformity" (Revel 1992 (3.1): 855).

Unity

The French monarchy from the 14th and 15th centuries, and especially the 17th century, benefited from a movement of centralization and standardization, which both founded and enforced its power. From Philippe IV to Louis XIV, a litany of royal ordinances imposed onto the different royal provinces a coherent ensemble of common laws, administration, rights, beliefs and culture (Revel 1992 (3.1): 855).

Other than the French monarchy, Roman Catholicism was the main unifying element among the French until the 18th century (Bell 2001: 187). “Spiritually and physically, the Church’s hold was all embracing in daily life. The priest kept the parish register, so he recorded births and deaths; furthermore, religious marriage was a binding contract” (Hayward 2007: 57). Also, primary education and rudimentary social services were under clerical control (Hayward 2007: 57).

Diversity

At the end of the *Ancien Régime*, France was a mosaic of assembled particularisms. From the royal domain, over several centuries, through different manners, a certain number of territorial communities, such as provinces, were contractually integrated into the kingdom (Revel 1992 (3.1): 854). The affirmation of their identities was perpetuated through the existence of particular laws and independent institutions that represented the group to the king. Provinces constituted their own societies with their own traditions, customs, languages or dialects and laws. The multiplicity of laws becomes more intense and complicated when looking at the date – more ancient or more recent – of integration into the kingdom, the territorial distance between the royal center and the province and potential similarities between certain provinces and neighboring communities within different states (Revel 1992 (3.1): 855).

Provincial Consciousness

In the 16th and 17th centuries and the beginning of the 18th centuries of the *Ancien Régime*, the French monarchy neither recognized provincial or regional cultures nor their territories. Royal celebrations in Paris were deemed to be national, whereas provincial celebrations in the provinces were simply seen as being of and for the “people”; however, this “people” was only defined by its alterity to the legitimate national Parisian culture (Revel 1992 (3.1): 860). In the eyes of the monarchy and its agents, the provinces were only viewed through the angle of diversity and variation. “They found their place within an inorganic continuum, without boundaries nor points of reference, of which unity only established itself in what opposed them to legitimate culture” (Revel 1992 (3.1): 860).

In the 1750s and 1760s, the Enlightenment ushered in a new science, anthropology. This new science was concerned with the diversity of mankind. While Germanic countries, especially Germany, were valorizing their popular cultures and folklore, France, through its élites, denigrated both of its. As a result, the term “folklore” has a negative connotation in France, whereas it does not in many other European countries (Bromberger 1996: 9). However, eventually, partisans of this new science applied it to explain the differences between the different provinces of France relying upon the strong consciousness

of provincial identity (Revel 1992 (3.1): 871). By looking at the social and cultural history of the individual provinces, a new consistency was given to them. It became evident that each province possessed its own culture and unity. “[...] [T]he anthropological distance between two European cultures is of the same type as that existing between two French provinces” (Le Bras and Todd 2012: 81). This same conclusion was previously reached by Montaigne hundreds of years before in Book II, Chapter XII of his *Essais* in the 1560s (1958: 489). However, it would not be until the creation of anthropology much later that certain French intellectuals would make the same realization, and thus the provinces would no longer be seen as archaic and backward, but as communities that needed to be understood via their individual histories (Revel 1992 (3.1): 871).

In the middle of the 18th century, members of provincial academies began to praise provincial histories and works (Revel 1992 (3.1): 860). These members no longer saw, as did the French monarchy, a contradiction between the national and local. It was through the study and writing of provincial histories that a provincial consciousness both expressed itself and found its support (Revel 1992: (3.1) 860). Through this undertaking, Daniel Roche, author of *Le Siècle des Lumières en province : Académies et académiciens provinciaux*¹ (1978), believes that

¹ *The Enlightenment in the Provinces: Academies and Provincial Academy Members.*

provincial academy members overcame their inferiority complex regarding Paris and its institutions (Revel 1992 (3.1): 860).

Provincial consciousness was not only expressed through history at this time, but also through cartography. Due to financial and political problems, the national map of France created by Cassini was severely criticized for having sacrificed topography to geometry. The provinces were particularly unsatisfied as they were misrepresented both geographically as well as in their interests. Rather than simply complaining, many of the provinces ordered their own maps: Burgundy and Guyenne in the 1760s; Languedoc in the 1770s followed by Provence, Artois and Brittany. The administrative preoccupation and economic interests in this undertaking affirmed a provincial identity, which was discreet and practical (Revel 1992 (3.1): 862).

The *Ancien Régime*, even under the absolute monarchy, was tolerant of provincial personalities and particularisms; however, it did not attribute any legitimacy to them other than a formal one, an area from which to collect taxes (Revel 1992 (3.1): 862-863).

1789 Revolution

The 1789 Revolution dramatically changed French society. The revolutionaries could no longer accept the society created by the monarchy. As a result, they decided to politically create the French nation, which required

equality among its citizens. For the first time in French history, the provinces came to the forefront as representatives of privileges, particularisms and irregularities in French society that needed to be abolished in order to engender equality (Revel 1992 (3.1): 863). On the night of August 4, 1789, the revolutionaries decided to abolish the privileges of the different territorial communities.

A national constitution and public liberty being more advantageous to the provinces than the privileges of which certain ones enjoy, and of which the sacrifice is necessary for intimate unity of all parts of the empire, it is declared that all the particular privileges of the provinces, principalities, 'pays', cantons, cities and communities of inhabitants, either financial or of any other nature, are abolished without recurrence and will remain combined in the natural right of all the French (Article 10 of Decree of August 11, 1789 quoted in Revel 1992 (3.1): 864)².

Paradoxically, in affirming the absolute priority of national unity and by providing the legal manners through which to create it, the revolutionaries either created or, at least, illuminated the potential provincial or regional problem in the construction of the nation (Revel 1992 (3.1): 864). By judicially eliminating the province, its identity and consciousness were amplified through the debates on how to repartition French territory (Revel 1992 (3.1): 864). Moreover, it is important to understand that interest in popular cultures and regional particularisms in France always tended to be high during periods of crisis and

² The province was just one among other territories with certain privileges; it just happened to be the primary entity (Revel 1992 (3.1): 864-865).

restoration when economic and demographic balances were skewed or when the foundations of the nation were shaken (Bromberger 1996: 12). The desire to change French society overnight illuminated its diversity and people's rootedness to place.

The revolutionaries decided that the new territorial repartition needed to be one of the decisive elements for national regeneration and a demarcation with the past. Remodeling the territory thus redefined the conditions of the social and political game. Through making all parts of the territory equal, regular and uniform, the revolutionaries aimed to politically balance the center and the periphery. To them, it was necessary to amplify the measures begun under the absolute monarchy in order to truly eliminate disparities, privileges and individual statuses, whether they applied to people or to territories. As a result, the creation of the *départements* on the night of August 4, 1790 was for them an egalitarian reform in which all Frenchmen were submitted to the same law as well as to the same representative regime (Roncayolo 2001 (2): 186).

"The nation was defined, created, or recreated by the state, which meant that subnations and subnational identities were deprived of political legitimacy and integrated into the nation-state. The nation, thus redefined, was to be composed, not of communities, but of individuals" (Safran 1991: 221). This Jacobin notion led to the delegitimation of ethnic groups and intermediate

groups of all kinds: political, geographic, cultural, linguistic, and religious.

Through this philosophy, members of the nation were hereafter undifferentiated (Safran 1991: 221). Furthermore, the newly reduced territories were supposed to cut the link between local language and territory (Bell 2001: 175).

While critics point to the *département* as being the means through which the central administration aimed to centralize, it was not a fact at this point in time. Members of the Constituent Assembly were divided between Girondins and Jacobins, and the former were less interested in administrative centralization than were the latter (Roncayolo 2001 (2): 186). Despite this difference, they both believed in the unity and the authority of the State. As a result, the *départements* were to all members simply fractions of a unitary territory that ensured unity by drawing the citizen closer to the administration. "Divide to unite", was the intent of the Constituent Assembly's plan, explains historian Marie-Vic Ozouf-Marignier (quoted in Roncayolo 2001 (2): 186-187).

Through the creation of the *départements*, the revolutionaries believed that local differences, either created by geography or history, would be minimized, as well as surpassed, allowing for the formation of a unified nation (Roncayolo 2001 (2): 188). The *département* "shall produce the inestimable advantage of fusing the local and the particular into the national and public, making all the inhabitants of this empire French, rather than the people of Provence, of Normandy, of Paris, of

Lorraine that they are today” (Adrien Duquesnoy 1789 quoted in Pasquier 2015: 24). The revolutionaries thought that the nation would be the apogee of its different parts and would represent the universal and the homogenous, or the general, while its parts (the *départements*) would represent the partial and the heterogeneous, or the particular (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 465).

In ideologically defining, in an effort to create, the French nation, the revolutionaries inversed the traditional idea of France in which the different parts were often seen to be more important than the whole due to their different particularisms. While the particularisms of the parts remained, they had been both ideologically absorbed into the notion of the “new”, revolutionary France and reduced in size, at least territorially, by the creation of the *départements* (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 466).

In so defining the nation, the two territorial entities – the national and the local – were deemed to be complementary, but not equal. Local particularisms were characterized as archaic and out of date, while the national were characterized as modern and universal. “The local is the childhood of the national” after all (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 466).

The long negotiations of territorial reform, begun in the autumn of 1789, affirmed a provincial consciousness. Faced with disappearance, the provinces found themselves greeted with new interest and new-found importance. While

several years previous, the ledgers of grievances contained criticisms of the numerous royal territories – parliaments, governments, etc. –, at this time, they now contained complaints against the territorial reform as it would be an attack on provincial identity (Revel 1992 (3.1): 866). The provinces most against the reform were peripheral provinces and *pays d'état*³ – Brittany, Artois, Franche-Comté, Dauphiné, Provence and Béarn –, which were often most recently incorporated into the kingdom and held strong linguistic or cultural particularities. Occasionally, they also held strong solidarity with territories situated outside of the French national territory. None were willing to renounce their administrative or fiscal privileges. Furthermore, their inhabitants indicated that their provincial consciousness was unbreakable (Revel 1992 (3.1): 866-867).

This fact led the Baron de Jessé to ask, “How to conquer the feeling that attaches the inhabitants of the provinces just as much to the name of the soil as to the soil itself?” (Baron de Jessé quoted in Revel 1992 (3.1): 867). According to the Count de Mirabeau, the territorial repartition infringed upon the natural order and intangible solidarities. “I well know that one would neither cut the houses nor the bell towers, but one would cut what is more inseparable, one would cut all the links that strengthened for such a long time the morals, the habits, the productions and the language” (Count de Mirabeau quoted in Revel 1992 (3.1):

³ “Countries” of state; provinces that had held onto their individual parliaments.

867). The remarks of the Count de Mirabeau effectively linked the social, historical and natural to the territory. In other words, his remarks rooted the three elements into a territory (Revel 1992 (3.1): 867).

Local deputies were invited to divide their province into *départements* with the Committee of Division. The committee's role was to simply decide upon the number of *départements* and to end any potential stalemates between local deputies (Roncayolo 1992 (3.1): 888). As a result, the *départements* were created out of the ancient provincial boundaries, while at the same time, creating functional spaces in which local particularisms would be less menacing for national unity. The names of the new *départements* rely upon geography in order to place them within the national space, rather than upon the names of the former provinces (Roncayolo 1992 (3.1): 890).

After the "federalist" period of 1793-1794, wherein several *départements* railed against the power of Paris, all diversity became suspect (Revel 1992 (3.1): 870). Local particularity came to be seen as the inverse of the national. While in 1789, local particularities had been absorbed into the nation, in 1793-1794, they were seen to be resilient, and as a result, had to be eliminated (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 467). The national project's goal became to erase political, social and cultural differences between the inhabitants of France (Revel 1992 (3.1): 870). The provincial personality was slated to dissolve after the provinces ceased to exist.

The national project only had room for a united, and then unified France (Revel 1992 (3.1): 870).

The desire to eliminate the local particularity of 1793-1794 mirrors, or is linked with, the desire to eliminate the *patois* begun in 1790 under Abbé Grégoire (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 467). The 1794 infamous invective of Barère “[f]ederalism and superstition speak Breton, emigration and hatred of the Republic speak German; counter-revolution speaks Italian and fanaticism speaks Basque. Let us break these instruments of injury and error” (Barère quoted in Bell 2001: 169) demonstrates that the particular, here language, was placed outside of the nation. The local – *patois*, particularity and territory – became the antithesis of the national – language, universality and nation – located in Paris. The opposition between the center and the periphery intensified around the national or universal and the local or particular (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 467).

Revolutionaries turned to the anthropological works of the 1750s and 1760s to determine what in the provinces prevented revolutionary progress. “Rather than consider the habits as erratic witnesses of a fundamental inferiority, one looks to understand the consistency in order to better dissolve it” (Revel 1992 (3.1): 874). Whereas the intellectuals who had studied the provinces during the Enlightenment had concluded that they were not backward, the revolutionaries had not changed opinion; however, each group had different goals. The

intellectuals' goal was to describe and understand, whereas the revolutionaries' goal was to transform into a united political unit, and thus to modernize. The revolutionaries sought to use the provincial anthropological works to uncover cultural and psychological traits that might have been preventing social and political transformations among the former provinces' inhabitants (Revel 1992 (3.1): 874).

“The [1789] Revolution is thus this paradoxical moment that combines unitary desire and the discovery of regional differences, one bearing on the other” (Revel 1992 (3.1): 874). With that being said, on the ground, not all provincial identities were as developed as others. Certain provinces – Alsace, Brittany and Roussillon – were strongly particularistic, while Franche-Comté was to a lesser degree. Gascony and Burgundy were both derived from former political units conscious of their glorious pasts, but were also rearranged in the administrative and political domains of the kingdom. Others had already been long enough attached and assimilated to the kingdom to no longer possess any true particularities (Revel 1992 (3.1): 874).

The existence of a consciously distinct linguistic community, the demand for lost or forgotten privileges, a resistance against French centralization, the attraction of centrifugal forces, and the unity of local élites to the monarchy, and then to the revolution are all elements that molded provincial personalities in

addition to having rendered them unequally noticeable and conscious, too. While these elements were sometimes noticeable to the different functionaries sent into the periphery armed with Parisian politics, their descriptions and reports rarely aligned with what the central administration asked of them. While neither their loyalty nor their confidence in the revolutionary project were suspect, they were overwhelmed with numerous realities and resistances in the provinces. As a result, they focused upon the particularities that they believed to be the most responsible for hindering integration into French society, which differed from province to province (Revel 1992 (3.1): 874-875). The functionaries thus charged with rendering “the provincial opacity readable finished by constituting it into an insurmountable obstacle” (Revel 1992 (3.1): 875).

The statistics compiled on the *départements* directed, surveyed and commented upon from Paris attempted to avoid being bogged down in the immense diversity of France; however, the statistician’s work soon exhibited the anthropological description of the *départements* or even of certain cantons, *pays* or *terroirs* that constituted a *département*. As a result, during the first years of the Empire, the statistical project was further centralized and standardized to only look at quantifiable information. The *département* thus ceased to be the place where one discovered France, and became the place where one observed France (Revel 1992 (3.1): 876-877).

Rather than having succumbed to the measures designed to eliminate them, local cultures flourished even though elements that had supported them – the Gregorian calendar and the monarchy – no longer existed. The survival or permanence of local cultures caused travel story writers and administrative statisticians to see in them the product of a milieu that reflected the character and traditions anchored in the habits of the native residents. “Off to discover a young people on a very old territory, travel story authors and reporters of statistics revealed a very old people of a very young territory – the ‘département’” (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 468). In other words, the continued existence of the particular can be explained by the depth of its roots in local tradition.

In the 19th century arose strong regional sentiments, even if they were unequally felt in the former provinces. These regional attachments created cultural regionalisms based upon the strength of local tradition that produced provincial stereotypes, which are highly responsible for the “characterology” of French regions today (Revel 1992 (3.1): 877). For instance, in Brittany, the rediscovery of its historic, archeological and literary patrimony in the 19th century allowed Bretons to establish a positive regional identity, whereas the large number of immigrants from North Africa complicated the long and prestigious history inherited from Greece and Rome in Provence (Revel 1992 (3.1): 878).

Results of the 1789 Revolution

The revolutionaries had hoped by abolishing the provinces and their privileges and by creating in their stead politically homogeneous *départements* that the diversity of France would give way to both unity and uniformity; however, this goal did not truly come to pass. While the French were socially, politically, and even largely culturally united after the 1789 Revolution, uniformity neither quashed the attachments to the former provinces nor their diversity. Furthermore, the *départements* were territorially constituted with land from the former provinces, and their inhabitants still felt, and feel, themselves today to be Alsatian, Breton, Champenois, Franc-Comtois, Lorrain, Picard, Provençal, etc. (Revel 1992 (3.1): 878). Therefore, while the 1789 Revolution did not create the region, it provided the means of provincial or regional nostalgia through creating the French nation via cultural levelling and standardization (Revel 1992 (3.1): 878). This nostalgia also applies to different territories that do not always coincide: province, *pays*, region, local, and even center vs. periphery. In other words, rather than simply having created a French national identity, the 1789 Revolution created different French identities (Revel 1992 (3.1): 879).

The "Département" Used to Study Revolutionary Progress: Early 19th Century

While the *département* had been born primarily for political demands and opportunistic arguments, under Napoléon, it became the source of knowledge of

French society (Roncayolo 2001 (2): 197). The administration of the territory and its description were part and parcel of its exploration. While geography was neglected in the creation of the *départements*, it ended up becoming important in knowledge about them. In order to make the territorial institutions function, the central administration had to know of their resources, geography and the mentality of their residents. The unification of the administration and the territory thus soon led to identifying the particularities, which had been banished by decree, of the countryside. However, simply banishing particularities from the institutional construction did not imply that they no longer existed (Roncayolo 2001 (2): 197).

For the unified administration, these particularities now needed to be handled; however, in order to handle them, they had to be identified. Paradoxically, the progress of centralization, in which administrators moved throughout France from post to post, required the acquisition of information and knowledge about the local territory and its population. The central administration thus increased and revealed its interests: measuring revolutionary changes, opinion polls, development projects, lists of resources and the moral situation of the French population (Roncayolo 2001 (2): 197-199).

From investigations or reports to imperial statistics, an inventory of the territory and its residents was undertaken through the optic of the *département*

(Roncayolo 2001 (2): 199). However, the territorial search for knowledge was simply encyclopedic, rather than anthropological since they were simply being listed, rather than being studied or understood. “Before their final disappearance, regional particularisms needed to be mentioned one last time, in order to inscribe them in the common, but bygone past, and to mark the departure point of a new era in national history” (Ködel 2013: 32). Statistics of the *départements* aimed to be both collections of memories and guides to action. Memories of particularities that were being “phased out” and guides of how to act and think as a French citizen (Roncayolo 2001 (2): 199).

The Bureau of Statistics was charged with evaluating the progress or evolution of French society since 1789 to the early 1800s. Its work was focused upon two questions: What changes had been accomplished and which ones had yet to occur? In this manner, the bureau was both the surveyor of remnants of the *Ancien Régime*, as well as that of changes initiated by the 1789 Revolution.

In the statistical reports of the *départements*, the particularisms became archaisms, remnants of an already bygone era that had been banished from the present as well as the future of the nation. The prefects described the regional particularisms as a true ethnography of France; the diversity of traditions and customs appeared to them as exotic, which demonstrated heterogeneous elements in a society already considered to be uniform (Ködel 2013: 32). The

diversity of languages, more than any other domain, seemed to clearly denote the unachieved state of the national project; however, this linguistic diversity was described as temporary; the last remnant of a bygone era that would soon give way (Ködel 2013: 32).

“Départemental’ statistics is thus largely the description of an imaginary France that clearly allowed the cultural diversity to reappear under the gaze of the prefects, but was no longer seen as a viable, daily reality” (Ködel 2013: 32); however, the State and the enlightened administration were nonetheless driven to survey it, in order to master it, as well as to make it completely disappear. In contrast to the administration’s desires, the documentation of regional differences, as well as cultural and linguistic particularisms contradicted the image of French society, which the administration attempted to produce. This documentation of France revealed two opposing facts: the achieved political and institutional unity of the State and the continued diversity of the French populace, which had not been transformed through the revolutionary process as desired. “The ideal of an equal and modern society was confused with the homogenization of most aspects of the social life of its citizens. Their cultural differences had to disappear in the name of the progress of France” (Ködel 2013: 32).

The political interest behind the description of France, under the new regime, was not only to understand all details of the life of the nation, but also, and most importantly, to influence it. “[...] [S]tatistics constitutes a true assumption of possession through which the new regime claimed and seized the heritage of monarchial France [...], legitimation of the new regime in a distant past” (Ködel 2013: 33). The Bureau of Statistics was called upon to institutionalize the past by illustrating the history of the nation, rather than that of the kings. In this manner, the social and cultural diversity was thus also a result of the identity of the nation, rather than of the kings. Through this logic, the State tried to appropriate regional traditions and particularisms that could no longer escape the influence of the administration (Ködel 2013: 33). To this end, description was seen as the best tool to demonstrate all that still appeared chaotic, strange and irrational, in order to arrive at a better understanding that would ultimately influence the social and cultural life of the French (Ködel 2013: 33).

Départemental statistics were thus an instrument of the administration; the exact knowledge of life conditions of its citizens was seen to be indispensable to abolish social and cultural differences; however, the descriptions of the prefects were often vague since the prefects tended to describe them as phenomena at a distance in both space and time. As a result, social and cultural differences were

transformed into exotic, remote and archaic elements. Instead of being rejected by the prefect, regional particularisms became the objects of a learned curiosity that avoided criticism since particularisms were viewed as only retaining their significance in history, space and learned thinking (Ködel 2013: 33).

Statistical knowledge served the nation. Numerous ministerial memos encouraged prefects to observe and classify phenomena, which they were required to note in their reports. The equal division of the national territory into *départements*, which were created to assist in uniting the French, constituted the domain for this observation and description; however, under this unifying unit, cultural, linguistic and geographical limits continued to exist. The *département* revealed itself to be unsuitable to grasp cultural and linguistic phenomena (Ködel 2013: 34).

While the medieval *pays* and provinces had lost their significance as political and administrative entities, they reappeared under the watchful eye of the prefects, who were attentive to find adequate dimensions within which to describe observed phenomena. This situation left its mark in the naming of popular *parlers* – *patois* of Bresse, Poitevin *langage*, Savoisien *patois*, etc. (Ködel 2013: 34). In the reports of the prefects, France appeared as a mosaic of linguistic and cultural particularisms. While the description of regional particularisms illustrated the richness of the nation for the academies and learned societies of

the provinces, it demonstrated its imperfection for the central administration.

“The evident contradiction between the observed diversity and the imagined unity impose[d] a clear conclusion; the reality must be adapted to the image, and statistics would show the path” (Ködel 2103: 34).

Moving from *départemental* statistics to the intellectual realm shows a difference in how the continued diversity of France was interpreted. In 1861, French historian Jules Michelet ideologically employed the continued particularities of France to its benefit. The *Tableau de la France*, the first chapter of the third book of the *Histoire de France* (1871), perfectly demonstrates this fact. While previous historians had believed that France was always destined to be a unified nation and country, in his *Tableau*, Michelet argued that the fact that France became a unified nation and country was a miracle (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 471). Michelet indicates that national unity – the triumph of the national over the local – began with the breakdown of the feudal regime. The history of France per Michelet’s *Tableau* is organized around the opposition between the universal nation and the particular local in which the nation is described as modern, whereas the local is described as outdated. A clear moral progression is highlighted through this work.

In this way was formed the general, universal spirit of the country. Local spirit disappeared each day; the influence of the soil, climate and race ceded to social and political action. The destiny of place was defeated. Man had escaped from the tyranny of material circumstances [...] Society

and liberty had mastered nature; history had erased geography. In this marvelous transformation, spirit had triumphed over substance, the general over the particular, and the idea of the real (Michelet 1861: 227 quoted in Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 472).

For Michelet, local particularisms became the historical foundations of national unity. Michelet thus ideologically attempted to diminish without destroying the local and particular for the profit of the national and universal. National unity is orchestrated by the center, where the universal dominates, and is realized through centralization by eliminating local spirit and provinciality. According to Michelet, “Paris summarizes France who distributes the duties and roles of each province” (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 472).

Around twenty years later, in his *La France provinciale* (1888), René Millet, diplomat and official representative of the French government to Tunisia (1849-1900), demonstrated that he strongly disagreed with Michelet’s belief that Paris summarized France.

A certain number of [...] compatriots and almost all foreigners think that it suffices to know Paris in order to know France [...]. To them, Paris seems to be the complete, unique and definitive expression of [French] civilization. [...] I know of no other attitude more false and more insulting for [this] country. [...] Paris is not France (Millet 1888: v-vi).

Millet clearly takes offense at both certain French people and foreigners alike in believing that Paris is France; the provinces helped create French civilization. History is a balance between geography and equality and politics and hierarchy (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 472). Where the royal tradition of history focused upon the

description of different provinces of the kingdom annexed over time, Michelet described the contributions the different provinces brought to the French nation, and as a result of not having attained their historical destiny of becoming their own independent nations, they fell into ruins (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 472).

Michelet's 24 provincial descriptions follow the same schema. Nature defines the province, the physical traits determine the character of the native inhabitants, and the harmony between man and the soil demonstrates what the province has contributed to France. Each element is tinged with the influence of the soil and climate of its origin. Within this schema, Michelet also prioritizes how the inhabitants, landscape, habits and customs of the province lead to its ruin. For Michelet, the province's ruin and sterility was the fault of its particularity (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 473). "Placed in the general economy [section] of the *Histoire de France*, [the *Tableau*] is only a parenthesis, which allows for the focus upon a purely national history" (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 473).

The First French Empire (1804-1814) continued the marginalization of the local and the particular. The creation of the *Statistique générale de la France*⁴, in 1835, also continued the marginalization. As statistics are the study of numerical data, the entire French space was treated in the same manner without giving any place for the particular. The functioning of the State treated the national territory

⁴ General Statistics Office of France.

as a homogeneous entity where the only differences were attributed to level (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 473-474).

The July Monarchy (1830-1848) continued local marginalization, which can be highlighted through the actions of François Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction between 1832 and 1837, with the creation the *Société de l'histoire de France*⁵ in 1833 and the *Comité des travaux historiques*⁶ in 1834. While the two organizations were charged with creating original documents relating to the nation's history, the State was in control of the organization, and of what would be published; therefore, activities were strictly centralized. The State's goal was to eliminate any history considered to be potentially particular and thus eliminating any localism from the national history of France. The State thus took the eminent role of defining national history, and local history became absorbed into it (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 475).

The State's control of national history in which the local was marginalized and absorbed by the national can be shown through two studies on the *patois* of the 19th century. In 1807, the Minister of the Interior asked *départemental* prefects to have the Parable of the Prodigal Son translated into the *patois* of their *département*. In 1863, the Minister of Public Instruction asked the *départemental*

⁵ Historical Society of France.

⁶ Committee of Historical Works.

prefects to determine the number of Francophones and *patois*-speakers in their schools.

In the first request, and study, the State was interested in gauging the gap between the linguistic past and the desired linguistic present and future, while in the second request, and study, the State wanted to assess cultural backwardness. While both studies took place in the different *départements*, both eliminated the local from any truly particular content since the focus of the studies was on gaps and backwardness, rather than on the actual particularity of the location (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 475).

Despite the marginalization of the local space and the particular by the State, they survive. Travel stories prior to the 1789 Revolution and those from the Romantic period became a literary genre, which assisted in the valorization, and possible, maintenance of the particular (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 475).

Furthermore, the multiplication of *sociétés savantes*⁷ within cities of the former provinces attests to their valorization and maintenance. In 1862, 204 learned societies existed throughout France, while in 1903, 915 existed. Learned societies were at their apex when World War I occurred, which subsequently lead to their decline (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 477).

⁷ *Sociétés savantes* (learned societies) studied, and continue to study, the history, culture, language, folklore and nature of the province in which they worked (Bercé 1984 (2.2): 534).

Localism triumphed under the learned societies as their members were in control of both the research and its publication unlike under the *Société de l'histoire de France* and the *Comité des travaux historiques* (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 481-484). One of the most visible ways through which they valorized the local space and its particularity was through the construction of local or provincial museums. From 1830 to 1914, the *sociétés savantes* created over 100 local museums (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 489). While the *sociétés savantes* created numerous local museums, they were not the only group to do so. Local élites in numerous communes assisted in the creation of local museums (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 488-489). In 1814, 43 local museums existed in France. By 1907, their number had grown to 255, and their number had intensified by 1982 to 802 (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 486). While the local museum was created through local and collective initiatives, it now truly represents local history (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 489). The first local museums were predominately fine art museums most often charged with showcasing the patrimonial idea of the 1789 Revolution – universality – and thus exhibited based upon the theme “the progress of the human spirit”; however, under the Restoration, more and more archeological museums were constructed, which switched the patrimonial view from the universalistic to the particularistic, changing their focus to move toward showcasing the totality of the local throughout its history (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 491-492).

A third type of local museum – ethnographic – was created in the 20th century. In 1937, 24 existed, and the first was the *Museon Arlaten* created by Frédéric Mistral to showcase the Provençal local in Arles (Gasnier 1992 (3.2): 492). These ethnographic museums showcased folk arts and traditions and thus centered upon local patrimony.

Ideological Change Under the Third Republic (1870-1940)

After France's loss to Prussia in 1871 and the advent of the Third Republic, the central administration changed its stance on the local and particular. Prussia's annexation of Alsace and the Germanic-speaking portion of Lorraine questioned the notion of borders and blurred the separation between the local and national, which the 1789 Revolution had raised (Gasnier 2001 (2): 272). Soon, "[t]he local became the basis for defining France; the newly installed Republic anchored its functions and rituals in it; and it became finally one of the commonplaces of the dominant culture" (Gasnier 2001 (2): 271). Approaches to France now passed through the inventory of its infinite diversity⁸. Thierry Gasnier indicates that during this time, France can be described as "one, yet divisible", rather than the normal "one and indivisible" heard today (2001 (2): 271).

⁸ Stéphane Gerson's book *The Pride of Place: Local Memories and Political Culture in Modern France* (2003) addresses this situation.

The beginning of Lavisse's renowned *Histoire de France*, which is entitled the *Tableau de la géographie de la France*, succinctly illustrates this change. In its opening, Lavisse describes the diversity of landscapes and lifestyles, which according to him create the diversity of France. This diversity is described through the unending division of territory down to its smallest component: the natural regions and the *pays* (Gasnier 2001 (2): 271). Through this approach, the geographer and historian is allowed to grasp the intimacy that unites a territory and a group of people. Anchoring the differences firmly in the soil does not necessarily lead to the shattering of the whole, but rather leads to the prominence of solidarity among its parts. For Lavisse, France is situated at the crossroads of the differences that form it; as a result, the local becomes the element for identifying the real France. In other words, the local permits what is "fixed and permanent" in France to be understood (Gasnier 2001 (2): 271).

The French school of geography was pivotal in redefining the French nation around the local. This school individualized the fundamental units of French territory based upon its human population, landscape and customs. The rurality of France, exemplified in the local, was thus placed at the center of every definition of France (Gasnier 2001 (2): 272).

This same rural orientation was reinforced by the rejection of the urban modernism of the Second Empire and gave rise to a systematic collection of local

traditions. In the 1870s, three reviews were founded to study and publish information about local traditions, and in 1886, the *Société des traditions populaires* and its review were created. All societies and reviews were charged with studying local languages, literatures and customs. The prominence of rural patrimonial diversity was accompanied by the addition of a “salle de France”⁹ in the *Musée d’ethnographie*¹⁰ in 1888, which featured costumes and habitats from the different provinces. Between 1904 and 1907, a four-volume study entitled the *Folklore de la France* appeared filled with local monographs (Gasnier 2001 (2): 273).

In 1900, history entered the movement through the *Revue de synthèse*¹¹, which studied local history. The first volume, contained two important articles – “Réflexions sur l’histoire provinciale” (Berr) and “Introduction à l’étude des régions et des pays de France” (Foncin) (Gasnier 2001 (2): 273)¹². The authors of the two articles were charged with providing a synthesis of the topic. We needed to provide “a very precise psychology of our France” (Berr) and “[to] build in some way a temple to France and its regions” (Foncin) (quoted in Gasnier 2001 (2): 273). In 1903, the first monograph was published on Gascony; nine others

⁹ Room of France.

¹⁰ Museum of Ethnography.

¹¹ “Synthesis Review”.

¹² “Reflections on Provincial History” and “Introduction to the Study of the Regions and the *Pays* of France”.

followed over the years. Those for Picardy and Provence were never published. In the general introduction to the series, Henri Berr indicated that each monograph's author decided upon which division he would write, which were usually the *pays* of the province (Gasnier 2001 (2): 273). However, in the second volume, Paul Lorquet dismissed the *pays* and the province and focused upon the commune in order to truly "reconcile data from geography and history" (Gasnier 2001 (2): 273-276).

In 1911, the Society of Local Studies was created within the public education system. Teachers would be rewarded by academic palms and medals if their lessons or research and publications ultimately contributed to the teaching of local history and geography (Thiesse 1996: 12). The memo of February 25, 1911 explicitly stated the goal of public instruction: "to encourage the studies of local interest among teaching members, to publish critical bibliographies of history, of folklore, of geography [and] of regional philologies [...]" (Thiesse 1996: 12). Not to be left out, Catholic schools also embraced the focus upon the local. The Abbé Maurice even said, "The usefulness of historic research to provide to the people readings attaching them more to their soil, to their steeple, makes them love the old traditions of the 'pays'" (Abbé Maurice quoted in Thiesse 1996: 14-15).

The Third Republic School

While the leaders of the Third Republic allowed the definition of the nation and national identity to encompass difference, they also affirmed French unity despite this difference. As the new definition described the singularity of the local, it also denied it any other form of existence other than within the national realm. As a result, the local could neither enter into conflict with the national nor amongst each other (Thiesse 1996: 5-6). Ideologically, redefining the nation in this manner allowed France to redefine France's eminence among other nations, and to disarm internal conflicts (Thiesse 1996: 6).

The Third Republic was a time of strong affirmation of national identity; however, "the confirmation of this national identity was not accomplished by the denial of local identities, as one often believed, but rather by their celebration" (Thiesse 1996: 2). During the Third Republic, rather than being opposed, the national and the local were seen as being completely united; the local was the foundation of the national (Thiesse 1996: 2). "It was not a matter of only integrating the local into the national, but rather of giving the local feeling of belonging as a privileged access mode to national consciousness" (Thiesse 1996: 2). Throughout the Third Republic, regionalism was alive and well; numerous activities were undertaken in order to promote local or regional identities; however, according to historian Anne-Marie Thiesse, it was the State itself through the republican elementary school that was the most successful.

The republican elementary school, which was sometimes depicted as the theater of a combat without mercy led by tireless Jacobins against regional cultures, had actually cultivated the feeling of local attachment as the indispensable foundation of the feeling of national attachment (Thiesse 1996: 2).

The French State tapped into the natural attachment one felt for his or her native locality in order to teach one to love France in a similar manner.

Since the loss of Alsace and the Germanic-speaking portion of Lorraine was seen as a blow to French patriotism, the national education system was charged with teaching French patriotic feeling to the masses. The directors of the national education system believed that children were not skilled at abstraction, and therefore, decided to teach about the *patrie*¹³ and nation in a concrete manner (Thiesse 1996: 8).

The *petite patrie* is a likeable and protective space in between the family and the society wherein one blossoms and develops. The *petite patrie* is a maternal entity, and the love of it is declared natural like how a baby loves its mother. The *grande patrie*, while it is also feminine, it is also more aloof and virile. Love of the *grande patrie* is not instinctual, but must be taught (Thiesse 1996: 9-10). The directors of the national education system decided to tap into the *petite patrie* in order to teach about the *grande patrie*. In 1911, the minister of Public Instruction, Maurice Faure, prompted the academies' rectors to teach local

¹³ Homeland.

history and geography in order to develop the knowledge and affective attachment to the *petite patrie*.

It is a too certain regrettable fact that most of the pupils and too many French ignore almost entirely all that relates to the geography and history of the commune, of the 'département', where they were born, and of the former province of which this 'département' was a part before the Revolution. There would be however the most serious advantage to all to know well the particular appearance of the native soil, its resources, customs, morals of its inhabitants, their traditions, tales, proverbs, legends, the role that it played in the past [...]. One is more attached to one's 'pays' if one has numerous reasons to love it, to feel in a certain way united with lost generations; the love of the native soil [...] is the most pure foundation for the love of the 'patrie' (Faure quoted in Thiesse 1996: 10).

The presence of the *petite patrie* in elementary education was always presented under the double sign of effusive feeling and the organized acquisition of knowledge (Thiesse 1996: 10).

The notions of the *petite* and *grande patrie* appear to correspond to the theory of community (*Gemeinschaft*) and society (*Gesellschaft*) of German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. The *petite patrie* and *grande patrie* of the Third Republic can be theoretically explained through the concepts of community (*Gemeinschaft*) and society (*Gesellschaft*) in which *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* represent two different types of human groups (Sorokin in Tönnies 1963: vii). In fact, according to Thiesse, the notion of the French *petite patrie* originated as an approximate translation of the German *Heimat* (homeland) (2001: 13).

Gemeinschaft or community is “all intimate, private, and exclusive living together”, while *Gesellschaft* or society is “public life or the world itself” (Tönnies 1963: 33). One lives in *Gemeinschat* with one’s family through the good and the bad; whereas one lives in *Gesellschaft* when one visits a large city or a foreign country (Tönnies 1963: 33-34). “There exists a ‘Gemeinschaft’ of language, of folkways or mores, or of beliefs; but by way of contrast, ‘Gesellschaft’ exists in the realm of business, travel, or sciences” (Tönnies 1963: 34). *Gemeinschaft* is thus genuine and profound, whereas *Gesellschaft* is transitory and superficial. In other words, *Gemeinschaft* represents a living organism, while *Gesellschaft* represents a mechanical construction (Tönnies 1963: 35).

Gemeinschaft

One of the key components of *Gemeinschaft* is unity. Unity exists in the household, the neighborhood, the locality, the village or town. This unity is created through understanding as it represents the social force that keeps individuals together as members of an association or community.

Understanding rests on intimate knowledge of one another in so far as it is conditioned and advanced by interest in being in the life of the other for both joy and sorrow (Tönnies 1963: 37-47).

Language is the real organ of understanding, and through which it develops and improves. It enables expression of pain and pleasure, fear and

desire, as well as all other emotions to be conveyed and understood.

“[Language] is itself living understanding both in its content and in its form”

(Tönnies 1963: 47).

All sources of understanding can be found in the following schema. The real cornerstone of unity, and the possibility of *Gemeinschaft*, is kinship; followed by physical proximity, and subsequently intellectual proximity.

The major components of *Gemeinschaft* are as follows: (1) relatives, friends and neighbors like one another or easily adjust themselves to each other; they speak together and think similarly; (2) understanding exists between people who like one another and (3) those who like and understand one another remain together and organize a common life. This community forms a spirit in which a determinative will, which has become as natural as language, consisting of a multitude of feelings of understanding develops (Tönnies 1963: 48).

Gesellschaft

The *Gesellschaft* is the result of an artificial construction of a group of human beings that resembles the *Gemeinschaft* wherein individuals live together peacefully; however, in the *Gemeinschaft*, these human beings remain united in spite of all separating forces, while in the *Gesellschaft*, they are separated despite all uniting forces (Tönnies 1963: 64-65). In the *Gesellschaft*, unlike in the

Gemeinschaft, no unity exists, and no former unity existed. In the *Gesellschaft*, everyone is isolated and thus form a group of unknowns (Tönnies 1963: 65).

School Manuals of the Third Republic

The table of contents of the manual “Current Readings for French Pupils” by Caumont underscores the relationship between the *petite* and *grande patrie*.

The manual begins with the family and then moves on to the house, the village, the *département* and finally the country. The child is presented with themes in a manner that builds from the concrete to the abstract. From the first lesson, the manual attempts to tap into the affection the child feels for his or her family and to continue to instill this affection throughout up until the lesson on France.

“The love of the citizen for the [grande] ‘Patrie’ must be, at the end of a process of aggrandizement and maturation, analogous to the love the child has for his [or her] family; the attachment to France develops from an attachment of the pupil to his [or her] native soil” (Thiesse 1996: 19). This same idea applies today, even if it is not purposefully initiated; children first develop a sense of family and home that eventually broadens to include the neighborhood, city, region and then country. However, here the administration and education system were specifically tapping into to it for the nation’s gain.

The intended hierarchy between the *petite* and the *grande patrie* was clearly stated for several decades according to manual prefaces written by academy

inspectors (Thiesse 1996: 19). The 1891 preface to the *History of Brittany*, which was presented as a supplement for the five Breton *départements* to the *History of France* of Lavissee, affirms the notion that France was the synthesis of the *petites patries*.

France is one and indivisible, but she is composed of parts that have their unity. We are French, but we are also Bretons, Normans, Picards, Flemings, Lorrainers, Burgundians, Provençaux, Languedociens [and] Gascons. We all have a 'petite patrie' of which we love the familiar countryside, the costumes, customs, accent, and of which we are proud. To love this 'petite patrie' nothing is more legitimate, nothing more natural, nothing more just to fortify the love for France, our common 'patrie'.

The great voice of France, which has all the inflections, from the most soft to the most strong, is made of distinct voices that sing in unison. Each of our former provinces plays its part in this concert and contributes to the harmonious perfection of the ensemble. To raise Brittany or Normandy or Gascony to [the level of] France would mutilate not only its territory, but also its spirit. It is for this reason that the loss of Alsace-Lorraine was such a serious attack on the integrity of the 'patrie'.

Each one of our former provinces had glorious works that are specific to it, but that contribute to the glory of all of France. Let us study them in order to have even more reasons to be attached to the native soil in order to make us better understand the place and the importance of *our* country among the entirety of Countries.

Provincial histories are therefore the necessary complement of the history of France (Langlois quoted in Thiesse 1996: 20)¹⁴.

¹⁴ This text was translated by this dissertation's author. The "our" in italics was written in this manner in the original. "Countries" was also capitalized in the original.

The synthesis is clear, the former provinces are to be valued, but not as much as France; it is France that merits the real accolades. Four years later, S. Jolly, the academy inspector of Bordeaux, wrote a very similar piece in the *Faces of the Gironde* manual (1934) in which he advised the French pupil to love his native soil in order to more fully love France (Thiesse 1996: 20-21). All manuals had the same goal – to define each *petite patrie* as a miniature version of France through its two attributes of excellence, beauty and variety (Thiesse 1996: 27). “Just as France is the most beautiful country of the world and the marvelous harmony of diversity, so too each ‘départementale petite patrie’ is a natural jewel with different facets” (Thiesse 1996: 27).

The following excerpt from the manual *Upper Provence: Study of Regional Geography* (1914) highlights the double attributes of excellence included in the manuals:

Upper Provence, which includes all of the ‘département’ of Basses-Alpes, the eastern portion of the Vaucluse and a northern band of the Var, is a truly varied and very picturesque region. In traveling across it, one passes from the high mountains with their breathtakingly steep peaks, their snow fields, their streams and foaming waterfalls, their prairies and their woods, by a series of imperceptible gradations to the sunny plains where grains abound, where fig trees, almond trees, olive trees ripen their fruits, where the grapevine spreads out its ruby clusters, where the hills are carpeted in lavender and the scent of thyme penetrates.

In this portion of the Provençal soil, of a beauty sometimes severe and fierce, sometimes soft and caressing, but always harmonious and captivating, every countryside, every culture, every climate meets. Few regions offer such brutal contrasts and a stronger originality; there are few

also in which the geographical study allows as much interest and as many fertile results (G. Eisenmenger and C. Cauvin quoted in Thiesse 1996: 28).

The authors obviously described the varied geography of Upper Provence while also enthusiastically and lyrically speaking of its beauty.

Cherish in Order to Serve

“The school manual is an initiation in loving admiration and its expression” (Thiesse 1996: 34). While the pupil was believed to love his or her *petite patrie* as he or she loved his mother, it was not believed that he or she spontaneously knew the marvels of his or her *petite patrie* as they were too familiar to be truly perceived. As a result, the goal of the manual was to totally enumerate the marvels of the *petite patrie* (Thiesse 1996: 34).

The character of the *pays* is that of the peasant and vice versa (Thiesse 1996: 43). “For nature makes man in his image and imprints its traits onto him, but man makes nature and bestows onto him its moral values” (Thiesse 1996: 43). Once taught to cherish their *petite patrie*, it would be easier to teach the children to cherish their *grande patrie*. Once children cherished the *grande patrie*, they would want to serve it, which was the ultimate goal of the Third Republic educational policy (Thiesse 1996: 43-45).

While the Third Republic had officially recognized the “two Frances”, the Fourth and Fifth Republics did not focus upon the local France in their educational or other policies, but it still remained vibrant.

Les deux France (The Two Frances)

“Politically and culturally, France is binary” (Duhamel 2013). Since 1789, France has always divided itself into two camps, two blocks or two Frances. There have been Jacobins and royalists, Bonapartists and monarchists, moderate republicans and radical republicans and always the political Left and the political Right (Duhamel 2013). There have also been, and continue to be, nationalists and regionalists. While the notion of *les deux France* may be entrenched in the French political landscape, it has also anchored itself into the cultural one, too.

The most interesting, the most significant, the most specific may nonetheless be situated on the borders of the political and the cultural, or the political and the societal. That which mobilizes the masses, putting the masses in motion, relates more to the social and societal than to classical politics (Duhamel 2013).

The social usage of the expression appears to be more powerful than its political usage. Duhamel appears to be correct in his assertion since numerous terms or phrases exist to attest to the existence of the local or regional France as well as the love of it. One is *la France profonde* (“Deep France”), which means traditional or provincial France over Paris, and another is *la France des terroirs* (“France of the Provinces”) (Schill 2011). It is not the easiest to translate *terroir* into English. According to *Le Grand Robert* dictionary a *terroir* is “a rural or provincial region considered to be the cause of the specific character of those who live there and of those who were born there” (2015: Online). Therefore, a *terroir* is a place

characterized by its particular cultural traits. *Terroirs* are thus natural locations, rather than official or administrative ones. As a result, they are, or were until recently, important. This fact is demonstrated through the title of the French translation of Eugen Weber's work *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* that is *La fin des terroirs : La modernisation de la France rurale, 1870-1914*.

Other terms and expressions do not even include the term "France" at all, such as *mal du pays*, which means that the person saying it is away from his or her native locale, but longs to be there. This term has since transformed into *amour du pays* meaning love of the native locale. Another important phrase used within the Occitan movement to demonstrate love for the native locale is *Volem viure al país* ("We want to live in our own country"), which is said in, as well as being written in Occitan, rather than French (Judge 2000: 63). It is important to understand that in these last expressions, the term "pays" means native land, soil or locale, rather than France. It is another term somewhat difficult to define (Claval 2006: 7).

The classic opposition between the Jacobins and Girondins created a political opposition between the national and universal and the local or regional and particular. Today, this political antagonism is employed by nationalists and regionalists. Despite the ultimate goal of French nation-builders, the local in

French society never officially succumbed to the national. While revolutionaries marginalized the local, regional and particular and believed that it would give way to the national and universal after being stripped of its value, the Third Republic embraced the particular and love of it for the national cause. Therefore, today, two Frances exist – one national and universal and one regional or local and particular.

Emmanuel Le Bras and Emmanuel Todd summarize the situation well:

France does not contain one people but one hundred, who differ based upon the notion of life and death, by the family system, [and] by the attitude toward work or violence. From the point of view of anthropology, France should not exist” (Le Bras and Todd 2012: 79). France was not founded by any particular people. It carries the name of a Germanic people, but speaks a language derived from Latin. “More than any other nation in the world, it is a living defiance to ethnic and cultural determinisms” (Le Bras and Todd 2012: 79).

Like French historian Jules Michelet previously declared, the fact that the French nation exists is a miracle; however, unlike Michelet, there is no ideological dogma associated with Le Bras and Todd’s statement.

The history of the expression “les deux France” begins in 1826 with Baron Charles Dupin. It was during a conference at the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers* where he first mentioned the Saint-Malo-Geneva Line – “a distinct and dark line that separates the North and the South of France” – that also revealed “two Frances” (Dupin quoted in Lepetit 1986: 1243). Analysis of education data

indicated an “enlightened France” (the North) and an “obscure France” (the South) (Lepetit 1986: 1243-1244).

The Saint-Malo-Geneva line is an imaginary line that runs more-or-less straight from Mont-Saint-Michel (in Normandy) to the westernmost point of Lake Geneva (in the Rhône-Alpes) and separates the most developed regions of the *pays d’oil* – Normandy, Ile-de-France and Picardy – from all the *pays d’oc* and from certain “backward” *pays d’oil* regions, such as Berry (Le Roy Ladurie 2001 (2): 2). The criterion employed to identify this cartographic line was the ability to read, write and sign one’s name on the marriage contract. According to historians, the Saint-Malo-Geneva line was already in place in the 1680s and it owes its creation to the Enlightenment and the desire to spread literacy. Northeastern France achieved this goal much sooner and faster than the rest of France (Le Roy Ladurie 2001 (2): 2).

In his *France pittoresque* (1835), Captain Hugo identified another “two Frances” that differed from those two first identified by Baron Dupin in 1826. Hugo’s “two Frances” were the overtaxed *départements* located in western France and the undertaxed located in eastern France separated by a line running from Saint-Malo to the Rhône (Roncayolo 2001 (2): 204-205).

In 1836, Adolphe d’Angeville wrote his *Essai sur la statistique de la population française, considérée sous quelques-uns de ses rapports physiques et*

*moraux*¹⁵, which laid the framework for a pre-industrial cultural anthropology of France (Le Roy Ladurie 1977: 358). D'Angeville added additional criteria to his study other than the education domain used by Dupin, such as census data, family data, biological information, regional health data, literacy data, amount of religious fervor information, etc. (Le Roy Ladurie 1977: 358-359). D'Angeville concluded his *Essai* by stating that there were "two Frances"; "and one would be tempted to believe two populations came into contact within the national territory on a line that joins the port of Saint-Malo with the city of Geneva" (d'Angeville quoted in Le Roy Ladurie 1977: 359-360).

While d'Angeville's conclusion has been criticized for its simplicity, it has been subsequently verified by Louis Maggiolo who confirmed the line's existence and significance in the 1780s, 1820s and 1860s. The existence and importance of the line was only to disappear gradually with the spread of mandatory schooling instituted by Jules Ferry in the last quarter of the 19th century (Le Roy Ladurie 2001 (2): 2). This border was so durable and delineated in its time (1680-1870) that it created "two Frances": a North and a South or historically, an Oïl and an Oc (Le Roy Ladurie 2001 (2): 2).

¹⁵ *Essay on the Statistics of the French Population Considered Under Some of its Physical and Moral Relations.*

Most of the French are aware of a certain oppression – real or supposed – suffered by the South (*pays d’oc*) at the hands of the North (*pays d’oil*) going back to the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1229) (Le Roy Ladurie 2001 (2): 1). This crusade is blamed for having forced the inhabitants of southern France (the *Midi*) to bow down under the harsh fist of the northern barons, who descended upon them from the Parisian Basin. This view has become a common memory for much of France, especially for the residents of the *Midi*. The memory has also been nourished via knowledge that gradually assimilated certain facts from the research of statisticians from the past and present. Baron Dupin, Adolphe d’Angeville and Louis Maggiolo followed by François Furet, Jacques Ozouf, Roger Chartier and others have successively highlighted the importance of the Saint-Malo-Geneva line, which separated northern and southern France (Le Roy Ladurie 2001 (2): 1-2).

A study conducted by Michel Demonet in 1985 indicated that the North-South divide still existed in the France of the 1850s; however, it no longer truly followed the Saint-Malo-Geneva line. Moreover, the respective borders had blurred depending upon the variable under examination. Their common border was thus no longer fixed (Le Roy Ladurie 2001 (2): 3).

* *
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The French Revolution of 1789 represents a paradoxical moment when revolutionaries desired to change France by creating a uniform society; however, while attempting to do so, they highlighted the numerous differences between its different provinces. Today, many of these differences still exist and attest to the notion of the “Two Frances”.

The next chapter deals with the awakening of the French province, one of the “Two Frances”, and its demand to be different.

CHAPTER FOUR

Regionalism: Defining the Concept

The term “regionalism” was created by Provençal poet and philosopher of the *Félibrige*¹, M. de Berluc-Perussis, in 1874; however, at this time, in the *Midi*², the preferred term was “federalism” (Charles-Brun 1911: 226). In 1895, the preferred term in France, according to the National League and Charles Maurras, was “decentralization”, which meant “a set of reforms destined to reconstitute the homeland by providing it a free head and a strong body” (Charles-Brun 1911: 3-4). Around the turn of the 20th century, the term “regionalism” meaning “a regain of organic life” replaced the term “decentralization” and tended to mean different things for regionalists and the average citizen (Charles-Brun 1911: 5)³. Charles-Brun did not further define the term.

Regionalism versus Regionalization

Despite their relatedness, regionalism and regionalization are not synonymous. Regionalism can be understood to be both the realization that

¹ France’s first cultural and literary movement as well as association begun in 1854 in the Oc domain.

² Southern France.

³ Political scientist, Rainer Riemenschneider indicates that the term “decentralization” is a better term for “regionalism” since decentralization is capable of being codified through law, and is thus negotiable in public debate, while regionalism is not (1982: 124).

inhabitants of a certain region have common interests and the aspiration to participate in the managing of these interests (Dayries and Dayries 1986: 3).

Regionalism is thus akin to a regional consciousness linked to a community that wants to manage its affairs since it believes that only it is truly capable of managing them. "This regional community considers itself to be more capable of handling them than the State, considered as remote and giant [and] accused of wanting to impose a uniform model onto the particularisms [...]" (Dayries and Dayries 1986: 3).

Regionalism can engender regionalization in which a central administration provides the means for its regions to manage their own affairs. Regionalism thus develops from below, while regionalization develops from above (Dayries and Dayries 1986: 4). An inevitable paradox is created by the two movements. The right to be different claimed by the region is seen as hindering national unity by requiring different adjustments to be made by State institutions (Dayries and Dayries 1986: 4).

After the realization that the *département* was too small to adequately address current economic issues created through both urbanization and industrialization, the French administration implemented regionalization in 1956, rather than regionalism, by creating 21 regions of program for economic reasons through the grouping together of several *départements*. These regions

were created on purely functional grounds by civil servants without consultation with local politicians or residents. While the territory of some of the regions corresponded approximately to that of former provinces, the territory of others was carved out of other former provinces making them unrecognizable (Schrijver 2007: 176). “Administrative regions were born from a double imperative – economic and technical – and not from a political desire to recognize any regional identity” (Dayries and Dayries 1986: 19).

History of Regionalism in France

“Regionalism in France derives directly from the social, political and economic implantation of the [French] Nation-state. It is the reflection of struggles to integrate localities into the nation [and] of the age-old struggle between the universal and the particular” (Pasquier 2012: 47). In simpler terms, the construction of modern France was achieved through the marginalization of regional particularities (Pasquier 2012: 49). It was in the former provinces where élites affirmed the existence of specific provincial or regional societies with their history, language and literature. As a result, the first step of French regionalism was the process of reconstruction of regional identity, which had been stripped of its value after the 1789 Revolution and replaced with a territorial stigma (Pasquier 2012: 48).

It was in the mid-1800s in which cultural movements or political organization began to develop strategies to remove the territorial stigma by valuing provincial cultures and promoting regional languages. These movements also refused administrative centralism and the hegemonic construction of the nation-state (Pasquier 2012: 48). Centralization in France is the “fundamental principal that dominates all administrative organization: agents, councils, jurisdiction ...” (Aucoc quoted in Charles-Brun 1911: 230). It is important to understand that the term “centralization” has two meanings in France. According to de Tocqueville, one is political or governmental centralization, which deals with general laws and the relationships between France and other States, and one is administrative centralization, which deals with assisting in city and village initiatives (Charles-Brun 1911: 230).

According to French regionalists, French political centralization is considered to have been necessary as it provided the force of national unity; however, they see administrative centralization as despotism (Blanc in Charles-Brun 1911: 12). Political centralization implies leaving to the State functions of the State: military, jurisprudence and diplomatic responsibilities, while administrative centralization implies the confiscation by the State or submission to the State of local and regional interests (Charles-Brun 1911: 12). Regionalists

desired to end the abuse of administrative centralization in France (Charles-Brun 1911: 12).

In the second half of the 19th century, the first disputes against administrative centralization created cultural regionalism in several peripheral areas of France (Pasquier 2012: 58).

Reinvention of the Regions

The invention, or reinvention, of the regional space can be found at the intersection of two forces occurring at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century: the debate on political centralization and *départementalisation* inherited from the 1789 Revolution, and the rediscovery of a regional conscience through the validation of regional languages and cultures by regional élites (Pasquier 2012: 58).

A cultural regionalism had begun to grow in certain periphery areas of France, by the mid-1800s, in reaction to the excesses of French administrative centralism (Pasquier 2012: 58). Debates against French administrative centralization, at this period, were primarily economic and social due to the Industrial Revolution. The notion of “Paris-Province” denoting an imbalance between the two parts of France began to be employed as Paris held all economic

and social power⁴. From 1789 to 1914, the population of Paris grew from 600,000 to 3 million, while the population of the next two largest French cities – Lyon and Marseille – did not even equal 500,000 each. The imbalance between Paris and the rest of France was accentuated by the fact that Paris found itself at the center of all train and road connections (Pasquier 2012: 59). The rural exodus and the geographical standardization of ways of life across the French territory were at their apex. As a result, in 1865, the Committee of Nancy created a 70 page document entitled “A project of decentralization” in which it denounced Parisian hypertrophy. Its goal was simple “that the provinces where 93.3% of the Empire’s population live will no longer be, forever and for always, the humble dependents of Paris” (Voilliard in Pasquier 2012: 60).

With industrialization in full swing, it became evident in the last quarter of the 19th century that the *département* was too small to be economically viable or autonomous. Members of both the political Right and political Left began to call for the creation of larger administrative territories (Pasquier 2012: 60-61).

At the end of the 19th century, Auguste Comte proposed the idea that territorial divisions should be made with consultation with science in which the territory should respect the link between man and his milieu or environment.

⁴ Jean-François Gravier’s *Paris et le désert français* (1947) largely mirrors this situation almost a century later.

Comte proposed dividing France into 17 regions that were destined to become independent republics united under the French Republic (Comte in Pasquier 2012: 62); however, due to issues of national unity, nothing came of this proposal.

At the beginning of the 20th century, geographer Vidal de La Blache suggested dividing France into natural regions or *pays* (Pasquier 2012: 63). Between 1854 and 1938, at least 28 projects suggesting the creation of regions were proposed, which demonstrates a constant interest in the idea (Pasquier 2012: 63).

The Cultural Awakening of the Provinces

In the last part of the 19th century, debates centered upon decentralization moved toward regionalism (Charles-Brun 1911: 3 and Pasquier 2012: 58-59). The change in term represented a change in objective. Under decentralization, proponents wanted a transfer of judicial competences from the State to the locality; however, under regionalism, the proponents wanted a new administrative map of France drawn up based upon provincial or regional identities (Pasquier 2012: 59). It soon became impossible to want one without the other (Charles-Brun 1911: 3).

Since the State held a monopoly on everything including legitimate education, a set of intellectuals from regional cultural groups proposed territorial alternatives to the republican mythology. The debut of this movement has been

called “the Awakening of the Provinces” by historian Anne-Marie Thiesse (1991) and contributed to the reinvention of the French regional space (Pasquier 2012: 63).

The national policy of integration, since the 1789 Revolution, was a struggle against regional cultures and languages (de Certeau et al. 1975). “While the monarchy of the ‘Ancien Régime’ only had a few instruments to counter the diversity of customs of the kingdom, the Jacobin revolutionaries began a process of cultural centralization without precedent” (Pasquier 2012: 63-64). Whereas the monarchy simply wanted the *élites* to use French, the revolutionaries wanted to Frenchify the masses. They imposed the usage of French as the way to modernize the State against the *patois* that they had already equated with reaction. The linguistic study of France compiled by Abbé Grégoire and the diatribe against regional languages of Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac in the early 1790s have become infamous in this respect. The cultural unification of France was achieved a century later under the Third Republic and the Jules Ferry laws of 1881 and 1882 that forbade the use of local languages within the schools (Pasquier 2012: 64-65).

Despite this goal and its result, in the middle of the 19th century, multiple artistic and intellectual associations, in almost all areas of France, developed regional language journals and printing houses. A historiographic and literary

regionalism developed that also assisted in the invention of the region, or the reinvention of the provinces (Bertho 1980 in Pasquier 2012: 65). The slow decline of rural France prompted an interest in the past, for language and traditions. In republican ideology, regional cultures were viewed as obsolete; as a result, they served as support for nostalgia of the past that helped to quash anxieties caused by rapid and deep societal changes (Pasquier 2012: 65).

This enthusiasm for regional cultures, at the end of the 19th century, was not specific to France. It occurred in all European countries engaged in a process of modernization that included: the decline of the peasantry, linguistic unification and a geographical standardization to the ways of life (Pasquier 2012: 65). Furthermore, the awakening of nationalities in Europe, in the middle of the 19th century, and the creation of new States through federation of ancient units, such as Germany and Italy, favored new propositions concerning the foundations of the nation and the State (Pasquier 2012: 65-66). Attached to these new propositions, the notion of race became popularized and found a deep and stable audience base. Race became equated with the idea that a community was a group of individuals rooted on a common territory where their ancestors used to live (Thiesse 1991). As a result, at the end of the 19th century, the French nation became identified with a federation of local and regional races. This can be

shown in the 1913 *Tableau politique de la France de l'Ouest*⁵ by André Siegfried, one of the founders of French political science, who employed the notions of a Breton race and an Angevin race in order to explain certain regional political temperaments (Pasquier 2012: 66).

In the *Midi*⁶ of 1854, the *Félibrige*, the first cultural and literary movement and association in France, began to participate in the awakening of the provinces. The *Félibrige* united seven Provençal authors who desired to produce high quality literature in order to strengthen, promote and venerate Provençal. The first article of the association's statutes indicated its goals: "Always take care of [Provence], its language, its color, its liberty of demeanor, its national honor and its great level of intelligence, because as it is, Provence pleases us" (Martel 2004 quoted in Pasquier 2012: 67).

During the second half of the 19th century, through the middle class, the *Félibrige* developed into a vast cultural association based upon regional sociability. While it was sufficiently designed to strengthen, promote and venerate Provençal through literature, it was inefficient in producing a real political message (Martel 2004).

⁵ *Political Picture of Western France.*

⁶ Southern France.

In reference to regional movements, it is Brittany that stands out. It had a completely different language, Breton, than the French nation and direct links with the first residents of the nation, the Gauls (Pasquier 2012: 67-68).

Legitimation of an Everyday Regionalism

While cultural regionalism may have somewhat lost some of its vigor after World War II, it arose and strengthened in the 1960s and 1970s. Regional cultural movements benefited from the Events of May 1968 wherein students and workers revolted against the *status quo* and demanded a change in society (Pasquier 2012: 69).

In the 1960s, an abundant literature announced the renaissance of the regions. Notable ones were from Robert Lafont (1967), spokesman for a regionalist revolution, Pierre Fougeyrollas (1968), prophet for a federal France, Morvan Lebesque (1970), singer of the Breton nation, and Guy Héraud (1963), leader of a Europe of ethnic peoples. All were against the power and control of the State. Through authors like these cultural regionalism acquired a new legitimacy.

In the first pages of *Comment peut-on être Breton ?*⁷, Morvan Lebesque explains that Brittany is a nation through the Breton language. “I understood through a language that the powers improperly called a local idiom that I have

⁷ *How can one be Breton?*

found an immortal culture – first and foremost, my nation” (Lebesque 1970 quoted in Pasquier 2012: 69).

Other regional language groups followed this example and began to organize and call for the teaching of regional languages in schools. Several of these groups signed cultural charters with the French State in order to benefit from public finances; however, while the State had become tolerant of these groups, it was far from completely supporting them and their goals (Harguindéguy and Cole 2009: 29).

In the second half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, cultural regionalism had transformed itself in France. To the network of militants fighting for the defense of regional cultures and languages had been added artistic movements, which popularized as well as internationalized regional cultures (Pasquier 2012: 70-71). Through a discovery, or rediscovery, of the cultural, historic and linguistic particularities of the region, the region developed ways of being differentiated within the French space. The particular resisted the universal in order to have a voice in the exchange of information.

The first mechanism of institutionalization of the regional space was thus fundamental as it created an everyday regionalism. Cultural manifestations and sports are thus the expression of concrete regionalism through the display of

regional flags, songs and symbols. Bilingual road signs are also symbols of concrete regionalism and identifying with a region (Pasquier 2012: 71).

Regionalism and Political Competition

“If regionalism contributes in France to stabilizing accounts of different territorial affiliations, it meets more difficulties engaging in a relationship of political force with the central State” (Pasquier 2012: 83). Unlike in other European States, regional or ethno-regional political parties, which identify with ethnic groups and a territorial rootedness, in France, only have a limited influence, with the exception of in Corsica. And yet, the methods and temporalities of the politicization of regionalism in France correspond well to Stein Rokkan’s center/periphery model (Pasquier 2012: 83).

The politicization of regionalism operated in two principle phases in the 19th and 20th centuries. The first phase was marked by a conservative regionalism in which a network of notables was assembled in the defense of economic and cultural interests in the periphery. The second phase was a Leftist national regionalism that developed, between the years 1960-1970, a better structured ideological and organizational repertoire in regions differentiated in the cultural and linguistic domains, such as Brittany, Corsica and Occitania. However, this regionalism was marginal during elections in the Fifth Republic. “The rules of local and national political competition, as well as the identity-related

construction of regional spaces explain this French exception” (Pasquier 2012: 83).

Conservative Regionalism

The first political regionalism in France was a conservative regionalism. In the common hierarchy, the region occupies a particular place as it is found just below the supreme collective affiliation that defines the homeland and is the essential place where one experiences a community based upon customs, traditions and languages (Rossi-Landi 1992 in Pasquier 2012). While the unity and indivisibility of France are at the center of debates concerning rights on decentralization, regionalism and federalism, it would be incorrect to believe that political regionalism is anti-republican, even if it appears to be at times, at the ideological crossroads (Pasquier 2012: 84).

The Politicization of Cultural Regionalism

Conservative regionalism began with the youth of the *Félibrige*. In the last decade of the 19th century, the notion of federalism took on a new dimension in the movement. The youth took possession of it in order to mark themselves off from the previous generation. As a result, in 1892, Charles Maurras and Frédéric Amouretti, two young members of the *Félibrige*, took advantage of the visit to Paris of the president of the *Félibrige*, Félix Gras, to demand a decentralization and regional autonomy reform.

We do not limit ourselves to demand for our language and for our writers the rights and duties of liberty; we believe that these possessions will not create our political autonomy, they will result from these [...]. We want to free from their 'départemental' cages the souls of the provinces whose beautiful names are still carried by all – Gascons, Auvergnats, Limousins, Béarnais, Dauphinois, Roussillonnais, Provençaux and Languedociens. We are federalists, and if somewhere, in northern France, a people wants to march with us, we will take them by the hand (*Extraits de la Déclaration des félibres fédéralistes du 22 février 1892* quoted in Charles-Brun 1911: 275-276).

This federalist declaration caused a stir on both the Left and the Right and assembled various people to the cause. Influenced by the writings of Maurice Barrès, Charles Maurras published a brochure entitled *Décentralisation* in 1898 in which he concluded that either nationalism and decentralization or nationalism and federalization should be linked. Progressively, Maurras decided that the Republic could not decentralize and federalism would only be achieved through the restoration of the monarchy (Pasquier 2012: 85). However, due to the publication in 1897 of Maurice Barrès' *Les Déracinés*⁸, numerous French youth rallied to the regionalist cause. "The intellectual influence of Barrès on an entire generation of politicians and intellectuals, on the [R]ight and the [L]eft, greatly contributed to legitimizing regionalism within [French] politics" (Pasquier 2012: 85-86).

⁸ "The Uprooted"; the book argues that both French administrative centralization and the national education system severed the important link between man and his familial territory.

During the years 1897 and 1900, young members of the *Félibrige*, who refused the Maurras view, such as Charles-Brun, and regionalists and decentralizers from other provinces connected. Their goal was to create a regionalist party that would be the twin of the nationalist party planned by Barrès and Maurras. The term regionalism allowed interested parties to avoid the term “federalism”, which had become too attached to Maurras. Breton regionalists were the first to use the term when they created the *Union régionaliste bretonne*⁹ in 1898 (Pasquier 2012: 86).

The creation and diffusion of regionalism in the France of the 19th and 20th centuries owes a lot to one man, Jean Charles-Brun. In 1900, Charles-Brun created the *Fédération régionaliste française*¹⁰ that edited a journal from 1902, *L’Action régionaliste*¹¹. The name “Fédération régionaliste” was the result of complex calculations. Charles-Brun wanted to avoid the reference of the provinces as well as the use of the term “federalism”, both of which held monarchical connotations. Furthermore, he did not exclude the nationalist Right, but rather, accepted it into the Federation. As a result, Charles-Brun avoided clearly explaining the political nature of the Federation and decided to allow

⁹ Breton Regionalist Union.

¹⁰ French Regionalist Federation.

¹¹ *The Regionalist Action*.

divergent groups to cohabitate in the organization as long as they refused the administratively centralizing Jacobin State.

The first group was concerned with federalism and included Jean Charles-Brun, Joseph Paul-Boncour, socialist and general secretary of the Federation, also Charles Longuet, son-in-law of Karl Marx, and Etienne Clémentel, future father of the economic regions after World War I. The second group were republican decentralizers and included Paul Deschanel, Paul Doumer, André Tardieu and Albert Lebrun. The third group was composed of social Catholics, such as Abbé Lemire, who desired regional assemblies. Charles-Brun purposefully situated his Federation in the realm of republican institutions, which purposefully alienated a section of regional supporters of Charles Maurras (Pasquier 2012: 87).

The diversity of the members created the strength of the Federation, but also its weakness. While the Federation included the grand majority of local intellectuals impassioned by regional identity and its components – language, history and customs –, its political influence remained virtually null due to goal confusion among its members, as well as the composition and powers of regional institutions of decentralization that followed (Pasquier 2012: 87-88).

The Regionalist Federation thus constituted a platform on which one could freely express oneself, but was not an organized political movement. As alluded to earlier, the ideological basis was weak and not completely elucidated.

For instance, while a great majority of the regionalists of the Federation rejected the *département* and refused the ancient provinces as the territorial cornerstone, they largely diverged on the number of regions to define, the manners to achieve their goal and the type of political regime capable of handling this type of reform. However, while the Federation does not seem to have carried substantial weight with either monarchists or republicans, it contributed to the diffusion of the regional idea in political debates among elected officials and intellectuals from the *Belle Époque* to the interwar years. In fact, in 1911, Jean Hennessy, an active member of the Federation and deputy of the Charente, founded the *Ligue de représentation professionnelle et d'action régionaliste*¹² in order to obtain a representation of professions within a regional assembly.

Political Stalemate

In Charles-Brun's major work, *Le Régionalisme* (1911), he prioritized the regionalization of educative and cultural policies. In effect, he accused administrative centralism to be the principle cause of the cultural desertification of the regions. He pleaded for regionalized teaching, which would include geography and regional history, and for teachers to be managed at the local level (Pasquier 2012: 88). While Charles-Brun did not specifically demand the

¹² League of Professional Representation and of Regionalist Action.

teaching of regional languages, he indicated that certain regionalists did and indicated that it would help with the teaching of French.

For Charles-Brun, it was the university that would revitalize the political and cultural life of the region. As a result, he defended the principle of autonomy for universities in which they would be responsible for the appointment of professors, rather than the State (Pasquier 2012: 89). Charles-Brun also demanded certain cultural decentralization, such as the revitalization of the learned societies, better use of the provincial press, the rekindling of regional theater and regional museums. However, while important journals, such as the *Revue d'économie politique*¹³, of the first quarter of the 20th century were interested in regionalism and included it in political debates, it did not find a place on the political agenda toward the middle of the century (Pasquier 2012: 89).

During this period, it was only the government of Vichy that made regionalism its official doctrine “condemning it to the wastes of national history” (Pasquier 2012: 89). When the Vichy regime took power, it ushered in a national revolution in which it challenged notions and decisions of the previous regime, the Third Republic. The Vichy regime denounced the intellectualism of the Third Republic and promoted a national culture in which folklore represented its

¹³ *Journal of Political Economy*.

picturesque aspect. Through the angle of regionalism, Petainism never finished celebrating France, the province, and the French people, while practicing very different politics (Pasquier 2012: 89-90). "If the cultural regionalism furnished to the National Revolution an affective support to ideological and moral reaction, the concentration of power, of the administration and of the economy was brought to its highest point" (Pasquier 2012: 90). In short, while the Vichy regime made regionalism a touchstone of its administration, its real goal was to strengthen administrative powers. For instance, the law of April 19, 1941 created a consultative National Council in which a commission of administrative reorganization suggested realigning France into 20 provinces. This law also allowed certain prefects the ability to govern public order and food provisions over several *départements*. This role thus represents the ancestor to the regional prefect; in other words, the Vichy regime initiated the system of tutelage by the State upon the future region (Pasquier 2012: 90).

Nationalist Regionalism

During the interwar years, regionalism in France took on a new focus and became nationalist regionalism. Whether it was from the Right or the Left, this regionalism considered the regional space to be a nation without a State that needed to achieve recognition for its cultural, linguistic and political rights from the French State. If it achieved these goals from the French State, it would be

through a sort of federalism; however, if the French State refused recognizing these regional particularities, the regional space could consider separating from France through separatism. This new regionalism focus hence represented a departure from the traditional actions of the first quarter of the 20th century, and aligned its ideology with European integration in order to bypass the State if needed (Pasquier 2012: 90-91).

The first autonomous political parties appeared in the 1920s and 1930s in Alsace, Brittany and Corsica – regions with strong linguistic and cultural identities. These new parties separated from the conservative regionalism of their predecessors. While they shared with them grievances against the standardization of French society under the French Republics, they developed a different political repertoire based upon the national idea in which a people should handle its own affairs. In fact, the diffusion of Wilsonian principles after the First World War as foundations for peace encouraged certain political groups in regions with strong linguistic and cultural identities to engage in the autonomist path followed by the nationalist path as accomplished by Ireland in 1921 (Pasquier 2012: 91-92).

In general, in Alsace, Brittany and Corsica during the decade of the 1920s, political groups were focused upon autonomy for their respective region, while in the decade of the 1930s, they were focused upon nationalism or creating a

State for their respective nation. In the second half of the 1930s, extremists from each region, as well as others, such as Provence, were drawn in by German and Italian fascism and actively collaborated with Germany and Italy in hope of gaining a State within a Nazi France. (Pasquier 2012: 92-93).

The appropriation of regionalism by Petainism contributed to the profound delegitimization of the regional space. Tensions between national political parties over defining the new regime soon centered upon new administrative centralization measures. The rough drafts of the two constitutions of 1946 demonstrate the hostility deputies showed toward the regional idea. The region ended up being condemned and focus centered upon the *département*. “In this way, the region, in 1945, appeared to a majority of French politicians to be as dangerous for the Republic just like the province was subversive during the French Revolution” (Pasquier 2012: 94).

Approximately 15 years later, regionalism in France resurfaced in the form of political parties and cultural movements anchored to the Left as a result of cultural, economic and political tensions provoked by the Thirty Glorious Years (Pasquier 2012: 94). In fact, the euphoria of the Thirty Glorious Years masked economic territorial disparities. During this period, regional societies definitively changed appearance. Ethno-regional parties first developed in regions economically drained during the previous period, which were often also

regions with strong linguistic and cultural identities: Brittany, the *Midi* and Corsica. Brittany was forced to industrialize; the *Midi* lost its traditional industries and its agricultural production began to suffer from foreign competition; Corsica was an isolated, rural society dealing with societal transformations, such as an increase in tourists and their needs (Pasquier 2012: 95).

Regional struggles during the 1960s occurred on a two-sided approach: against capitalism, which had colonized the economy and against the administratively centralized State that had subjugated the regions. Each social conflict was seen through the regional optic. For instance, the strikes and protests of the miners of Decazeville, in 1961-1962, revealed regional solidarities during events that initially appeared to only be sector-specific. The miners of Decazeville disagreed with the European Community of Coal and Steel concerning the reduction in French coal extracted from underground, as well as the closing of several French mines in the area. They went on strike for 66 days creating the longest social strike in French history. The strike engaged the entire community from farmers to priests. On January 26, 1962, 17 *départements* of the *Midi* showed their solidarity by joining the strike. While the miners did not find support from the industry in which they belonged and depended upon, they did

among the population of the region. Until this time, no other regional strike had created a comparable amount of regional solidarity (Pasquier 2012: 95-96).

In general, regional militants across France desired to surpass particular struggles in order to denounce the regional effects of capitalism: the domination of agricultural cooperatives in Brittany and the large-scale industries of the Southeast and Southwest. These militants employed the idea of interior colonialism through capitalism, tourism and military installations to demonstrate how the State had subjugated the regions for its benefit (Pasquier 2012: 96). This national regionalism situated itself on the Left and benefited from the report of *Décoloniser la province*¹⁴ by Michel Rocard, which had been presented at a conference in Grenoble in 1966 based upon 1962 to 1965 data from Brittany and the *Midi* (Pasquier 2012: 97). Rocard's thesis was that the regions had been colonized by a centralizing bourgeoisie based upon four principle characteristics: 1) the colonized zone was more agricultural than the center, 2) the colonized zone only exported raw materials, 3) decisional power resided in the center, and 4) central revenue was higher than that in the colonized zone. Rocard's report indicated that the Nord and Lorraine could also be added to the list of colonized provinces. Based upon Rocard's report and debate concerning it, interest in

¹⁴ *Decolonize the Province.*

regionalism grew on the Left and incorporated more traditional French leftist parties, especially the Unified Socialist Party (Pasquier 2012: 97).

While the ideology of interior colonialism did not disappear in the discourse and programs of regional organizations in France, around the middle of the 1980s, a transformation occurred in politics, namely an upsurge in Marxist ideology and Third-World ideology, influenced by European federalism. As a result, regional organizations in France began to reach out to the European Community for support and assistance. Perhaps the best example of this situation comes from the *Union Démocratique Bretonne* (UDB) since it is the only ethno-regionalist organization to have functioned throughout the period in France (Pasquier 2012: 98-99).

In the middle of the 1980s, after having been in contact with autonomous parties in Europe, the UDB adjusted its ideology in order to coincide with a common platform: federalism, refusal of nuclear energy, peaceful and democratic actions, disarmament, territorial planning, equality of languages and cultures as well as alternative agricultural policies (Pasquier 2012: 99). In 1999, the UDB published a project calling for a particular status for Brittany, such as that of an autonomous community held by both Catalonia and the Basque Country in Spain. Under this project, Brittany would be responsible for all

legislative actions not controlled by the State; Brittany was obviously denied its request by the French administration (Pasquier 2012: 99).

Regionalism in the Local Political System

While political regionalism in France is perfectly visible and has an intellectual influence, its electoral impact remains limited when compared to other European democracies, such as the United Kingdom, Spain and Italy (Pasquier 2012: 99-100). Looking at electoral results for the different ethno-regional parties in France, they are limited at both the national and regional levels. In Alsace, it seems as though these parties have failed to institutionalize themselves, while in the Rhône-Alpes, the *Mouvement Savoyard*, begun in 1960 against the imposition of the new regional name "Rhône-Alpes" in favor of Savoy, lost steam in the early 1970s. In the Basque Country in France, an ethno-regional political party was formed in the 1960s, but has suffered from too many break-away branches to be truly effective (Pasquier 2012: 100-104). It is only in Corsica, where the local political culture is inseparable from the clan system, that ethno-regional parties are electorally successful (Pasquier 2012: 104).

Is There a French Exception?

Unlike the situation in France, ethno-regional organizations are politically influential in several territories of France's neighbors, such as the Catalans and Basques in Spain, the Welsh and Scottish in the United Kingdom, the Flemish in

Belgium and the Northern League in Italy (Pasquier 2012: 106). The French exception relates to political, economic and cultural factors from which it is sometimes difficult to separate the various forms regionalism has taken since the 19th century (Pasquier 2012: 106). The French exception is thus tied to French history and society.

The first factor is specific to the formation of the French nation-state from the last quarter of the 19th century. During this period, regional movements only touched a small minority of the political audience, basically Catholics and conservatives hostile to the Republic, whereas in other European countries, these movements touched numerous people, including the bourgeoisie.

Popular mythology surrounding the Third Republic holds that the central administration was a persistent enemy of the French provinces and purposely imposed an imperialistic education policy in order to destroy regional languages and cultures; however, Pasquier indicates that this view hides the fact that the construction of the French nation was realized more through the modernization of the State than through coercion.

Largely benefiting from the Industrial Revolution, the republican State put in place modern political policies that contributed to national unity (Thiesse 1991). While the administration may have been brutal toward the usage of regional languages in school, through the notion of national identity, it

transformed French society. Educational, social, militaristic and transportation policies accelerated mobility and the possibility of climbing the social ladder. The belief in the possibility for a better life combined with the upheaval of the First World War in which soldiers from across France fought and died side by side under the same flag affirmed a feeling of belonging to the same nation.

Nation-building ran into obstacles elsewhere, such as in Spain. The 19th century industrialization of Spain was limited to Catalonia and the Basque Country and thus prevented the Spanish State from politically and socially modernizing. According to Pasquier, the emergence of strong peripheral nationalism in Spain, such as in Catalonia, was the specific failure of Spanish nationalism to take hold of the masses (Pasquier 2012: 107).

“The extremely strong interconnection in France between State construction and national identity has an impact on the logic of identification for individuals in the regional space” (Pasquier 2012: 108). “Regionalists live in France, and are also French” (Eloy 1998: 130); as a result, they must work within the French system (Costa 2016: 65). The process of building the French State and national identity thus became the model for identity formation or rediscovery in the French regions. While numerous studies in Europe have demonstrated that the influence of ethno-regional political parties have raised the level of regional identification, the political success of these parties has been based upon

membership in groups that felt themselves to be exclusively Catalan, Scottish or Welsh. However, in France, exclusively regional identifying groups are an extreme minority, even if regional identities are extremely marked. The equal strength in national and regional identity thus does not create major conflicts in France (Pasquier 2012: 108).

In Brittany and Alsace, close to 90% of the population reports being, to different degrees, both French, Breton and Alsatian, respectively, which renders a discourse on separatism mute. It is possible in Corsica that regional identity is stronger than national French identity; however, in the absence of comparative and reliable data, it is impossible to confirm this hypothesis (Pasquier 2012: 108).

A second factor is that the region is not alone; it has territorial and political competition in the *département*. The *département* remains the space for the exercising of territorial power. It is with the *département* and its council that the State negotiates central rules concerning local particularities. Due to French administrative centralization, notables and the State negotiate the territorial distribution of funds between regions, which according to the State are simply composed of a certain number of *départements*, that does not work well for regional movements concerned with a specific region (Pasquier 2012: 109). For instance, the Picardy region is composed of three *départements*: Aisne, Oise and Somme. The Picard language is spoken throughout the Somme, half of the Aisne

and a quarter of the Oise. When negotiating funds for linguistic and cultural activities, it is possible that deputies from the Somme would be more interested in obtaining funds for this purpose than deputies from the other two. As a result, only the Somme, rather than Picardy as a whole, may be thus allocated a percentage of the funds earmarked for this purpose.

The territory of historic provinces or regions has no institutional characteristics, and as a result no standing. This *départemental* tropism hence favors the territorial *status quo* and the legitimization of traditional local political élites. As a result, these élites rarely support regional mobilizations, and if they do, it tends to be marginally. Unlike in other European countries, such as Spain, Germany and Italy, ethno-regional territories in France suffer from institutional invisibility and subsequently from the incapacity to establish effective politics and policies (Pasquier 2012: 109).

A third factor is that regional organizations collide with electoral rules in place within the French political system. Since the beginning of the Fifth Republic (1958), most local and national elections have constituted two rounds. Regional parties have been unable to produce candidates who can survive two rounds of voting. As a result, these organizations have largely remained outside of the system and thus unable to enact their programs. In order to overcome this challenge, regional parties have established alliances with left-leaning French

political parties; however, these alliances have usually diluted the specificity of their regional discourse (Pasquier 2012: 110).

The fourth, and final factor, is largely an ideological one. Regional parties are far from holding a monopoly on discourse relating to regionalism and decentralization. The French Left achieved its revolution through decentralization and regionalization under the momentum of the Unified Socialist Party, Michel Rocard and people having originated in regional movements, such as Robert Lafont of the Occitan Movement, during the 1960s and 1970s. The French Right has also shown its ability to decentralize under the Gaullist regime and the momentum of Jean-Pierre Raffarin. As a result, at several points in time, governments have been able to minimize institutional control and thereby diminish some of the regional parties' demands. For instance, in 1977, President Giscard d'Estaing signed cultural charters between the State and regional cultural associations that granted autonomy to regional cultural movements, while at the same time, removing more political demands from them (Pasquier 2012: 111). Furthermore, it is also important to note that French politicians also know when to play the regional card to their benefit, which also strips the regional parties of some of their specificity.

In France, the construction of a modernizing State at the end of the 19th century largely explains why regional parties have been absent until the 1970s.

In the last twenty years, a more decentralized and European political context could have constituted a new era for political regionalism in France, but due to internal divisions, a lack of leadership and constraining rules of the political and institutional game, it has been unable to truly make its presence known, except for in Corsica. Today, the few successes of political regionalism in France have been the participation of a few representatives in the municipal and regional councils (Pasquier 2012: 112).

While the revolutionary heritage denied the regional space, regional mobilizations have brought cultural, economic and political attention to it through debates at the end of the 19th century and elections in the 1960s and 1970s in Alsace, Brittany and Corsica. These mobilizations have specifically opposed cultural, economic and political centralization since the 1789 Revolution. While regionalism in France follows the center-periphery model proposed by Rokkan and Urwin (1983), it seems less clear than in other European contexts. It remains divided regarding its projects and its actions; not truly nationalistic and thus opposing France, nor content to be a simple witness. While regionalism in France is powerful enough to have contributed to creating the region in political debates and public opinion, it has not been strong enough to create a political force to change the territorial administration of the Republic. Furthermore, regional parties and movements have been confronted with a

process of national integration that has left little space for territorial identifications outside of those acknowledged by Europe (Pasquier 2012: 113).

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Regionalism has a long history in France; however, due to the formation of the French nation and its political system, French cultural regionalism has not effectively entered into French politics.

The next chapter takes a closer look at the French exception.

CHAPTER FIVE

The *Observatoire Interrégional du Politique* (OIP): 1985-2004

The *Observatoire Interrégional du Politique*¹ (OIP) began conducting studies on the local dimension of political phenomena and their rootedness in the French administrative territories with the first regional elections of 1985. The first two directors were successive directors of the *Centre de recherches politiques de Sciences Po*² (CEVIPOF), Alain Lancelot, specialist in electoral studies and Annick Percheron, specialist in political socialization and the regional fact.

The OIP was an original institution for three reasons. First, the *Observatoire* observed and reported upon political opinions and their evolution in the newly created regions. Second, it was original in its procedure in which it conducted annual regional studies that included three dimensions – an annual regional barometer, a specific section requested by the regions, and a section that compared the regions – in addition to a national study every two years. The OIP thus produced exceptional studies and surveys in size – 10,000 to 15,000 people – and in capacity by studying groups and problems often left to the side by traditional research, such as the unemployed, the young and the elderly. Third,

¹ Interregional Observatory of Politics.

² Center of Political Research of the Political Science Institute.

the OIP was institutionally original as it had a light structure. In other words, it employed the laboratories of the *Centre national de la recherche scientifique*³ (CNRS) and the *Fondation nationale des sciences politiques*⁴ (FNSP), which meant that it did not have its own permanent researchers. The advantage being that it could outsource the actual data collection, while dedicating its time to analyzing the results and making them available to other researchers. Perhaps, the OIP's greatest asset was that it put two groups in contact that often have not been so inclined to communicate: public researchers and political deciders.

The twenty-two regions⁵ of metropolitan France participated in the OIP's research to some degree from 1985 to 2004. This participation created an open dialogue between the public, researchers, elected officials and regional executives to better understand and develop the region. In 2005, the OIP was

³ National Center for Scientific Research.

⁴ National Foundation of Political Science.

⁵ Regions wherein the *Conseil régional* (Regional Council) was a member of the OIP. Metropolitan (European) France comprises 22 regions. For 1985, the member regions were as follows: Alsace, Aquitaine, Auvergne, Centre, Champagne-Ardenne, Franche-Comté, Languedoc-Roussillon, Limousin, Midi-Pyrénées, Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Upper-Normandy, Pays de la Loire, Poitou-Charentes, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, and Rhône-Alpes (15/22). In 1986, Auvergne was not included and two additional regions were included: Lorraine and Picardy (16/22). In 1987, the Ile-de-France was included (17/22). In 1989, Brittany was included (18/22). In 1990, Burgundy was included (19/22). In 1991, Lower-Normandy was included (20/22). In 1993, Franche-Comté was not included (19/20). In 1994, Auvergne and Franche-Comté were included (21/22). In 1995, Auvergne, Champagne-Ardenne and Franche-Comté were not included, but Corsica was included (19/22). In 1998, Upper-Normandy was not included (18/22). In 1999, Rhône-Alpes was not included, but Franche-Comté was included (18/22). In 2000, Rhône-Alpes was included (19/22). In 2003, Pays de la Loire was not included (18/22). In 2004, Lorraine, Picardy and Poitou-Charentes were not included, but Auvergne was included (16/22).

renamed the *Centre de données socio-politiques*⁶ (CDSP) and became a national center for the realization, collection, archiving and diffusion of quantitative and qualitative studies (Scot 2012).

Primary Feeling of Attachment and Regional Trends: OIP 1985-1998 and 2000

In the 1985 through 1992 OIP questionnaires, respondents were asked to indicate to which territory they felt primarily attached from among their “city of residence”, their “*department*”, their “region”, “France”, “none” and “do not know” or “without opinion” as choices.

The French identified with France and their city of residence, little with their region and even less with their *département*. This phenomenon existed in all regions of France, even in ones with a strong identity, such as Alsace and Brittany. Furthermore, this situation has existed since the first OIP study of 1985 (There was a slight deviation in 1986 due to the choices available, see below). These results correspond with two factors linked with identification. First, identification is made with something affectively and physically close. In France, mobility is the exception and rootedness in place of origin is the rule. One is thus attached to their city of residence. Second, identification is equally made symbolically. In this manner, France and national identity hold the majority of power (Percheron and Roy 1992: 113).

⁶ Center of Sociopolitical Data.

The region and the *département* correspond to a different level: confidence or distrust; one either feels confident or not concerning what happens with these institutions. While the French felt that the region and *département* were close to them, they did not identify with them since French regionalism, at this date, was functional, rather than identity based. The region and the *département* were either seen as close or distant depending upon how they served the residents everyday needs (Percheron and Roy 1992: 113-114).

The 1986 OIP questionnaire produced a slightly different result since “France” was not suggested as a choice, but was noted by the researcher if the respondent gave it as his/her choice. In this year, in general, across France, the city or commune of residence ranked first, the region second, the *département* third and France arrived in fourth (OIP 1986).

1993 OIP Study

Identity-based mechanisms, which link the French to their region, tended to remain fragile; only a minority of the French first identified with their region, and the number has not truly changed since the 1985 OIP study (12%) to the 1992 OIP study (13%). The city of residence remained the place of family rootedness (43%), while in the symbolic domain, France remained the first choice (33%). The link to the region was divided among several possible proposed choices: “a human and cultural community”, “a place of economic development”, “a

territory", "an administration", and "a place of political debate" (Dupoirier and Roy 1994: 102-103).

The cultural and human option was chosen among 32% of respondents, and in particular among those between 18 and 24 years of age. The second choice (24%) was the economic option, which represented a functional choice, and was extremely popular among respondents between the ages of 50 and 64. The geographic and historical option of "territory" was selected among 20% of the participants. Only a small minority saw the region as either "an administration" or "a place of political debate" (Dupoirier and Roy 1994: 103).

The region was defined across all regions, except for Rhône-Alpes where the economic option ruled, as "a human and cultural community". This situation was strongest in Brittany (45%) and Alsace (44%), regions with a strong identity (Dupoirier and Roy 1994: 103). While the Pays de la Loire and Midi-Pyrénées also chose "a human and cultural community" as a first definition, they also provided strong results for "a place of economic development". Four regions, which are also ancient provinces, Aquitaine, Burgundy, Limousin and Picardy, chose as a strong second regional definition, "a territory" (Dupoirier and Roy 1994: 103). It is important to note that when considering the respondents level of education and profession, the definitional order given to the region did not change.

1995 OIP Study

When asked to choose the best representation of their respective region, among “a territory”, “a place of history and of culture”, “a place of economic development”, “an administration”, “a human community”, and “a place of political debate”, the majority (41%) chose the patrimonial image – “place of history and of culture” – which outscored the other options in all regions except in Rhône-Alpes where the economic choice came in first and in the Ile-de-France where the cultural choice tied with the economic choice (Dupoirier and Roy 1996: 230). The other choices were less often selected: “a territory” (23%), “a place of economic development” (15%), “a human community” (9%), “an administration” (7%), and “a place of political debate” (3%) (Dupoirier and Roy 1996: 230). When asked for a second choice, the first response was economic (22%) (Dupoirier and Roy 1996: 230).

In the functional category, the region was identified as a community of interests in which 62% of the participants, across all regions, responded that they had either “a lot” or “some” common interests with the inhabitants of their region. More than 66% of participants between the ages of 35 and 64 responded in this manner, while 57% of those over 65-years-old similarly responded. Among senior executives and middle managers, 70% felt this way, and 61% of employees and 57% of factory workers agreed (Dupoirier and Roy 1996: 231).

In the affective category, the region was identified as a place of pride in which 55% of the respondents indicated that they were “very attached to their region”. Attachment to the region rose with the age of the respondent; going from 41% for those 18-years-old to 70% for those over 65 years of age (Dupoirier and Roy 1996: 231). While the attachment to France (63%) was above that for the region, attachment to the region was higher than that for the other territories, city of residence (49%) and *département* (49%) (Dupoirier and Roy 1996: 231).

Attachment to the region decreased with level of education. Among respondents without a diploma, 66% reported being attached to their region, while 55% of participants with a vocational degree similarly responded. Of the participants holding a *Baccalauréat*, 46% reported being attached to their region, whereas 41% of those holding a *Baccalauréat* plus two years of university education responded in a similar manner. Among respondents with a graduate-level degree, 35% indicated that they were attached to their region (Dupoirier and Roy 1996: 232).

Regional attachment also depended upon the length of time a family had lived in a region. Among participants whose families had lived in a certain region for several generations, 65% declared being attached to their region, whereas only 37% of those who had moved to a certain region themselves reported being attached to the region. This phenomenon was verified across the

five age groups. As a result, “[t]he longer [one’s] roots are in a region the stronger the process of affective acceptance will be” (Dupoirier and Roy 1996: 232).

In most regions, the regional human community was indicated to be different than those communities found in other regions. Of the study respondents, 59% indicated that “the character of the people who inhabit their region” was different from “the character of the people who lived in other French regions”. This feeling was truly felt in fifteen regions: Alsace, Aquitaine, Brittany, Centre, Corsica, Ile-de-France, Languedoc-Roussillon, Limousin, Lorraine, Lower Normandy, Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Picardy, Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, Rhône-Alpes, and Upper Normandy. Four regions felt less strongly that their character was different than the character of other regions: Burgundy, Midi-Pyrénées, Pays de la Loire, and Poitou-Charentes. The difference of character neither differed based upon education level and profession nor upon the length of the family’s implantation in the region (Dupoirier and Roy 1996: 232).

1997 OIP Study

In analyzing the results from the 1997 OIP study, French sociologist Claude Dargent found that “attachment” to France, and to the region varied in the same direction. Of the respondents, 70%, who declared themselves to be

“very attached” to France, were also “very attached” to their region, while 77% of the respondents who declared themselves to be “very attached” to their region were also “very attached” to France (Dargent 2001: 790). The antagonistic relationships between the two territorial attachments were found to be minor. Only 13% of the sample reported being either “very” or “quite attached” to France without also being attached to their region, and only 4% of the sample reported being “very” or “quite attached” to their region without also being attached to France (Dargent 2001: 790). The positive and dependent relationship between the two territorial attachments was found to be strong with a Cramér’s V of 0.35 (Dargent 2001: 790).

The territorial attachment between *département* and region was also found to be complementary. Of the respondents, 89%, who declared themselves to be “very attached” to their region, were also “very attached” to their *département*, while 87%, who declared themselves to be “little attached” to their region were also “little attached” to their *département*, whereas 94% of the respondents, who declared themselves to be “very attached” to their *département*, were also “very attached” to their region (Dargent 2001: 790-791). The Cramér’s V was found to be quite high in the social sciences among the two territorial categories at 0.77 (Dargent 2001: 791).

The territorial attachment to France and Europe was also found to be complementary. When the attachment to France falls, the sentiment of “little attached” to Europe doubles. When the attachment to Europe falls, the sentiment of “little attached” to France triples and the “very attached” to France recoils (Dargent 2001: 791).

Dargent concluded that the attachments the French have to their different territories – *département*, region, France and Europe – are all complementary rather than competitive. The attachment the French show toward their *département*, region, France and Europe creates a scale with Cronbach’s Alpha of 0.70 (Dargent 2001: 792). Among the sample, and the French in general, the attachment to Europe is somewhat removed from the other territorial attachments. As a result, if the attachment to Europe is removed, Cronbach’s Alpha becomes 0.83, which according to Dargent is a rare level for the social sciences (Dargent 2001: 793).

When considering the respondent’s level of education, Dargent found that a strong attachment to France was exhibited among persons with only a primary education. Strong attachment to the local – city of residence, *département* and/or region – corresponded inversely with one’s level of education. For instance, 62% of people with only a primary education responded being very attached to their region, whereas 32% of people who held a *Baccalauréat* plus two years of

university education indicated that they were very attached to their region.

When considering Europe, only 8% of people with only a primary education reported being very attached to Europe, while 26% of people who held a *Baccalauréat* plus two years of university education reported being very attached to Europe (Dargent 2001: 792-793).

When considering profession, Dargent found that strong attachment to one's region was highest (67%) among farmers, and then decreased, (58%) among artisans and storekeepers, (57%) among factory workers, (51%) among employees, (47%) among intermediate professions and (40%) among advanced professions (Dargent 2001: 794).

1998 OIP Study

As of the 1998 OIP study, the regions of France were no longer seen as "empty forms" (Dupoirier and Roy 1999: 503). When asked to choose twice among six images that best defined their region, 67% chose the patrimonial image of "a place of history and culture", while 41% selected the functional image of "a place for economic development". The affective image of "a human community" came in third with 31%. The political choice of "a place for political debate" came in last with 12%, which confirms what little attention the French spend on the political construction of their regions (Dupoirier and Roy 1999: 503).

Dupoirier and Roy stated that they attempted to determine what place the region played in people's identification processes among different possible groups, such as age, gender and class, by using the response "very close" to indicate the respondent's proximity to the different groups. They indicated that attachment to the region was still weak in 1998 since "very close" only garnered 19% of respondents reporting "very close" as their proximity to other regional inhabitants; however, usually, the two researchers employed both positive responses, such as, here "very close" and "somewhat close"; therefore, if both responses are combined, 81% indicated being close to the residents of their region. This 81% is even above the 71% who reported either having "a lot" or "some" common interests with other regional inhabitants, upon which Dupoirier and Roy then focused, using both positive responses (1999: 505). It would thus seem that closeness and common interests go together.

Two types of relationships with the region have developed; one is functional and one is affective. Among the respondents, 71% reported having common interests with other regional residents. This functional relationship was popular among all social classes. The affective relationship with the region was most frequent among those over the age of 50 and the lower class; however, 85% of participants reported being proud of their region (Dupoirier and Roy 1999: 505-506).

2000 OIP Study

In 2000, the “priority feeling of belonging” question was split into two questions: a first and second response. For the first response across France, the results were as follows: France, City of Residence, Region and *Département*; the results for the second response were: Region, City of Residence, France and *Département* (OIP 2000). The region was becoming a territory of attachment.

General Synthesis

From 1985 to 1999, France and the city of residence choices for “primary feeling of attachment” outscored the region and *département* choices across France (OIP 1985-1999).

For the seven years, within 1985 to 1998, that the length of time spent living in the region was asked, the scores demonstrated a continual increase for both the “since always” and “since parents” categories from 38% and 20%, respectively, in 1985 to 54% and 24%, respectively, in 1998. By the third year, 1989, the question was asked, 50% of the French had always lived in their region of residence. This situation seems to imply both a territorial rootedness as well as a lack of territorial mobility (OIP 1985, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1995, 1997 and 1998).

A question that was only asked in 1991, which diminishes its comparison value, indicated that 65% of the French lived within 10 kilometers of a relative. This situation may bolster the fact that 50% of the French had for many

generations lived in their current region (from 1985 to 1998), which indicates territorial rootedness (OIP 1991).

In 1986, 1987, 1989 and 1991, respondents were asked about regional traditions and heritage, which seems to relate to a territorial culture and rootedness. In 1986, the question was asked in the positive: "Do you think it is very important or not to defend what is traditional in a region; for example, the language, gastronomy, house-styles, festivals, etc.?" Among the participants, 89% indicated that it was important to defend what was traditional in a region; 59% "very important" and 30% "fairly important" (OIP 1986). In the other three years, the question was asked in the negative: "If one suppressed regional heritage, would you say that this would be very serious, fairly serious, not very serious or not at all serious for you?" In 1987, 81% reported that it would be serious; 57% "very serious" and 24% "fairly serious"; in 1989, 81% indicated that it would be serious; 56% "very serious" and 25% "fairly serious", while in 1991, 84% reported that it would be serious; 63% "very serious" and 21% "fairly serious" (OIP 1987, 1989 and 1991). The vast majority of the French value regional traditions and heritage, and do not want them to disappear. Their territorial rootedness thus contains cultural components.

Primary Feeling of Attachment: 1997, 1999, 2001 and 2004 OIP Studies

During the OIP studies for the years – 1997, 1999, 2001 and 2004 – the question of “primary feeling of territorial attachment” was redesigned in which the possible choices – city of residence, *département*, region and France – became their own separate questions. For instance, instead of being asked to choose with which territory the respondent most identified, the respondent was asked how attached he or she was to France, the region, the *département* and the city of residence with the possible response choices were “very attached”, “fairly attached”, “not very attached”, “not at all attached” and “do not know” (OIP 1997, 1999, 2001 and 2004).

The results indicated that when the respondent was not required to pick only one from among the four choices, the respondent was generally attached to them all (OIP 1997, 1999, 2001 and 2004). In other words, the territorial attachments are complementary, rather than being competitive as demonstrated by Dargent in 1997.

2001 OIP Study

In 2001, attachment to one’s region was completely widespread; 85% of participants declared being attached to their region and among them 57% were “very attached”. It had now also outpaced the city of residence territory (78%) (Dupoirier and Roy 2002: 726). Regional attachment was again shown to increase with age; 45% of 18 to 24-year-olds reported being “very attached”, while 69% of

those over 65 years reported the same. Again, regional attachment also depended upon one's cultural level, measured by one's highest level of education completed; 69% of those "very attached" to their region held no diploma, whereas 44% of those with a higher-education diploma reported the same. Regional attachment was independent of one's place on the political scale (Dupoirier and Roy 2002: 727).

During the 2001 study, the OIP asked participants, for the first time, about how often they think of themselves as regional citizens. Of the participants, 68% reported thinking of themselves as regional citizens, which was close to the response concerning French citizenship (74%). In six regions, five of which were former provinces⁷, the feeling of being a regional citizen either matched or outpaced that of being a French citizen (Dupoirier and Roy 2002: 727).

2004 OIP Study

In 2004, attachment to the region (84%) became almost as strong as attachment to France (92%). Strong attachment to France was most common among those on the political Right (69%); however, attachment to the region was independent of political leaning. This affective attachment to the region was correlated with the age of the respondent; 39% of those between 18 and 24 years of age were attached to their region, 46% of those 25 and 34 years of age, 50% of

⁷ Unfortunately, the graph containing the names of these regions was not allowed to be reprinted; as a result, it is unclear which regions fit the bill.

those 35 and 49 years of age, 60% of those 50 and 64 years of age and 67% of those 65 years of age or older (Roy 2005: 511-512).

The Strength of Regional Identity of the French Regions – OIP 1998

In 1998, the OIP asked the following three questions in order to gauge regional identity. “Would you say that you feel very close, fairly close, not very close or not at all close to the inhabitants of your region?” “Would you say that you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud, or not at all proud to be from your region?” “Would you say that you have a lot, some, not much or no common interests with the inhabitants of your region?” OIP researchers believed two facets of regional identity existed, one affective and one functional, which were accessed through proximity, pride and common interests.

Through statistical analysis, Dargent found that the three elements believed to access regional identity correlated with one another to form a single scale that measured regional attitude/identity with a Cronbach’s Alpha of 0.60 (2001: 796). Due to statistical analysis indicating that the three elements created a single scale, Dargent concluded that the two believed elements of regional identity – affective and functional – were actually one element (2001: 796).

When analyzing the responses to the three aforementioned questions, region by region, and then comparing the results to the regional averages, three regional categories emerged: regions with a strong identity, regions with an

intermediate identity, and regions with a weak identity. Regions with a strong identity were determined to be Corsica, Brittany, Alsace, Nord-Pas-de-Calais, and Midi-Pyrénées. Regions with an intermediate identity were Languedoc-Roussillon, Aquitaine, Lorraine, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, and Limousin. Regions with a weak identity were identified as Ile-de-France, Centre, Picardy, Burgundy, Pays de la Loire, Rhône-Alpes, Poitou-Charentes, and Lower Normandy (Dargent 2001: 797).

Based upon the results, Dargent argued that while the length of time the province entered the French domain may be an element in its strength of regional identity, wherein the later the date should indicate stronger regional identity, it is not the only element since Midi-Pyrénées entered the French domain in the 13th century and also exhibits a strong regional identity as do Corsica, Brittany, Alsace and Nord-Pas-de-Calais that all entered the French domain much later than the vast majority of the other provinces/regions. Furthermore, Ile-de-France and Centre, both regions with a weak regional identity, were both provinces/regions of the royal domain since Hughes Capet, but Burgundy, another region with a weak regional identity, had a history of autonomy until the end of the 15th century (2001: 797). Furthermore, Lorraine, the last province attached to the French crown under Louis XV, only exhibits an intermediate regional identity (Dargent 2001: 797-798).

Even when contrasting the *pays d'élection* and the *pays d'état*, the latter of which held onto more administrative autonomy, the filter does not provide reliable results. For example, Brittany was a *pays d'état* until the 18th century, and is a region today that holds a strong identity; however, both Languedoc and Provence were both *pays d'état* until the same period, and only hold intermediate regional identities today. Furthermore, Burgundy was also a *pays d'état* until the 18th century, and today holds a weak regional identity (Dargent 2001: 798-799).

When considering provinces that had parliaments versus ones that did not, the same problems arise. As a result, while the length of the province's autonomy and its relative autonomy within the kingdom, probably influences the strength of the region's identity today, it is not the sole factor. A variety of forces or factors may be at play (Dargent 2001: 799).

Based upon all of the aforementioned information and results, Dargent concluded at the end of the 20th century as Annick Percheron did at the beginning of the 1990s that French regionalism was more functional than identity-based. Excluding Corsica, the different forms and strength of French regional identity did not lead to strong political demands. "Regional identity in France does not lead to a political identity of the first degree in the sense that it does not demand today an institutional legitimacy" (Dargent 2001: 804).

The Moreno Question and France

In Western Europe of the 1980s arose a surge in ethno-regionalist sentiments that were believed to compete with national identities causing Spanish sociologist and political scientist Luis Moreno to develop a theory aimed at studying dual territorial identities through his research on Catalonia and Scotland, which has since become known as the “Moreno Question” (Dupoirier 2007: 531). The “Moreno Question” is based upon three hypotheses: the possibility of dual national identities in plural-national states, individuals hierarchize their allegiances and identities, and a relationship exists between regional attachment and a desire for regional autonomy defended by and mobilized through regional élites (Dupoirier 2007: 531-533).

Sociological research in France has largely avoided the Moreno Question as the hypotheses do not easily relate to the French historic reality (Dupoirier 2007: 531). For instance, when considering the first hypothesis, in the Republican model, the French national territory is the same as that of the French State and the superiority of national identity over all other forms of territorial attachment has been considered to have been accomplished for a significant period of time. In other words, since 1789, France is not seen as a pluralistic nation, in fact it is regarded as being the complete opposite. The Jacobin form of the French Republic triumphed at the end of the 19th century giving the centralized State the means to impose the concept of a culturally homogenous and politically unified

nation. This concept or ideal excluded, and continues to exclude, any domination of territorial attachment other than the national one (Dupoirier 2007: 531-532). “And if the feeling of attachment to the city or village is occasionally put forward in a positive manner by holders of the Jacobin doctrine, it is because it is deemed to have shaped and then maintained adherence to the Republican nation” (Dupoirier 2007: 532). The French Third Republic tapped into lower territorial attachments in order to promote territorial attachment to the French nation itself.

After having viewed how the political and social history of French nation-building privileged, and thus excluded the domination of other territorial identities in favor of the national one (the first hypothesis), it is evident that the second hypothesis of the Moreno Question does not apply to France. Furthermore, the processes of decentralization and regionalization initiated in France during the 1980s had neither the ambition nor the power of regional demands in Catalonia or Scotland. The 1982 laws on decentralization and regionalization were functional and not identity-based conceived of by political élites in order to enhance the efficacy of public politics in the French territory; these political élites did not even search out popular support in their approach. The French administrations, did not, and do not consider the French regions to be cultural entities, but rather to be “empty forms” territorially defined based

upon former entities for economic planning of the national territory (Dupoirier 2007: 532).

When comparing the fit of the third hypothesis with France, it is important to know that in France, political regionalization entered the game as top-down within already existing national parties, rather than bottom-up from new regional parties. While new regional parties have arisen, they have been unable, except in Corsica, to disrupt the already existent game at a national level (Dupoirier 2007: 533).

The above analysis indicates why researchers in France have avoided the Moreno Question and opted for different mechanisms when studying the different levels of territorial identity in France. In fact, during the OIP Studies from 1985-2004, since the *Conseils régionaux* were one of the partners, and since their members were also part of the national administration, the Moreno Question was not allowed; they could not ask any questions that would possibly shed unfavorable results upon national identity (Dupoirier 2007: 538).

Despite this constraint, in 2007, the former director of the OIP Elisabeth Dupoirier retroactively applied the Moreno Question to four previous OIP Studies: 1995, 1997, 1999 and 2001. In order to do this, Dupoirier employed two OIP Study questions: "Could you tell me if you are very attached, somewhat attached, not very attached, or not at all attached to France?" and "Could you tell

me if you are very attached, somewhat attached, not very attached, or not at all attached to your region?" and placed the intensity of responses given to them into four Moreno Question categories.

Dupoirier listed responses as "very" or "somewhat" attached to France and "not at all attached to the region" and "no response" to regional attachment as forming a Moreno category of "being exclusively French". For the responses, "very attached to France" and "somewhat" plus "not very attached" to the region and "somewhat attached to France" plus "not very attached to the region", Dupoirier categorized them as "being more French than regional". For the responses, "very attached" to France and to the region and "somewhat attached" to France and the region, she categorized them as "equally French and regional". For the responses, "very attached to the region" and "not very" plus "not at all" attached to France and "somewhat attached to the region" and "not very attached to France", Dupoirier categorized them as "being more regional than French". For responses, "very" or "somewhat" attached to the region and "not at all attached to France" plus "no response" for attachment to France, she categorized as "being exclusively regional". For the responses, "no response" to attachment to France and to the region or "not very attached" or "not at all attached" to France and the region, she categorized them as being "without territorial attachment" (2007: 536).

Dupoirier found the amount of correlation between the two questions by calculating their Pearson correlation coefficient where +1 is a perfect positive correlation, 0 is no correlation and -1 is a perfect negative correlation (Dupoirier 2007: 536). For 1995, the Pearson correlation coefficient was 0.384, and for 1997, it was 0.412. For 1999, it was 0.307 and for 2001, it was 0.310 (Dupoirier 2007: 536). The two questions were shown to be positively correlated for all four years with the strongest being 1999 which took place shortly after the 1998 French regional elections (Dupoirier 2007: 535-536).

The results, among the 20 participating regions, confirmed that the respondents for the four different years felt equally French and regional or equally attached to France and to their region. In 1995, 60% of the sample fell into this category, and in 1997, 62% did. In 1999, 57% fell into this category, while in 2001, 59% did (Dupoirier 2007: 536). The exclusive attachment to either France or the region were found to be very minor, 4% and 1% respectively (Dupoirier 2007: 537). When looking at hierarchical attachment between France and the region, France came in first position with between 19% and 27% of the population, whereas the region only received between 11% and 15% (Dupoirier 2007: 537). A small minority (3%) identified feeling no territorial attachment at all (Dupoirier 2007: 537).

The category equally French and regional was confirmed across the 20 regions for the four different studies, except for the Ile-de-France, the French region, which includes the French capital, Paris, wherein its respondents reported feeling exclusively French (Dupoirier 2007: 537). In 1995, 54% of its residents reported this feeling, while in 2001, 55% did (Dupoirier 2007: 537).

In regions with a strong regional identity, Alsace, Brittany, and Corsica, the sentiment of feeling equally attached to France and to the region was the norm as in other regions; however, this feeling was even more common in Alsace and Brittany than among the average of the other regions. The noticeable difference for Alsace and Brittany was the percentage of respondents feeling more attached to the region than to France due to their strong regional identities; 18% in Alsace and 24.5% in Brittany compared to the 13% average in other regions. Corsica represented the exception wherein 36.5% of its respondents identified more with Corsica than with France (Dupoirier 2007: 537).

Through Dupoirier's analysis, she demonstrated that the Moreno Question could be applied to France, and that it would demonstrate the dual-identities of the majority of the French in regions with strong regional identities as well as in regions with weaker regional identities. Dupoirier indicated that the French specificity of the Moreno Question when compared to the Scottish and Catalan cases, which created it, was that the dual-identities in France have

been stronger in France for a considerable length of time (Dupoirier 2007: 537-538).

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This quote from Emmanuel Todd provides an applicable summary for this chapter: “The nation is rarely a homogeneous and enclosed human ensemble. This discrepancy between ideal and reality is particularly clear in the case of France” (Todd 1991: 7). While Jacobin ideology holds that France is “one and indivisible”, this belief does not constitute cultural reality. Administratively, France is “one and indivisible”, but culturally, it is diverse.

CHAPTER SIX

Methods of Research

Topic's Historical Background Summary

Since this study is charged with investigating the survival, or resistance, of regional languages in France, it necessitates critically analyzing events in French history. While the French administration has often been historically depicted as being hostile to local cultures and languages in France, as demonstrated in the introduction, several times in French history, the French administration actually promoted studies on the regional or the local (Gerson 2003). For instance, in 1834, the *Comité des travaux historiques*¹ (CTH), and in 1839, the *Institut des Provinces*², created in the image of the *Institut de France*³, were commissioned to study the local (Gerson 2003: 16 and 39). During the Third Republic, the administration credited with being most capable of carrying out the Frenchification of France as requested by Grégoire, the study of the *petite patrie*⁴ proliferated (Theisse 1996: 9-10). Having been excluded from the five previous

¹ Committee of Historical Studies.

² Institute of the Provinces.

³ Institute of France which houses the *Académie française*.

⁴ "Little Homeland" employed in reference to one's place of birth and residence, in contrast to the *grande patrie* ("Large Homeland", i.e. France).

World's Fairs held in Paris between 1855 and 1900, during the 1937 World's Fair in Paris, the French regions⁵ were the "invited guests of honor" (Peer 1998: 45).

During these times, did the French administration have ulterior motives or has it been historically portrayed incorrectly?

In French nation-building since 1789, languages and territories were stigmatized and marginalized in administratively centralizing France in favor of French and the French nation; as a result, numerous overlapping terms exist for the two entities. Many of the terms appear to be ill-defined and perhaps purposely so (Gerson 2003: 29). These ill-defined terms seem to be part and parcel of French national ideology. As a result, an analysis of the term "province" was completed and revealed that it represents a cultural, rather than administrative territory. An analysis of the three main linguistic terms available to the French revealed that they constitute and reflect socio-political realities, rather than linguistic ones, which has been mentioned by numerous scholars, such as Blanchet (1992), Lodge (1993) and Stein (2004); therefore, the sociopolitical reality of the linguistic terms, the only coherent system to which they belong, was examined and explained in the introduction.

Several important events have taken place in France within the last 30 years relating to language and territory, which underscore their role in French

⁵ Regions had not yet been administratively created at this time and since the provinces had been abolished in 1790, the organizing committee created "regions" for the fair (Peer 1998).

society. For example, in 1992, the French constitution was modified to include Article 2, which states, “The language of the Republic is French” (Ager 1999: 116). Up until this point in time, the French administration did not feel compelled to specifically state this fact. However, due to continued European integration through the European Union, France became concerned that the “French exception” would be compromised (Ager 1999: 116).

In 2008, the regional languages entered Article 75.1 of the French constitution, which states, “The regional languages of France belong to the patrimony of France” (Amendement no. 605 2008)⁶. Shortly before the actual constitutional modification, the *Académie française*, the protectrice of the French language released a statement stating that this recognition would be an “attack on [French] national identity” (*Le Post* 2008)⁷. Through this constitutional amendment, the French administration assumed ownership of the languages it had been previously trying to extinguish; they no longer belonged to their speakers or the regions they represented.

A territorial reform was proposed in 2009 by French President Nicolas Sarkozy, which aimed to reduce the number of metropolitan (European) French regions by half. The reform was unsuccessful; however, in 2014, French

⁶ Amendement no. 605 de l'Assemblée nationale - <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/13/amendements/0820/082000605.asp>.

⁷ *Lepost.fr* - http://www.lepost.fr/article/2008/06/17/1209686_pour-l-academie-la-constitution-ne-doit-pas-reconnaitre-les-langues-regionales.html.

President François Hollande proposed another territorial reform to cut the number of regions in half in an effort to reduce administrative spending. Despite its lack of popular support concerning the reduction in the number of regions, the 2014 reform, which was set up throughout 2015, was officially implemented on January 1, 2016 (Tesson and Cotta 2014). On this date, metropolitan France went from being composed of 22 regions to being composed of 13 (*Le Monde* 2014b).

Both constitutional amendments as well as reforms renewed debates on topics that have become important in France in the last 30 years: national identity, regional identity, centralization, decentralization and regionalism. Citizens began to demand their rights, ability to choose and autonomy.

Due to historical rootedness of this study's topic combined with its current significance in French society as well as the desire to align it with past *Observatoire Interrégional du Politique* (OIP) research, its research paradigm is qualitative in which two regions of France – Picardy and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur – will constitute case studies. In this respect, numerous newspaper articles and associated comments or reactions will be taken into account. Internet petitions will also provide information as well as comments posted concerning the 2009 and 2014 territorial reforms. This study attempts to answer

the research question – how have the regional languages of France survived despite “their programmed demise”? – through an analysis of French nation-building, French regionalism, French history, both known as well as less known, analysis of the 1985-2004 block of research conducted by the *Observatoire Interrégional du Politique* (OIP) and its two case studies through historical and current research as well as questionnaire data.

In many ways, this study involves looking at the reverse side of governmental documents and previous studies. For instance, the infamous Grégoire study of 1794 was not without its ideological bias; in fact, its title even alluded to this fact “Report on the Necessity and Means to Annihilate the Patois and to Universalize the Use of the French language”. Grégoire’s goal was front and center. While early French Republic documents and studies may have had ideological biases, modern academic research does not; however, it may look at history and documents a certain way. For example, Eugen Weber’s renowned 1976 study, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*, was not ideological biased like Grégoire’s study, but Weber’s goal was to demonstrate how the French populace became French. Therefore, he looked at the data through a certain lens. This study aims to look at the opposite, or at least, at resistance to it; the perseverance of certain Picard and Provençal particularities, the Picard and Provençal idioms.

Research Setting and Context

Fifteen days before this study's questionnaires were opened for responses, French President François Hollande announced a French territorial reform aimed at simplifying the administrative map of France, reducing public spending and maintaining the strong link between territorial collectivities and citizens (Nunès 20014 and Laurent and Parienté 2014). The principle objective of the reform was to decrease government spending by reducing the number of regions in metropolitan France from 22 to 15 by 2015 (Laurent and Parienté 2014). Citizens across France were angered by the administration's decision without having first consulted with them and pointed to the government's lack of interest in regional identity (Gautheret and Wieder 2014 and *Le Monde* 2014b).

In potentially concerned regions, other than in Upper and Lower Normandy, regarding the reuniting of historic Normandy, French citizens were unhappy that their regional identity could be destroyed. In Picardy, it was feared that this territorial reform, like its unsuccessful 2009 predecessor had proposed, would erase the region from the map of France (Cahon 2009). A 2009 petition created by the Socialists entitled "Touche pas à ma Picardie !" ⁸ was reactivated to oppose any tampering with the borders of Picardy, and in 2014, as a result of the new proposed reform, a Right-wing political consortium known as

⁸ "Don't touch my Picardy!"; by February 5, 2011, *L'Aisne Nouvelle* reported that 86,000 had already signed it.

“Envie de Picardie”⁹ created another petition entitled “Sauvons la Picardie”¹⁰ with the same goal (*L’Aisne Nouvelle* 2014).

The proposed reform did not really create a stir in Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur as it would remain largely unchanged; it would possibly only either lose the Alpes-de-Haute-Provence *département* or gain Corsica (*Corse-Matin* 2014)¹¹. The largest stir came from the Gard *département* in the bordering region of Languedoc-Roussillon over its desire to join the Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur region due to its historical, cultural and linguistic links to Provence. A group was created entitled “Oui au Gard en PACA”¹² with the goal of shifting the *département* to the Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur (PACA) region.

Concerns over the potential loss of regional identity continued throughout the deployment of the questionnaires and afterward. On June 24, 2014 the *Institut CSA* released a public opinion poll on behalf of the *Assemblée des Départements de France* concerning the territorial reform and revealed that two out of three French citizens were in favor of reforming the administrative organization of France; however, 84% of French citizens believed that eliminating regions or *départements* should not be a priority of such a reform. The poll also

⁹ “Desire for Picardy”; composed of UMP (Union pour un Mouvement Populaire [Union for a Popular Movement]), UDI (Union des Démocrates et Indépendants [Union of Democrats and Independents]) and Nouveau Centre (New Center).

¹⁰ “Let’s save Picardy”.

¹¹ <http://www.corsematin.com/article/derniere-minute/synthese-reforme-territoriale-va-t-on-vivre-dans-une-super-region-paca-corse>.

¹² “Yes to the Gard in Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur”.

revealed that 69% of the French were attached to their *département*, 72% to their region and 76% to their city or village of residence (Institut CSA 2014).

A similar opinion poll conducted and released in 2009 by the *Institut OpinionWay* on behalf of *Le Figaro* newspaper revealed that 53% of French citizens were opposed to reducing the number of regions or *départements* (*Le Figaro* 2009)¹³. In five years, the desire to retain the regions and *départements* intact rose 31%.

Rationale for Research Approach

Since this study attempts to align itself with approximately twenty years (1985-2004) of French political and social research conducted by the *Observatoire Interrégional du Politique*¹⁴ (OIP), it also employed questionnaires. In fact, many of the questions of these two questionnaires were drawn from these prior OIP questionnaires. Some questions were used in their entirety, while others were slightly modified. The French have a long tradition of being polled via questionnaires and surveys as numerous polls throughout the years by several different polling agencies suggest. While the French most often respond to questionnaires via telephone calls, as was the method for the OIP surveys, for both logistical and financial constraints, this study employed the Internet. The

¹³ <http://www.lefigaro.fr/assets/pdf/oway0603.pdf>.

¹⁴ Interregional Observatory of Politics
(http://bdq.reseauquetelet.cnrs.fr/fr/Details_d_une_serie_d_enquete/3).

Internet is steadily becoming an increasingly reliable and valid research setting (Wright 2015). The results of past opinion polls by INSEE, Ifop, CSA as well as by the OIP attest to the validity and reliability of questionnaire research.

From 1985 to 2004, the OIP polled residents of member regions¹⁵ of metropolitan France concerning the emergence, or reemergence, and implantation of the regional element in both opinion and politics in French society. Questions were designed in order to ascertain opinions on and knowledge of the regions, territorial identity and expectations of regional politics. Socio-demographic information – level of education, age group, profession and position on political scale – was also recorded. Each year comprises a database in which approximately 700 individuals were polled in each participating member region of the OIP¹⁶. Data concerning respondents'

¹⁵ Regions wherein the *Conseil régional* (Regional Council) was a member of the OIP. Metropolitan (European) France comprises 22 regions. For 1985, the member regions were as follows: Alsace, Aquitaine, Auvergne, Centre, Champagne-Ardenne, Franche-Comté, Languedoc-Roussillon, Limousin, Midi-Pyrénées, Nord-Pas-de-Calais, Upper Normandy, Pays de la Loire, Poitou-Charentes, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, and Rhône-Alpes (15/22). In 1986, Auvergne was not included and two additional regions were included: Lorraine and Picardy (16/22). In 1987, the Ile-de-France was included (17/22). In 1989, Brittany was included (18/22). In 1990, Burgundy was included (19/22). In 1991, Lower Normandy was included (20/22). In 1993, Franche-Comté was not included (19/20). In 1994, Auvergne and Franche-Comté were included (21/22). In 1995, Auvergne, Champagne-Ardenne and Franche-Comté were not included, but Corsica was included (19/22). In 1998, Upper Normandy was not included (18/22). In 1999, Rhône-Alpes was not included, but Franche-Comté was included (18/22). In 2000, Rhône-Alpes was included (19/22). In 2003, Pays de la Loire was not included (18/22). In 2004, Lorraine, Picardy and Poitou-Charentes were not included, but Auvergne was included (16/22).

¹⁶ From 1985 through 1989, individuals aged 15 and over were polled. In 1990, individuals aged 18 and over were polled. In 1991, individuals aged 15 and over were polled and from 1992 through 2004, individuals aged 18 and over were polled.

attachment to France and to their region, *département* and city of residence was noted. Several studies have already consulted these databases and have indicated that in France, national and regional attachments are complementary, rather than competitive (Dargent 2001 and Dupoirier 2007).

Since the data from the OIP finishes in 2004, two questionnaires, based on those of the OIP, were created on the Internet site, SurveyMonkey (fr.surveymonkey.com) – one for Picardy and one for Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur¹⁷ – for this study. The questionnaires employed questions from the OIP surveys concerning regional attachment, as well as regional specific language and culture questions. For instance, respondents were asked to classify the historic language of their region from among the three main terms: *dialecte*, *langue* and *patois*. They then were asked to define *dialecte* and *patois* in an effort to try and gauge their level of acceptance of French language ideology.

Due to both financial and time constraints, the deployment of the two region-specific questionnaires were handled by SurveyMonkey Audience in each specific region via the Internet. Tulane University's ethics committee, or internal review board, approved each questionnaire as well as the use of SurveyMonkey Audience for their deployment.

Data Sources

¹⁷ Both questionnaires appear in the Appendix in both the original French as well as with an English translation.

Picardy Questionnaire

The Picardy questionnaire comprised 67 questions. The first one asked for the respondent's consent. Questions 2 through 7 collected demographic information – gender, age, profession, diploma/highest educational level attained, and places of birth and residence – in which the first four questions employed the schema employed by the *Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques* (INSEE) (INSEE 2003¹⁸). Questions 8 through 67 represented the 60-core questions concerning identity, regional language usage, language attitudes, and adherence to French language ideology.

Among the core questions, 14 were taken from previous OIP questionnaires and 47 were newly created questions designed in the OIP-style concerning regional identity, language and interests based upon pre-study information obtained in the region. Of the 60-core questions, 8 were yes/no, 14 were yes/no/do not know, 4 were short answer, 15 were multiple choice and 19 were Likert-type. Eleven sets of questions were linked. For instance, the first question asked the respondent if he or she agreed to fill out the questionnaire. If he or she chose “yes”, he or she continued to question two; however, if he or she chose “no”, he or she would receive a message thanking him or her for his or her interest and the questionnaire would end. The remaining linked questions were

¹⁸ Professions: <https://www.insee.fr/fr/information/2400059> under “Niveau 1”; Diplomas (updated in 2016): <https://www.insee.fr/fr/metadonnees/definition/c1785>.

similarly linked; however, the questionnaire did not end based upon their responses. For instance, questions nine and ten were linked. Question nine asked, "Are you a regional activist?" with possible responses "Yes" or "No". If the person answered, "Yes", he or she would then be presented with question ten "What type of regional activist?" with possible responses "Cultural", "Linguistic" or "Political". The question only applied, and thus was only asked, if the respondent had responded in the affirmative to the previous question. If the person had responded, "No" to question nine, he or she would not have been presented with question ten. The remaining linked questions were 21-22, 24-25, 30-31, 37-38, 41-42, 51-52, 52-53, 55-56 and 64-65.

Question 20 asked the participant to select how he or she defines "*dialecte*"; of the four suggested possibilities, three of them were actual definitions contained in different French dictionaries, while the fourth was simply the term "*patois*". The respondent was simply required to pick the definition to which he or she most adhered among possible real definitions and the term "*patois*". No fake definitions were created; all definitions were also taken from current dictionaries of the *Académie française*, *Larousse*, *Le Robert* and the *Trésor de la langue française*¹⁹.

Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur Questionnaire

¹⁹ Question 20 was the same in both the Picardy and the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur questionnaires.

The Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur questionnaire comprised 77 questions. It was arranged in the same format as the Picardy questionnaire in which the first one asked for the respondent's consent, questions 2 through 7 collected demographic information and questions 8 through 77 represented the 70-core questions concerning identity, regional language usage, language attitudes, and adherence to French language ideology. Among the core questions, 14 were taken from previous OIP questionnaires and 56 were newly created questions designed in the OIP-style concerning regional identity, language and interests based upon information gleaned through pre-study interactions in the region.

Of the 70-core questions, 10 were yes/no, 13 were yes/no/do not know, 8 were short answer, 20 were multiple choice and 19 were Likert-type. Fifteen sets of questions were linked. Just as in the Picardy questionnaire, the first question also asked the respondent if he or she agreed to fill out the questionnaire. If he or she chose "yes", he or she continued to question two; however, if he or she chose "no", he or she would receive a message thanking him or her for his or her interest and the questionnaire would end. The remaining linked questions were similarly linked; however, the questionnaire did not end based upon their responses. For instance, question nine and ten were linked as in the Picardy questionnaire. Question nine asked, "Are you a regional activist?" with possible responses "Yes" or "No". If the person answered, "Yes", he or she would be

presented with question ten “What type of regional activist?” with possible responses “Cultural”, “Linguistic” or “Political”. The question only applied, and thus was only asked, if the respondent had responded in the affirmative to the previous question. If the person had responded, “No” to question nine, he or she would then not have been presented with question ten. The remaining linked questions were 21-22, 24-25, 26-27, 31-32, 35-36, 41-42, 44-45, 48-49, 56-57, 61-62, 63-64, 66-67 and 74-75.

Research Sample

Sample Size

Again, since this study attempts to align itself with the work done by the OIP, its sample size goal was taken from previous OIP studies. Over the OIP’s twenty-years of research, regional sample sizes were typically around 700 participants per region (OIP 1985-2004). However, since this study has neither the resources nor the manpower of the OIP, it was decided that its sample size would be 25% of the OIP’s 700 regional participants, or 175 participants from both Picardy and Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur; however, due to a SurveyMonkey Audience programming error, the sample size for each region augmented to approximately 33%²⁰ of the OIP sample.

²⁰ SurveyMonkey Audience accidentally sent the Picardy Questionnaire to both regions; however, the mistake was soon corrected. For consolation, SurveyMonkey Audience provided additional participants.

Picardy

A total of 254 individuals began the Picardy Questionnaire; two were immediately eliminated by the system for withholding their consent; another 16 were eliminated for either not being born in or currently residing in Picardy based upon their responses to questions six and seven. As a result, 236 participants were retained for Picardy.

Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

A total of 246 individuals completed the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur Questionnaire, but 27 were eliminated for either not being born in or currently residing in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur²¹ based upon their responses to questions six and seven. As a result, 219 participants were retained for Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur.

Sample Characteristics*Picardy*

The 236 participants retained for Picardy were all 18-years-old or older and were either born in or currently lived in one of the three *départements* – Aisne, Oise or Somme – of Picardy.

²¹ SurveyMonkey Audience accidentally sent the Picardy Questionnaire to both regions; however, the mistake was soon corrected. Most of the 27 questionnaires eliminated were as a result of this issue.

Concerning gender, 30.08% (71) were men and 69.92% (165) were women. Regarding age, 5.93% (14) were between 18 and 24, 16.53% (39) were between 25 and 34, 40.68% were aged between 35 and 49, 30.51% (72) were aged between 50 and 64 and 6.36% (15) were 65-years-old or older.

With regard to profession, 3.81% (9) were artisans, storekeepers or business owners, 12.29% (29) were senior executives or intellectual professionals, 17.80% (42) were middle managers, 44.07% (104) were employees, 5.93% (14) were laborers, 3.81% (9) were university students and 12.29% (29) had never worked.

With reference to education, 8.05% (19) held no diploma, 21.61% (51) held a vocational certificate, 25.00% (59) held a *Baccalauréat* (Bachelor's degree), 22.46% (53) held a *Baccalauréat* (Bachelor's degree) plus two years of university work, 22.46% (53) held either a Master's degree or a Doctorate and 0.42% (1) did not know or remember.

Concerning the participants' link to Picardy, 3.39% (8) were born in Picardy, 58.05% (137) were both born in and currently resided in Picardy and 38.56% (91) were born elsewhere, but currently resided in Picardy.

Regarding the *départements* of Picardy, 31.36% (74) lived in the Aisne (*Département* 02), 38.98% (92) lived in the Oise (*Département* 60), 26.27% (62) lived

in the Somme (*Département* 80) and 3.39% (8) who had been born in Picardy resided outside of the region and its constituent *départements*.

Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

The 219 participants retained for Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur were 18-years-old or older and were either born in or currently lived in one of the six *départements* – Alpes-de-Haute-Provence, Hautes-Alpes, Alpes-Maritimes, Bouches-du-Rhône, Var or Vaucluse – of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur.

With regard to gender, 26.48% (58) were men and 73.52% (161) were women.

Concerning age, 7.76% (17) were between the ages 18 and 24; 14.16% (31) were between the ages of 25 and 34, 35.16% (77) were aged between 35 and 49, 31.05% (68) were aged between 50 and 64 and 11.87% (26) were 65-years-old or older.

Regarding profession, 5.02% (11) were artisans, storekeepers or business owners, 14.16% (31) were senior executives or intellectual professionals, 16.89% (37) were middle managers, 41.55% (91) were employees, 3.65% (8) were laborers, 5.94% (13) were university students and 12.79% (28) had never worked.

With reference to education, 5.02% (11) held no diploma; 20.09% (44) held a vocational certificate, 31.05% (68) held a *Baccalauréat* (Bachelor's degree),

18.26% (40) held a *Baccalauréat* (Bachelor's degree) plus two years of university work and 25.57% (56) held either a Master's degree or a Doctorate.

Concerning the participants' link to Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 1.37% (3) were born in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 53.42% (117) were both born in and currently resided in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur and 45.21% (99) were born elsewhere, but currently resided in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur.

Regarding the *départements* of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 3.20% (7) lived in the Alpes-de-Haute-Provence (*Département* 04), 2.74% (6) lived in the Hautes-Alpes (*Département* 05), 19.63% (43) lived in the Alpes-Maritimes (*Département* 06), 36.07% (79) lived in the Bouches-du-Rhône (*Département* 13), 23.74% (52) lived in the Var (*Département* 83), 13.24% (29) lived in the Vaucluse (*Département* 84) and 1.37% (3) who had been born in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur currently resided outside of the region and its constituent *départements*.

Data Collection Methods

Participants were presented with a regional specific questionnaire and were required to answer every question presented to them; otherwise, the system would not let them continue²²; however, not all respondents were presented with every question as several questions on each questionnaire were linked. For

²² One exception, which was discovered after the fact, was that the system could not determine whether answers to questions requiring short answers contained actual words, rather than simple keystrokes used in order to move to the next question.

instance, if a respondent answered “no” to a two part question, he or she would not be asked the second question.

In order to obtain viable and comparable results among each group of respondents, three categories – all respondents, respondents born in and still living in the region and linguistic-related respondents – were created from among specific questions within each questionnaire. The first category represents the baseline or control; the group from which the others will be compared. The second category represents a more specific control group; the residents born in, educated in and still living in their native region. The third category represents the group being studied and compared to the other two through the filter of language.

Due to the Frenchification of France since the 1790s, not all respondents are going to speak and understand their region’s language. While this is the variable being studied, the study needs a representative sample of the regional population; therefore, this linguistic group has to be identified through the questionnaire itself.

This third group breaks down into three subgroups: regional language understanders, regional language speakers and regional language speakers as well as understanders. While both Picard and Provençal have speakers and understanders today, most, if not all, as was previously stated no longer do so as

their first language. According to many scholars, including, Eugen Weber, the entire French populace has known French since the years separating the two World Wars. As a result, the knowledge – in terms of both speaking and understanding – of a regional language may not be equal. There are often emblematic speakers who can say a few words or phrases, but who cannot actually speak the language; there are also those who can understand a language since they heard it as a child, but cannot speak it; and of course, there are those who both speak and understand the language to varying degrees. The three linguistic subcategories are thus for this study “Understand Picard or Provençal, A Lot and Some” (Language understanders), “Speak Picard or Provençal, Often and Some” (Language speakers) and “Speak and Understand Picard or Provençal, Often/A Lot and Some” (Language speakers as well as understanders).

In order to create these five groups – two social and three linguistic –, as well as to access their data, responses to two demographic questions were used. For both questionnaires, question six asked the participant to denote his or her *département* of birth, while question seven then asked for the *département* of residence. Responses to these two questions determined which respondent's data was kept and whose was excluded from the study. While SurveyMonkey Audience specifically targeted residents of each region, they were unable to

determine whether the potential respondent was a native or long-term resident of the region. Since this study is interested in native or long-term residents, completed questionnaires from residents living in *départements* of other regions were excluded by employing responses to questions six and seven unless that participant was born in Picardy or Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur.

Responses to questions six and seven thus formed groups one and two for each respective region. For example, for Picardy, group one was all retained Picardy respondents, while group two was all retained respondents both born in and living in Picardy. The three linguistic groups were formed by taking all retained regional respondent questionnaires and employing responses to questions 21 and 23. To form the "Understand Picard, A Lot and Some" group, the responses "A Lot" and "Some" to question 23 "Do you understand spoken Picard?" were selected to be the filter through which the data was accessed. For the "Speak Picard, Often and Some" group, responses "Often" and "Some" to question 21 "Do you speak Picard?" were the filter, and for the "Speak and Understand Picard, Often/A Lot and Some"²³ responses "Often/A Lot" and

²³ This last category aims to separate those respondents who indicated that they spoke Picard who only do so by employing set phrases or words from those who truly speak it. In other words, since the questionnaire is of the self-report type, this category aims to differentiate symbolic or performance speakers from actual speakers.

“Some” for questions 21 and 23 were the filter. The same procedure was employed to form the Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur linguistic groups.

Collection Procedures

SurveyMonkey Audience e-mailed an invitation to individuals who were 18-years-old or older, lived in one of the two regions, and had also previously signed up with them to complete surveys online.

Both questionnaires were opened for responses at 12:00 AM Central European Time (UTC+01:00) on Thursday, January 30, 2014 and were closed to responses at 11:59 PM Central European Time (UTC+01:00) on Saturday, February 8, 2014²⁴.

²⁴ The questionnaires were supposed to have been available for one week; however, due to a formatting error by SurveyMonkey Audience, the Picardy Questionnaire was sent to both regions. This error was quickly corrected; however, in order to obtain the correct sample size, the time frame was extended. While the error was quickly corrected, several participants from Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur had completed the Picardy Questionnaire. These questionnaires were deleted, and do not form part of the sample.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Case Studies

This chapter explores the history of the two case studies in terms of territory, language and identity. The end of the chapter is dedicated to historically defining the French province and its links with modern French administrative regions.

Picardy

What is Picardy?

Most geographical and historical accounts of Picardy begin with the question of “what is Picardy?” since the term has been used to represent diverse territorial realities (Lestocquoy 1962: 5-8). For example, it has been used to represent the territory of the Picard language, the historic province of the Kingdom of France, and the administrative region of the French Republic, to only name its major representations, all of which included, and include, different territorial boundaries. Yet, despite these facts, the real purported reason for the question is attributed to the fact that while there existed, at times during the feudal period, the County of Amiens, the County of Ponthieu, the County of Vermandois, etc., there never existed the County of Picardy. As a result, Picardy,

in its entirety, was never a united fiefdom like Flanders or Provence (Lestocquoy 1962: 5-6). Since there never was a Count of Picardy, its exact historical boundaries never needed to be determined (Lestocquoy 1962: 6). However, while the precise boundaries of Picardy may have remained unknown until the regional circumscription of Picardy was created on June 2, 1960, “one felt Picard in an instinctive fashion, in an affective and sentimental context” (Becquet 1981: 9).

Etymology of Picardy

The first attestation to the term “Picard” was around 1099 when it represented the surname of three men heading off to the first crusade: Wilhelmus Picardus, Petrus Picardi and Martinus Picardus. In the 12th century, four examples of the name “Picardus” having been added to a baptismal name appeared. In 1260, copies of acts of privileges from Artois contained two uses of the term “Picard” in its French form – Johanni le Picart and Balduini le Picart –, however, it is impossible to tell if the name had already taken on an ethnic value (Picoche in Eloy 1997: 58).

The first texts that certainly attest to its ethnic sense come from university life in 1229 in which “natives of the neighboring regions of Flanders, who we call Picards in vulgar language”, scuffled with the royal police (Picoche quoted in Eloy 1997: 58). Three years later, texts attest to the existence of a “Picard nation”

at the University of Paris; it was one of four officially recognized nations of the university; the other three being French, Norman and English. The students of the Picard nation came from the diocese of Beauvais, Amiens, Noyon, Arras, Thérouanne, Cambrai, Laon, Tournai, which corresponds to the Picard linguistic domain defined by Raymond Dubois, plus the diocese of Liege and Utrecht (Picoche in Eloy 1997: 59).

Despite these indications, the origins of the name “Picardy” are even today still somewhat unclear (Fossier 1974: 179). Philologists still guess to its etymology (Fossier 1974: 179 and Morel [1883] 2011: 14). As a result, two theories exist to explain the origin of the term. One holds that residents of the future Picardy employed picks in order to ward off invaders earning themselves the vulgar nickname of *Ptcard*, which the Picards themselves began to employ (Morel [1883] 2011: 14). The other is essentially linguistic, in which four nations, based upon language, existed at the University of Paris in the 11th century (Fossier 1974: 178-179).

Regardless of the exact etymology of the term, “Picard” was a surname that lent its name to the region of Picardy in 1256 in association with France, Burgundy and Normandy. The use of the term became commonplace during the 14th century; however, Picardy did not correspond to any administrative or feudal entity at this time (Picoche in Eloy 1997: 59). As a result, “[o]ne spoke of

the Picards before having spoken of Picardy” (Dubois quoted in Lestocquoy 1962: 6). “‘Picardy’ thus only refers to the ‘region of the Picards’” who defined themselves through their manner of speaking (Eloy 1997: 59). During this period, the Picards were easily differentiated from the “French”. [...] [T]he Picards, who are the neighbors of the real French, are so much different in their customs and their language that one is surprised to notice such a difference at such a small distance” (Bacon quoted in Eloy 1997: 59).

Picardy is thus first, and foremost, a linguistic domain.

Picardy, Before “Picardy”

Before the arrival of the Celts, the territory to become known as “Picardy” in the 13th century formed part of the vast Ardennes Forest and was part and parcel of the vast realm of *Belgica* with the Rhine, North Sea, English Channel, Seine and Marne as natural water boundaries (Morel [1883] 2011: 10). Sometime later, Emperor Augustus detached the territory east of the Rhine from *Belgica* and created *Germania inferior* and *Germania superior*. Around 300 AD, Emperor Diocletian split *Belgica* in two, forming *Belgica prima* and *Belgica secunda* (Morel [1883] 2011: 10).

Future “Picardy” was completely encapsulated within *Belgica secunda*, which was divided into several tribes centered around a particular city (*civitates*);

the Nervii in Hainaut, the Morini around Théroouanne, the Atrebates around Arras, the Ambiani around Amiens, the Bellovaci in the Beauvaisis, the Viromandui or Veromandui in the Valois, the Suessiones around Soissons, the Remi around Reims and the Catalauni around Châlons (Morel [1883] 2011: 10-11).

In 406 AD, the *Franci* (Franks) crossed the Rhine River and invaded *Belgica secunda*. Upon the defeat of the local tribes, *Belgica secunda* lost its name and became known as the Kingdom of the Salian Franks whose royal residents were located in Théroouanne, Cambrai and Tournai, while its capital was Reims (Morel [1883] 2011: 13 and 41). Clovis was king of the new kingdom and either conquered or assassinated his rivals. Under his reign, he ruled over most of Gaul and founded the Merovingian dynasty (Morel [1883] 2011: 13).

Upon Clovis' death, according to Frank custom, his kingdom was divided among his four adult sons (Morel [1883] 2011: 13). Chlothar inherited the territory which used to approximately correspond to *Belgica secunda* – Tournai, Cambrai, the land of the Escaut and Sambre Rivers, the maritime region between the Meuse and the Somme Rivers (Morel [1883] 2011: 13).

Within Chlothar's reign, Gaul was once again unified; however, upon his death, it was again partitioned off between his children. The portion of the

kingdom above the River Seine was divided into *Neustria* and *Austrasia* (Morel [1883] 2011: 13). *Neustria* included the territory between Brittany to the west, a line west of Reims to the east, the Meuse River and the English Channel to the north and the Loire River to the south (Morel [1883] 2011: 13-14). As a result, the future “Picardy” was among the territory located within *Neustria*, while *Austrasia* included the land of northeastern Gaul (Morel [1883] 2011: 14).

With the Treaty of Verdun in 843, which separated the Carolingian or Charlemagne Empire into three separate kingdoms, in which one kingdom was ceded to one of Charlemagne’s three grandsons, “Picardy” was among the territory given to Charles the Bald, which was known as *Francia occidentalis* (*West Francia*) (Parisot 1898: 16).

The names and territorial realities of *Neustria* and *Austrasia* held fast until the 9th century when within the feudal system the vassals usurped the local power of the king (Morel [1883] 2011: 14). Under the feudal system, the territory of the future “Picardy” was divided into different independent counties, duchies and principalities with their own rulers (Morel [1883] 2011: 14). These included Calaisis, Boulonnais, Ponthieu, Amiénois, Santerre, Vermandois, Thiérache, Laonnois, Soissonnais, Noyonnais, Valois and Beauvaisis (Morel [1883] 2011: 14). Each of these territorial entities constituted for some time distinct countries

(Morel [1883] 2011: 14). It was not until the 13th century when these separate territories began to be grouped together under the name “Picardy” (Morel [1883] 2011: 14).

Feudal Picardy: 10th and 12th Centuries

The feudal system was relatively weak in Picardy, even though it was in Picardy, at Quierzy-sur-Oise, in which feudality became legally recognized (Gochet 1893: 268). Despite several attempts, no seigneur was either politically or territorially able to control Picardy in its entirety (Fossier 1974: 141). As a result, central and southern Picardy were the domain of Frank, and later French, kings, while due to the relative royal weakness of the period, durable counties and duchies developed in northern and western Picardy (Fossier 1974: 141). However, independent seigneuries developed later in the center and the south with less authority than in their northern or western counterparts (Fossier 1974: 144).

Rise of the Cities in Picardy

After years of fighting between rival seigneurs’ groups, around the year 1000, the *Peace of God* was proclaimed by the Roman Catholic Church. However, the peace was short-lived and the church then decided to only ask for peace at certain intervals of time – from Wednesday evening to Monday morning, during

holidays, during Lent and Advent –, which was known as the *Truce of God* (Morel [1883] 2011: 75). Pilgrimages to Jerusalem became the norm for seigneurs and resulted in the Crusades (Morel [1883] 2011: 79).

With the exception of Italy, Picardy is the European territory wherein urbanization first occurred and to such a wide degree (Fossier 1974: 148). During this period, in the territory of future “Picardy”, the bourgeoisie of the cities united in the absence of their seigneur and declared their independence and civil rights (Morel [1883] 2011: 79). A contract – the Charter of Commune – was drawn up between the oppressors and the oppressed in which each man of the bourgeoisie was declared a citizen of the city, and made responsible for the safeguarding of all of its citizenry (Bonneton 2003: 23 and Morel [1883] 2011: 79)¹. Citizens chose the municipal magistrates from within their body who were charged with running the city, judging and punishing, taxing and maintaining order and safety. Each city had its seal for ratifying acts, a town hall, a flag and a belfry in order to notify its citizens of danger (Morel [1883] 2011: 79).

The first city of the future “Picardy” to obtain its charter between 1096 and 1099 was Beauvais (Morel [1883] 2011: 79-80). Word soon began to spread of the victory of the citizens of Beauvais. The citizens of Saint-Quentin soon afterward

¹ During the feudal period, according to the *Dictionnaire de la langue française ‘Littré’* (online) a “commune” represented the united body of the bourgeoisie that governed itself.

received theirs as the Countess of Vermandois feared the mounting restlessness among them (Morel [1883] 2011: 80). The citizenry of Noyon received theirs also soon afterward. The charter for the citizens of Loan, capital of the last Carolingians, and for those of Amiens, the largest city of the Somme basin, took much longer (Morel [1883] 2011: 80-83). However, the charter of Loan served as the model for the city charters to follow (Bonneton 2003: 22). At least 100 cities obtained a charter, as well as around 60 villages, which had been grouped into leagues, such as the League of Marquenterre and the League of Lihons (Bonneton 2003: 22 and Fossier 1974: 147). Picardy was the only territory in future "France" wherein villages were grouped into leagues that resembled federations and bestowed with an administration, a system of justice and guarantees against fiscal abuses (Fossier 1974: 147-148).

Historians believe that the movement toward a municipal life was already in process before the charters were bestowed. The residents had already unified into a communal association with their dealings with the seigneur. Members who committed serious crimes were subject to banishment or the destruction of their homes (Bonneton 2003: 23).

Picard Nation: 12th Century-18th Century

As previously mentioned, there was a Picard Nation, a community of students from the domains of the Picard and Dutch (Flemish) languages, within the Faculty of Arts at the University of Paris from the 12th century until its closing at the end of the 18th century. In 1513, the Picard nation redesigned its coat of arms, to coincide with heraldic changes, in which it incorporated the French fleur-de-lys and the Dutch lions, which indicated that the nation's territory was located between that of France and that of the Netherlands. Sometime afterward, the province of Picardy adopted the nation's coat of arms as its own (*Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie* 1860 (7): 314-323).

Langue d'oïl, Langue d'oc and Langue picarde

Beginning in the 12th century, perhaps as early as 1304 or 1305, the monarchs divided the Kingdom of France into two governments: "Langue d'oïl" and "Langue d'oc" used to describe the northern half and the southern half respectively. In this terminology, the term "langue" meant "nation" or "province" as was the case in the Order of Malta during the 1800s (Froissart and Buchon 1838 (2): 395). While this situation is widely reported, a situation of three languages or "nations" being employed to divide the kingdom into three parts occurring in the mid-1300s is much less widely reported.

According to a 1349 certificate during the Hundred Years' War with England, Mathieu de Montmorency was appointed Governor of the borders of Flanders and in all of the Picard language by the king. Thus, according to the French monarchy at this time, France was composed of three languages or nations: Langue d'oc, Langue d'oïl and *langue picarde* (Colliette 1772 (2): 120). "The Picards had a separate language" (Colliette 1772 (2): 120). Based upon the previous statement, one must wonder if the term "langue picarde" was truly used simply to denote nation or actually language.

The langue d'oc was spoken south of the Loire River to the Mediterranean Sea, the Langue d'oïl began at the Loire River and extended northward to the Oise and Meuse Rivers, while the *langue picarde* was located to the north of these two rivers (Colliette 1772 (2): 120). "It was well the same language as the second language [the Langue d'oïl]; but the particular accent of the people who spoke it, caused it to be named after them" (Colliette 1772 (2): 120).

This language, we just said, had nothing barbaric in its origin; it was only a mixture of Greek, Latin and Gaulish expressions that the accent of the Picards had modified through different manners. Jean Corbichon spoke of them, such as a language full of agreements. He flattered the Picards of being the spirited and subtle people whose pronunciation had nothing vicious. However, a century later, the author of the *Garden of Sailing*, spoke of the same language as an antiquated idiom. He blamed the pronunciation of the Picards and recommended avoiding the accent which had a manner of expressing itself that was completely rude and disagreeable to the ear" (Colliette 1772 (2): 121).

When taking a closer look at documentation for the more reported situation, an interesting phrase appears, which may have been either misinterpreted or overlooked. “The Duke of Berry held the government of Langue d’Oc and the Duke of Burgundy [that of] Langue d’Oil and all Picardy” (Froissart and Buchon 1838 (2): 395). This phrase clearly separates Picardy from the Langue d’oil; have previous accounts simply overlooked or misinterpreted this fact? It is hard to know, and regardless, it did not change Picard’s history.

Historic Province of Picardy: 1435-1790

The birth of the historic province of Picardy dates to the era of Louis XI (1461-1483) when it definitively entered the Kingdom of France (Gochet 1893: 267). It included 12 *pays* and was divided into Upper and Lower Picardy. Upper Picardy was composed of the following *pays*: Thiérache, Vermandois, Santerre, Amiénois, Beauvaisis, Laonnais, Noyonnais and Soissonnais. Lower Picardy was in turn composed of the following *pays*: Boulonnais, Ponthieu and Vimeu, Marquenterre and Calais and Ardrésis (Gochet 1893: 267).

The province of Picardy included the territories of the ancient *civitates* of the Ambiani, Bellovaci, Silvanectes, Suessiones and Viromandui in addition to the diocese of Laon from the Remi and the diocese of Boulogne from the Morini (Gochet 1893: 268).

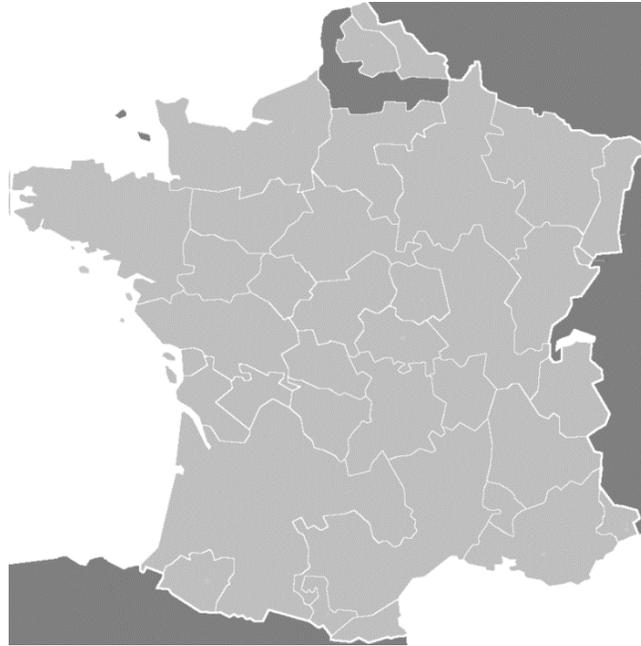


Figure 4: 18th Century Province of Picardy, Holopoman, CC BY-SA 4.0.

Regions around Paris were united to the Kingdom of France, fief by fief, city by city. Since Louis VI (1108-1137), they had been constantly trampled upon by the king's soldiers and were thus unable to form powerful seigneuries or to develop political autonomy. They were directly dominated by royal power and thus formed the center around which successive monarchs had united different counties and duchies during different periods. "It was the monarchy itself that individualized the regions around which its central territory was formed" (Berlet 1913: 128).

Picardy was a generality and a government, and there was a Picard people that "occupied the great agricultural zone that extended along the Meuse and the Sambre Rivers until the 'pays' of the Somme and the Oise. [...] It spoke

tightly neighboring dialects. Its traditions [and] manner of living was the same” (Berlet 1913: 128-129).

But this people was not organized as a nation; its territory was divided; each section had a particular administration. The cities possessed strong municipal institutions. The Boulonnais, Valois, Amiénois, Ponthieu [and] Soissonnais had their states; Picardy did not; its political life did not exist; only the relations of commerce united its inhabitants. There were Picards, but there was not a Picard homeland. It was the monarchy that created it. In creating the generalities, it [the monarchy] gave to this ‘pays’ a moral unity by breaking the close circle of the cities, reducing municipal particularisms [and] elevating the spirit of the Picards to a conscience of regional solidarity (Berlet 1913: 129).

Thus, according to Berlet, it was the monarchy that united Picardy and instilled its provincial solidarity by diminishing the power of its cities.

While the monarchy may have assisted in uniting Picardy, it has also been plagued by its proximity to Paris and the Ile-de-France; Amiens is only 72 miles northwest of Paris (Fabriès-Verfaillie and Stragiotti 2000: 324). As a result, for numerous centuries during the *Ancien Régime*, Picardy formed the northern border of the Kingdom of France and, as such was seen as more of a military province of Paris, whose duty it was to protect Paris, than as a cultural province, in its own right. Furthermore, when Picardy was not called upon to protect Paris, it served as its breadbasket (d’Alquié 1685: 301).

History of France within Picardy

Numerous quotes attest to the role Picardy has played in French national life. "The history of ancient France seems to be steeped in Picardy" (Michelet 1871: 74). "It was in Picardy, and in and around Paris, where came to pass the first phases of [French] national life" (Gochet 1893: 268). "Picardy shares with the Ile-de-France the honor of having been the birthplace of the French monarchy and French nationality" (Hesse 1870: 27).

In 987, Hugues Capet was crowned King of the Franks at Noyon. During the Middle Ages, Picardy was first in artistic architecture across France. In 1539, François I signed the *Ordonnance de Villers-Cotterêts* in the present-day Aisne *département*, which required the use of the French language in all judicial matters. Numerous crusaders hailed from Picardy. In 1509, Jean Calvin, future theologian and reformer during the Protestant Reformation, was born in Picardy (Michelet 1871: 75).

Several ideological notions are held in Picardy due to the territory's significance in early French national history. "France almost spoke Picard since the first kings of France had their castles and were crowned in Picardy (Soissons, Noyon [and] Senlis)" (Eloy 1997: 46). "It is Francien that became French and not Picard since the kings of France went to live in Paris" (Eloy 1997: 46).

More contemporary and modern French history has also occurred in Picardy. During World War I, the Battle of the Somme engulfed both sides of the Somme river from July 1 to July 18, 1916 and 1,000,000 soldiers were killed or wounded making it one of the bloodiest battles of human history (Hirst 2016). The Battle of Amiens, also known as the Third Battle of Picardy, which began on August 8, 1918, was the first phase of the Allied offensive that ultimately led to the end of World War I (Kearsey 2004).

Administrative Picardy: 1950s-2016

Neither the linguistic nor the historic boundaries of Picardy correspond to its current administrative limits. “The great number of local collectivities [villages or cities] attest to the existence of the great diversity of micro-regions or ‘pays’ where a feeling of attachment has been created.” “Being Picard [...] does not mean finding oneself in Amiens, the regional capital, but rather means being attached to one’s village and native soil” (Fabriès-Verfaillie and Stragiotti 2000: 324).

The administrative region of Picardy, like the other regions of France, is a political domain of the French Republic, rather than its original cultural domain of the province, which consists of three *départements*: Aisne, Oise and Somme².

² The administrative section for Picardy is in the present tense despite the fact that due to a territorial reform, it officially ceased to exist on January 1, 2016. Due to the recentness of the

Its capital, and largest city, is Amiens, which had a population of 136,372 in 2011, and is located within the Somme *département* (INSEE 2013). The total population of the region of Picardy was estimated to be 1,924,737 (542,550 Aisne, 809,140 Oise and 573,047 Somme) on January 1, 2013 by INSEE-Picardie³. Picardy is located in northwestern France and is bordered to the north by the Nord-Pas-de-Calais, to the south by the Ile-de-France, to the east by the Champagne-Ardenne and to the west by Upper-Normandy and the English Channel.

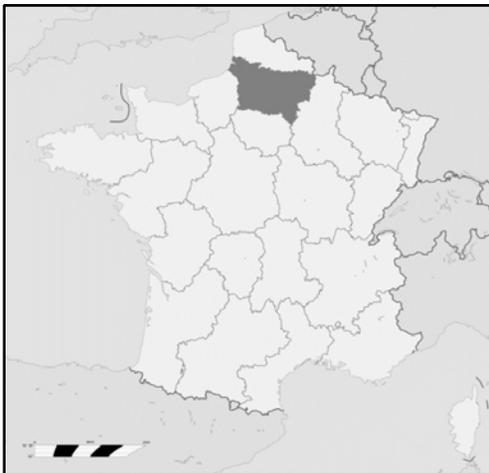


Figure 5: Region of Picardy, Sting, CC BY-SA 3.0.

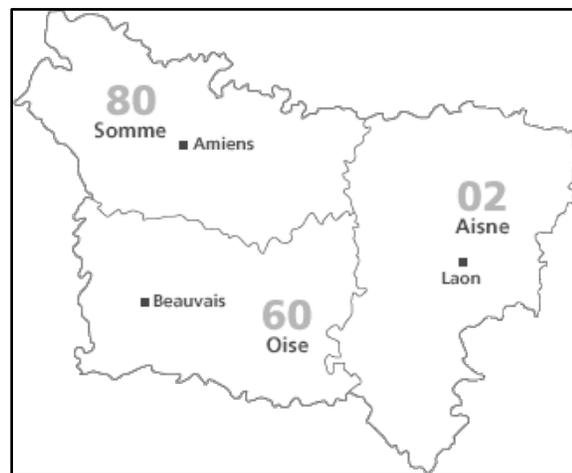


Figure 6: *Départements* of Picardy, GeneaWiki.

reform as well as Picardy's history, Picardy is still mentioned as an entity that still exists. The description of its frontiers thus are from the period before January 1, 2016.

³ Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies).

Picardy is⁴ half industrial and half rural and is situated between two large, urban regions: the Ile-de-France and the Nord-Pas-de-Calais (INSEE Références 2010: 162). The proximity of the Ile-de-France and Paris has established a north-south division wherein the south of the Oise is focused upon Paris, whereas the northeast of the Aisne is largely focused upon the Champagne-Ardenne (Fabriès-Verfaillie and Stragiotti 2000: 324 and INSEE Références 2010: 162). “Picardy seems thus to be getting torn apart between the power of the Parisian urban area, the re-found dynamism of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais and the enticement of Champagne, where Reims attracts many Picard students” (Fabriès-Verfaillie and Stragiotti 2000: 324).

In 1968, the deputy mayor of Reims, Jean Taittinger, proposed the merger of the region Picardy with that of Champagne-Ardenne. Mr. Vandeventer, president of the *Coordination du développement économique de la région*⁵ (CODER) Picardy definitively denied the request indicating that Picardy had its unity since it was once an historic region and was at that time an agricultural and industrial region. Moreover, Picardy had no desire to be the periphery of Reims (Cahon 2014).

⁴ Here, the present is used; while Picardy no longer exists as an official administrative region of the French Republic, one often still refers to it independently within the new administrative region of Hauts-de-France.

⁵ Coordination for Economic Development of the Region.

Picard Regional Identity

Among the French, the identity of Picardy is not well known; in fact, a 1991 SOFRES survey demonstrated that among the 22 regions of France, the identity of Picardy was the least known (Parisot 1996: 174). However, another survey of the same year revealed that among the Picards themselves 70.5% felt “completely” or “quite” Picard (despite the fact that Picardness was not defined) (Parisot 1996: 174). Furthermore, 81% of elected officials in Picardy responded in a similar fashion (Parisot 1996: 174).

The residents of northern or Upper Picardy (the *département* of the Somme) tend to be more rooted in Picardy than those of southern or Lower Picardy (the *départements* of Aisne and Oise). A 2002 study realized by the *Conseil régional de Picardie* on the feeling of being Picard revealed that 74% of the inhabitants felt Picard; 81% in the Somme, 80% in the Aisne and 65% in the Oise (Boyer, Carroué, Gras, Le Fur and Montagné-Villette 2005: 282). When asked to define the characteristic which best defined Picardy, the first response for all inhabitants of the region was its geographical proximity to Paris, which was also the first choice among the inhabitants of the Oise and Aisne, while it came in second place for the inhabitants of the Somme (Boyer et al. 2005: 282).

The Identity of Picardy per Its Elected Officials in 1991

Two types of personality or identity forces seem to be at work in Picardy, one cultural and one economic, based upon age and the knowledge of Picard (Parisot 1996: 178). In a 1992 survey, 33% of elected officials in Picardy born before 1928 indicated that they spoke Picard, whereas only 16% born after World War I declared that they spoke Picard (Parisot 1996: 178). For the elected officials born at the beginning of the 20th century, Picardy, the region, was identified with the historic province of Picardy, rather than with the new administrative entity. In other words, these officials viewed Picardy as a cultural space and were affectively attached to it. For the elected officials under 50 years of age, Picardy was seen less as a cultural space and more as an optimal space for economic development. As a result, these younger elected officials were as a whole more rationally than affectively attached to Picardy (Parisot 1996: 178). It is possible that this same view exists among the residents of Picardy themselves based upon age.

The Picard Language

Picard is a language derived from Latin enriched by words of Frankish or Franconian origin whose grammar possesses different Germanic elements (DPLO 2009). Picard and the Langues d'oïl, other than French, are marginalized through French language ideology more than simply through French linguistic terms as explained by Encrevé due to their linguistic and geographical proximity

to French, the national language. In 1998, Bernard Poignant, the mayor of Quimper, Brittany and a European Member of Parliament, submitted a report on the regional languages and cultures of France (the "Poignant Report"), which he was asked to create by Prime Minister Lionel Jospin. In the Poignant Report, Picard as well as all other Langues d'oïl, apart from French, are described as languages of large-scale social communication in the rural domain during the Middle Ages, which today are simply "regional forms of French" (Poignant 1998: 5). "These languages correctly named disappeared and the actual ways of speaking today have been largely influenced by French" (Poignant 1998: 5). "The Langues d'oïl have become regional French" (Poignant 1998: 6).

French linguist Bernard Cerquiglini attempted to destigmatize the Langues d'oïl within his Report to the Minister of National Education, Research and Technology and to the Minister of Culture and Communication (the "Cerquiglini Report") of 1999. In this report, Cerquiglini, the then director of the National Institute of the French Language, listed Picard as one of the languages of France, which contradicts the Poignant Report. Since the Cerquiglini Report was created in order to both obtain a current linguistic survey of France as well as to assist the French government in ratifying the Council of Europe's European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Cerquiglini uses his report to

highlight the fact that the Charter does not apply to dialects of the official language as well as to highlight a different version for the origin of French.

Whether one adopts, in order to explain its origin, the traditional and questionable thesis of a dialect of Oïl (the rumored Francien) ‘which would have succeeded’ at the expense of the others or whether one sees the very ancient formation of a common transdialectal language of Oïl first written and then spoken, ‘national and standard’ French today possess a strong individuality which has been reinforced by the actions of writers, the State, the school and the media (Cerquiglini 1999).

As a result, “dialects” of French are simply “regional varieties of French” – the numerous ways of speaking this language including differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, etc. throughout the territory. Just as the French language differs in certain areas of France, so too does the French language and the other varieties of the Langue d’oïl, “which one should not consider today as ‘dialects of French’” (Cerquiglini 1999). These varieties of the Langue d’oïl – Franc-Comtois, Walloon, Picard, Norman, Gallo, Poitevin-Saintongeais, Bourguignon-Morvandiau and Lorrain – “must be included among the regional languages of France; one will qualify them from now on as ‘Langues d’oïl’ [in the plural] by placing them on the list” (Cerquiglini 1999).

Vocabulary

Picard has an abundance of its own vocabulary, over 220,000 words, either from its specific phonetic treatment of Latin etymons or from the existence of specific etymological types. For instance, PIC *harchelle* = FR *berceau*, PIC

ferlampier = FR *fainéant* (Eloy No date: 2)⁶. Contrary to numerous other regional languages, Picard possesses both an abstract vocabulary and a technical lexicon similar to the size of those of French (DPLO 2009).

First Article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Picard

“Tous chés ètes humains is sont nés libes et égals in dignité et pi in drouots. Is sont dotés ed raison et d'conschienze et pi is doéte agir les uns invèrs les eutes din un esprit ed fraternité” (United Nations 1998). The version appearing on the site of the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner is actually in a version of Walloon, rather than Picard⁷.

Number of Speakers

Statistics on the number of Picard-speakers do not truly exist; one must rely on estimates. One estimate is that 11.9% of the residents of Picardy and the Nord-Pas-de-Calais use it regularly (Blot, Eloy and Rouault 2004: 2 and Cole and Harguindéguy 2013: 41). A 2004 analysis of the 1999 Study of Family History data, determined that in Picardy, the Somme *département* was the most Picard-speaking (27.3%), while the Oise (3.7%) and the Aisne (2.7%) were the least

⁶ In English, *cradle* and *lazy*.

⁷ The same article in French – “Tous les êtres humains naissent libres et égaux en dignité et en droits. Ils sont doués de raison et de conscience et doivent agir les uns envers les autres dans un esprit de fraternité” (<http://www.un.org/fr/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html>) – and in English – “All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood” (<http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html>).

Picard-speaking. In the Nord-Pas-de-Calais, the Pas-de-Calais was the most Picard-speaking (22.2%), while the Nord was the least Picard-speaking (10%) (Blot et al. 2004: 2).

Based upon the 1999 Family History study, 33.7% of the Picardy population spoke Picard. By using the INSEE 1999 population data for the three *départements* of Picardy, it can be calculated that 194,492 Picards spoke Picard in 1999⁸. Among the regions of the Langues d’oil domain, Picardy and Nord-Pas-de-Calais have the most regional language speakers with 29.9% of the residents. Poitou-Charentes came in second with 21.3% of its residents speaking an Oil regional language. Lower Normandy ranked third with 17.6% of its residents being Norman-speakers. Champagne-Ardenne came in fourth with 16.4% of its residents being Champenois-speakers (Blot et al. 2004: 2).

While all regional languages have been, and by certain people continue to be, called *patois* to mean the language of peasants, (now, basically among the Romance varieties, rather than Celtic or Germanic (Grillet 1974: 197), Picard is not exactly a language of the peasants or farmers. While 8.7% of farmers and

⁸ 1999 INSEE Population Data: 536,181 residents of the Aisne, 766,253 of the Oise and 555,547 of the Somme. Data found online at http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/detail.asp?reg_id=99&ref_id=estim-pop under “Estimation de population par département, sexe et âge quinquennal - Années 1975 à 2014”. Using the same data source, 575,670 Picard-speakers can be calculated for the Nord-Pas-de-Calais. (2,555,471 residents of the Nord and 1,441,996 residents of the Pas-de-Calais.) As a result, more speakers exist in the Nord-Pas-de-Calais than in Picardy.

3.5% of factory workers report speaking Picard, 3.7% of professionals and intellectuals also report speaking Picard. Due to the percentage of speakers from this latter category, the Picard language appears to carry cultural value (Blot et al. 2004: 2-3). As a result of the earlier rural industrialization of northern France than other areas of France, the probability of a Picard-speaker being a factory worker is much higher than that of he or she being a farmer (Blot et al. 2004: 2-3). According to the 1999 Family study, 38.5% of the inhabitants of Picardy and the Nord-Pas-de-Calais, who either reported speaking Picard or having heard Picard spoken as children, were factory workers (Blot et al. 2004: 2).

Immigrants to Picardy, both from a while ago as well as recently, have reported immediately noticing Picard in daily life in Picardy upon their arrival. Some have also reported the need to learn it, sometimes in addition to French, in order to more effectively work in the region's factories (Eloy 2001: 188-189).

Within the boundaries of administrative Picardy, Picard has been historically spoken, and continues to be so, in the entire *département* of the Somme, the northern half of the Aisne *département*, and the northern quarter of the Oise *département*. Outside of administrative Picardy, Picard has been historically spoken, and still is, in all of the Pas-de-Calais *département* and all of the *département* of the Nord except for the historical Flemish-speaking area

around the city of Dunkirk. In the Nord, the language goes by the name of either Ch'ti or Ch'timi and Rouchi in and around the city of Valenciennes, and in the Pas-de-Calais, it is often simply referred to as *patois*; however, the term "Picard" is spreading (DPLO 2009). Picard also extends into the northern part of the Seine-Maritime *département* of Upper Normandy. Its linguistic domain and territory also extends into the Hainaut province of Belgium in the Wallonia region in the administrative *arrondissements* of Mons and Tournai known as *Wallonie picarde* where it has the status of indigenous language (DPLO 2009).

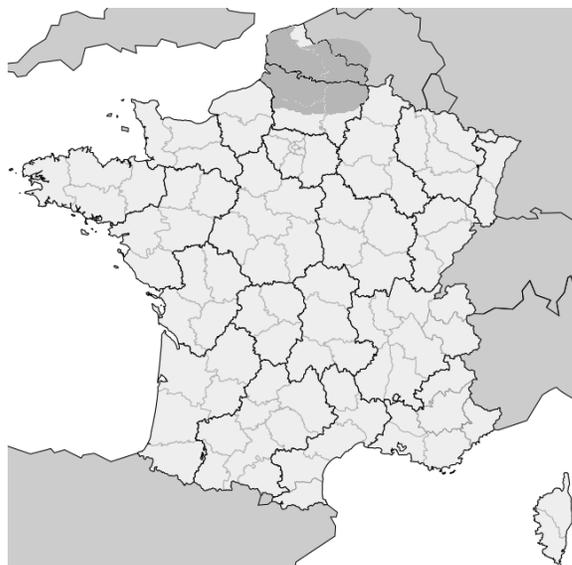


Figure 7: Picard Linguistic Domain, Aaker, CC BY-SA 3.0.

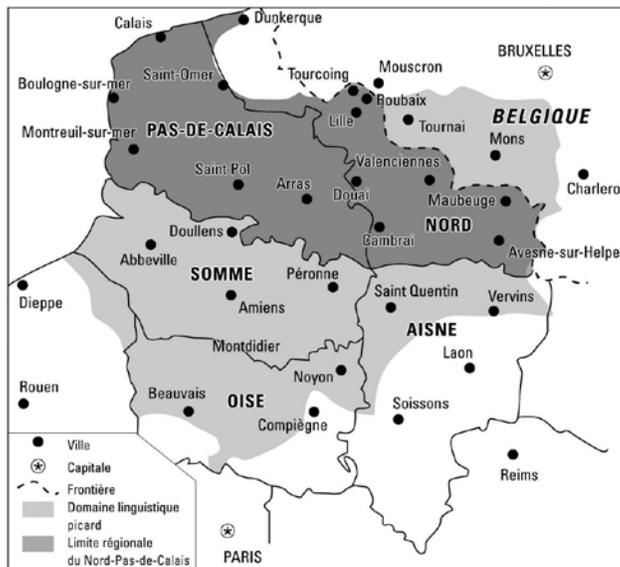


Figure 8: Detail of Picard Linguistic Domain, Carton, 2009: 113.

Hauts-de-France: 2016-Present

On January 1, 2016, Picardy and Nord-Pas-de-Calais were merged together to form a larger administrative region. By the end of 2016, the new region’s name became *Hauts-de-France*. Its capital is Lille, the former capital of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais.

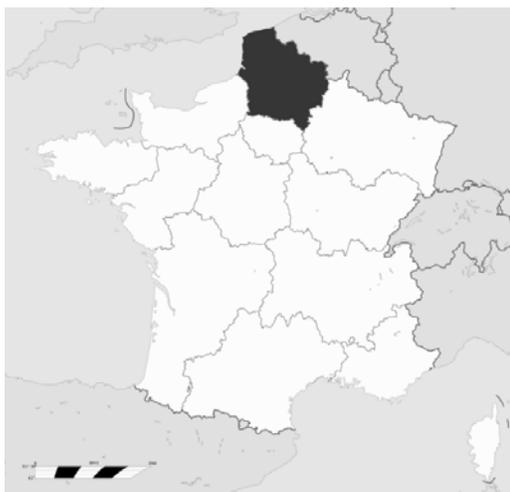


Figure 9: Hauts-de-France, Superbenjamin, CC BY-SA 4.0.



Figure 10: New Map of France with New Regional Names, CAP’COM, 2016.

2009 Territorial Reform

In 2008, President Sarkozy suggested a territorial reform in order to reduce expenditures as well as to increase economic strength. As a result, the Attali Commission suggested eliminating the *départements* by 2018 in order to attain these goals (Attali 2008: 195-197). Due to a change in law on December 16, 2008, a new committee was set-up to study and propose ways through which to attain the aforementioned goals. This committee was headed by former Prime Minister Edouard Balladur. This committee's report, known as the Balladur Report, suggested reducing the number of metropolitan (European) regions of France from 22 to 15. The report suggested Picardy as one of the regions to be eliminated by dismantling it among its three *départements* wherein the Aisne would be placed within the Champagne-Ardenne region, the Oise within the Ile-de-France and the Somme within the Nord-Pas-de-Calais, which corresponded to the north-south influence and pull in Picardy (Adoumié et al. 2013: 85).

According to Adoumié et al., the dismantlement of Picardy would have been justified by several factors. The agricultural and industrial zones of the northeast were, and remain, in steady decline. The tertiary sector is not developed enough. Professional development is deemed to be inadequate in which the workforce is not qualified resulting in an elevated unemployment rate.

The population is not concentrated; 40% of Picards live in communes of less than 2,000 residents. The largest cities are of modest size: Amiens (180,000), Saint-Quentin (60,000) and Beauvais (55,000). The mediocre level of invention and innovation places Picardy among the French regions with diminished regional attractiveness (Adoumié et al. 2013: 85).

Despite these reasons for dismantlement, the Picards fought the proposed dismantlement of Picardy. Since 2009, numerous associations and slogans have been created to save Picardy: “All united to save Picardy”, “Do not touch my Picardy!” and “Love Picardy” (Adoumié 2013: 85-86)⁹. “Picards claim thus an identity that one seems to refuse them” (Adoumié et al. 2013: 86). Picardy is a territory brimming with history possessing an exceptional gothic patrimony and the largest density of listed monuments per inhabitant. “This cultural and historic wealth is seen as essential all the more so as it unites a very rural population to its significant landscapes” (Adoumié et al. 2013: 86).

Despite the proposed territorial reform, no region or *département* disappeared from the map of France as a result of the proposed 2009 reform.

2014 Proposed Territorial Reform

The 2014 proposed territorial reform is also an economic reform initiated to save on public spending and to match the size of other European regions, such

⁹ « Tous unis pour sauver la Picardie », « Touche pas à ma Picardie ! » and « Aimer la Picardie ».

as those in Germany. With that being said, French historian Frédéric Rouvillois is opposed to the manner through which the reform was being handled.

According to Rouvillois, the large regions in Germany, Italy and Spain are rooted in history and tradition, whereas the French administration is simply trying to create artificial large regions (Bastié 2014).

Opinion Poll

In June 2014, an Internet survey was conducted among a representative sample of 5,505 individuals over the age of 18 of the French populace by the *Institut LH2* and the *Presse régionale*. The survey's goal was to ascertain the relationship between the French and their *collectivités territoriales*¹⁰ in terms of both proximity and attachment in addition to their views on the proposed territorial reform. The survey was conducted before several modifications had been implemented. For instance, at the time the survey was conducted, the reform aimed to reduce the number of metropolitan regions from 22 to 14; however, that number has now been reduced to 13. At the time of the survey, the Nord-Pas-de-Calais was a region not to be influenced by the reform, which has now changed.

Opinion Poll Results

¹⁰ Territorial collectivities.

The French are most attached to their commune. The region is the fourth *collectivité territoriale* to which the French feel attached; however, this attachment does not represent indifference as 73% feel attached to their region, 63% to the region's name and 59% to the *départements* that compose the region (LH2 2014: 7). Residents of less urbanized zones – less than 20,000 people – tend to be the most attached to their region; 76% are attached, 66% are attached to its name and 54% at its constituent *départements*. Bretons are the most attached to their region (90%) followed by the Alsatians (84%), the inhabitants of the Auvergne (83%), the inhabitants of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais (81%), the inhabitants of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (80%) and the inhabitants of the Midi-Pyrénées (79%) (LH2 2014: 16). Conversely, the inhabitants of the Ile-de-France and those of the Pays de la Loire are the least attached to their regions (62% and 65% respectively) (LH2 2014: 7).

The French seem to be divided over the reform where 49% are favorable and 43% are unfavorable of which 21% are very unfavorable. Residents of the most urban areas are the most favorable (53%), whereas residents of rural areas are the most unfavorable (42%). Residents of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais and those of Lower Normandy are the most favorable (59%), while residents of Rhône-Alpes (57%), Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (56%) and the Ile-de-France (55%) are also in favor of the reform. Residents of the Poitou-Charentes are the most unfavorable (75%) followed by the Picards (72%). Residents of the Centre (71%),

Champagne-Ardenne (67%), Languedoc-Roussillon (64%), Alsace (61%) and Auvergne (61%) are also unfavorable (LH2 2014: 7).

The *Institut LH2* believes that the French are divided over the reform since its possible benefits remain vague since 45% report that the reform is a good thing for them and their region, while 32% believe that it is a bad thing for them and 35% believe that it is a bad thing for their region. Residents of Lower Normandy (61%), Nord-Pas-de-Calais (57%), Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (55%) and the Ile-de-France (52%) reported positively viewing the reform, whereas residents of Picardy (25%), Poitou-Charentes (26%), Champagne-Ardenne (27%), Centre (29%), Languedoc-Roussillon (30%), Alsace (32%) and Auvergne (37%) reported negatively viewing the reform (LH2 2014: 8 and 22).

According to the *Institut LH2*, the French who are in favor of the reform seem to have been most convinced by economic arguments since 58% reported that the region would obtain additional economic benefits from the reform, and 55% reported that the reform would reduce government spending. The French remain divided as to whether the reform will bring additional political benefits to the regions (51%) or will modernize France (50%). Looking closer at the demographics, men, people aged 50 and above, higher-earners, and urban residents of the most populated cities tend to be most convinced by the benefits of the territorial reform (LH2 2014: 8).

What is deemed important at the national level is not always deemed so at the regional or local level. The reform was reported to be necessary and in line with the evolution of France by 51% and 48% respectively; however, only 36% reported that the reform was in line with the evolution of their region, and only 30% believed that it considered the specificities of the regions. Only 19% reported that the reform was handled well by the president and his government (LH2 2014: 8).

Confidence in the government actually providing the regions with the required funds to handle their new functions is low; only 16% believe that the government will both provide the funds and allow the regions to use the funds. This lack of confidence in the government's transfer of economic power is more or less equally felt among partisans of the political left and right (LH2 2014: 9).

Concerning the *départements*, 52% of the French do not want to see the current *départements* that make up the current regions possibly dismantled and placed into new regions. Instead 67% want to be consulted via referendum on the future of their *départements*. Inhabitants of the Limousin (82%), Picardy (74%), the Centre (74%), Poitou-Charentes (74%), Languedoc-Roussillon (72%) and Brittany (72%) were most interested in holding a referendum in order to decide upon the regional placement of the *départements*, while inhabitants of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (61%), Rhône-Alpes (61%) and the Ile-de-France

(63%) were not interested in holding a referendum (LH2 2014: 31). However, half of the French (54%) are in favor of eliminating the *Conseil général*, which governs the *département* (LH2 2014: 9).

Opinions Concerning Different Proposed Scenarios

Fusion of the Two Normandies with Picardy

The majority of residents (61%) of the three regions reported being unfavorable concerning the creation of a new region. The Lower Normans (69%) who are also the furthest from Picardy were the most unfavorable; however, 58% of Picards and 56% of Upper Normans were also unfavorable (LH2 2014: 10).

Fusion of Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne

Only 29% of the inhabitants of Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne were in favor of President Hollande's proposed fusion of the two current regions. In Champagne-Ardenne 30% were favorable, whereas in Picardy 29% were favorable to the union (LH2 2014: 10).

Fusion of Picardy and Nord-Pas-de-Calais

The *Institut LH2* asked residents of Picardy and the Nord-Pas-de-Calais about their interest in a possible union of the two regions, which at the time, had not been officially suggested, but since has been both suggested and approved by

President Hollande's government¹¹. Among residents of both regions, 66% were in favor of a fusion, which is an increase of 26% from March 2014; 64% of Picards and 66% of Nordistes. (In March 2014, 40% of residents of both regions were in favor of a union; 31% of Picards were in favor and 45% of Nordistes were in favor (LH2 2014: 48).) According to the *Institut LH2*, the increase in favorability amongst the Picards is linked to their cultural similarities with the Nordistes and their resolute rejection of a fusion between Picardy and Champagne-Ardenne (LH2 2014: 10).

Fusion of Poitou-Charentes, Centre and Limousin

Among the inhabitants of the three regions, 70% are opposed to the presidential proposed fusion. The inhabitants of the Poitou-Charentes (84%) are the most opposed, followed by those of the Centre (64%) and less so by those of the Limousin (57%) (LH2 2014: 10).

Reuniting Historic Brittany

The proposed reform does not suggest changing the current administrative boundaries of Brittany; however, only 41% of Bretons agree with the decision. The majority of Bretons (77%) would like the *département* of Loire-

¹¹ This suggestion was mentioned in the proposed 2009 Territorial Reform, and with the proposed 2014 Territorial Reform, the majority of Picards favored a union with the Nord-Pas-de-Calais over one with Champagne-Ardenne due to the sharing of a regional language and similar regional cultures with the former (LH2 2014: 10).

Atlantique to return to Brittany from the Pays de la Loire. The majority of the residents of the Loire-Atlantique (70%) and of the Pays de la Loire (58%) agree (LH2 2014: 11).

Fusion of Alsace and Lorraine

The inhabitants of Lorraine are more in favor of the proposed union (56%) than are the Alsatians (39%) (LH2 2014: 12). Since the survey, the French administration has decided that Alsace, Lorraine and Champagne-Ardenne will form one large region; again the Alsatians are the least in favor of this fusion (Caro 2014). A group – *Rot un Wiss* – formed and created a petition – *Alsace retrouve ta voix !¹²* – with the goal of receiving 100,000 signatures in order to request a referendum on the matter. The petition was launched on approximately February 12, 2015 and had received 20,000 signatures by February 26, 2015 (*L'Express* 2015).

Reactions

The central administration has been severely criticized for not first consulting with the French concerning proposed modifications to the regions of France. One journalist even argues that France is returning to the salt tax regulations of the *Ancien Régime* without concern for cultural or historical realities (Vomique 2014). However, unlike this reform, at the end of the *Ancien*

¹² "Alsace refind your voice!".

Régime, representatives of the provinces were consulted concerning the new *départements* before the suppression of the provinces.

Provence (Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur)

Provence Before "Provence"

The territory that would become "Provence" has been inhabited since 950,000 BC to which different landmarks attest (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 7).

In 599 BC, colonists from Phocaea in Greek Asia Minor arrived along the Mediterranean Coast, which was inhabited by Ligurians, and created the first Greek settlement of *Massalia*, which is present-day Marseille. Following a conflict with the Persians in Greek Asia Minor, numerous additional colonists arrived in Marseille (Rouchon-Guigues 1863: 9).

Marseille and its inhabitants encountered problems with its Celtic and Ligurian neighbors almost immediately and thus decided to align themselves with Rome (Rouchon-Guigues 1863: 12). It was the residents of Marseille who were confronted with an alliance of Celtic tribes and thus called upon the assistance of Rome in 125 BC that brought Romans to both future "Provence" and to Gaul (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 9-10).

In 122 BC, the Romans founded *Aquae Sextiae*, modern-day Aix-en-Provence, at the intersection of natural crossroads in order to better ward off Celtic aggression (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 10). Roman occupation and

assimilation of the native populations created *Provincia Gallia Transalpina* detached from *Gallia Celtica*. The former province served a strategic role, barrier to barbarian invasions (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 11). This vast province, which linked Italy with Spain in the territory of present-day Languedoc and Provence, was better able to preserve its particularity over its northern neighbor since it was spared from numerous barbarian invasions due to the aid of the Imperial army. Even when Rome itself was attacked in 410, most of future "Provence" was not, and was thus able to preserve order and Roman traditions as well as being spared from misery. Marseille, Rome's oldest ally, did not fall until 476 when the Roman Empire itself collapsed (Duchêne 1986: 20).

During the centuries that followed, "Provence" became detached from *Gallia Transalpina* and formed its particular entity (Duchêne 1986: 20-21). At the end of the 5th century, Eastern *Gallia Transalpina* (Provence) was separated from Western *Gallia Transalpina* (Languedoc) with the Ostrogoths keeping the former and the Visigoths the latter (Duchêne 1986: 21-22). It was also at this time that the geographical reality of the term "Provence" established itself (Duchêne 1986: 21-22).

Provence in the Middle Ages: 5th-12th Centuries

During the Middle Ages, Provence was at times a marquise, a county, a duchy and a kingdom. In 442, the Burgundians entered *Gallia Transalpina* and

claimed the city of Vienne as their capital. To the south of this Burgundian kingdom, the Visigoths established a duchy, the Duchy of Provence, dependent upon the Italo-Dalmatian throne. Over the course of time, the Visigoth Duchy of Provence became the County of Provence, while the Burgundian kingdom became the Marquisate of Provence (Baratier 1969: 88).

In 739 and 759, Charles Martel defeated Muslim invaders, who had entered from Spain, in Provence and as a result of his victories, Provence definitively entered the domain of the Franks (Baratier 1969: 103).

With the Treaty of Verdun in 843, Provence was placed under the control of Lothair I and the Holy Roman Empire. His son Charles of Provence created the Kingdom of Provence-Viennois, also known as the Kingdom of Lower Burgundy, which existed from 855 to 863 (Baratier 1969: 104). At the death of Charles of Provence, Provence was ceded to Italy, while the Viennois went to Lotharingia and Lothair II. Over several years, Provence briefly changed hands between the Holy Roman Empire, and the Kingdom of France (Baratier 1969: 104). However, in 879, the brother-in-law of Charles the Bald of France, Boson V of Provence, who was fighting against the Carolingians, declared himself king of the second Kingdom of Provence (Baratier 1969: 105).

Upon Boson V of Provence's death, Louis, his son and Holy Roman Emperor, ceded it to Hughes of Arles (Baratier 1969: 106). In 934, Hugh of Arles

relinquished it to Randolph II, King of Upper Burgundy. This newly combined territory was the second merger of Burgundy and Provence, and went either by the name of the Kingdom of Burgundy-Provence or the Kingdom of Arles.

In 880, Saracens from Muslim Spain established a base at Fraxinet from which they launched raids into Eastern Provence. In 931 and 942, Hughes of Arles successfully combatted them without expelling them with the assistance of Byzantine vessels (Baratier 1969: 110-111).

In 947, the Bosonid Boson, Count of Arles, became ruler of Provence. At his death, his two sons – Guillaume I and Roubaud – became joint rulers of the county, a decision continued by their descendants; those of Guillaume I became counts of Provence, while those of Roubaud became marquis of Provence.

In 972, Guillaume I and Roubaud liberated Provence of the Saracens from the Massif des Maures, north of Saint-Tropez, with the assistance of Provençal lords and the Marquis of Turin. This military campaign brought the residents of Provence in line. Before this campaign, the local aristocracy as well as peasant and urban communities had refused to obey the count of Provence. After Guillaume I and Roubaud's victory, they were forced to obey. The counts distributed newly conquered lands to their vassals and created Provençal feudality. In 975, Guillaume I and Roubaud designated Arles as their capital (Baratier 1969: 112-113 and 132-133).

In 1019, Emma, Marquise of Provence, married Guillaume III Taillefer, Count of Toulouse, which transferred lineage rights of Roubaud to the House of Toulouse. In 112, Douce of Provence, heiress to the lineage of Guillaume I, married Raimond-Bérenger III, Count of Barcelona, which transferred the lineage rights to the House of Barcelona. The Houses of Barcelona and Toulouse did not acknowledge the joint system in place and entered into conflict over the rights to the Marquisate of Provence. As a result, in 1125, a treaty was signed between Raimond-Bérenger and Alphonse-Jourdain of Toulouse in which the Marquisate of Provence, north of the Durance River, was given to the House of Toulouse and the County of Provence, south of the Durance River, was given to the House of Barcelona (Baratier 1969: 135-137).

In 1193, Alphonse II of Provence married Gersande of Forcalquier, which created the County of Forcalquier situated between the county and the marquisate. While Provence was partitioned during this period, in 1181, the County of Orange, a vassal of Provence, became a principality (Baratier 1969: 136).

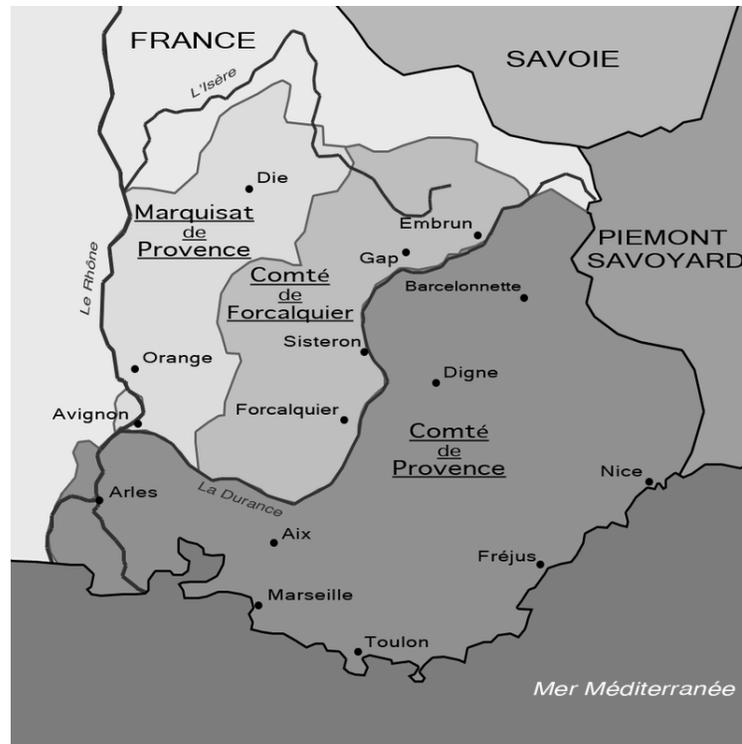


Figure 11: The Three Provinces in 1200, Cyril5555, CC BY-SA 3.0.

In 1245, Raymond-Bérenger V of Provence died. It was his fourth daughter's husband, Charles, Count of Anjou and Maine, who inherited the County of Provence and the County of Forcalquier aligning them with the First Capetian House of Anjou. However, based upon the 1229 Treaty of Meaux-Paris, which ended the Albigensian Crusade, the County of Forcalquier was dismantled. Upon the death of Alphonse of Poitiers, in 1271, the Marquisate of Provence passed to the King of France, Philippe III, who ceded it, in 1274, to Pope Gregory X under whom it became the *Comtat Venaissin* (Baratier 1969: 136).

Renaissance

In 1382, Queen Joanna of Naples, Countess of Provence, died, which ended the First Capetian House of Anjou; however, Queen Joanna had adopted Louis I, brother of King Charles V of France, who became count and then duke of Anjou thus beginning the Second Capetian House of Anjou.

After civil unrest – the War of the Union of Aix – the city of Nice and its *pays* called upon the House of Savoy for protection, which constituted the secession of Nice to Savoy. In 1526, Nice and its *pays* became the County of Nice (Baratier 1969: 194-195).

With the death of Charles III of Maine in 1481, the Second Capetian House of Anjou came to a close and the County of Provence was bequeathed to Louis XI, King of France. The acts, entitled “the Provençal Constitution”, adopted between January 1482 and April 1487 uniting Provence and France specifically state that the union was “between a principal and another principal [...] without to the crown [of France] the County and ‘Pays’ of Provence being subaltern” (quoted in Masson 1932: 293). Legally, the union between Provence and France was a personal one between two crowns in which the king of France went by the title of count of Provence in Provence. Under the union, Provence conserved its institutions and legal code. The ancient claim of *indigénat* in which all Provençal public office posts had to be held by a native of Provence was temporarily

upheld (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 52). The letters patents of October 1486 were read at the *Etats* held in Aix in 1487, which definitively consecrated the union of the County of Provence with the Kingdom of France. These letters confirmed the privileges of Provence with the notable exception of only natives of Provence holding public office posts (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 53).

Troubadours: 12th-13th Centuries

The Troubadours were poets who employed lyric poetry in the different versions of Langue d'oc to proclaim their love for the women of their desires, which has been labeled as courtly love. Their lyricism reflected the refinement of aristocratic society at this time. While the Troubadours began their lyric love west of Provence, in Limousin and Périgord, by the middle of the 12th century, numerous Troubadours called Provence home. In fact, due to the violence and upheaval of the Albigensian Crusade in Languedoc in the 13th century, Provence became their most important territory during this period (Baratier 1969: 161-162).

Historic Province of Provence: 1481-1790

On December 19, 1481, Louis XI entrusted Palamède de Forbin to take possession of Provence in the name of the king of France as royal governor.

Palamède de Forbin and the *Etats de Provence*¹³ created the “Provençal

¹³ “Provincial States of Provence” was the provincial assembly of Provence.

constitution”¹⁴ wherein the *Etats de Provence*¹⁵ required that the identity of the County of Provence be maintained within the Kingdom of France; the king of France would be known in the County of Provence solely as the count of Provence, rather than as king of France; the County of Provence would only have to obey laws which were from the count of Provence, rather than from the king of France. The County of Provence was thus “not an accessory attached to a primary entity, but rather a primary entity joined to another primary entity” (Rouchon-Guigues 1863: 8). Provence held onto its institutions and judicial procedures, and all privileges granted by its former counts; the *Etats de Provence* also requested that only native Provençaux be allowed to hold an office in Provence (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 51-52).

Historic Provence was located between the Rhône, Durance and Var Rivers and the Mediterranean Sea and was called the County of Provence in the 12th century (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 3), which corresponds to the present-day *départements* of Alpes-de-Haute-Provence, Bouches-du-Rhône and Var (Gochet 1900: 282).

¹⁴ Aghulon maintains that this document has been improperly called the “Provençal constitution” (Aghulon and Coulet 1987: 52).

¹⁵ Estates or Assembly of Provence.

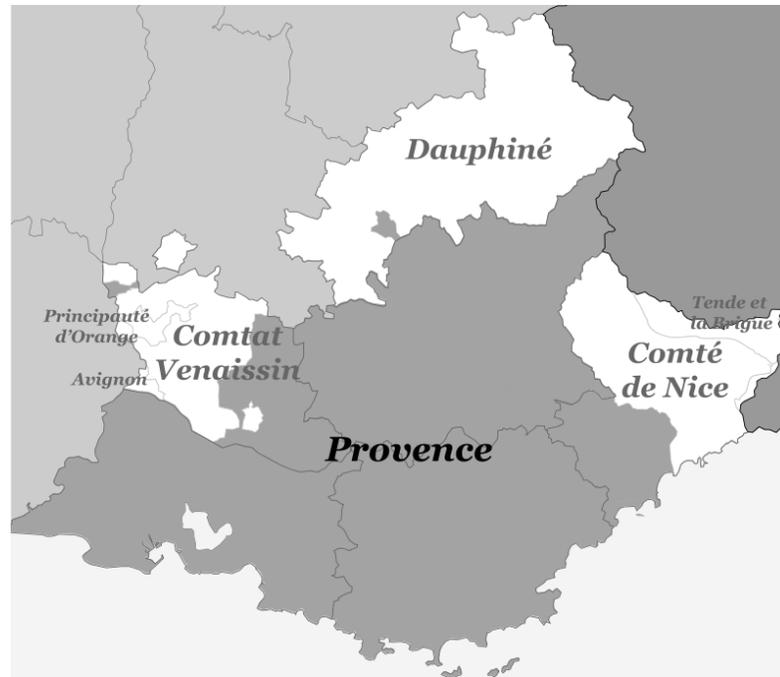


Figure 12: Historic Provence, Superbenjamin, CC BY-SA 3.0.

In 1483, Louis XI decided that de Forbin had been too accommodating to the wishes of the *Etats de Provence* and replaced him with Jean de Baudricourt, the governor of Burgundy, who agreed to dismiss the Provençaux from their office and replace them with Frenchmen (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 52). In 1486, after the death of Louis XI, the *Etats de Provence* asked Charles VIII to definitively proclaim the union between Provence and the crown of France in respecting the privileges of Provence. The union was confirmed under the demands of the “Provençal constitution” of 1481 with the exception that administrative positions in Provence would not be reserved for native Provençaux (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 53).

While the 1480s were politically decisive for Provence, it was also a somber period of its history. Across the territory, there was a scarcity of food, the Black Plague gained force and social tensions arrived. In cities of the lower Rhône – Salon and Arles – Jewish districts became the object of violent murders. Similar events occurred in Marseille and Manosque in the decade that followed. This violence led to the expulsion of the Jews beginning in 1493. While Provence had been a refuge for Jews who fled their homes in northern France, it was now time for French Provence to reject them as well (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 53).

Despite this somber period, Charles VII, Louis XII and François I engaged France in war with Italy. Since Provence now constituted France's Mediterranean border, Louis XII decided that Marseille would be the place to implant a naval arsenal. In other words, Provence became a battlefield (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 53).

Between 1524 and 1542, the imperial army of Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, attacked France three times via Provence. Between the first and second invasions, the second son of François I, the future Henri II, married Catherine de' Medici in Marseille. During the first two attacks, the entirety of Provence was invaded with the exception of Marseille and Arles. The third attack occurred mostly at sea (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 53-54).

During these attacks and most probably related to them, the king realized that he could no longer neglect the interior politics of Provence. As a result, he punished those found to be collaborators with the enemy and created new institutions in the form of offices that were sold to profit the royal treasury. The Parliament of Aix was superimposed over already existing jurisdictions – Chamber, Court of Audit and the Estates of Provence. While Provence was its jurisdiction and responsibility, at its inception, there were no Provençal judges in its upper ranks. These measures also assisted in attempting to integrate Provence into the kingdom (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 54).

In 1535, François I changed the meeting schedule of the Estates of Provence; they would now meet only at the behest of the king. During the normal sessions of the Estates, the prosecutors of Provence, who were the archbishop of Aix and the consuls and assessors of Aix, would represent Provence. Royal authority thus grew in Provence as well as took on the appearance of a centralization around Aix. As a result, the Parliament also became the master of justice (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 55).

The French Wars of Religion began earlier in Provence than elsewhere in France. In 1540, the Parliament of Aix delivered a judgement against the heresy of the Vaudois of the Lubéron, the right bank of the lower Durance River. Several of the Vaudois had already been killed in 1536 for being Protestant. The

1540 judgement called for the collective execution of the entire village of Mérindol; however, the execution order was not officially received until 1545. After receipt of the order, around ten villages were destroyed, and any remaining inhabitants killed. This episode has been recorded in Provençal history as the Massacre of the Vaudois (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 56).

After this massacre, Catholics and Protestants continued to battle throughout Lower Provence; however, what characterized the French Wars of Religion in Provence were their confusion with social revolts between noble, almost feudal, clans and local authority. In other words, the authority of the king clashed with the free expression of regional particularisms. These particularisms would be more and more expressed in the Parliament of Aix causing conflict between the Parliament and Henri II (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 56-57).

Conflict continued mainly in Lower Provence and in 1589, when Henri de Navarre became King of France and Henri IV, the majority of France, including Catholic Provence, refused to acknowledge him as their king since he was a Protestant. This situation began the eighth French War of Religion. In Provence, the Catholic League entrenched itself in Marseille, and lost all other cities in Provence. In 1596, a royal, aristocratic and pro-French conspiracy arose in Marseille defeating the League and its leader. To this defeat, Henri IV

responded, “It is now that I am King of France” (quoted in Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 58).

Early Land of Immigration

Toward the beginning of the 17th century, immigration was already an integral part of life in Provence as poor mountain dwellers from the Dauphiné and Piedmont Alps had begun to settle in Provence. Within the County of Provence itself, residents began to descend from Upper Provence to live in Lower Provence. Unlike today’s difference between Upper and Lower Provence – interior and coastal – at this time, it was defined by subsistence agriculture. Lower Provence, between the sea and the mountains, where olive trees grew contained the majority of the population. Olive trees were the main component of traditional mixed farming, which included wheat, vineyards and small-scale livestock farming. In Upper Provence, where olive trees did not grow and vineyards became scarce, livestock farming became the norm (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 58).

Small-scale industry and trade developed during this period in Provence due to its large number of waterways. Wine was the product Provençaux traded with one another, whereas olive oil was traded with non-Provençaux. Avignon, and especially, Marseille were the principal cities trading outside of Provence (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 59). Marseille traded with the Middle East, Venice,

Spain and Northern Africa. In 1599, Marseille was the first city in France to have an office of commerce (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 59).

The small-scale industry that flourished in Lower Provence was basically absent from Upper Provence, which distinguished one from the other (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 60). Moreover, Upper Provence was rural wherein the population was dispersed among a few tiny cities – Digne, Sisteron, Moustiers and Sault – and especially in villages and hamlets with about ten inhabitants. In Lower Provence, while a small minority of people lived dispersed on large farms – *mas* or *bastides* (in Provençal) – the large majority lived in large villages with several hundred or two thousand people; several small cities even existed above the large villages.

The urbanized character of the Provençal village is exhibited by – *lou barri* (in Provençal, which still exists in the toponymy of villages) – or surrounding walls. Within these walls lived the noble lord, the priest, several religious clerks, the notary, all merchants and artisans with their valets and companions, most farmers, and the poor known as either workers or peasants (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 60). For several centuries, functionaries and travelers from the North were shocked to discover cities full of peasants in Provence. It was the more independent and well to do merchants and farmers who would become Provence's bourgeoisie (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 61).

Municipal Autonomy

During 1635 and 1660, local life in Provence was intense as it struggled for municipal autonomy. Struggles between different municipalities or between a single municipality and the exterior, usually the king, were the norm. Local life and struggles were characterized by the defense of local rights and traditions against intrusions from the French State (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 61). The importance of the municipality and its subsequent foray into politics represented the Provençal personality for a long time, due to the resistance of Provence's integration into the Kingdom of France (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 62).

Provence of the 17th century was a place of renaissance, reform and Catholic spirituality. The Counter Reform had increased religious orders for both men and women, while the Catholic Reform beatified several Provençaux bishops. To visitors from the North, Provençal Catholicism appeared to be one of the defining elements – with language, landscape and climate – of Provence's singularity (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 71). Northern visitors found the vivacity of religious processions in Provence to be more Italian than French. Visitors also believed that the passionate and boisterous religiosity of the Provençaux spilled over into their non-religious activities – royal or municipal festivals and theatrical plays; as a result, the Provençaux were in turn seen as passionate and exuberant (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 71).

While Aix-en-Provence was the capital of the County of Provence, Marseille was its largest city. Aix-en-Provence and Marseille already significantly differed at this period. While Marseille was a city of commerce, Aix was a city of justice with its court. According to Claire Dolan-Leclerc, Aix society was already, officially composed of five levels of hierarchy: high judges, bourgeoisie, large merchants, artisans, people and peasants (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 59).

Regionalism in Provence

Provence is credited with beginning regionalism in France. The Provençal Movement began in 1854 as a linguistic and cultural movement. Just as French language advocates believed that the French language had become corrupt in the 1600s and designed an official campaign to purge and purify it (Gordon 1978: 26), so too, did Provençal advocates regarding Provençal in the mid-1800s. A group of seven Provençal poets, including Frédéric Mistral, met and formed a society entitled the *Félibrige* which set out to purify Provençal, as well as to make the history of Provence accessible to the Provençaux through great literature (Pasquini 2003: 418).

In order to purify Provençal, which was believed to have become too influenced by French, the poets decided to update its orthographic and grammatical systems. A new orthography, the *norme mistralienne*, which

minimized the differences between sounds and spelling, deemed to have plagued the French language for years, was developed (Lafitte 2002).

Due to the support shown to the Provençal Movement or the *Félibrige* Movement, Louis Alibert, an author from Languedoc, became interested in the new admiration shown toward the Provençal idiom and literature. However, he thought that the *norme mistralienne* did not incorporate the other varieties of the Langue d'oc. Therefore, he decided to revive and modernize the *norme classique* orthography, which he believed would be better suited to account for dialectical differences (Lafitte 2002).

In 1935, he proposed the *norme classique* based upon Languedocien (Walter 1996: 98). He stated that he had chosen Languedocien because it was the central dialect of Langue d'oc, and thus the most true to the classical language (Lafitte 2002). This philosophy, again, was/is used with reference to the French language under French language ideology, wherein the alleged Francien was purported to be the central dialect of the ancient Langue d'oïl, and was thus chosen to be the language of France (Cerquiglini 1998).

The Languedociens began to rally around him and support the *norme classique*. Soon after the revival of the *norme classique* orthography and its acceptance by the Languedociens, conflict grew between the two movements over legitimacy (Davies 1998: 345). The two movements fought over the

meaning of the term Provençal and in which idiom the Troubadours wrote and sang.

In 1945, the *Institut d'Estudis Occitans*¹⁶ (IEO) was created and founded in Languedoc and charged to study, using the *norme classique*, the Occitan or Langue d'oc language, culture, history and identity (IEO 2011). The original members of the IEO wanted to demonstrate that Langue d'oc was one language with six diverse dialects – Auvernhat, Gascon, Languedocien, Limousin, Provençal and Vivro-Alpin – in order to strengthen the language, culture and identity of Occitania (IEO 2011).

Non-Languedociens still criticize the Occitan Movement's tactics. "The desire to create, at all costs, a one and indivisible Great Occitania, not simply the newly enlarged and named region, on the French model, otherwise so much disparaged, have artificially erased the regional cultural differences [of the regions of the *Midi*]" (Jeanjean quoted in Lafitte 2006: 54).

Currently, the opposition concerning whether Langue d'oc is one language or several still exists in the *Midi*. The major ideological divide still persists between Provence and Languedoc (modern-day Occitania) (Price 1998: 345). However, the main ideological or political division is no longer between the IEO and the *Félibrige*, but rather between the IEO and the *Collectif Provence*

¹⁶ Institute of Occitan Studies.

and the *Conseil Régional de Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur*¹⁷. While the *Félibrige* agrees that Langue d'oc or Occitan is one language composed of six dialects, including Provençal, it uses the *norme mistralienne* and objects to the term *Occitan*, which it views as being academic and contrived; it thus prefers the traditional term *Langue d'oc*, whereas the IEO prefers the modern term *Occitan* (Costa 2010).

Despite the *Félibrige's* backing of the IEO's main ideological tenet, the *Félibrige's* goals are cultural, rather than political, whereas the IEO has a significant political dimension (Costa 2010 and Garnier 2010). The IEO is no longer simply focused on the Langue d'oc or Occitan language and culture; now, it is also fighting against the repression and administrative centralism of the French State, by highlighting the linguistic, cultural and historic distinctiveness of the *Midi* (Costa 2010).

To demonstrate the megaregion's distinctiveness, the Occitan Movement has called for an Occitan cultural revival (Blanc 2005). In order to give the Occitans and the Occitan Movement a voice in French government, the Occitan Movement urged supporters to run for governmental seats (Arnaud and Dofny

¹⁷ Regional Council of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur; in 2007, President Michel Vauzelle of the Regional Council of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur sent a letter to Christine Albanel, Minister of Culture, asking to have Provençal declared a separate language from Occitan; she refused his request (<http://c-oc.org/ieo/provenca/spip.php?article180>). Mr. Vauzelle also proposed shorting the official name of the region to 'Provence' (<http://www.laprovence.com/article/region/michel-vauzelle-veut-rebaptiser-la-region-paca>).

1977: 110). The *Parti occitan*¹⁸ has even created a political slogan, which appears to have been influenced by French language ideology – “One language, one people, one country” (Lafitte 2006: 54). They have thus begun to refer to Occitania as a nation, and no longer simply as a megaregion; however, the Occitan Movement has ceased demanding independence for Occitania, as the Catalans still desire for Catalonia (Blanc 2005). The Occitan militants simply want it acknowledged by the French Republic that a cultural and linguistic Occitania exists (Costa 2010 and Garnier 2010).

Administrative Region: Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, 1950s-Present

Administrative Provence, Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur (PACA), like the other regions of France, is a French Republic political domain and is composed of six *départements* – Alpes-de-Haute-de-Provence, Alpes-Maritimes, Bouches-du-Rhône, Hautes-Alpes, Var and Vaucluse – and is officially entitled Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, but is often simply labeled “Provence” or “PACA”. Until 1970, Corsica was part of the region and the term “Alps” was not added until 1976 (Boyer et al. 2005: 295). The administrative region of PACA is located in southeastern France and is bound on the west by Occitania (former Languedoc-Roussillon) and the Rhône River, on the east by Italy, to the south by the Mediterranean Sea and the Principality of Monaco, and to the north by the

¹⁸ Occitan Party.

Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes (formerly just the Rhône-Alpes)¹⁹; its capital is Marseille.

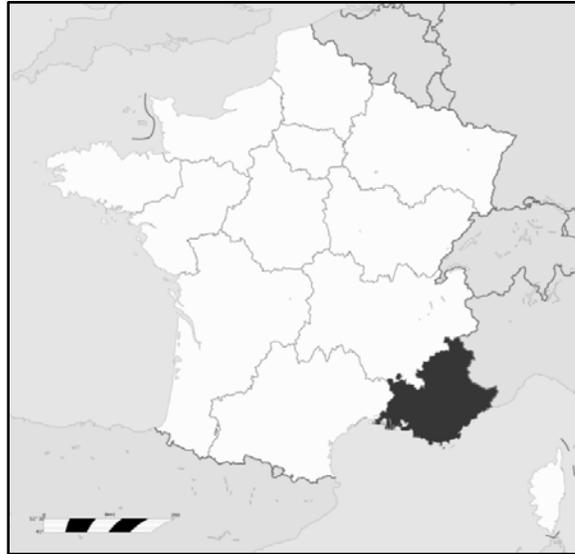


Figure 13: Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, Superbenjamin, CC BY-SA 4.0.



Figure 14: *Départements* of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, GeneaWiki.

¹⁹ On January 1, 2016, the names of several French administrative regions were changed due to the merger of several regions due to the passing of a 2014 Territorial Reform Proposal.

The administrative region Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur was created by the central administration in Paris without considering local differences, and is composed of three distinct realities: Provence, the Alps, and the Mediterranean seaboard from Marseille to Menton (Adoumié et al. 2013: 156). However, despite these three distinct realities, a geographical consistency exists based upon climate and culture (Adoumié et al. 2013: 156). The region Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur partially corresponds to historic Provence (the Alpes-de-Haute-Provence, Bouches-du-Rhône and Var *départements*) to which have been added between 1815 and 1971 the *Comtat Venaissin* (the current Vaucluse *département*), and in 1860 the County of Nice (the current Alpes-Maritimes *département*) (Adoumié et al. 2013: 156).

Two Provinces: Seaboard and Interior, Center and Periphery

Like France, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur has a center and a periphery in which the periphery is dominated by the center (Adoumié et al. 20103: 160). Demographically, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur is a region of contrasts and divides itself into two: seaboard and interior. The three seaboard *départements* – Bouches-du-Rhône, Var and Alpes-Maritimes – contain 4 million inhabitants or 80% of the regional population, whereas the interior *départements* – Alpes-de-Haute-Provence, Hautes-Alpes and Vaucluse – contain only 800,000 residents or

20% of the regional population. The Bouches-du-Rhône is the third most populated French *département*, while the Hautes-Alpes is the third least populated French *département* (Adoumié et al. 2013: 158). The Alpes-Maritimes and the Var also include internal contrasts – overpopulated seaboard and underpopulated mountainous interior (Adoumié et al. 2013: 158).

Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur is an attractive region for emigration; 10% of the population are new residents since 1995, from all regions of France, but especially from the Ile-de-France and the Nord-Pas-de-Calais (Adoumié et al. 2013: 158). Since 1946, the region's population has doubled mostly through foreign immigration. Numerous Italians, Spanish, Portuguese and North Africans now call PACA home, which has meant since the early 2000s that one out of two residents was born outside of the region for the Alpes-Maritimes and Bouches-du-Rhône *départements* (Boyer et al. 298).

Ninety-one percent of the regional population lives in an urban center, which is higher than the national average. Marseille-Aix-en-Provence, Nice and Toulon are among the largest urban centers in France; Marseille is the second largest city in France. An urban hierarchy exists among the cities. Toulon, located between Marseille and Nice, is thus dominated by them. Marseille feels pressure from Nice as well as Lyon and Montpellier (cities in other regions) (Adoumié et al. 2013: 158-159).

Numerous residents of Marseille and Nice own second homes in the Alpes-de-Haute-Provence and the Hautes-Alpes *départements*, which represent 35% and 45% of the homes in the two *départements* respectively; the amount in the Hautes-Alpes represents the highest amount in the region (Adoumié et al. 2013: 160-161). Until the 1960s, the two *départements* lost many residents since traditional agriculture around wheat, olives and sheep could no longer support them. In the 1960s, several factors began to ameliorate the situation in the two *départements*. Highways were built, which connected the seaboard with the interior, and train service was increased allowing for tourism to develop for residents of the coast as well as for those outside of France. A similar situation influenced the interior of the Alpes-Maritimes and the Var *départements*, despite their lack of crisis around their traditional activities (Adoumié et al. 2013: 161). Certain coastal residents relocated to the interior due to the amelioration of transportation routes. Due to tourism, local products, such as lavender, olive oil and wine, found a new market reinforcing traditional activities (Adoumié et al. 2013: 161).

Provençal Regional Identity

PACA exhibits a particular identity based upon Greek and Roman substrates, a rich medieval Troubadour past, and the Provençal language (Adoumié et al. 2013: 156), which is related to local patriotism (Gochet 1900: 282).

Provençal historian, René Merle, spoke with *L'Express* in 2008 concerning Provençal identity, which he commonly does with different newspapers. In the interview, Merle explained that Provençal identity related to a human community that was the result of linguistic and political unity of the Middle Ages; however, due to recent intense immigration, Provençal is today less-spoken and as a result, Provençal identity is weaker. As an example, he explained that the great success of the film “Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis” was the result of a strong regional identity of the Nord, which PACA is losing. Yet, there is hope as a popular Provençal-singing band, Massilia Sound System, encourages its fans to immerse themselves in Provençal identity and history (Cot 2008).

The Provençal Idiom

The Cerquiglini Report contrasts the *Langues d’oil* case with that of the *Langue d’oc* or Occitan case. While Cerquiglini supports the differentiation of the *Langues d’oil* into Franc-Comtois, Picard, etc., he also supports the fact that Occitan “is the sum of its varieties” (Cerquiglini 1999). The linguistic unity of Occitan is strong despite the evidence of internal diversity. “Five large sets at least are identifiable: Gascon, Languedocien, Provençal, Auvergnat-Limousin and Alpin-Dauphinois” (Cerquiglini 1999). Cerquiglini also suggests that additional more nuanced names are possible, such as the Vivaro-Alpin or

Nissard, but indicates that they have less to do with linguistics and more to do with geography or politics (Cerquiglini 1999)²⁰.

The Provençal idiom is spoken in all of the *départements* of Provence – with the exception of the Alpes-de-Haute-Provence and Hautes-Alpes where, Vivaro-Alpin or Provençal-Alpin, is spoken, and with the exception of the Alpes-Maritimes where, Niçard, is spoken – plus in the southeast of the Gard and the southern portion of the Drôme.

The Ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts in August of 1539 created a bilingual situation or diglossia for three centuries in Provence in which the élites mainly wrote and spoke French, while the people spoke Provençal (Aghulon and Coulet 2007: 55).

“Provençal holds the prestige of having been that of the Troubadours who made it into a supple, gracious and poetic language rich in expressions” (Viven in Gochet 1900: 282). Lower Provence “is the ‘pays’ of beautiful ways of speaking, abundant, passionate, and when [the people] want, stubborn artisans of the language” (Michelet in Gochet 1900: 282).

²⁰ With reference to Occitan and its varieties, Cerquiglini appears to purposely avoid the term “dialect” or “dialects” and instead uses the less ideologically “loaded” terms “varieties” and “sets”. Cerquiglini may do this since militants of three varieties – Auvergnat, Gascon and Provençal – are working to have those varieties declared separate languages from Occitan (Lafitte 2006).



Figure 15: Provençal Linguistic Domain (It is broken down into its four varieties: Rhodanien, Maritime, Gavot and Nissart; “Auvergnat” on the upper left is separate despite appearing to be the same color here), OGREBot, CC BY-SA 4.0.

First Article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Provençal

Using the classical or Occitan orthography, the article reads, “Totei lei personas naisson liuras e egalas en dignitat e en drech. Son dotadas de rason e de consciéncia e li cau agir entre elei amb un esperit de frairesa” (United Nations 2015).

Employing the Mistral or Modern orthography, the article reads, “Tóuti li persouno naisson liéuro e egalo en dignita e en dre. Soun doutado de rasoun e de

counsciènci e li fau agi entre éli em' un esperit de freirezzo" (United Nations 2010)²¹.

Number of Speakers

Statistics for Provençal, like other regional languages of France, do not truly exist. It is estimated that 345,500 people fluently speak Provençal and another 800,000 have some knowledge (United Nations 2010).

The View of Provençal by the Provençaux According to Two Studies

Two studies were designed to understand the views of the the Provençaux on Provençal. One was done in 1983 (Eschmann) and the other in 1986 and 1988 (Blanchet).

The study by Blanchet included 500 Provençaux, of which 50% were men and 50% were women, all natives of the Provence region between Aix, Marseille and Toulon. All respondents were under the age of 50; 40% belonged to the popular class, 40% to the middle class and 20% to the upper class (Blanchet 1990: 203).

When asked if one traditionally spoke something other than French here, 100% responded in the affirmative. When asked what that entity was, 45% responded with Provençal and 39.6% responded with Provençal *patois*; only 15.4% responded with simply *patois* (Blanchet 1990: 203). Provençal was thus

²¹<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Pages/Language.aspx?LangID=pro>.

reported 84.6% of the time. The responses of Langue d'oc (1%) and Occitan (0.2%) were either preceded by or followed by Provençal, and only occurred among the upper echelon of the urban class (Blanchet 1990: 203-204).

Occitan is therefore apparently a foreign term to the Provençaux, especially among the Provençal-speaking popular class: it is surely employed by a minority belonging to the dominate class and only having a distant relationship with Provençal, which its history confirms (Blanchet 1990: 204).

Patois was most frequently used among women at about 15%. The use of the term "patois" increased among the social hierarchy, which was not surprising: 44% (popular class), 58.5% (middle class) and 64% (upper class) (Blanchet 1990: 204).

When the respondent was asked if he or she spoke Provençal, 7.4% responded in the affirmative, 19.8% indicated that they did a little, 40% responded in the negative, but indicated that they understood it, and 33.8% responded in the negative. Respondents who answered in the negative were then asked if they knew someone who spoke Provençal? Among this group, 56.6% positively responded, while 43.3% negatively responded. "The results are surprising: 66% of the Provençaux studied could potentially communicate in Provençal in varying degrees and 26.2% speak it" (Blanchet 1990: 204). This result mirrors that of the Eschmann study. Urbaneness and rurality played a role; the higher percentage of speakers and understanders came from rural areas.

Social class also played a role; 50% of the popular class reported being speakers, while 15% of the middle class reported the same, and only 10% of the upper class reported this trait. Age also played a role; 79.5% of the speakers were either 50-years-old or older, 15% were between 35 and 50, and 5.5% were between 15 and 35. "Thus, Provençal, more alive than one thought it to be, is certainly the idiom of the popular class and of the people born before 1940" (Blanchet 1990: 204).

In response to the question, "do French and ... seem to be equal to you", 59% responded negatively indicating that French was superior, and 41% responded in the affirmative. For those having responded in the negative, another question was asked of them – "In what way is ... superior?" Among this group, 50.1% of respondents answered that French was "richer" and 84.4% responded that French was "more adapted to modern life". Provençal was attributed with an expressive richness, as an identity marker, and with a level of gregariousness (Blanchet 1990: 204). Blanchet indicated that the inculcation by the national education system of French language ideology remained strong based upon the comments (Blanchet 1990: 204).

When asked about their interest in having Provençal taught in schools in Provence, 91.4% were in favor, whereas 10.6% were opposed. The numbers of those in favor decreased as the location became more urban. Furthermore, the same can be said as the respondent's social status increased: the middle class

were more in favor than the upper class (Blanchet 1990: 204). When asked why they were favorable to its teaching, 94.9% responded that it related to Provençal identity and 28.6% mentioned its literary and cultural value. In general, the popular class often prioritizes the role of Provençal in Provençal identity, while its literary and cultural value are prioritized among the middle and upper classes (Blanchet 1990: 204).

In response to what designates the term “Occitan”, 62.6% indicated it was an idiom spoken in the Southwest, 21.4% did not know, 12.4% suggested it was an idiom spoken around Perpignan and 3.2% indicated that it was an idiom spoken around the Basque Country. Ninety-nine percent of respondents excluded Provençal and Provence from the term, and 66.6% gave a response for the Languedoc region, where the term originated (Blanchet 1990: 205).

When asked to indicate where one speaks Occitan, 56.6% responded in Provence, 43% responded in Provence, but with variants, and 0.4% responded to a smaller area of Provence (around Aix, etc.). Surprisingly, when considering the previous question, 99.6% of respondents associated the term “Occitan” with Provence. As a result, it is important to better understand who employs the terms “Langue d’oc” and “Occitan” in Provence, as well as its north and east boundaries in Provence. Prior to obtaining this result, Blanchet have believed Occitanism or Pan-Occitanism to be unknown or refused in Provence (Blanchet

1990: 205); however, confusion over terms does exist.

When asked if Provençal was independent or a variety of something else from a linguistic point of view, 98.6% responded that it was independent, 1% responded that it was a variety of Oc, and 0.4% indicated that it was a variety of French. These responses were reported across the social scale as well as across all ages (Blanchet 1990: 205).

In response to how Provençal should be written – as it is pronounced or to diminish the differences between the different “parlers” of southern France –, 99.4% indicated it should be written as it is pronounced, and 0.6% responded “otherwise” (Blanchet 1990: 205).

Based upon the results, Blanchet provides the following conclusion: “[T]he centralizing Parisian discourse dwelling on the ‘end of the ‘patois’’ and the unifying Pan-Occitan discourse are totally off from the lived reality of the Provençaux studied here, which corroborates for the most part the Provençalist point of view” (Blanchet 1990: 205). These Provençaux desire a policy recognizing the rights of groups, which France has continually denied them. Also, they do not agree with the Occitan Movement and wish to control their own destiny (Blanchet 1990: 205). “The popular class appears here as the principle bearer of the regional idiom, of which the symbolic value extends itself nevertheless to the entire Provençal society, the gregariousness of the Regional

French owes more to linguistic Provençalization than to imported French”
(Blanchet 1990: 205).

History of Term “Province”: Importance of Province in Provincial Life

The term “province”, which has been employed in France from the Roman period until the contemporary one remains administratively and legally undefined (de Planhol and Claval 1994: 162-163). Despite the term’s lack of legal definition, it acquired an official usage in the *Etats provinciaux*, or the assemblies of the *pays d’Etats* (de Planhol and Claval 1994: 163). Between the 17th and 18th centuries, the term “province” became part of the general vocabulary of administrators, historians, jurists and the people themselves. In fact, it had become an integral part of French consciousness, and was in such general usage by the end of the 18th century that provincial assemblies²² were also created in the *pays d’Elections* in 1787 (de Planhol and Claval 1994: 163). Furthermore, it was the provinces, which had no existence in legal terms, which were ordered to be divided into *départements* in 1790 (de Planhol and Claval 1994: 163).

During the *Ancien Régime*, the Kingdom of France was composed of territorial divisions rooted in history, geography and population settlements that varied according to the different powers which governed them (Masson 1984: 10). The different categories included: *bailliages, baronnies, comtés, diocèses,*

²² In the *pays d’Elections*, the provincial assemblies were officially called *Etats généraux*.

*duchés, élections, états, fiefs, généralités, gouvernements, intendances, marches, métropoles, paroisses, parlements, pays, principautés, provinces, sénéchaussées, etc.*²³

(Masson 1984: 10). A territorial name would most often follow one of the entities from the above categories, and frequently, the same territorial name would follow different categorical realities without covering the same geographical area. For instance, the *Comté de Provence* neither coincided with the exact geographical area as the *Généralité de Provence* nor with the *Parlement de Provence*. The monarchy would create new administrative divisions as needed, but would refrain from eliminating no longer useful ones as they remained the privilege of certain nobility or provinces. As a result, the territorial administrative divisions of France were a hodgepodge of different entities without any true connection between one another (Masson 1984: 11).

The kingdom is divided into as many different divisions as there are diverse species of regimes and powers: in dioceses for the ecclesiastical regime, in governments for the military regime, in generalities for the administrative regime, in bailiwicks for the judicial regime (Jacques-Guillaume Thouret at the Constitutional Committee of 1789 quoted in Brette 1907: 84).

On the night of August 4, 1790, the revolutionaries abolished the royal provinces, actually the generalities, and created republican *départements* in their

²³ Bailiwicks, baronies, counties, dioceses, duchies, elections, states, fiefs, generalities, governments, intendances, marches, metropolises, parishes, parliaments, countries, principalities, provinces, seneschals.

stead; however, numerous historians²⁴ have indicated that these “provinces” no longer truly existed as they often went by different names, such as generalities or governments, and thus no longer corresponded to any administrative division. Furthermore, their boundaries were not codified in any ministerial document. As a result of these critiques as well as due to the aforementioned 1789 quote from Thouret, in 1929, historian Gustave Dupont-Ferrier analyzed the history of the term “province” in order to truly understand both the term and its usage. “Did the provinces only exist in terminology” (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 262)?

Through his analysis of ancient texts, Dupont-Ferrier discovered that the term “province” arrived in Gaul during the Roman Empire, and from the 9th century until present-day never ceased to be employed. It was first employed in the ecclesiastic domain, and subsequently was occasionally employed in the literary domain of the Middle Ages. The term “province” had entered the administrative language of the kingdom before 1450 according to the “Journal de Masselin” (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 263). The first use of the term “province”, in France, to mean “a *pays* having its own personality” and more or less

²⁴ One of these historians was Armand Brette who wrote in 1907, “One remains confused when one sees with such confidence geographers [and] historians teach, for over a century, that France was divided into a fixed number of provinces methodologically classified and delimited” (Brette 1907: 57).

corresponding to a Gallo-Roman *civitas* dates to 1484 (Croy in de Romanet 1913: 9).

In the 14th century, a province denoted a financial domain known as a *généralité* (generality) (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 263). From the 15th through the 18th centuries, the term “province” represented a fiscal territory whose dimensions and boundaries remained vague. At times, its area corresponded with that of a generality, and at others, its area was larger than that of a generality (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 264). At different periods during the 16th and 18th centuries, especially during the 16th centuries, the term “province” was a synonym for bailiwicks and seneschals. It is only from the second half of the 15th century, and specifically since the 16th century, that the term entered the administrative domain due to the Renaissance and revived interest in Ancient Rome (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 258). The French populace accepted, and employed, the term in the 17th and 18th centuries. While the France of the *Ancien Régime* was divided into a myriad of territorial divisions – administrative, financial, judicial, military, etc. –, its inhabitants and administrators simply thought of it as being divided into provinces (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 267)²⁵.

²⁵ Based upon this information, it is incorrect to employ the term “province” for French geographical divisions prior to the 15th century, even though modern or contemporary terms and ideas are often attributed to a previous period (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 267).

Dupont-Ferrier concluded that the term “province” was not vague and imprecise in the France of the *Ancien Régime* as the term was continually employed, and became the chosen term to represent a geographical entity by the royal administration (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 266). The Edict of Versailles of June 1787 officially consecrated the province as the primary element of local organization (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 266-267). Dupont-Ferrier indicated that the confusion, or imprecision, may stem from the fact that the reality existed before the term (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 262), and that the usage of the term, and its reality evolved over time (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 263-266). Moreover, since the reality predated the French monarchy, the province was not truly a royal administrative division, but rather an independent, historic and cultural one (Dupont-Ferrier 1929 (160): 262 and de Romanet 1913: 22-23).

While certain historians doubted/doubt the existence of the French province in 1789, it existed in the hearts of its “former” inhabitants; it formed the center of their life; it had a consciousness of its individuality; it wanted to continue to handle its own affairs, and it revolted against republican unification. In the regions earliest annexed, the province’s vigor may have been weakened and its resistance to the central power diminished, but the province lived, and still lives, on through traditions, customs, habits, and language (Berlet 1913: 131-132).

As a result, at the end of the 18th century, the province was a more certain reality than the administrative divisions that divided it. Dictionaries and geographic works, of the period, listed it as a division of the kingdom. For the men of this period, the province had a specific sense:

It designated a region determined by history, institutions, customs, the spirit and character of a people; often, included the geological constitution of the soil, climate, topography, type of agriculture or industry, dialect, original literature, and particular characteristics" (Berlet 1913: 135).

The province is thus a product of the soil, history, nature and man; a geographical and ethnic unit, which is more authentic and powerful than any administrative or political division, with its roots in the past.

Administrative Regions

The regions represent a relatively new administrative entity in France as they only date back to the 1950s. However, despite their rather limited tenure, they reflect centuries of histories inherited from the ancient provinces (Northcutt 1996: 1).

Most of the [French] regions are considered to be heirs of [the] provincial heritage: the majority – 17 out of 22 in metropolitan France – chose the name of the ancient provincial entity – more or less completely – out of preference over a purely geographic denomination; moreover, their logos or flags are largely inspired by the ancient [provincial] coat of arms when they are not simply reused outright; [and also], many regions have chosen to symbolically install themselves in an ancient building, symbol of a glorious past, such as the *Abbaye aux Dames* in Caen or the *Abbaye Saint-Clément* in Metz (Bodineau 1995: 7).

Despite these facts, to the central French administration, regions are only a grouping of *départements* created to make larger and economically viable territories. They are not considered cultural entities (Dupoirier 2007: 532).

* *
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This chapter explored the diverse histories of both Picardy and Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur. Since Picardy borders the Ile-de-France, it played an important role in France's early national history. While the region of Picardy no longer officially exists, it lives on in collective memory. Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur possess a prestigious past connected to both Greek and Roman civilizations. While it is composed of three geographical entities, its cities have a history of autonomy and it became a land of early immigration, its residents are attached to it and consider it to be a community or society.

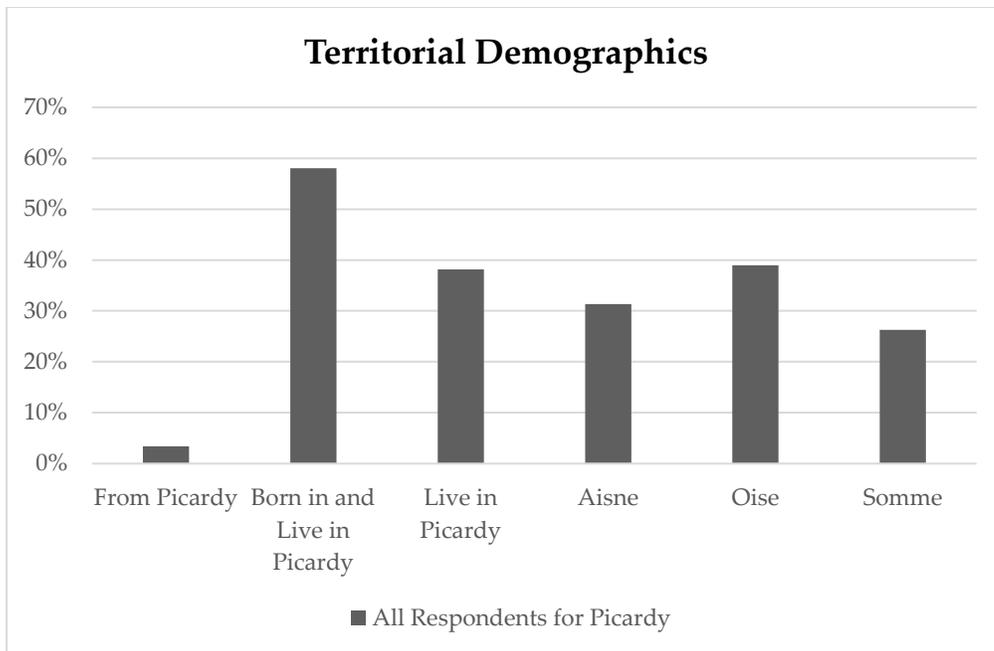
CHAPTER EIGHT

Picardy Results

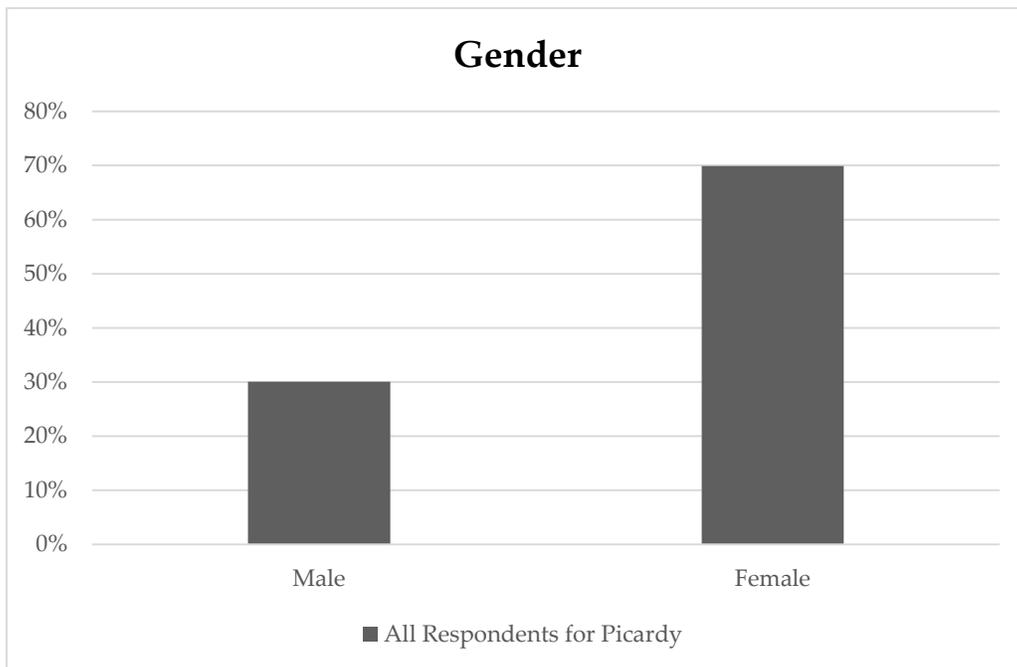
The Picardy results are given according to the five groups established for the sample: all Picardy respondents, respondents born in and living in Picardy, Understand Spoken Picard, A Lot and Some (Picard-understanders), Speak Picard, Often and Some (Picard-speakers) and Speak and Understand Picard, Often/A Lot and Some (Picard-speakers as well as understanders).

Picardy: Baseline, All Respondents

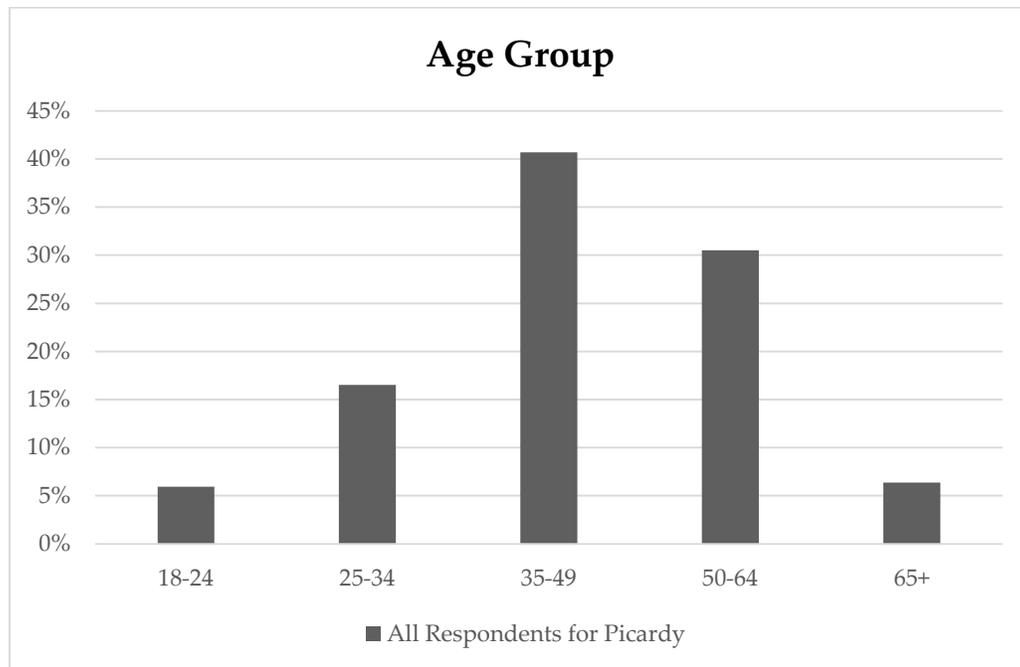
Among the 236 total respondents for Picardy, 8 (3.39%) were born in Picardy, but now reside in another region, 137 (58.05%) were both born in and live in Picardy and 90 (38.14%) live in Picardy, but were born in another region. Of these participants, 74 (31.36%) live in the Aisne *département*, 60 (38.98%) in the Oise, 62 (26.27%) in the Somme and 8 (3.39%) outside of Picardy and one of its three *départements*. Twenty-five respondents reported being regional activists: 19 cultural, 4 linguistic and 2 political.



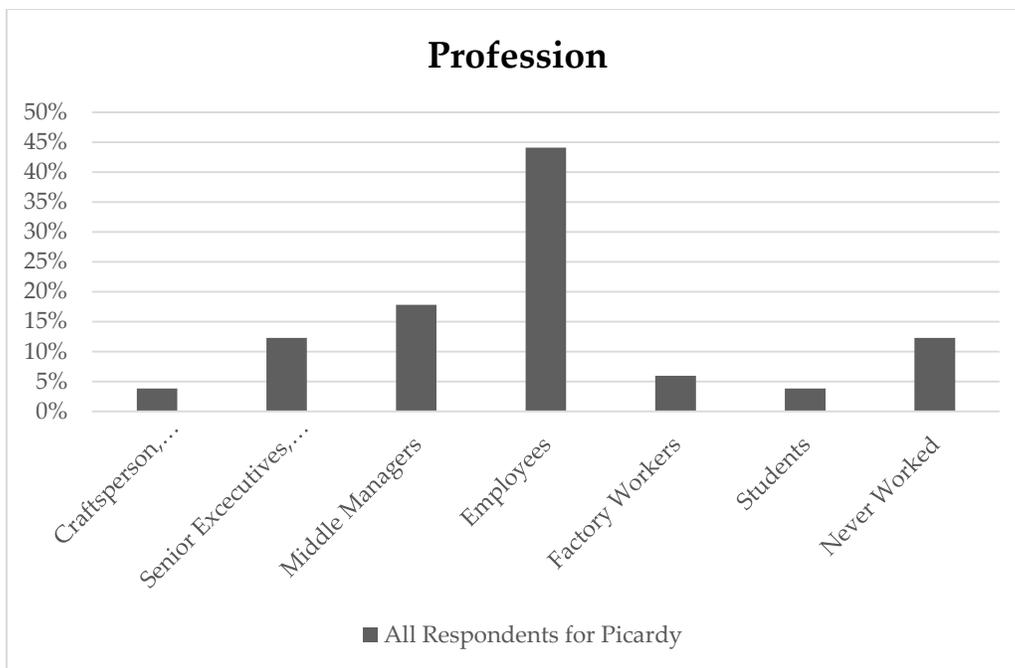
The sample broke down in the following manner for gender, age, profession and education: For gender, 71 (30.08%) were men and 165 (69.92%) were women;



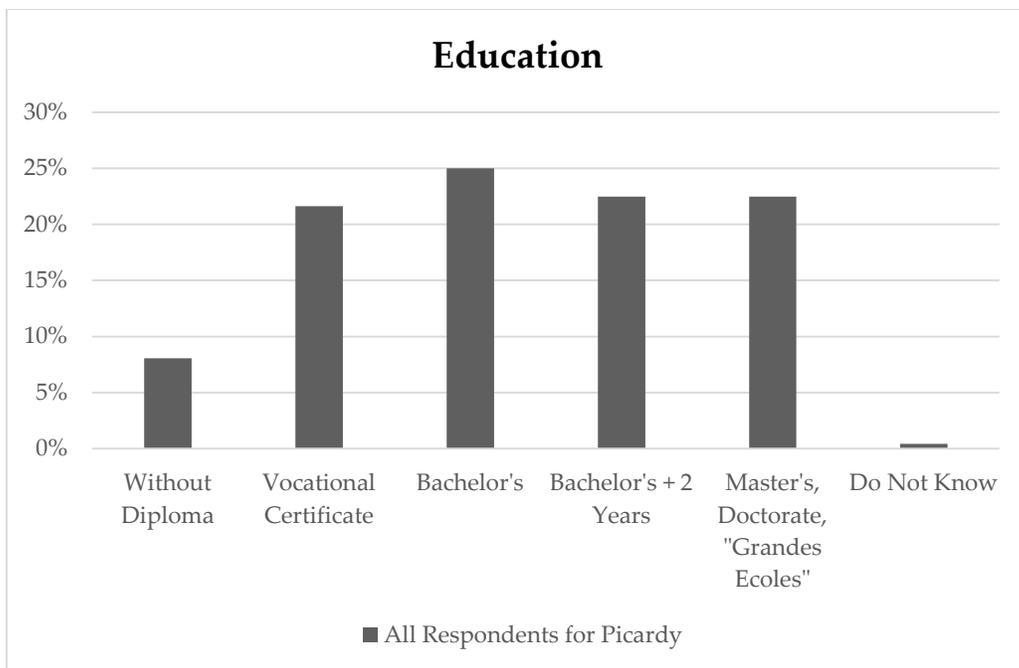
Regarding age, 14 (5.93%) were between 18 and 24 years of age, 39 (16.53%) were between 25 and 34-years-old, 96 (40.68%) were between 35 and 49 years of age, 72 (30.51%) were between 50 and 64-years-old and 15 (6.36%) were 65 years of age or older;



For profession, 9 (3.81%) worked as a craftsperson, storekeeper or company head, 29 (12.29%) were employed as senior executives or intellectual professionals, 42 (17.80%) were middle managers, 104 (44.07%) worked as employees, 14 (5.93%) were factory workers, 9 (3.81%) were students and 29 (12.29%) had never worked;

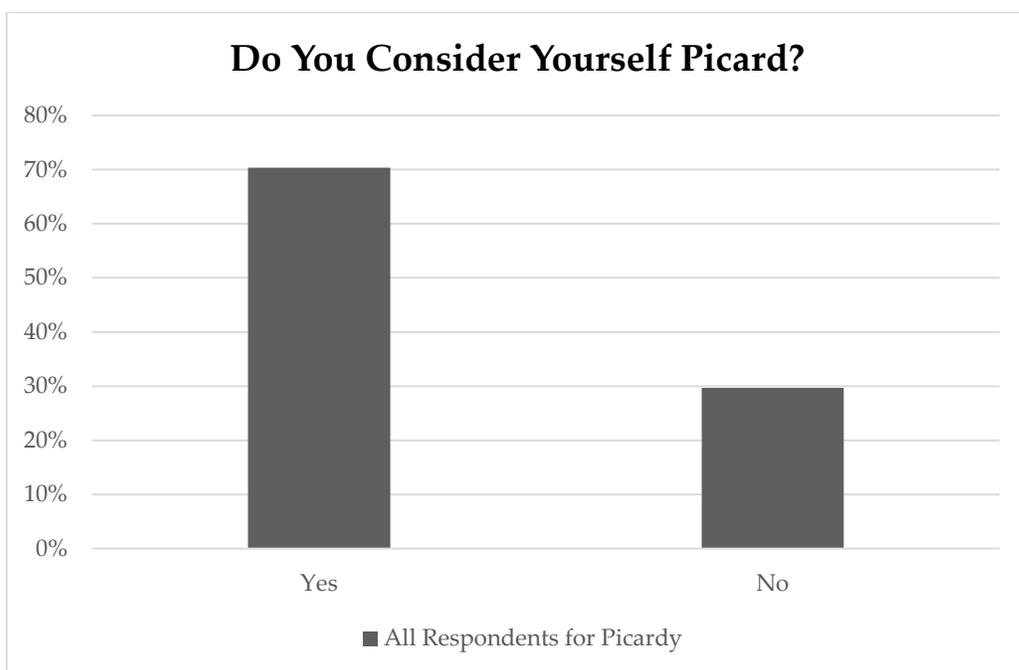


Concerning education and highest diploma earned, 19 (8.05%) held no diploma, 51 (21.61%) possessed a vocational certificate or a national vocational qualification, 59 (25.00%) held a Bachelor's degree, 53 (22.46%) possessed a Bachelor's degree plus two additional years, such as teachers and healthcare or social professionals, 53 (22.46%) held Master's degrees, Doctorates or degrees from the *Grandes Ecoles* and 1 (0.42%) did not know.

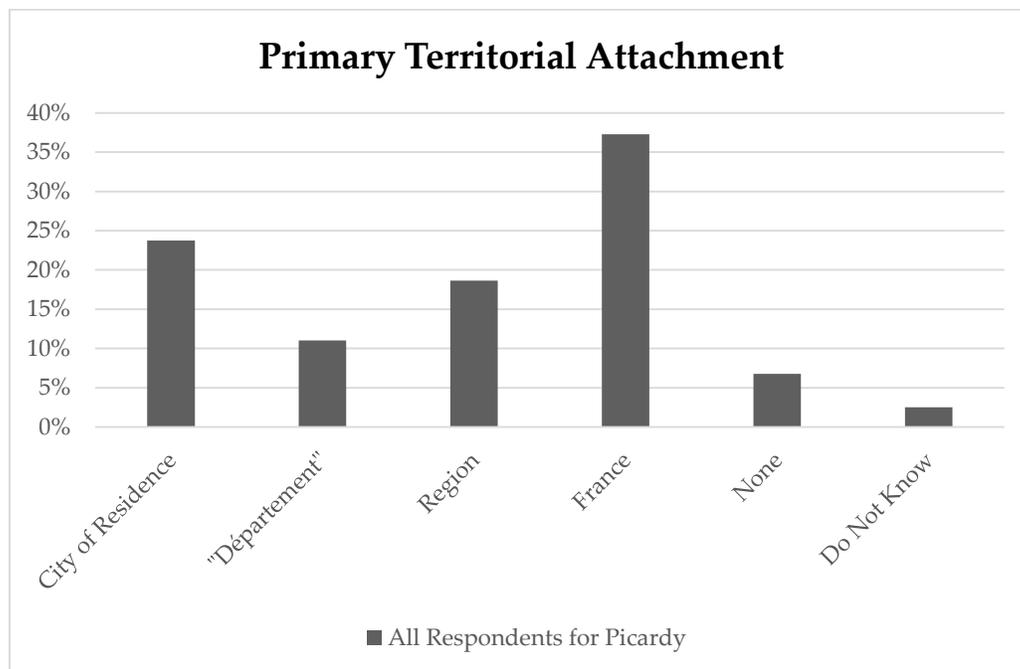


Regional Identity

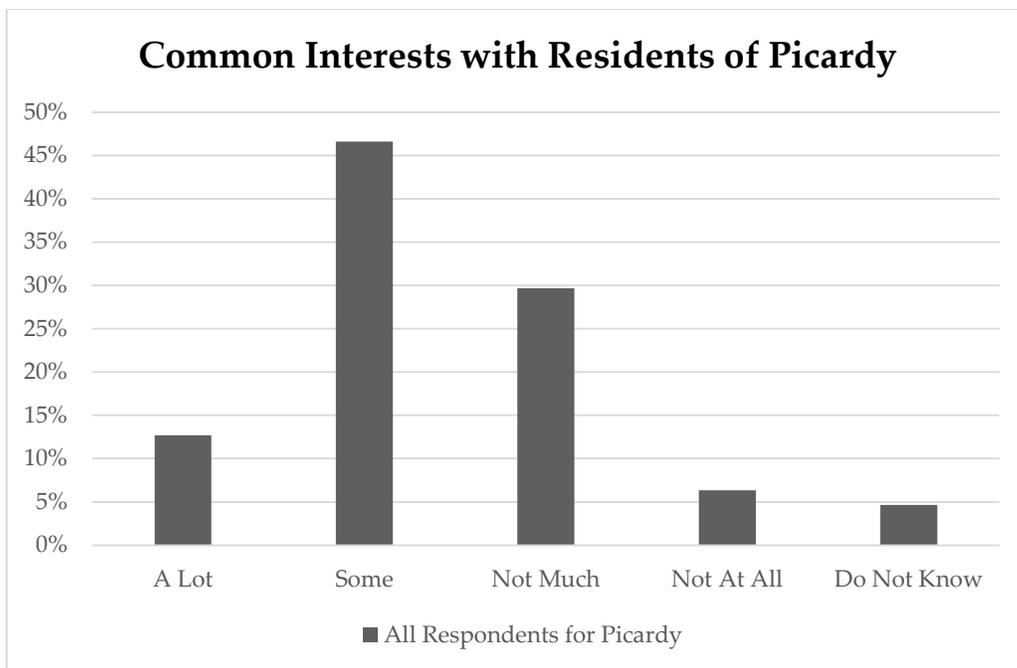
Of the 236 total participants, 166 (70.34%) considered themselves to be Picard, while 70 (29.66%) did not.



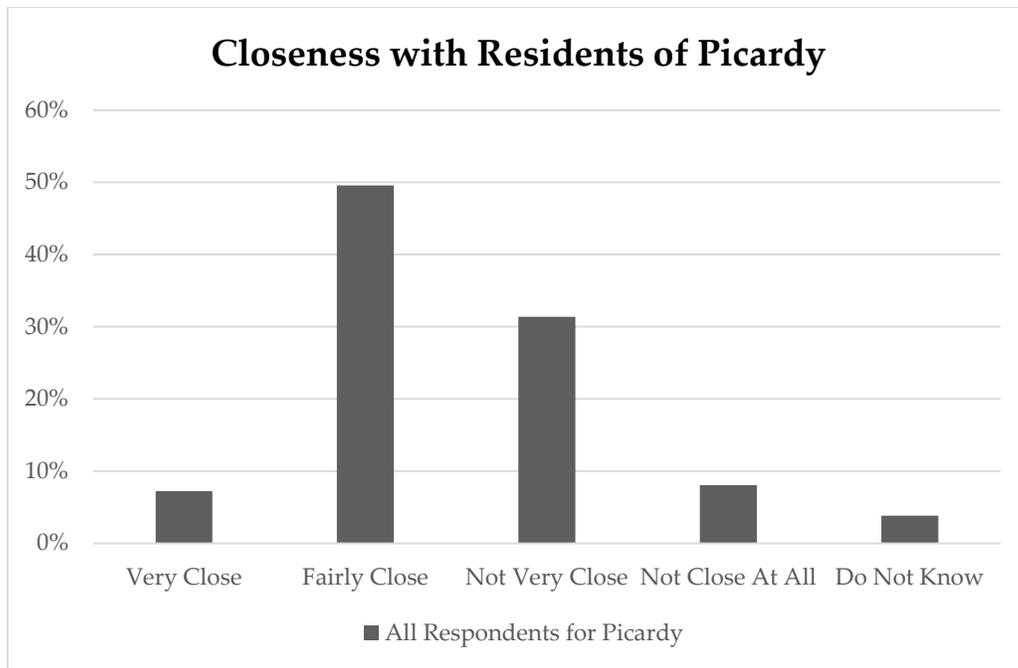
When asked to choose to which administrative territory they were primarily attached, 89 (37.29%) chose “France”, 56 (23.73%) selected “City of Residence”, 44 (18.64%) picked “Region”, 26 (11.02%) decided on “*Département*”, 16 (6.78%) chose “None” and 6 (2.54%) settled on “Do Not Know”.



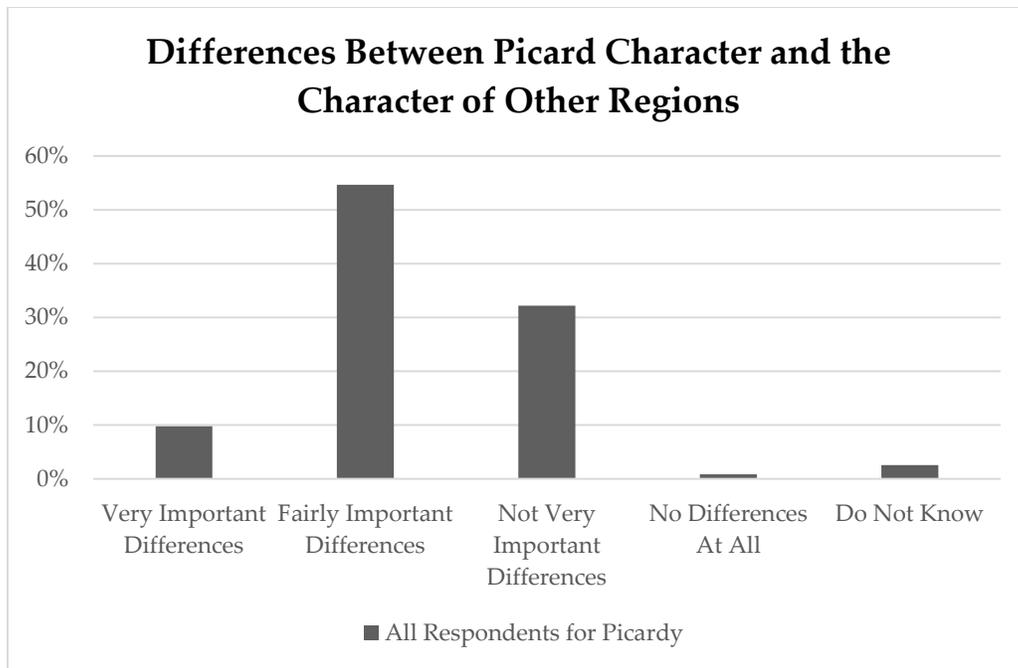
To the question regarding having common interests with other residents of Picardy, 110 (46.61%) indicated that they had “Some”, 70 (29.66%) reported “Not Much”, 30 (12.71%) stated “A Lot”, 15 (6.36%) reported “Not At All” and 11 (4.66%) indicated “Do Not Know”.



When asked how close respondents were to the other residents of Picardy, 117 (49.58%) chose “Fairly Close”, 74 (31.36%) selected “Not Very Close”, 19 (8.05%) picked “Not Close At All”, 17 (7.20%) settled on “Very Close” and 9 (3.81%) indicated “Do Not Know”.

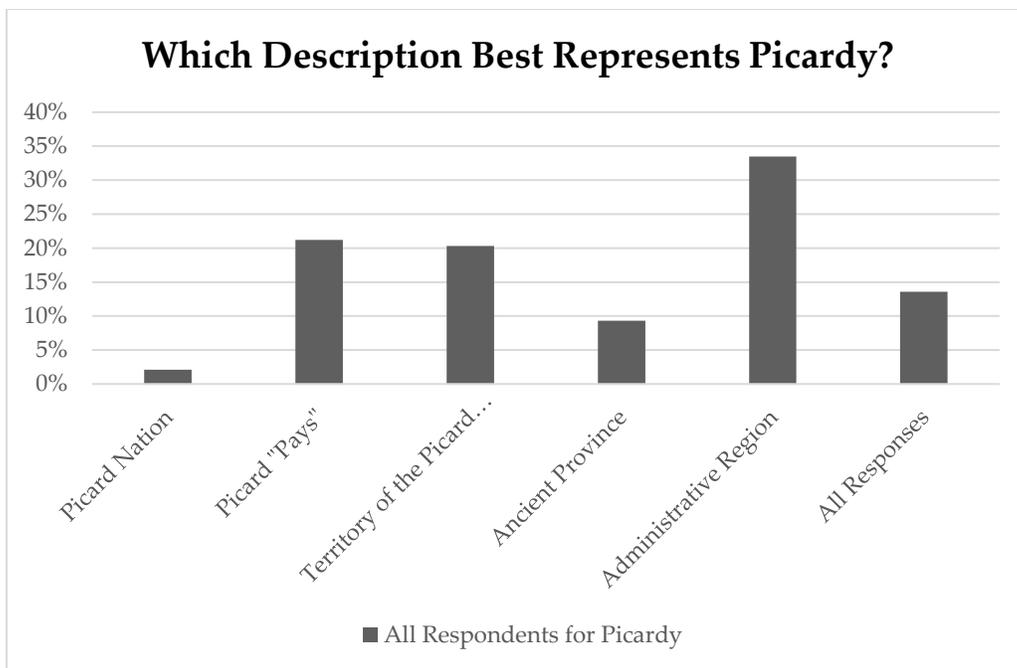


To the question inquiring about how the regional character of residents of Picardy differed from that of residents of other regions, 129 (54.66%) indicated that there were fairly important differences between Picards and the residents of other regions of France. However, 76 (32.20%) reported that there were not a lot of differences. Among the other respondents, 23 (9.75%) stated that there were very important differences, while 2 (0.85%) reported that there were no differences and 6 (2.54%) did not know.

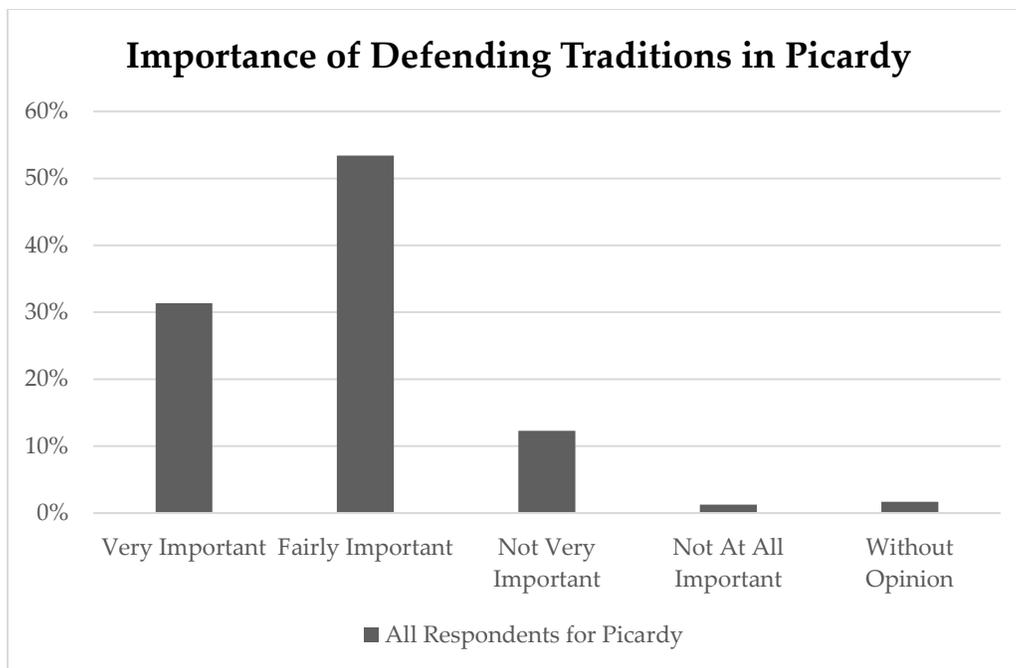


When asked to select the description that best represented Picardy for them, 79 (33.47%) responded “Administrative Region of the French Republic”, 50 (21.19%) indicated “the Picard *Pays*”¹, 48 (20.34%) reported “Territory of the Picard People”, 32 (13.56%) selected “All Responses”, 22 (9.32%) picked “Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France” and 5 (2.12%) decided on “Picard Nation”.

¹ In French, the singular, *le pays picard*, and the plural, *les pays picards*, sound the same without the definite article “le/les” since the final “s” in “picards” is not pronounced. Since English neither requires the usage of this article nor the agreement of adjectives and nouns, the singular and plural “Picard *pays*” are written the same way since the term “pays” already ends in an “s”. Here, in the original French, the expression was written in both the singular and the plural – “le pays picard ou les pays picards” and the English translation should include that idea.

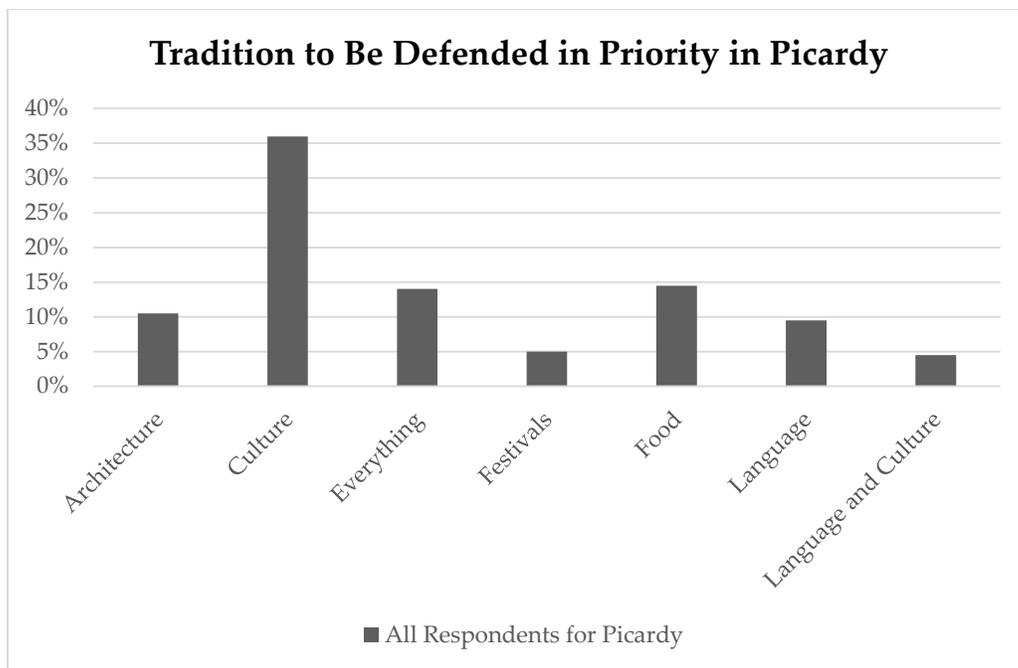


To the question regarding the importance of defending traditional elements in Picardy, 126 (53.39%) reported "Fairly Important", 74 (31.36%) indicated "Very Important", 29 (12.29%) responded "Not Very Important", 4 (1.69%) stated "Without Opinion" and 3 (1.27%) indicated "Not At All Important".



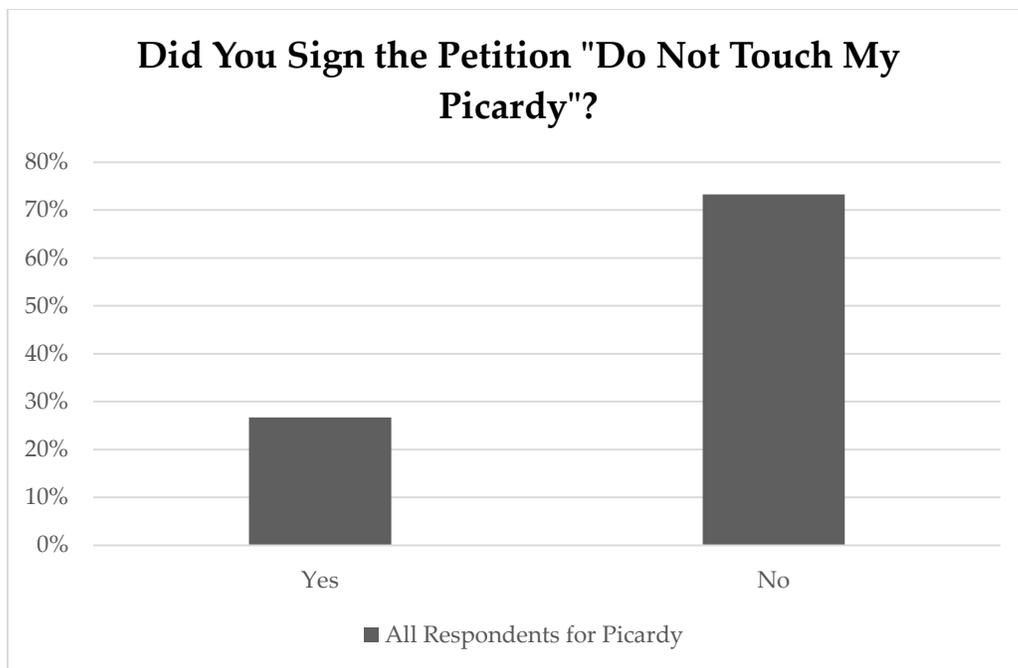
Respondents were then asked to name a tradition to defend in priority; 72 (36.00%) indicated “Culture”, 29 (14.50%) stated “Food”, 28 (14.00%) responded “Everything”, 21 (10.50%) replied “Architecture”, 19 (9.50%) reported “Language”, 10 (5.00%) indicated “Festivals” and 9 (4.50%) answered “Language and Culture”².

² While certain elements were suggested, respondents were able to suggest their own as well. These categories represent a synthesis of reported elements. When a respondent gave a list of several things, the first was recorded; however, when a respondent either stated, “Everything” or gave a list and stated, “Everything” at the end; “Everything” was simply recorded. In other words, “Everything” had to be specifically stated for the respondent’s response to be categorized as “Everything”; otherwise, only the first element was recorded. The only exception was for the mention of “Language” or “Dialect” since this study is mainly focused upon them/it. If a respondent gave a list that included one of the two terms anywhere within it, they were recorded. However, for the category “Language and Culture”, both terms had to be mentioned as the first two terms in either order for their response to be categorized as “Language and Culture”. As a result, since these categories represent a synthesis, the numbers and percentages can be unequal to the actual number of respondents involved; furthermore, not all respondents

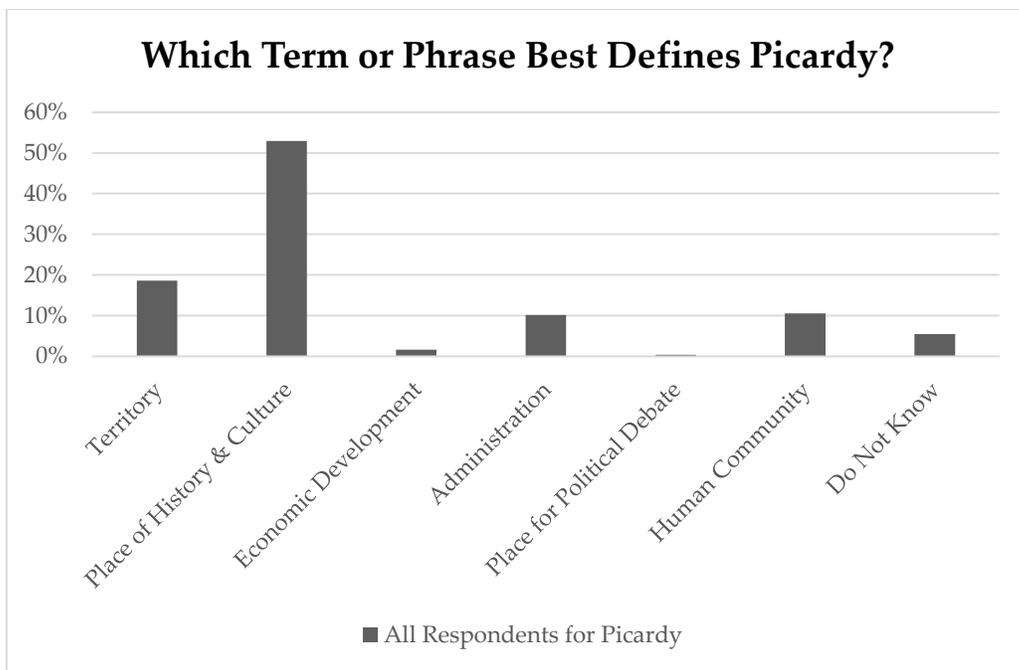


When asked if the participant signed the “Do Not Touch My Picardy Petition”, 173 (73.31%) responded “No” and 63 (26.69%) answered “Yes”.

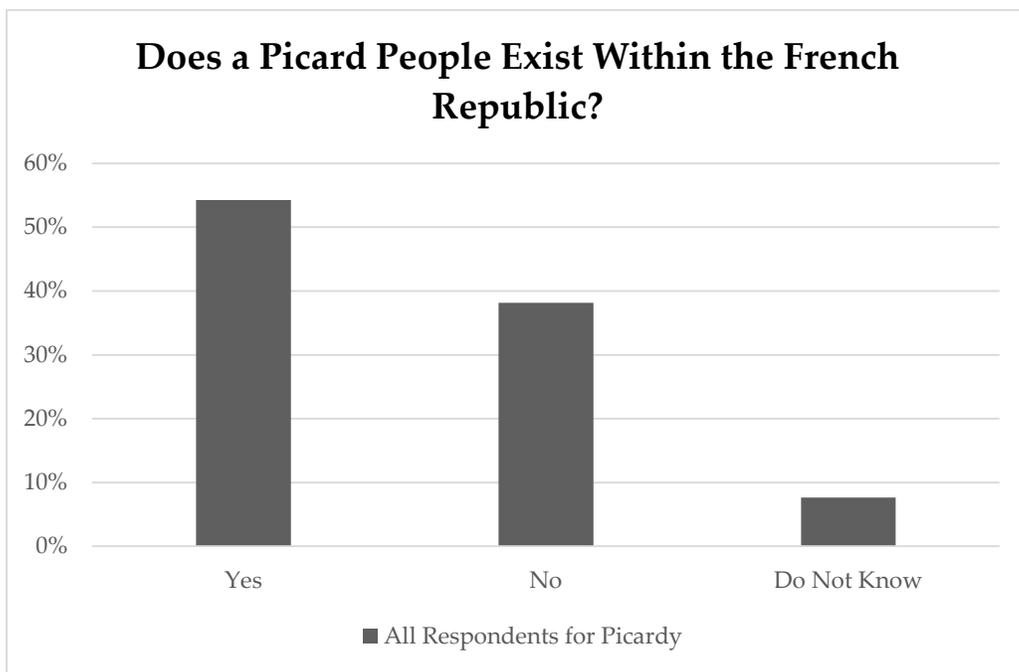
provided an understandable answer; the compiled list maybe somewhat different for each sample. Each list will appear in alphabetical order.



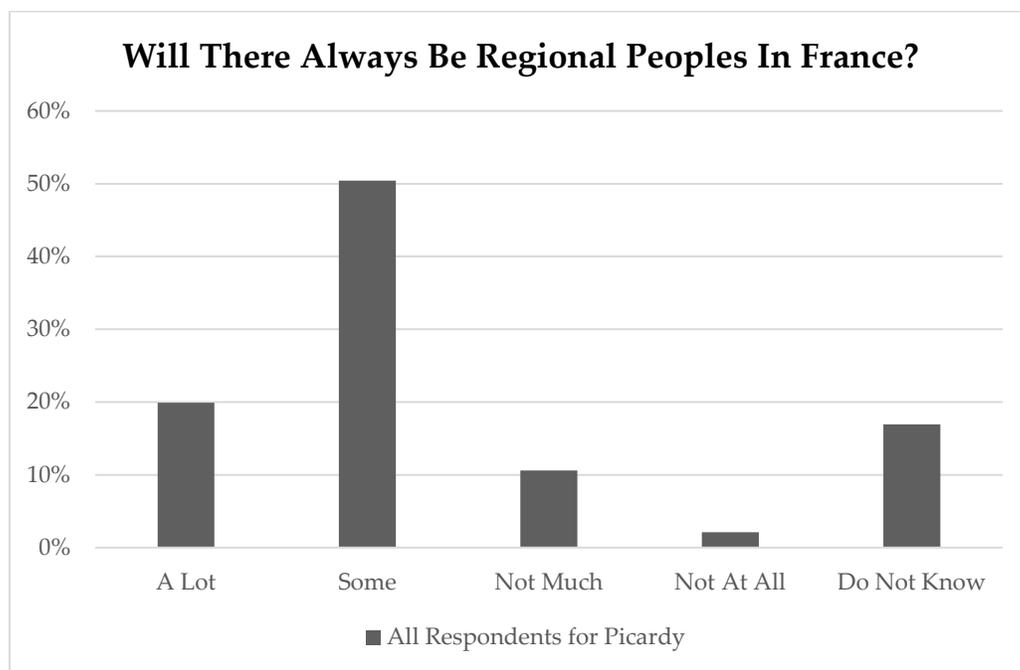
To the question asking the respondent to indicate which term or phrase best defined Picardy, 125 (52.97%) selected "Place of History and Culture", 44 (18.64%) chose "Territory", 25 (10.59%) picked "Human Community", 24 (10.17%) decided on "Administration", 13 (5.51%) settled on "Do Not Know", 4 (1.69%) indicated "Place for Economic Development" and 1 (0.42%) chose "Place for Political Debate".



When asked whether there existed a Picard people within the French Republic, 128 (54.24%) responded “Yes”, 90 (38.14%) indicated “No” and 18 (7.63%) replied “Do Not Know”.

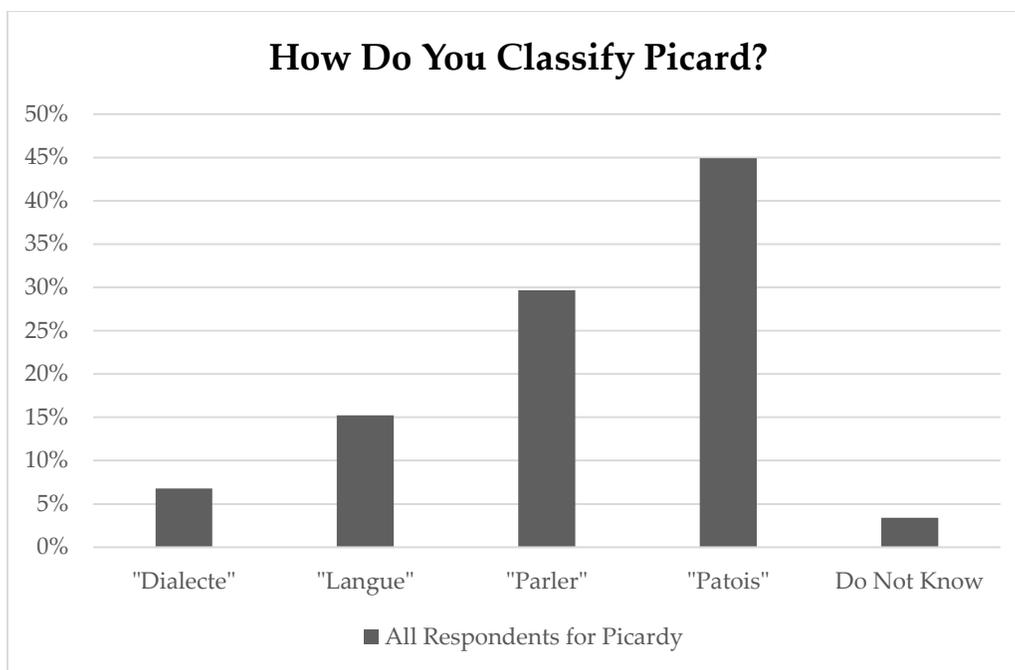


To the question concerning whether France will always contain regional peoples or groups in terms of traditions, customs and dialects, such as the Alsatians, Basques, Bretons, Burgundians, Flemish, Normans, Picards and Provençaux, mentioned in the 17th century, 119 (50.42%) responded “Some”, 47 (19.92%) indicated “Very Much”, 40 (16.95%) stated “Do Not Know”, 25 (10.59%) replied “Not Much” and 5 (2.12%) answered “Not At All”.



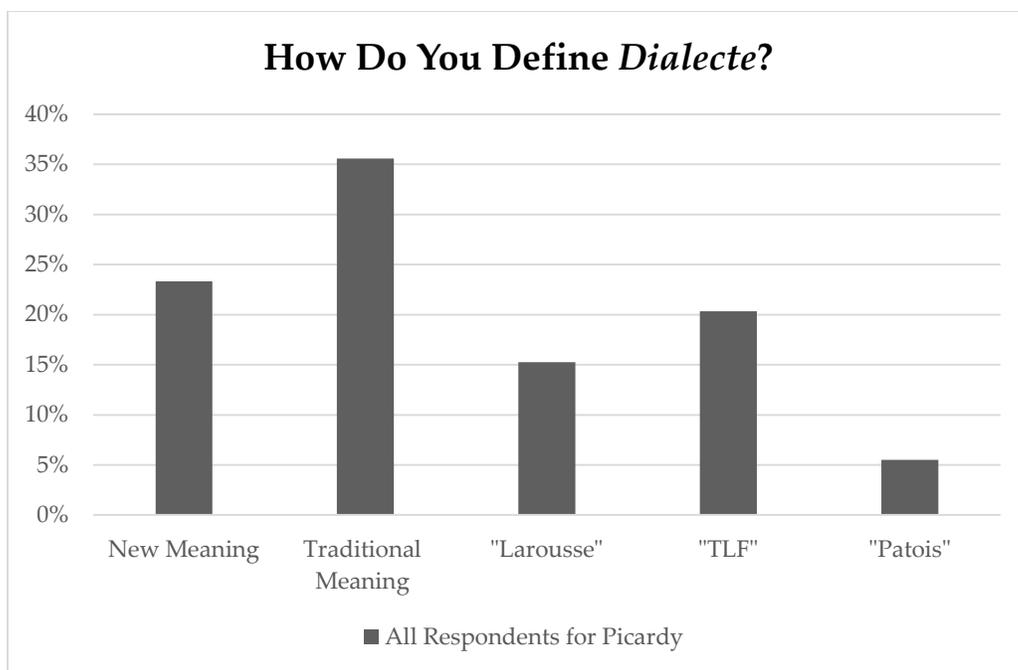
Picard Language and French Language Ideology

To the question regarding the classification of Picard, 106 (44.92%) decided on “Patois”, 70 (29.66%) selected “Parler”, 36 (15.25%) picked “Langue”, 16 (6.78%) chose “Dialecte” and 8 (3.39%) specified “Do Not Know”.

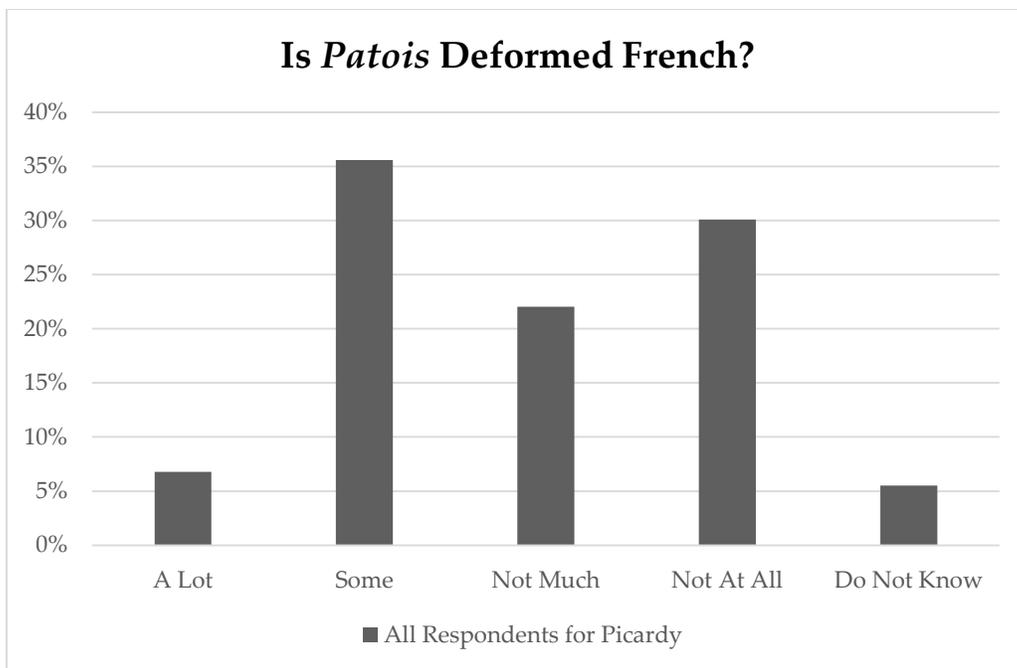


When asked to define *dialecte*, 84 (35.59%) chose the traditional response, 55 (23.31%) selected the new meaning, 48 (20.34%) decided on the definition of the *Trésor de la langue française*, 36 (15.25%) picked the definition used in *Larousse* and 13 (5.51%) selected *patois*³.

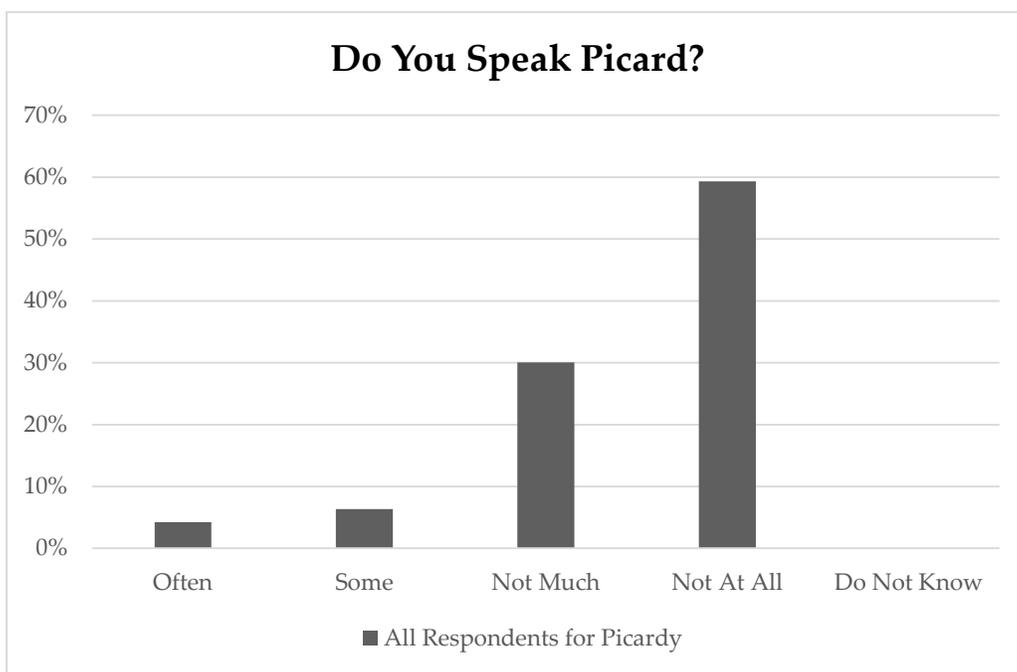
³ These were not the definitions used; they are simply an easier way of listing them.



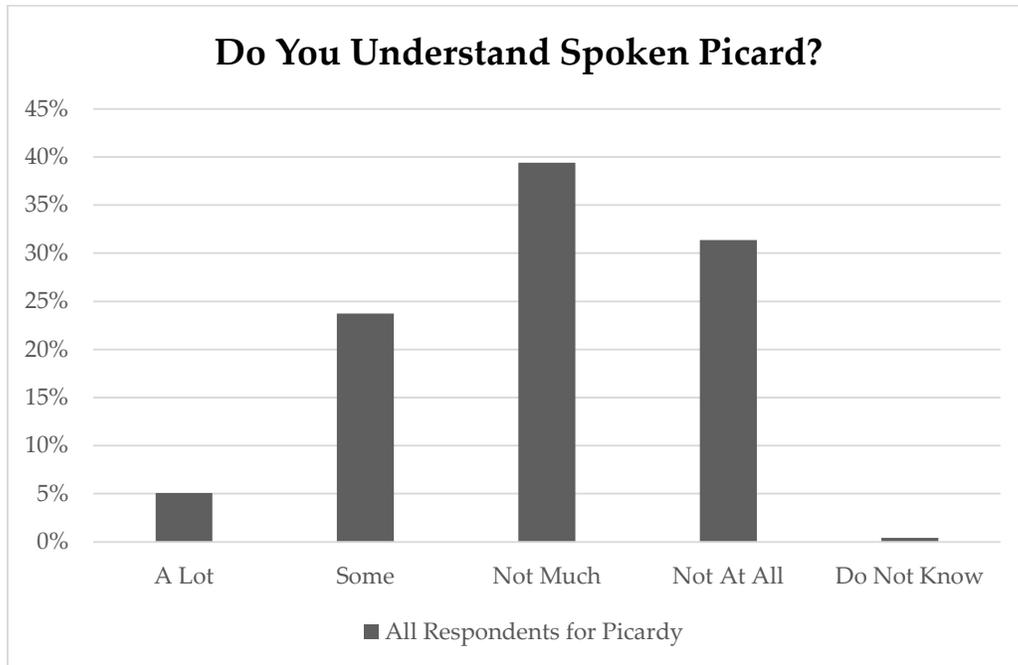
To the question asking the participant if *patois* was deformed French, 84 (35.59%) indicated "Some", 71 (30.08%) responded "Not At All", 52 (22.03%) replied "Not Much", 16 (6.78%) stated "Very Much" and 13 (5.51%) chose "Do Not Know".



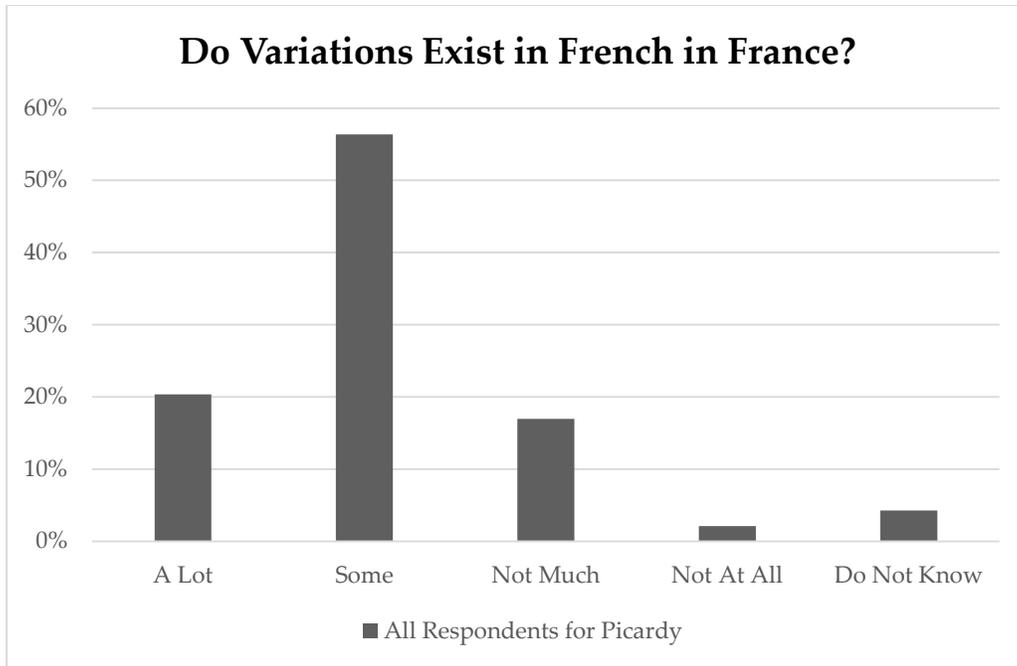
When asking the respondent to report his or her ability to speak Picard, 140 (59.32%) responded "Not At All", 71 (30.08%) indicated "Not Much", 15 (6.36%) specified "Some" and 10 (4.24%) replied "Often".



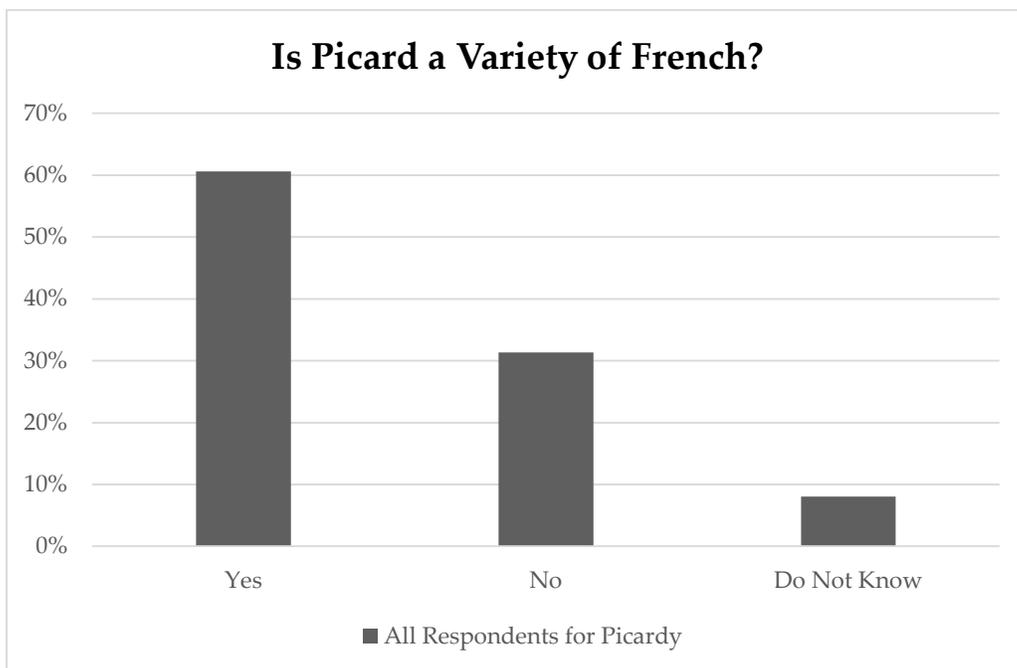
When asked if the participant could understand spoken Picard, 174 (31.36%) specified “Not At All”, 93 (39.41%) responded “Not Much”, 56 (23.73%) indicated “Some”, 12 (5.08%) replied “A Lot” and 1 (0.42%) chose “Do Not Know”.



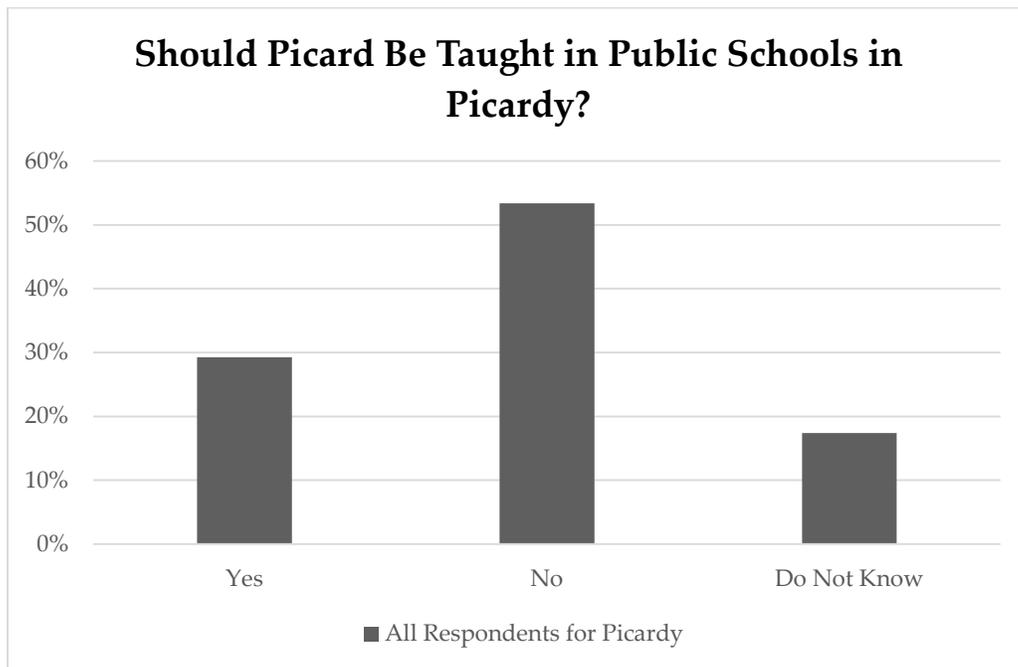
When asked if variations occurred in French in France, 133 (56.36%) indicated “Some”, 48 (20.34%) selected “A Lot”, 40 (16.95%) stated “Not Much”, 10 (4.24%) picked “Do Not Know” and 5 (2.12%) specified “Not At All”.



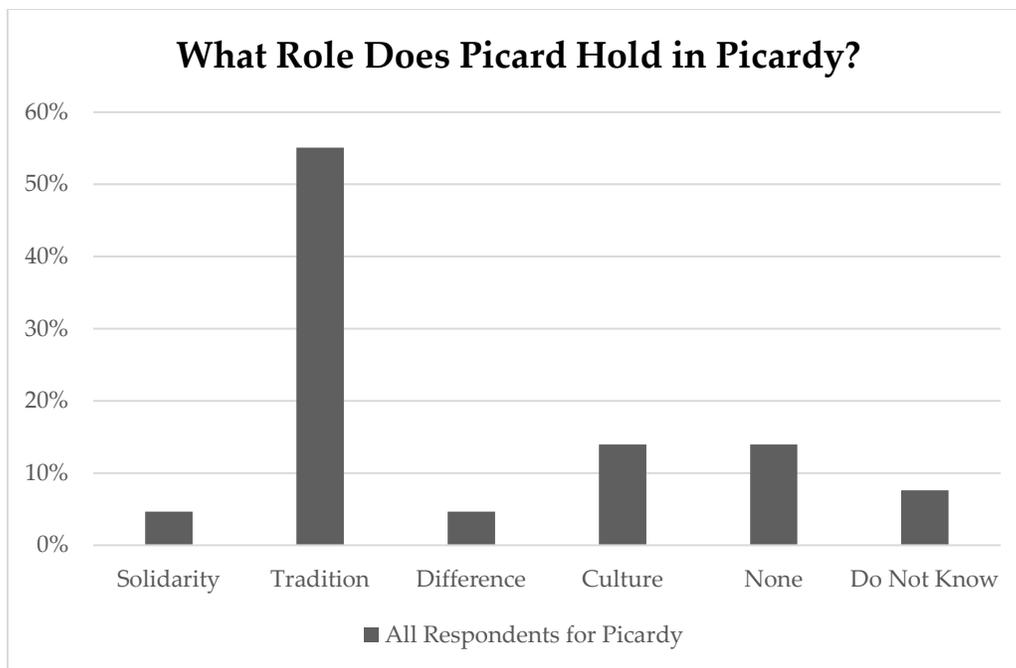
To the question asking whether Picard was a variety of French, 143 (60.59%) responded “Yes”, 74 (31.36%) specified “No” and 19 (8.05%) replied “Do Not Know”.



When asked whether Picard should be taught in public schools in Picardy, 126 (53.39%) indicated “No”, 69 (29.24%) responded “Yes” and 41 (17.37%) replied “Do Not Know”.



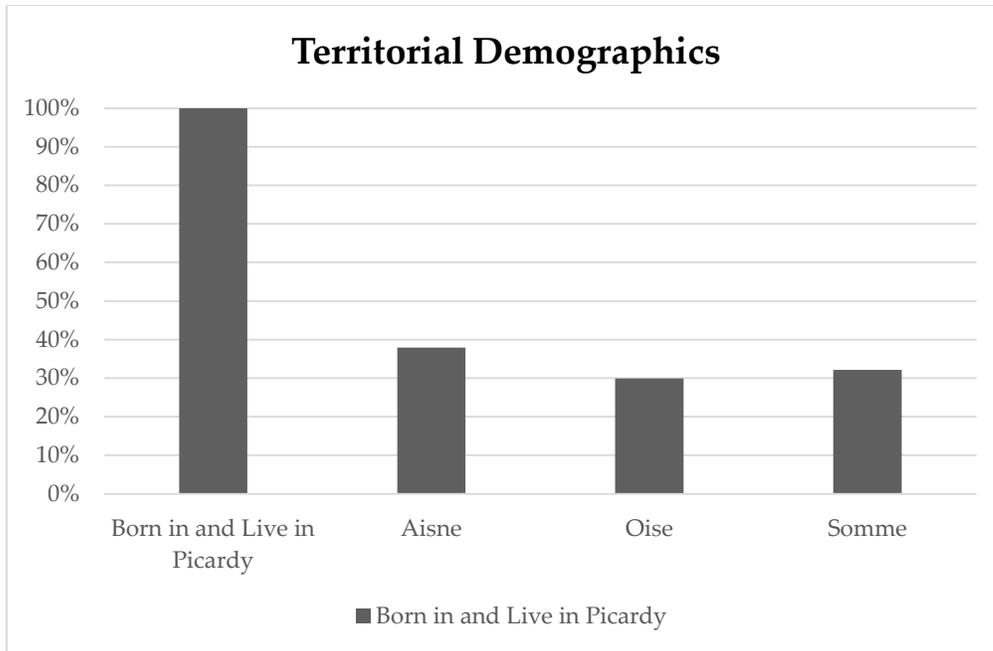
When asked what role Picard held in Picardy, 130 (55.08%) selected “Tradition”, 33 (13.98%) chose “Culture”, another 33 (13.98%) decided on “None”, 18 (7.63%) picked “Do Not Know”, 11 (4.66%) decided on “Difference” and another 11 (4.66%) chose “Solidarity”.



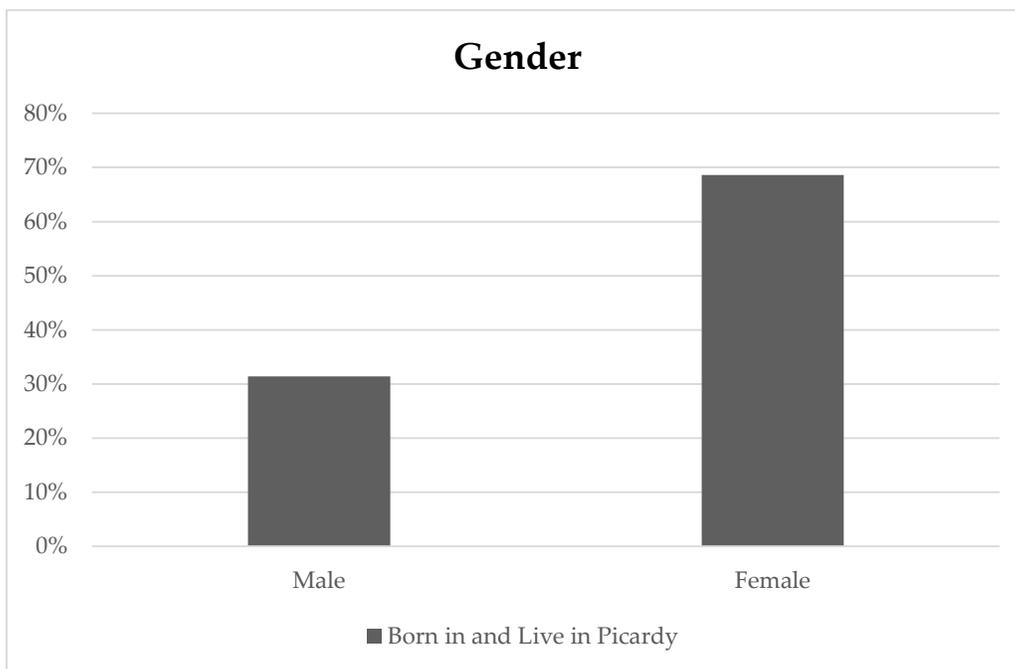
Picardy: Respondents Born in and Live in Picardy⁴

Among these 137 Picard respondents, all 137 (100.00%) were both born in and live in Picardy. Of these participants, 52 (37.96%) live in the Aisne *département*, 41 (29.93%) in the Oise and 44 (32.12%) in the Somme. Seventeen participants reported being regional activists: 13 cultural, 3 linguistic and 1 political.

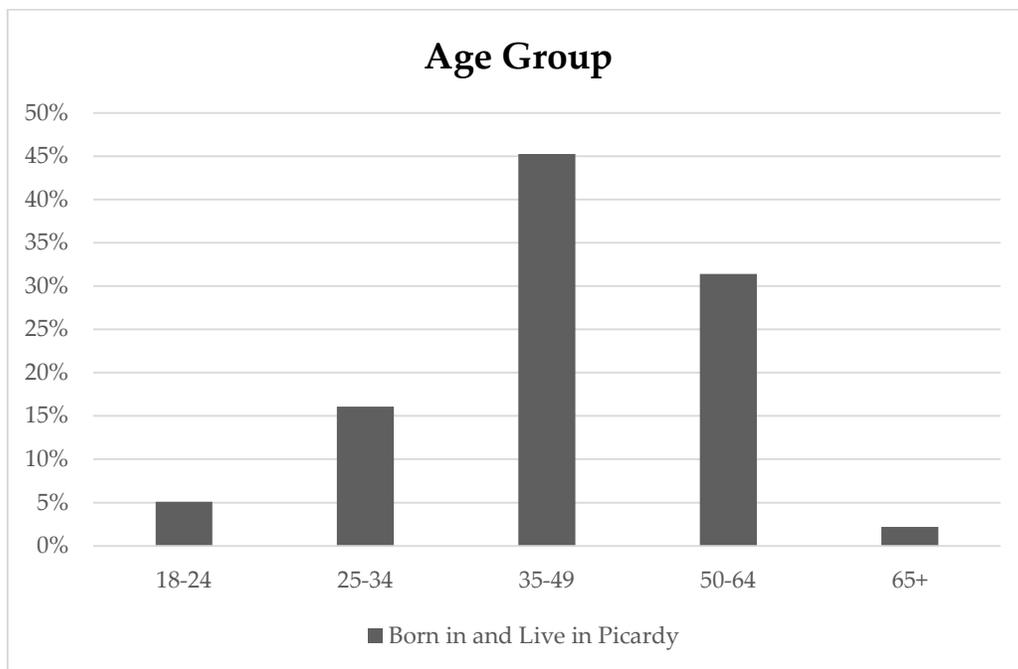
⁴ While the French administrative regions are fairly new entities, they were formed with existing *départements*; here, the notion of “born in and live in” relates to the *départements* that currently form the administrative region; therefore, a respondent over the age of 50 was not actually born in the region, but he or she was born in one of the *départemnets* that would come to form the region.



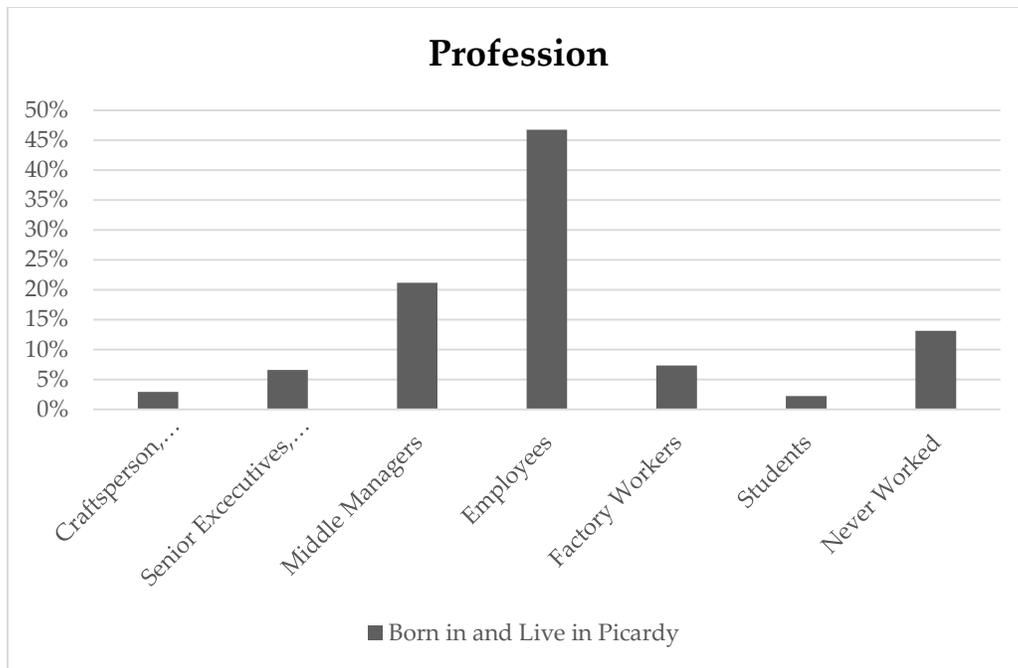
The sample broke down in the following manner for gender, age, profession and education: For gender, 43 (31.39%) were men and 94 (68.61%) were women;



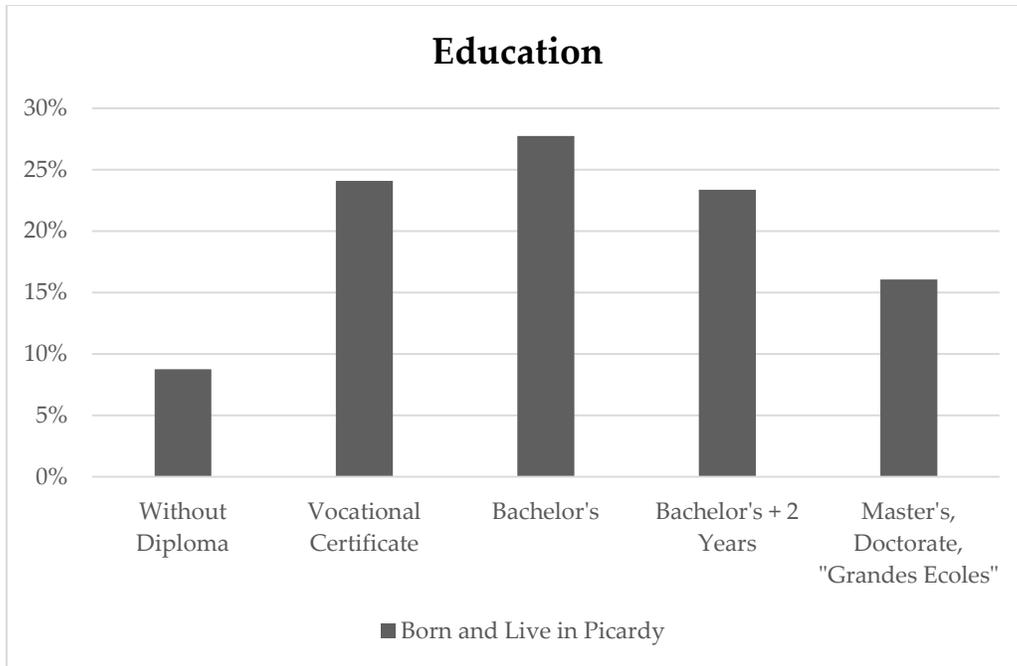
Regarding age, 7 (5.11%) were between 18 and 24 years of age, 22 (16.06%) were between 25 and 34-years-old, 62 (45.26%) were between 35 and 49 years of age, 43 (31.39%) were between 50 and 64-years-old and 3 (2.19%) were 65 years of age or older;



For profession, 4 (2.92%) worked as a craftsperson, storekeeper or company head, 9 (6.57%) were employed as senior executives or intellectual professionals, 29 (21.17%) were middle managers, 64 (46.72%) worked as employees, 10 (7.30%) were factory workers, 3 (2.19%) were students and 18 (13.14%) had never worked;

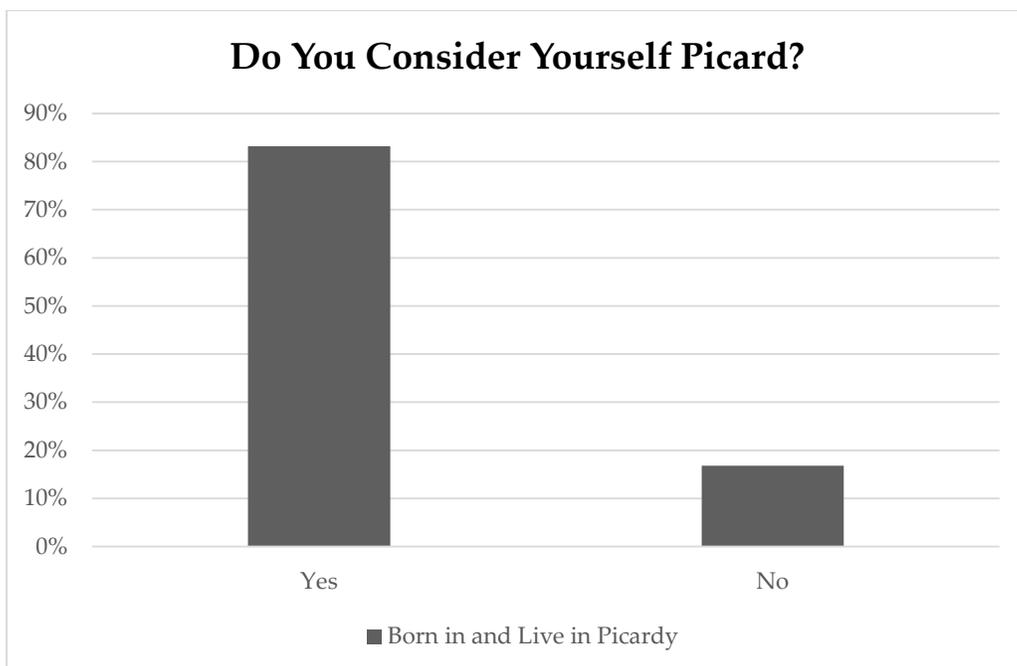


Concerning education and highest diploma earned, 12 (8.76%) held no diploma, 33 (24.09%) possessed a vocational certificate or a national vocational qualification, 38 (27.74%) held a Bachelor's degree, 32 (23.36%) possessed a Bachelor's degree plus two additional years, such as teachers and healthcare or social professionals, and 22 (16.06%) held Master's degrees, Doctorates or degrees from the *Grandes Ecoles*.

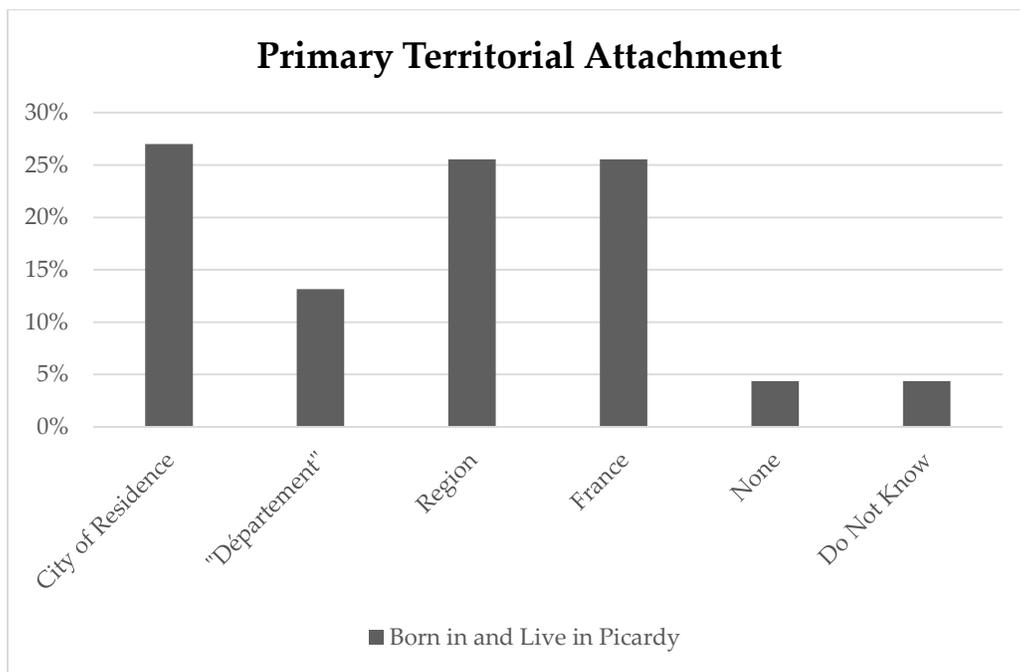


Regional Identity

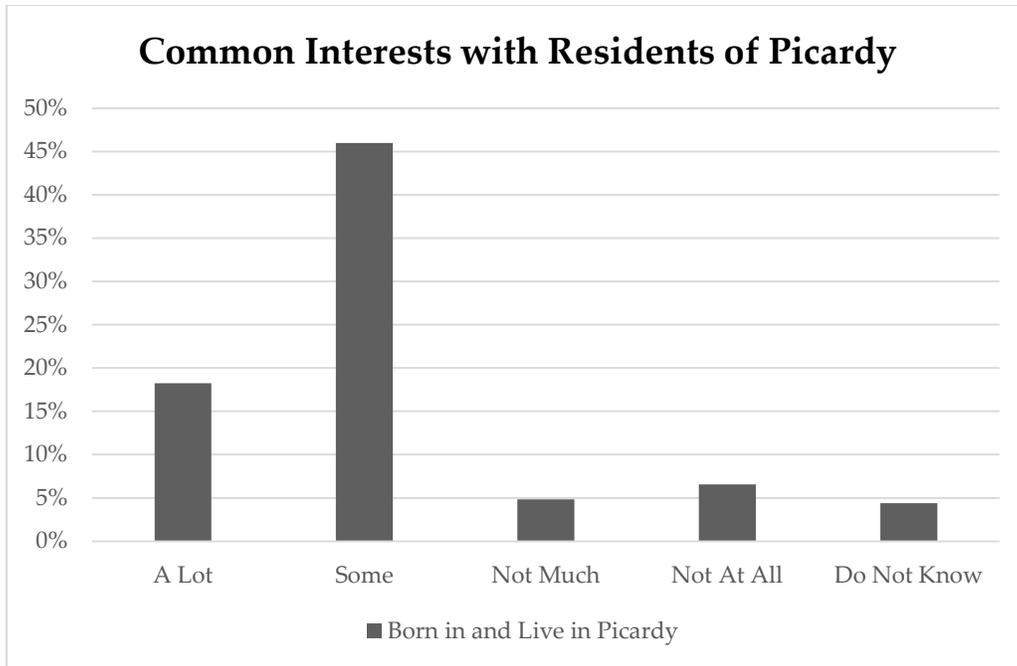
Of the 137 born in and live in Picardy participants, 114 (83.21%) considered themselves to be Picard, while 23 (16.79%) did not.



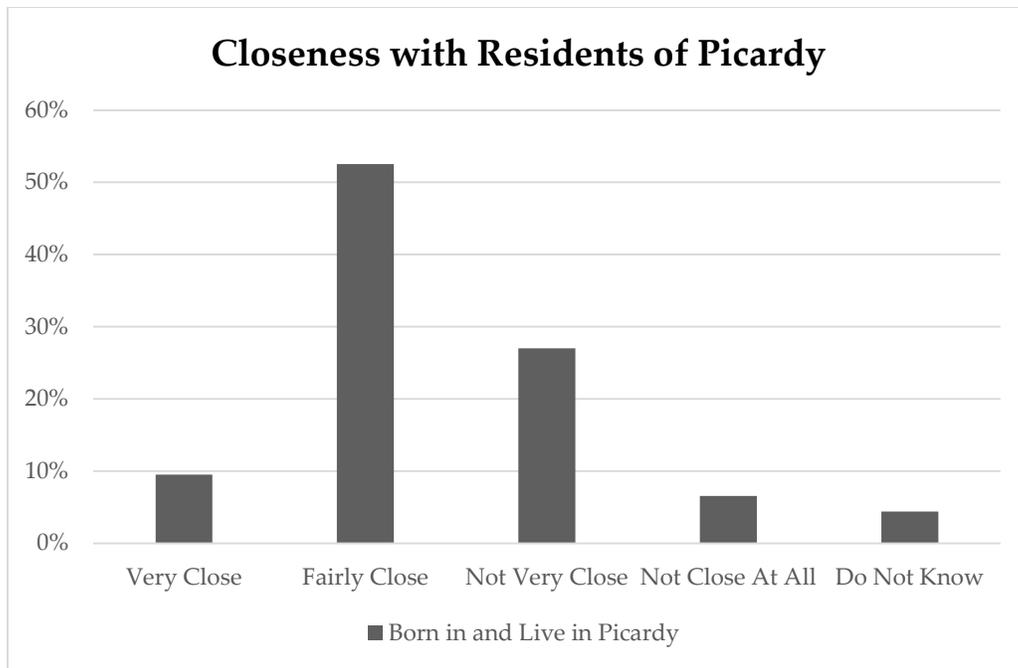
When asked to choose to which administrative territory they were primarily attached, 37 (27.01%) indicated “City of Residence”, 35 (25.55%) chose “Region”, another 35 (25.55%) selected “France”, 18 (13.14%) decided on “*Département*”, 6 (4.38%) chose “None” and another 6 (4.38%) settled on “Do Not Know”.



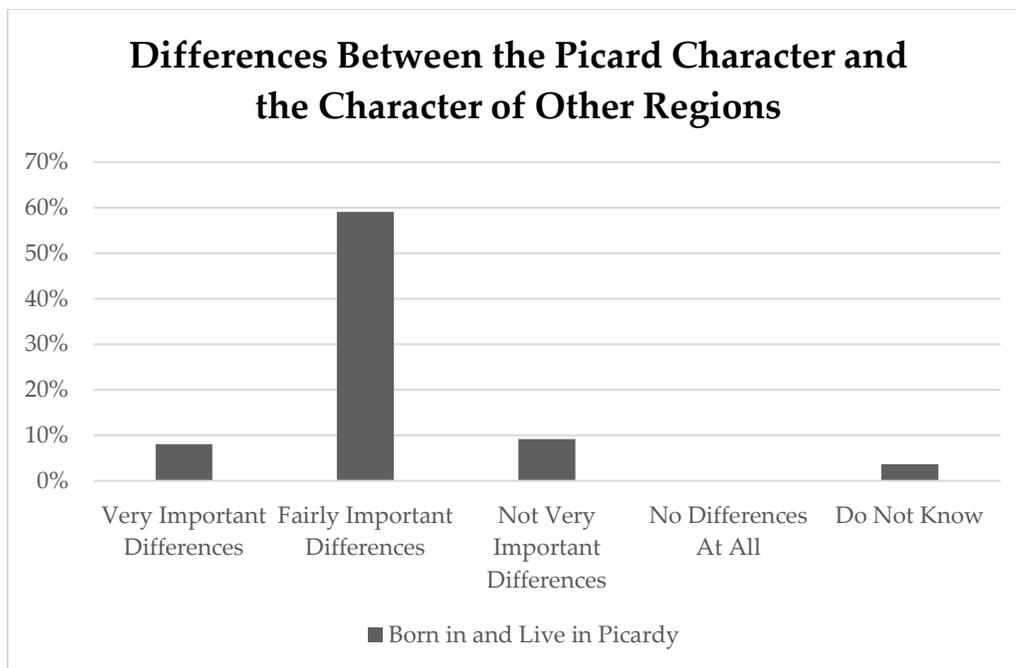
To the question regarding having common interests with other residents of Picardy, 63 (45.99%) indicated that they had “Some”, 34 (24.82%) reported “Not Much”, 25 (18.25%) stated “A Lot”, 9 (6.57%) reported “Not At All” and 6 (4.38%) indicated “Do Not Know”.



When asked how close respondents were to the other residents of Picardy, 72 (52.55%) chose “Fairly Close”, 37 (27.01%) selected “Not Very Close”, 13 (9.49%) picked “Very Close”, 9 (6.57%) settled on “Not Very Close At All” and 6 (4.38%) indicated “Do Not Know”.

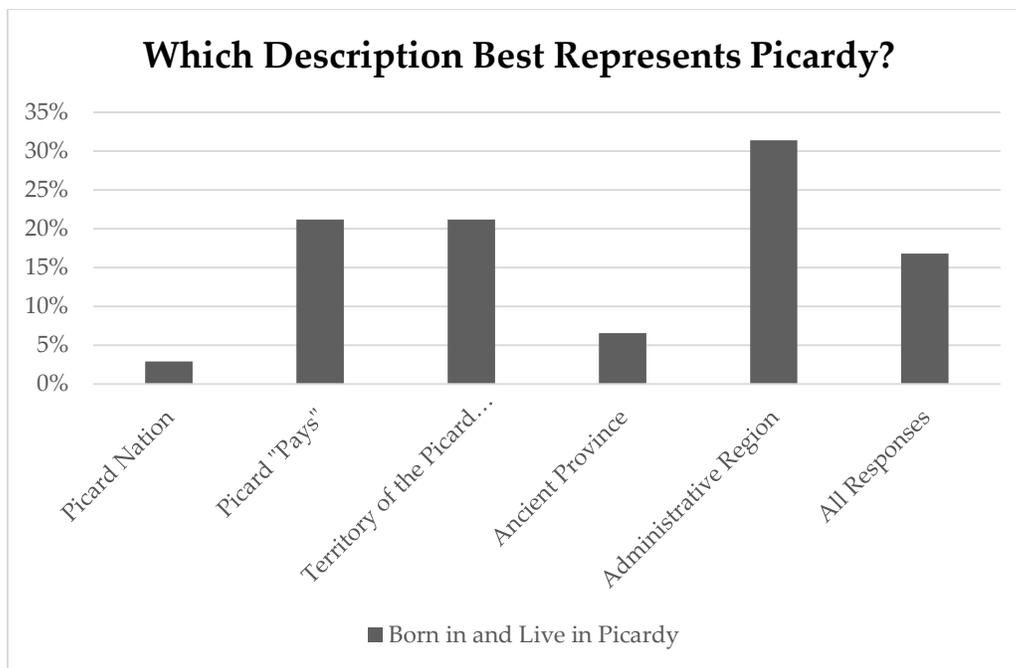


To the question inquiring about how the regional character of residents of Picardy differed from that of residents of other regions, 81 (59.12%) indicated that there were fairly important differences between Picards and the residents of other regions of France. However, 40 (29.20%) reported that there were not a lot of differences. Among the other respondents, 11 (8.03%) stated that there were very important differences, while 5 (3.65%) reported that they did not know.

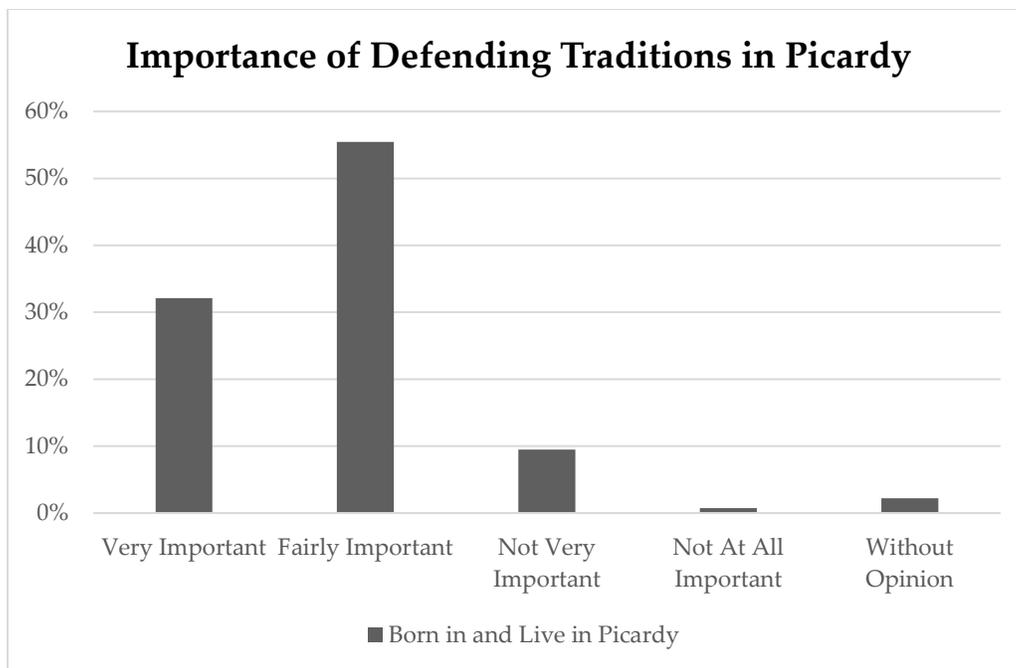


When asked to select the description that best represented Picardy for them, 43 (31.39%) responded “Administrative Region of the French Republic”, 29 (21.17%) indicated “the Picard *Pays*”⁵, another 29 (21.17%) reported “Territory of the Picard People”, 23 (16.79%) selected “All Responses”, 9 (6.57%) picked “Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France” and 4 (2.92%) decided on “Picard Nation”.

⁵ In French, the singular, *le pays picard*, and the plural, *les pays picards*, sound the same without the definite article “le/les” since the final “s” in “picards” is not pronounced. Since English neither requires the usage of this article nor the agreement of adjectives and nouns, the singular and plural “Picard *pays*” are written the same way since the term “pays” already ends in an “s”. Here, in the original French, the expression was written in both the singular and the plural – “le pays picard ou les pays picards” and the English translation should include that idea.

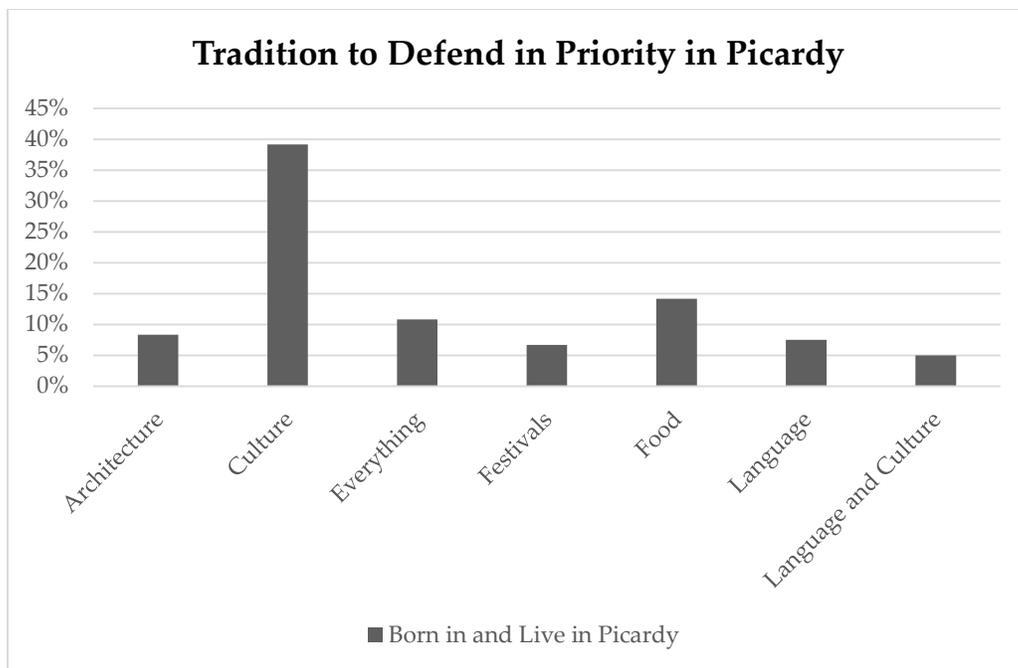


To the question regarding the importance of defending traditional elements in Picardy, 76 (55.47%) reported "Fairly Important", 44 (32.12%) indicated "Very Important", 13 (9.49%) responded "Not Very Important", 3 (2.19%) stated "Without Opinion" and 1 (0.73%) indicated "Not At All Important".



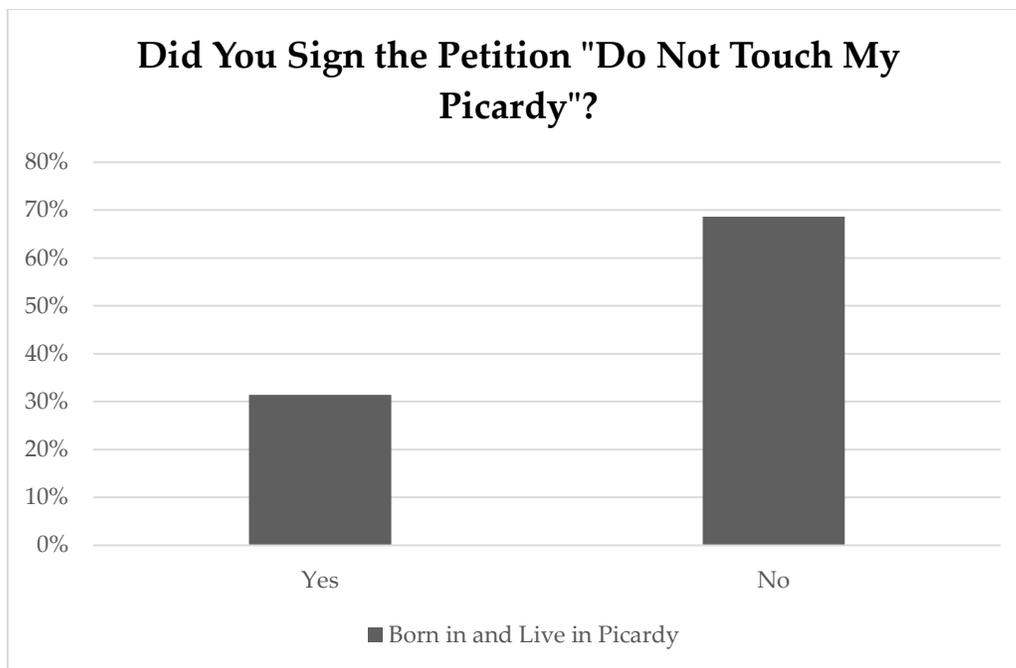
Respondents were then asked to name a tradition to defend in priority; 47 (39.17%) indicated “Culture”, 17 (14.17%) stated “Food”, 13 (10.83%) responded “Everything”, 10 (8.33%) replied “Architecture”, 9 (7.50%) reported “Language”, 8 (6.67%) indicated “Festivals” and 6 (5.00%) answered “Language and Culture”⁶.

⁶ While certain elements were suggested, respondents were able to suggest their own as well. These categories represent a synthesis of reported elements. When a respondent gave a list of several things, the first was recorded; however, when a respondent either stated, “Everything” or gave a list and stated, “Everything” at the end; “Everything” was simply recorded. In other words, “Everything” had to be specifically stated for the respondent’s response to be categorized as “Everything”; otherwise, only the first element was recorded. The only exception was for the mention of “Language” or “Dialect” since this study is mainly focused upon them/it. If a respondent gave a list that included one of the two terms anywhere within it, they were recorded. However, for the category “Language and Culture”, both terms had to be mentioned as the first two terms in either order for their response to be categorized as “Language and Culture”. As a result, since these categories represent a synthesis, the numbers and percentages can be unequal to the actual number of respondents involved; furthermore, not all respondents

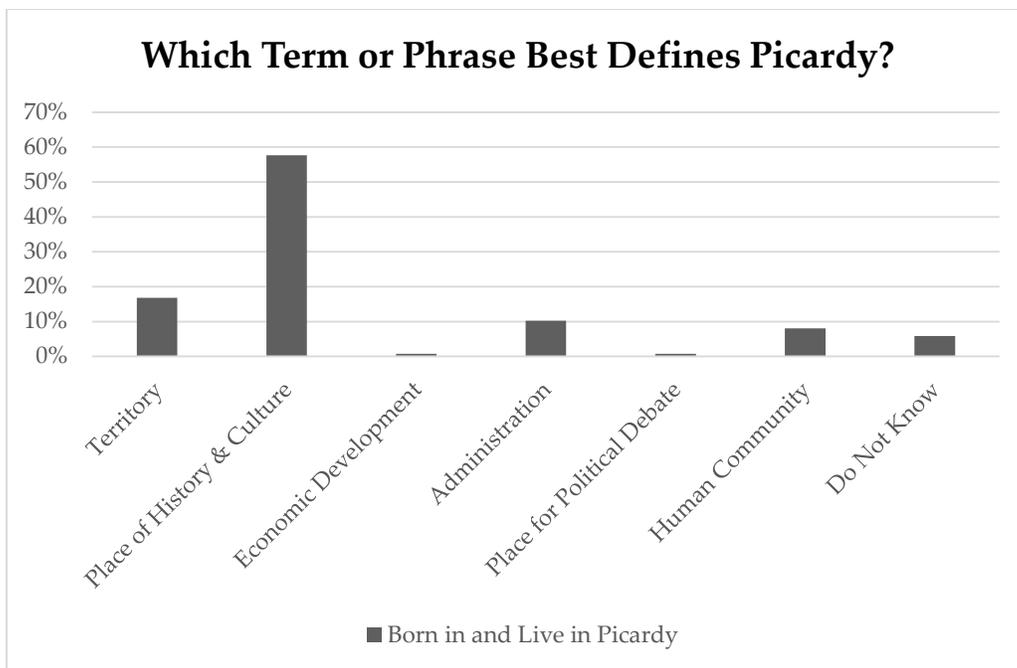


When asked if the participant signed the “Do Not Touch My Picardy Petition”, 94 (68.61%) responded “No” and 43 (31.39%) answered “Yes”.

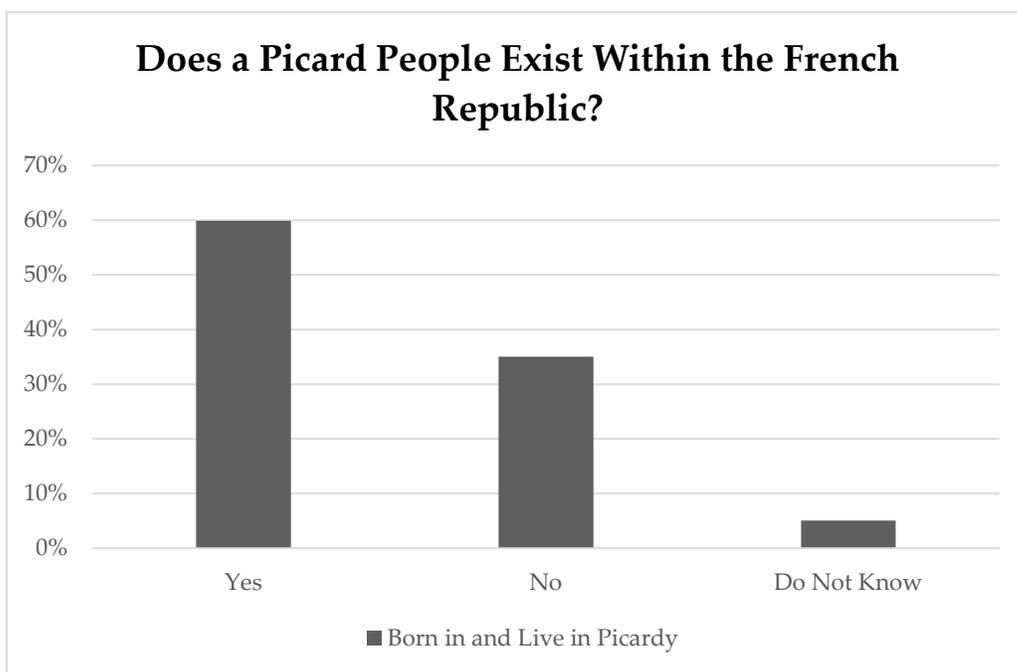
provided an understandable answer; the compiled list maybe somewhat different for each sample. Each list will appear in alphabetical order.



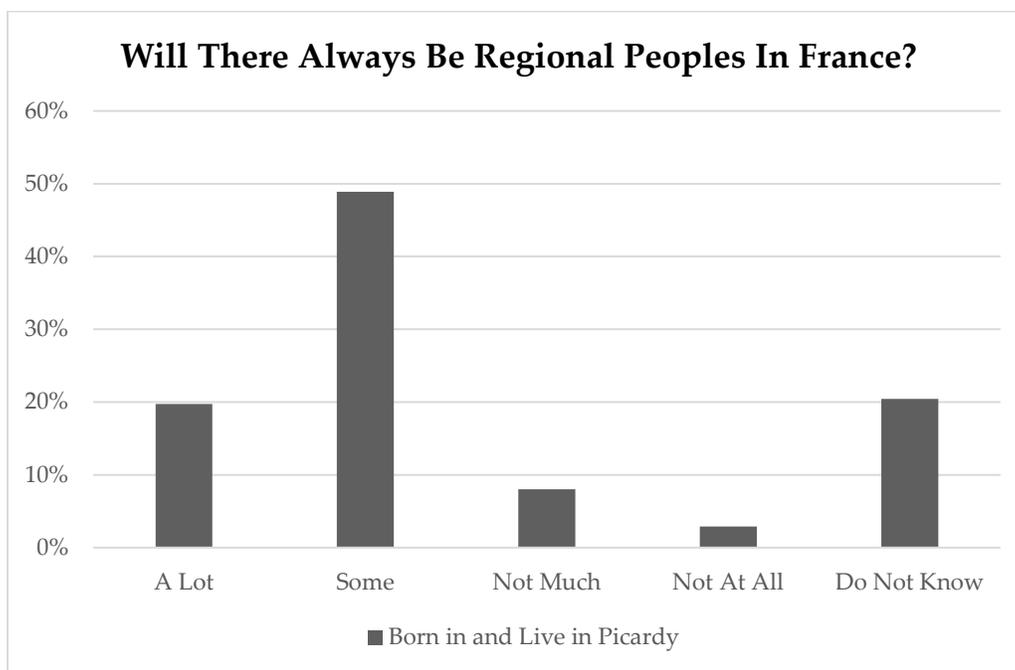
To the question asking the respondent to indicate which term or phrase best defined Picardy, 79 (16.79%) selected "Place of History and Culture", 23 (16.79%) chose "Territory", 14 (10.22%) picked "Administration", 11 (8.03%) decided on "Human Community", 8 (5.84%) settled on "Do Not Know", 1 (0.73%) indicated "Place for Economic Development" and another 1 (0.73%) chose "Place for Political Debate".



When asked whether there existed a Picard people within the French Republic, 82 (59.85%) responded “Yes”, 48 (35.04%) indicated “No” and 7 (5.11%) replied “Do Not Know”.

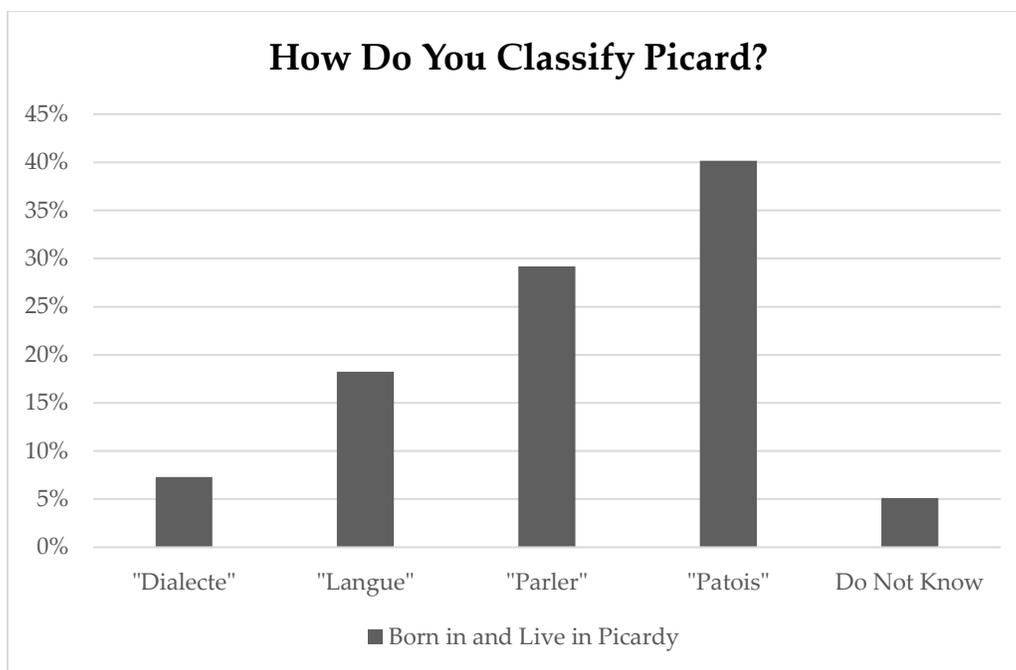


To the question concerning whether France will always contain regional peoples or groups in terms of traditions, customs and dialects, such as the Alsatians, Basques, Bretons, Burgundians, Flemish, Normans, Picards and Provençaux, mentioned in the 17th century, 67 (48.91%) responded “Some”, 28 (20.44%) indicated “Do Not Know”, 27 (19.71%) stated “A Lot”, 11 (8.03%) replied “Not Much” and 4 (2.92%) answered “Not At All”.



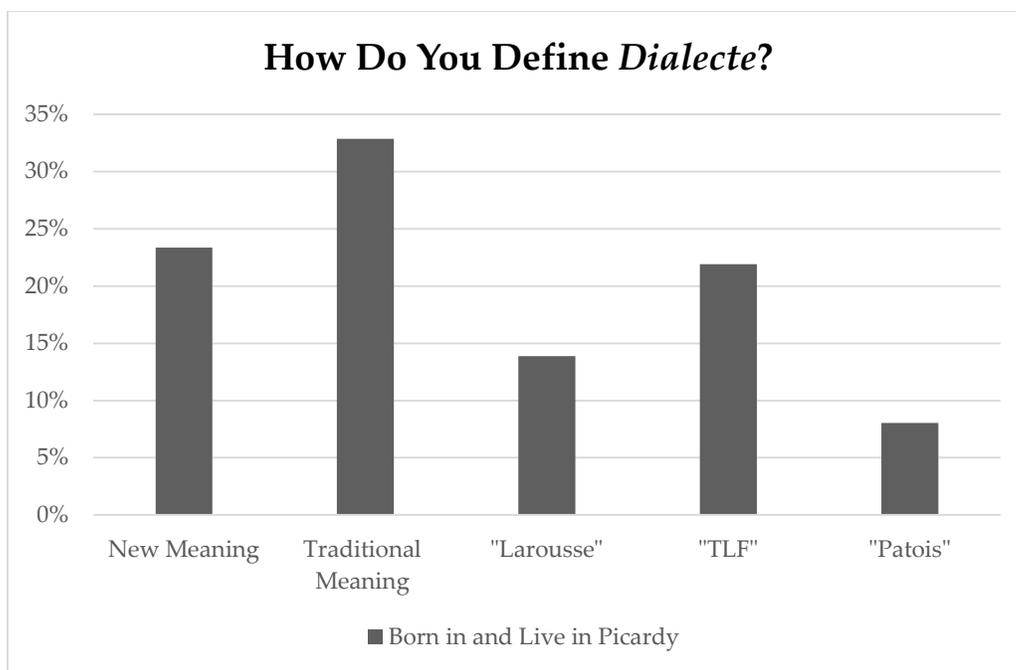
Picard Language and French Language Ideology

To the question regarding the classification of Picard, 55 (40.15%) decided on “Patois”, 40 (29.20%) selected “Parler”, 25 (18.25%) picked “Langue”, 10 (7.30%) chose “Dialecte” and 7 (5.11%) specified “Do Not Know”.

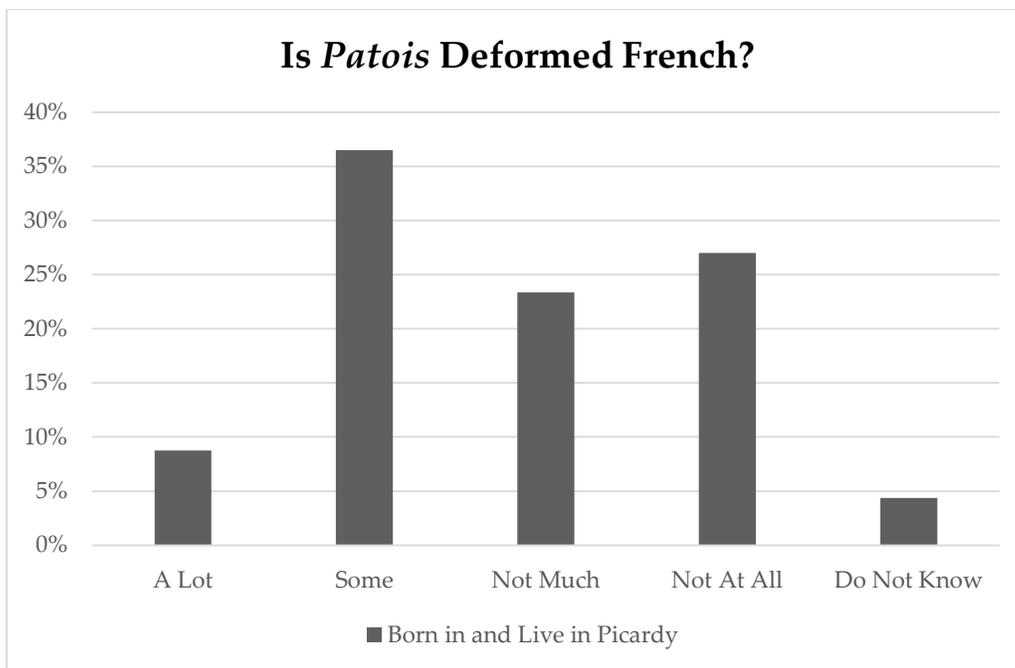


When asked to define *dialecte*, 45 (32.85%) chose the traditional response, 32 (23.36%) selected the new meaning, 30 (21.90%) decided on the definition of the *Trésor de la langue française*, 19 (13.87%) picked the definition used in *Larousse* and 11 (8.03%) selected *patois*⁷.

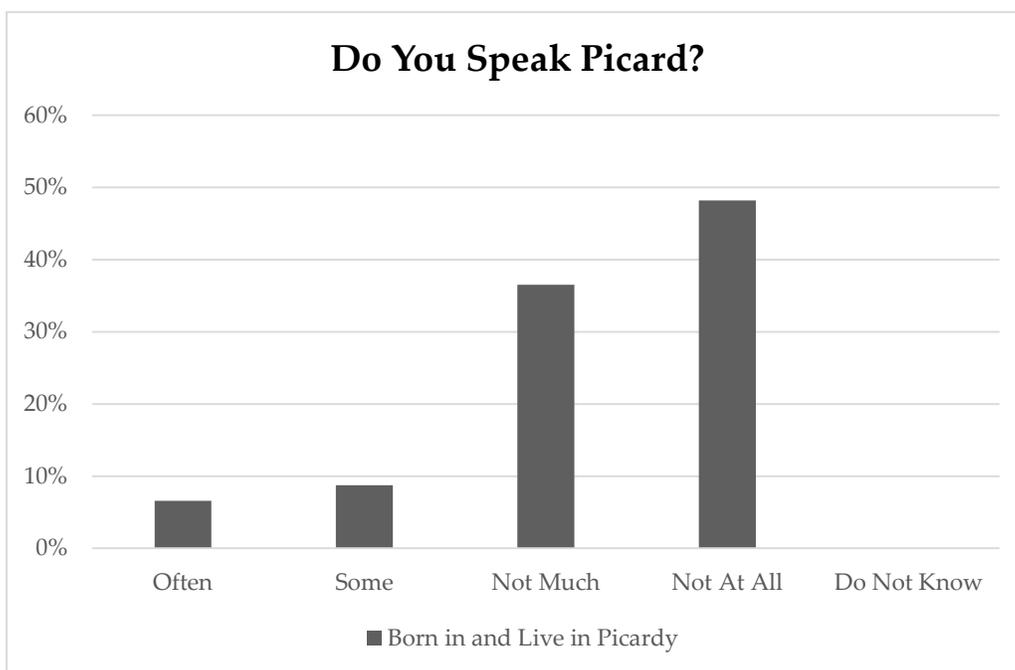
⁷ These were not the definitions used; they are simply an easier way of listing them.



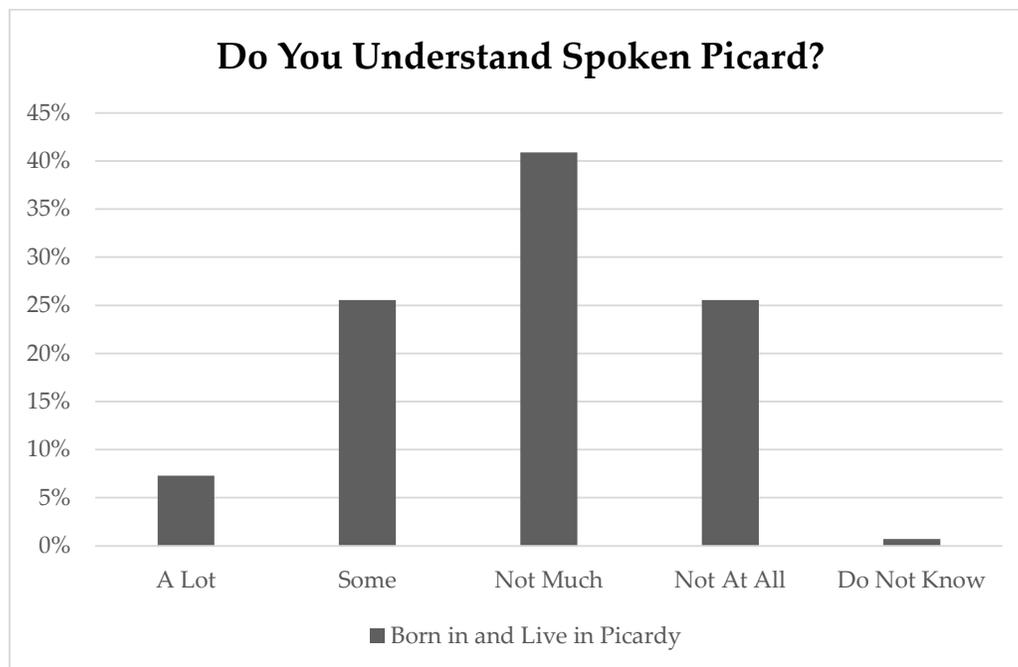
To the question asking the participant if *patois* was deformed French, 50 (36.50%) indicated "Some", 37 (27.01%) responded "Not At All", 32 (23.36%) replied "Not Much", 12 (8.76%) stated "Very Much" and 6 (4.38%) chose "Do Not Know".



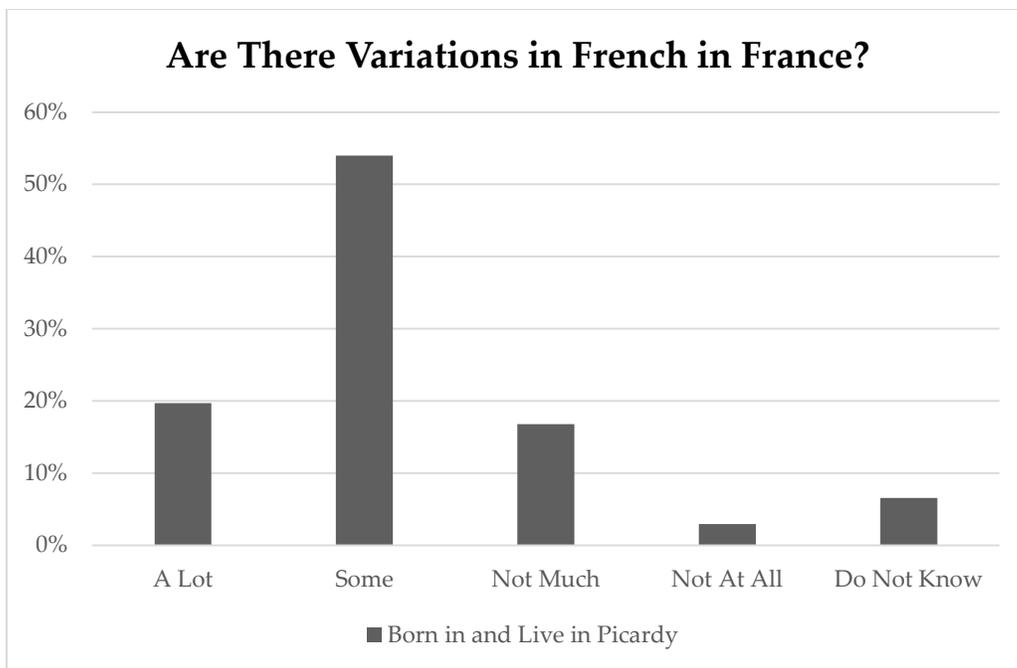
When asking the respondent to report his or her ability to speak Picard, 66 (48.18%) responded "Not At All", 50 (36.50%) indicated "Not Much", 12 (8.76%) specified "Some" and 9 (6.57%) replied "Often".



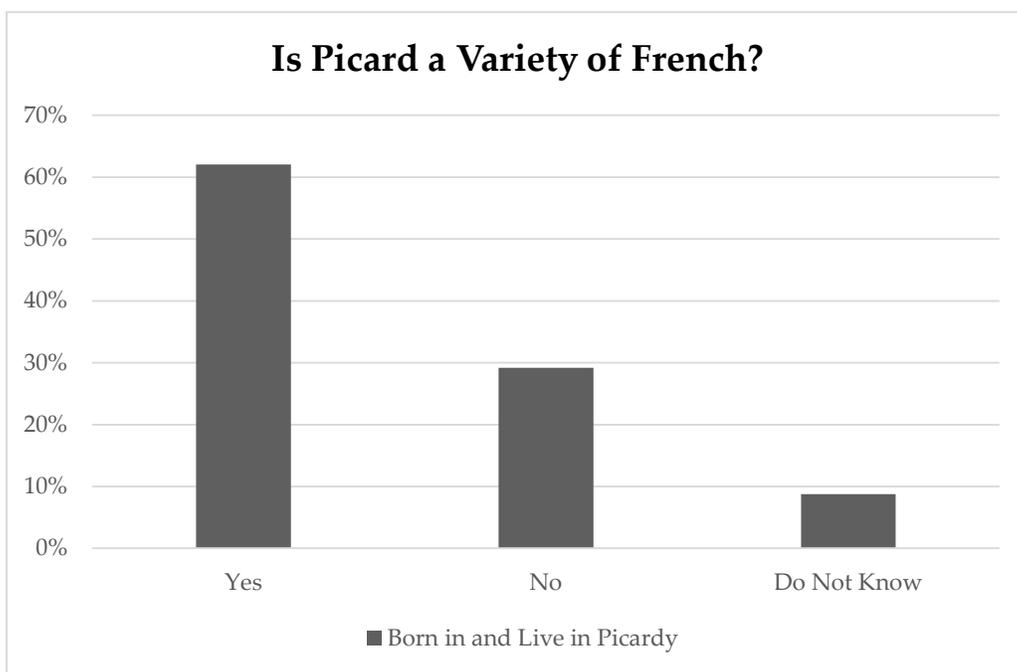
When asked if the participant could understand spoken Picard, 56 (40.88%) specified “Not Much”, 35 (25.55%) responded “Some”, another 35 (25.55%) indicated “Not At All”, 10 (7.30%) replied “A Lot” and 1 (0.73%) chose “Do Not Know”.



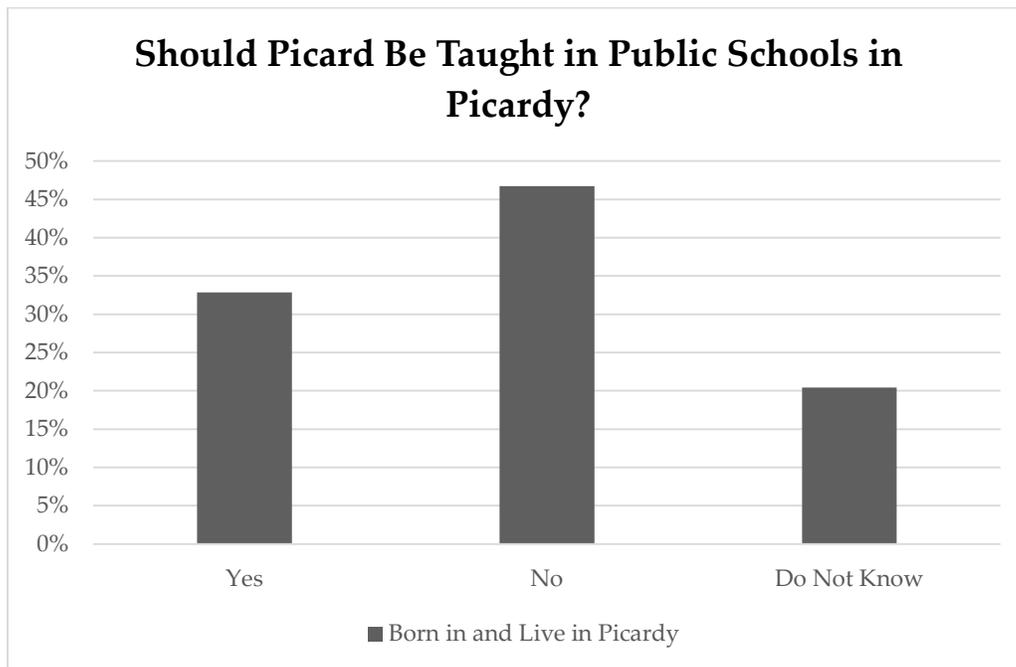
When asked if variations occurred in French in France, 74 (54.01%) indicated “Some”, 27 (19.71%) selected “A Lot”, 23 (16.95%) stated “Not Much”, 9 (6.57%) picked “Do Not Know” and 4 (2.92%) specified “Not At All”.



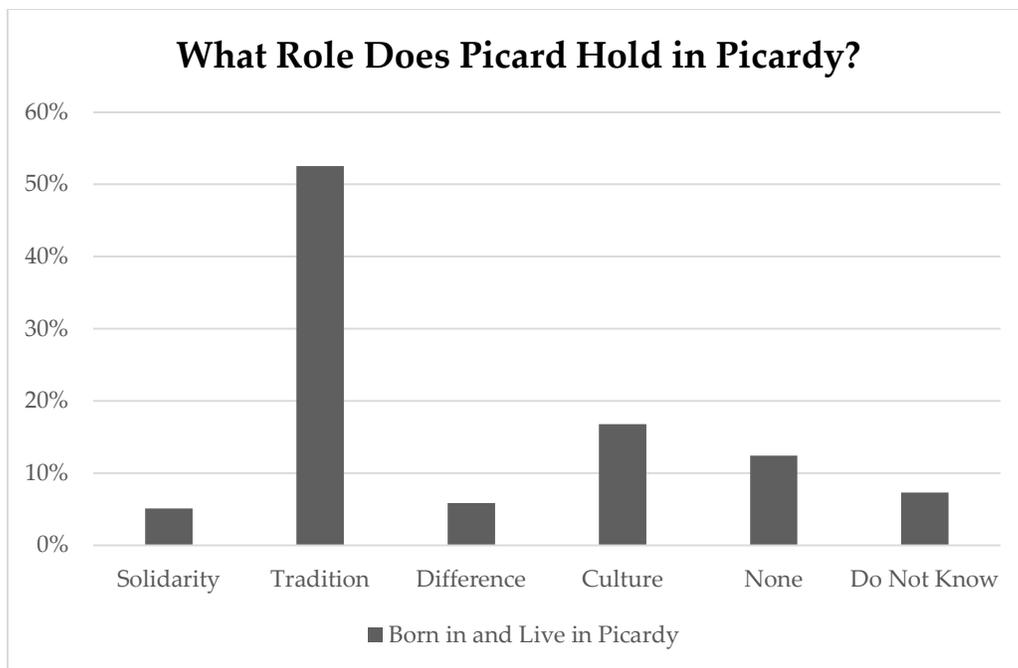
To the question asking whether Picard was a variety of French, 85 (62.04%) responded "Yes", 40 (29.20%) specified "No" and 12 (8.76%) replied "Do Not Know".



When asked whether Picard should be taught in public schools in Picardy, 64 (46.72%) indicated “No”, 45 (32.85%) responded “Yes” and 28 (20.44%) replied “Do Not Know”.

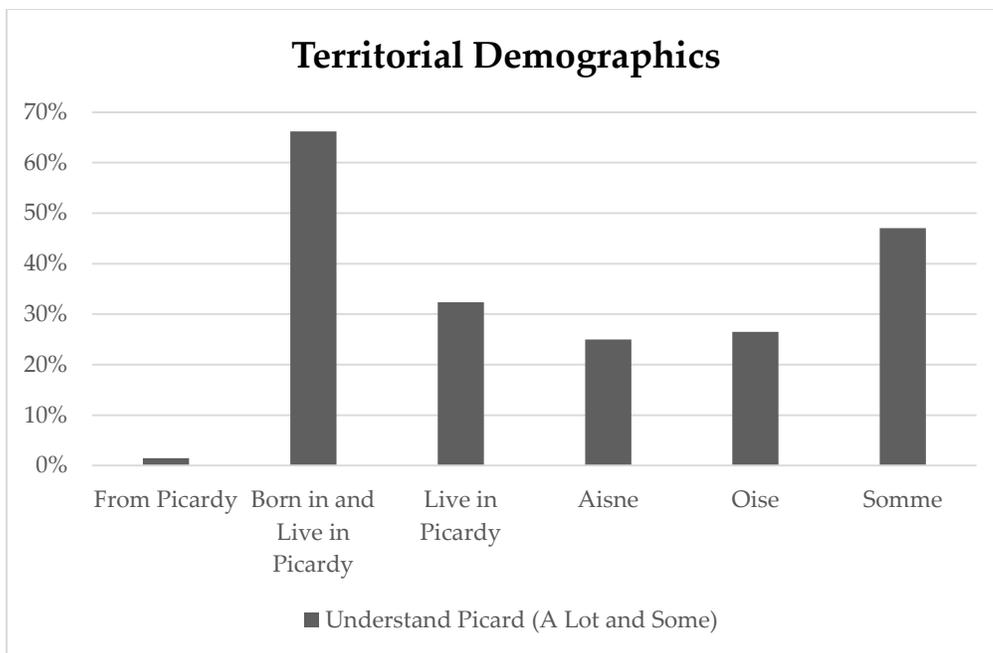


When asked what role Picard held in Picardy, 72 (52.55%) selected “Tradition”, 23 (16.79%) chose “Culture”, 17 (12.41%) decided on “None”, 10 (7.30%) picked “Do Not Know”, 8 (5.84%) decided on “Difference” and 7 (5.11%) chose “Solidarity”.

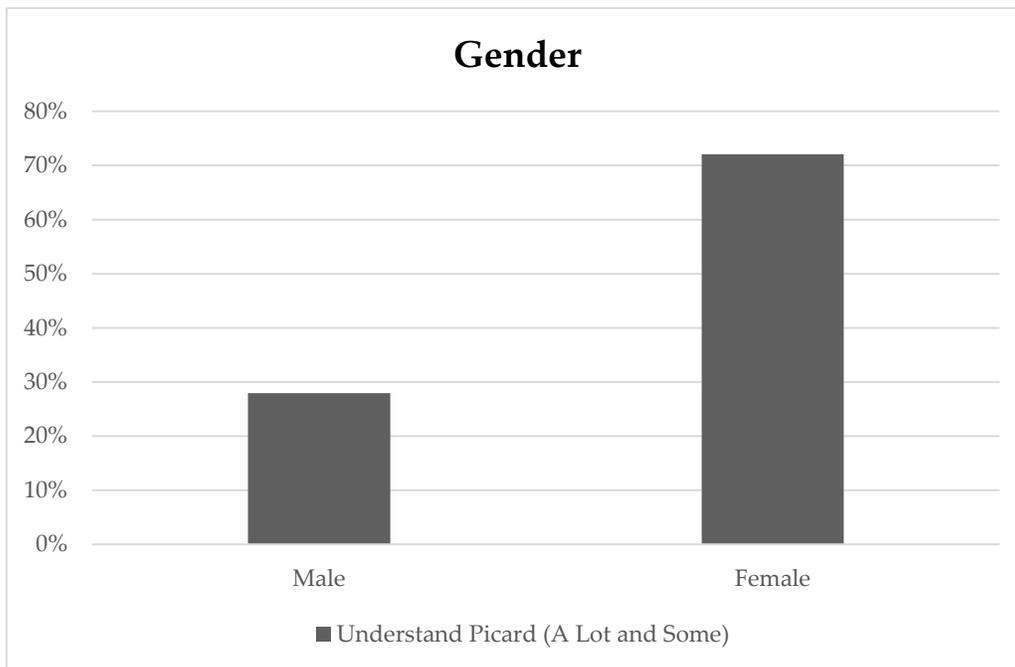


Picardy: Understand Spoken Picard, A Lot and Some

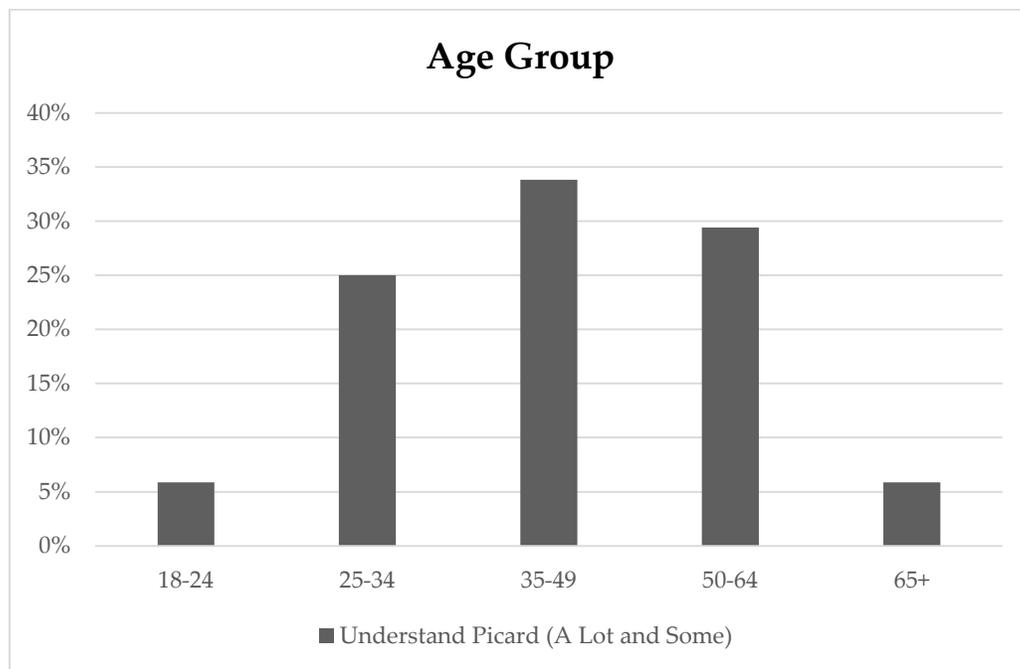
Among the 68 Picard respondents who reported understanding – a lot or some – spoken Picard, 1 (1.47%) was born in Picardy, but now resides in another region, 45 (66.18%) were both born in and live in Picardy and 22 (32.35%) live in Picardy, but were born in another region. Of these participants, 17 (25.00%) live in the *Aisne département*, 18 (26.47%) in the *Oise*, 32 (47.06%) in the *Somme* and 1 (1.47%) outside of Picardy and one of its three *départements*. Thirteen respondents reported being regional activists: 10 cultural, 2 linguistic and 1 political.



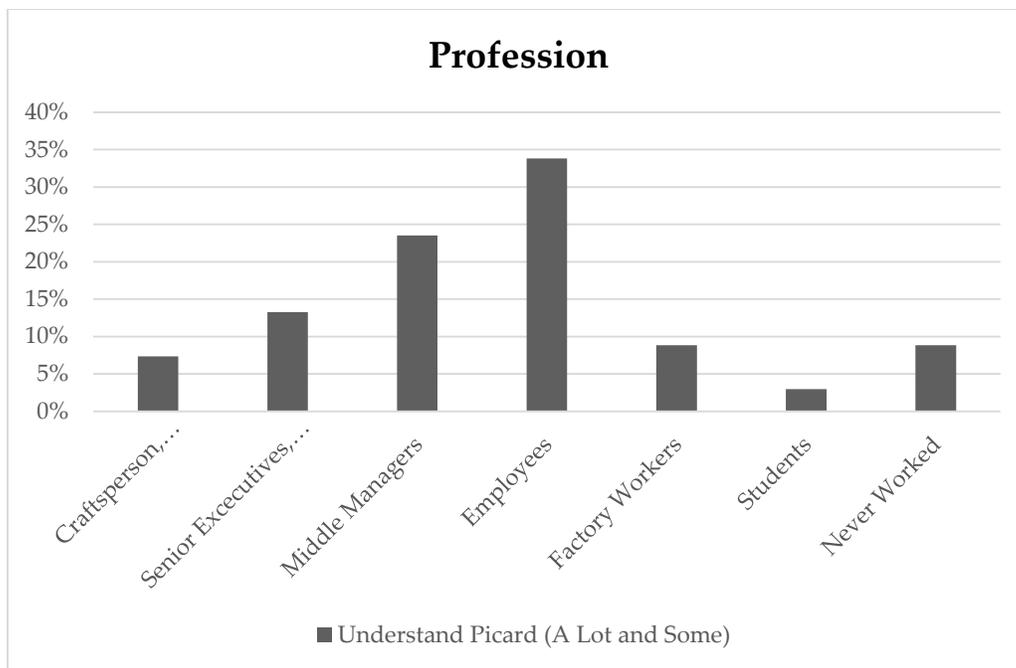
The sample broke down in the following manner for gender, age, profession and education: For gender, 19 (27.94%) were men and 49 (72.06%) were women;



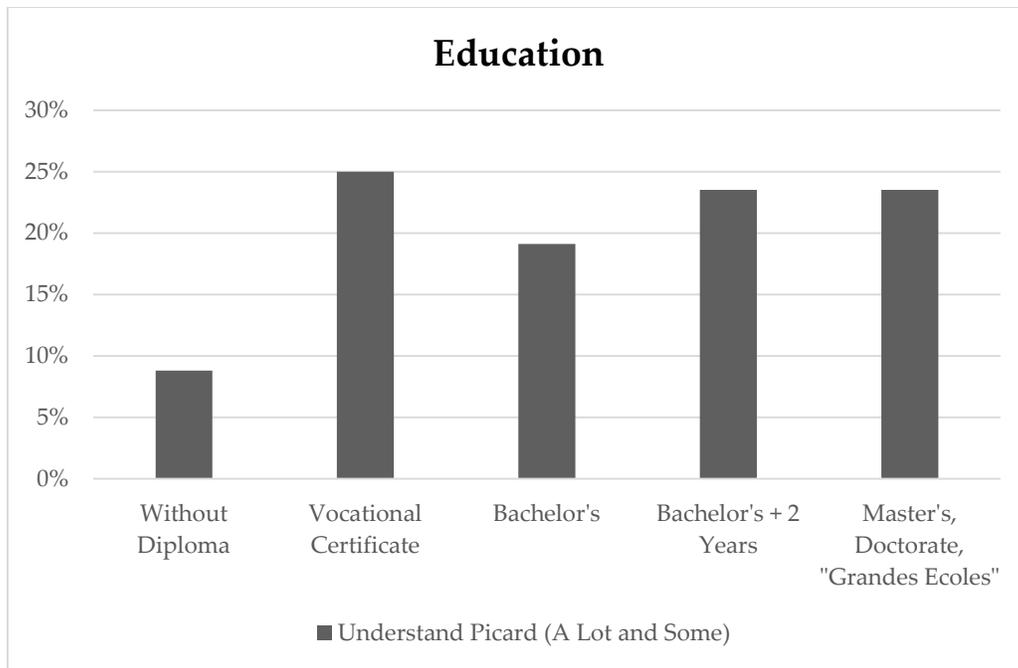
Regarding age, 4 (5.88%) were between 18 and 24 years of age, 17 (25.00%) were between 25 and 34-years-old, 23 (33.82%) were between 35 and 49 years of age, 20 (29.41%) were between 50 and 64-years-old and 4 (5.88%) were 65 years of age or older;



For profession, 5 (7.35%) worked as a craftsperson, storekeeper or company head, 9 (13.24%) were employed as senior executives or intellectual professionals, 16 (23.53%) were middle managers, 23 (33.82%) worked as employees, 6 (8.82%) were factory workers, 2 (2.94%) were students and 7 (10.29%) had never worked;

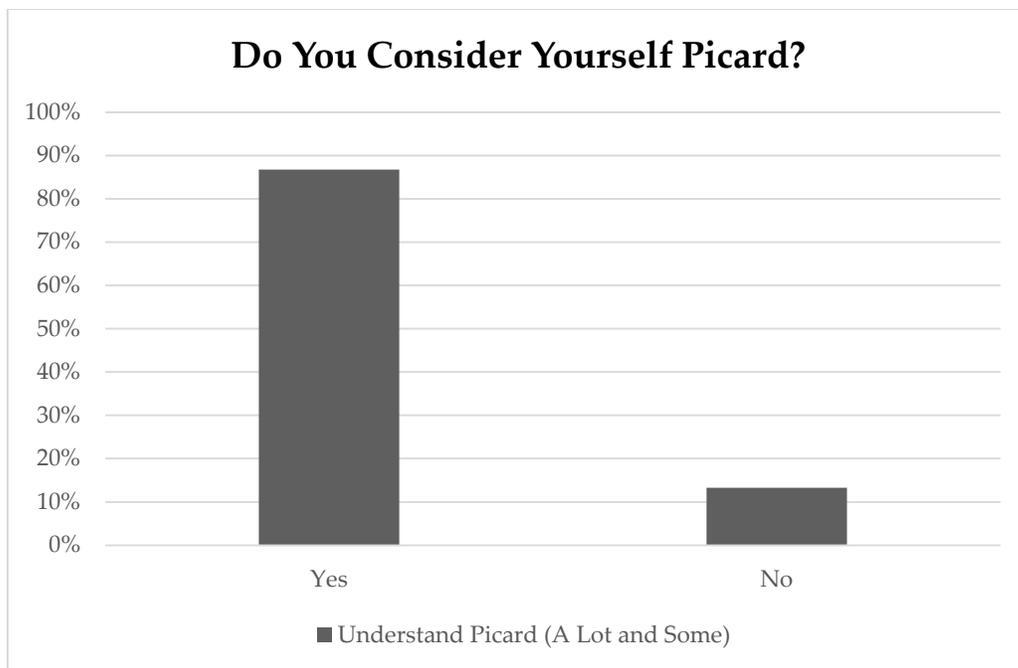


Concerning education and highest diploma earned, 6 (8.82%) held no diploma, 17 (25.00%) possessed a vocational certificate or a national vocational qualification, 13 (19.12%) held a Bachelor's degree, 14 (23.53%) possessed a Bachelor's degree plus two additional years, such as teachers and healthcare or social professionals, and 16 (23.53%) held Master's degrees, Doctorates or degrees from the *Grandes Ecoles*.

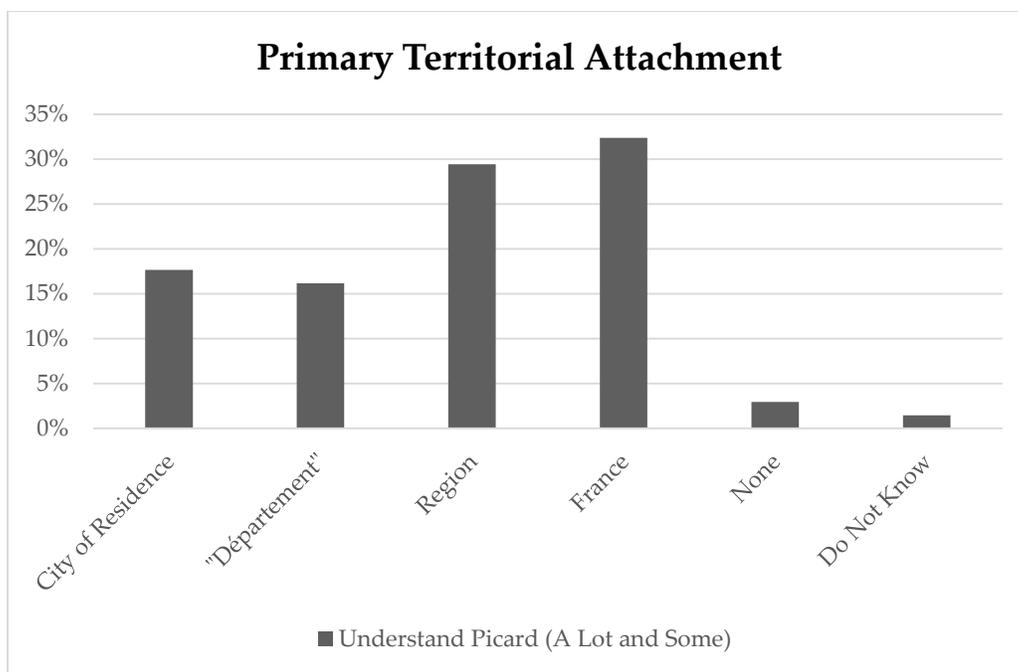


Regional Identity

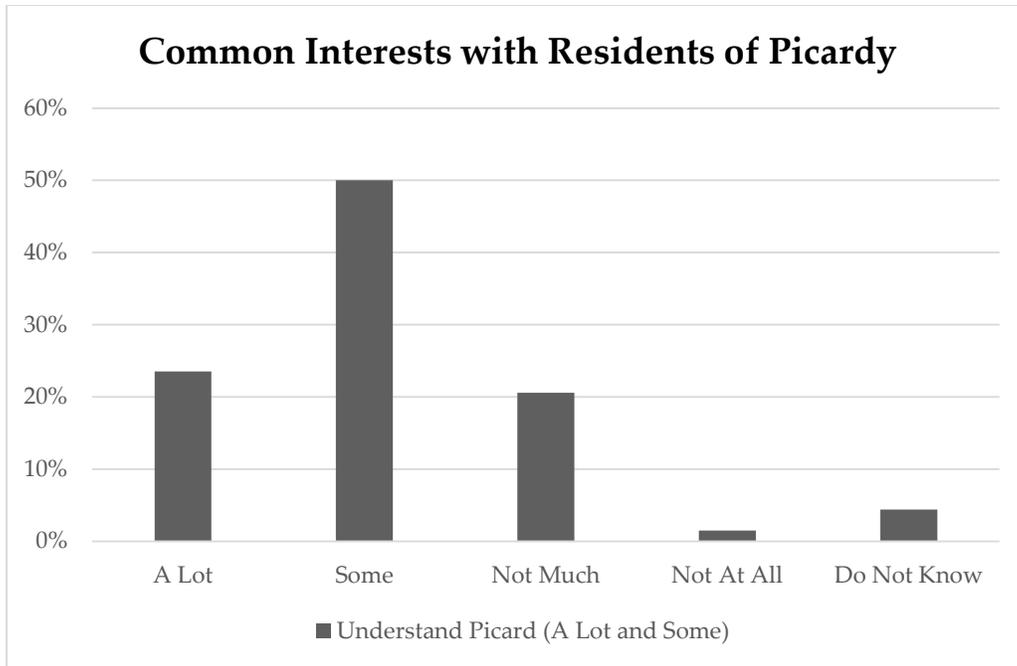
Among the 68 participants who reported understanding either a lot or some spoken Picard, 59 (86.76%) considered themselves to be Picard, while 9 (13.24%) did not.



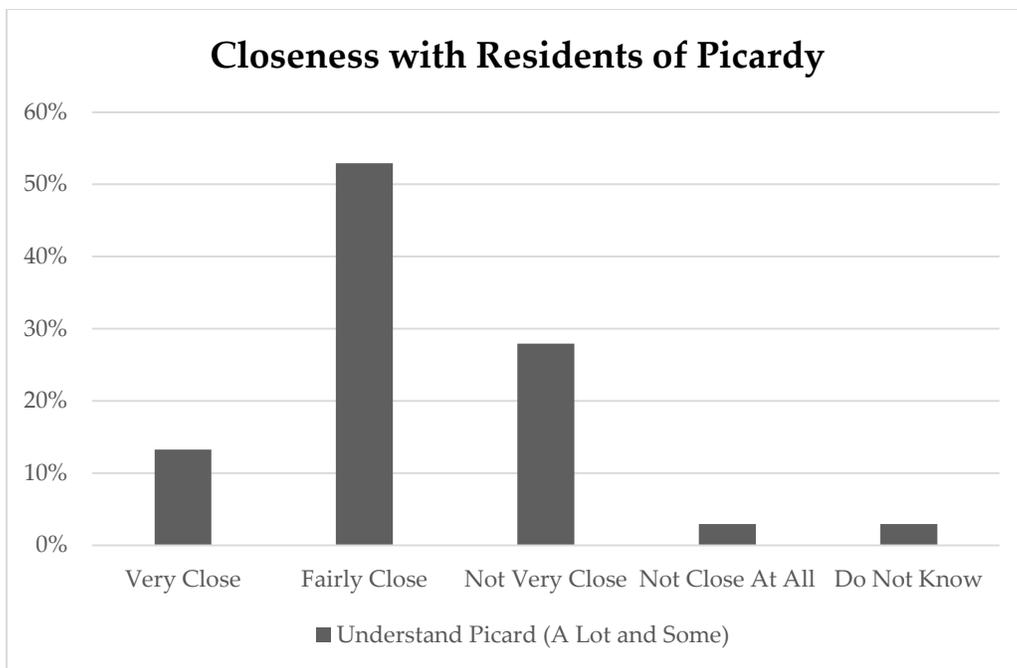
When asked to choose to which administrative territory they were primarily attached, 22 (32.35%) picked "France", 20 (29.41%) selected "Region", 12 (17.65%) chose "City of Residence", 11 (16.18%) settled on "Département", 2 (2.94%) specified "None" and 1 (1.47%) decided on "Do Not Know".



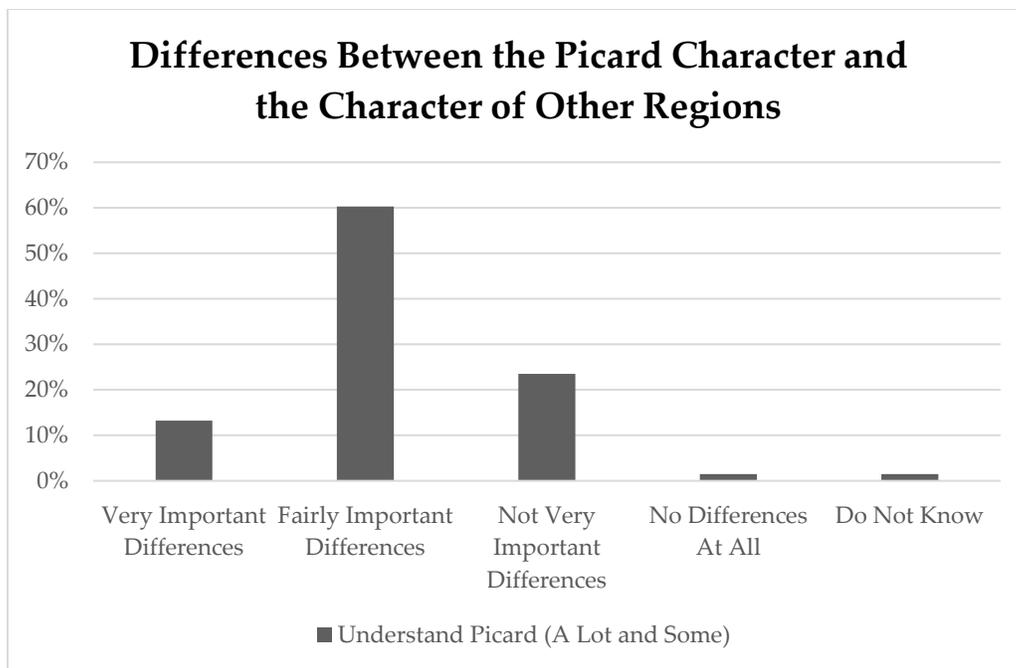
To the question regarding having common interests with other residents of Picardy, 34 (50.00%) indicated that they had "Some", 16 (23.53%) reported "A Lot", 14 (20.59%) stated "Not Much", 3 (4.41%) answered "Do Not Know" and 1 (1.47%) replied "Not At All".



When asked how close respondents were to the other residents of Picardy, 36 (52.94%) chose “Fairly Close”, 19 (27.94%) selected “Not Very Close”, 9 (13.24%) picked “Very Close”, 2 (2.94%) decided on “Not Very Close At All” and another 2 (2.94%) specified “Do Not Know”.

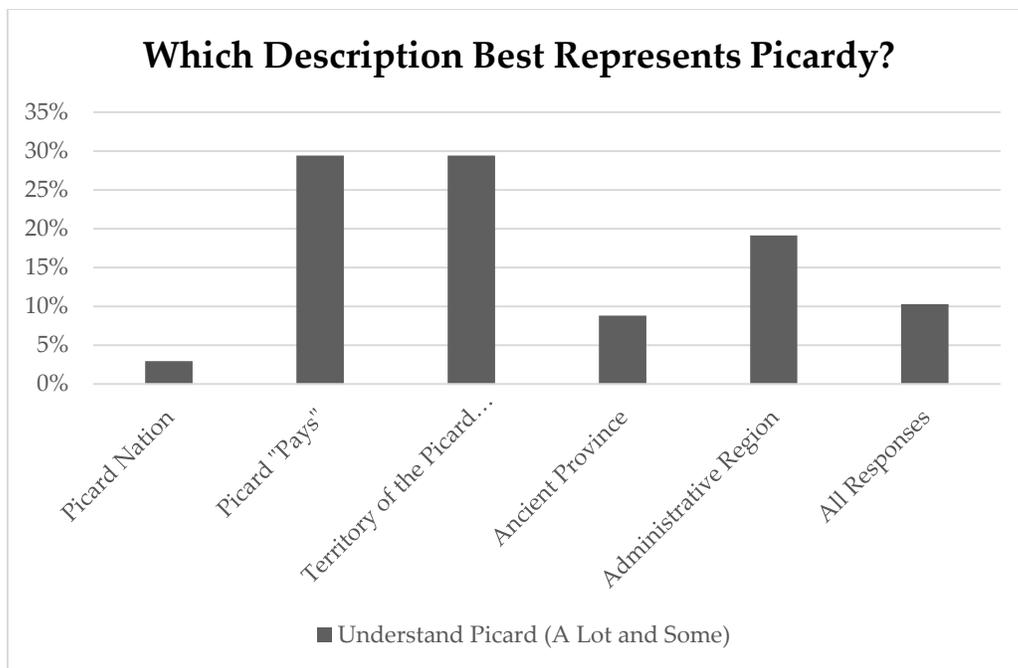


To the question inquiring about how the regional character of residents of Picardy differed from that of residents of other regions, 41 (60.29%) indicated that there were fairly important differences between Picards and the residents of other regions of France. However, 16 (23.53%) reported that there were not a lot of differences. Among the other respondents, 9 (13.24%) stated that there were very important differences, while 1 (1.47%) reported no differences and 1 (1.47%) did not know.

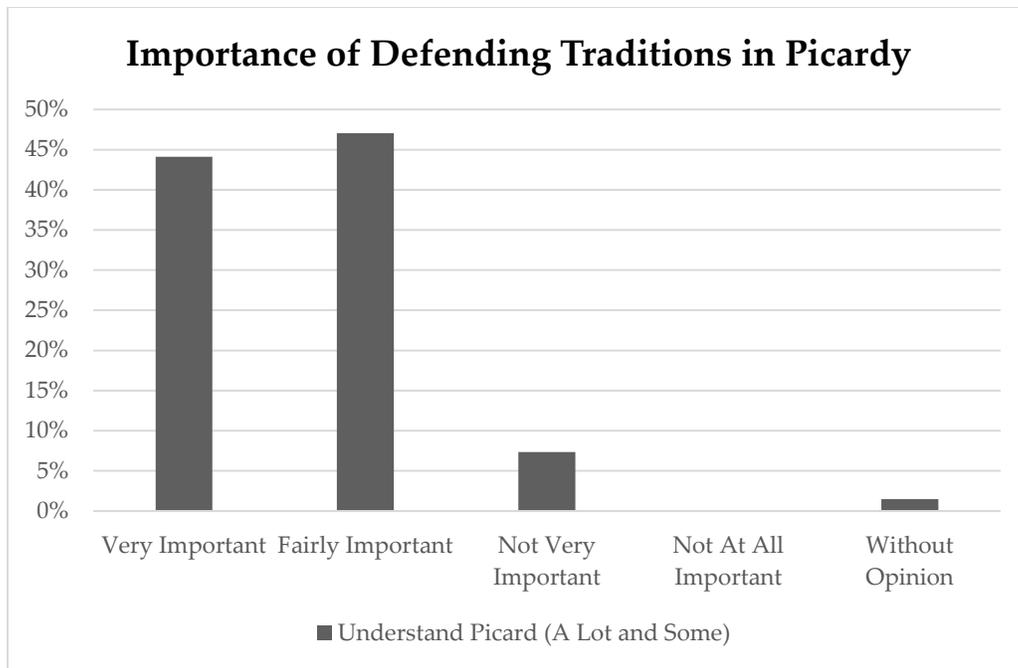


When asked to select the description that best represented Picardy for them, 20 (29.41%) responded “the Picard *Pays*”⁸, another 20 (29.41%) indicated “Territory of the Picard People”, 13 (19.12%) reported “Administrative Region of the French Republic”, 7 (10.29%) selected “All Responses”, 6 (8.82%) picked “Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France” and 2 (2.94%) decided on “Picard Nation”.

⁸ In French, the singular, *le pays picard*, and the plural, *les pays picards*, sound the same without the definite article “le/les” since the final “s” in “picards” is not pronounced. Since English neither requires the usage of this article nor the agreement of adjectives and nouns, the singular and plural “Picard *pays*” are written the same way since the term “pays” already ends in an “s”. Here, in the original French, the expression was written in both the singular and the plural – “le pays picard ou les pays picards” and the English translation should include that idea.

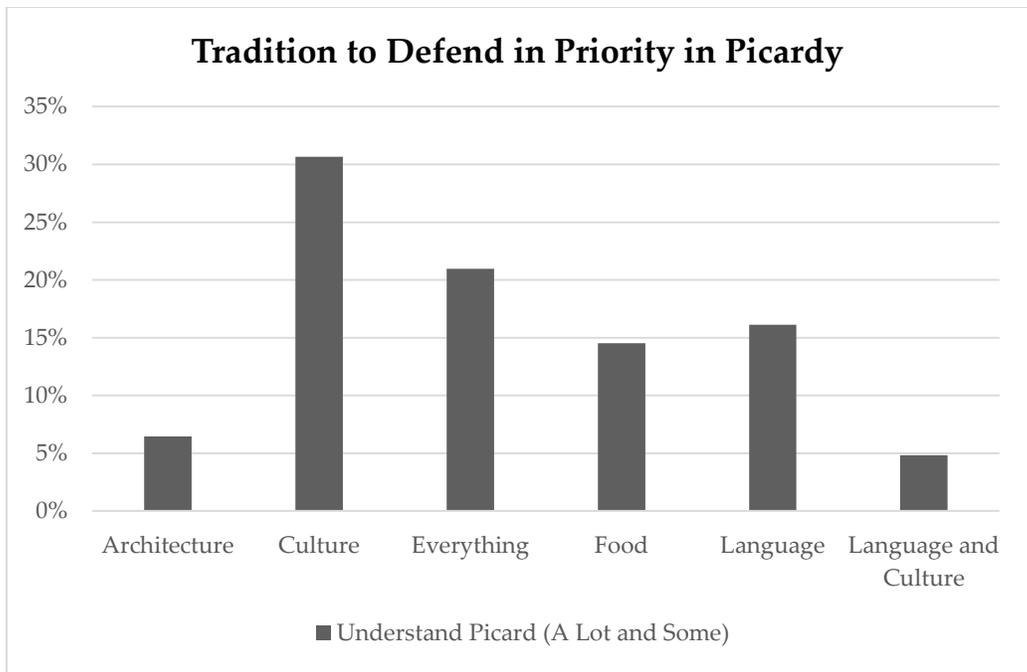


To the question regarding the importance of defending traditional elements in Picardy, 32 (47.06%) reported "Fairly Important", 30 (44.12%) indicated "Very Important", 5 (7.35%) responded "Not Very Important At All" and 1 (1.47%) replied "Without Opinion".

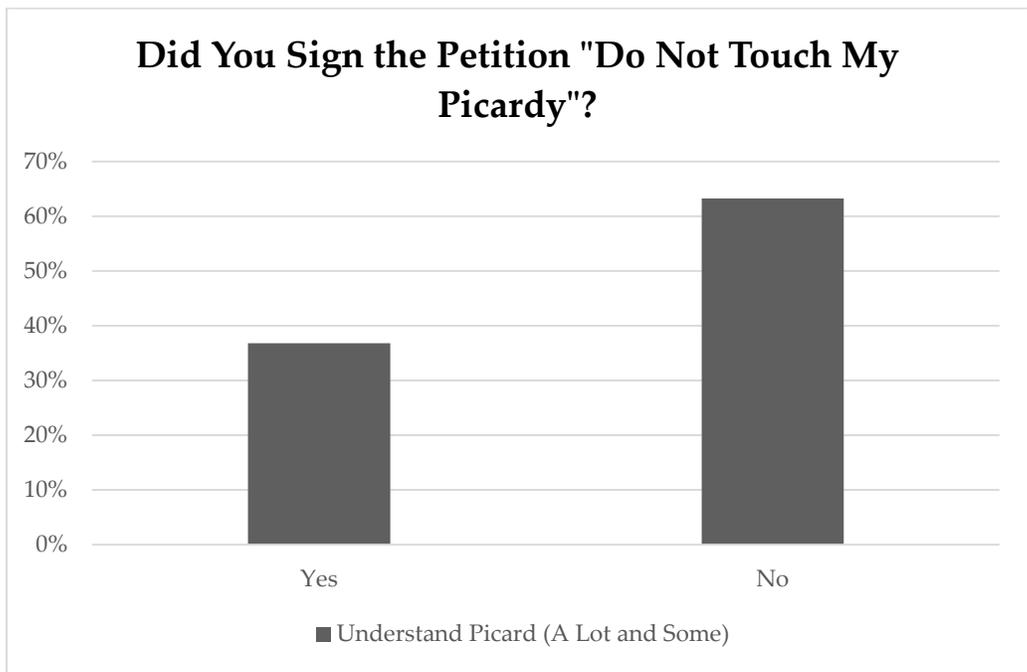


Respondents were then asked to name a tradition to defend in priority; 19 (30.65%) indicated “Culture”, 13 (20.97%) responded “Everything”, 10 (16.13%) replied “Language”, 9 (14.52%) reported “Food”, 4 (6.45%) answered “Architecture” and 3 (4.84%) indicated “Language and Culture”⁹.

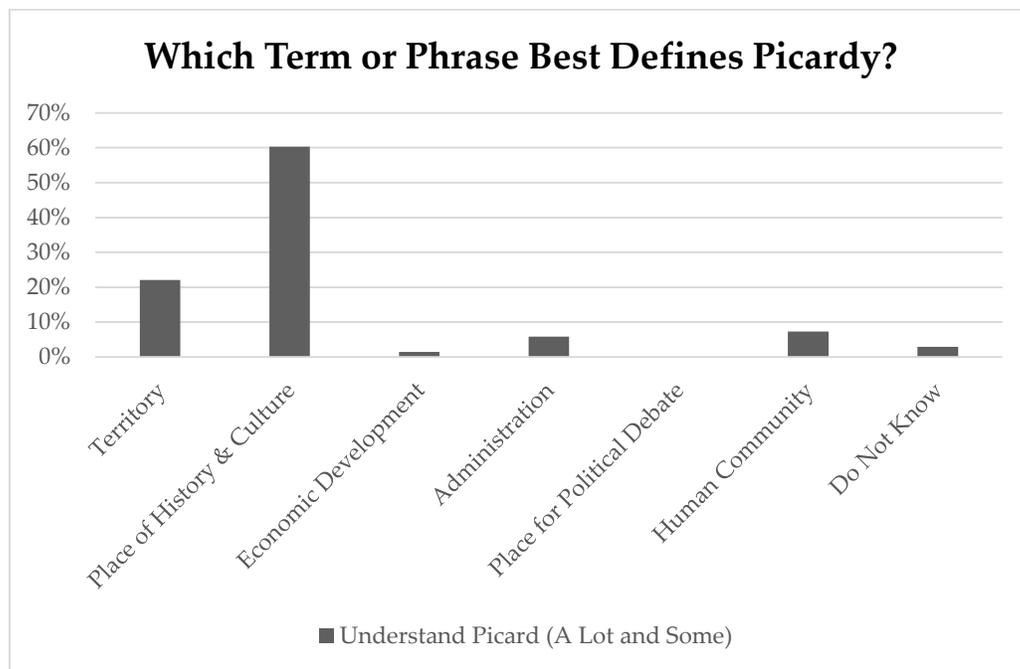
⁹ While certain elements were suggested, respondents were able to suggest their own as well. These categories represent a synthesis of reported elements. When a respondent gave a list of several things, the first was recorded; however, when a respondent either stated, “Everything” or gave a list and stated, “Everything” at the end; “Everything” was simply recorded. In other words, “Everything” had to be specifically stated for the respondent’s response to be categorized as “Everything”; otherwise, only the first element was recorded. The only exception was for the mention of “Language” or “Dialect” since this study is mainly focused upon them/it. If a respondent gave a list that included one of the two terms anywhere within it, they were recorded. However, for the category “Language and Culture”, both terms had to be mentioned as the first two terms in either order for their response to be categorized as “Language and Culture”. As a result, since these categories represent a synthesis, the numbers and percentages can be unequal to the actual number of respondents involved; furthermore, not all respondents provided an understandable answer; the compiled list maybe somewhat different for each sample. Each list will appear in alphabetical order.



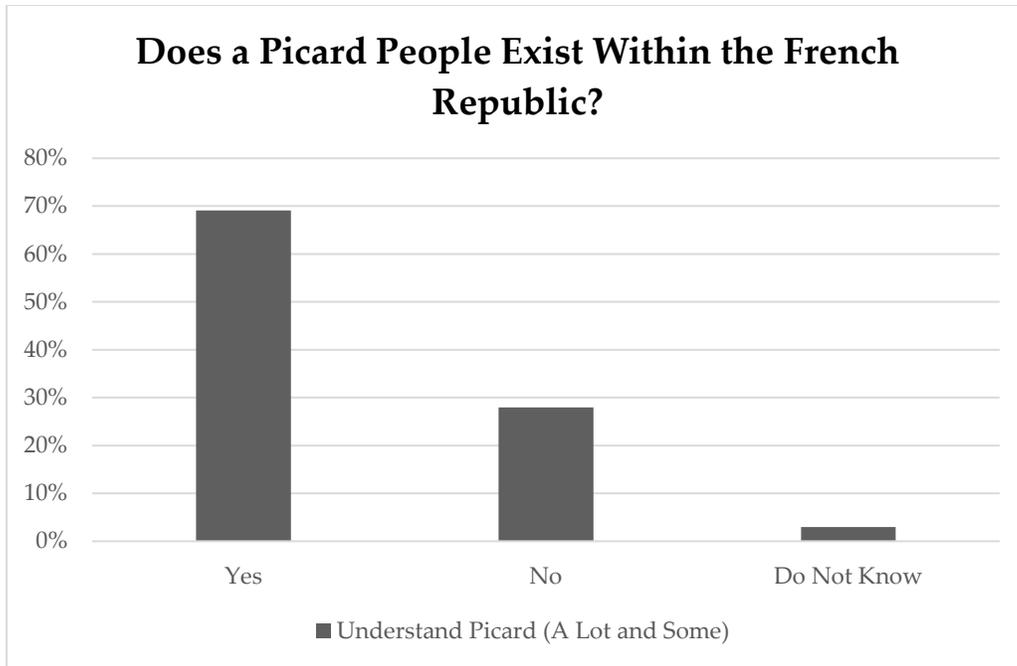
When asked if the participant signed the “Do Not Touch My Picardy Petition”, 43 (63.24%) responded “No” and 25 (36.76%) answered “Yes”.



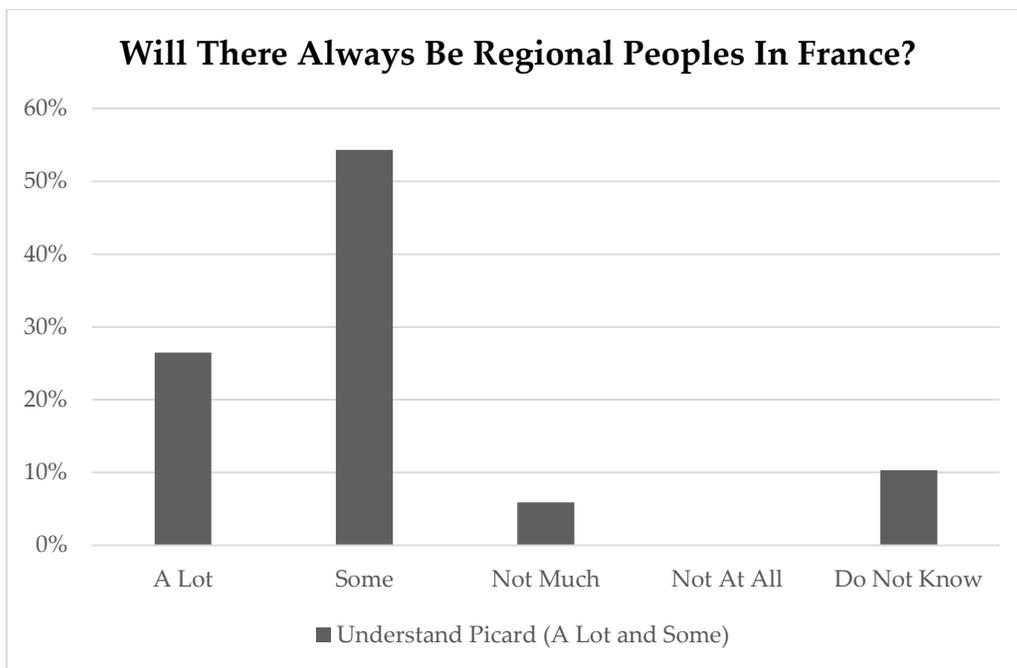
To the question asking the respondent to indicate which term or phrase best defined Picardy, 41 (60.29%) selected “Place of History and Culture”, 15 (22.06%) decided on “Territory”, 5 (7.35%) picked “Human Community”, 4 (5.88%) selected “Administration” and 2 (2.94%) chose “Do Not Know”.



When asked whether there existed a Picard people within the French Republic, 47 (69.12%) responded “Yes”, 19 (27.94%) indicated “No” and 2 (2.94%) replied “Do Not Know”.

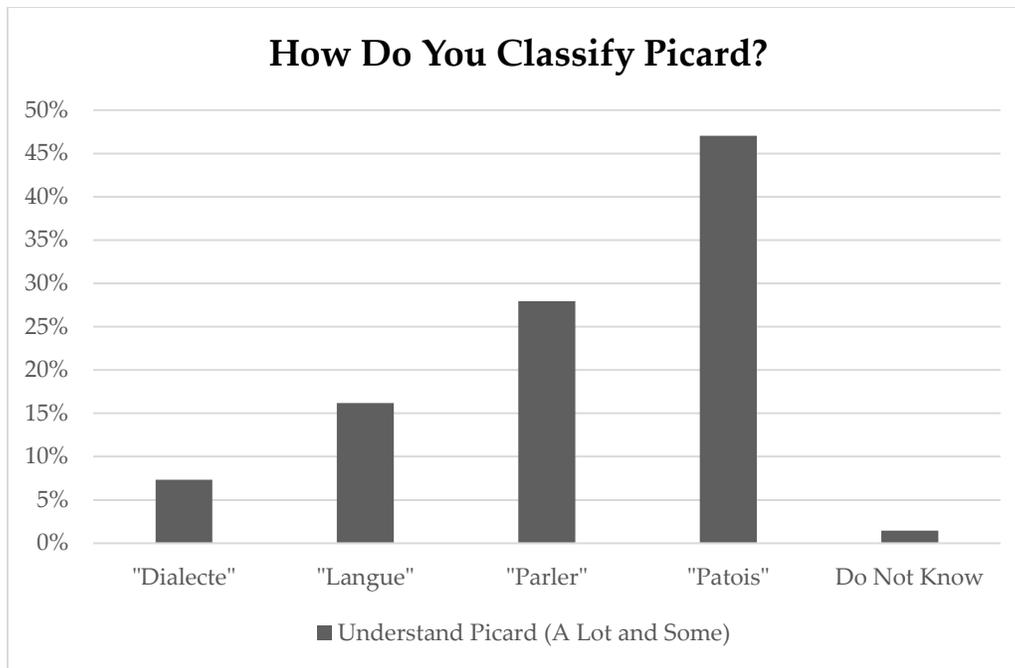


To the question concerning whether France will always contain regional peoples or groups in terms of traditions, customs and dialects, such as the Alsatians, Basques, Bretons, Burgundians, Flemish, Normans, Picards and Provençaux, mentioned in the 17th century, 39 (54.35%) responded “Some”, 18 (26.47%) indicated “Very Much”, 7 (10.29%) stated “Do Not Know” and 4 (5.88%) replied “Not Much”.



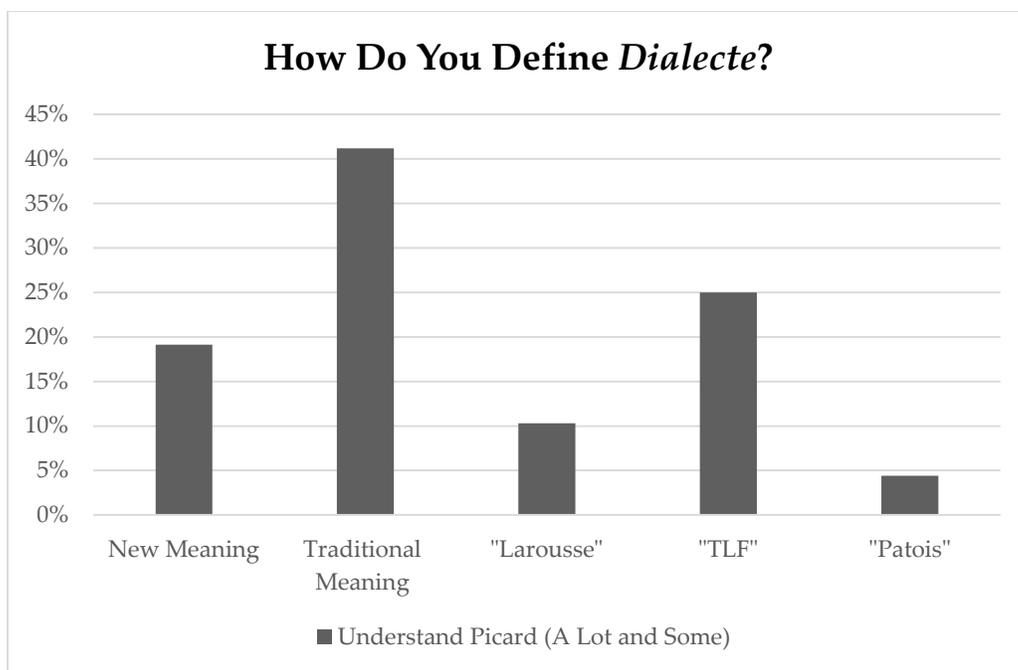
Picard Language and French Language Ideology

To the question regarding the classification of Picard, 32 (47.06%) decided on “*Patois*”, 19 (27.94%) selected “*Parler*”, 11 (16.18%) picked “*Langue*”, 5 (7.35%) chose “*Dialecte*” and 1 (1.47%) replied “Do Not Know”.

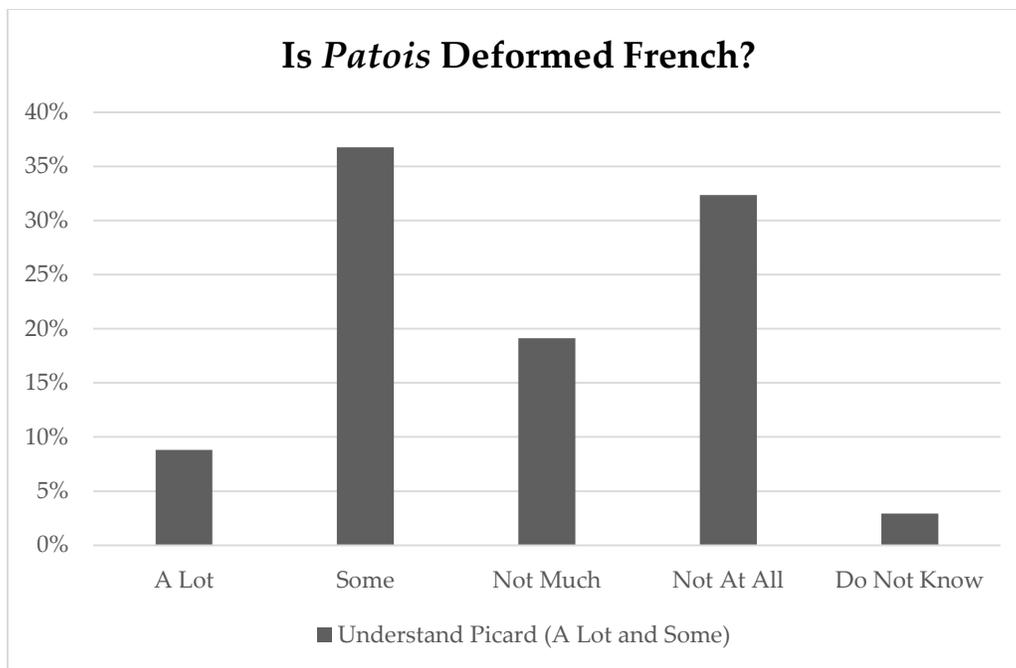


When asked to define *dialecte*, 28 (41.18%) chose the traditional response, 17 (25.20%) decided on the definition of the *Trésor de la langue française*, 13 (19.12%) selected the new meaning, 7 (10.29%) picked the definition used in *Larousse* and 3 (4.41%) selected *patois*¹⁰.

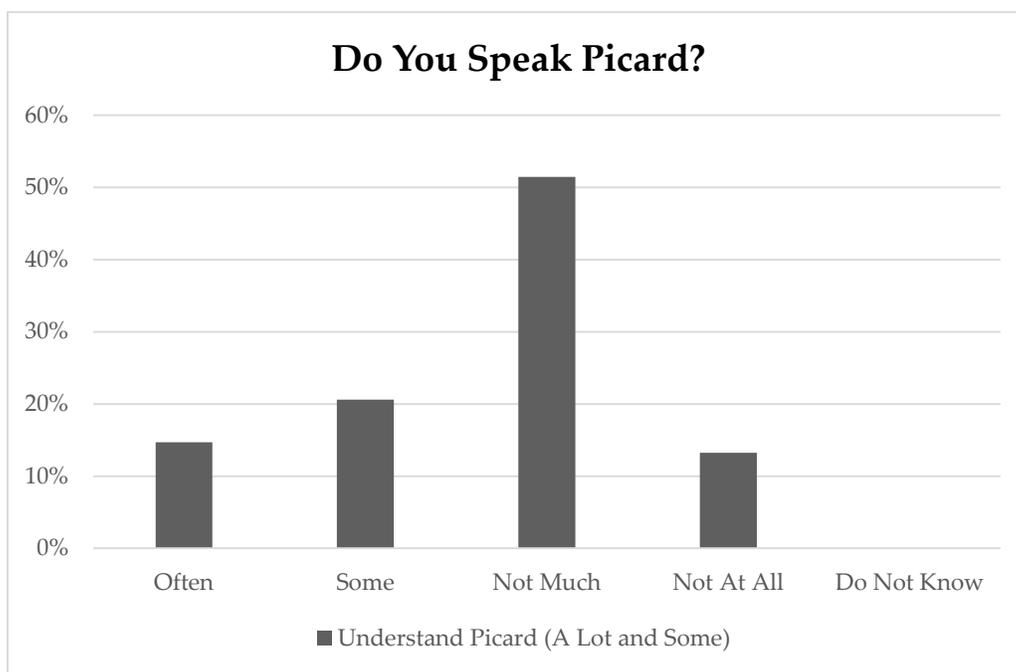
¹⁰ These were not the definitions used; they are simply an easier way of listing them.



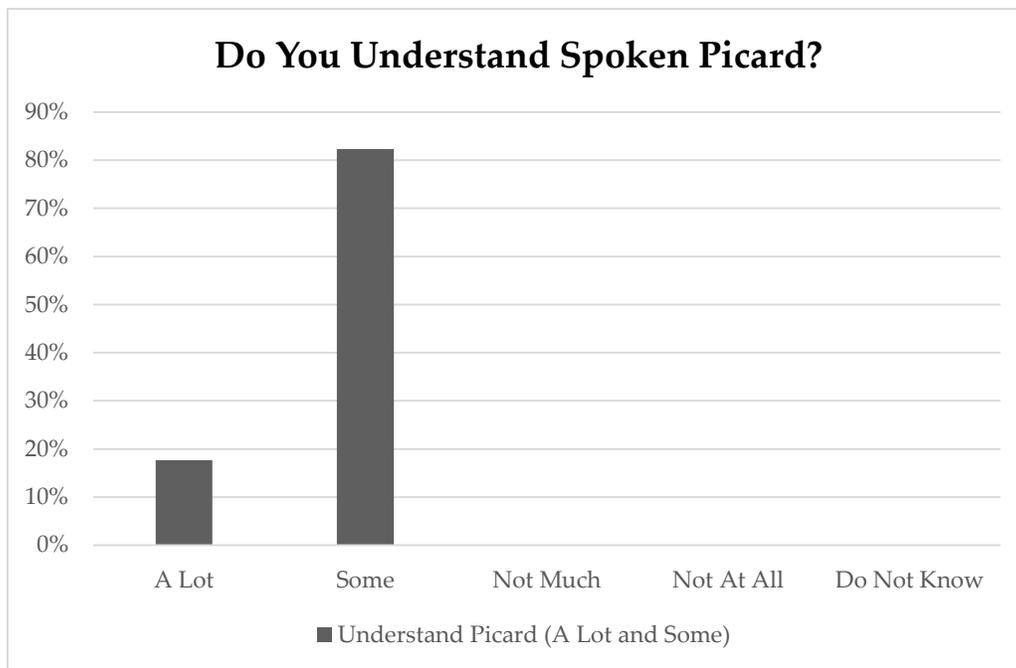
To the question asking the participant whether *patois* was deformed French, 25 (36.76%) indicated "Some", 22 (32.35%) responded "Not At All", 13 (19.12%) replied "Not Much", 6 (8.82%) stated "Very Much" and 2 (2.94%) specified "Do Not Know".



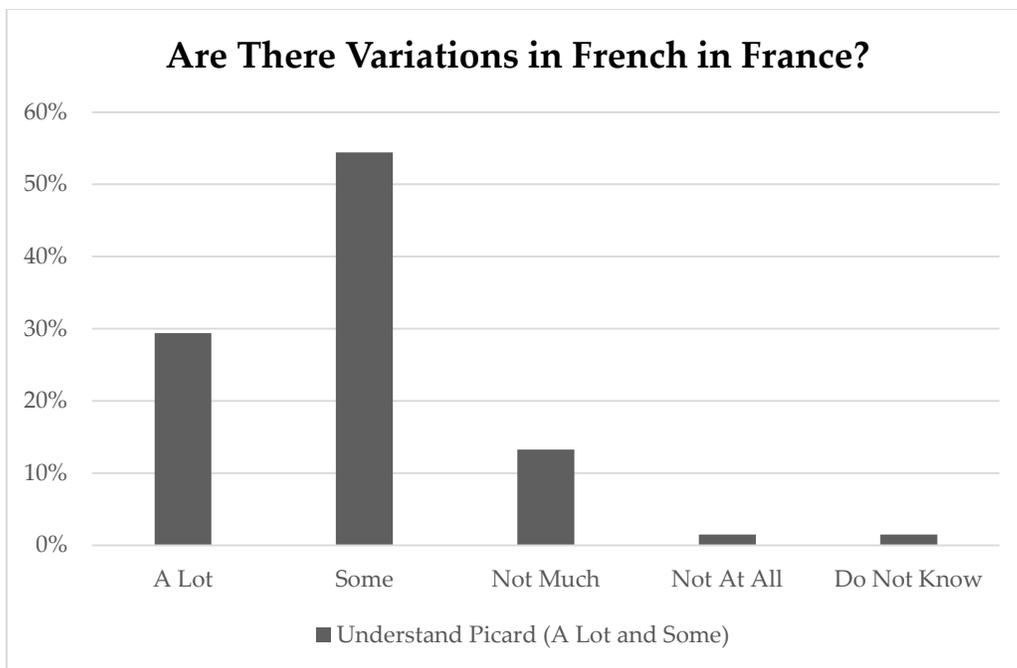
When asking the respondent to report his or her ability to speak Picard, 35 (51.47%) responded "Not Much", 14 (20.59%) indicated "Some", 10 (14.71%) specified "Often" and 9(13.24%) replied "Not At All".



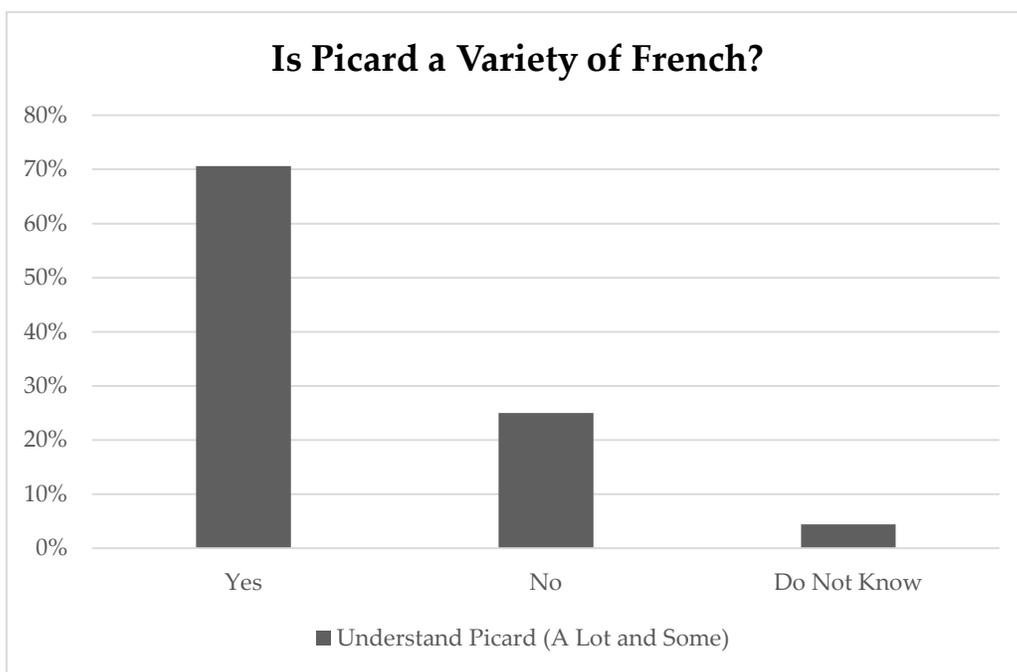
When asked if the participant could understand spoken Picard, 56 (82.35%) specified "Some" and 12 (17.65%) indicated "A Lot".



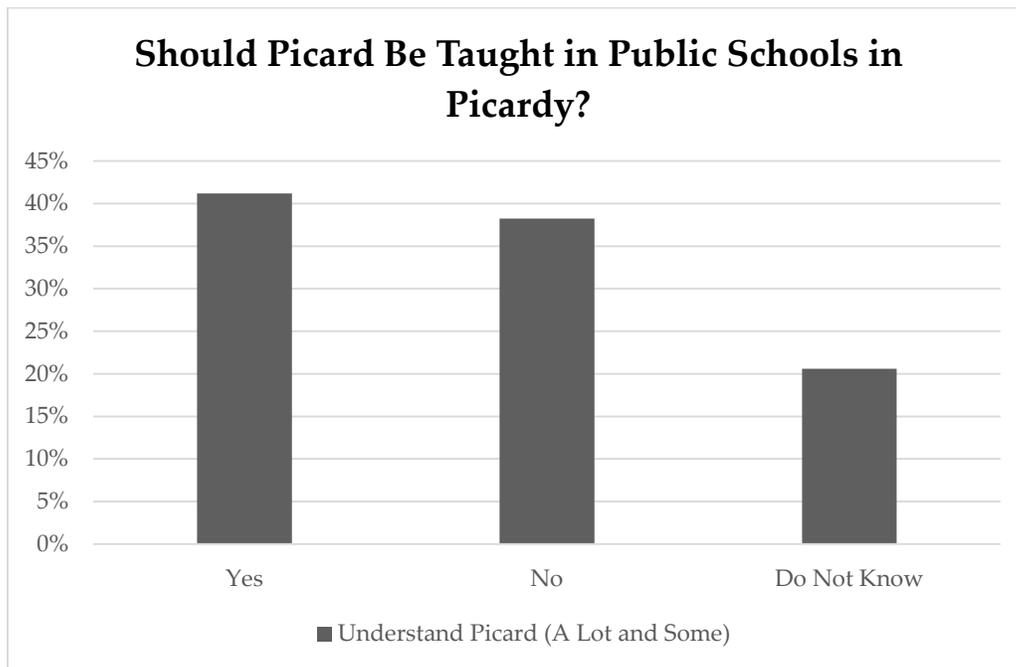
When asked if variations occurred in French in France, 37 (54.41%) indicated "Some", 20 (29.41%) selected "A Lot", 9 (13.24%) stated "Not Much", 1 (1.47%) picked "Not At All" and another 1 (1.47%) specified "Do Not Know".



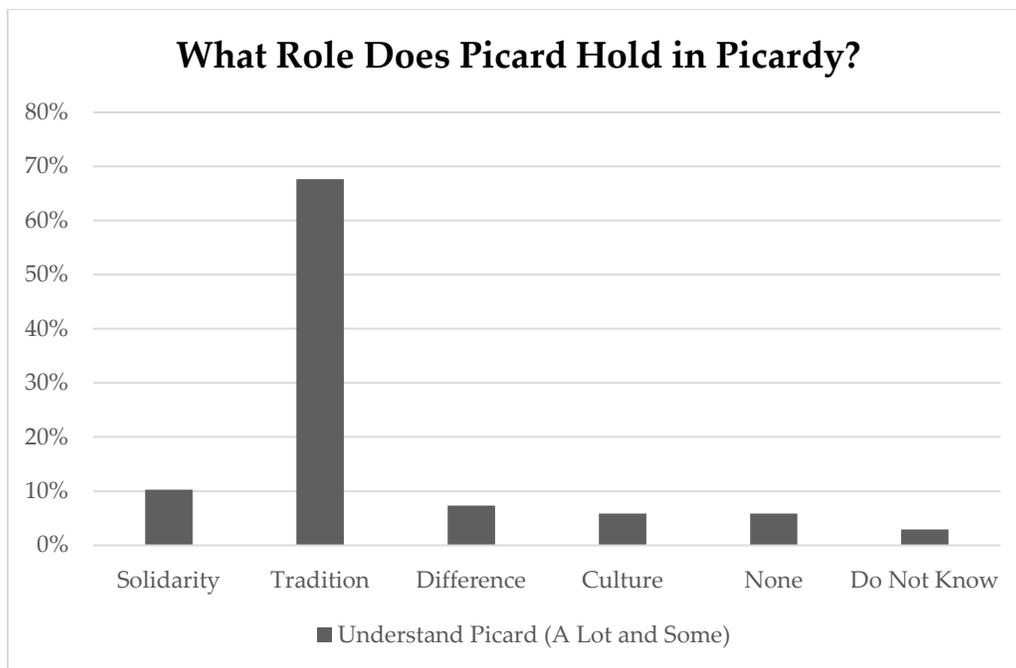
To the question asking whether Picard was a variety of French, 48 (70.59%) responded “Yes”, 17 (25.00%) specified “No” and 3 (4.41%) stated “Do Not Know”.



When asked whether Picard should be taught in public schools in Picardy, 28 (41.18%) indicated “Yes”, 26 (38.24%) responded “No” and 14 (20.59%) replied “Do Not Know”.

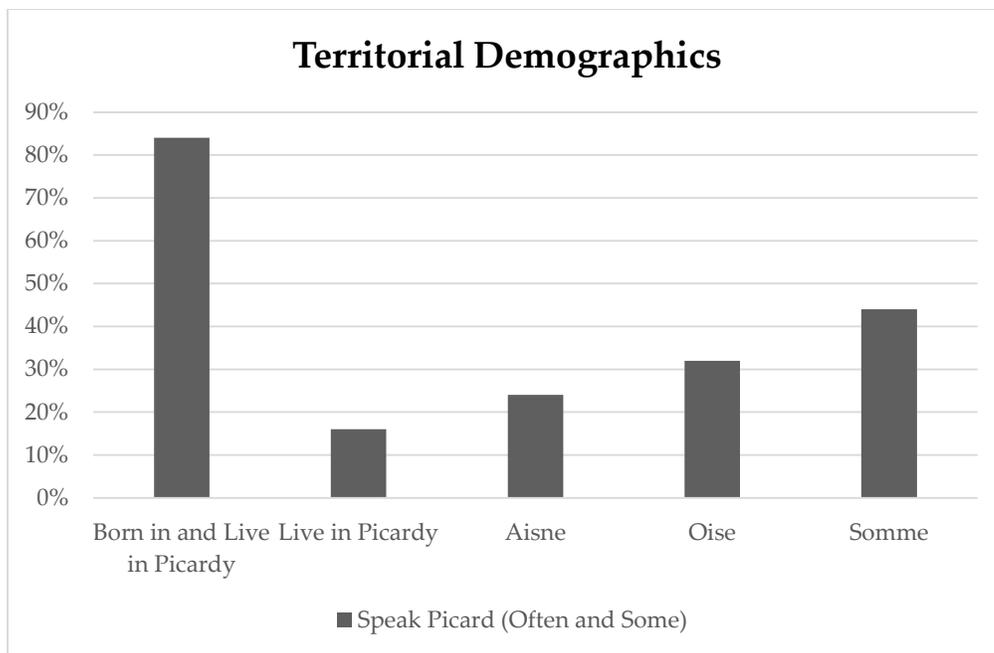


When asked what role Picard held in Picardy, 46 (67.65%) selected “Tradition”, 7 (10.29%) chose “Solidarity”, 5 (7.35%) picked “Difference”, 4 (5.88%) picked “Culture”, another 4 (5.88%) decided on “None” and 2 (2.94%) selected “Do Not Know”.

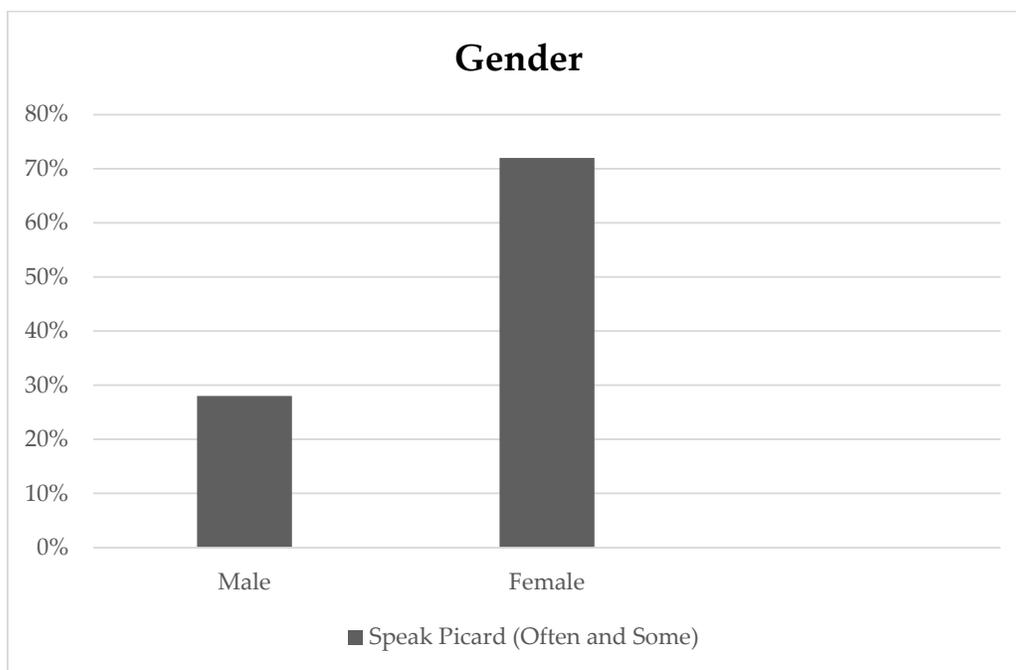


Picardy: Speak Picard, Often and Some

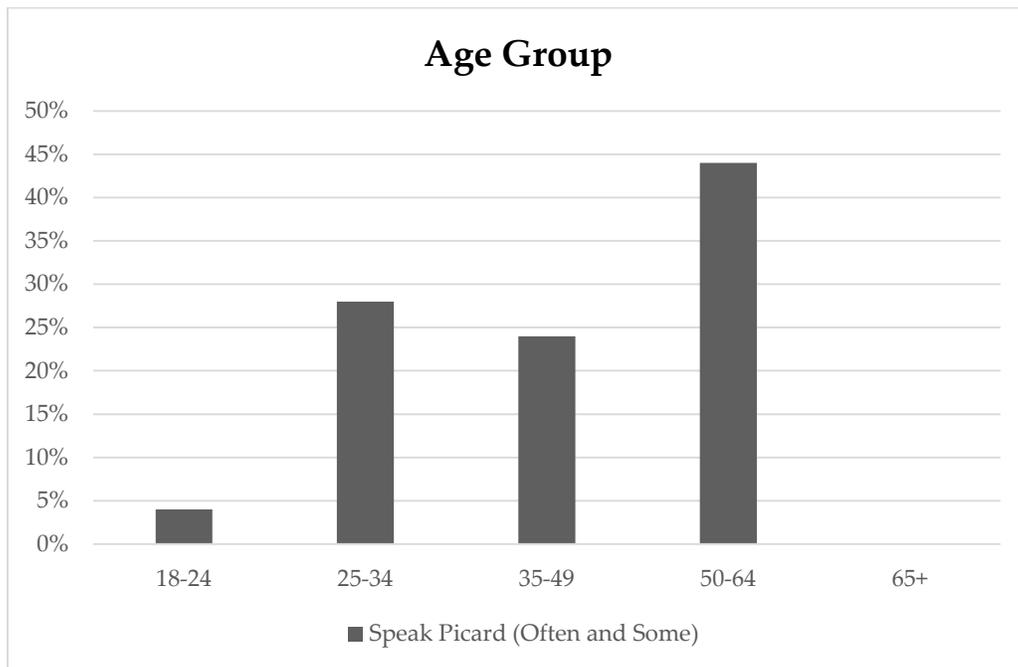
Among the 25 Picard respondents who reported speaking Picard – often or some –, 21 (84.00%) were both born in and live in Picardy and 4 (16.00%) live in Picardy, but were born in another region. Of these participants, 6 (24.00%) live in the *Aisne département*, 8 (32.00%) in the Oise and 11 (44.00%) in the Somme. Nine respondents reported being regional activists: 7 cultural and 2 linguistic.



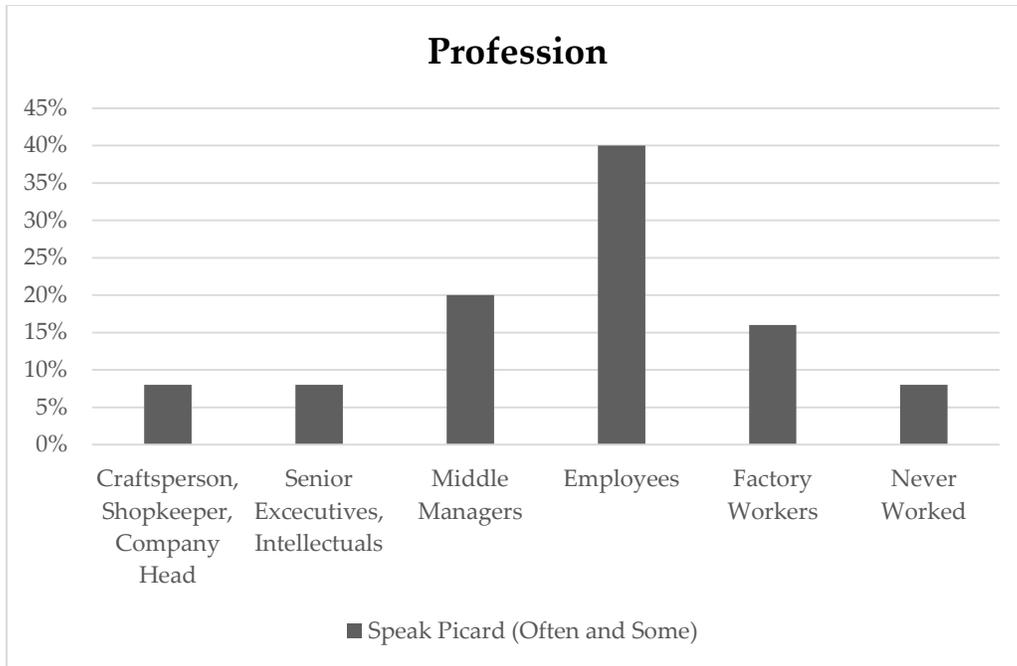
The sample broke down in the following manner: For gender, 7 (28.00%) were men and 18 (72.00%) were women;



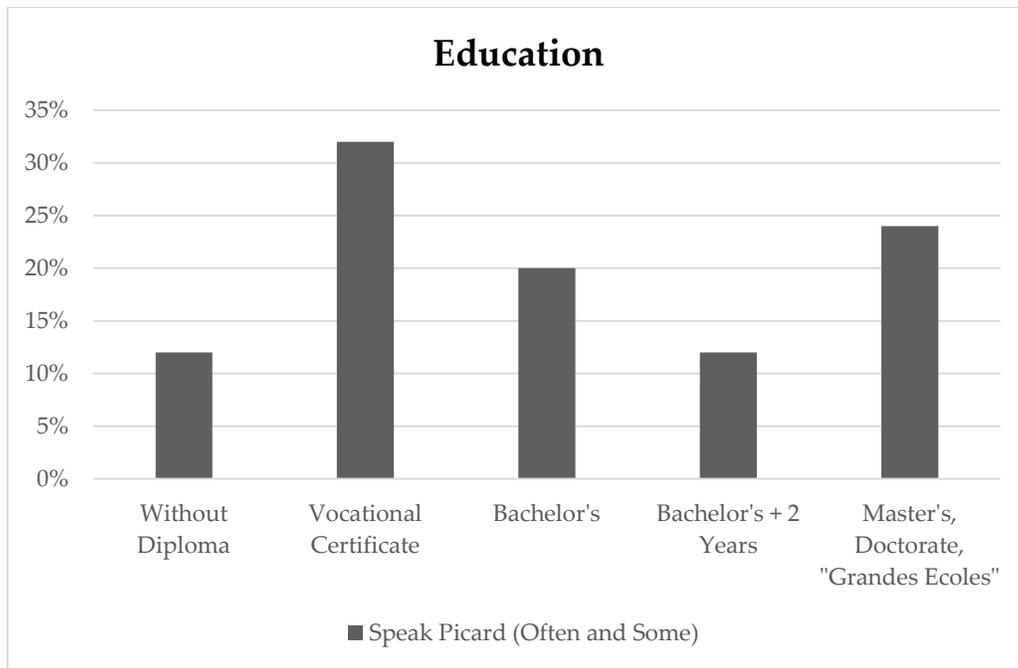
Regarding age, 1 (4.00%) was between 18 and 24 years of age, 7 (28.00%) were between 25 and 34-years-old, 6 (24.00%) were between 35 and 49 years of age and 11 (44.00%) were between 50 and 64-years-old;



For profession, 2 (8.00%) worked as a craftsperson, storekeeper or company head, 2 (8.00%) were employed as senior executives or intellectual professionals, 5 (20.00%) were middle managers, 10 (40.00%) worked as employees, 4 (16.00%) were factory workers and 2 (8.00%) had never worked;

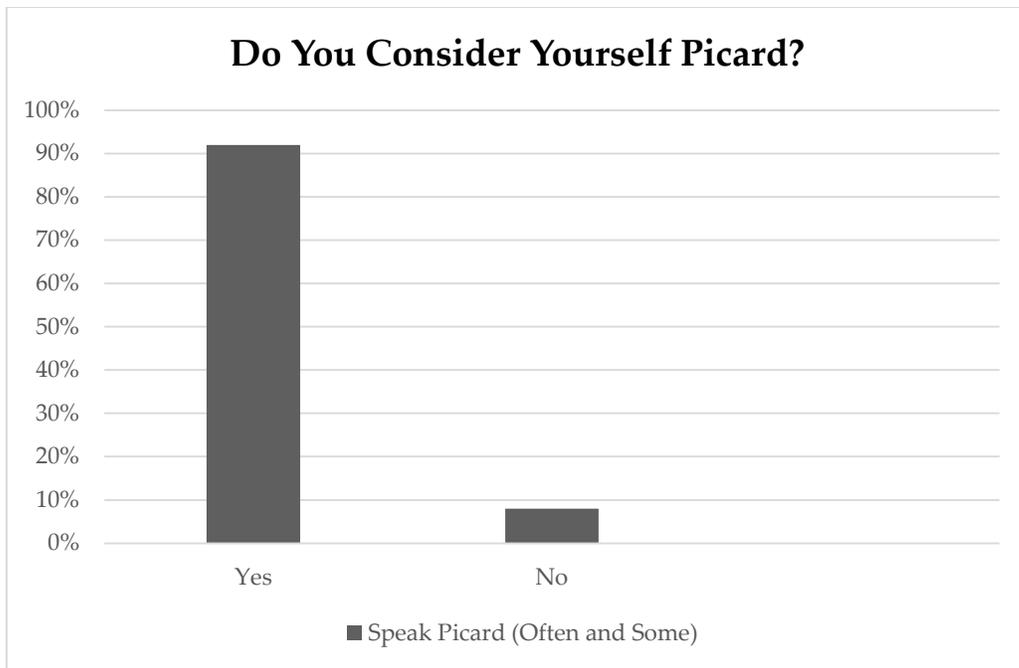


Concerning highest diploma earned, 3 (12.00%) held no diploma, 8 (32.00%) possessed a vocational certificate or a national vocational qualification, 5 (20.00%) held a Bachelor's degree, 3 (12.00%) possessed a Bachelor's degree plus two additional years, such as teachers and healthcare or social professionals, and 6 (24.00%) held Master's degrees, Doctorates and degrees from the *Grandes Ecoles*.

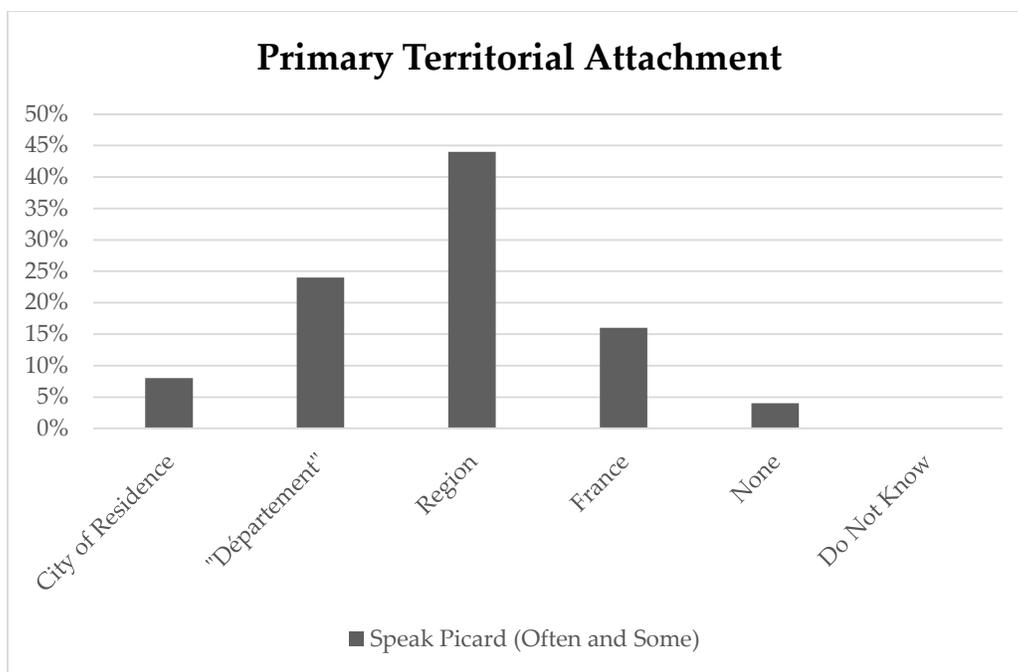


Regional Identity

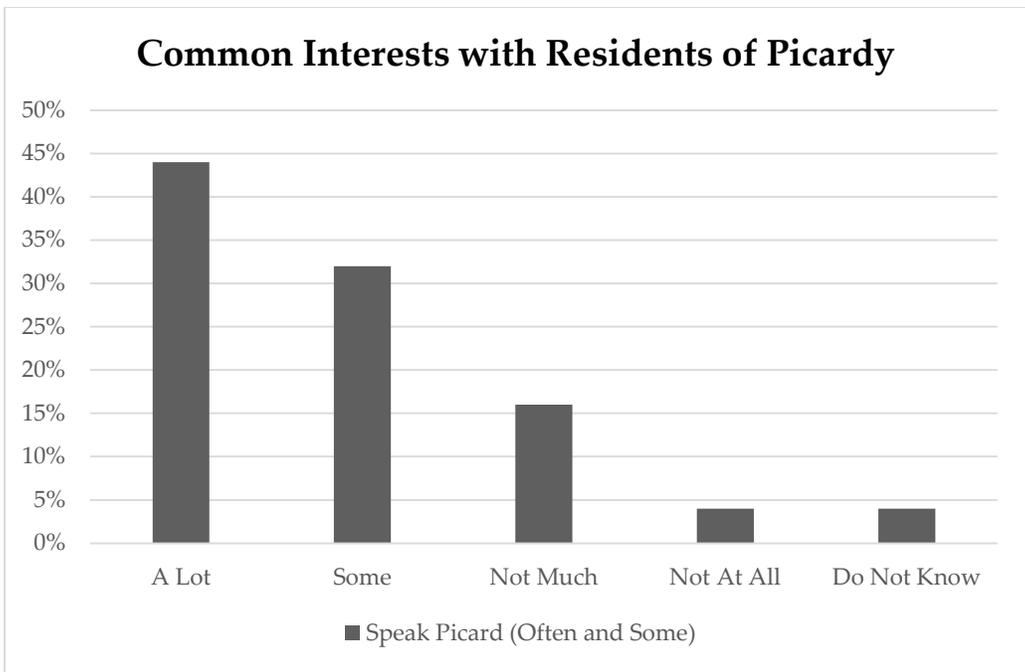
Among the 25 participants who reported being able to speak Picard either often or some, 23 (92.00%) considered themselves to be Picard, while 2 (8.00%) did not.



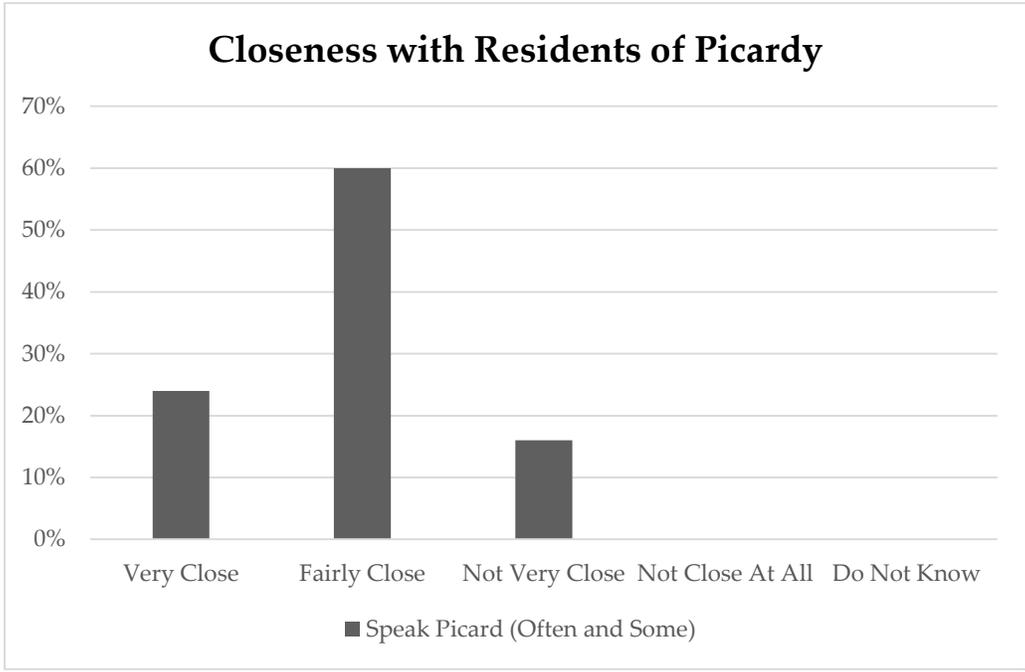
When asked to choose to which administrative territory they were primarily attached, 11 (44.00%) chose "Region", 6 (24.00%) selected "Département", 4 (16.00%) picked "France", 2 (8.00%) settled on "City of Residence" and 1 (4.00%) chose "None".



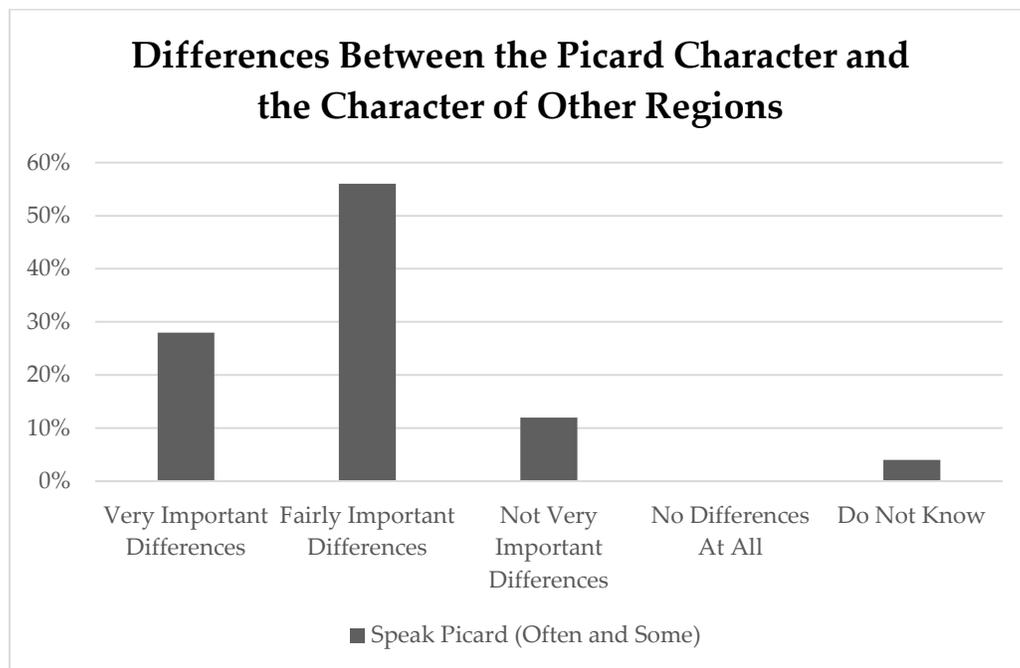
To the question regarding having common interests with other residents of Picardy, 11 (44.00%) indicated that they had "A Lot", 8 (32.00%) reported "Some", 4 (16.00%) stated having "Not Many", 1 (4.00%) answered "Not At All" and another 1 (4.00%) replied "Do Not Know".



When asked how close respondents were to the other residents of Picardy, 15 (60.00%) chose “Fairly Close”, 6 (24.00%) selected “Very Close” and 4 (16.00%) picked “Not Very Close”.



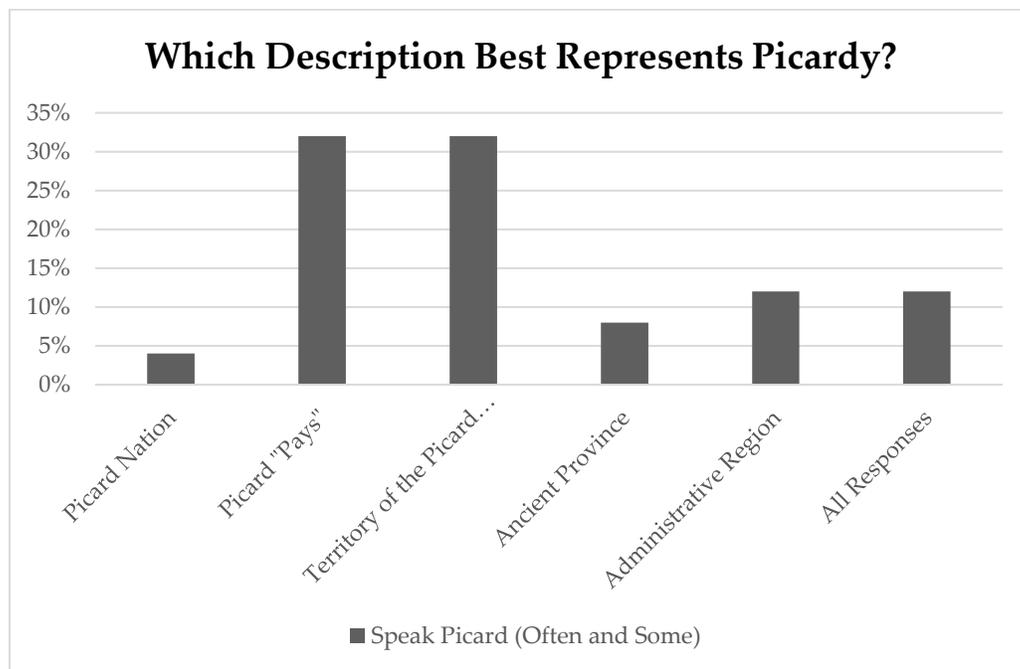
To the question inquiring about how the regional character of residents of Picardy differed from that of residents of other regions, 14 (56.00%) indicated that there were fairly important differences between Picards and the residents of other regions of France. Furthermore, 7 (28.00%) reported that there were very important differences. Among the other respondents, 3 (12.00%) stated that there were not very many differences.



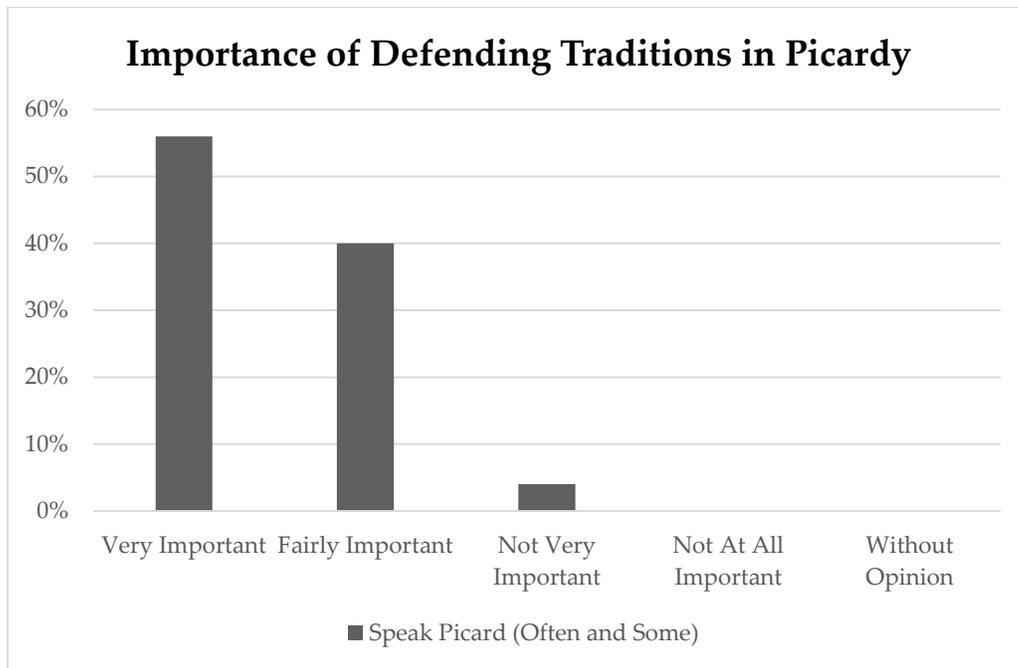
When asked to select the description that best represented Picardy for them, 8 (32.00%) responded “the Picard Pays”¹¹, another 8 (32.00%) indicated

¹¹ In French, the singular, *le pays picard*, and the plural, *les pays picards*, sound the same without the definite article “le/les” since the final “s” in “picards” is not pronounced. Since English neither requires the usage of this article nor the agreement of adjectives and nouns, the singular and plural “Picard pays” are written the same way since the term “pays” already ends in an “s”. Here, in the original French, the expression was written in both the singular and the plural – “le pays picard ou les pays picards” and the English translation should include that idea.

“Territory of the Picard People”, 3 (12.00%) reported “Administrative Region of the French Republic”, another 3 (12.00%) selected “All Responses”, 2 (8.00%) picked “Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France” and 1 (4.00%) decided on “Picard Nation”.

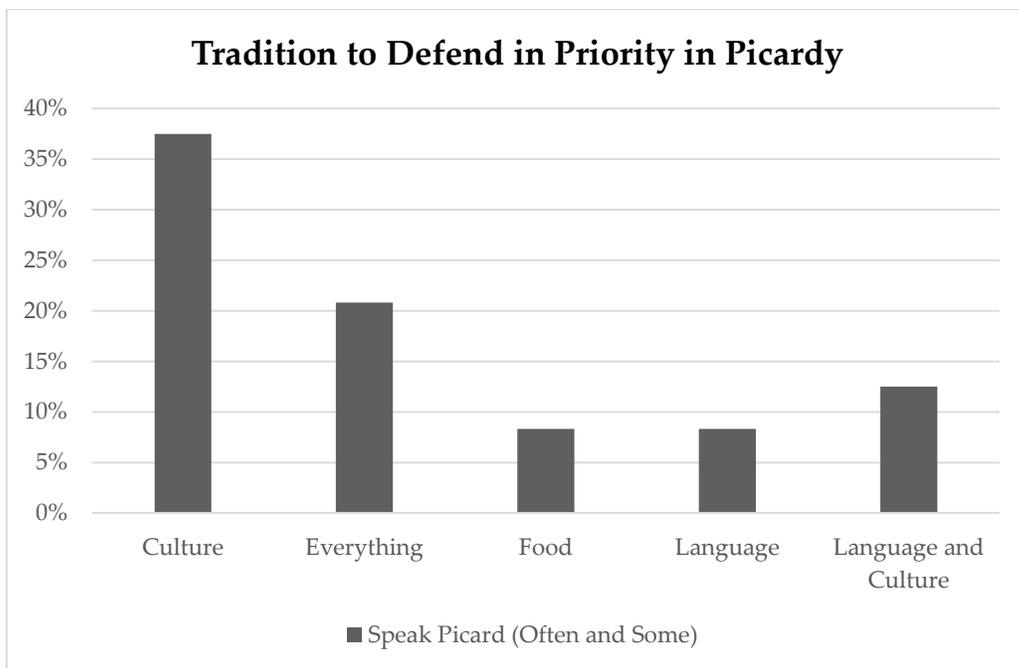


To the question regarding the importance of defending traditional elements in Picardy, 14 (56.00%) reported “Very Important”, 10 (40.00%) indicated “Fairly Important”, and 1 (4.00%) responded “Not Very Important At All”.

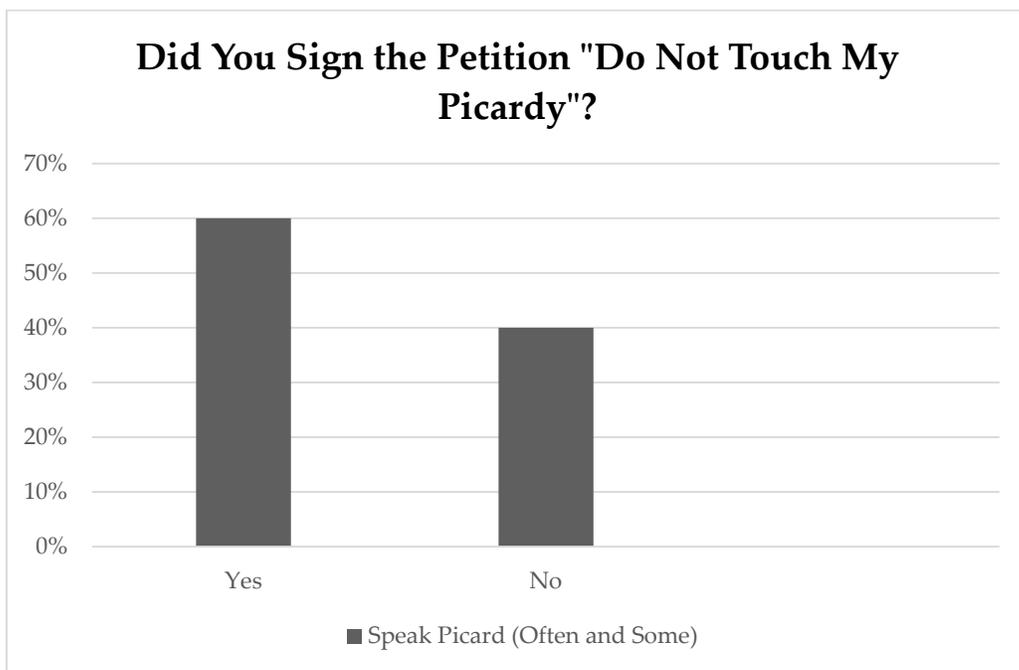


Respondents were then asked to name a tradition to defend in priority; 9 (37.50%) indicated “Culture”, 5 (20.83%) responded “Everything”, 3 (12.50%) replied “Language and Culture”, 2 (8.33%) reported “Language” and another 2 (8.33%) answered “Food”¹².

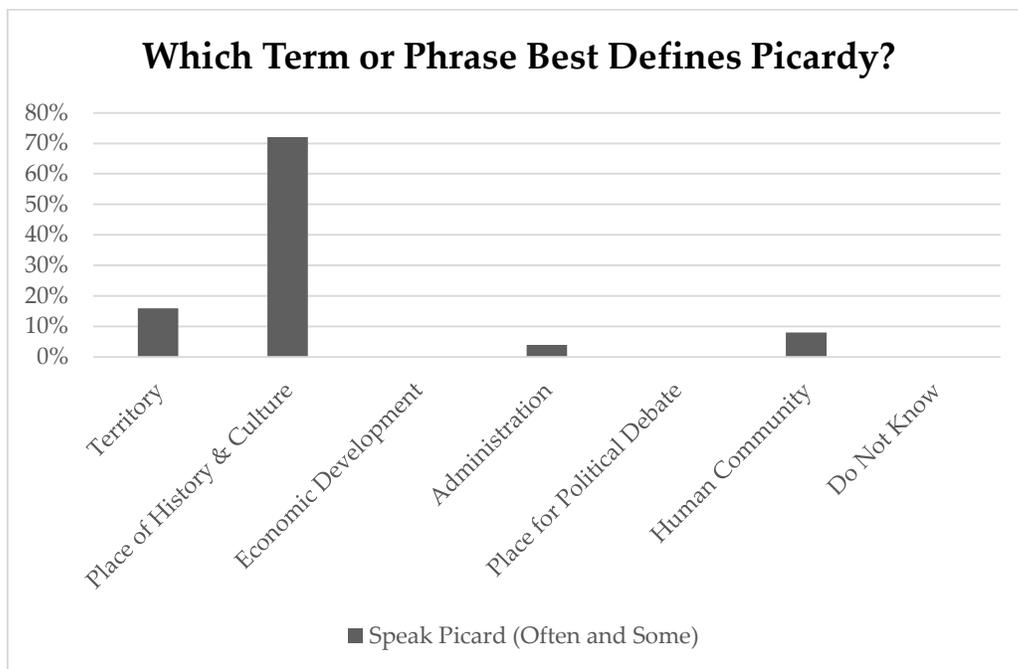
¹² While certain elements were suggested, respondents were able to suggest their own as well. These categories represent a synthesis of reported elements. When a respondent gave a list of several things, the first was recorded; however, when a respondent either stated, “Everything” or gave a list and stated, “Everything” at the end; “Everything” was simply recorded. In other words, “Everything” had to be specifically stated for the respondent’s response to be categorized as “Everything”; otherwise, only the first element was recorded. The only exception was for the mention of “Language” or “Dialect” since this study is mainly focused upon them/it. If a respondent gave a list that included one of the two terms anywhere within it, they were recorded. However, for the category “Language and Culture”, both terms had to be mentioned as the first two terms in either order for their response to be categorized as “Language and Culture”. As a result, since these categories represent a synthesis, the numbers and percentages can be unequal to the actual number of respondents involved; furthermore, not all respondents provided an understandable answer; the compiled list maybe somewhat different for each sample. Each list will appear in alphabetical order.



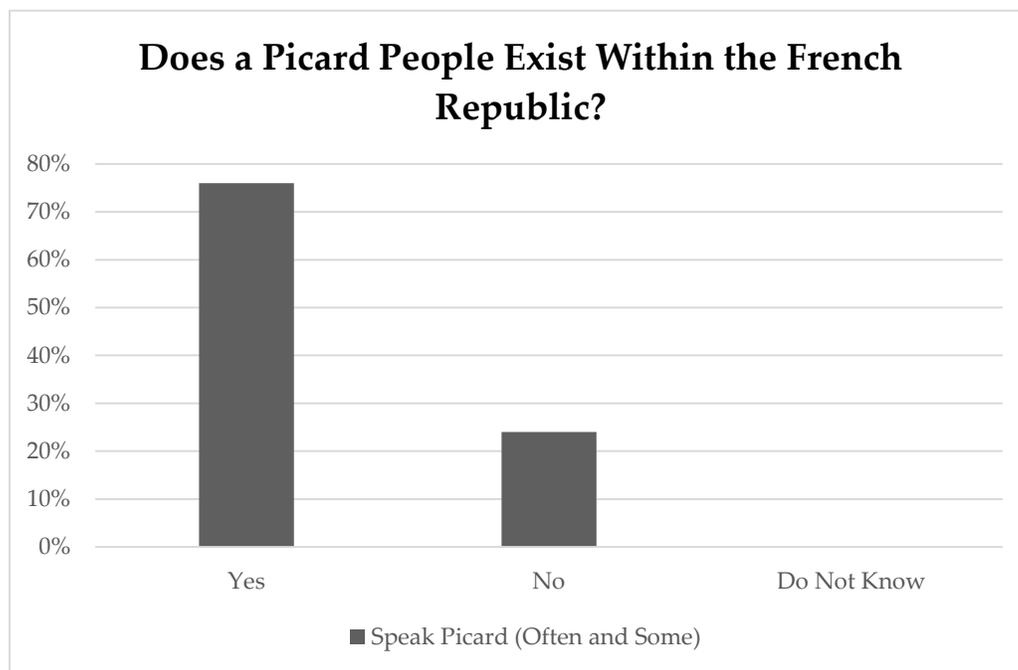
When asked if the participant signed the “Do Not Touch My Picardy Petition”, 15 (60.00%) responded “Yes” and 10 (40.00%) answered “No”.



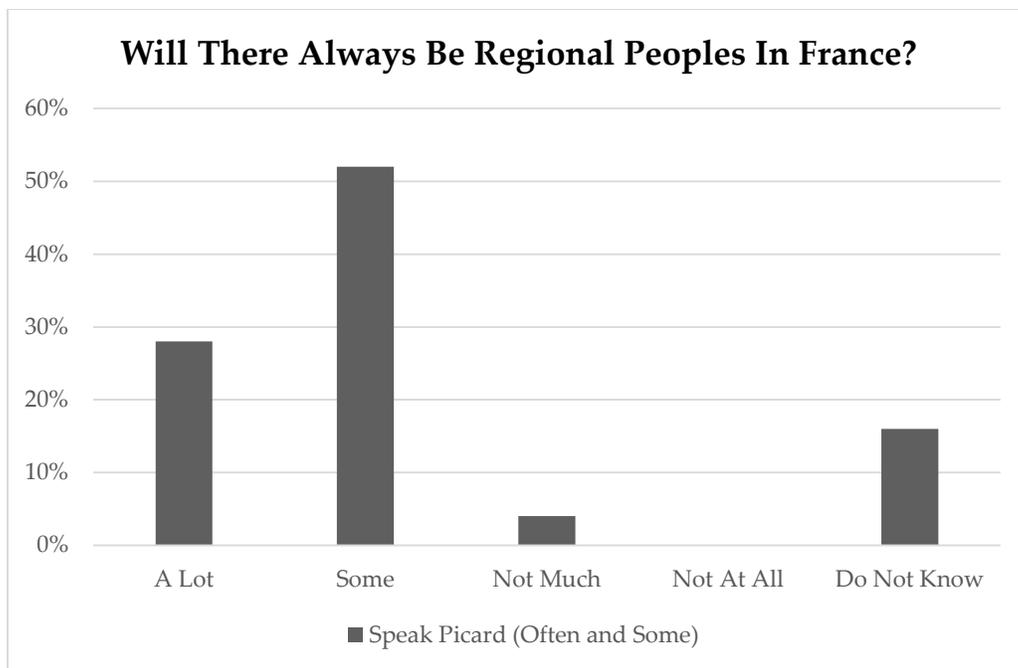
To the question asking the respondent to indicate which term or phrase best defined Picardy, 18 (72.00%) selected “Place of History and Culture”, 4 (16.00%) decided on “Territory”, 2 (8.00%) picked “Human Community” and 1 (4.00%) selected “Administration”.



When asked whether there existed a Picard people within the French Republic, 19 (76.00%) responded “Yes” and 6 (24.00%) indicated “No”.

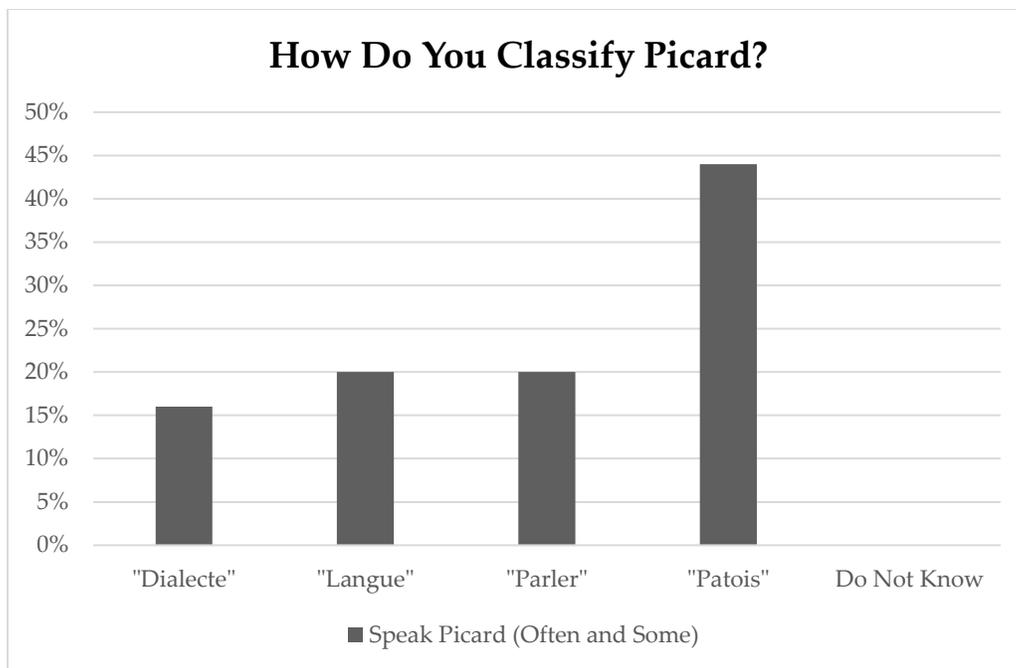


To the question concerning whether France will always contain regional peoples or groups in terms of traditions, customs and dialects, such as the Alsatians, Basques, Bretons, Burgundians, Flemish, Normans, Picards and Provençaux, mentioned in the 17th century, 13 (52.00%) responded “Some”, 7 (28.00%) indicated “Very Much”, 4 (16.00%) selected “Do Not Know” and 1 (4.00%) replied “Not Much”.



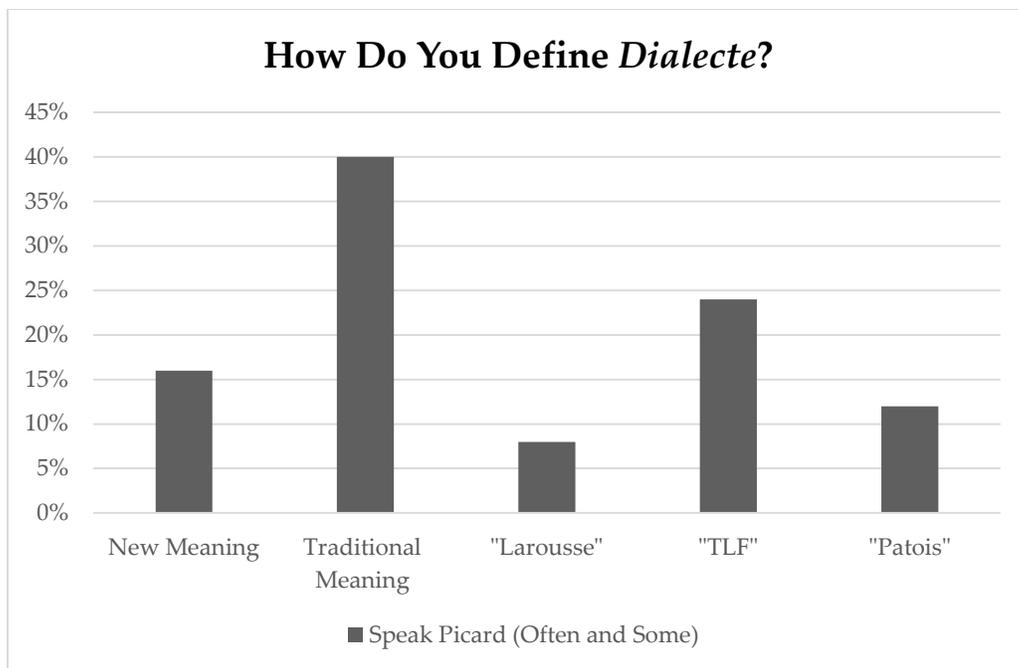
Picard Language and French Language Ideology

To the question regarding the classification of Picard, 11 (44.00%) decided on “*Patois*”, 5 (20.00%) selected “*Langue*”, another 5 (20.00%) picked “*Parler*” and 4 (16.00%) chose “*Dialecte*”.

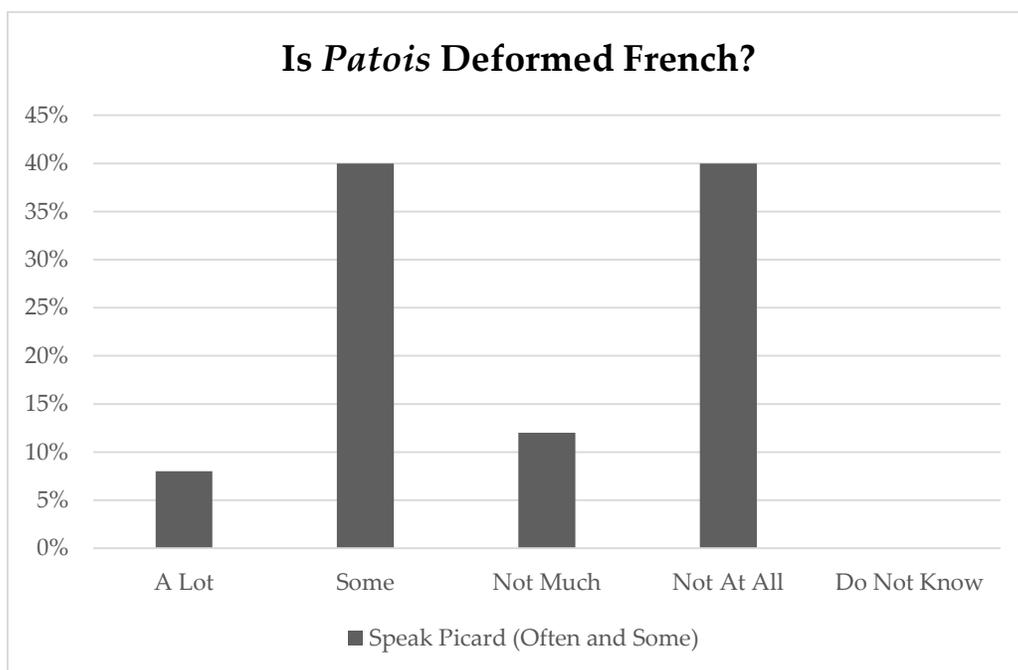


When asked to define *dialecte*, 10 (40.00%) chose the traditional response, 6 (24.00%) decided on the definition of the *Trésor de la langue française*, 4 (16.00%) settled on the new meaning, 3 (12.00%) selected *patois* and 2 (8.00%) chose the definition employed in the *Larousse* dictionary¹³.

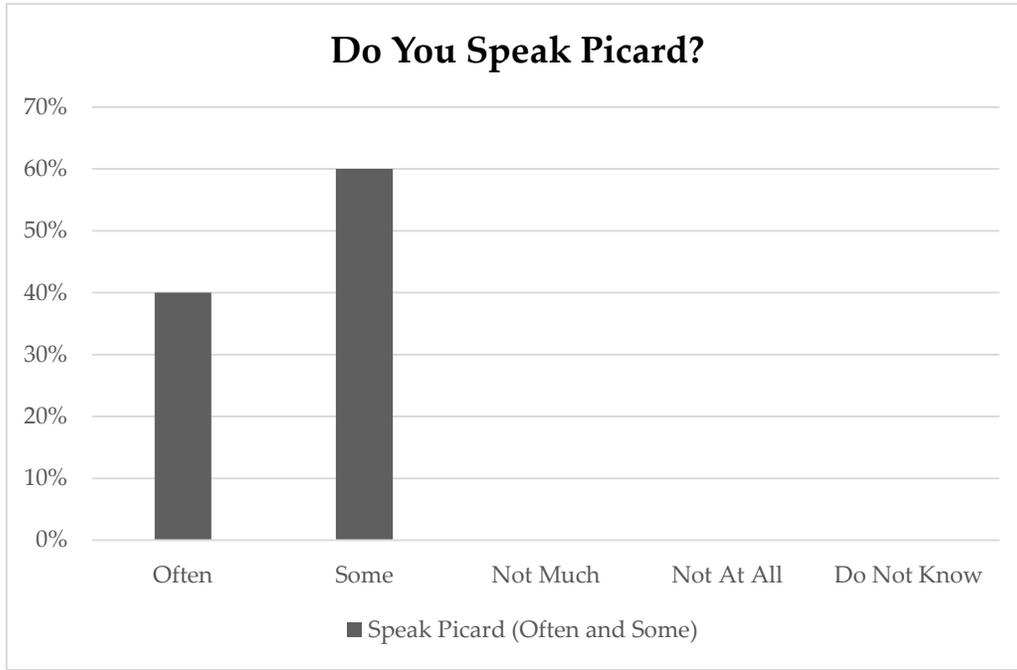
¹³ These were not the definitions used; they are simply an easier way of listing them.



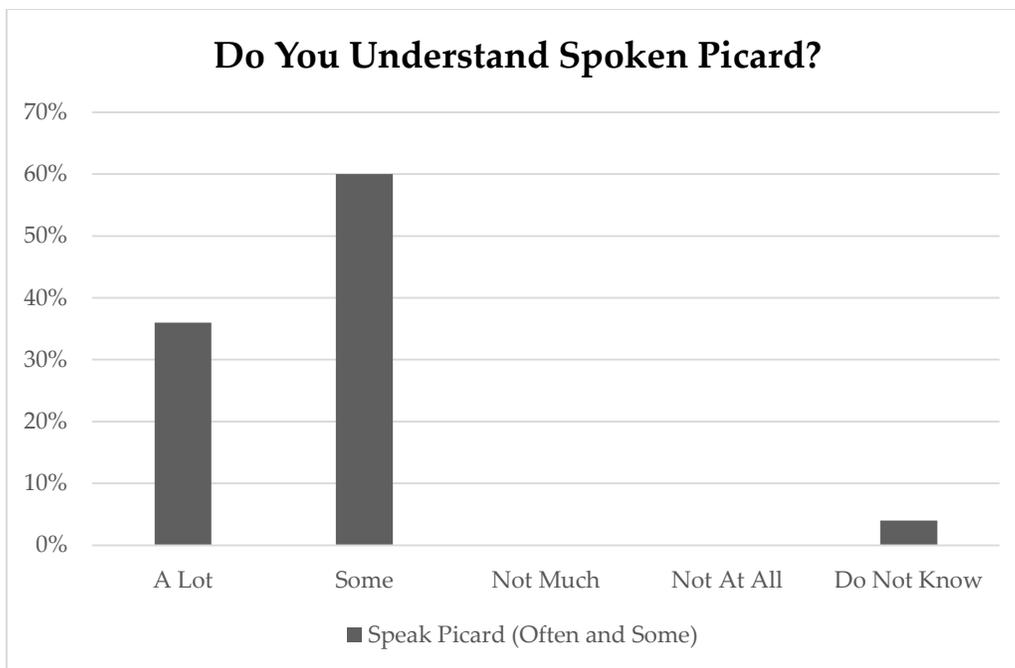
To the question asking the participant whether *patois* was deformed French, 10 (40.00%) indicated "Some", another 10 (40.00%) responded "Not At All", 3 (12.00%) replied "Not Much" and 2 (8.00%) stated "Very Much".



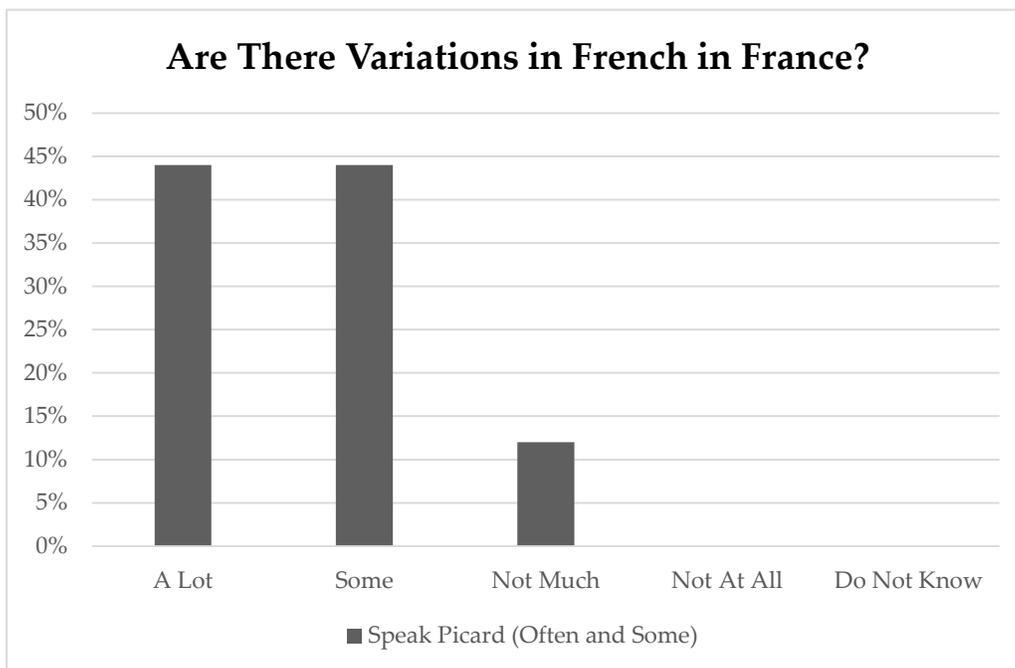
When asking the respondent to report his or her ability to speak Picard, 15 (60.00%) responded "Some" and 10 (40.00%) indicated "Often".



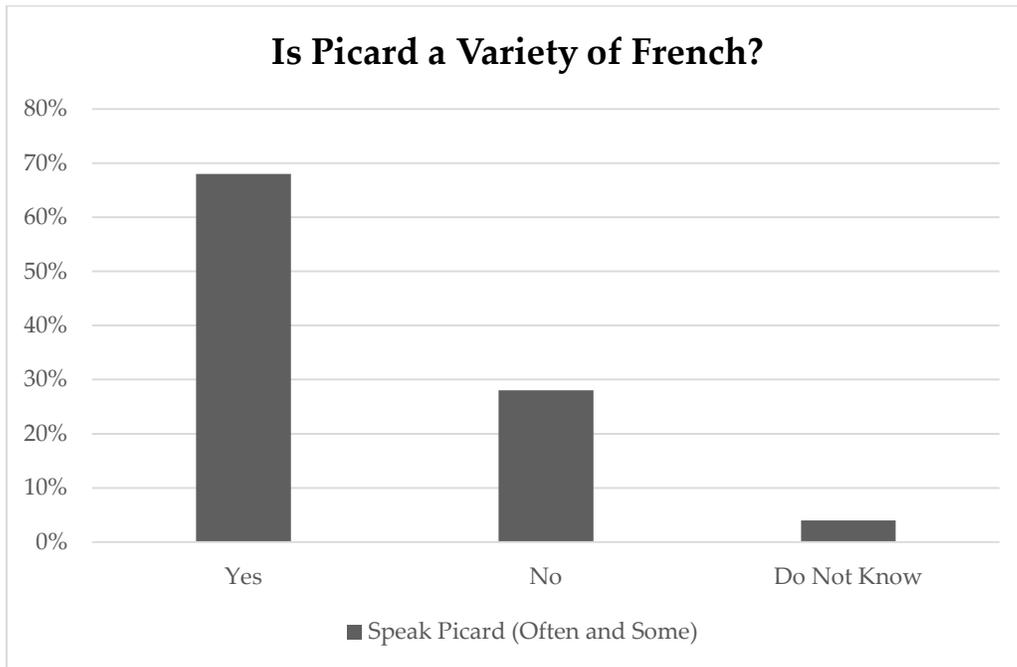
When asked if the participant could understand spoken Picard, 15 (60.00%) specified "Some", 9 (36.00%) indicated "A Lot" and 1 (4.00%) stated "Do Not Know".



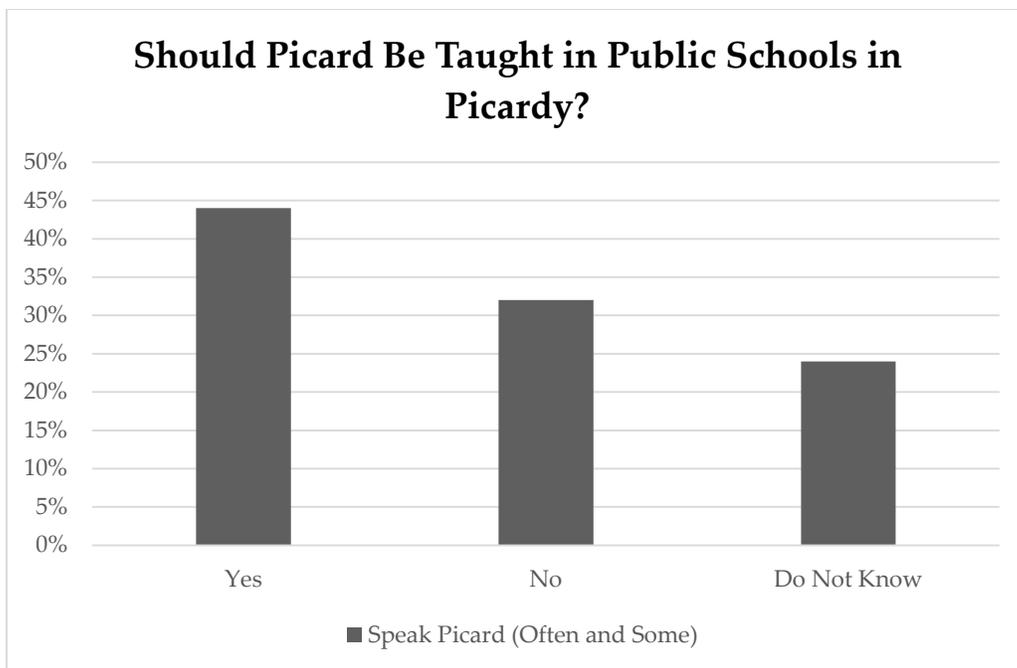
When asked if variations occurred in French in France, 11 (44.00%) indicated “A Lot”, another 11 (44.00%) selected “Some” and 3 (12.00%) stated “Not Much”.



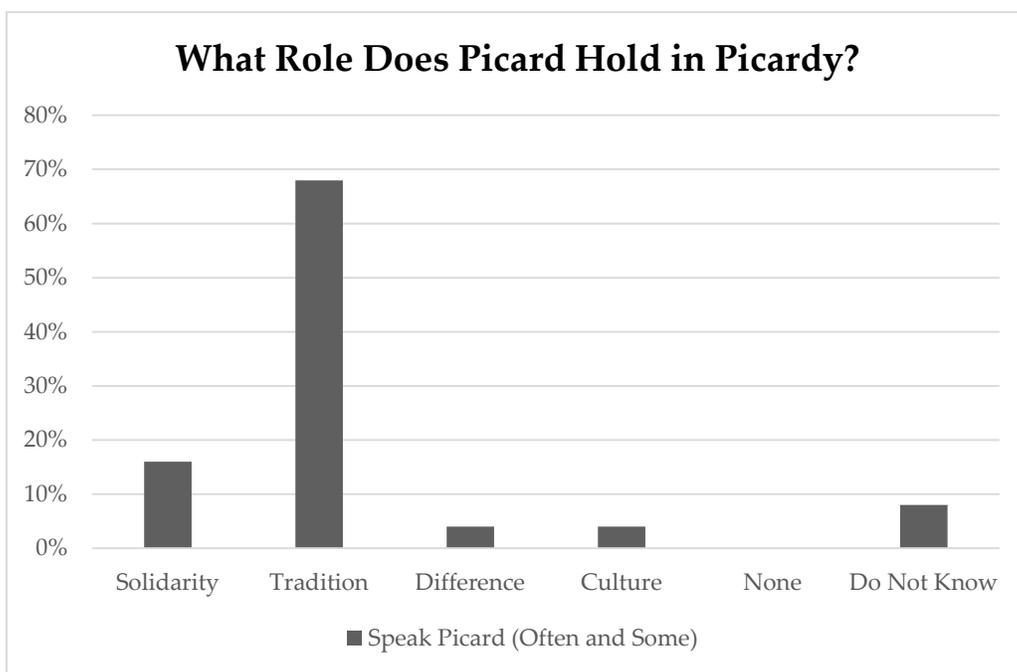
To the question asking whether Picard was a variety of French, 17 (68.00%) responded “Yes”, 7 (28.00%) specified “No” and 1 (4.00%) picked “Do Not Know”.



When asked whether Picard should be taught in public schools in Picardy, 11 (44.00%) indicated “Yes”, 8 (32.00%) responded “No” and 6 (24.00%) replied “Do Not Know”.

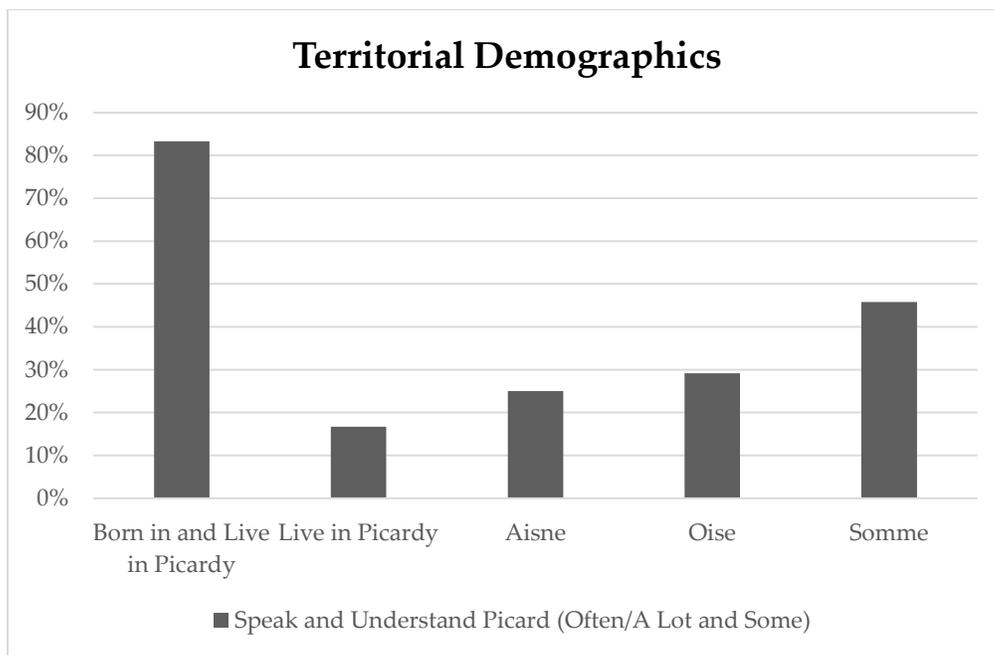


When asked what role Picard held in Picardy, 17 (68.00%) selected "Tradition", 4 (16.00%) chose "Solidarity", 2 (8.00%) decided on "Do Not Know", 1 (4.00%) picked "Difference" and another 1 (4.00%) picked "Culture".

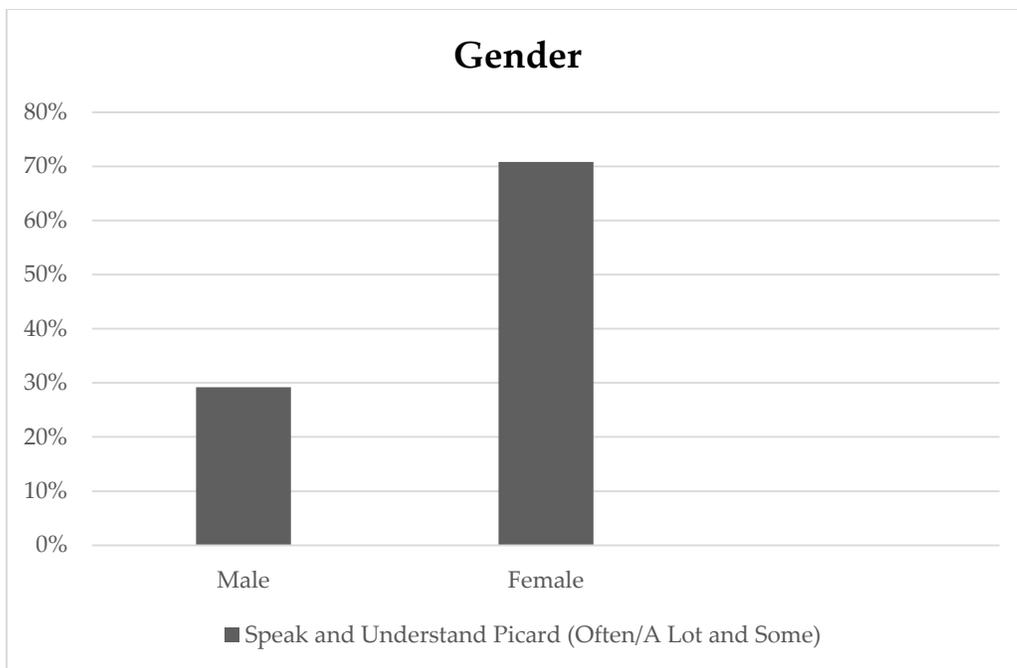


Picardy: Speak and Understand Picard, Often/A Lot and Some

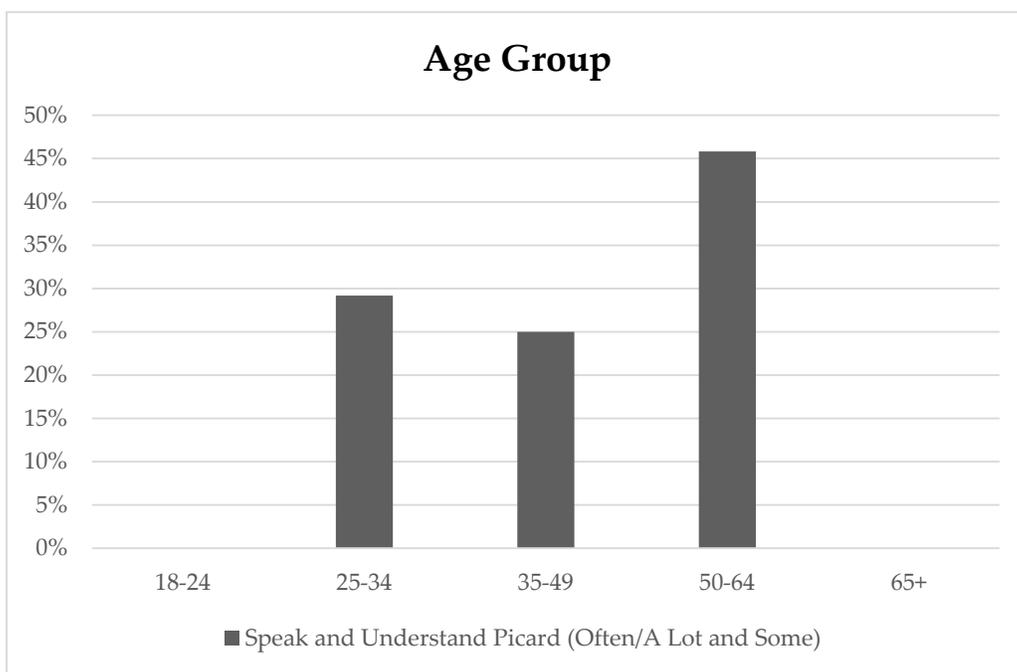
Among the 24 Picard respondents who reported both speaking and understanding Picard – often/a lot or some –, 20 (83.33%) were both born in and live in Picardy and 4 (16.67%) live in Picardy, but were born in another region. Of these participants, 6 (25.00%) live in the Aisne *département*, 7 (29.17%) in the Oise and 11 (45.83%) in the Somme. Nine respondents reported being regional activists: 7 cultural and 2 linguistic.



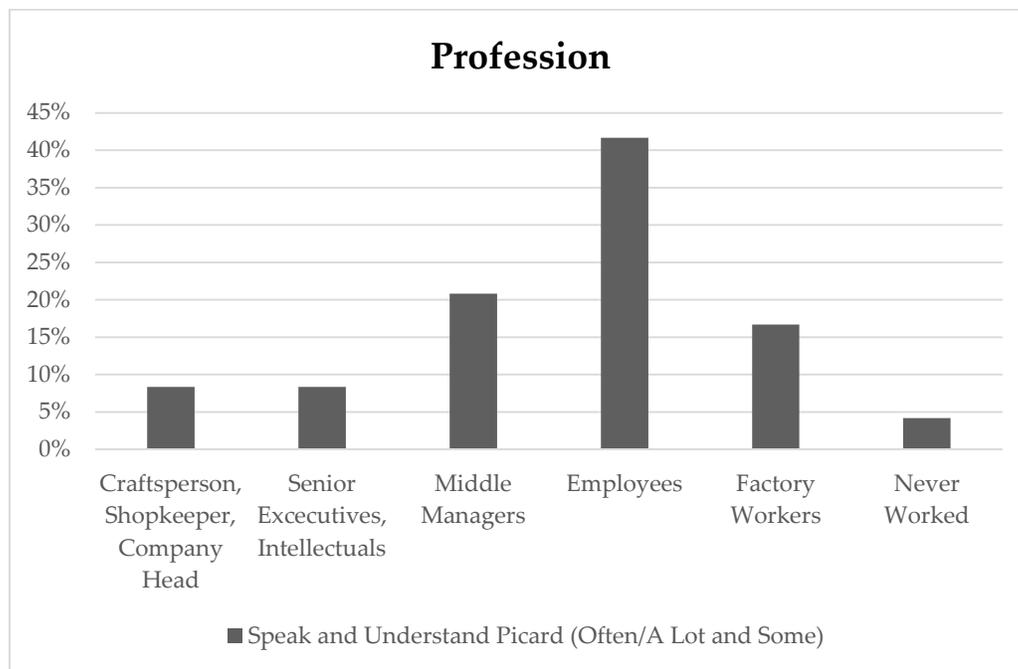
The sample broke down in the following manner for gender, age, profession and education: For gender, 7 (29.17%) were men and 17 (70.83%) were women;



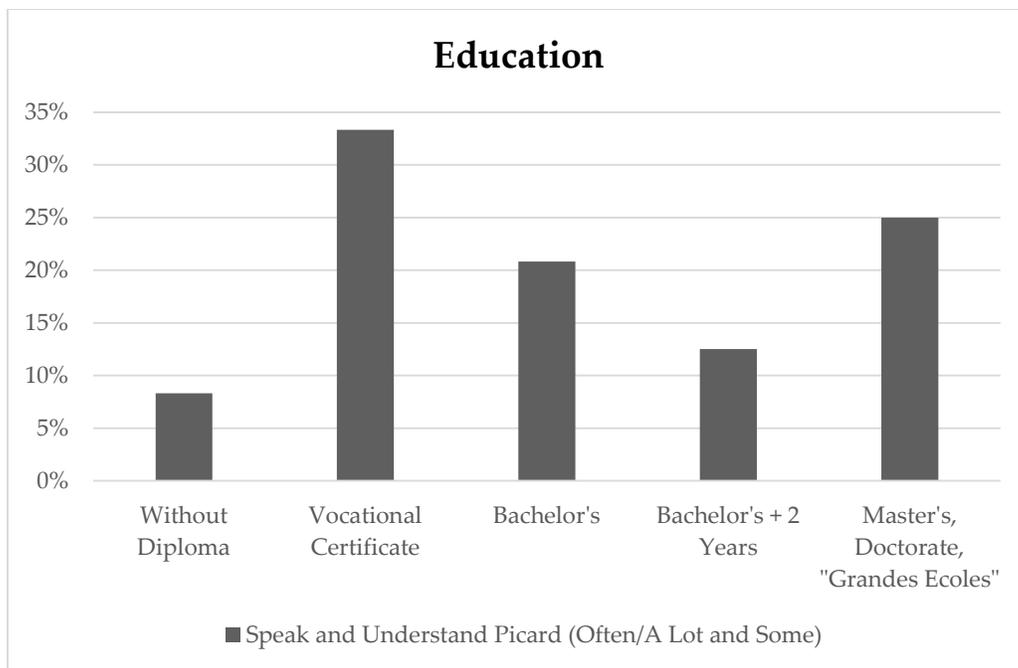
Regarding age, 7 (29.17%) were between 25 and 34-years-old, 6 (25.00%) were between 35 and 49 years of age and 11 (45.83%) were between 50 and 64-years-old;



For profession, 2 (8.33%) worked as a craftsperson, storekeeper or company head, 2 (8.33%) were employed as senior executives or intellectual professionals, 5 (20.83%) were middle managers, 10 (41.67%) worked as employees, 4 (16.67%) were factory workers and 1 (4.17%) had never worked;

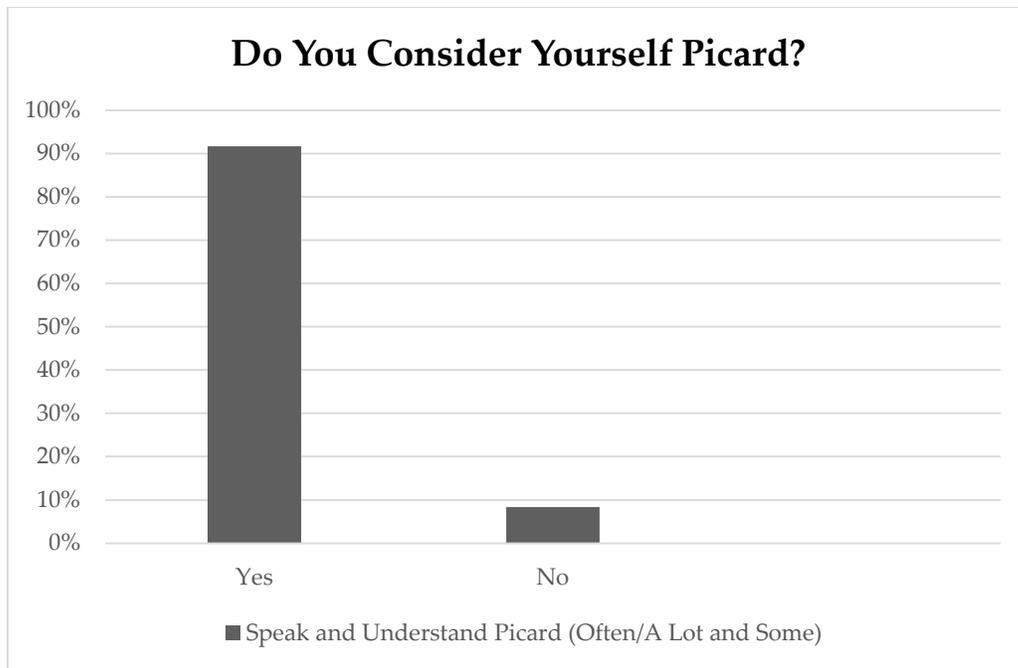


Concerning education and highest diploma earned, 2 (8.33%) held no diploma, 8 (33.33%) possessed a vocational certificate or a national vocational qualification, 5 (20.83%) held a Bachelor's degree, 3 (12.50%) possessed a Bachelor's degree plus two additional years, such as teachers and healthcare or social professionals, and 6 (25.00%) held Master's degrees, Doctorates or degrees from the *Grandes Ecoles*.

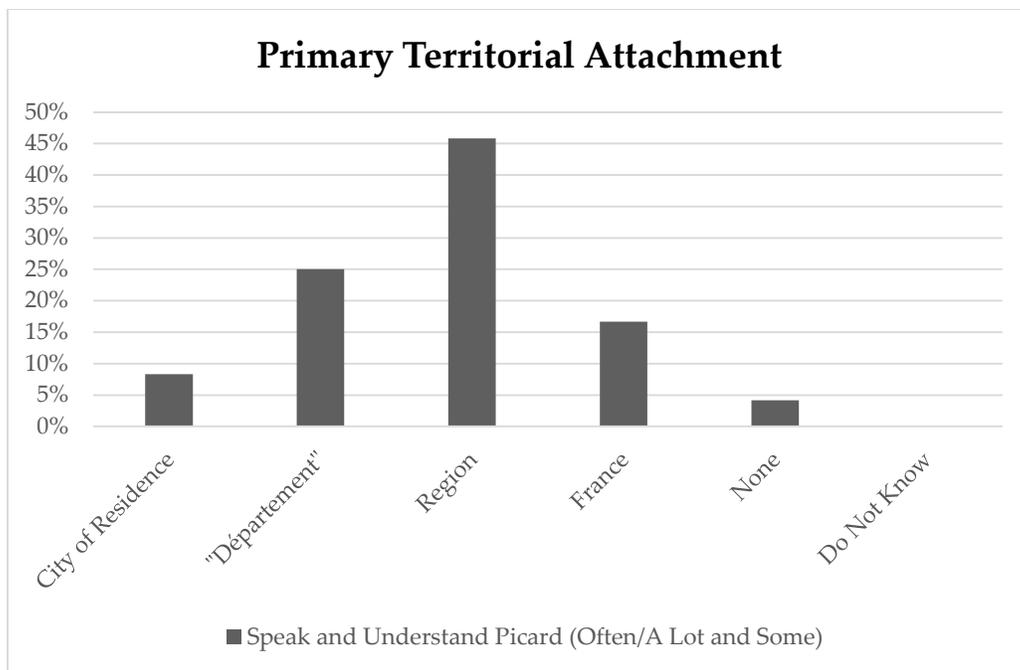


Regional Identity

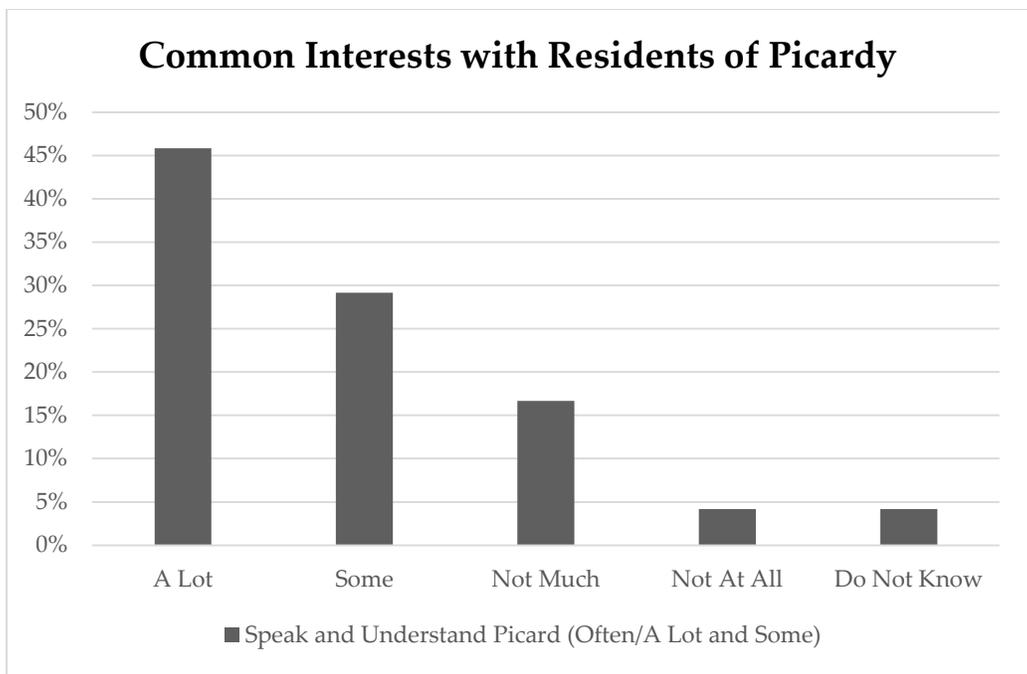
Among the 24 participants who reported speaking and understanding Picard either often/a lot or some, 22 (91.67%) considered themselves to be Picard, while 2 (8.33%) did not.



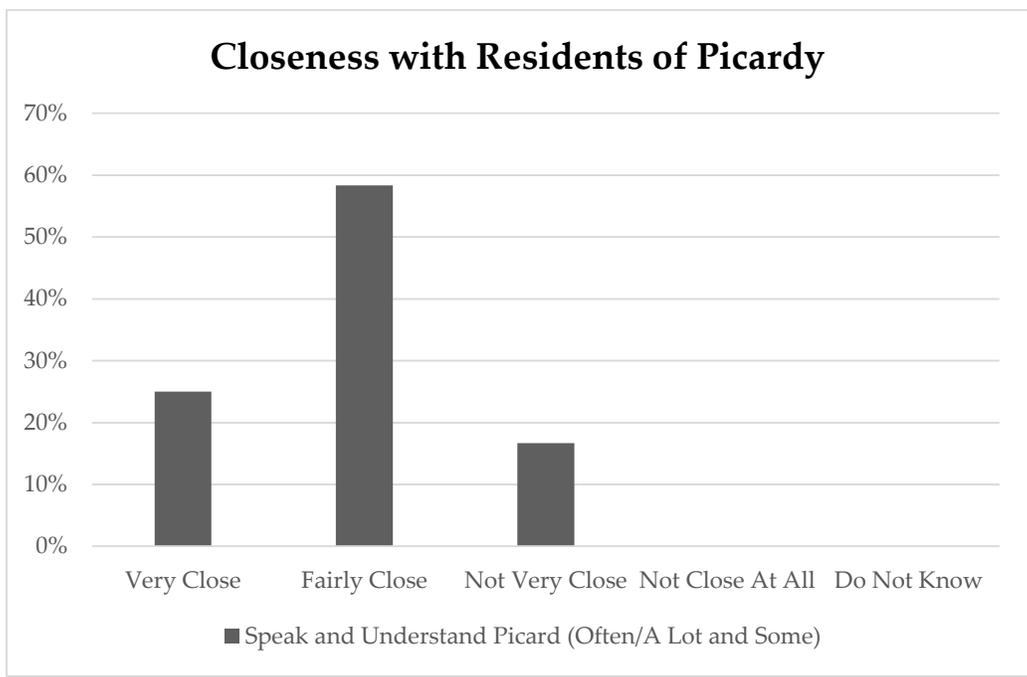
When asked to choose to which administrative territory they were primarily attached, 11 (45.83%) chose “Region”, 6 (25.00%) selected “Département”, 4 (16.67%) picked “France”, 2 (8.33%) settled on “City of Residence” and 1 (4.17%) chose “None”.



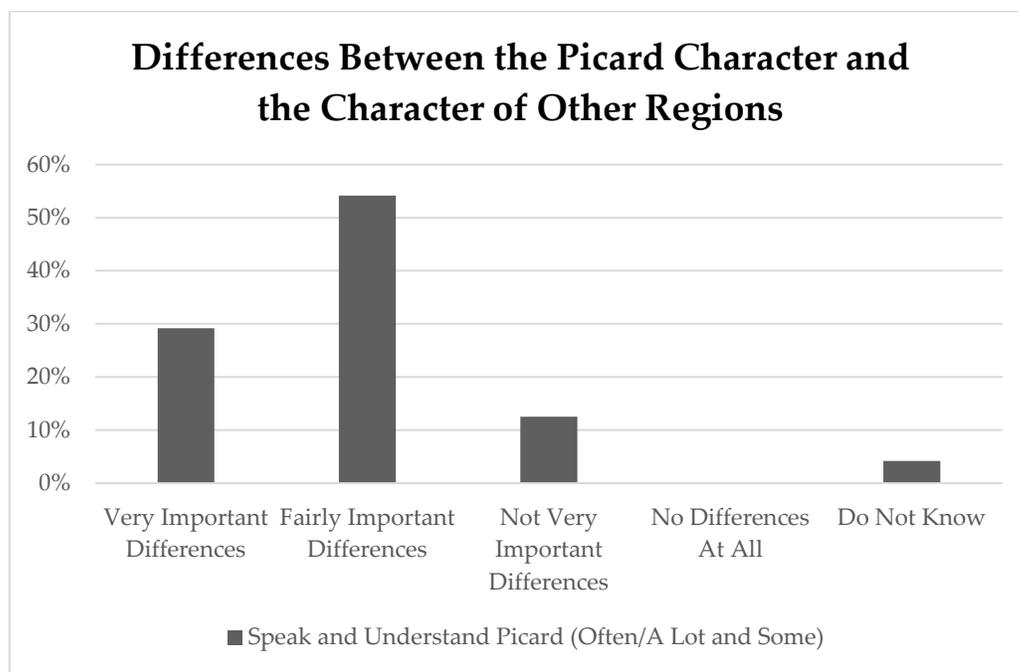
To the question regarding having common interests with other residents of Picardy, 11 (44.00%) indicated that they had "A Lot", 7 (29.17%) reported "Some", 4 (16.67%) stated having "Not Many", 1 (4.17%) answered "Not At All" and another 1 (4.17%) replied "Do Not Know".



When asked how close respondents were to the other residents of Picardy, 14 (58.33%) chose “Fairly Close”, 6 (25.00%) selected “Very Close” and 4 (16.67%) picked “Not Very Close”.



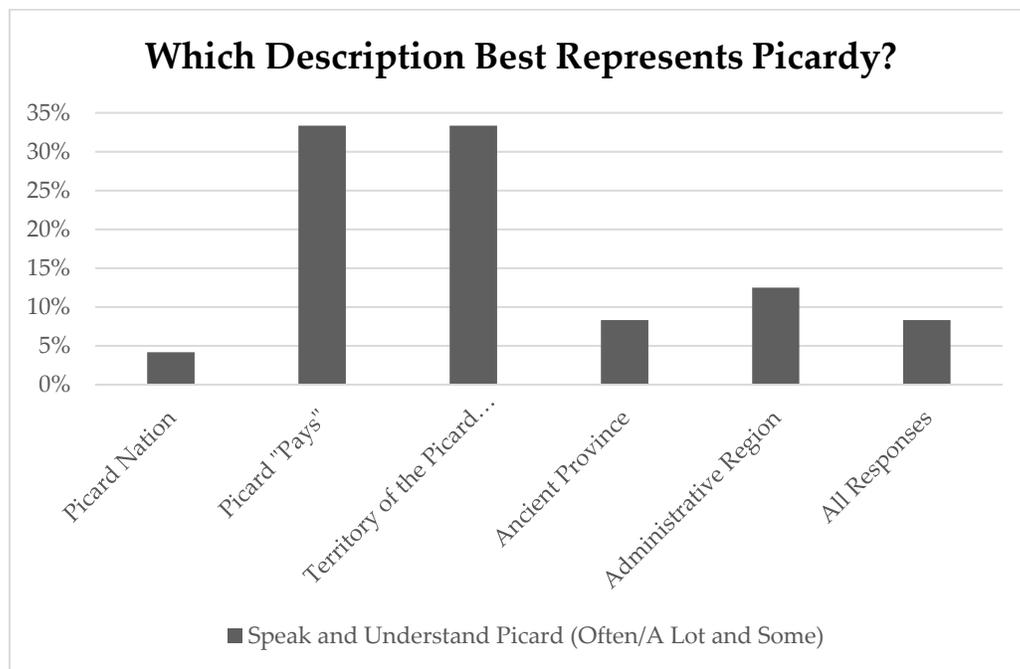
To the question inquiring about how the regional character of residents of Picardy differed from that of residents of other regions, 13 (54.17%) indicated that there were fairly important differences between Picards and the residents of other regions of France. Furthermore, 7 (29.17%) reported that there were very important differences. Among the other respondents, 3 (12.50%) stated that there were not very many differences and 1 (4.17%) was unsure.



When asked to select the description that best represented Picardy for them, 8 (33.33%) responded “the Picard Pays”¹⁴, another 8 (33.33%) indicated

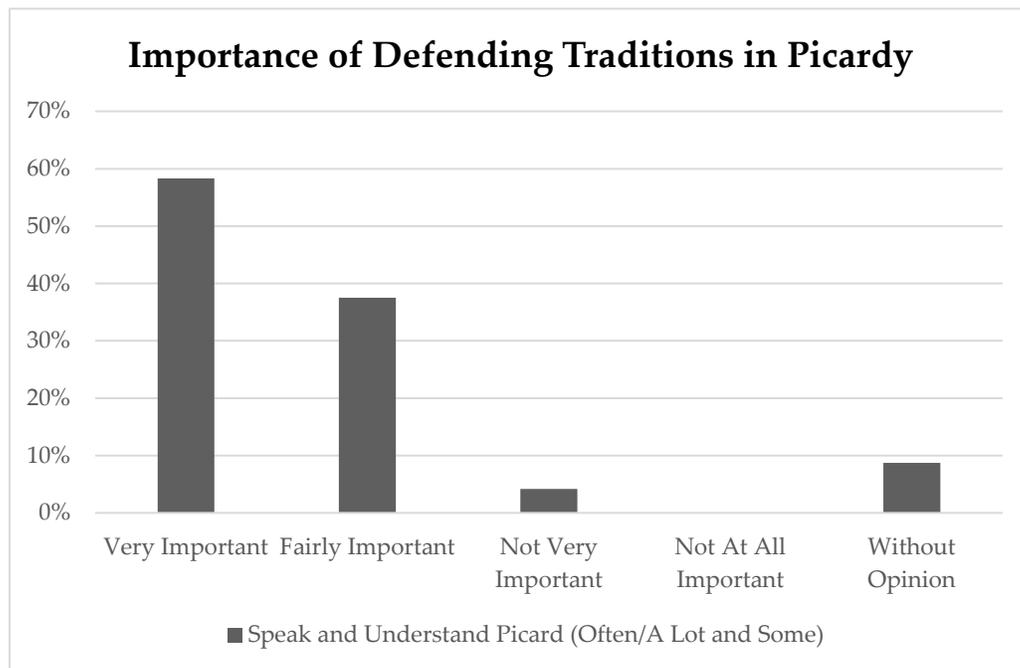
¹⁴ In French, the singular, *le pays picard*, and the plural, *les pays picards*, sound the same without the definite article “le/les” since the final “s” in “picards” is not pronounced. Since English neither requires the usage of this article nor the agreement of adjectives and nouns, the singular and plural “Picard pays” are written the same way since the term “pays” already ends in an “s”. Here, in the original French, the expression was written in both the singular and the plural – “le pays picard ou les pays picards” and the English translation should include that idea.

“Territory of the Picard People”, 3 (12.50%) reported “Administrative Region of the French Republic”, 2 (8.33%) selected “All Responses”, another 2 (8.33%) picked “Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France” and 1 (4.17%) decided on “Picard Nation”.



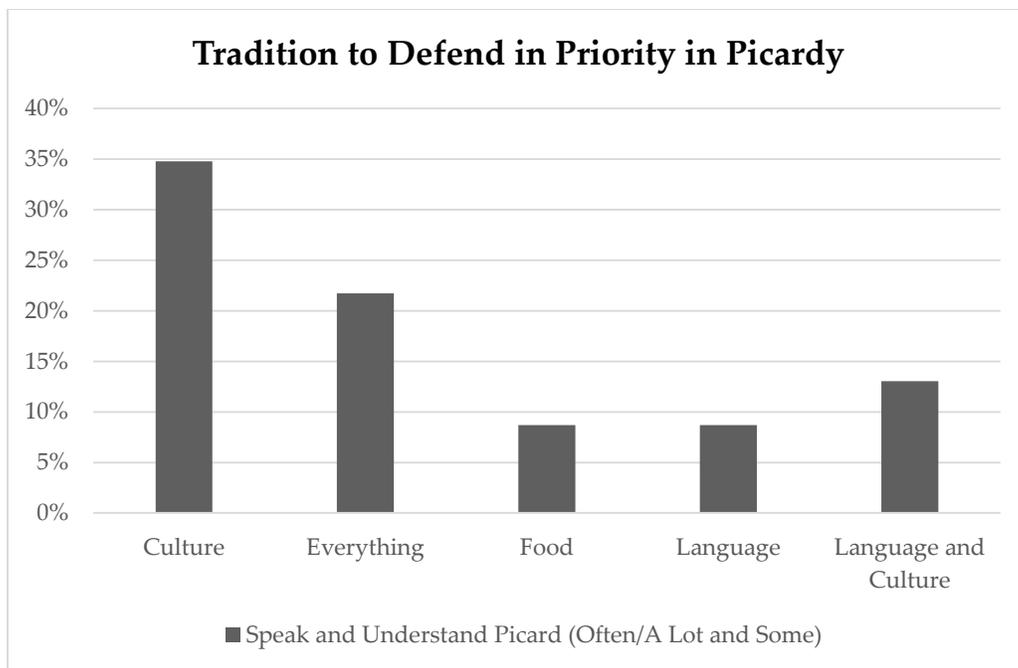
To the question regarding the importance of defending traditional elements in Picardy, 14 (58.33%) reported “Very Important”, 9 (37.50%) indicated

“Fairly Important” and 1 (4.17%) responded “Not Very Important At All”.



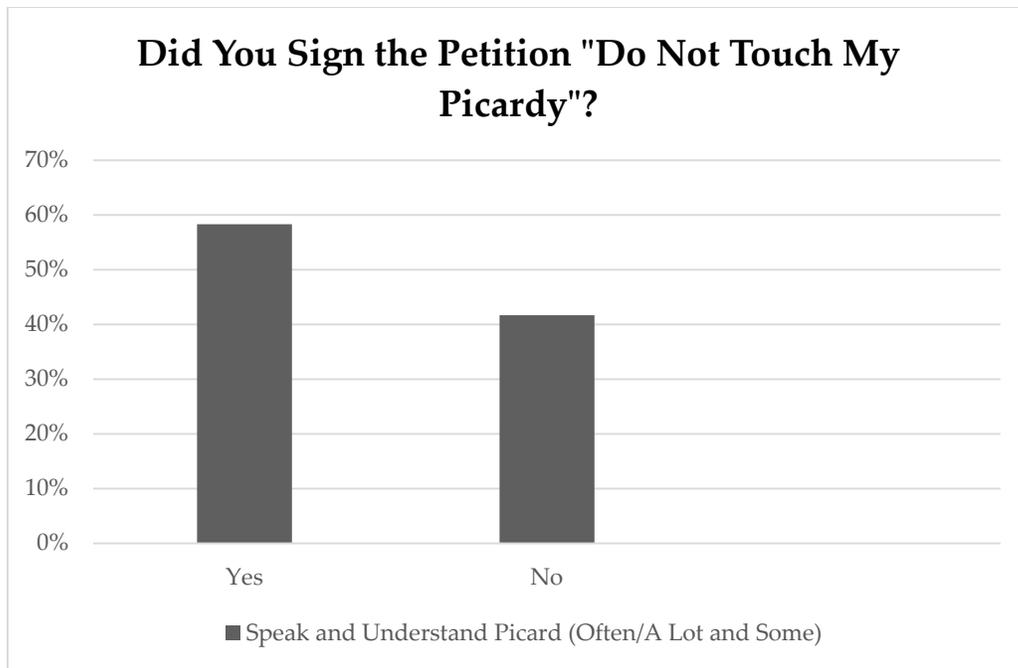
Respondents were then asked to name a tradition to defend in priority; 8 (34.78%) indicated “Culture”, 5 (21.74%) responded “Everything”, 3 (13.04%) replied “Language and Culture”, 2 (8.70%) reported “Language” and another 2 (8.70%) answered “Food” ¹⁵.

¹⁵ While certain elements were suggested, respondents were able to suggest their own as well. These categories represent a synthesis of reported elements. When a respondent gave a list of several things, the first was recorded; however, when a respondent either stated, “Everything” or gave a list and stated, “Everything” at the end; “Everything” was simply recorded. In other words, “Everything” had to be specifically stated for the respondent’s response to be categorized as “Everything”; otherwise, only the first element was recorded. The only exception was for the mention of “Language” or “Dialect” since this study is mainly focused upon them/it. If a respondent gave a list that included one of the two terms anywhere within it, they were recorded. However, for the category “Language and Culture”, both terms had to be mentioned as the first two terms in either order for their response to be categorized as “Language and Culture”. As a result, since these categories represent a synthesis, the numbers and percentages can be unequal to the actual number of respondents involved; furthermore, not all respondents

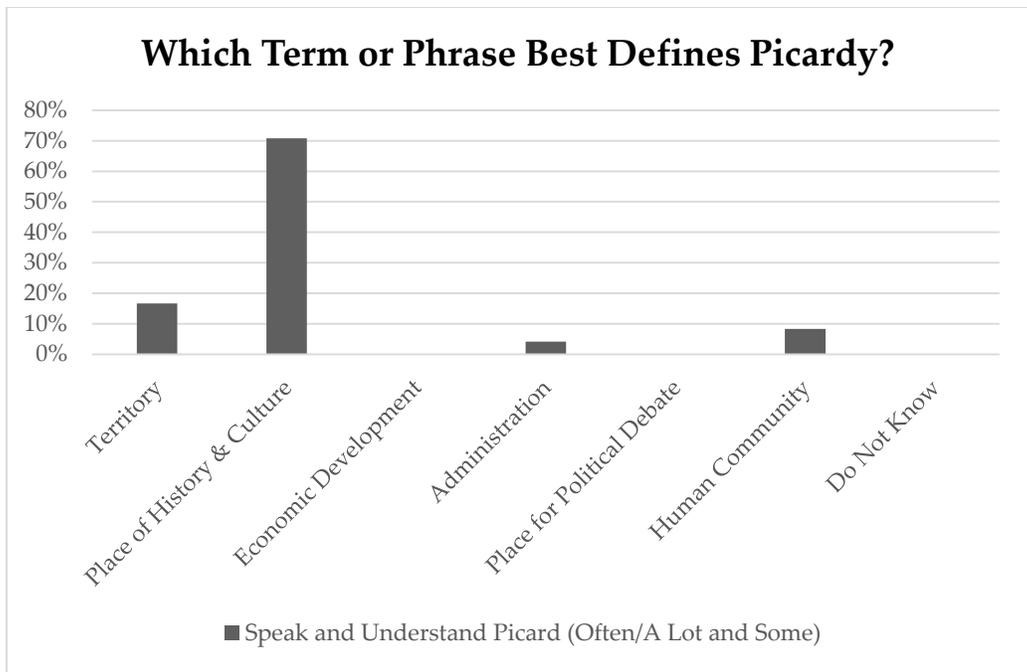


When asked if the participant signed the "Do Not Touch My Picardy Petition", 14 (58.33%) responded "Yes" and 10 (41.67%) answered "No".

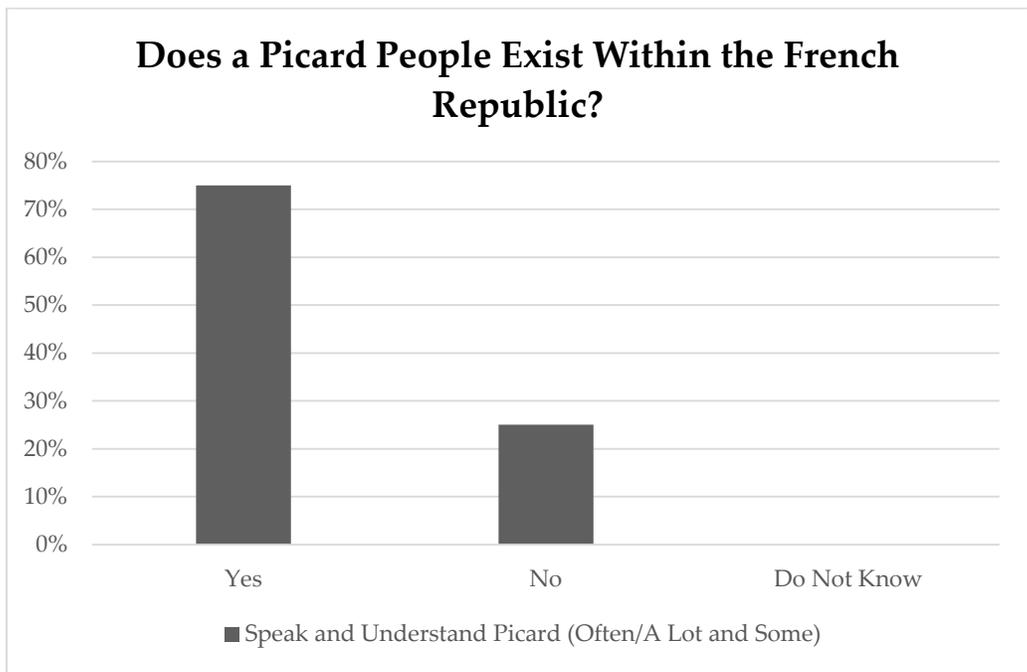
provided an understandable answer; the compiled list maybe somewhat different for each sample. Each list will appear in alphabetical order.



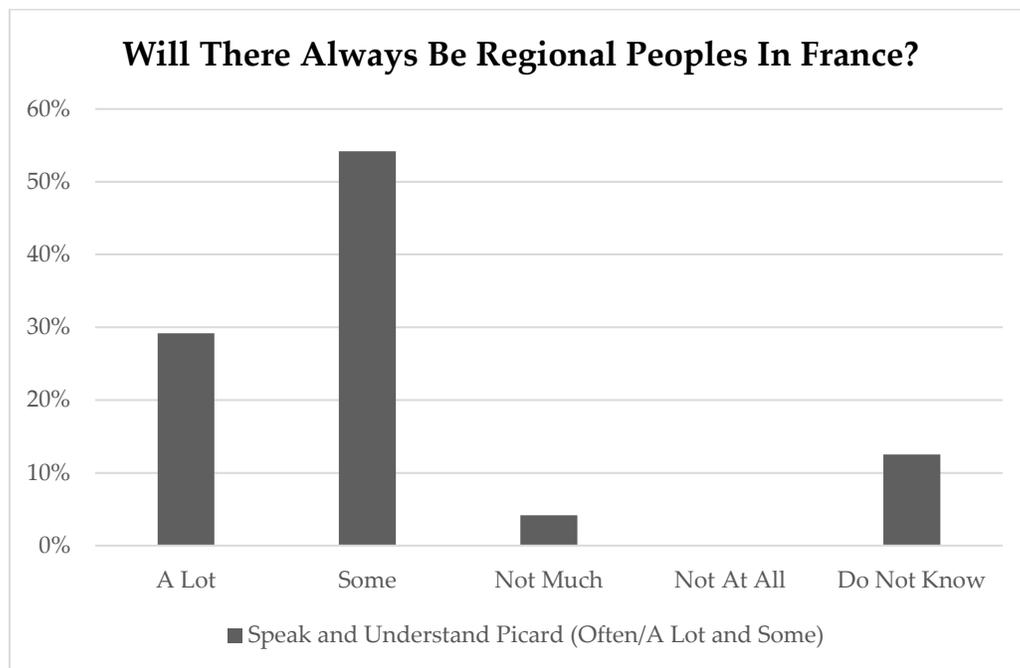
To the question asking the respondent to indicate which term or phrase best defined Picardy, 17 (70.83%) selected "Place of History and Culture", 4 (16.67%) decided on "Territory", 2 (8.33%) picked "Human Community" and 1 (4.17%) selected "Administration".



When asked whether there existed a Picard people within the French Republic, 18 (75.00%) responded “Yes” and 6 (25.00%) indicated “No”.

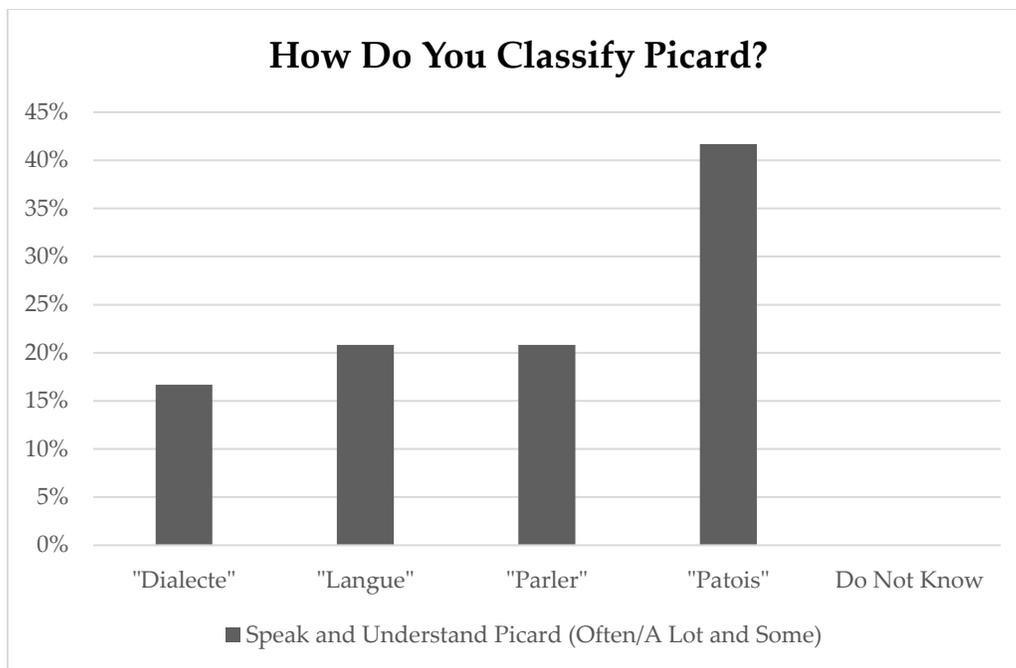


To the question concerning whether France will always contain regional peoples or groups in terms of traditions, customs and dialects, such as the Alsatians, Basques, Bretons, Burgundians, Flemish, Normans, Picards and Provençaux, mentioned in the 17th century, 13 (54.17%) responded “Some”, 7 (29.17%) indicated “Very Much”, 3 (12.50%) selected “Do Not Know” and 1 (4.17%) replied “Not Much”.



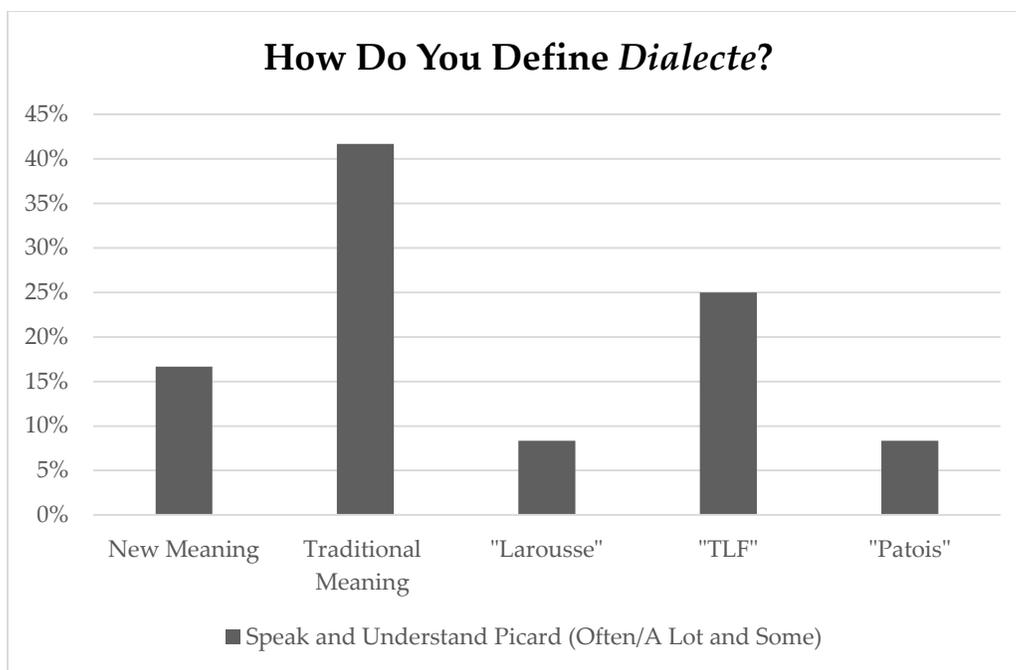
Picard Language and French Language Ideology

To the question regarding the classification of Picard, 10 (41.67%) decided on “Patois”, 5 (20.83%) selected “Langue”, another 5 (20.83%) picked “Parler” and 4 (16.67%) chose “Dialecte”.

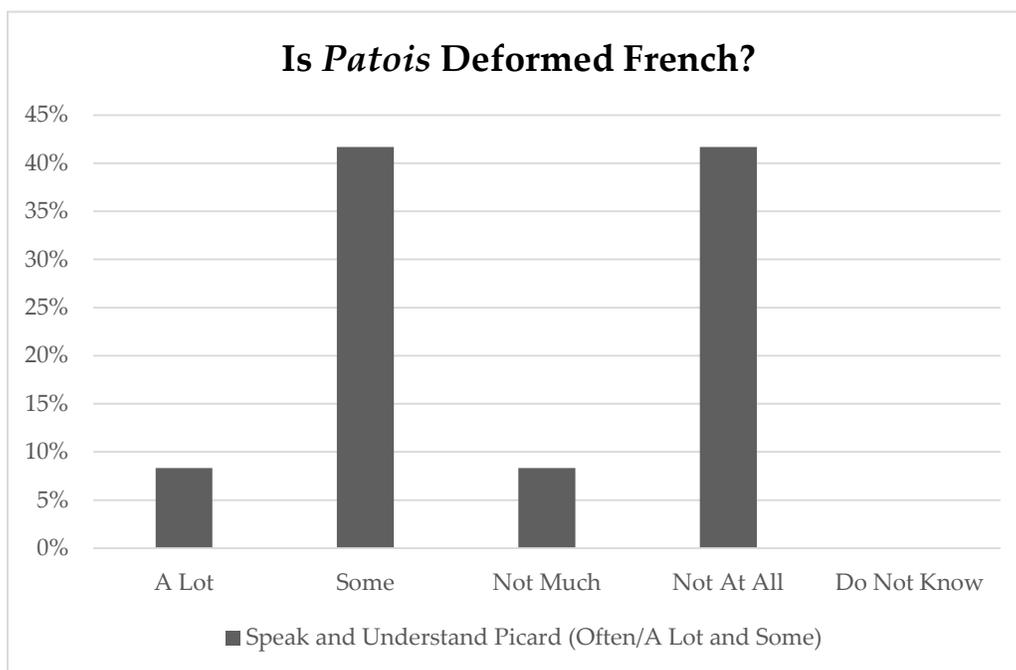


When asked to define *dialecte*, 10 (41.67%) chose the traditional response, 6 (25.00%) decided on the definition of the *Trésor de la langue française*, 4 (16.67%) settled on the new meaning, 2 (8.33%) selected *patois* and another 2 (8.33%) chose the definition employed in the *Larousse* dictionary¹⁶.

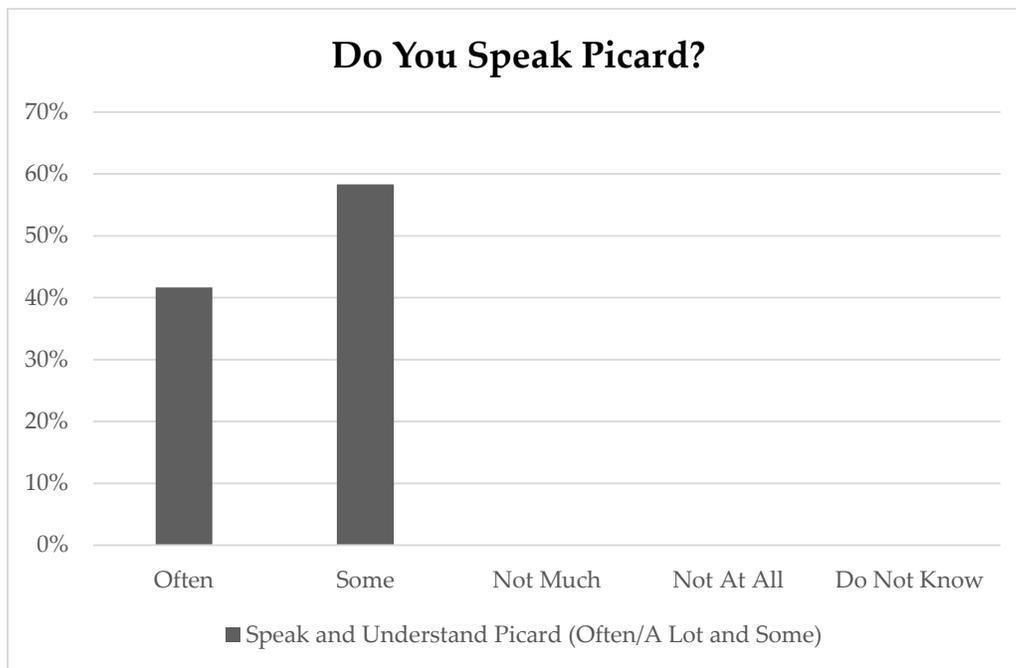
¹⁶ These were not the definitions used; they are simply an easier way of listing them.



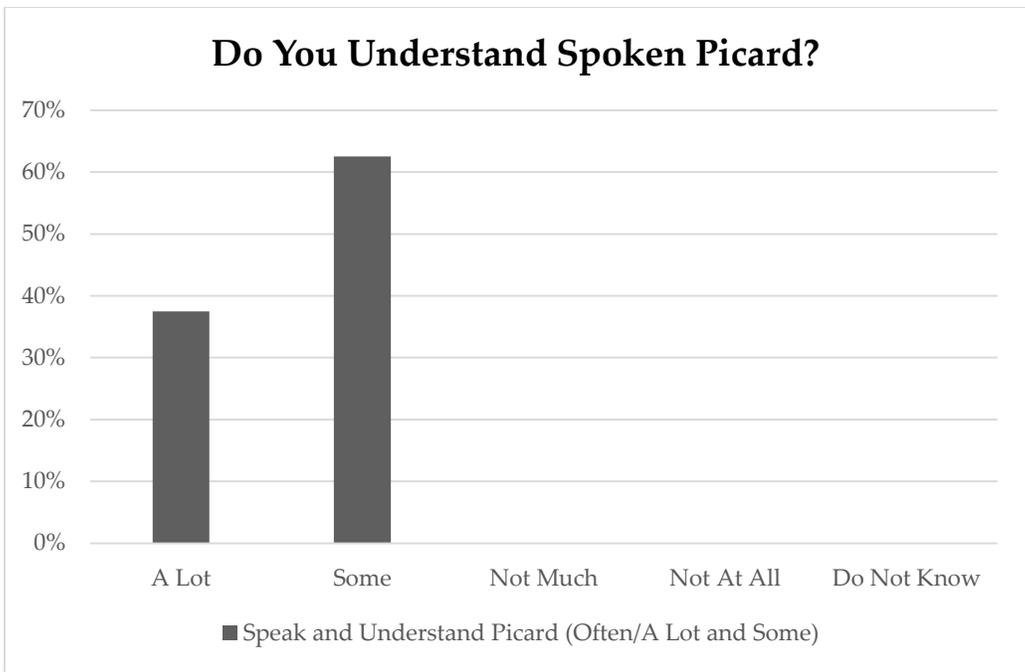
To the question asking the participant whether *patois* was deformed French, 10 (41.67%) indicated "Some", another 10 (41.67%) responded "Not At All", 2 (8.33%) replied "Not Much" and another 2 (8.33%) stated "Very Much".



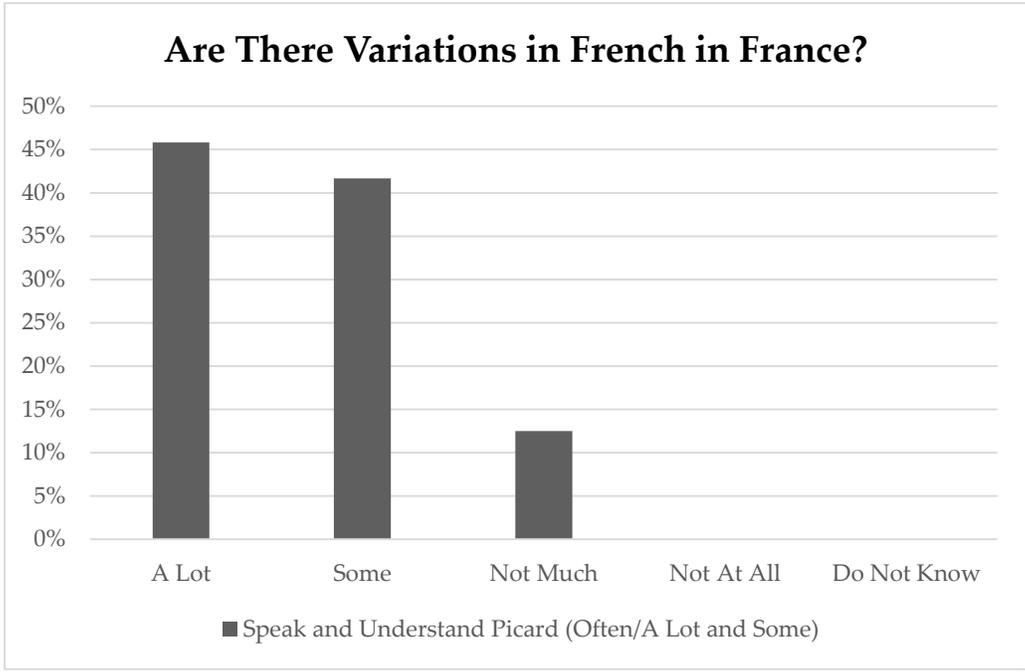
When asking the respondent to report his or her ability to speak Picard, 14 (58.33%) responded "Some" and 10 (41.67%) indicated "Often".



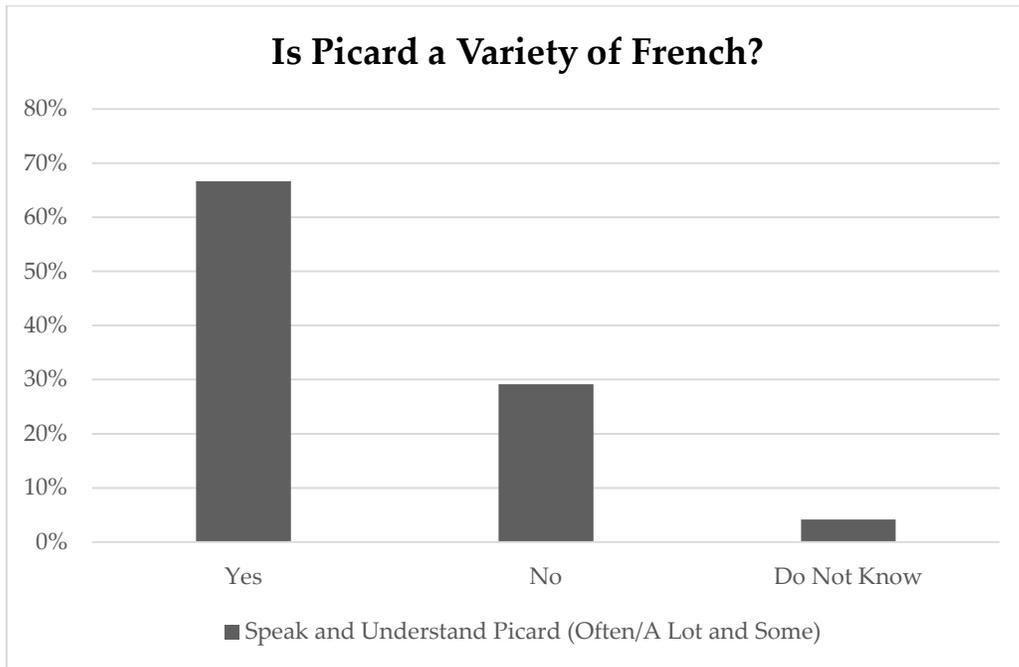
When asked if the participant could understand spoken Picard, 15 (62.50%) specified "Some" and 9 (37.50%) indicated "A Lot".



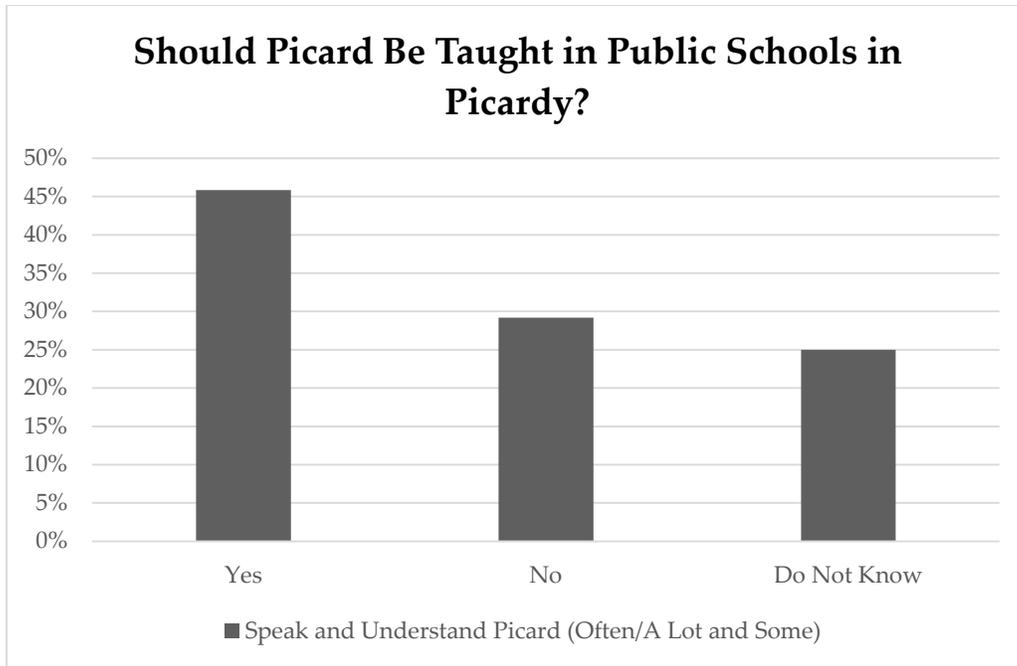
When asked if variations occurred in French in France, 11 (45.83%) indicated “A Lot”, 10 (41.67%) selected “Some” and 3 (12.50%) stated “Not Much”.



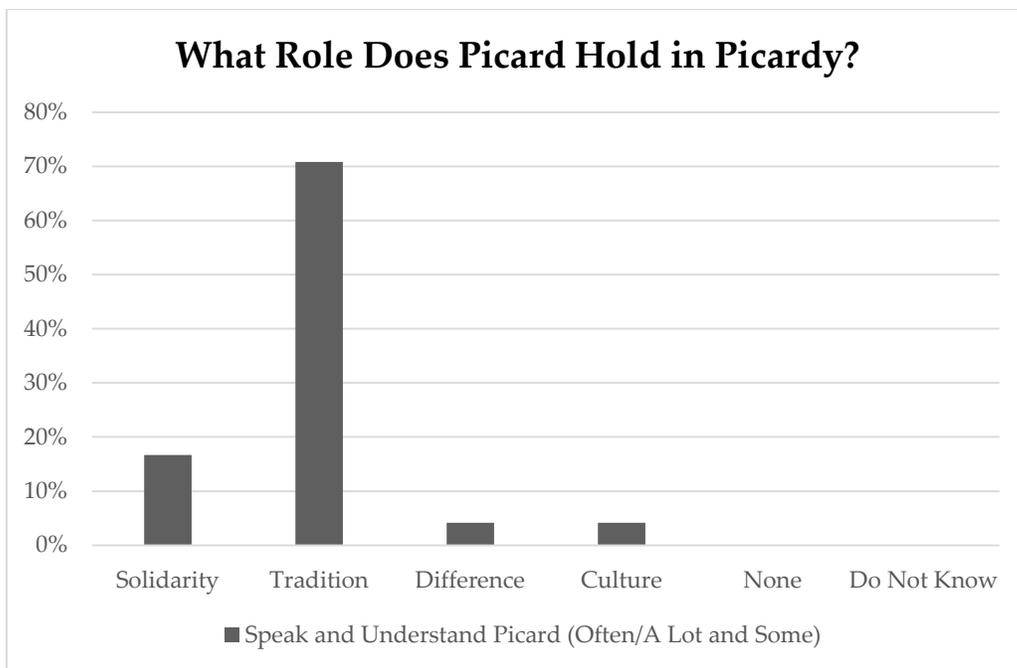
To the question asking whether Picard was a variety of French, 16 (66.67%) responded “Yes”, 7 (29.17%) specified “No” and 1 (4.17%) picked “Do Not Know”.



When asked whether Picard should be taught in public schools in Picardy, 11 (45.83%) indicated “Yes”, 7 (29.17%) responded “No” and 6 (25.00%) replied “Do Not Know”.



When asked what role Picard held in Picardy, 17 (70.83%) selected "Tradition", 4 (16.67%) chose "Solidarity", 1 (4.17%) picked "Culture", another 1 (4.17%) picked "Difference" and yet another 1 (4.17%) decided on "Do Not Know".

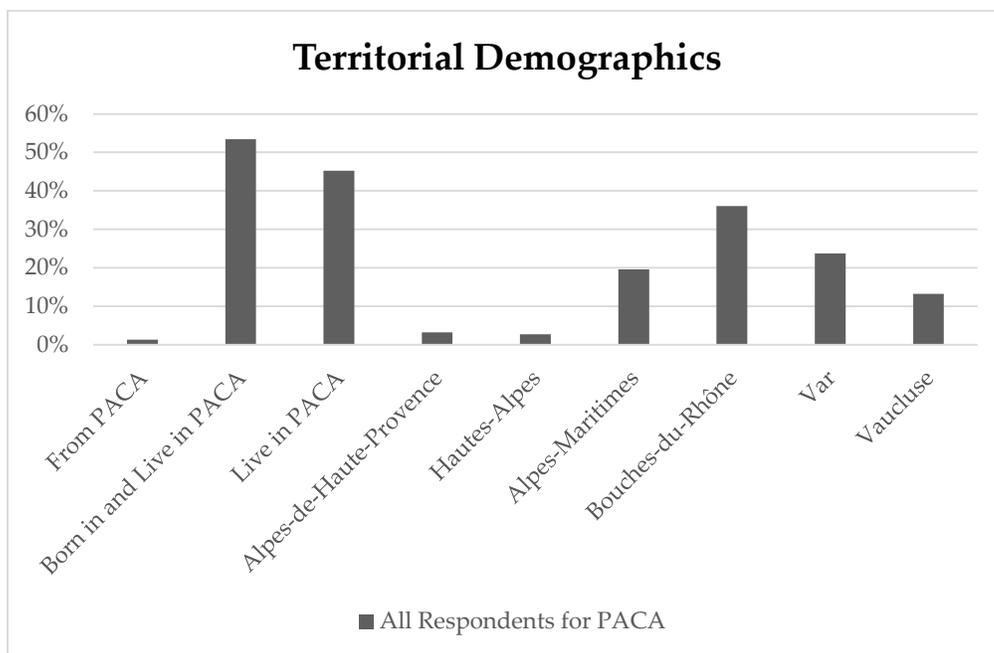


Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur Results

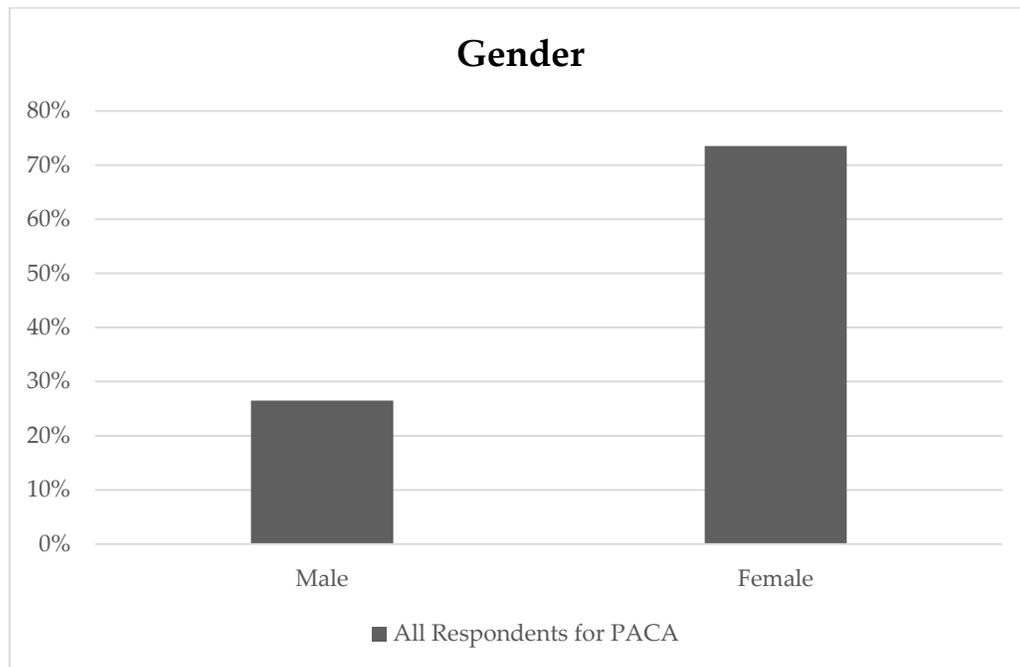
The following results for Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (PACA) are reported within the five groups established for the sample: all PACA respondents, respondents born in and living in PACA, Understand Spoken Provençal, A Lot and Some (Provençal-understanders), Speak Provençal, Often and Some (Provençal-speakers) and Speak and Understand Provençal, Often/A Lot and Some (Provençal-speakers as well as understanders).

Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (PACA): Baseline, All PACA Respondents

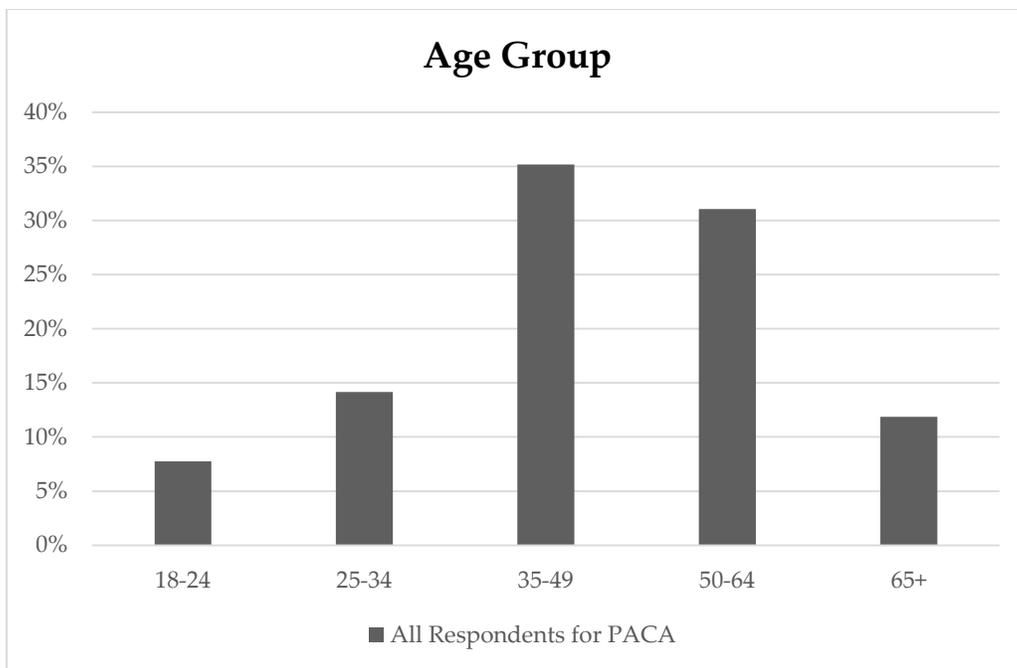
Among the 219 total respondents for Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 3 (1.37%) were born in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, but now reside in another region, 117 (53.42%) were both born in and live in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur and 99 (45.21%) live in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, but were born in another region. Of these participants, 7 (3.20%) live in the Alpes-de-Haute-Provence *département*, 6 (2.74%) in the Hautes-Alpes, 43 (19.63%) in the Alpes-Maritimes, 79 (36.07) in the Bouches-du-Rhône, 52 (23.74%) in the Var, 29 (13.24%) in the Vaucluse and 3 (1.37%) live outside of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur and one of its six *départements*. Twenty-eight respondents reported being regional activists: 22 cultural, 3 linguistic and 3 political.



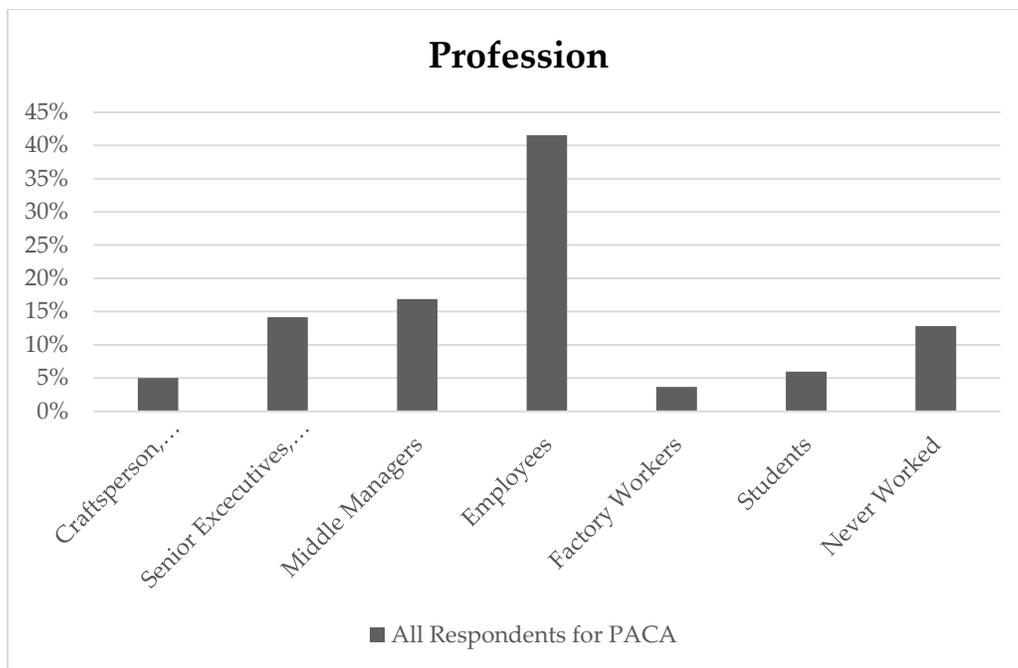
The sample broke down in the following manner for gender, age, profession and education: For gender, 58 (26.48%) were men and 161 (73.52%) were women;



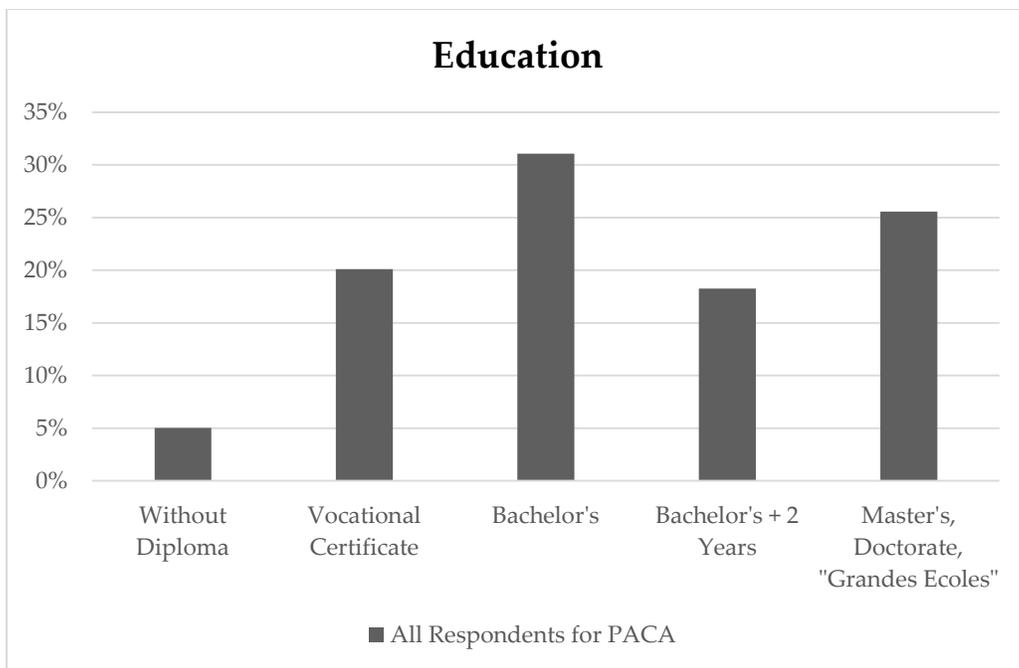
Regarding age, 17 (7.76%) were between 18 and 24 years of age, 31 (14.16%) were between 25 and 34-years-old, 77 (35.16%) were between 35 and 49 years of age, 68 (31.05%) were between 50 and 64-years-old and 26 (11.87%) were 65 years of age or older;



For profession, 11 (5.02%) worked as a craftsperson, storekeeper or company head, 31 (14.16%) were employed as senior executives or intellectual professionals, 37 (16.89%) were middle managers, 91 (41.55%) worked as employees, 8 (3.65%) were factory workers, 13 (5.94%) were students and 8 (12.79%) had never worked;

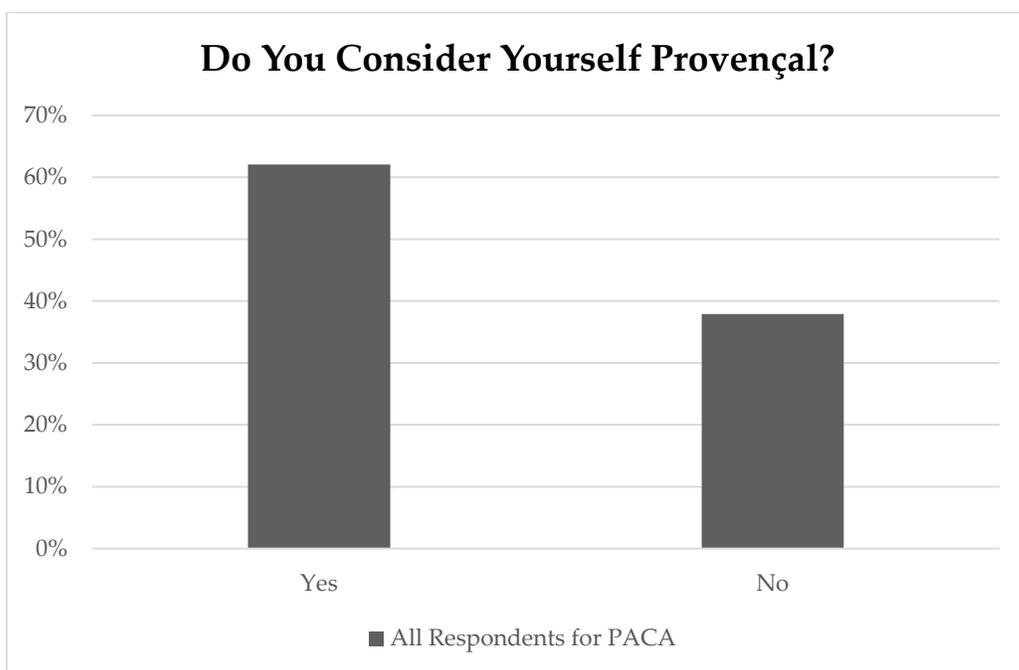


Concerning education and highest diploma earned, 11 (5.02%) held no diploma, 44 (20.09%) possessed a vocational certificate or a national vocational qualification, 68 (31.05%) held a Bachelor's degree, 40 (18.26%) possessed a Bachelor's degree plus two additional years, such as teachers and healthcare or social professionals, and 56 (25.57%) held Master's degrees, Doctorates or degrees from the *Grandes Ecoles*.

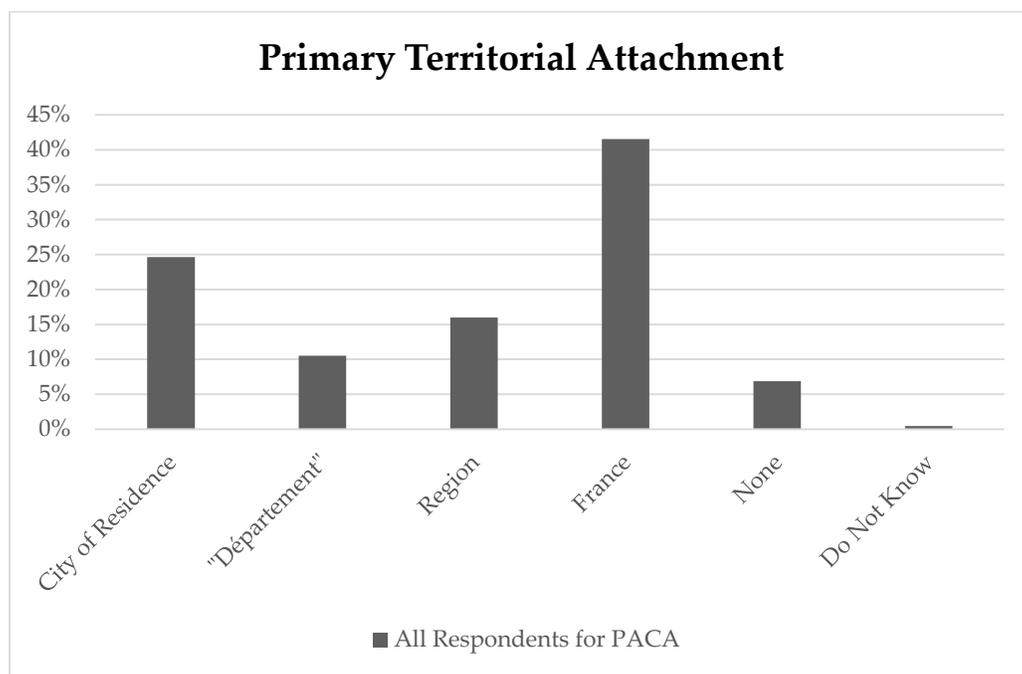


Regional Identity

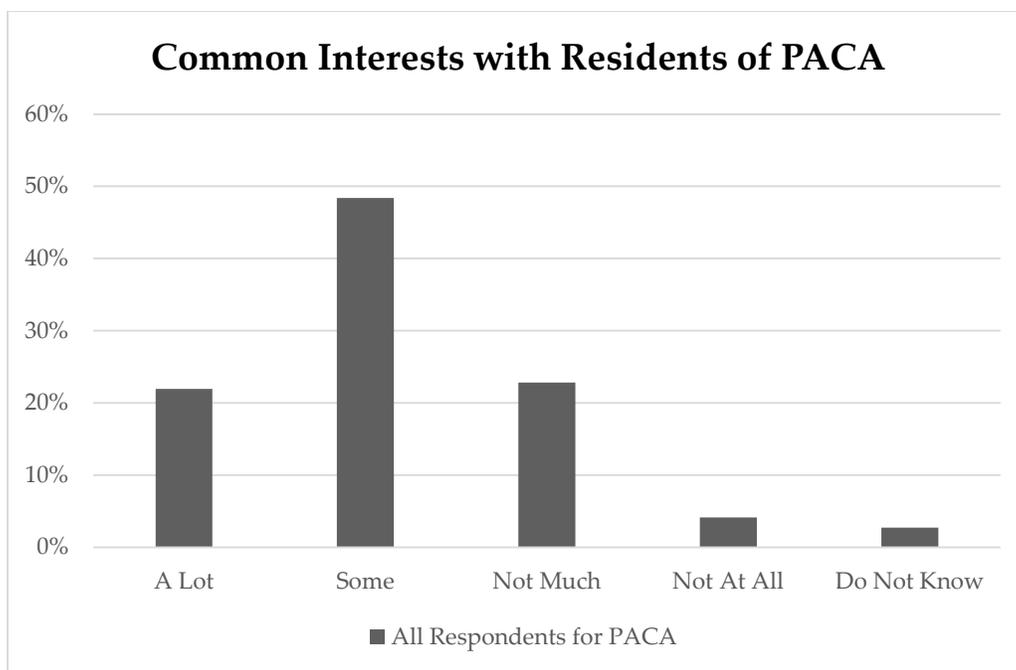
Of the 219 total participants, 136 (62.10%) considered themselves to be Provençal, while 83 (37.90%) did not.



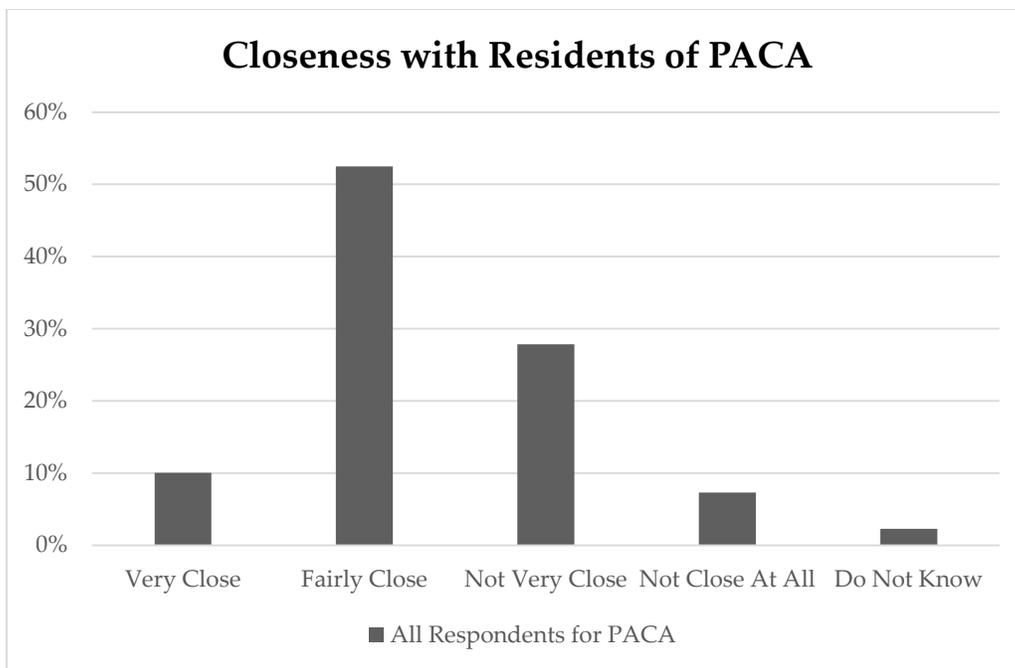
When asked to choose to which administrative territory they were primarily attached, 91 (41.55%) chose “France”, 54 (24.66%) selected “City of Residence”, 35 (15.98%) picked “Region”, 23 (10.50%) decided on “*Département*”, 15 (6.85%) selected “None” and 1 (0.46%) chose “Do Not Know”.



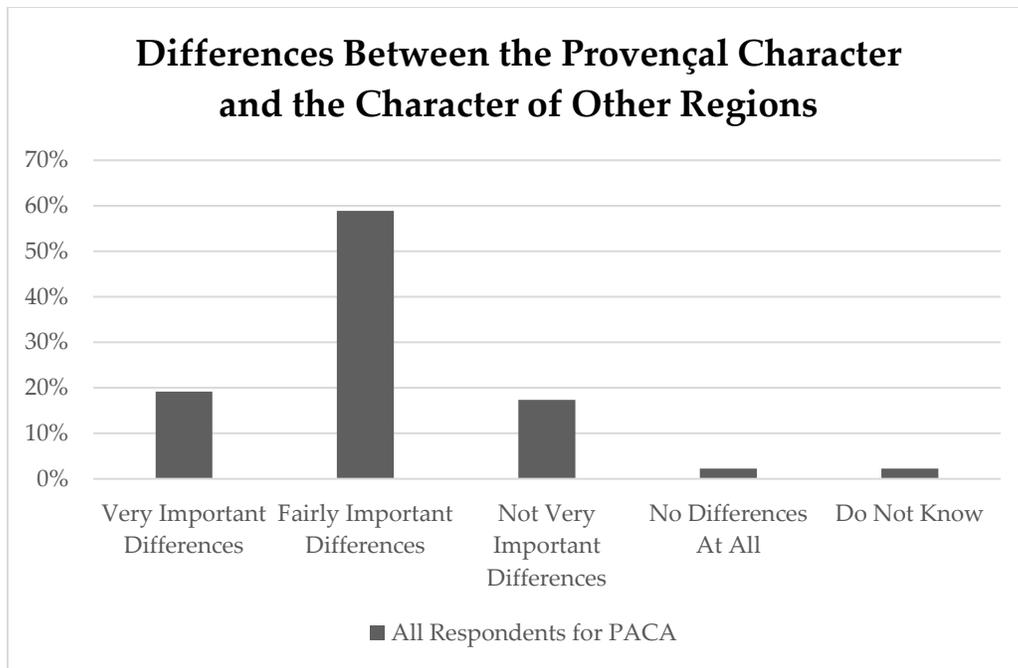
To the question regarding having common interests with other residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 106 (48.40%) indicated that they had “Some”, 50 (22.83%) reported “Not Many”, 48 (21.92%) stated having “A Lot”, 9 (4.11%) reported “Not At All” and 6 (2.74%) indicated “Do Not Know”.



When asked how close respondents were to the other residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 115 (52.51%) selected "Fairly Close", 61 (27.85%) chose "Not Very Close", 22 (10.05%) decided on "Very Close", 16 (7.31%) picked "Not Close At All" and 5 (2.28%) settled on "Do Not Know".

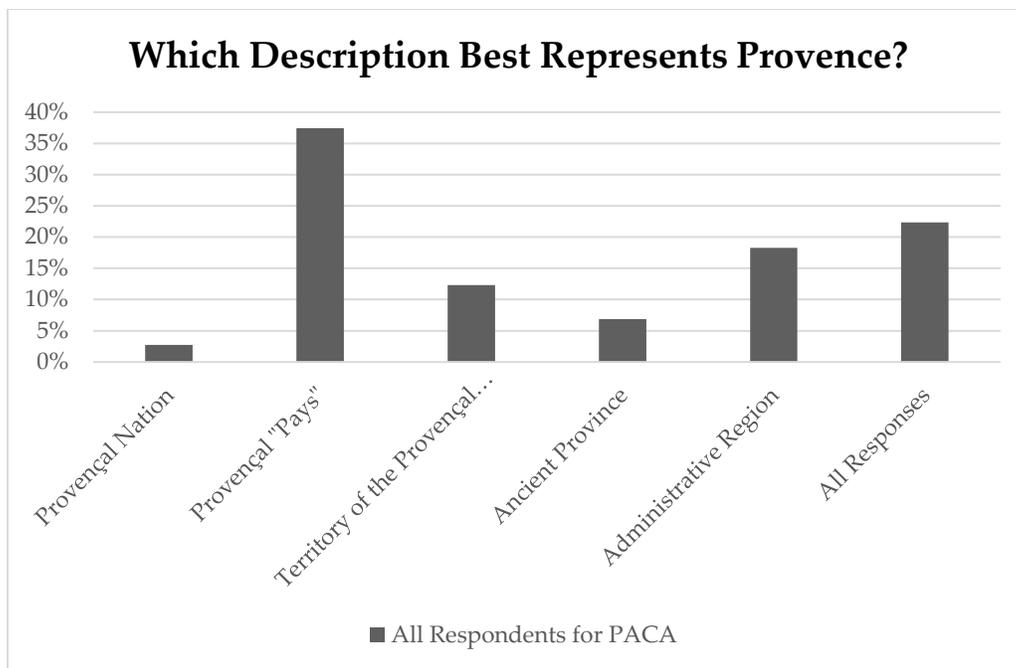


To the question inquiring about how the regional character of residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur differed from that of residents of other regions, 129 (58.90%) indicated that there were fairly important differences between the Provençaux and the residents of other regions. Furthermore, 42 (19.18%) reported that there were very important differences. Among the other respondents, 38 (17.35%) stated that there were not a lot of differences, while 5 (2.28%) reported that there were no differences and another 5 (2.28%) did not know.

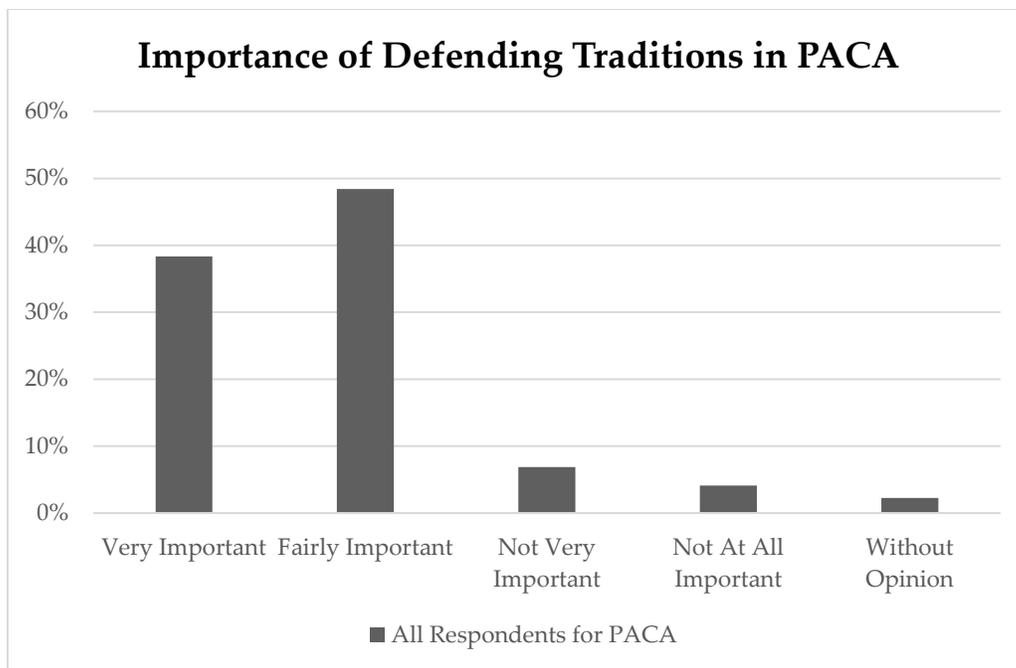


When asked to select the description that best represented Provence for them, 82 (37.44%) responded “the Provençal *Pays* or the Provençaux *Pays*”¹⁷, 49 (22.37%) indicated “All Responses”, 40 (18.26%) reported “Administrative Region of the French Republic”, 27 (12.33%) indicated “Territory of the Provençal People”, 15 (6.85%) picked “Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France” and 6 (2.74%) decided on the “Provençal Nation”.

¹⁷ In French, the singular, *le pays provençal*, and the plural, *les pays provençaux*, do not sound the same, which occurred in the Picard version. Since English neither requires the usage of the definite article nor the agreement of adjectives and nouns, the French singular and plural of Provençal respectively – “Provençal and Provençaux” (and with capitals) – are used to denote the difference since ‘pays’ already ends in an “s” in the singular.

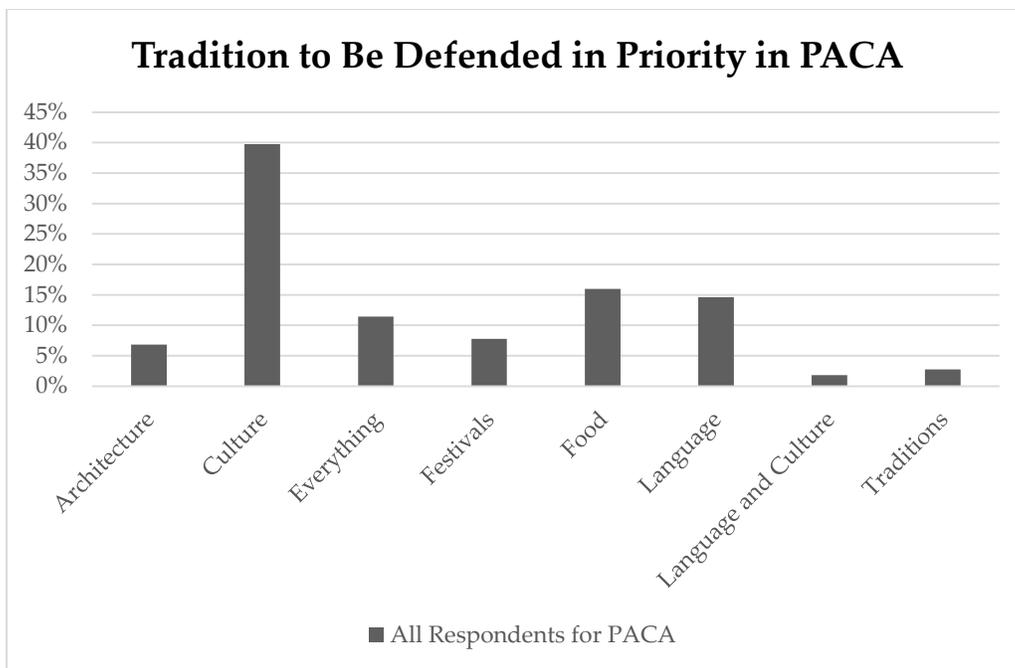


To the question regarding the importance of defending traditional elements in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 106 (48.40%) reported "Fairly Important", 84 (38.36%) indicated "Very Important", 15 (6.85%) responded "Not Very Important", 9 (4.11%) indicated "Not At All Important" and 5 (2.28%) stated "Without Opinion".



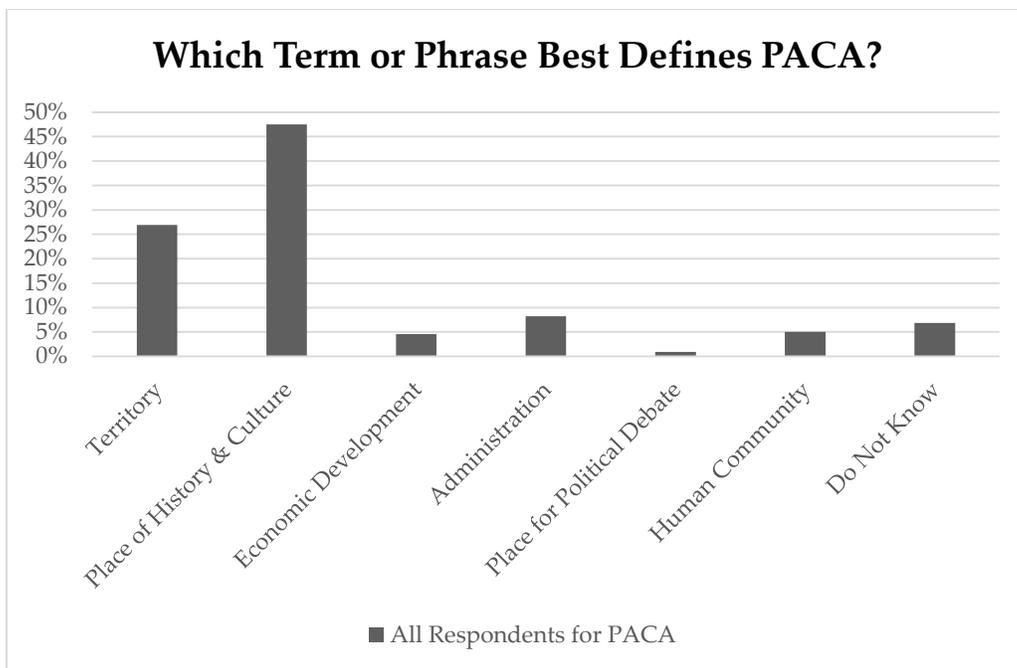
Respondents were then asked to give the name of a tradition to defend in priority; 87 (39.73%) indicated “Culture”, 35 (15.98%) stated “Food”, 32 (14.61%) responded “Language”, 25 (11.42%) replied “Everything”, 17 (9.50%) reported “Festivals” 15 (6.85%) indicated “Architecture”, 6 (4.50%) answered “Traditions” and 4 (1.83%) specified “Language and Culture”¹⁸.

¹⁸ While certain elements were suggested, respondents were able to suggest their own as well. These categories represent a synthesis of reported elements. When a respondent gave a list of several things, the first was recorded; however, when a respondent either stated, “Everything” or gave a list and stated, “Everything” at the end; “Everything” was simply recorded. In other words, “Everything” had to be specifically stated for the respondent’s response to be categorized as “Everything”; otherwise, only the first element was recorded. The only exception was for the mention of “Language” or “Dialect” since this study is mainly focused upon them/it. If a respondent gave a list that included one of the two terms anywhere within it, they were recorded. However, for the category “Language and Culture”, both terms had to be mentioned as the first two terms in either order for their response to be categorized as “Language and Culture”. As a result, since these categories represent a synthesis, the numbers and percentages can be unequal to the actual number of respondents involved; furthermore, not all respondents

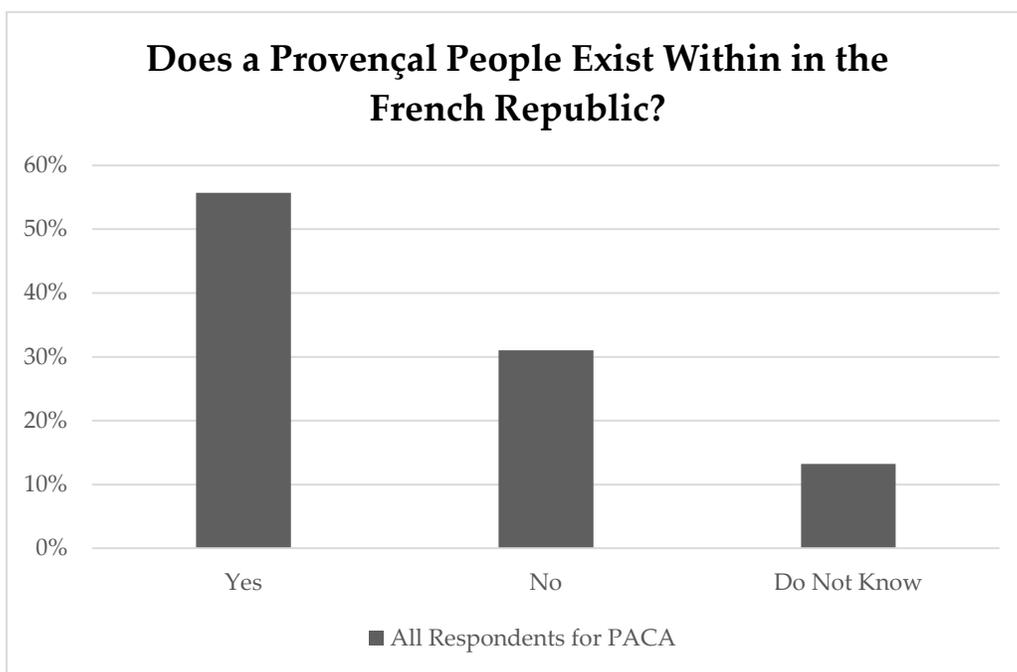


When the respondent was asked to indicate which term or phrase best defined Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 104 (47.49%) selected "Place of History and Culture", 59 (26.94%) chose "Territory", 18 (8.22%) picked "Administration", 15 (6.85%) decided on "Do Not Know", 11 (5.02%) settled on "Human Community", 10 (4.57%) indicated "Place for Economic Development" and 2 (0.91%) chose "Place for Political Debate".

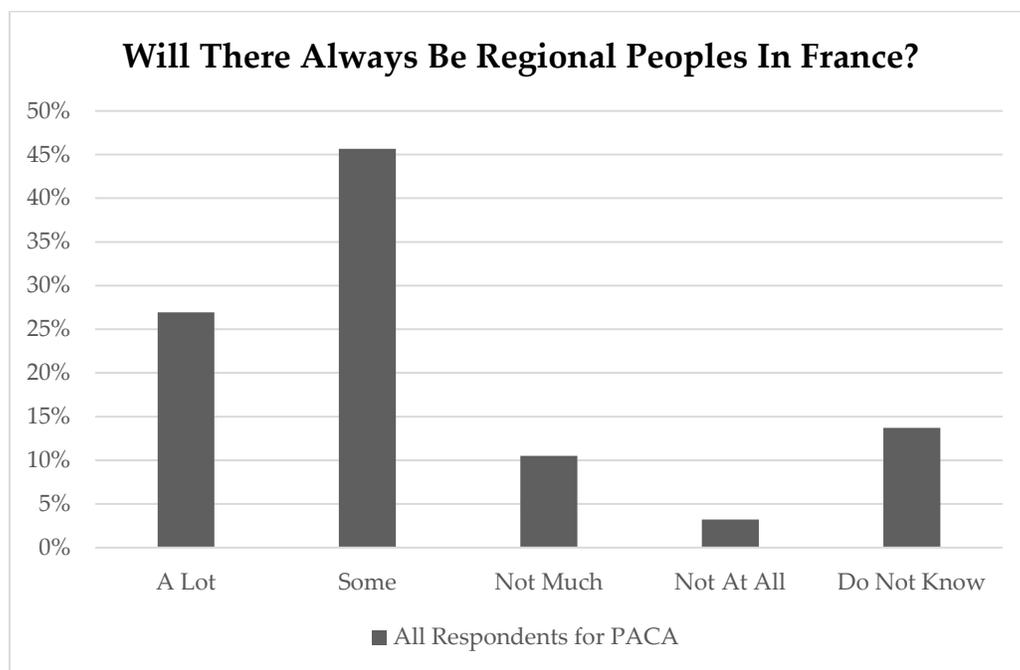
provided an understandable answer; the compiled list maybe somewhat different for each sample. Each list will appear in alphabetical order.



When asked whether there existed a Provençal people within the French Republic, 122 (55.71%) responded “Yes”, 68 (31.05%) indicated “No” and 29 (13.24%) selected “Do Not Know”.

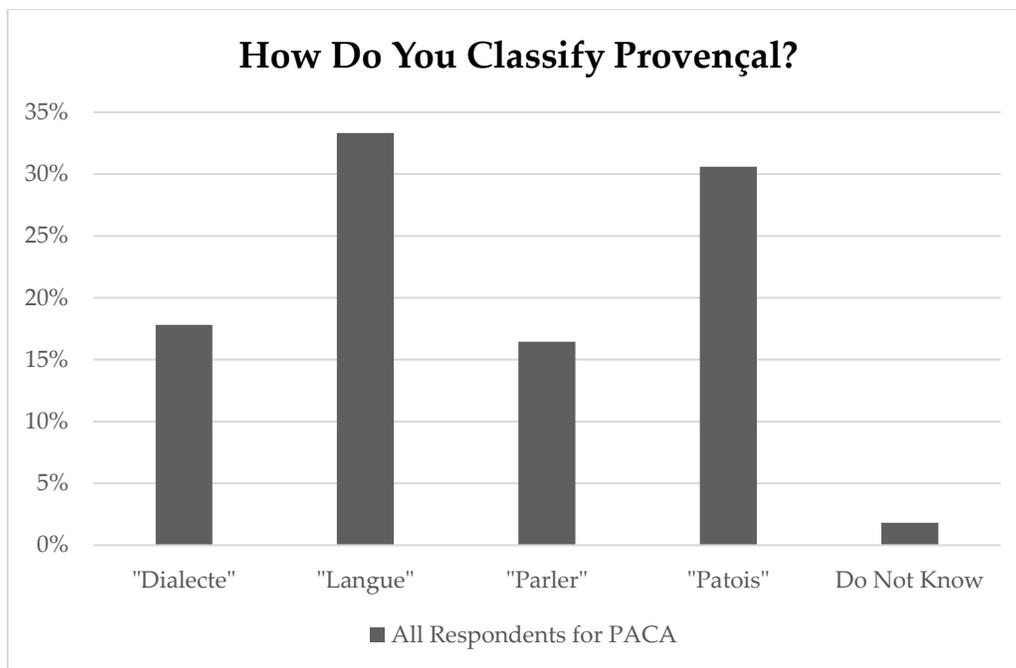


To the question concerning whether France will always contain regional peoples or groups in terms of traditions, customs and dialects, such as the Alsatians, Basques, Bretons, Burgundians, Flemish, Normans, Picards and Provençaux, mentioned in the 17th century, 100 (45.66%) responded “Some”, 59 (26.94%) indicated “Very Much”, 30 (13.70%) reported “Do Not Know”, 23 (10.50%) replied “Not Much” and 7 (3.20%) answered “Not At All”.



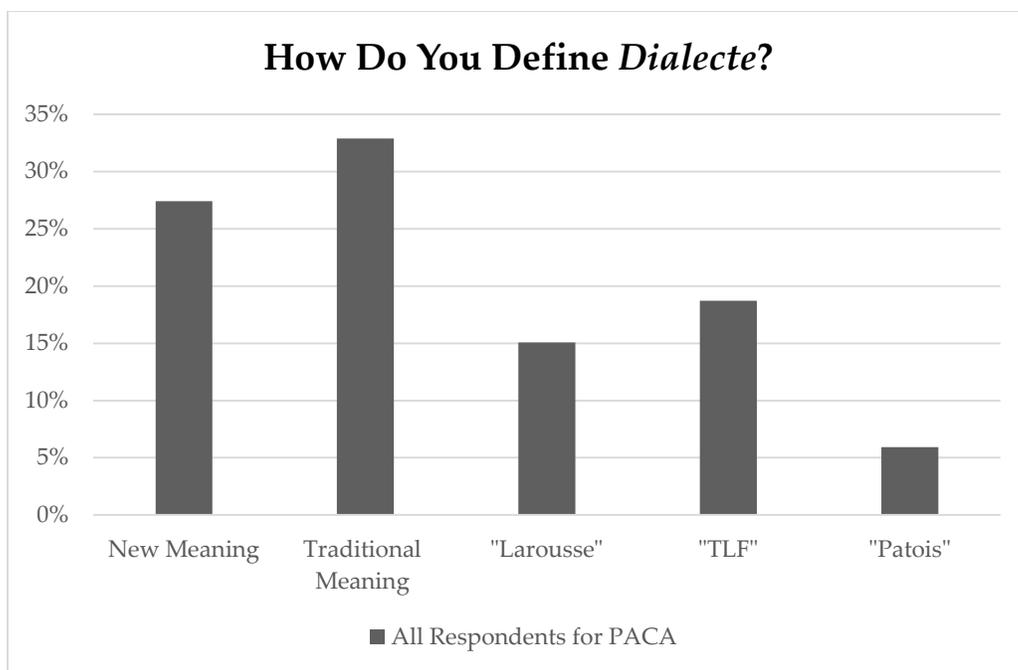
Provençal Idiom and French Language Ideology

To the question regarding the classification of Provençal, 73 (33.33%) decided on “*Langue*”, 67 (30.59%) selected “*Patois*”, 39 (17.81%) picked “*Dialecte*”, 36 (16.44%) chose “*Parler*” and 4 (1.83%) settled on “Do Not Know”.

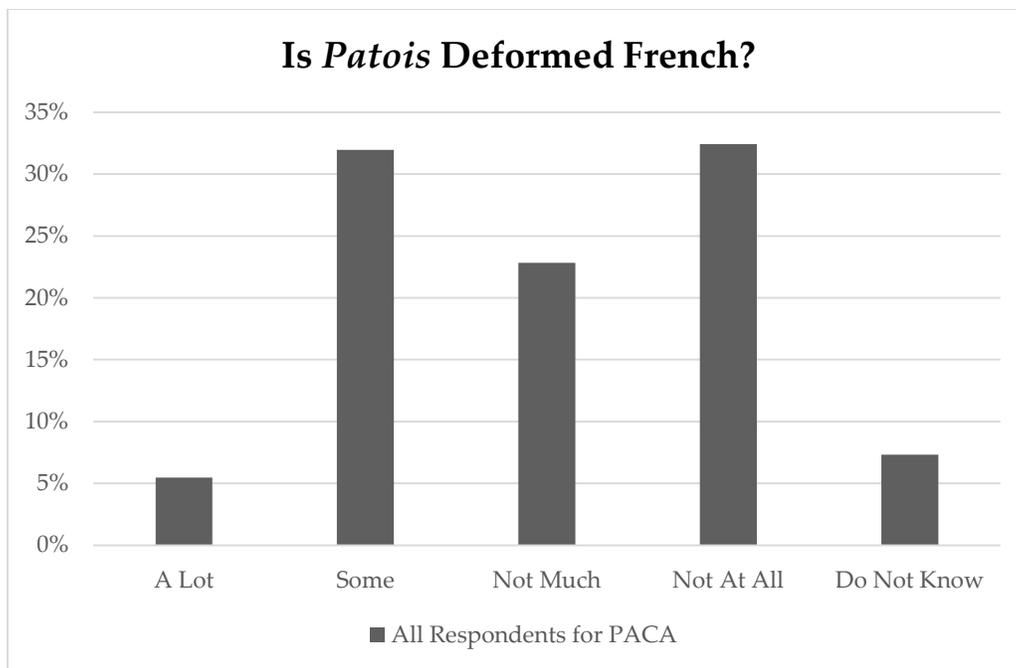


When asked to define *dialecte*, 72 (32.88%) chose the traditional response, 60 (27.40%) selected the new meaning, 41 (28.72%) decided on the definition of the *Trésor de la langue française*, 33 (15.07%) picked the definition used in the *Larousse* dictionary and 13 (5.94%) selected *patois*¹⁹.

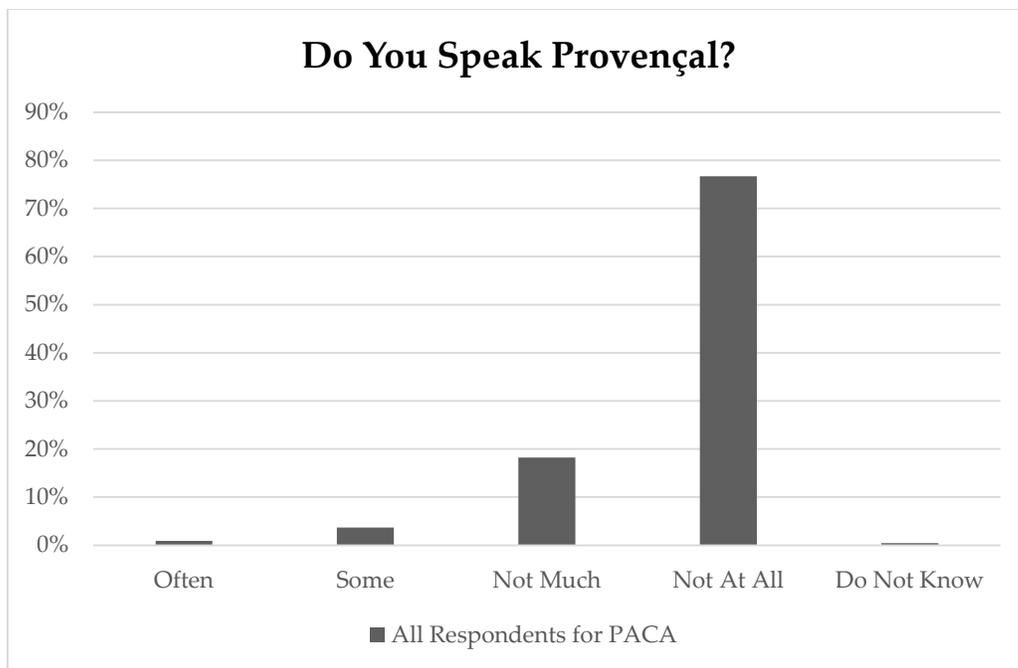
¹⁹ These were not the definitions used; they are simply an easier way of listing them.



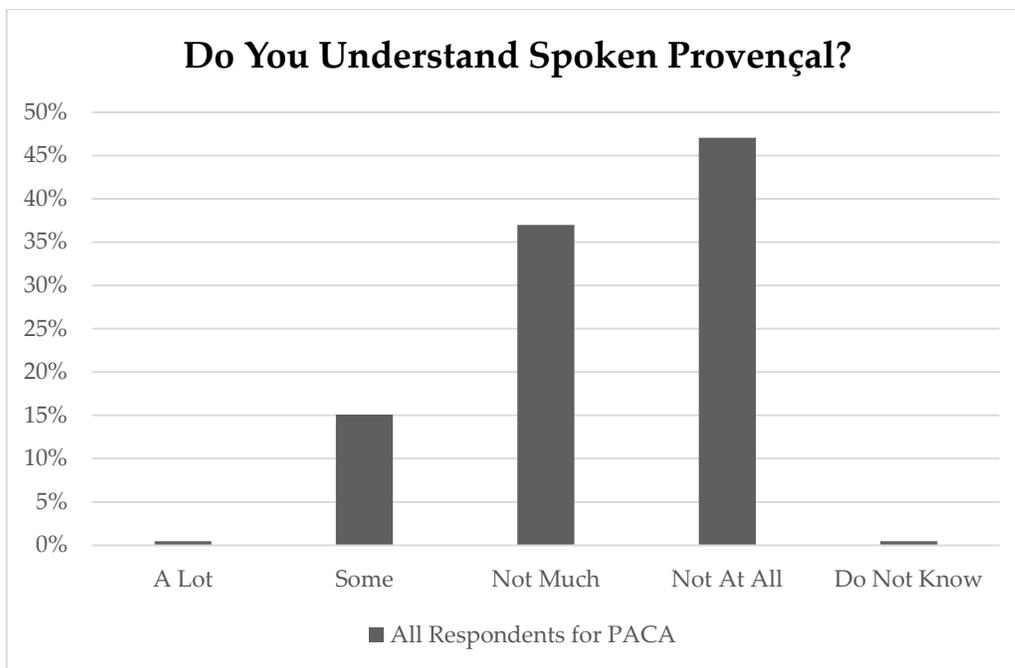
To the question asking the participant if *patois* was deformed French, 71 (32.42%) indicated "Not At All", 70 (31.96%) responded "Some", 50 (22.83%) replied "Not Much", 16 (7.31%) stated "Do Not Know" and 12 (5.48%) indicated "A Lot".



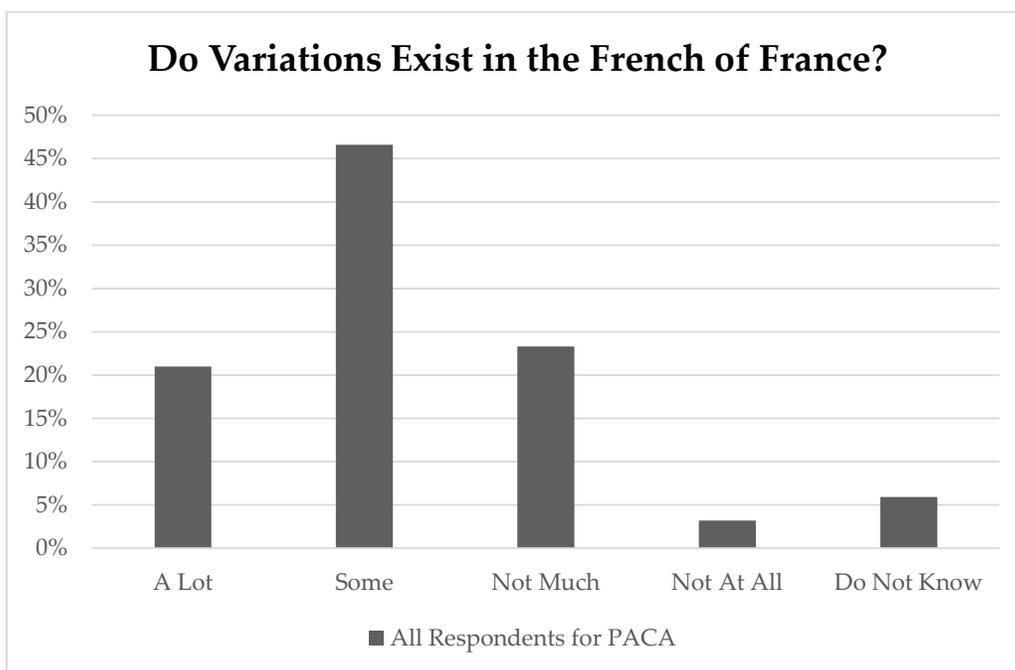
When asking the respondent to report his or her ability to speak Provençal, 168 (76.71%) responded “Not At All”, 40 (18.26%) indicated “Not Much”, 8 (3.65%) specified “Some”, 2 (0.91%) replied “Often” and 1 (0.46%) stated “Do Not Know”.



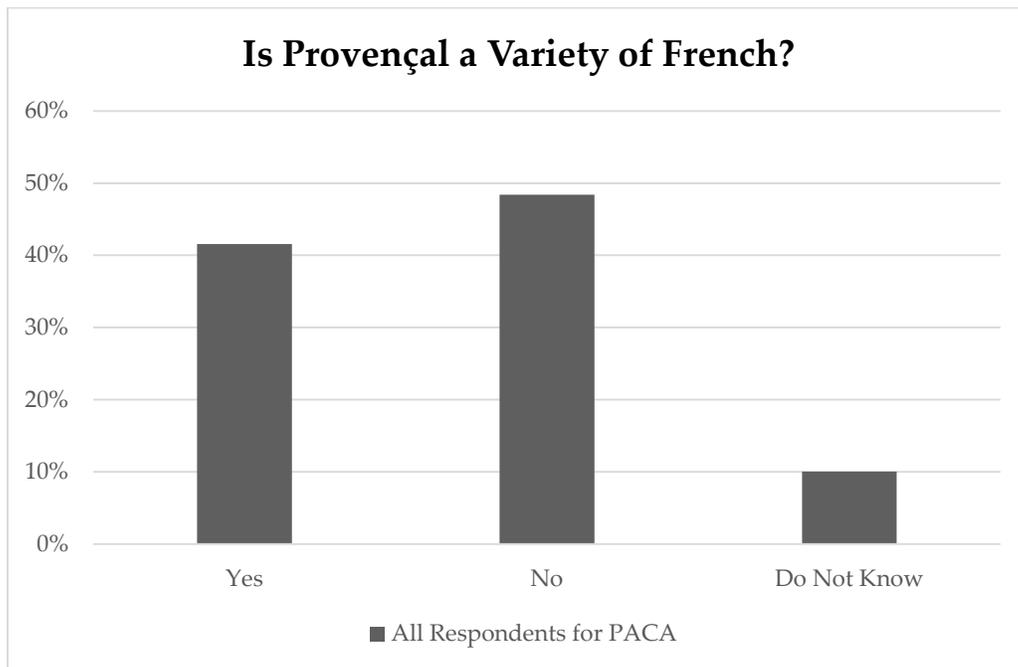
When asked if the participant could understand spoken Provençal, 103 (47.03%) specified “Not At All”, 81 (36.99%) responded “Not Much”, 33 (15.07%) indicated “Some”, 1 (0.46%) replied “A Lot” and another 1 (0.46%) picked “Do Not Know”.



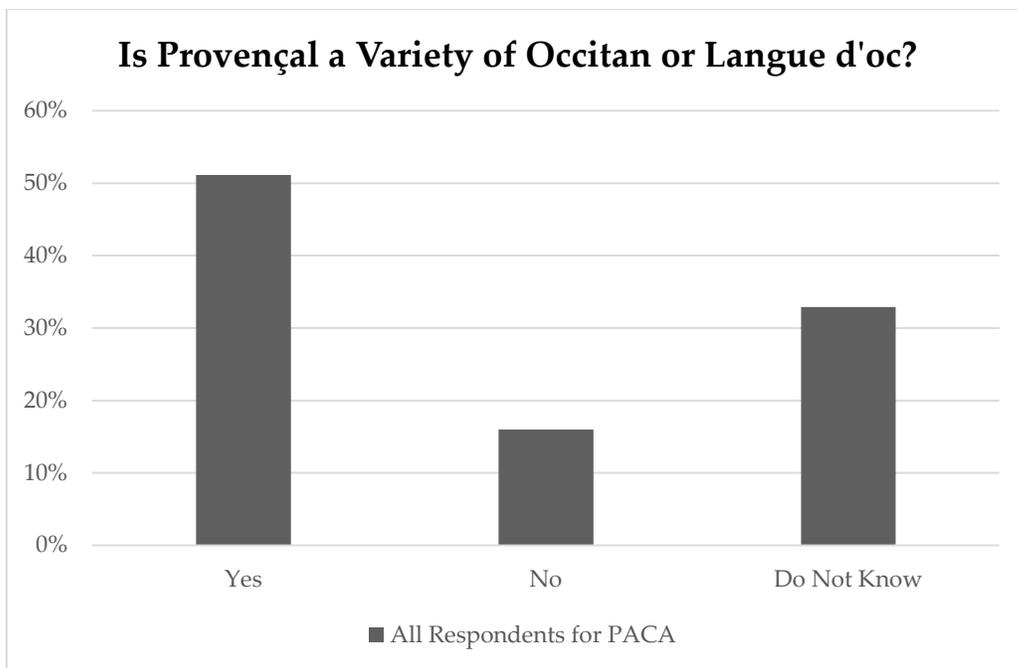
When asked if variations occurred in French in France, 102 (46.58%) indicated "Some", 51 (23.29%) selected "Not Much", 46 (21.00%) stated "A Lot", 13 (5.94%) picked "Do Not Know" and 7 (3.20%) specified "Not At All".



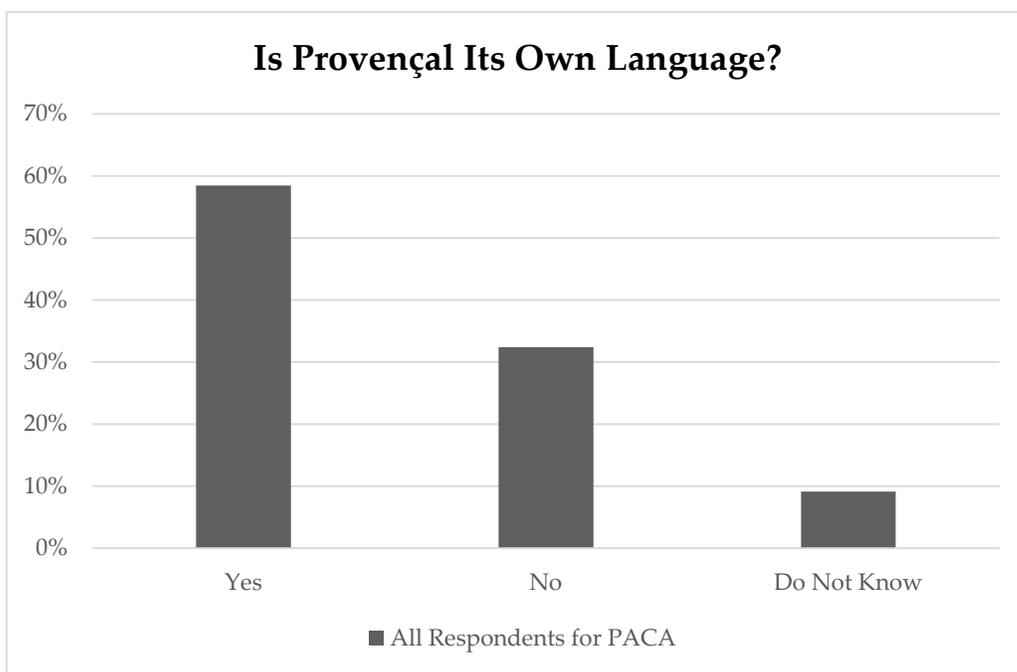
To the question asking whether Provençal was a variety of French, 106 (48.40%) responded “No”, 91 (41.55%) specified “Yes” and 22 (10.05%) stated “Do Not Know”.



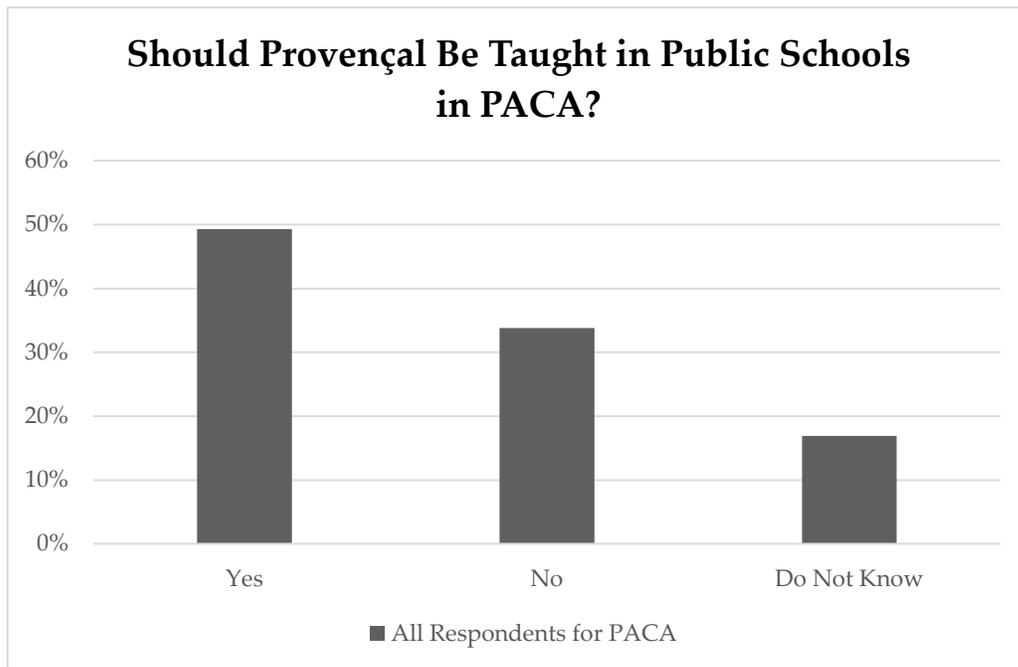
When asked if Provençal was a variety of Occitan or Langue d’oc, 112 (51.14%) stated “Yes”, 72 (32.88%) indicated “Do Not Know” and 35 (15.98%) responded “No”.



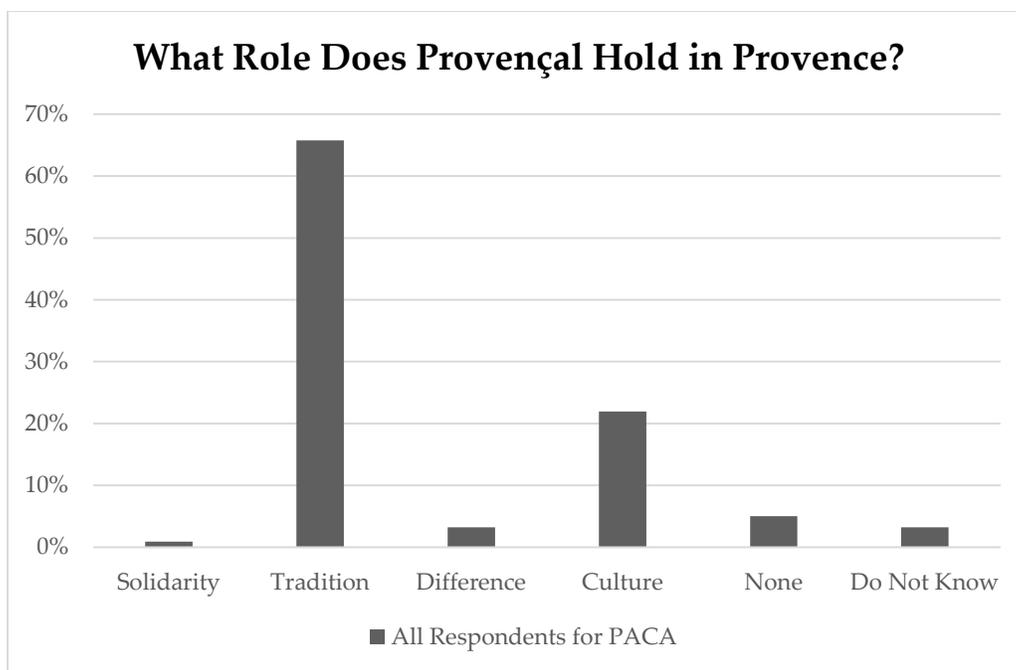
When asked if the participant thought Provençal was its own language, 128 (58.45%) indicated “Yes”, 71 (32.42%) responded “No” and 20 (9.13%) replied “Do Not Know”.



To the question whether Provençal should be taught in public schools in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 108 (49.32%) indicated "Yes", 74 (33.79%) responded "No" and 37 (16.89%) replied "Do Not Know".



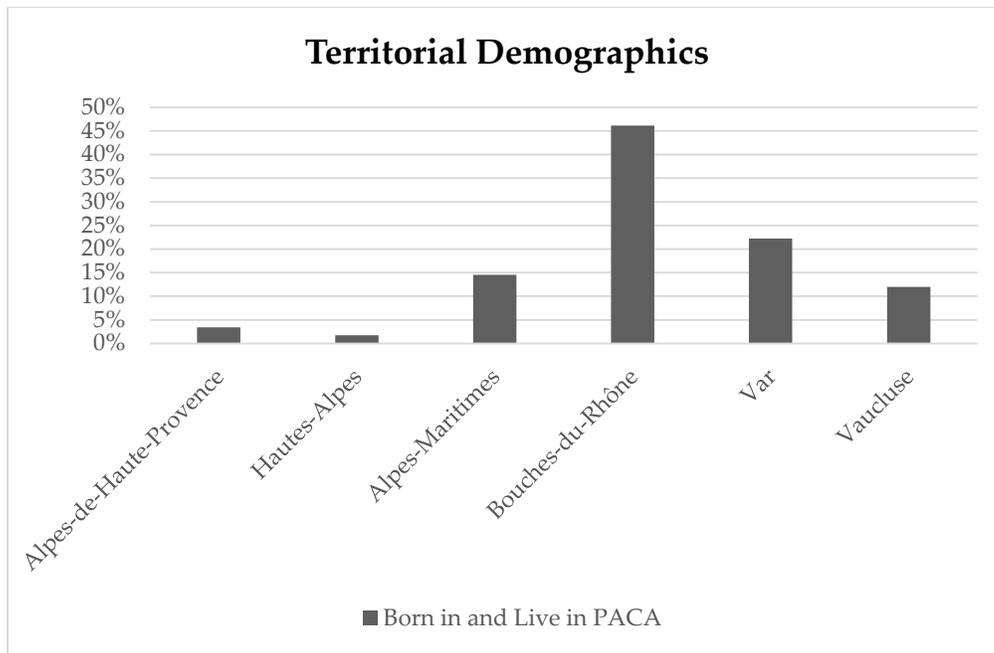
When asked what role Provençal held in Provence, 144 (65.75%) selected "Tradition", 48 (21.92%) chose "Culture", 11 (5.02%) decided on "None", 7 (3.20%) picked "Difference", while another 7 (3.20%) decided on "Do Not Know" and 2 (0.91%) chose "Solidarity".



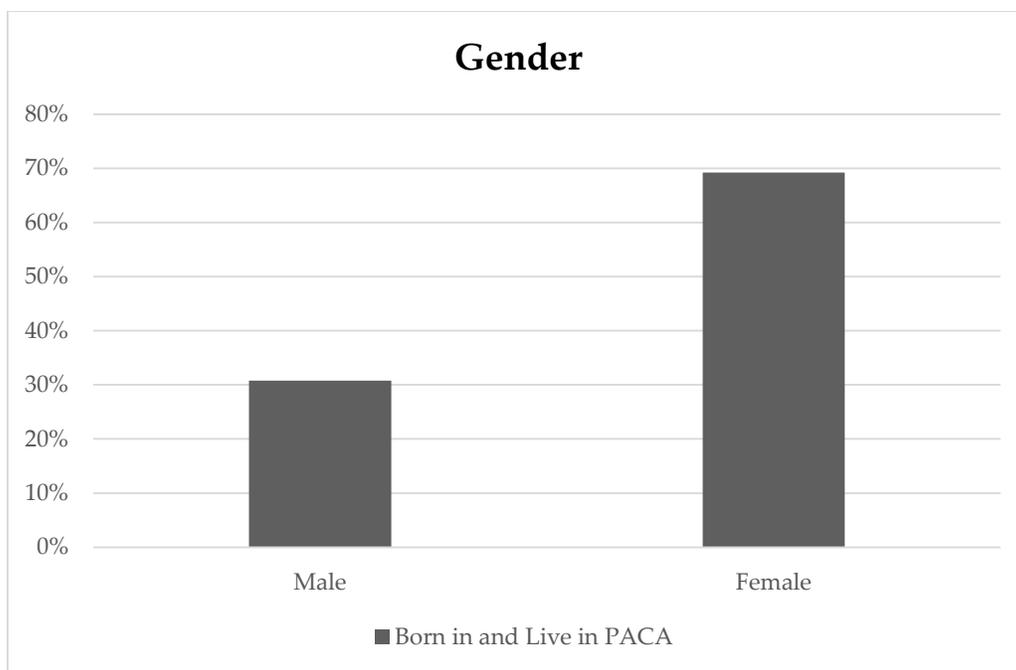
Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur: Born in and Live in PACA²⁰

Among this sample of respondents, all 117 (100.00%) were born in and live in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur; 4 (3.42%) live in the Alpes-de-Haute-Provence *département*, 2 (1.71%) in the Hautes-Alpes, 17 (14.53%) in the Alpes-Maritimes, 54 (46.15%) in the Bouches-du-Rhône, 26 (22.22%) in the Var and 14 (11.97%) in the Vaucluse. Twenty respondents indicated that they were regional activists: 17 cultural and 3 linguistic.

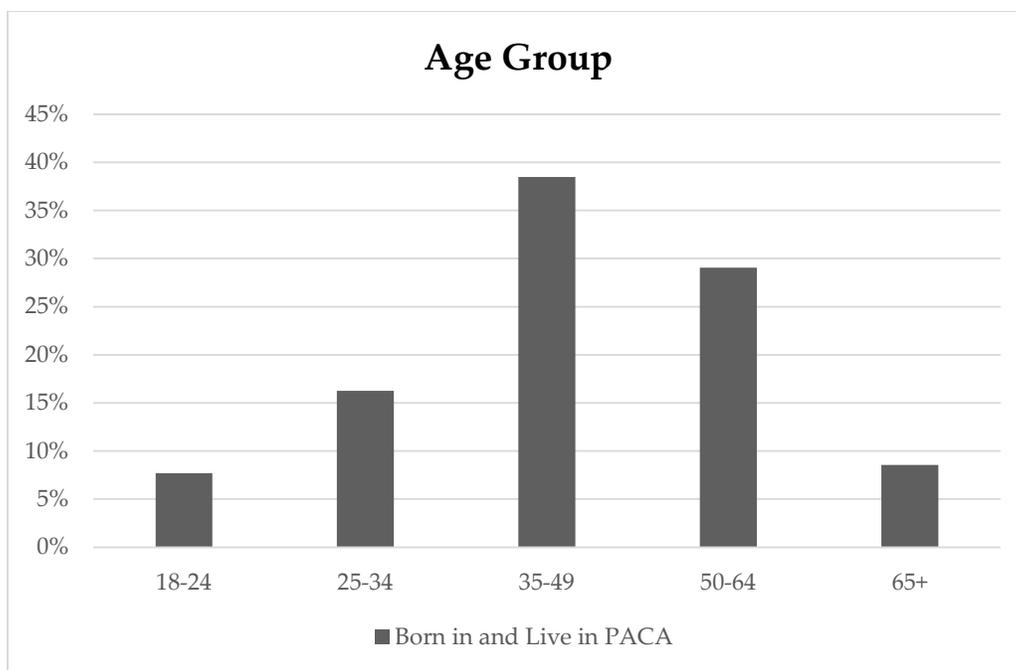
²⁰ While the French administrative regions are fairly new entities, they were formed with existing *départements*; here, the notion of "born in and live in" relates to the *départements* that currently form the administrative region; therefore, a respondent over the age of 50 was not actually born in the region, but he or she was born in one of the *départemnets* that would come to form the region.



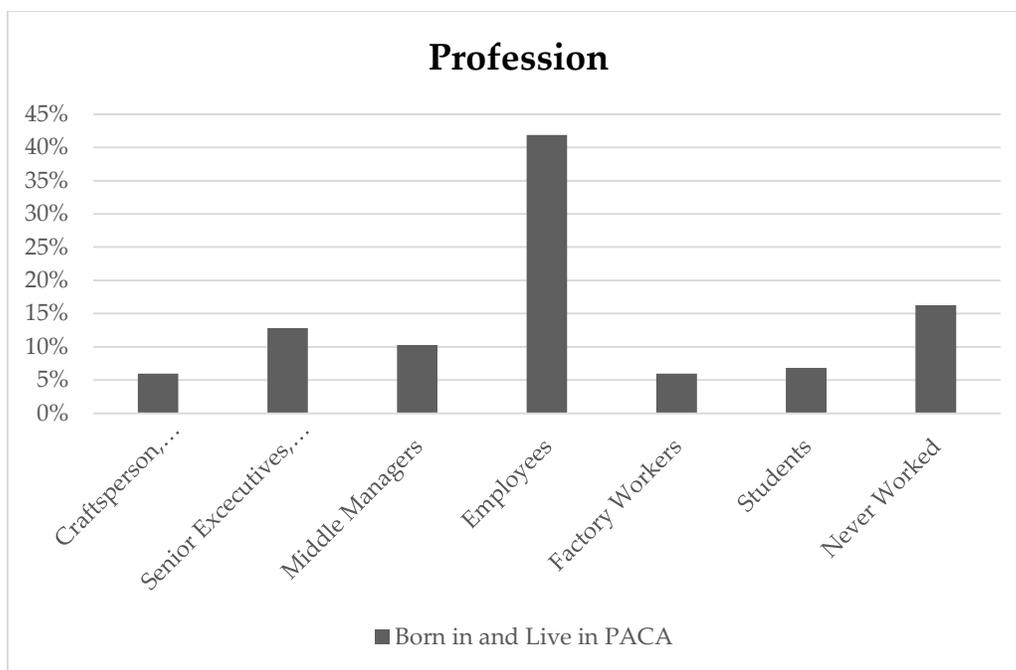
The sample broke down in the following manner for gender, age, profession and education: For gender, 36 (30.77%) were men and 81 (69.23%) were women;



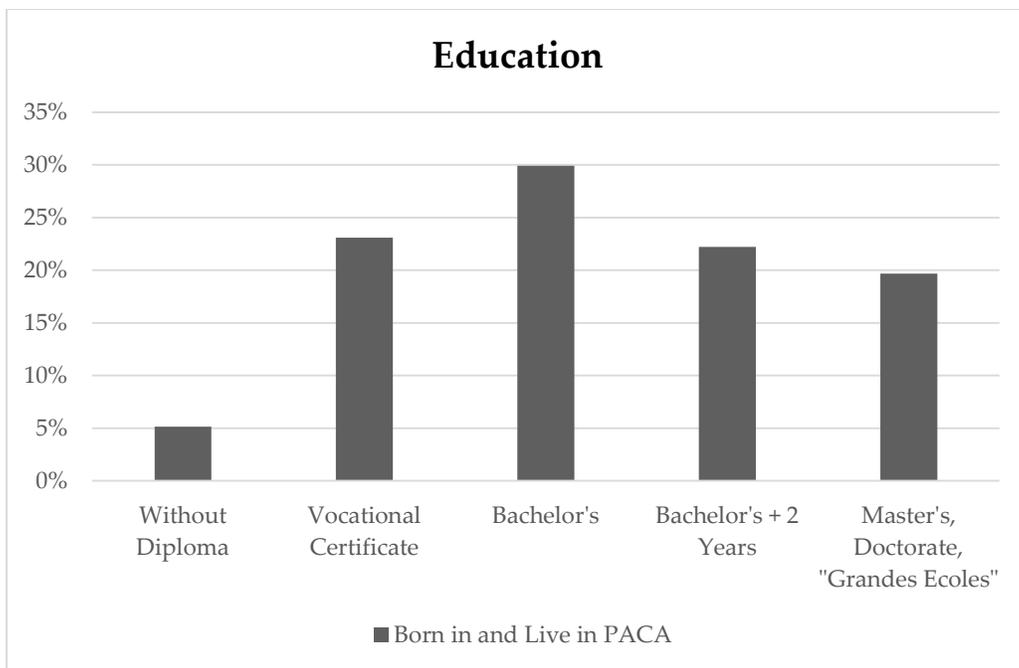
Regarding age, 9 (7.69%) were between 18 and 24 years of age, 19 (16.24%) were between 25 and 34-years-old, 45 (38.46%) were between 35 and 49 years of age, 34 (29.06%) were between 50 and 64-years-old and 10 (8.55%) were 65 years of age or older;



For profession, 7 (5.98%) worked as a craftsperson, storekeeper or company head, 15 (12.82%) were employed as senior executives or intellectual professionals, 12 (10.26%) were middle managers, 49 (41.88%) worked as employees, 7 (5.98%) were factory workers, 8 (6.84%) were students and 19 (16.24%) had never worked;

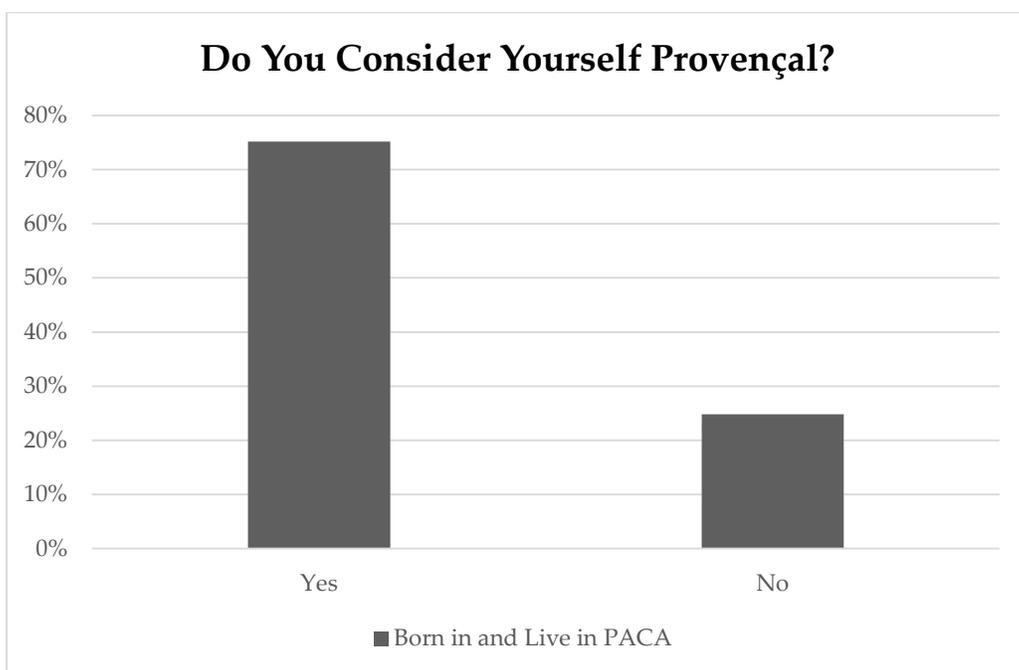


Concerning education and highest diploma earned, 6 (5.13%) held no diploma, 27 (23.08%) possessed a vocational certificate or a national vocational qualification, 35 (29.91%) held a Bachelor's degree, 26 (22.22%) possessed a Bachelor's degree plus two additional years, such as teachers and healthcare or social professionals, and 23 (19.66%) held Master's degrees, Doctorates or degrees from the *Grandes Ecoles*.

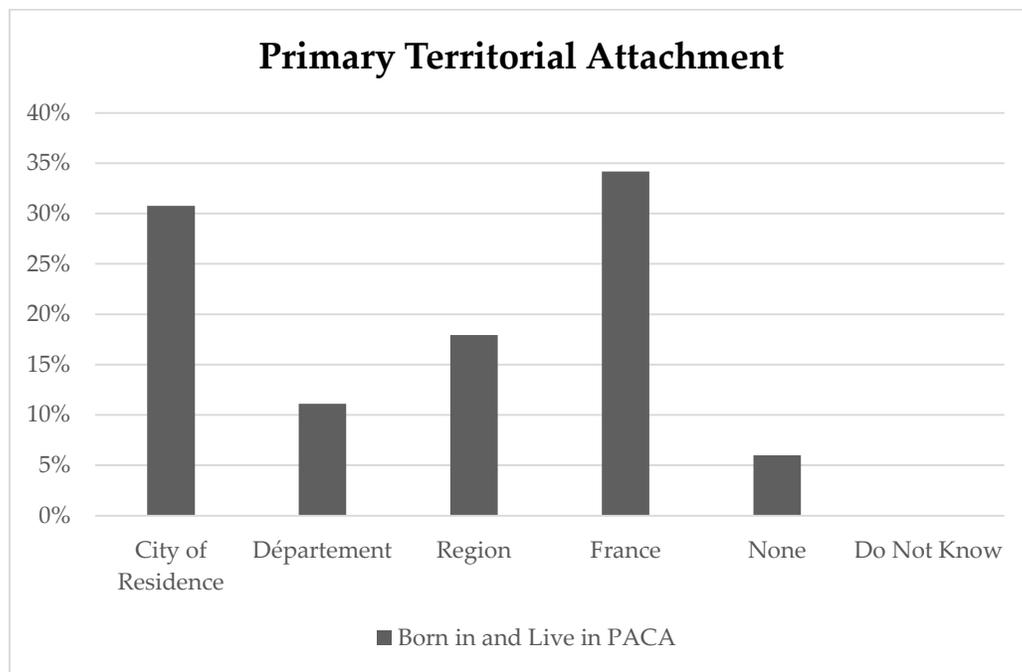


Regional Identity

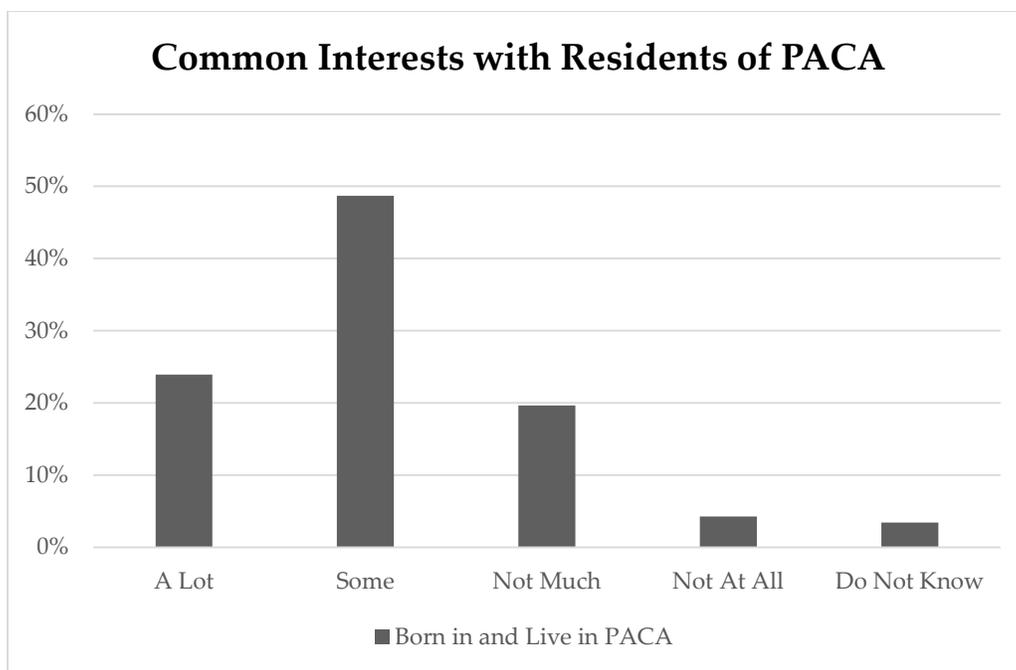
Of these 117 participants, 88 (75.21%) considered themselves to be Provençal, while 29 (24.79%) did not.



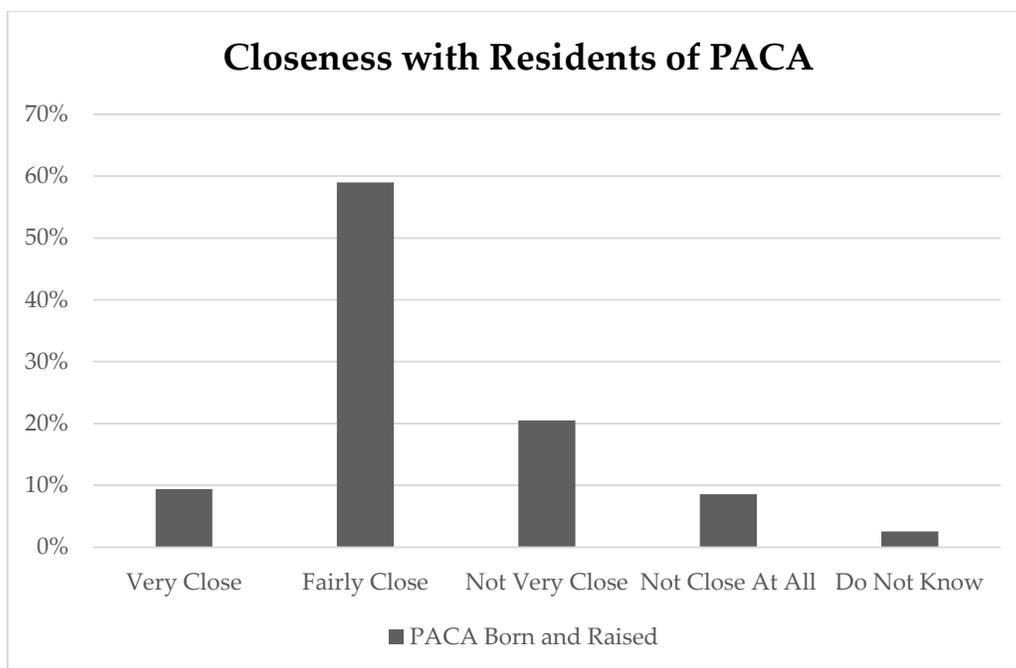
When asked to choose to which administrative territory they were primarily attached, 40 (24.19%) chose “France”, 36 (30.77%) selected “City of Residence”, 21 (17.95%) picked “Region”, 13 (11.11%) decided on “*Département*” and 7 (5.98%) selected “None”.



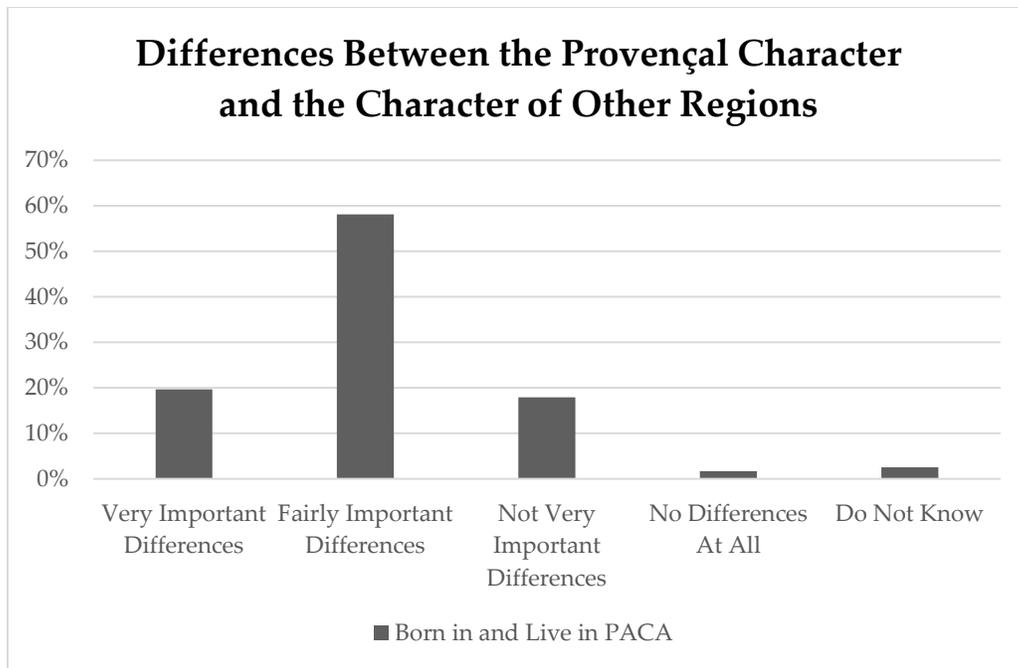
To the question regarding having common interests with other residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, 57 (48.72%) indicated that they had “Some”, 28 (23.93%) reported “A Lot”, 23 (19.66%) stated having “Not Much”, 5 (4.29%) reported “Not At All” and 4 (3.42%) indicated “Do Not Know”.



When asked how close respondents were to the other residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 69 (58.97%) selected "Fairly Close", 24 (20.51%) chose "Not Very Close", 11 (9.40%) decided on "Very Close", 10 (8.55%) picked "Not Close At All" and 3 (2.56%) indicated "Do Not Know".

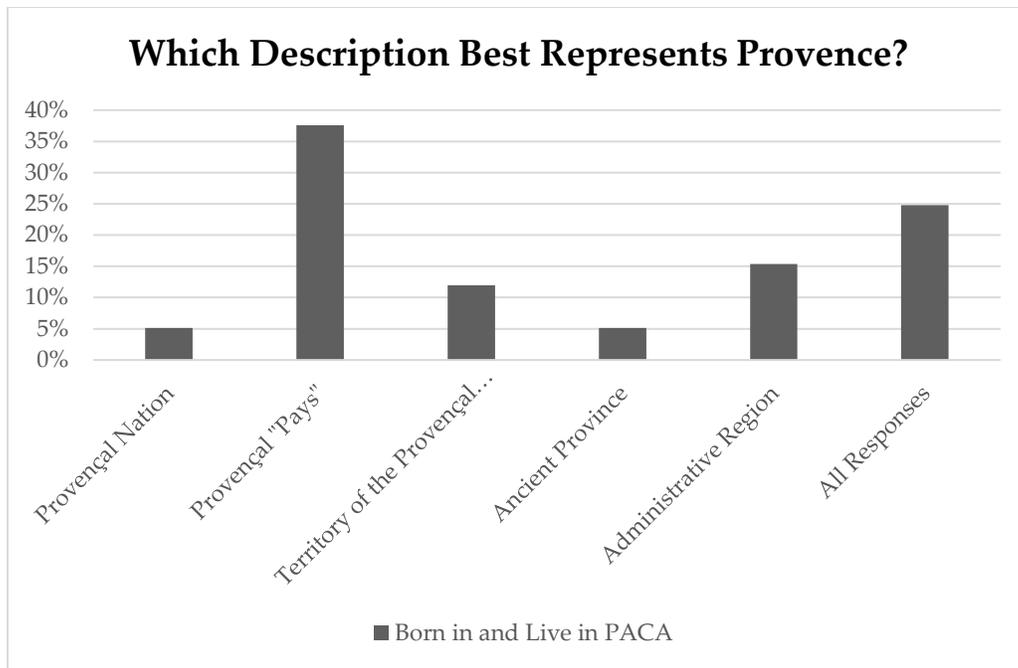


To the question inquiring about how the regional character of residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur differed from that of residents of other regions, 68 (58.12%) indicated that there were fairly important differences between the Provençaux and the residents of other regions. Furthermore, 23 (19.66%) reported that there were very important differences. Among the other respondents, 21 (17.95%) stated that there were not a lot of differences, while 3 (2.56%) did not know and 2 (1.71%) indicated that there were no differences.

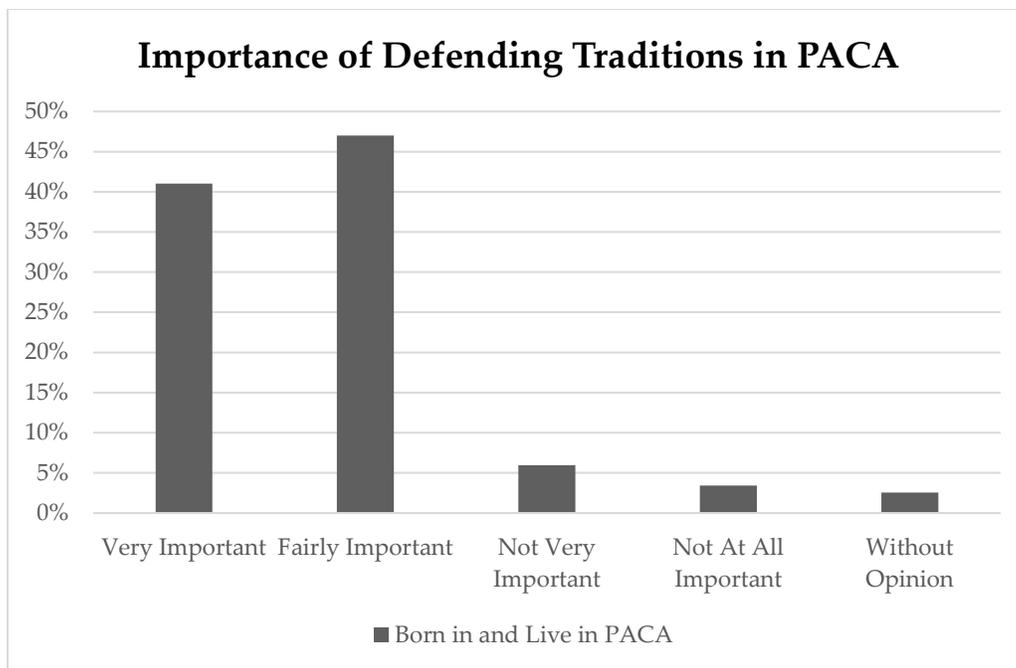


When asked to select the description that best represented Provence for them, 44 (37.61%) responded “the Provençal *Pays* or the Provençaux *Pays*”²¹, 29 (22.37%) indicated “All Responses”, 18 (18.26%) reported “Administrative Region of the French Republic”, 14 (11.97%) indicated “Territory of the Provençal People”, 6 (5.13%) picked “Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France” and another 6 (5.13%) decided on the “Provençal Nation”.

²¹ In French, the singular, *le pays provençal*, and the plural, *les pays provençaux*, do not sound the same, which occurred in the Picard version. Since English neither requires the usage of the definite article nor the agreement of adjectives and nouns, the French singular and plural of Provençal respectively – “Provençal and Provençaux” (and with capitals) – are used to denote the difference since ‘pays’ already ends in an “s” in the singular.

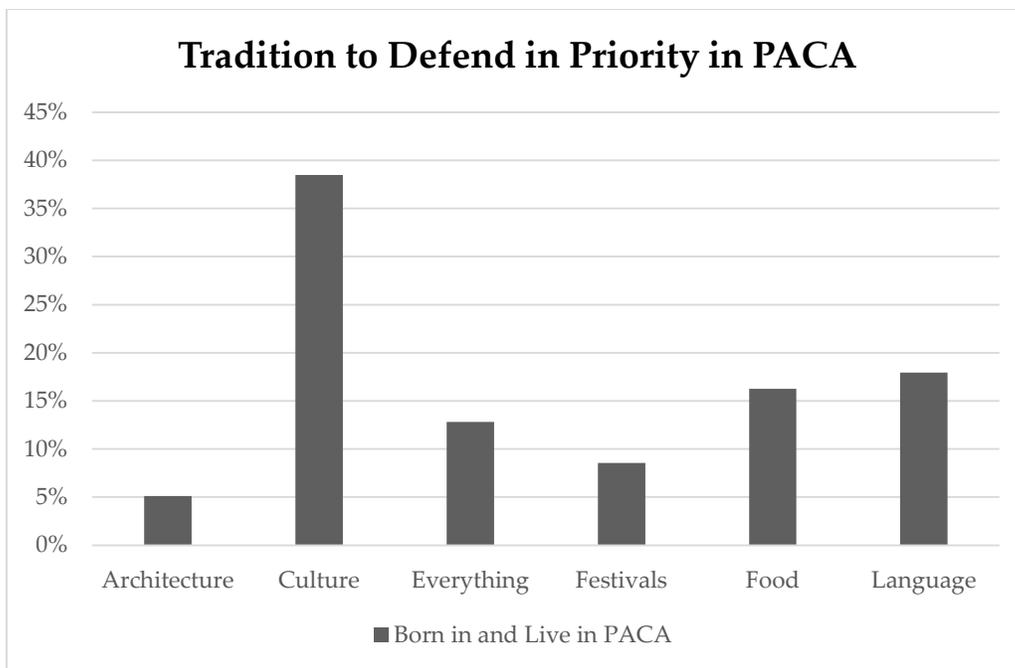


To the question regarding the importance of defending traditional elements in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 55 (47.01%) reported "Fairly Important", 48 (41.03%) indicated "Very Important", 7 (5.98%) responded "Not Very Important", 4 (3.42%) indicated "Not At All Important" and 3 (2.56%) stated "Without Opinion".

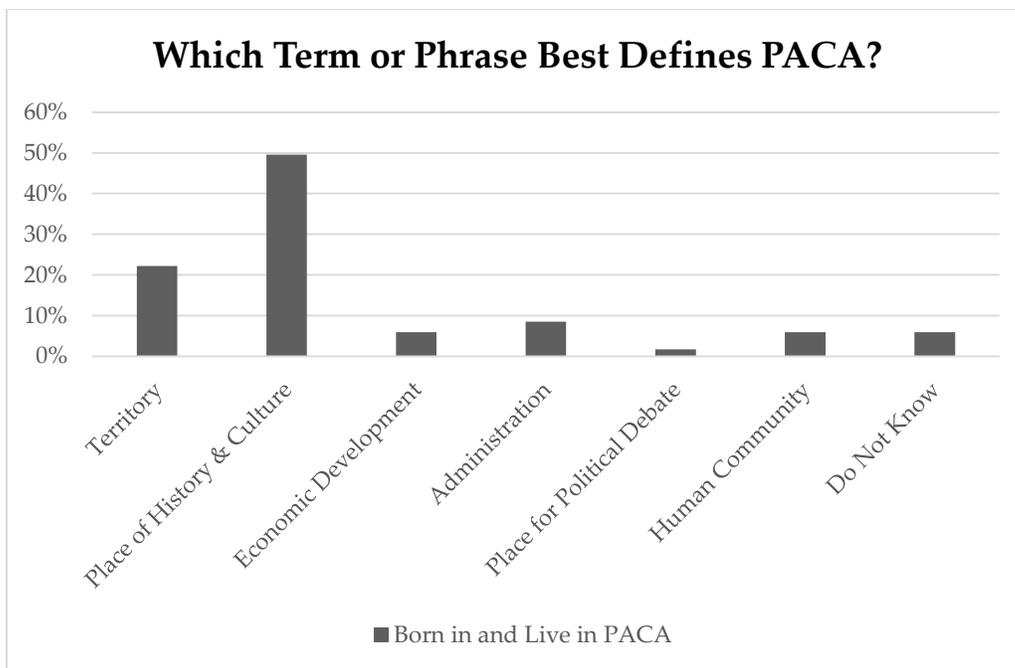


Respondents were then asked to name a tradition to defend in priority; 45 (38.46%) indicated “Culture”, 21 (17.95%) stated “Language”, 19 (16.24%) responded “Food”, 15 (12.82%) replied “Everything”, 10 (8.55%) reported “Festivals” and 6 (5.13%) indicated “Architecture”²².

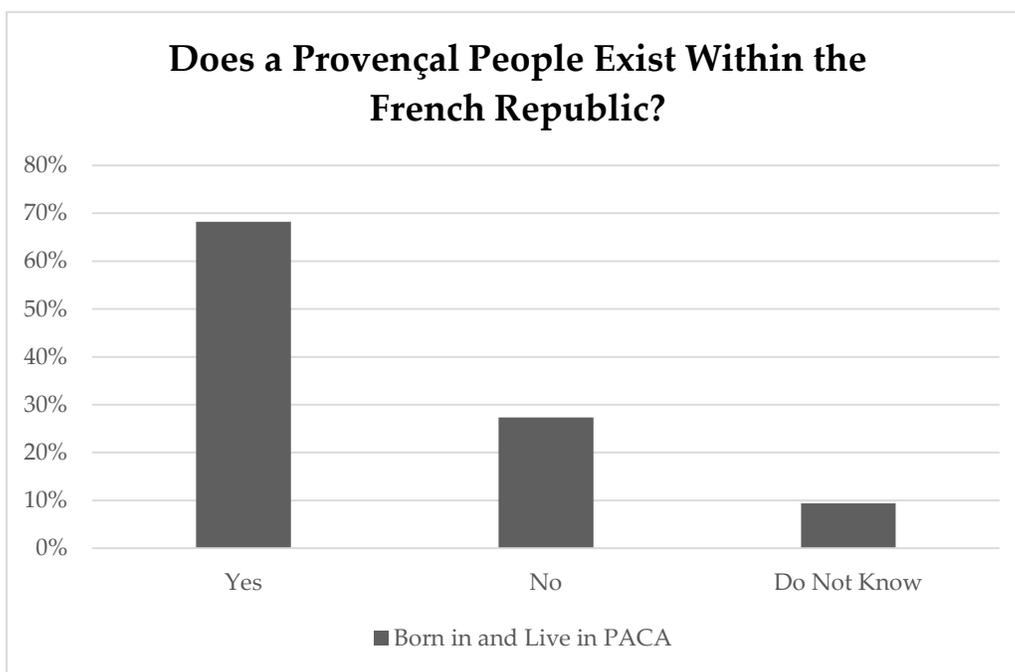
²² While certain elements were suggested, respondents were able to suggest their own as well. These categories represent a synthesis of reported elements. When a respondent gave a list of several things, the first was recorded; however, when a respondent either stated, “Everything” or gave a list and stated, “Everything” at the end; “Everything” was simply recorded. In other words, “Everything” had to be specifically stated for the respondent’s response to be categorized as “Everything”; otherwise, only the first element was recorded. The only exception was for the mention of “Language” or “Dialect” since this study is mainly focused upon them/it. If a respondent gave a list that included one of the two terms anywhere within it, they were recorded. However, for the category “Language and Culture”, both terms had to be mentioned as the first two terms in either order for their response to be categorized as “Language and Culture”. As a result, since these categories represent a synthesis, the numbers and percentages can be unequal to the actual number of respondents involved; furthermore, not all respondents provided an understandable answer; the compiled list maybe somewhat different for each sample. Each list will appear in alphabetical order.



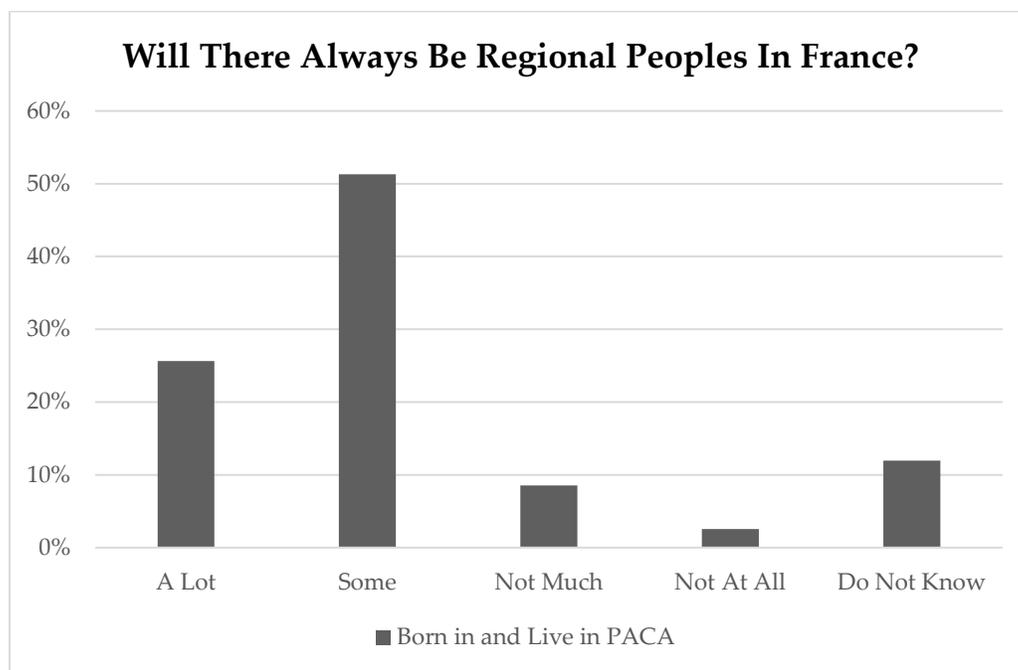
When the respondent was asked to indicate which term or phrase best defined Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 58 (49.57%) selected "Place of History and Culture", 26 (22.22%) chose "Territory", 10 (8.55%) picked "Administration", 7 (5.98%) decided on "Human Community", while another 7 (5.98%) settled on "Place for Economic Development" and yet another 7 (45.98%) indicated "Do Not Know" and 2 (1.71%) chose "Place for Political Debate".



When asked whether there existed a Provençal people within the French Republic, 74 (63.25%) responded “Yes”, 32 (27.35%) indicated “No” and 11 (9.40%) selected “Do Not Know”.

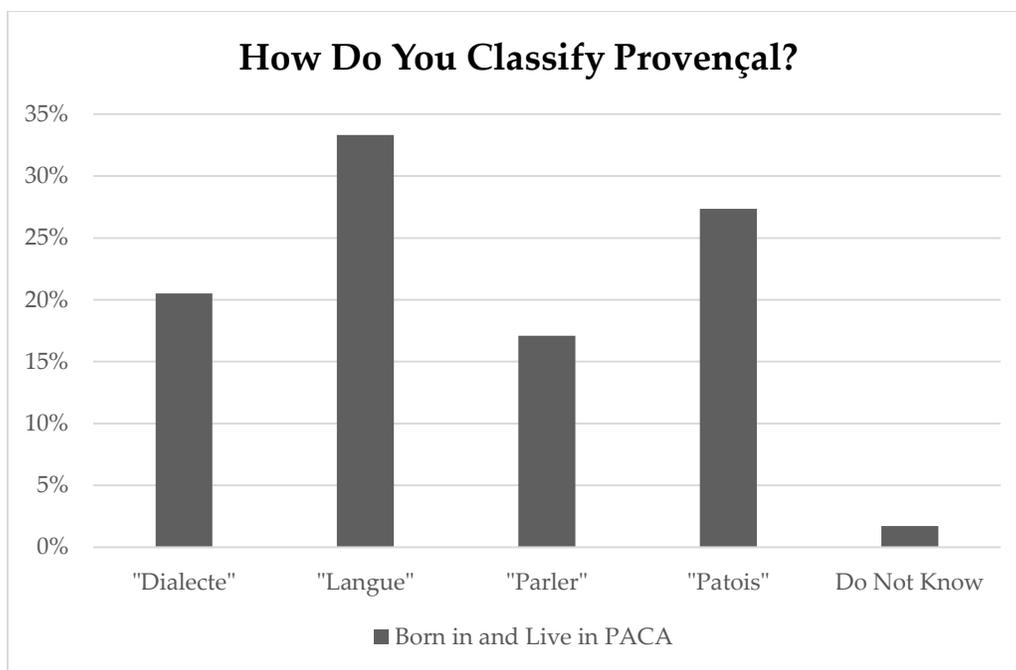


To the question concerning whether France will always contain regional peoples or groups in terms of traditions, customs and dialects, such as the Alsatians, Basques, Bretons, Burgundians, Flemish, Normans, Picards and Provençaux, mentioned in the 17th century, 60 (51.28%) responded “Some”, 30 (25.64%) indicated “Very Much”, 14 (11.97%) reported “Do Not Know”, 10 (8.55%) replied “Not Much” and 3 (2.56%) answered “Not At All”.



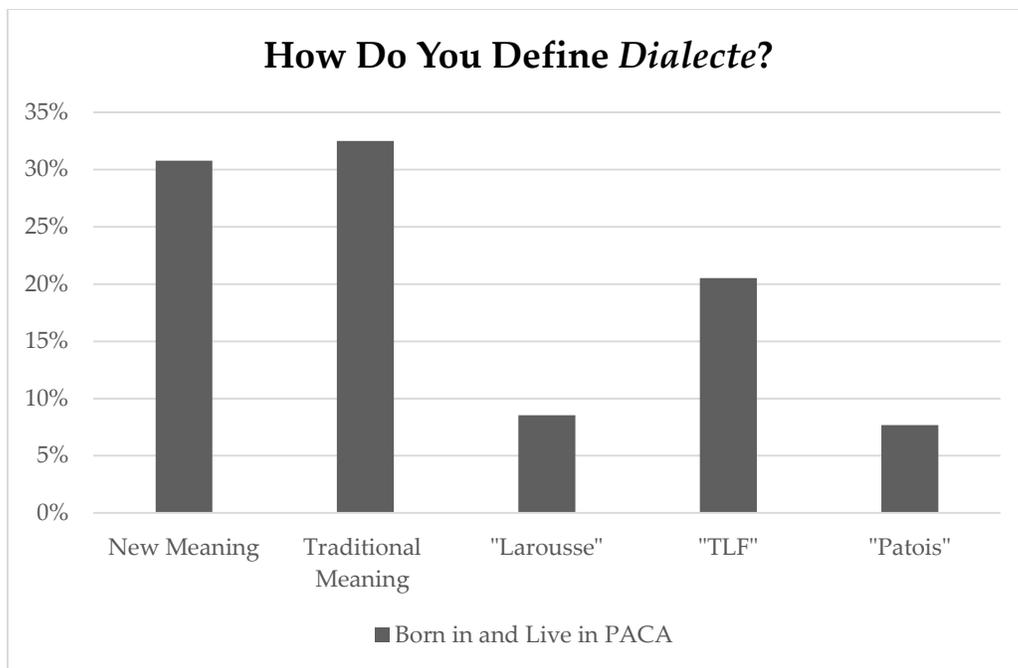
Provençal Idiom and French Language Ideology

To the question regarding the classification of Provençal, 39 (33.33%) decided on “*Langue*”, 32 (27.35%) selected “*Patois*”, 24 (20.51%) picked “*Dialecte*”, 20 (17.09%) chose “*Parler*” and 2 (1.71%) settled on “Do Not Know”.

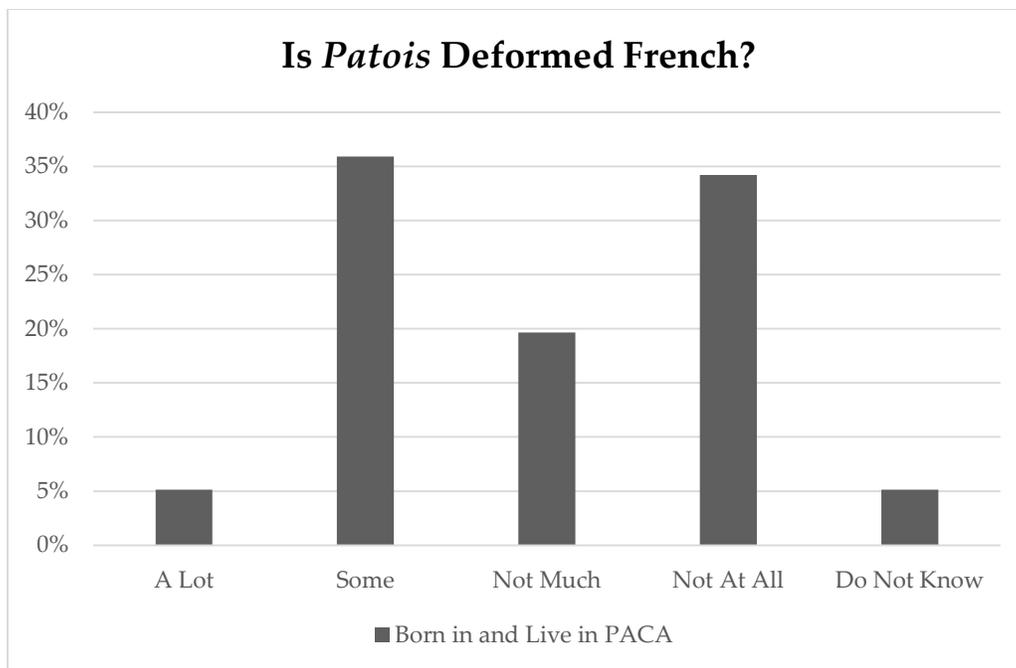


When asked to define *dialecte*, 38 (32.48%) chose the traditional response, 36 (30.77%) selected the new meaning, 24 (20.51%) decided on the definition of the *Trésor de la langue française*, 10 (8.55%) picked the definition used in *Larousse* and 9 (7.69%) selected *patois*²³.

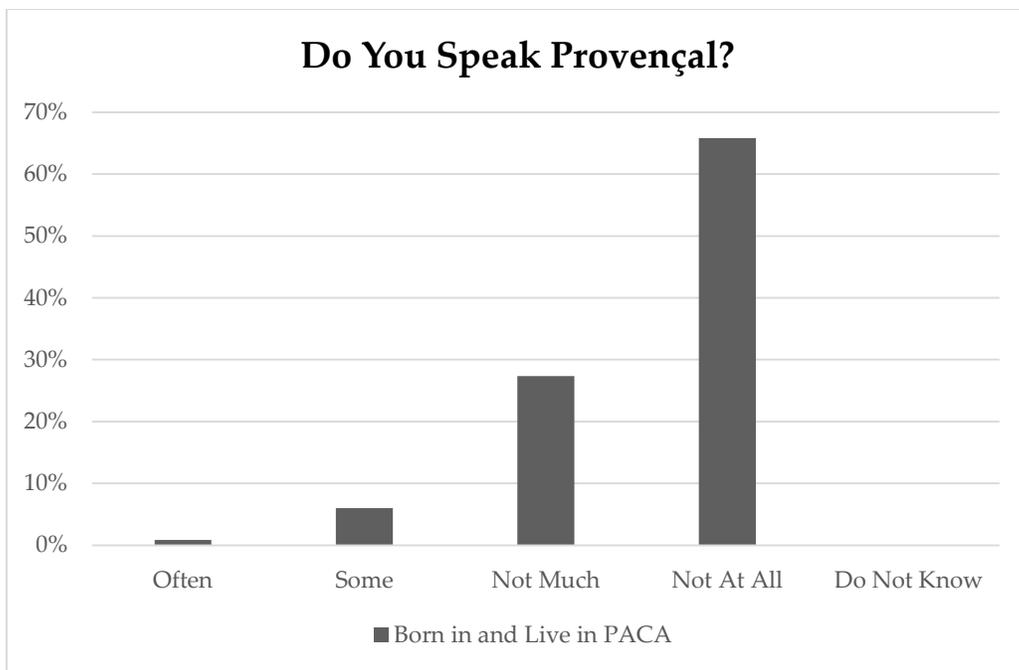
²³ These were not the definitions used; they are simply an easier way of listing them.



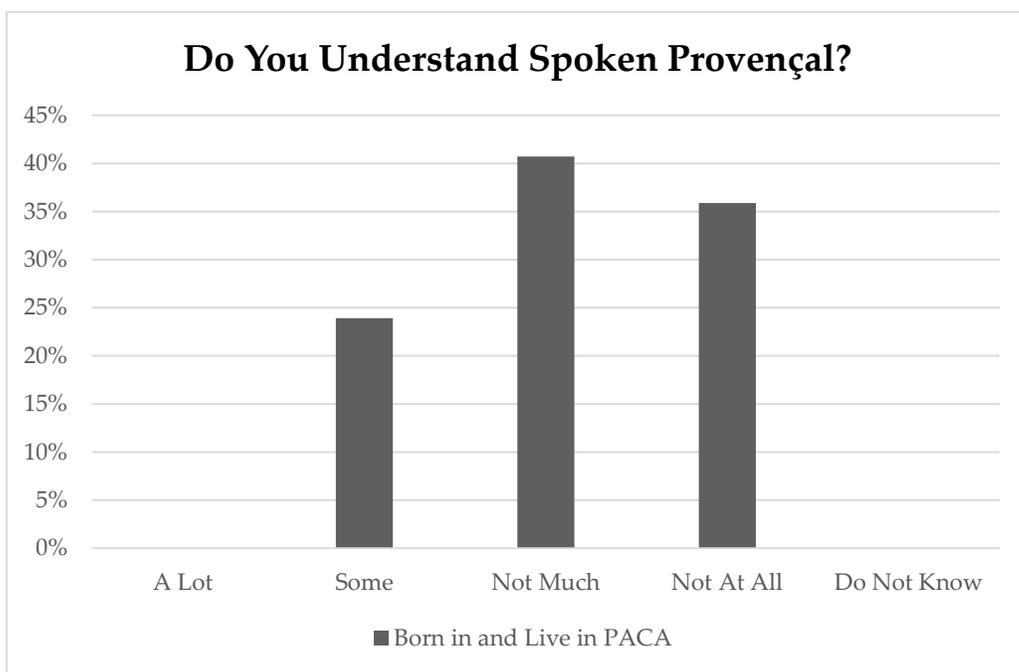
To the question asking the participant if *patois* was deformed French, 42 (35.90%) indicated "Some", 40 (34.19%) responded "Not At All", 23 (19.66%) replied "Not Much", 6 (5.13%) stated "A Lot" and another 6 (5.13%) indicated "Do Not Know".



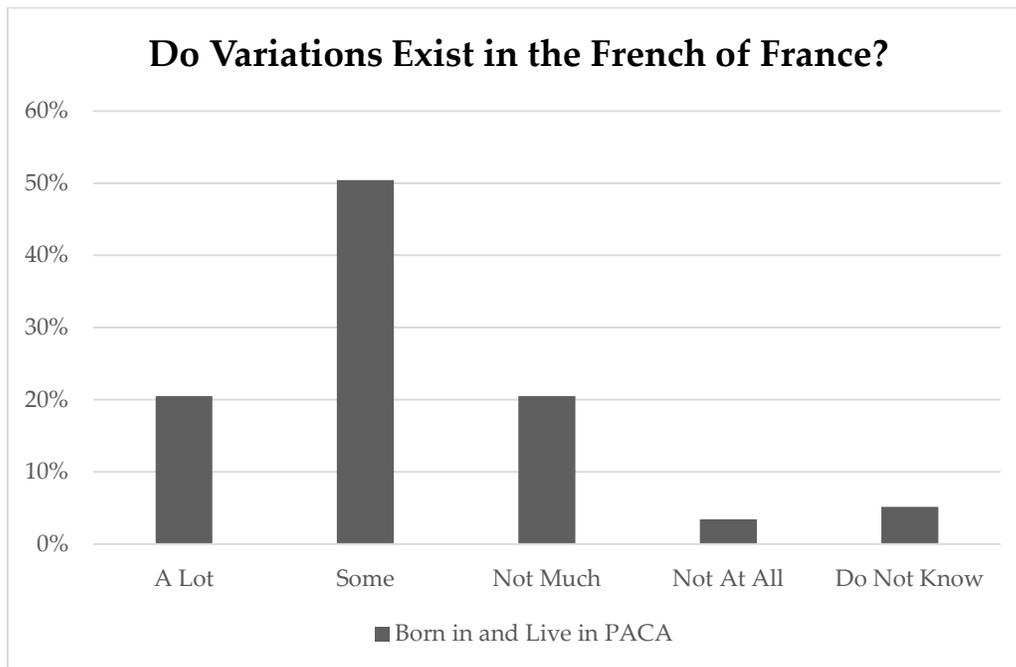
When asking the respondent to report his or her ability to speak Provençal, 168 (76.71%) responded “Not At All”, 40 (18.26%) indicated “Not Much”, 8 (3.65%) specified “Some”, 2 (0.91%) replied “Often” and 1 (0.46%) stated “Do Not Know”.



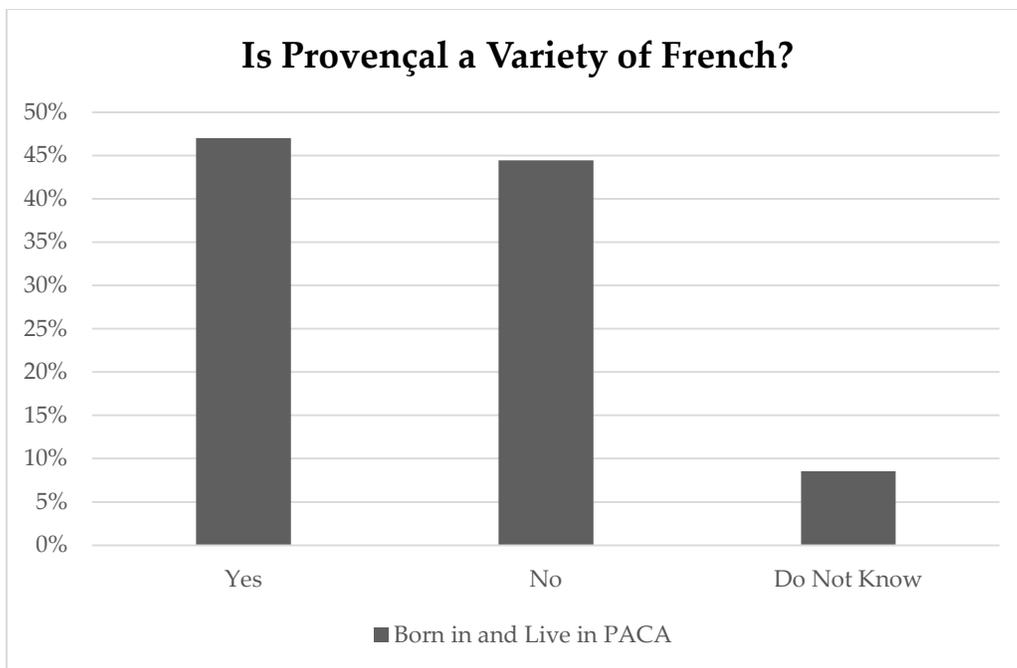
When asked if the participant could understand spoken Provençal, 47 (40.71%) specified “Not Much”, 42 (35.90%) responded “Not At All” and 28 (23.93%) indicated “Some”.



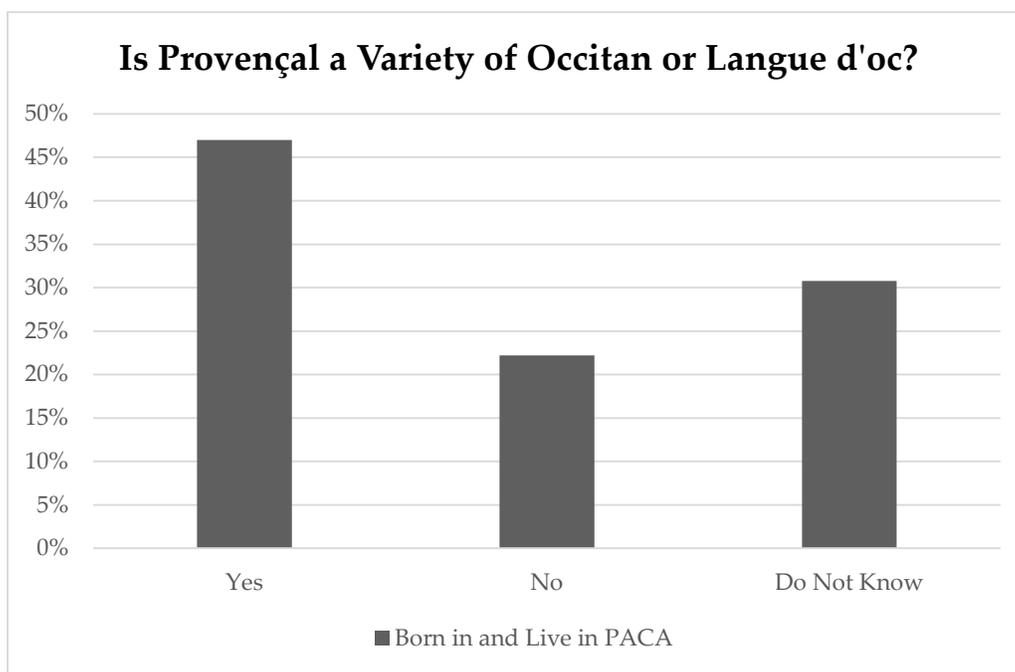
When asked if variations occurred in French in France, 59 (50.43%) indicated "Some", 24 (20.51%) selected "A Lot", another 24 (20.51%) stated "Not Much", 6 (5.13%) picked "Do Not Know" and 4 (3.42%) specified "Not At All".



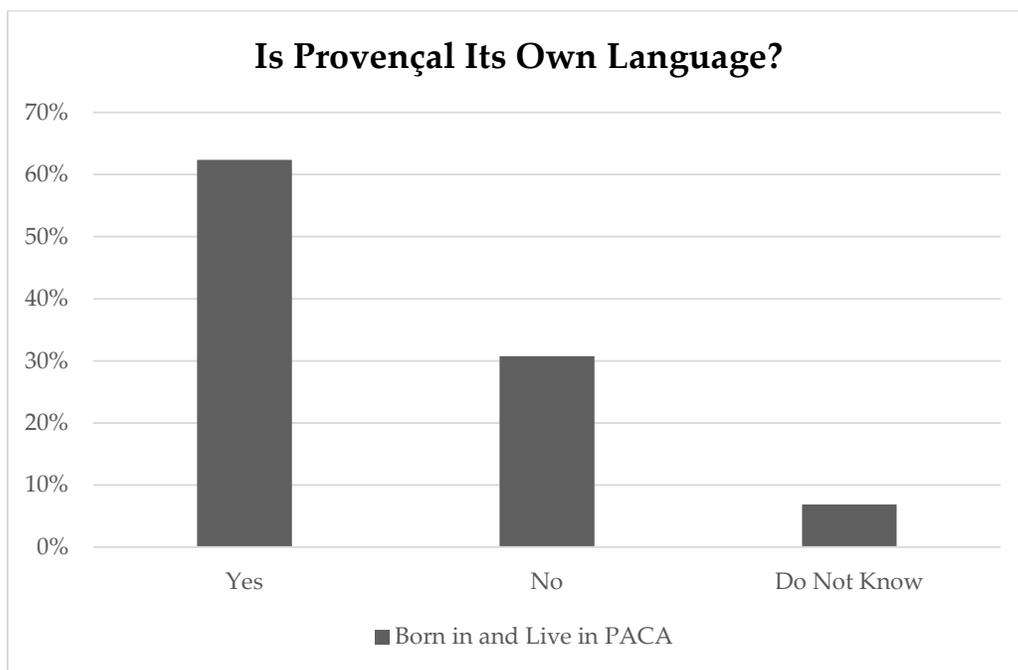
To the question asking whether Provençal was a variety of French, 55 (47.01%) responded "Yes", 52 (44.44%) specified "No" and 10 (8.55%) stated "Do Not Know".



When asked if Provençal was a variety of Occitan or Langue d'oc, 55 (47.01%) stated "Yes", 36 (30.77%) indicated "Do Not Know" and 26 (22.22%) responded "No".

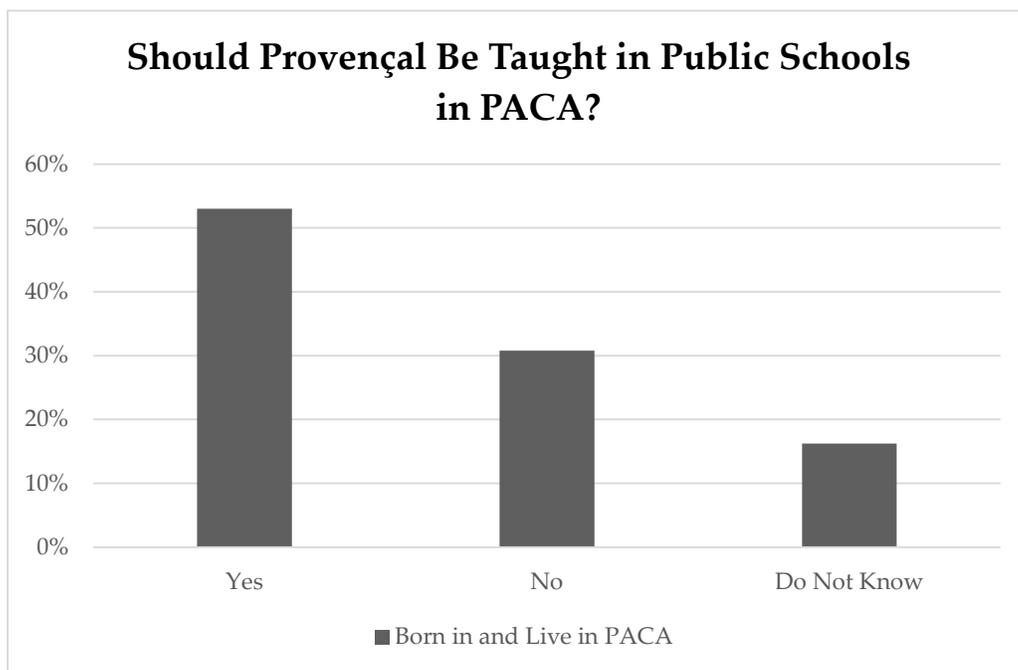


When asked if the participant thought Provençal was its own language, 73 (62.39%) indicated “Yes”, 36 (30.77%) responded “No” and 8 (6.84%) replied “Do Not Know”.

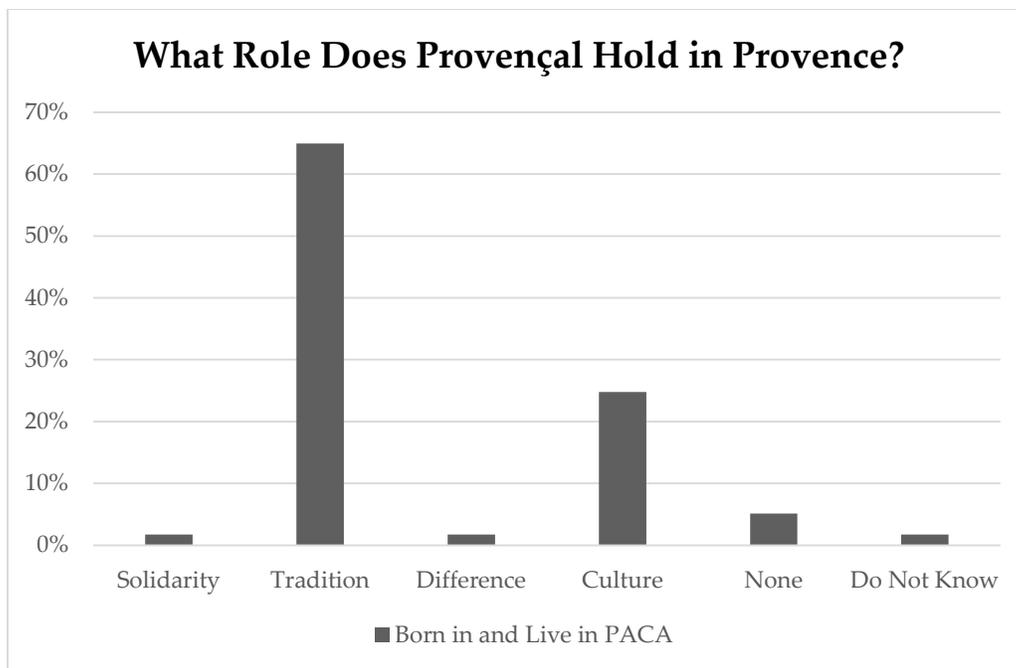


To the question whether Provençal should be taught in public schools in Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, 62 (52.99%) indicated “Yes”, 36 (30.77%)

responded “No” and 19 (16.24%) replied “Do Not Know”.

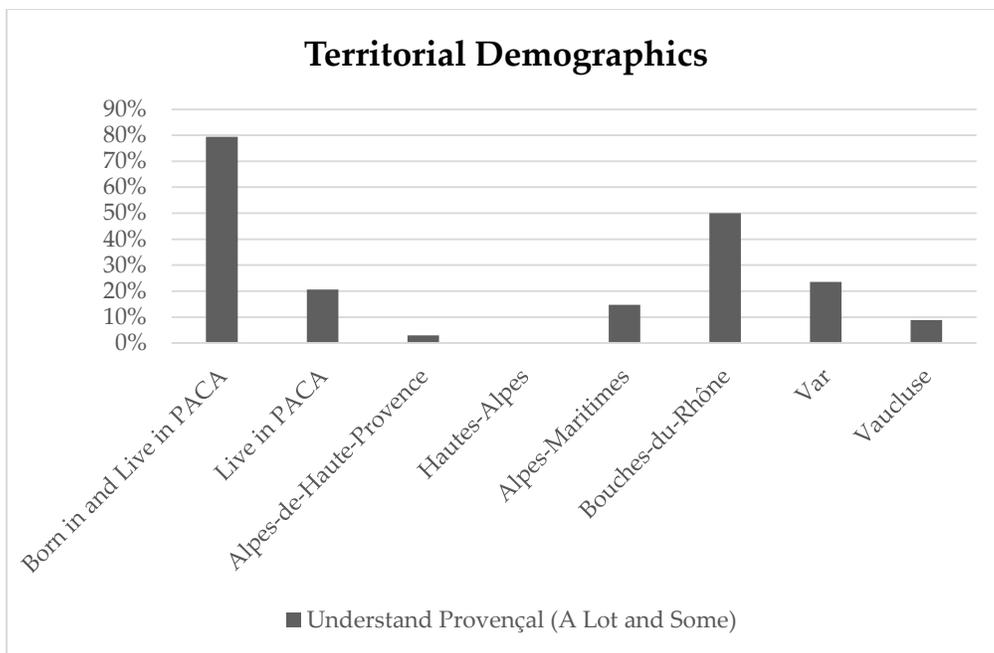


When asked what role Provençal held in Provence, 76 (64.96%) selected “Tradition”, 29 (24.79%) chose “Culture”, 6 (5.13%) decided on “None”, 2 (1.71%) picked “Solidarity”, while another 2 (1.71%) decided on “Difference” and yet another 2 (1.71%) chose “Do Not Know”.

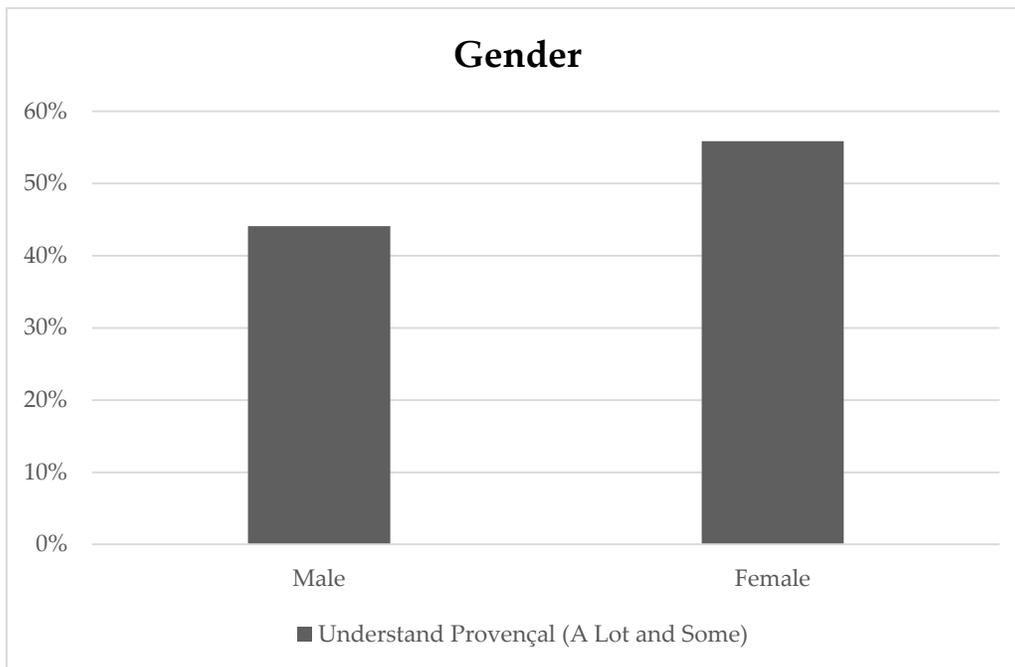


Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur: Understand Provençal, A Lot and Some

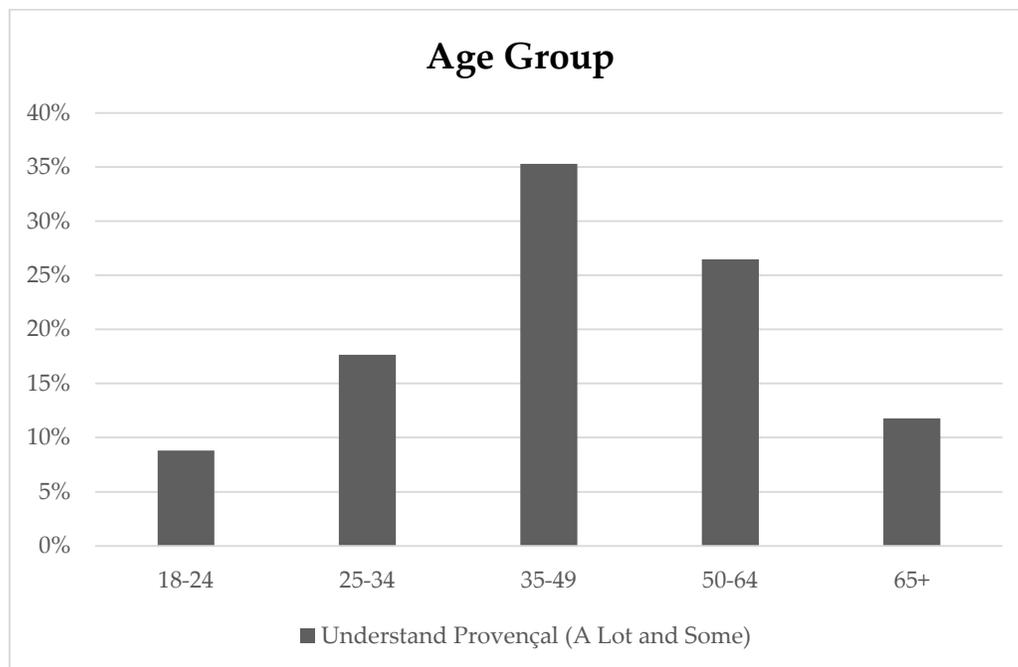
Among this sample of 34 respondents who reported understanding spoken Provençal – a lot or some –, 27 (79.41%) were born in and live in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur and 7 (20.59%) live in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, but were born elsewhere. Of these participants, 1 (29.4%) lives in the Alpes-de-Haute-Provence *département*, 5 (14.71%) in the Alpes-Maritimes, 17 (50.00%) in the Bouches-du-Rhône, 8 (23.53%) in the Var and 3 (8.82%) in the Vaucluse. Eleven respondents indicated that they were regional activists: 8 cultural and three linguistic.



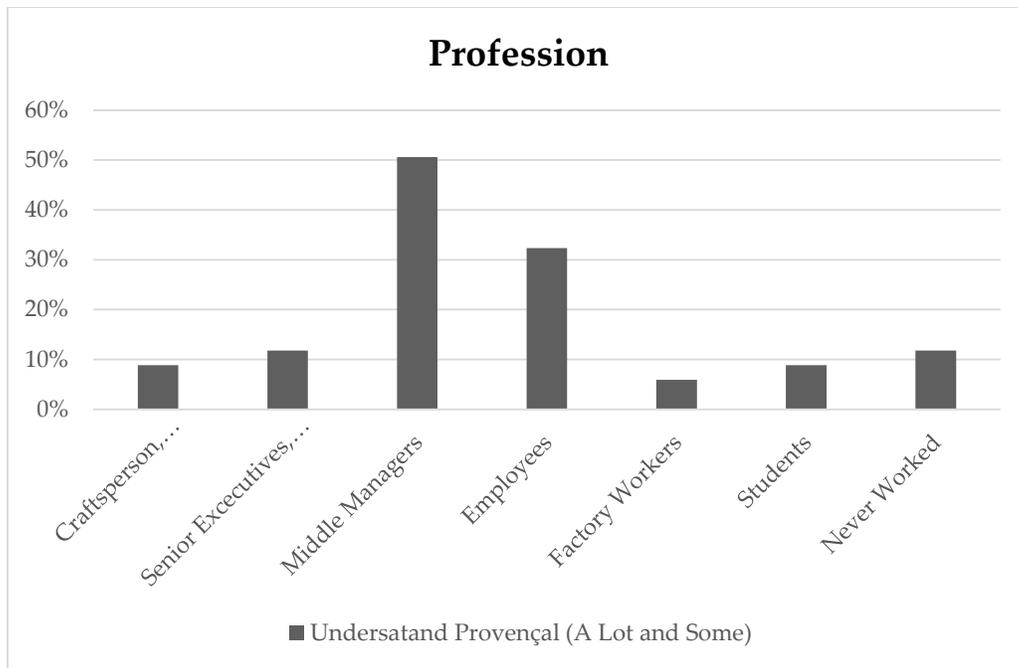
The sample broke down in the following manner for gender, age, profession and education: For gender, 15 (44.12%) were men and 19 (55.88%) were women;



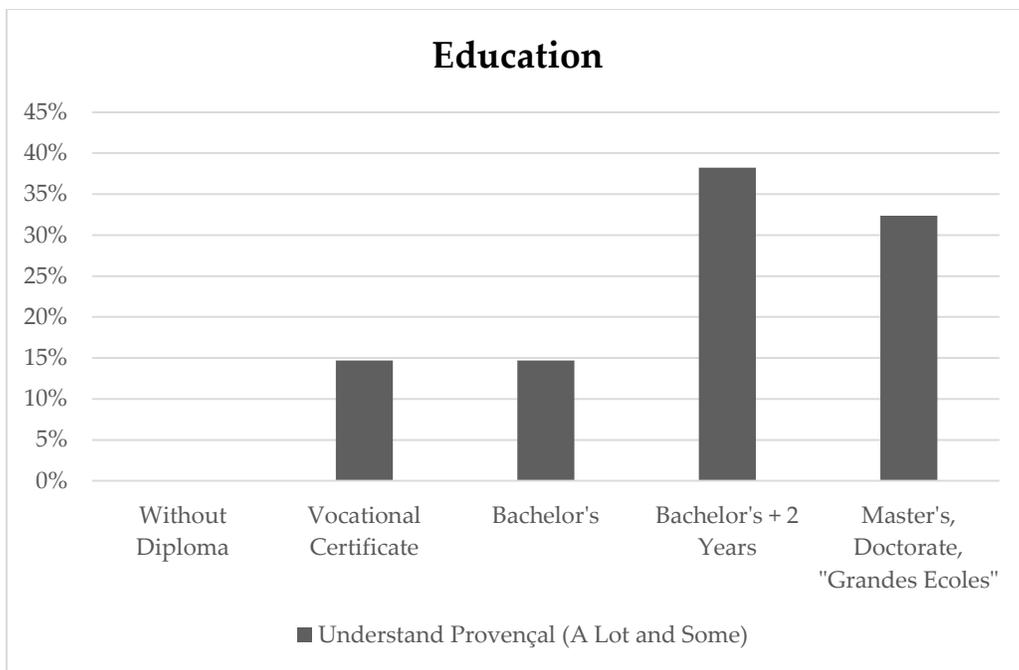
Regarding age, 3 (8.82%) were between 18 and 24 years of age, 6 (17.65%) were between 25 and 34-years-old, 12 (35.29%) were between 35 and 49 years of age, 9 (26.47%) were between 50 and 64-years-old and 4 (11.76%) were 65 years of age or older;



For profession, 3 (8.82%) worked as a craftsperson, storekeeper or company head, 4 (11.76%) were employed as senior executives or intellectual professionals, 7 (20.59%) were middle managers, 11 (32.35%) worked as employees, 2 (5.88%) were factory workers, 3 (8.82%) were students and 4 (11.76%) had never worked;

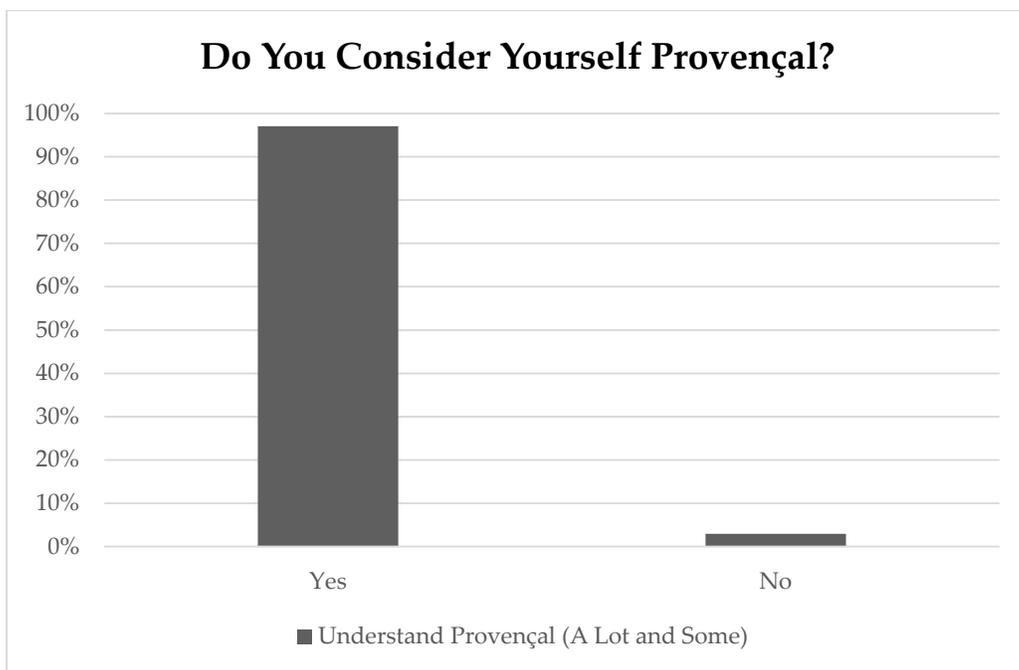


Concerning education and highest diploma earned, 5 (14.71%) possessed a vocational certificate or a national vocational qualification, 5 (14.71%) held a Bachelor's degree, 13 (38.24%) possessed a Bachelor's degree plus two additional years, such as teachers and healthcare or social professionals, and 11 (32.35%) held Master's degrees, Doctorates or degrees from the *Grandes Ecoles*.

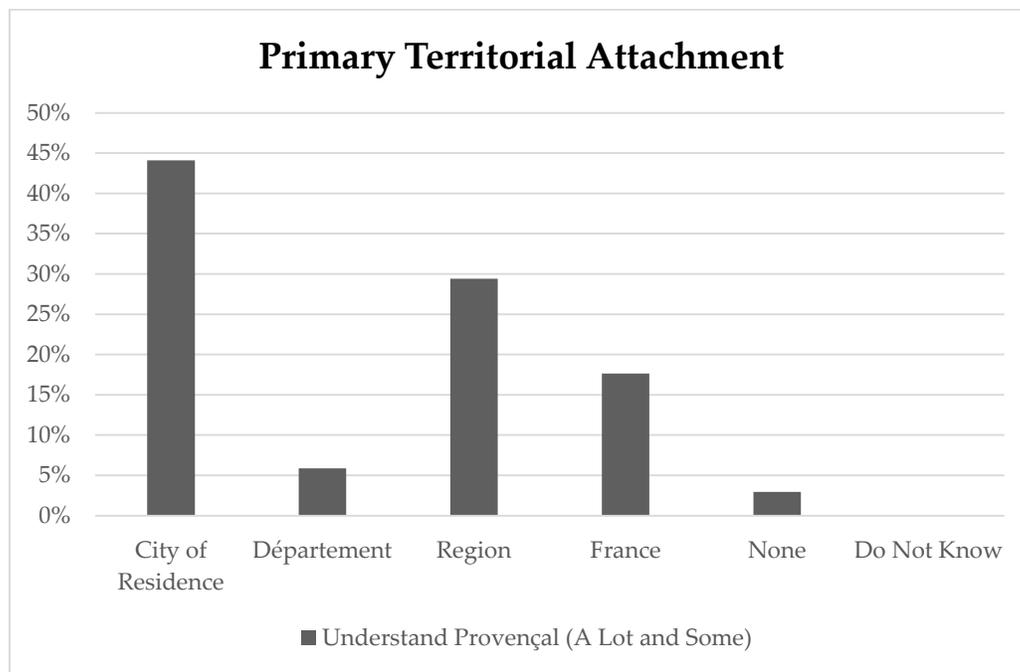


Regional Identity

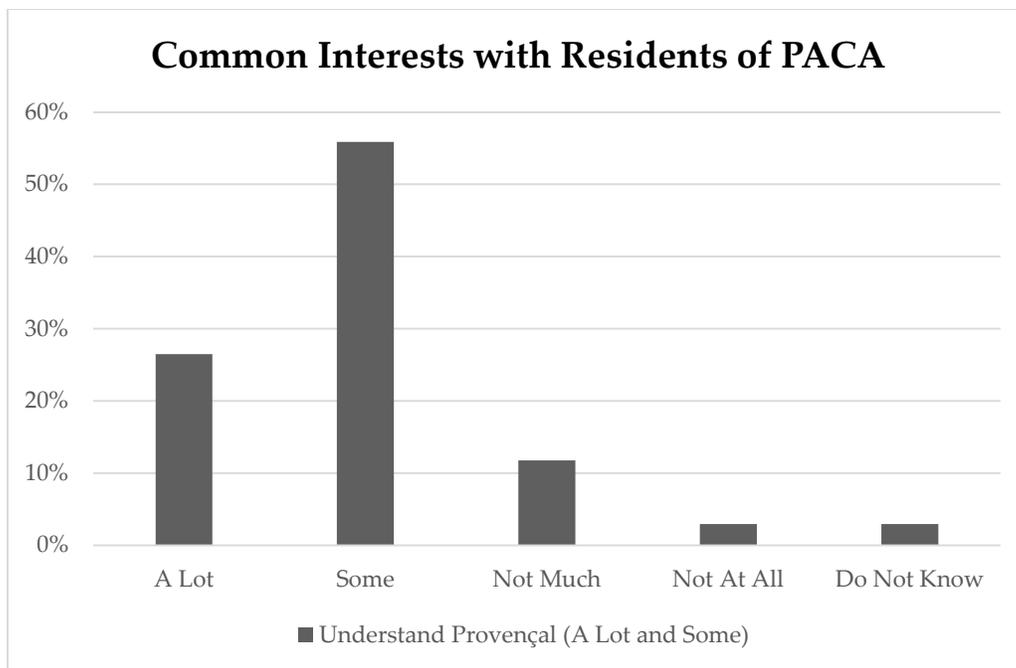
Of these 34 participants, 33 (97.06%) considered themselves to be Provençal, while 1 (2.94%) did not.



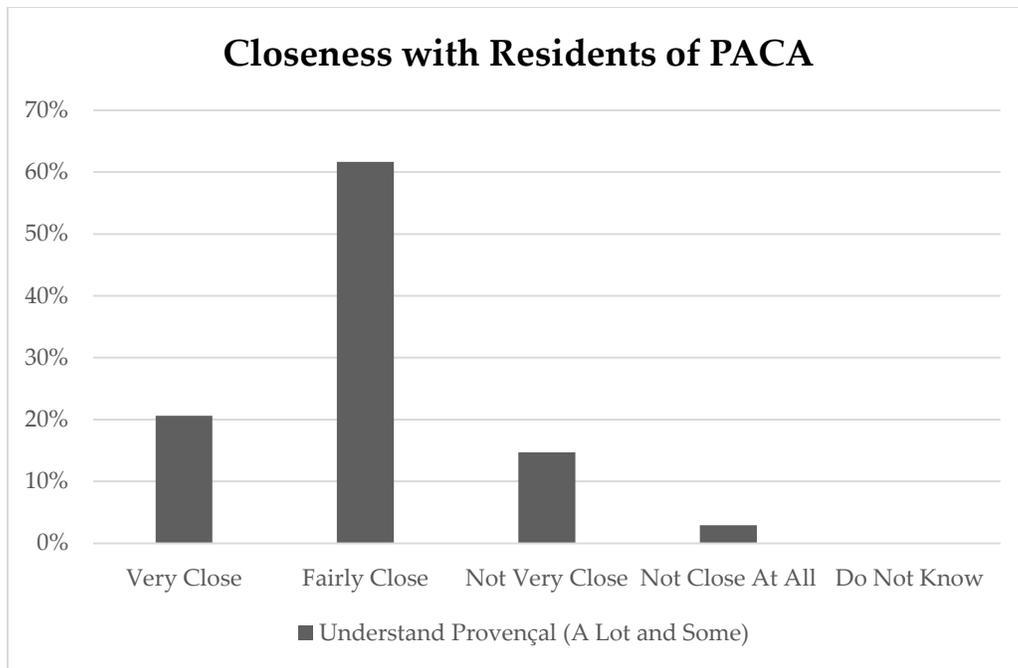
When asked to choose to which administrative territory they were primarily attached, 15 (44.12%) chose “City of Residence”, 10 (29.41%) selected “Region”, 6 (17.65%) picked “France”, 2 (5.88%) decided on “*Département*” and 1 (2.94%) selected “None”.



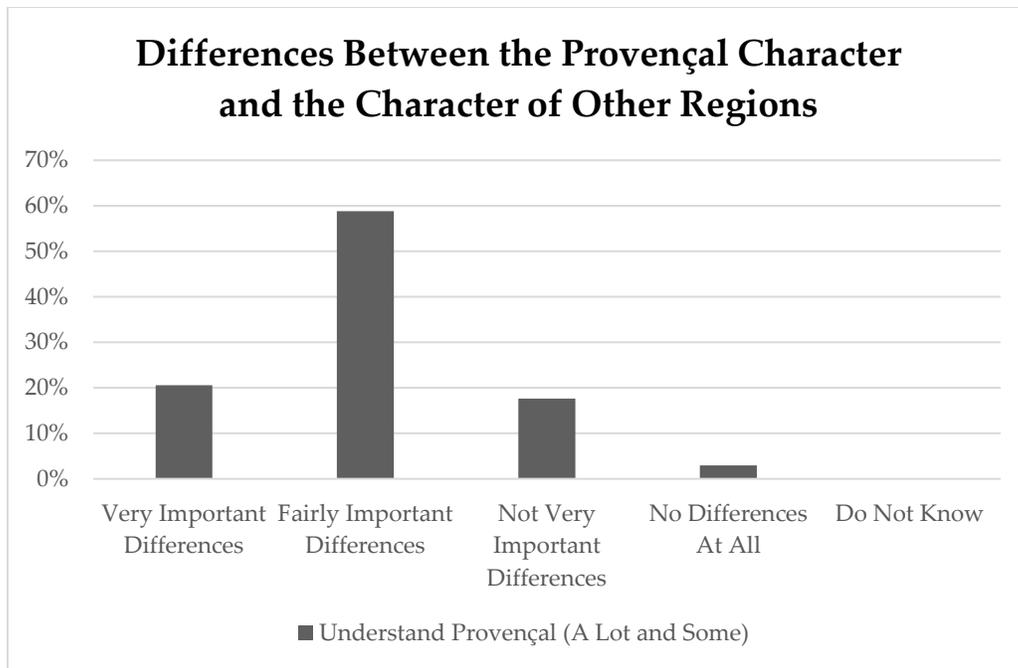
To the question regarding having common interests with other residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, 19 (55.88%) indicated that they had “Some”, 9 (26.47%) reported “A Lot”, 4 (11.76%) stated having “Not Much”, 1 (2.94%) reported “Not At All” and another 1 (2.94%) indicated “Do Not Know”.



When asked how close respondents were to the other residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 21 (61.67%) selected "Fairly Close", 7 (20.59%) chose "Very Close", 5 (14.71%) decided on "Not Very Close" and 1 (2.94%) picked "Not Close At All".

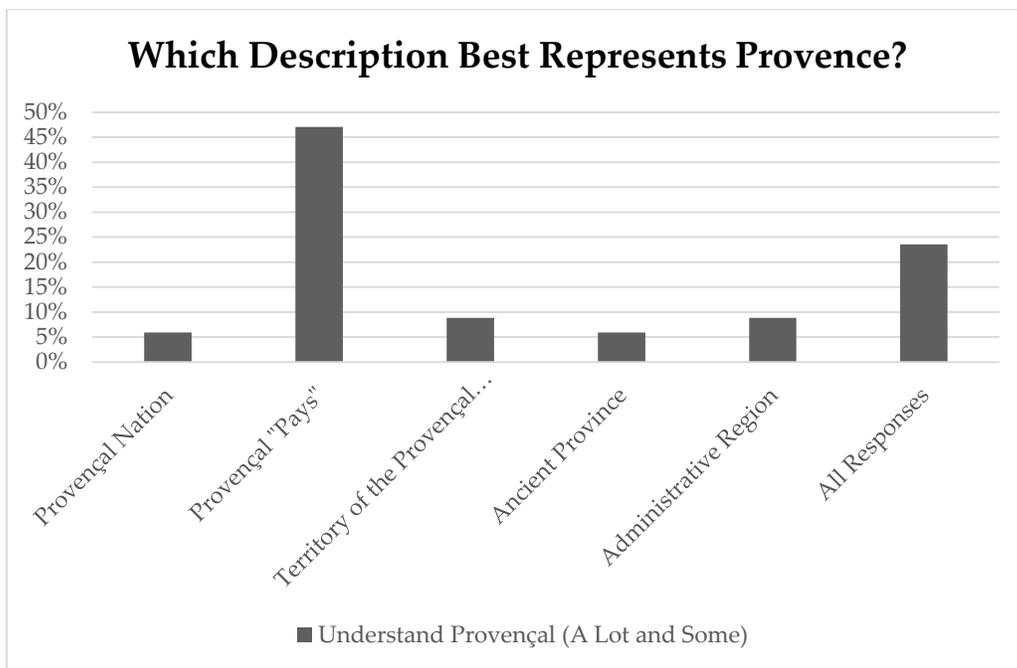


To the question inquiring about how the regional character of residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur differed from that of residents of other regions, 20 (58.82%) indicated that there were fairly important differences between the Provençaux and the residents of other regions. Furthermore, 7 (20.59%) reported that there were very important differences. Among the other respondents, 6 (17.65%) stated that there were not a lot of differences, while 1 (2.94%) indicated that there were no differences.

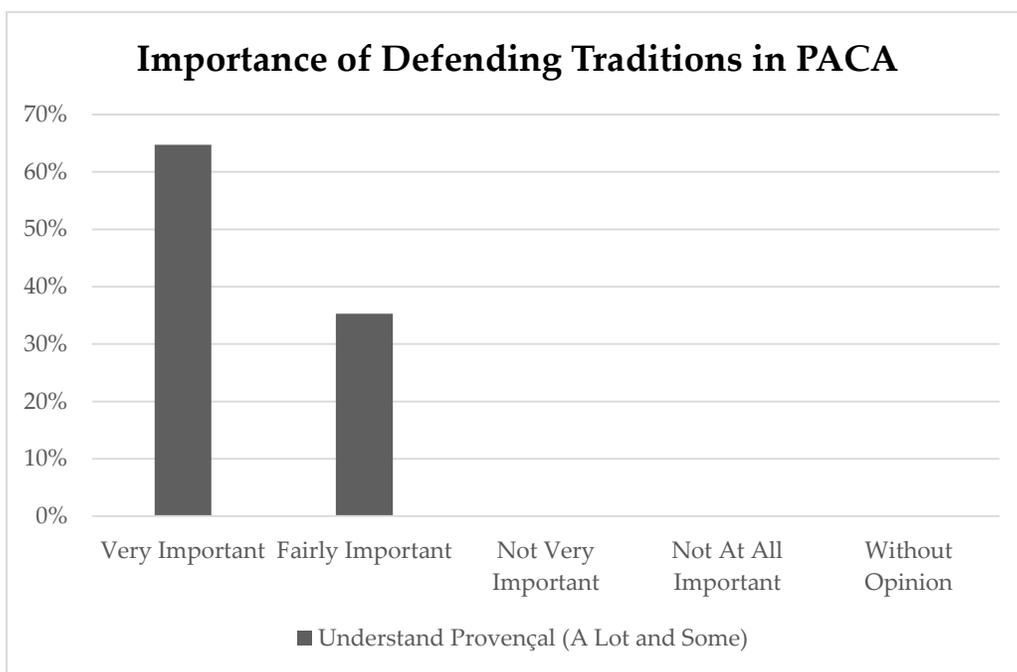


When asked to select the description that best represented Provence for them, 16 (47.06%) responded “the Provençal *Pays* or the Provençaux *Pays*”²⁴, 8 (23.53%) indicated “All Responses”, 3 (8.82%) reported “Territory of the Provençal People”, another 3 (8.82%) indicated “Administrative Region of the French Republic”, 2 (5.88%) picked “Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France” and another 3 (5.88%) decided on the “Provençal Nation”.

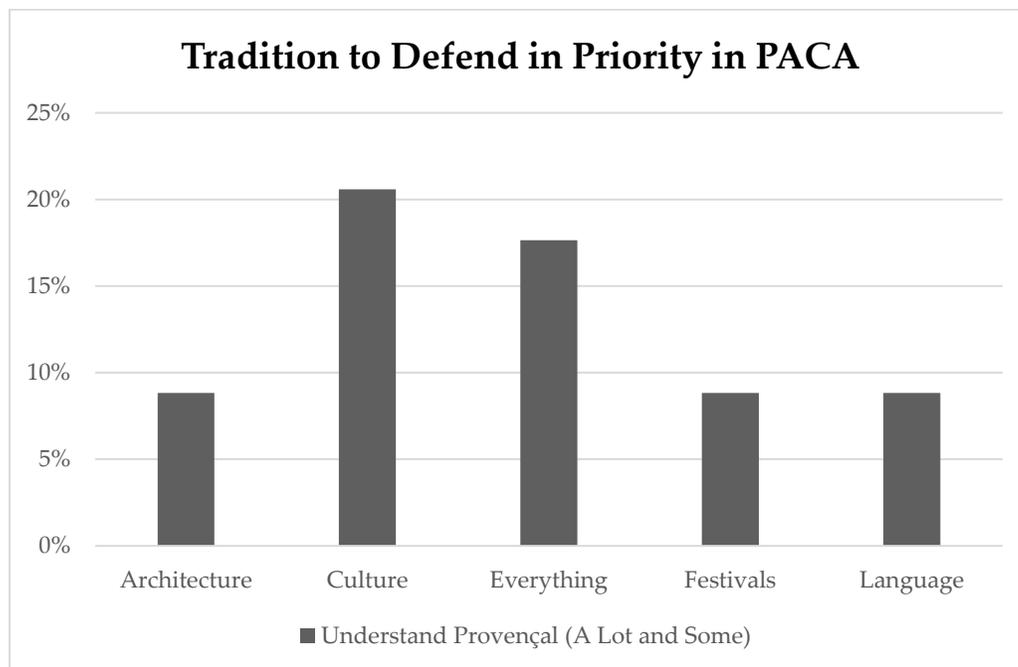
²⁴ In French, the singular, *le pays provençal*, and the plural, *les pays provençaux*, do not sound the same, which occurred in the Picard version. Since English neither requires the usage of the definite article nor the agreement of adjectives and nouns, the French singular and plural of Provençal respectively – “Provençal and Provençaux” (and with capitals) – are used to denote the difference since ‘pays’ already ends in an “s” in the singular.



To the question regarding the importance of defending traditional elements in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 22 (64.71%) reported "Very Important" and 12 (35.29%) indicated "Fairly Important".

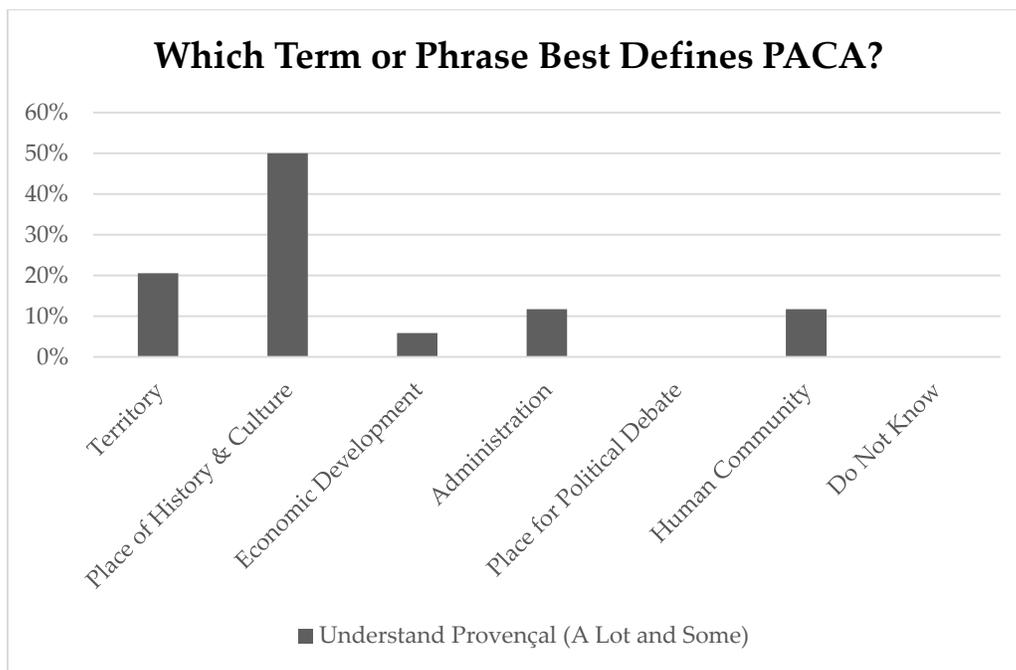


Respondents were then asked to name a tradition to defend in priority; 16 (47.06%) indicated “Culture”, 7 (20.59%) stated “Everything”, 6 (17.65%) responded “Language”, 3 (8.82%) replied “Festivals” and another 3 (8.83%) indicated “Architecture”²⁵.

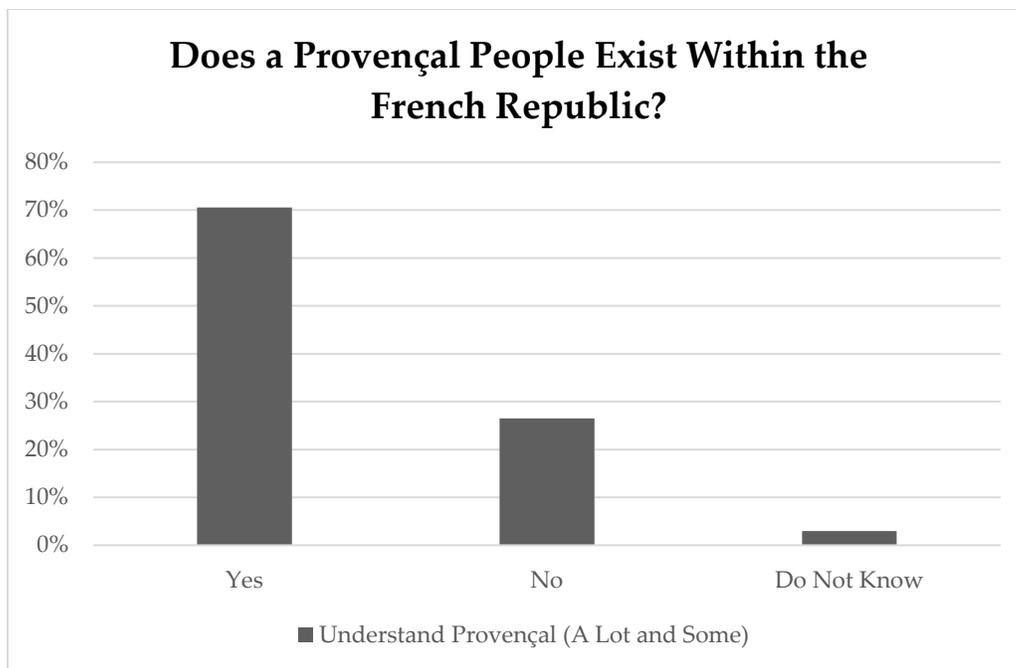


²⁵ While certain elements were suggested, respondents were able to suggest their own as well. These categories represent a synthesis of reported elements. When a respondent gave a list of several things, the first was recorded; however, when a respondent either stated, “Everything” or gave a list and stated, “Everything” at the end; “Everything” was simply recorded. In other words, “Everything” had to be specifically stated for the respondent’s response to be categorized as “Everything”; otherwise, only the first element was recorded. The only exception was for the mention of “Language” or “Dialect” since this study is mainly focused upon them/it. If a respondent gave a list that included one of the two terms anywhere within it, they were recorded. However, for the category “Language and Culture”, both terms had to be mentioned as the first two terms in either order for their response to be categorized as “Language and Culture”. As a result, since these categories represent a synthesis, the numbers and percentages can be unequal to the actual number of respondents involved; furthermore, not all respondents provided an understandable answer; the compiled list maybe somewhat different for each sample. Each list will appear in alphabetical order.

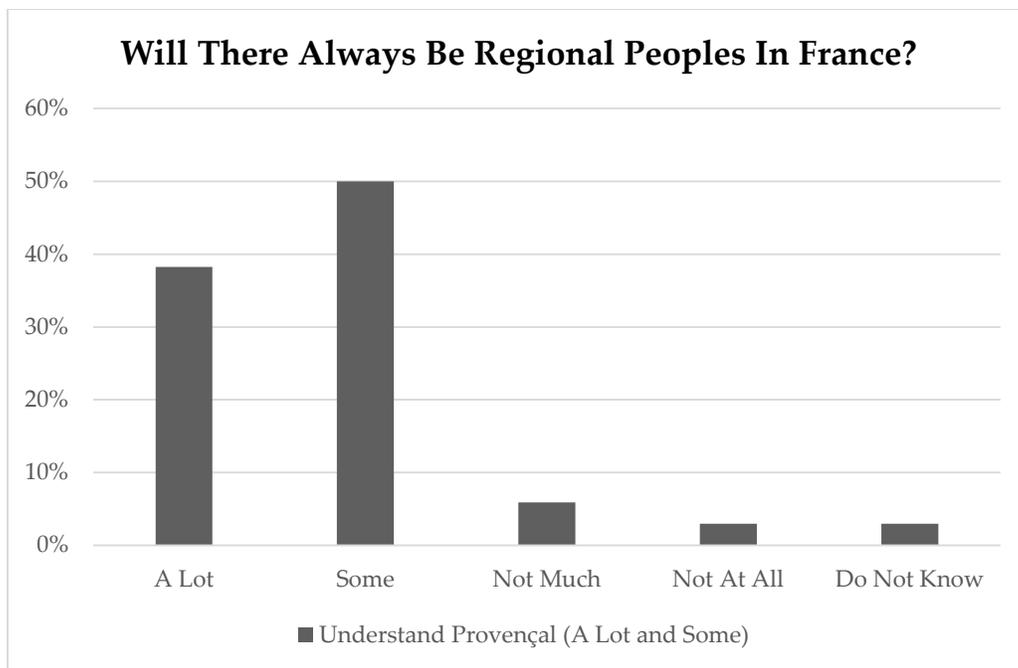
When the respondent was asked to indicate which term or phrase best defined Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 17(50.00%) selected "Place of History and Culture", 7 (20.59%) chose "Territory", 4 (11.76%) picked "Administration", another 4 (11.76%) decided on "Human Community" and 2 (5.88%) settled on "Place for Economic Development".



When asked whether there existed a Provençal people within the French Republic, 24 (70.59%) responded "Yes", 9 (26.47%) indicated "No" and 1 (2.94%) selected "Do Not Know".

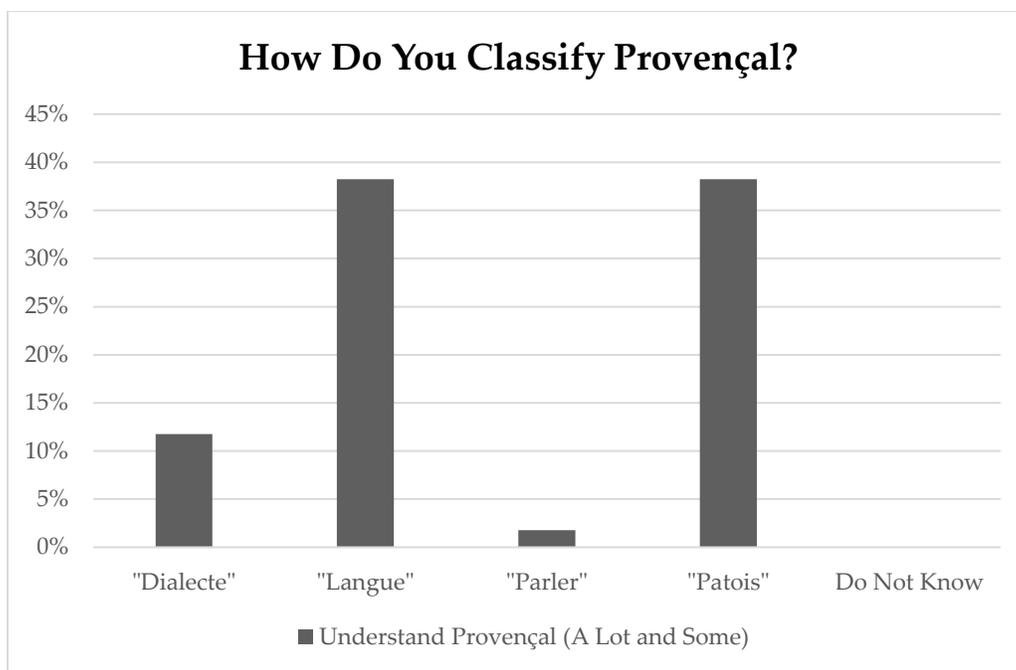


To the question concerning whether France will always contain regional peoples or groups in terms of traditions, customs and dialects, such as the Alsatians, Basques, Bretons, Burgundians, Flemish, Normans, Picards and Provençaux, mentioned in the 17th century, 17 (50.00%) responded “Some”, 13 (38.24%) indicated “Very Much”, 2 (5.88%) reported “Not Much”, 1 (2.94%) replied “Not At All” and another 1 (2.94%) answered “Do Not Know”.



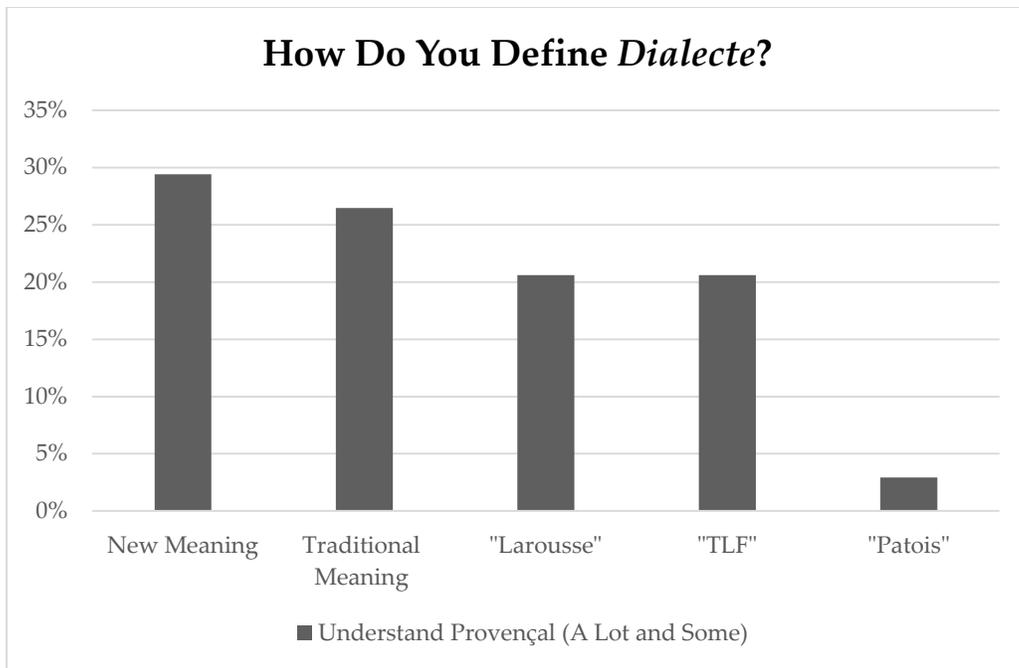
Provençal Idiom and French Language Ideology

To the question regarding the classification of Provençal, 13 (38.24%) decided on “*Langue*”, another 13 (38.24%) selected “*Patois*”, 4 (11.76%) picked “*Dialecte*” and another 4 (11.76%) chose “*Parler*”.

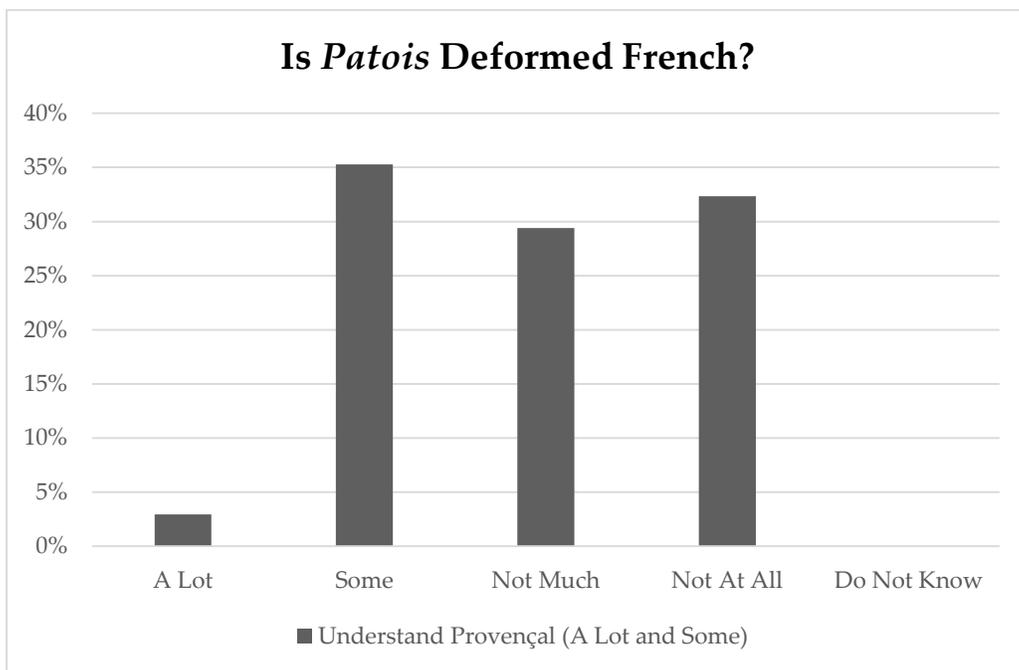


When asked to define *dialecte*, 10 (29.41%) chose the new meaning, 9 (26.47%) selected the traditional meaning, 7 (20.59%) picked the definition used in *Larousse*, another 7 (20.59%) decided on the definition of the *Trésor de la langue française* and 1 (2.94%) selected *patois*²⁶.

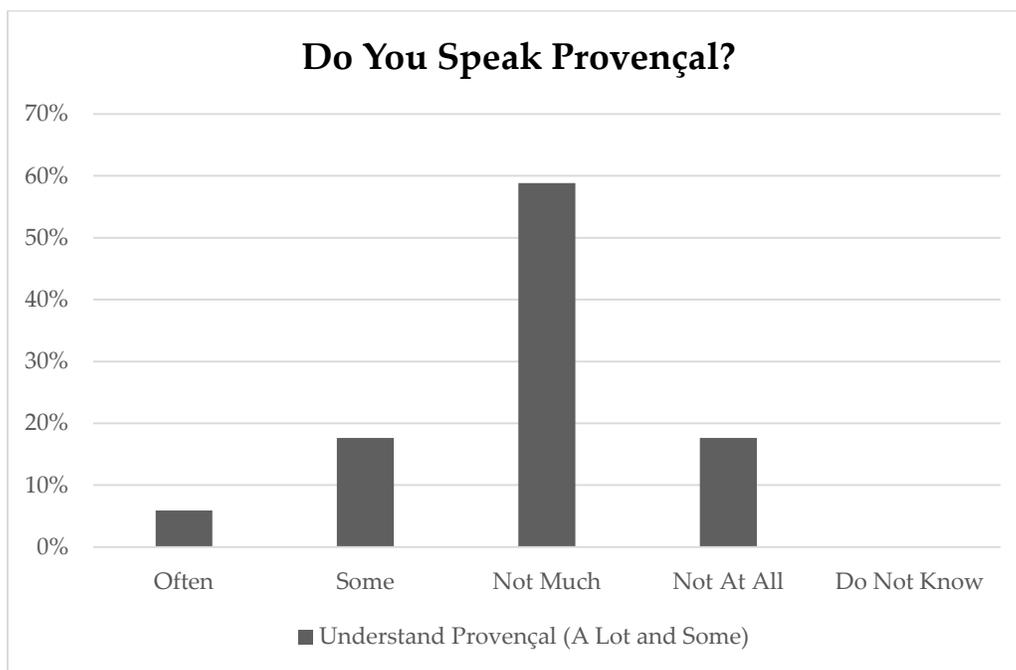
²⁶ These were not the definitions used; they are simply an easier way of listing them.



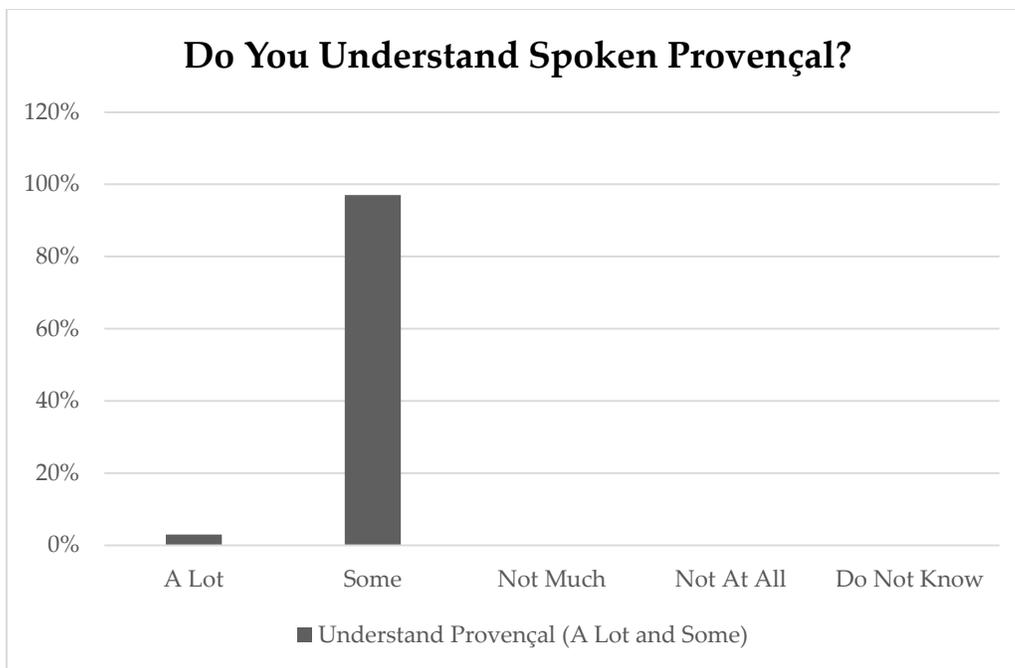
To the question asking the participant if *patois* was deformed French, 12 (35.29%) indicated "Some", 11 (32.35%) responded "Not At All", 10 (29.41%) replied "Not Much" and 1 (2.94%) stated "A Lot".



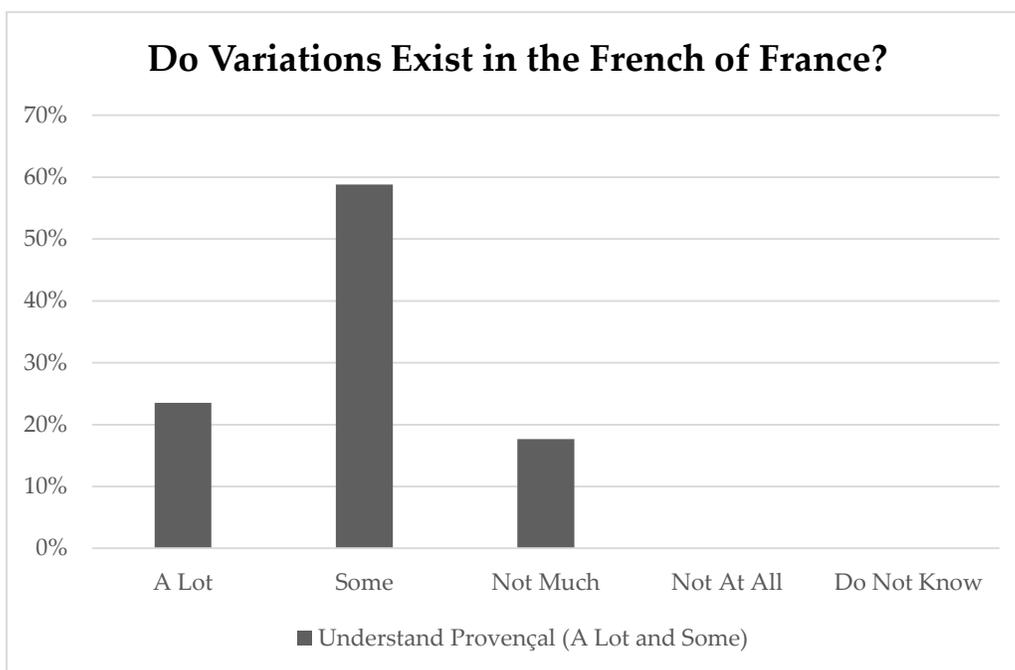
When asking the respondent to report his or her ability to speak Provençal, 20 (58.82%) responded “Not Much”, 6 (17.65%) indicated “Some”, another 6 (17.65%) specified “Not At All” and 2 (5.88%) replied “Often”.



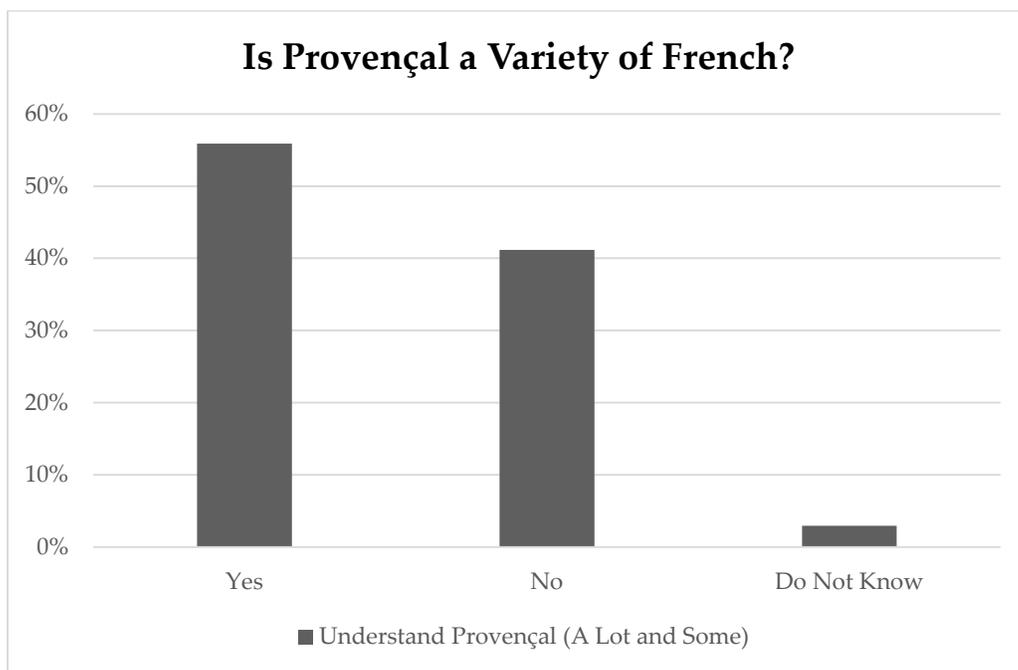
When asked if the participant could understand spoken Provençal, 33 (97.06%) specified “Some” and 1 (2.94%) responded “A Lot”.



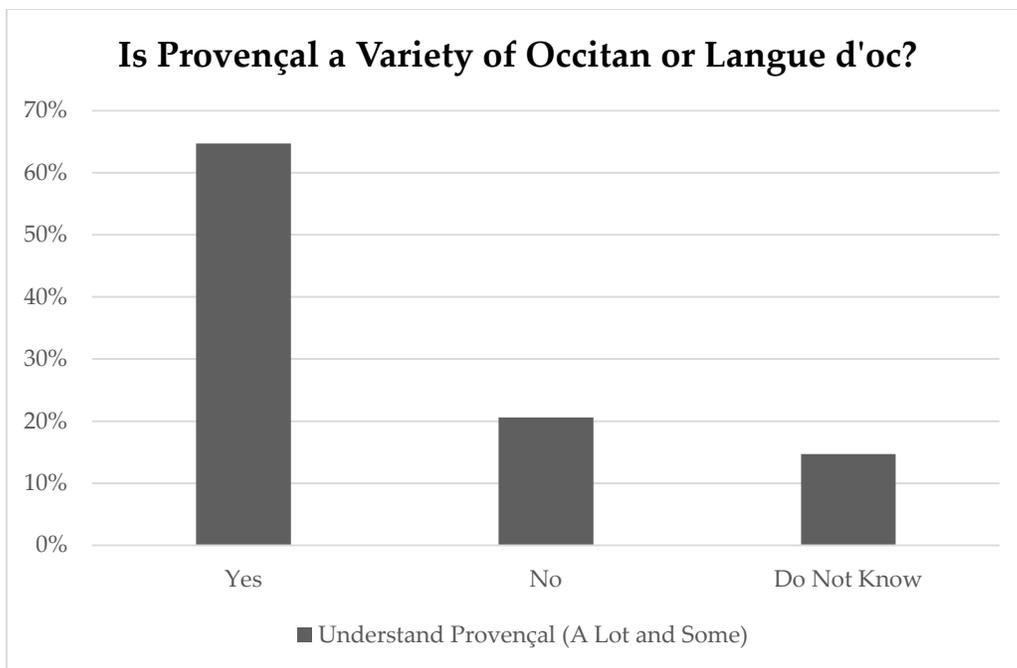
When asked if variations occurred in French in France, 20 (58.82%) indicated “Some”, 8 (23.53%) selected “A Lot” and 6 (17.65%) stated “Not Much”.



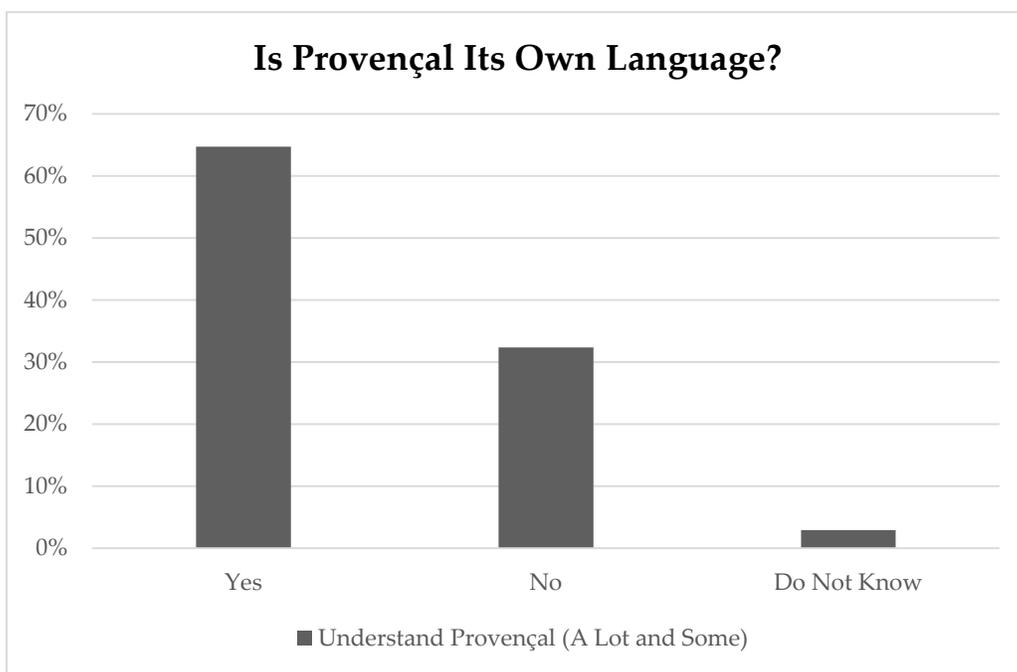
To the question asking whether Provençal was a variety of French, 19 (55.88%) responded “Yes”, 14 (41.18%) specified “No” and 1 (2.94%) stated “Do Not Know”.



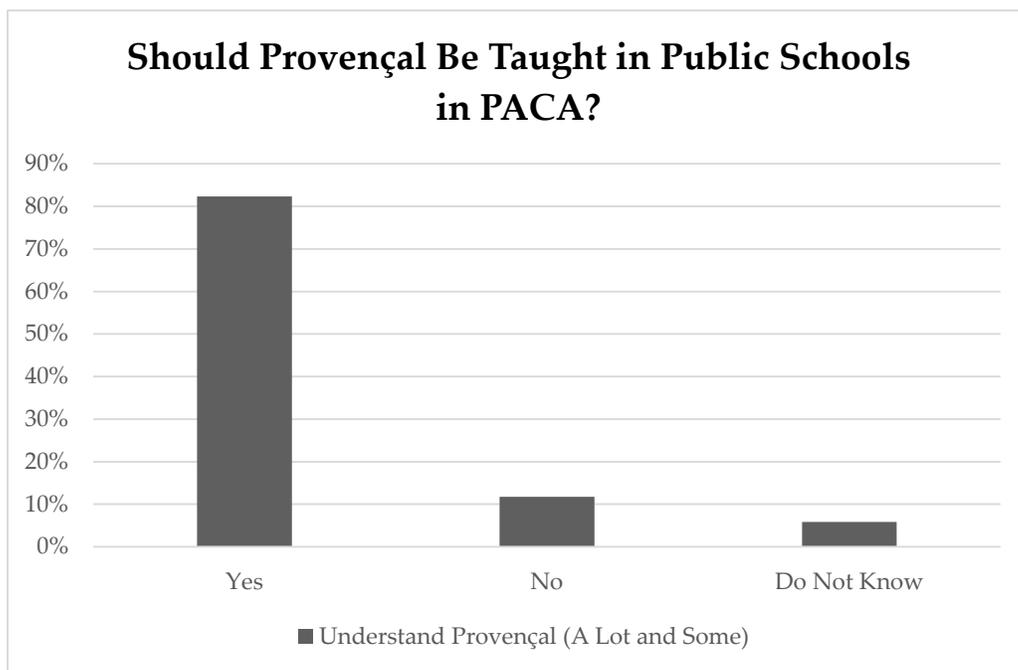
When asked if Provençal was a variety of Occitan or Langue d’oc, 22 (64.71%) stated “Yes”, 7 (20.59%) indicated “No” and 5 (14.71%) responded “Do Not Know”.



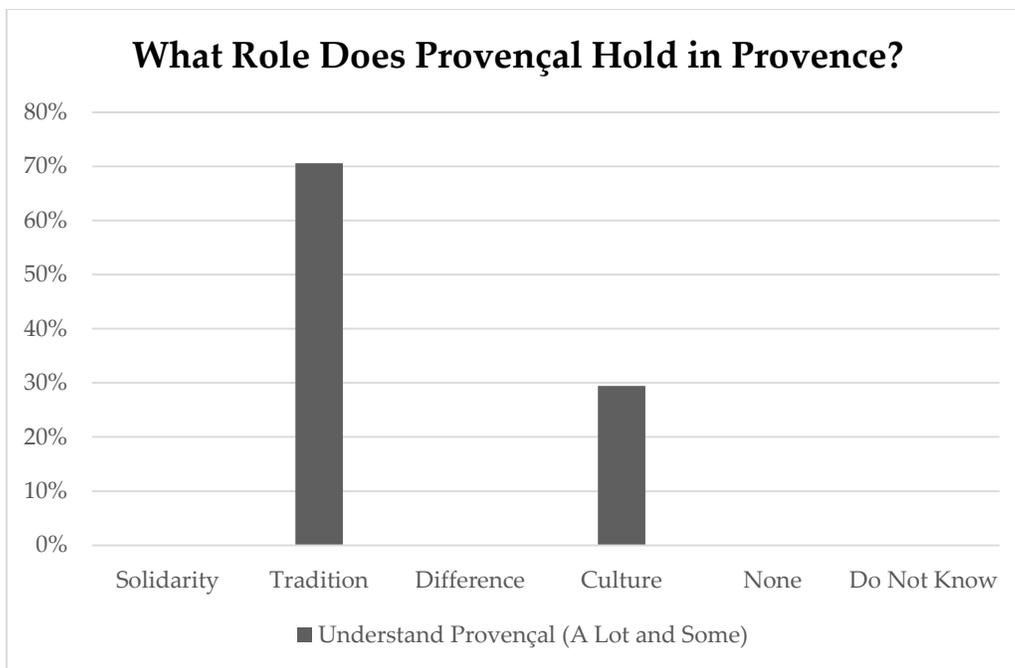
When asked if the participant thought Provençal was its own language, 22 (64.71%) indicated “Yes”, 11 (32.35%) responded “No” and 1 (2.94%) replied “Do Not Know”.



To the question whether Provençal should be taught in public schools in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 28 (82.35%) indicated "Yes", 4 (11.76%) responded "No" and 2 (5.88%) replied "Do Not Know".

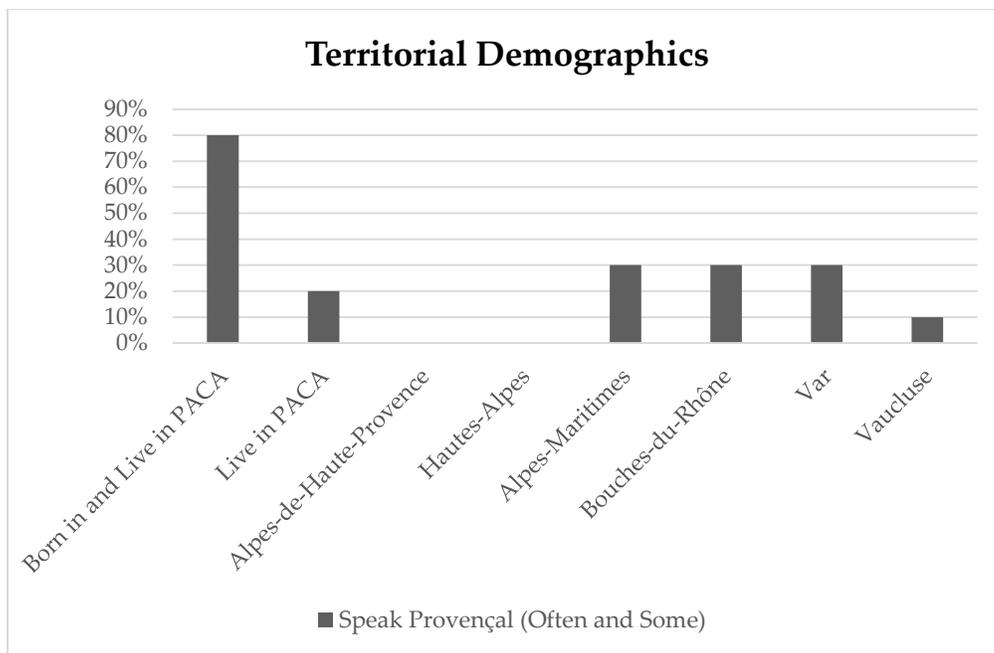


When asked what role Provençal held in Provence, 24 (70.59%) selected "Tradition" and 10 (29.41%) chose "Culture".

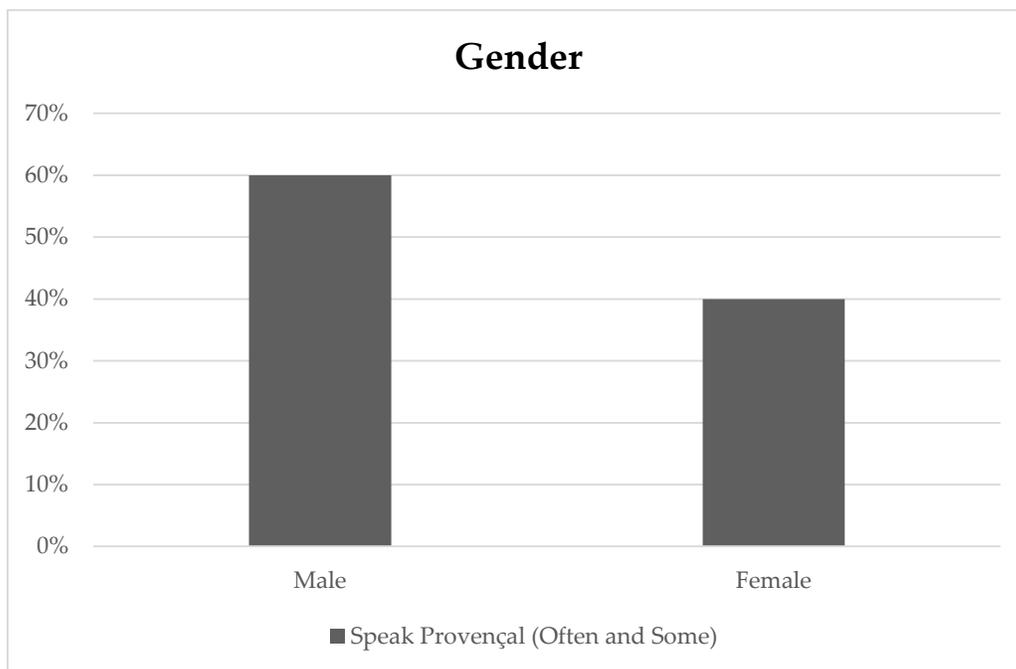


Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur: Speak Provençal, Often and Some

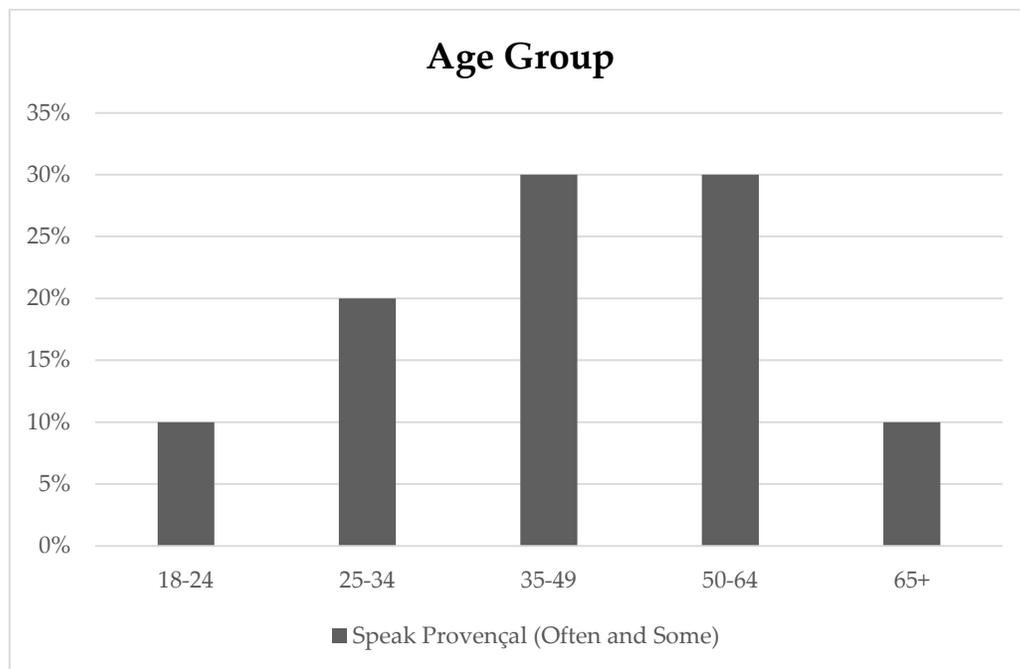
Among this sample of 10 respondents who reported speaking Provençal – often or some –, 8 (80.00%) were born in and live in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur and 2 (20.00%) live in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, but were born elsewhere. Of these participants, 3 (30.00%) live in the Alpes-Maritimes *département*, 3 (30.00%) in the Bouches-du-Rhône, 3 (30.00%) in the Var and 1 (10.00%) in the Vaucluse. Six respondents reported being regional activists: 4 cultural and 2 linguistic.



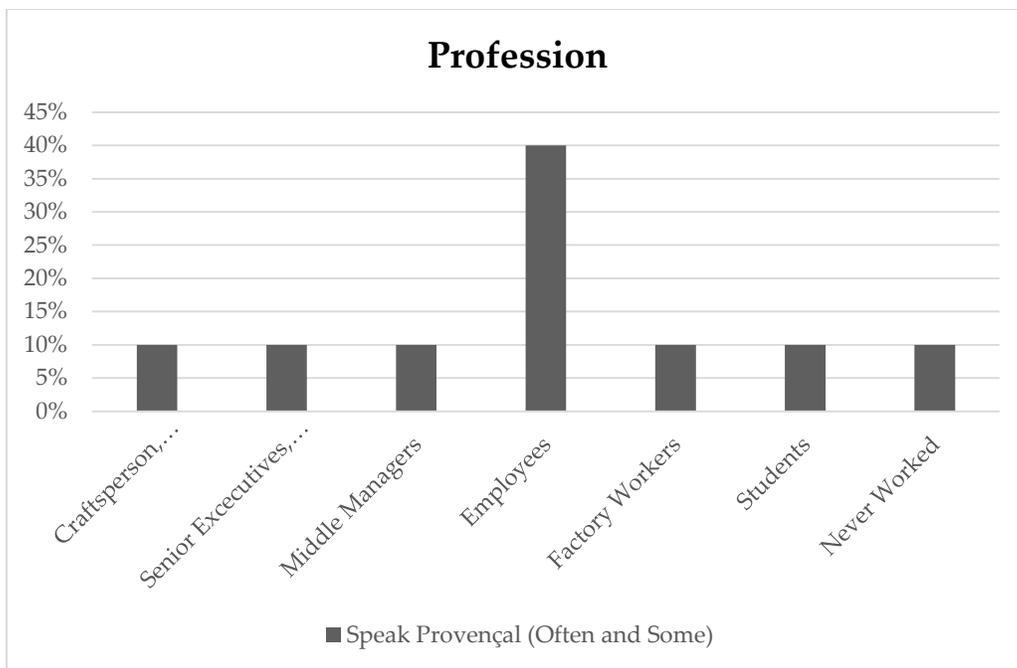
The sample broke down in the following manner for gender, age, profession and education: For gender, 6 (60.00%) were men and 4 (40.00%) were women;



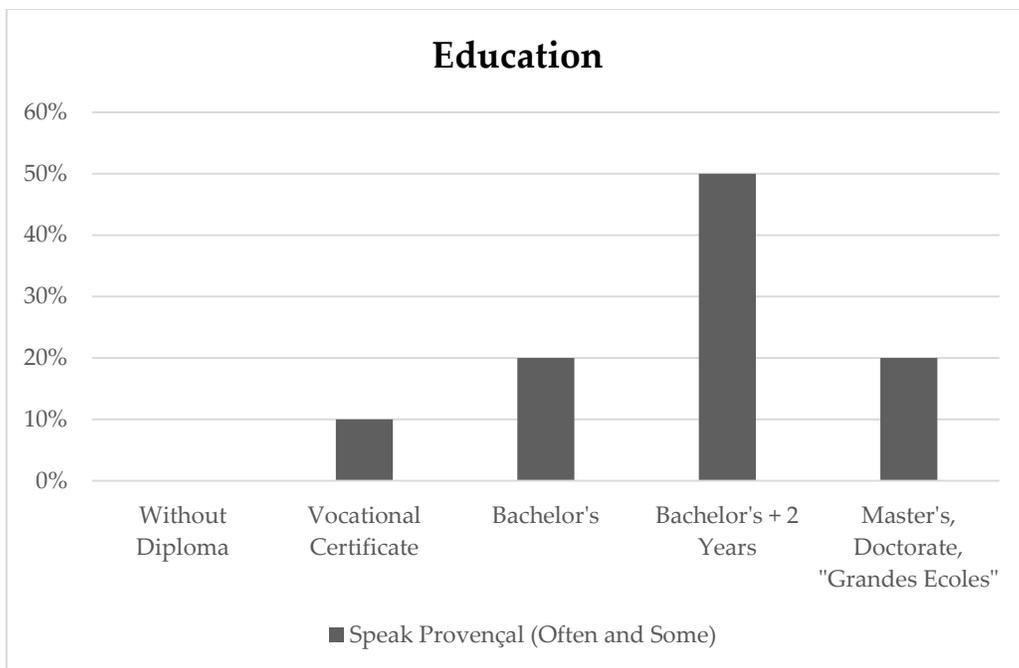
Regarding age, 1 (10.00%) was between 18 and 24 years of age, 2 (20.00%) were between 25 and 34-years-old, 3 (30.00%) were between 35 and 49 years of age, 3 (30.00%) were between 50 and 64-years-old and 1 (10.00%) was 65 years of age or older;



For profession, 1 (10.00%) worked as a craftsperson, storekeeper or company head, 1 (10.00%) was employed as a senior executive or intellectual professional, 1 (10.00%) was a middle manager, 4 (40.00%) worked as employees, 1 (10.00%) was a factory worker, 1 (10.00%) was a student and 1 (10.00%) had never worked;

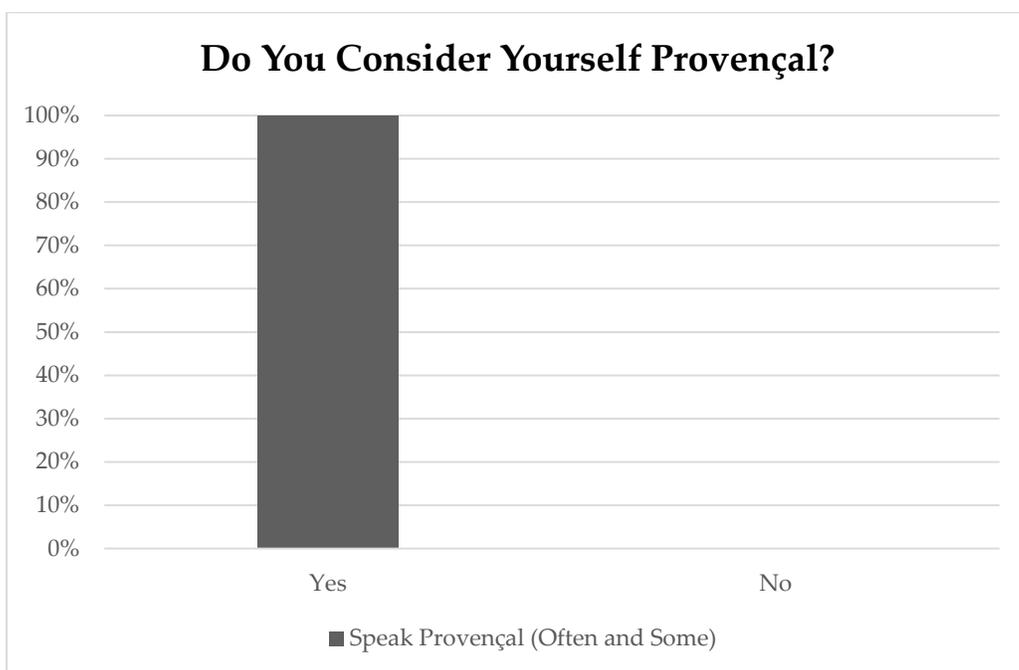


Concerning education and highest diploma earned, 1 (10.00%) possessed a vocational certificate or a national vocational qualification, 2 (20.00%) held a Bachelor's degree, 5 (50.00%) possessed a Bachelor's degree plus two additional years, such as teachers and healthcare or social professionals, and 2 (20.00%) held Master's degrees, Doctorates or degrees from the *Grandes Ecoles*.

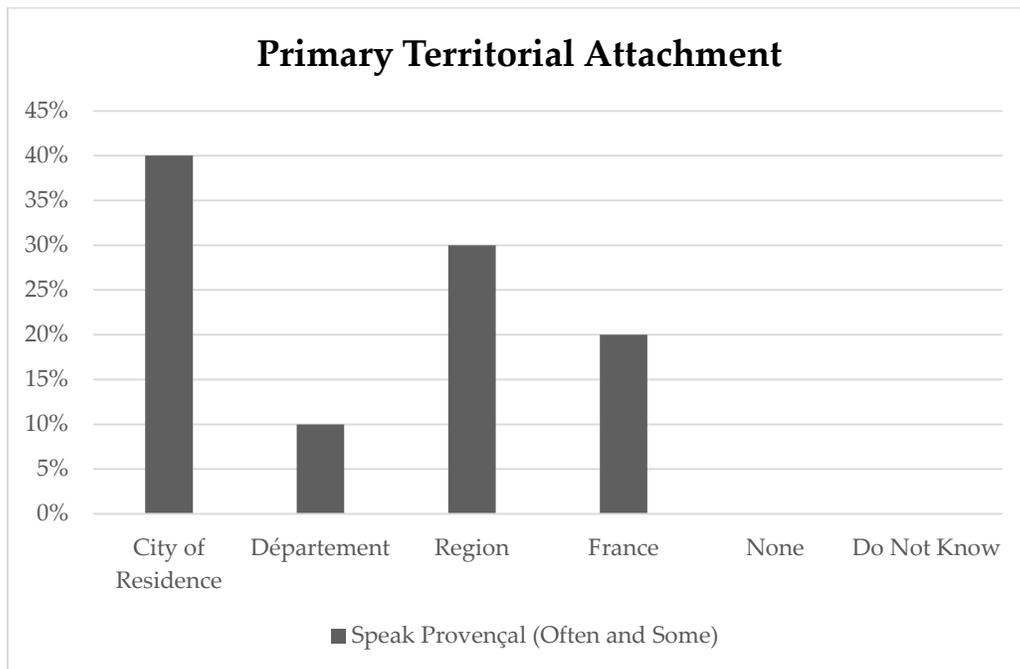


Regional Identity

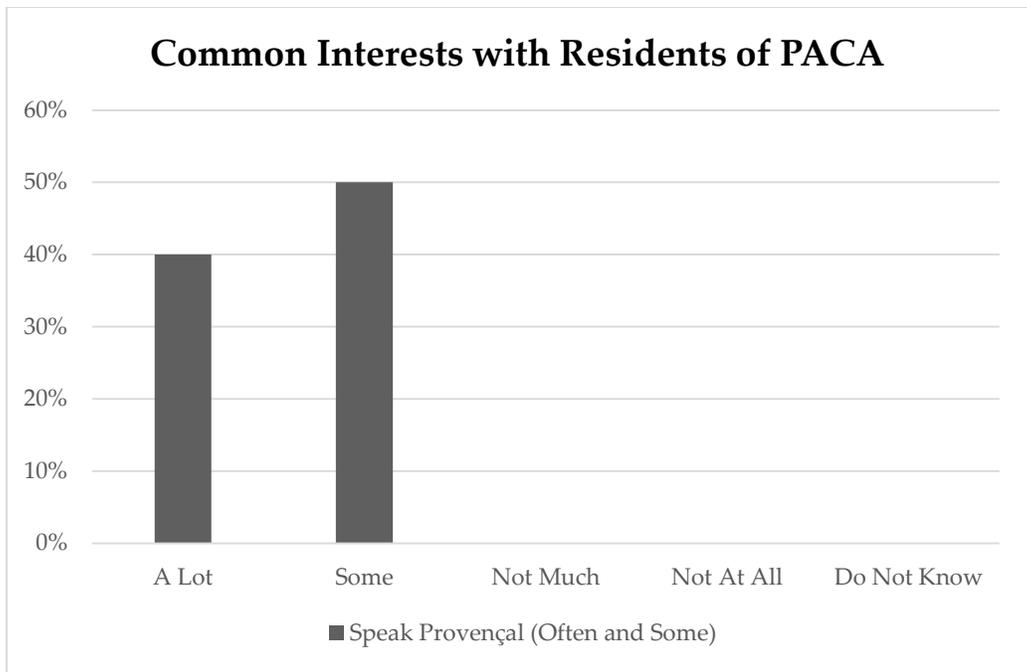
Of these 10 participants, all 10 (100.00%) considered themselves to be Provençal.



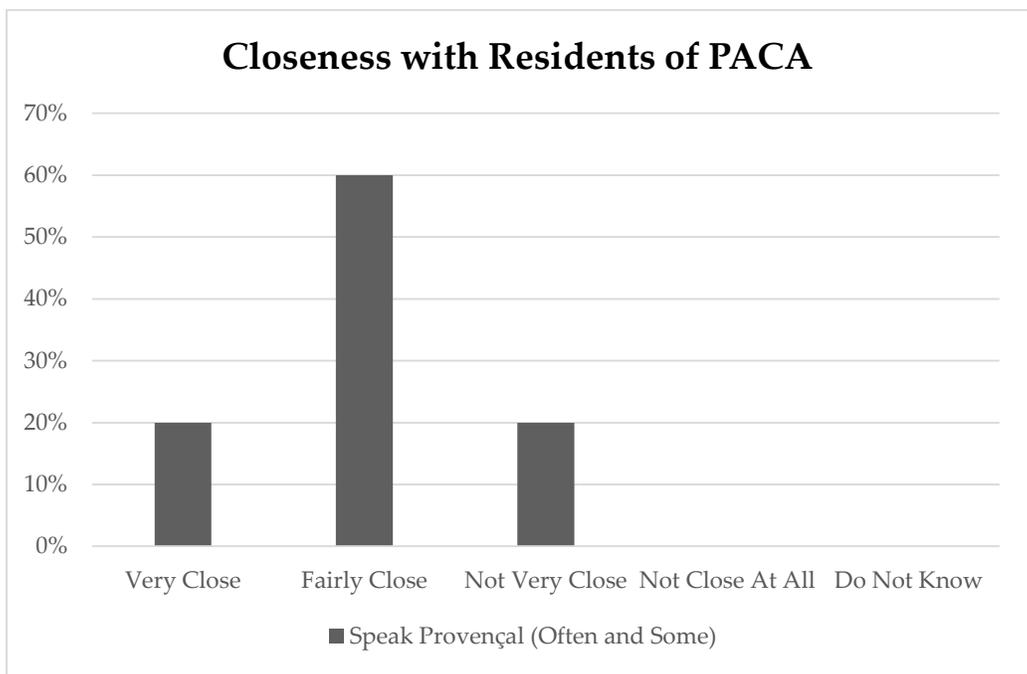
When asked to choose to which administrative territory they were primarily attached, 4 (40.00%) chose “City of Residence”, 3 (30.00%) selected “Region”, 2 (20.00%) picked “France” and 1 (10.00%) decided on “Département”.



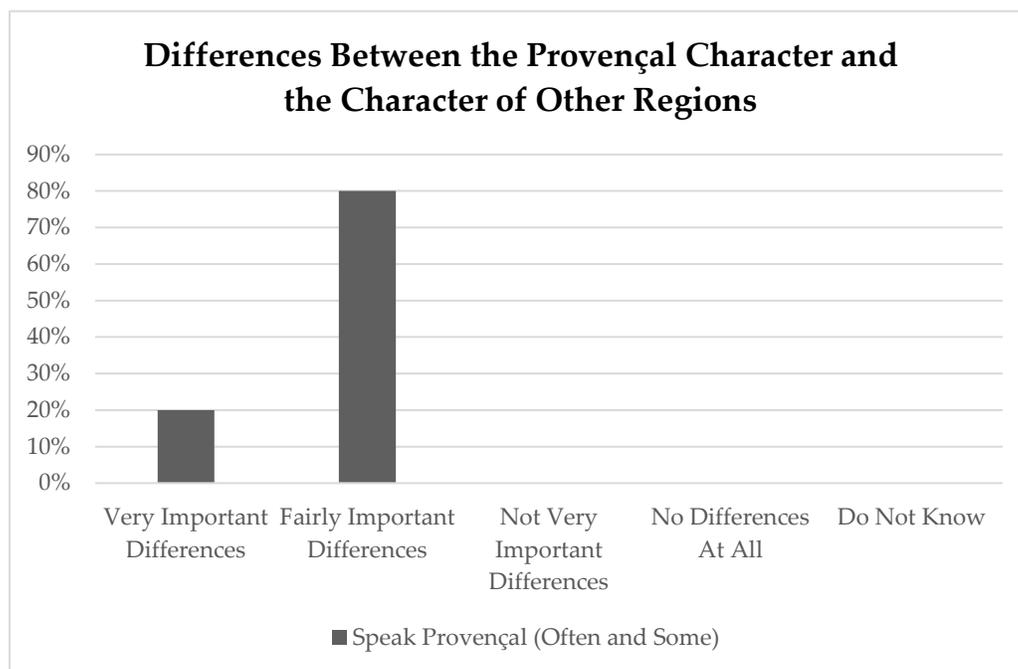
To the question regarding having common interests with other residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, 5 (50.00%) indicated that they had “Some” and 4 (40.00%) reported “A Lot”.



When asked how close respondents were to the other residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, 6 (60.00%) selected “Fairly Close”, 2 (20.00%) chose “Very Close” and 2 (20.00%) decided on “Not Very Close”.



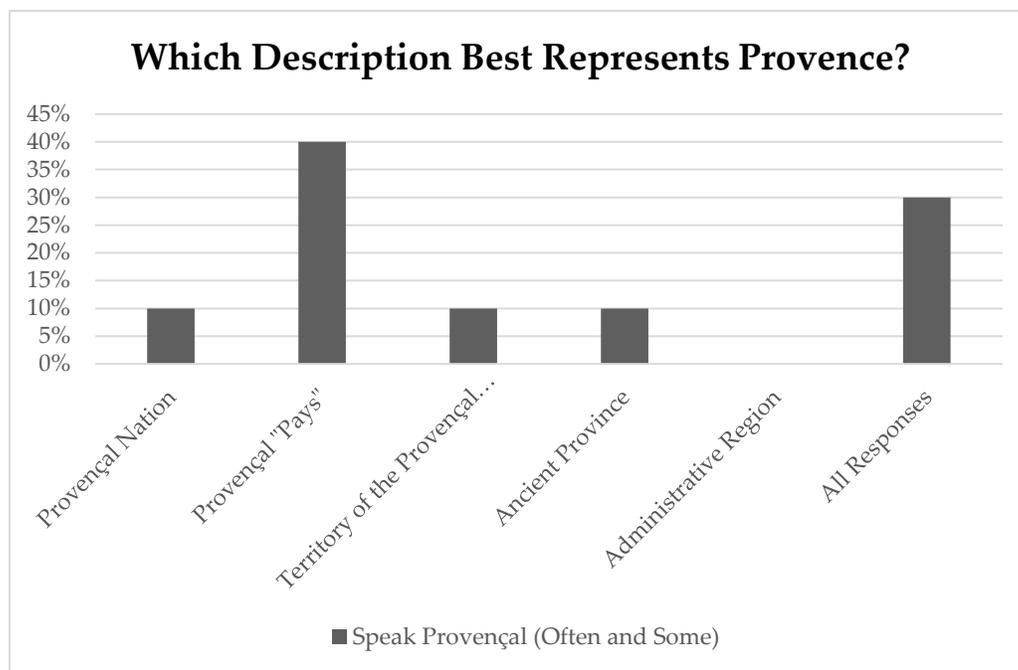
To the question inquiring about how the regional character of residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur differed from that of residents of other regions, 8 (80.00%) indicated that there were fairly important differences between the Provençaux and the residents of other regions. Furthermore, 2 (20.00%) reported that there were very important differences.



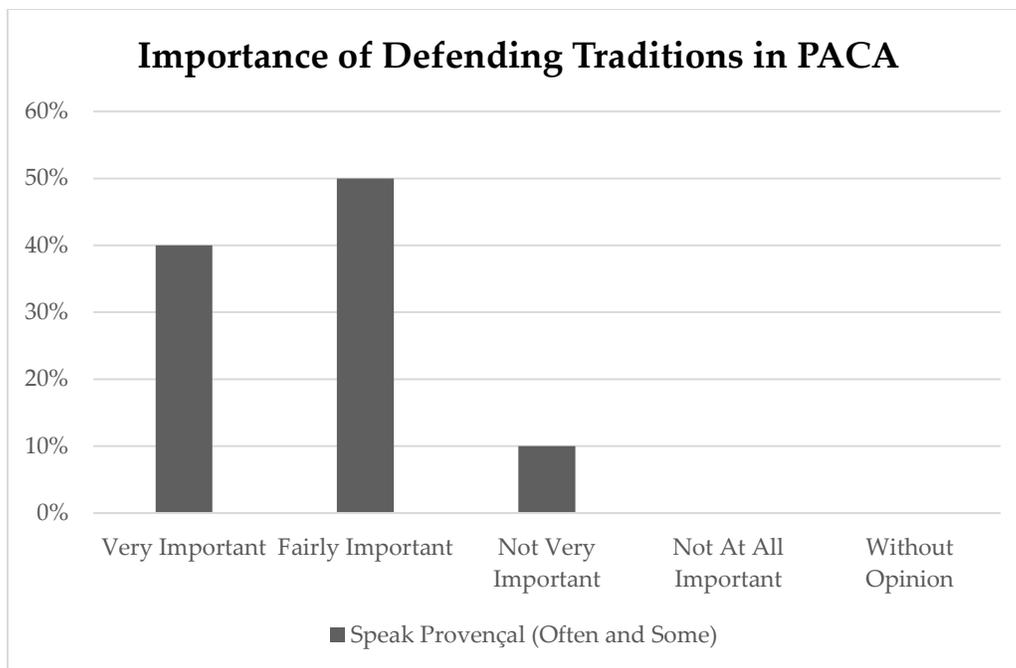
When asked to select the description that best represented Provence for them, 4 (40.00%) responded “the Provençal *Pays* or the Provençaux *Pays*”²⁷, 3 (30.00%) indicated “All Responses”, 1 (10.00%) reported “Provençal Nation”,

²⁷ In French, the singular, *le pays provençal*, and the plural, *les pays provençaux*, do not sound the same, which occurred in the Picard version. Since English neither requires the usage of the definite article nor the agreement of adjectives and nouns, the French singular and plural of Provençal respectively – “Provençal and Provençaux” (and with capitals) – are used to denote the difference since ‘pays’ already ends in an “s” in the singular.

another 1 (10.00%) indicated “Territory of the Provençal People” and yet another 1 (10.00%) picked “Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France”.

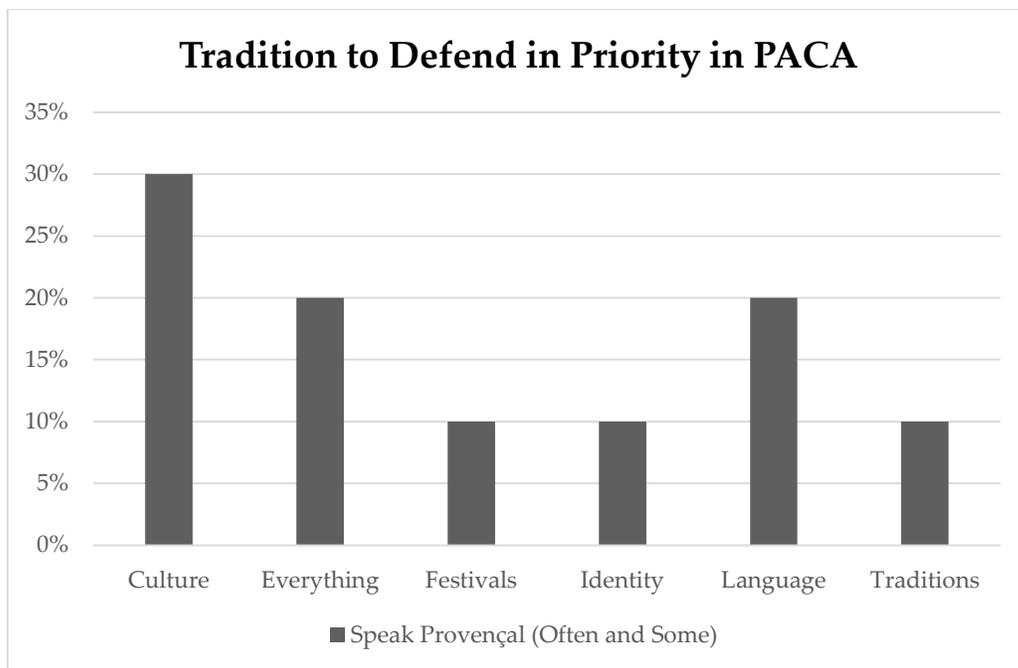


To the question regarding the importance of defending traditional elements in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 5 (50.00%) reported “Fairly Important”, 4 (40.00%) indicated “Very Important” and 1 (10.00%) replied “Not Very Important”.

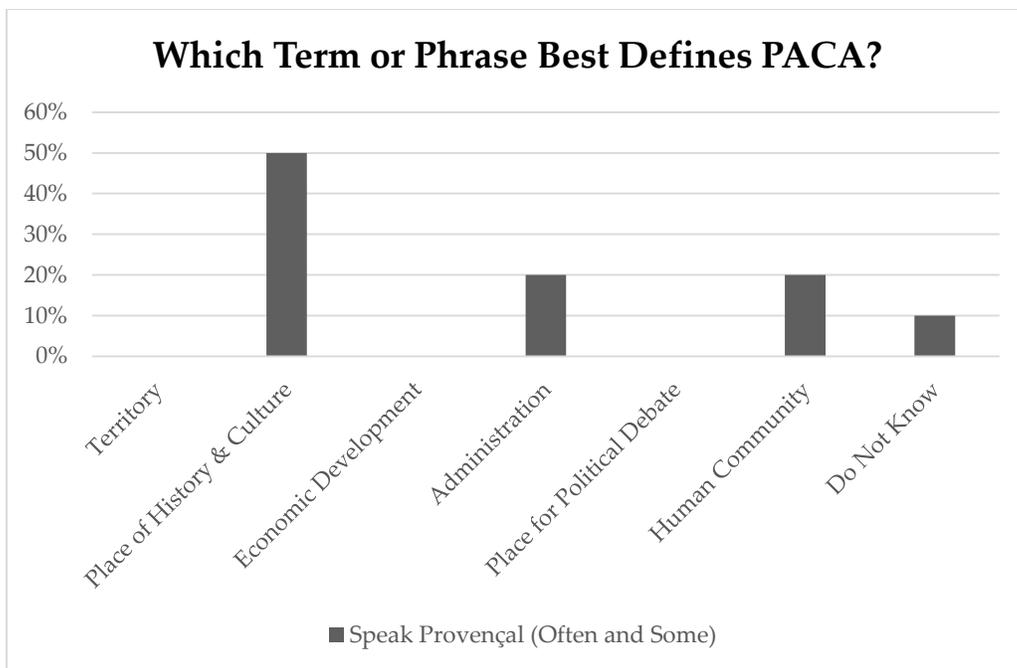


Respondents were then asked to name a tradition to defend in priority; 3 (30.00%) indicated “Culture”, 2 (20.00%) stated “Language”, another 2 (20.00%) responded “Everything”, 1 (10.00%) replied “Festivals”, another 1 (10.00%) indicated “Traditions” and yet another 1 (10.00%) specified “Identity”²⁸.

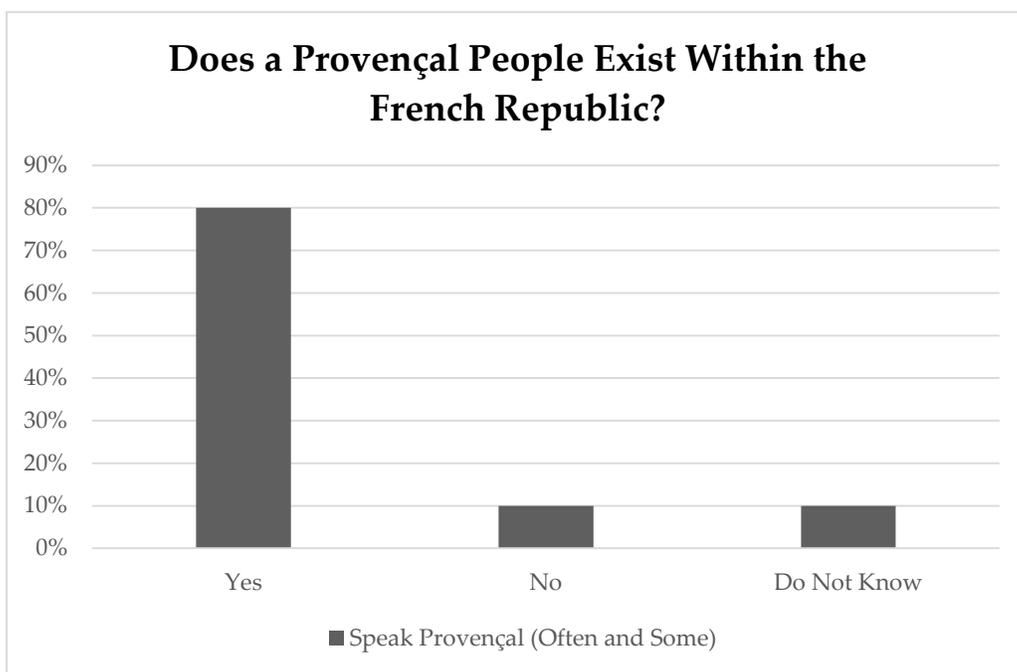
²⁸ While certain elements were suggested, respondents were able to suggest their own as well. These categories represent a synthesis of reported elements. When a respondent gave a list of several things, the first was recorded; however, when a respondent either stated, “Everything” or gave a list and stated, “Everything” at the end; “Everything” was simply recorded. In other words, “Everything” had to be specifically stated for the respondent’s response to be categorized as “Everything”; otherwise, only the first element was recorded. The only exception was for the mention of “Language” or “Dialect” since this study is mainly focused upon them/it. If a respondent gave a list that included one of the two terms anywhere within it, they were recorded. However, for the category “Language and Culture”, both terms had to be mentioned as the first two terms in either order for their response to be categorized as “Language and Culture”. As a result, since these categories represent a synthesis, the numbers and percentages can be unequal to the actual number of respondents involved; furthermore, not all respondents provided an understandable answer; the compiled list maybe somewhat different for each sample. Each list will appear in alphabetical order.



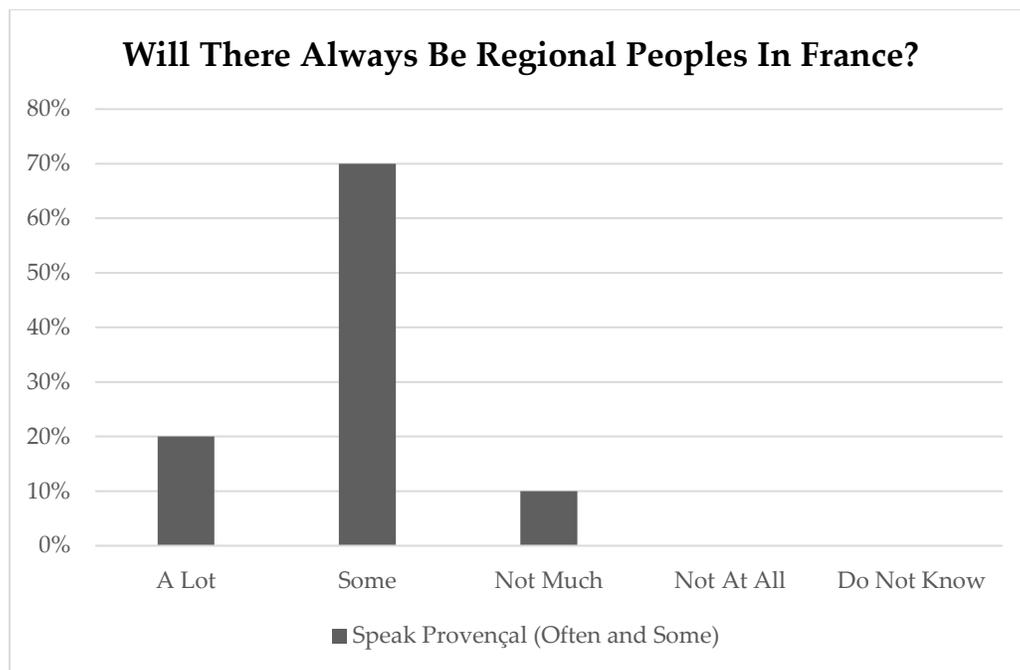
When the respondent was asked to indicate which term or phrase best defined Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 5 (50.00%) selected "Place of History and Culture", 2 (20.00%) picked "Administration", another 2 (20.00%) decided on "Human Community" and 1 (10.00%) settled on "Do Not Know".



When asked whether there existed a Provençal people within the French Republic, 8 (80.00%) responded “Yes”, 1 (10.00%) indicated “No” and another 1 (10.00%) selected “Do Not Know”.

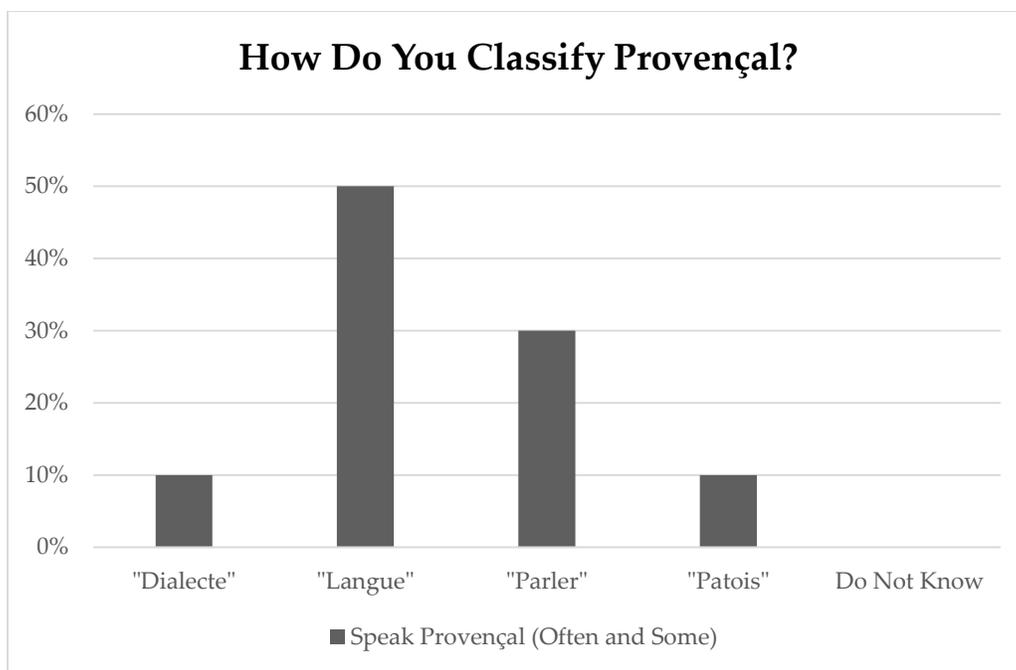


To the question concerning whether France will always contain regional peoples or groups in terms of traditions, customs and dialects, such as the Alsatians, Basques, Bretons, Burgundians, Flemish, Normans, Picards and Provençaux, mentioned in the 17th century, 7 (70.00%) responded “Some”, 2 (20.00%) indicated “A Lot” and 1 (10.00%) reported “Not Much”.



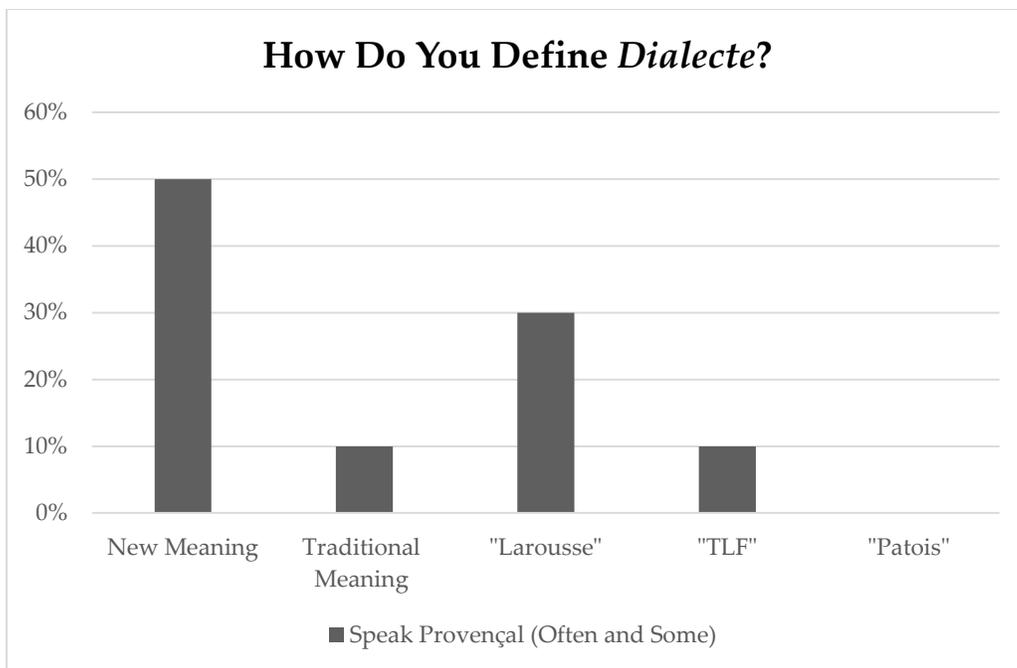
Provençal Idiom and French Language Ideology

To the question regarding the classification of Provençal, 5 (50.00%) decided on “*Langue*”, 3 (30.00%) selected “*Parler*”, 1 (10.00%) picked “*Dialecte*” and 1 (10.00%) chose “*Patois*”.

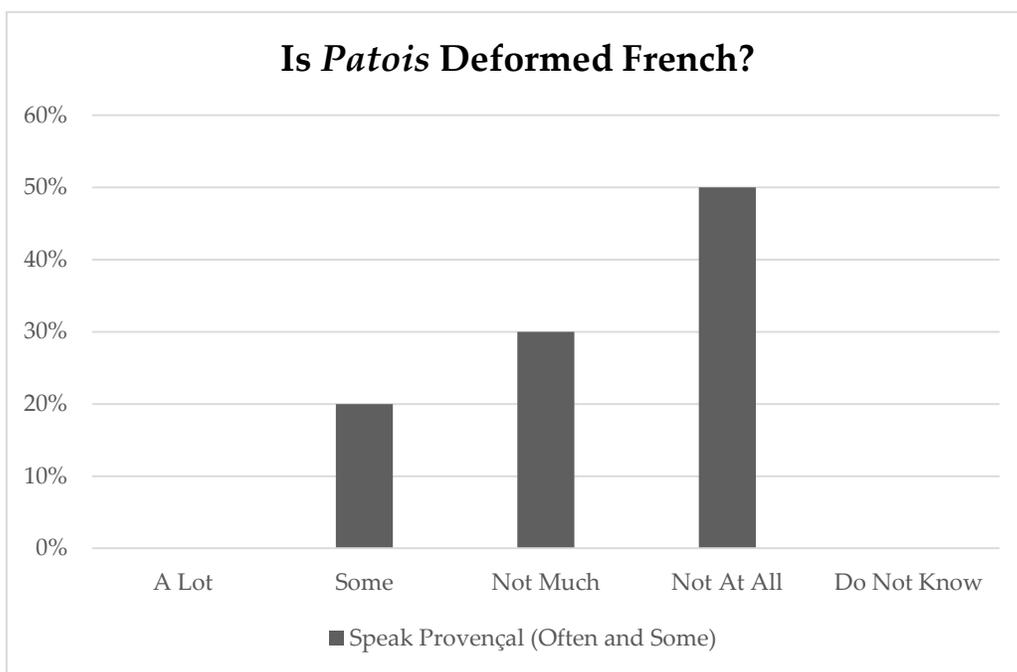


When asked to define *dialecte*, 5 (50.00%) chose the new meaning, 3 (30.00%) picked the definition used in *Larousse*, 1 (10.00%) decided on the traditional meaning and another 1 (10.00%) selected the definition of the *Trésor de la langue française*²⁹.

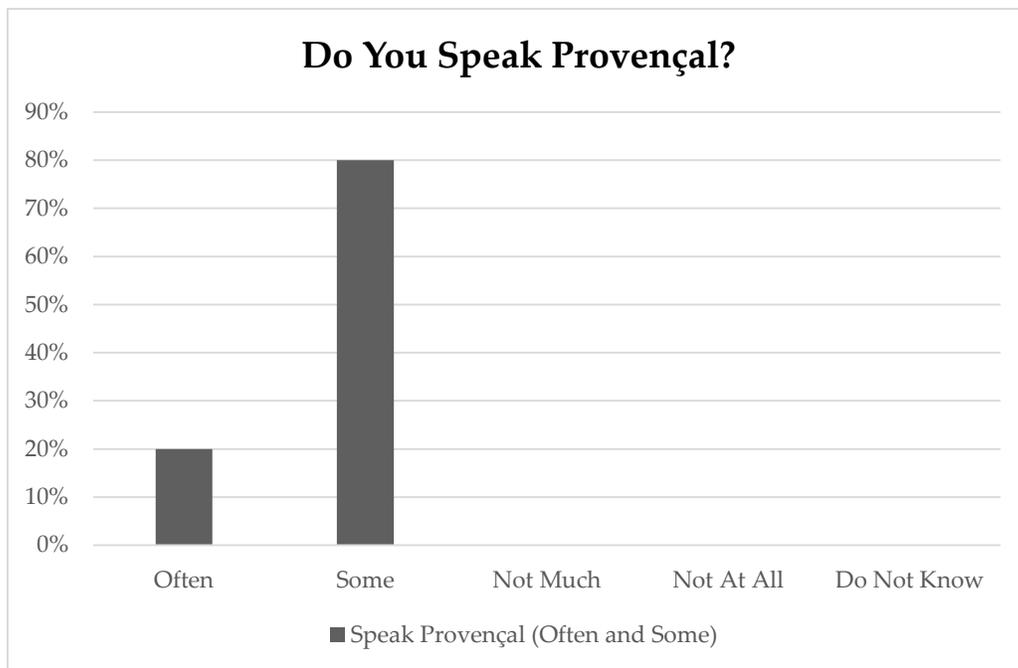
²⁹ These were not the definitions used; they are simply an easier way of listing them.



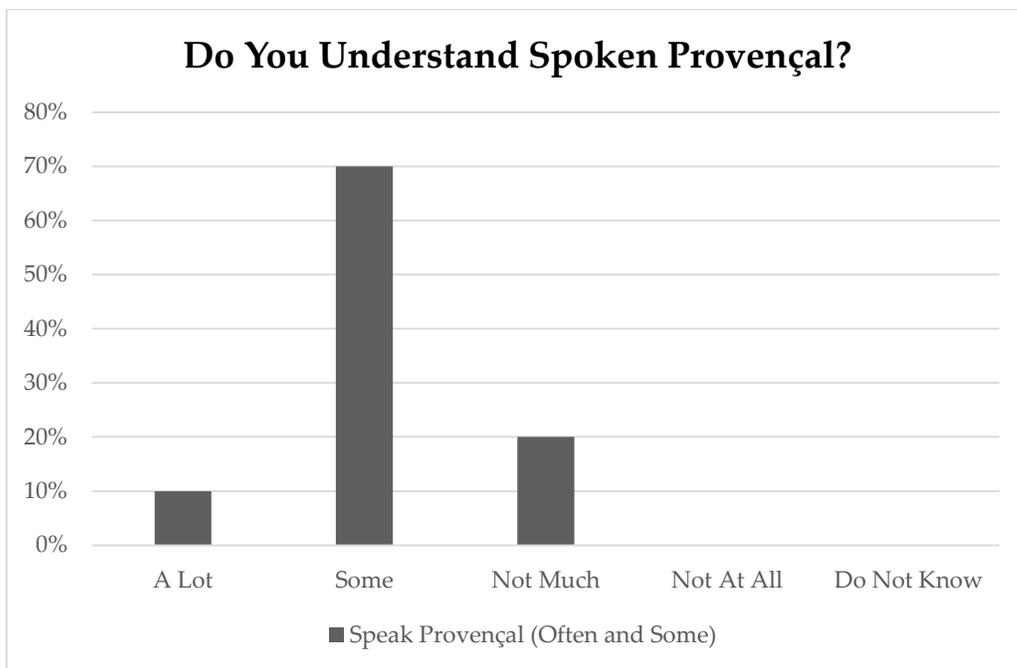
To the question asking the participant if *patois* was deformed French, 5 (50.00%) indicated "Not At All", 3 (30.00%) responded "Not Much" and 2 (20.00%) replied "Some".



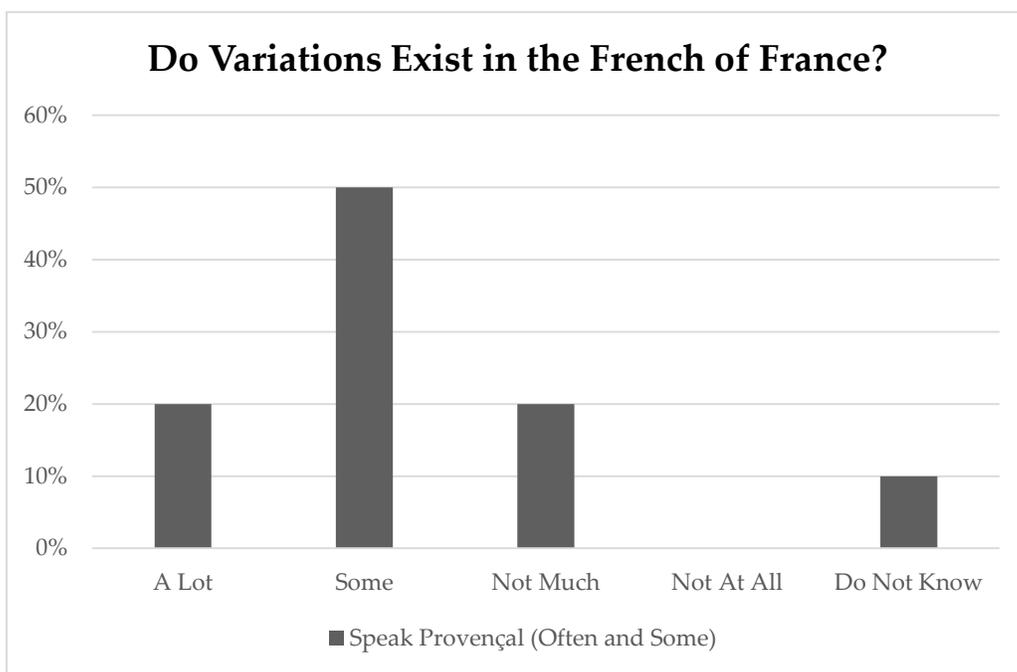
When asking the respondent to report his or her ability to speak Provençal, 8 (80.00%) responded "Some" and 2 (20.00%) indicated "Often".



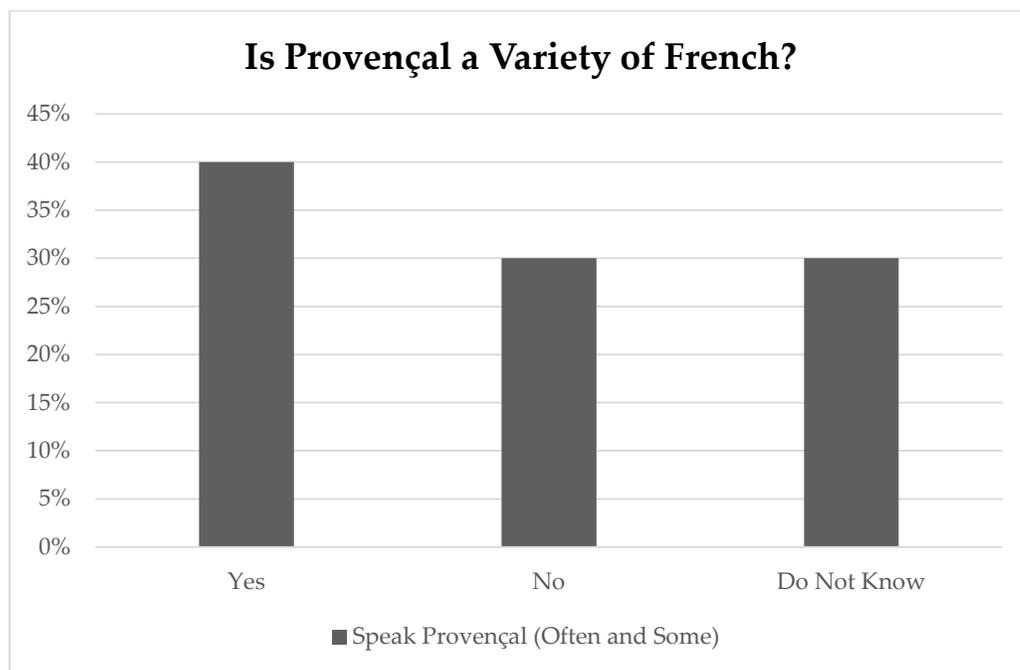
When asked if the participant could understand spoken Provençal, 7 (70.00%) specified "Some", 2 (20.00%) indicated "Not Much" and 1 (10.00%) responded "A Lot".



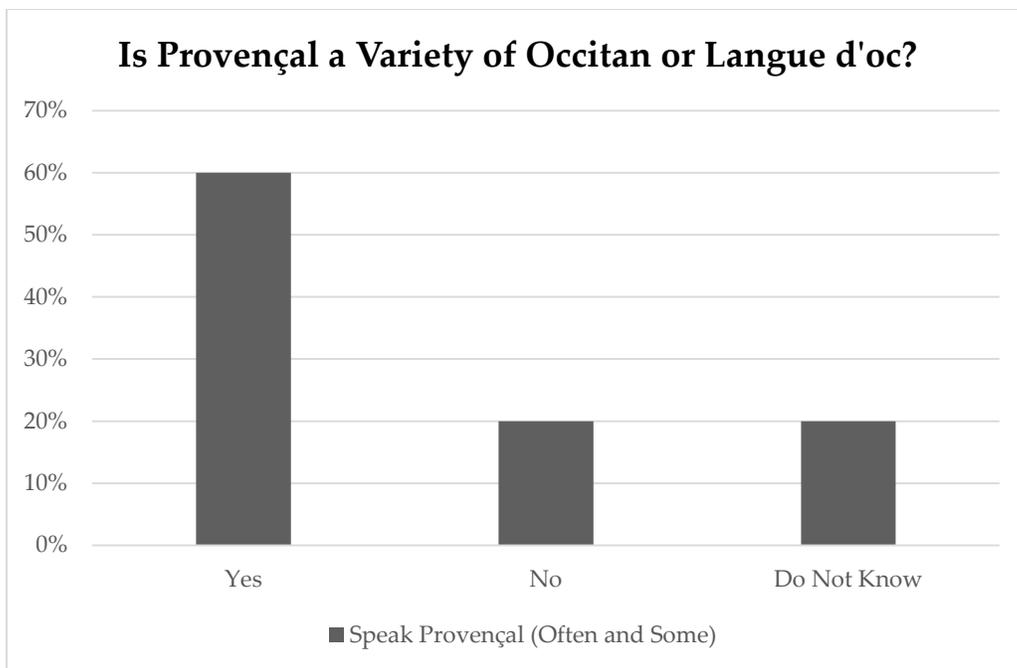
When asked if variations occurred in French in France, 5 (50.00%) indicated "Some", 2 (20.00%) selected "A Lot", another 2 (20.00%) stated "Not Much" and 1 (10.00%) specified "Do Not Know".



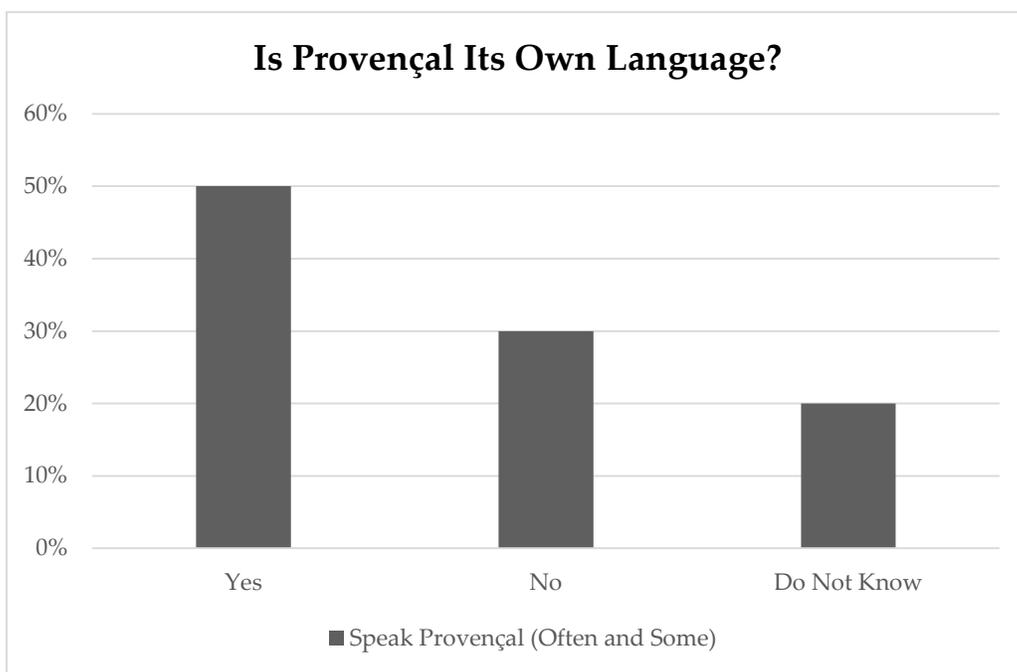
To the question asking whether Provençal was a variety of French, 4 (40.00%) responded “Yes”, 3 (30.00%) specified “No” and another 3 (30.00%) stated “Do Not Know”.



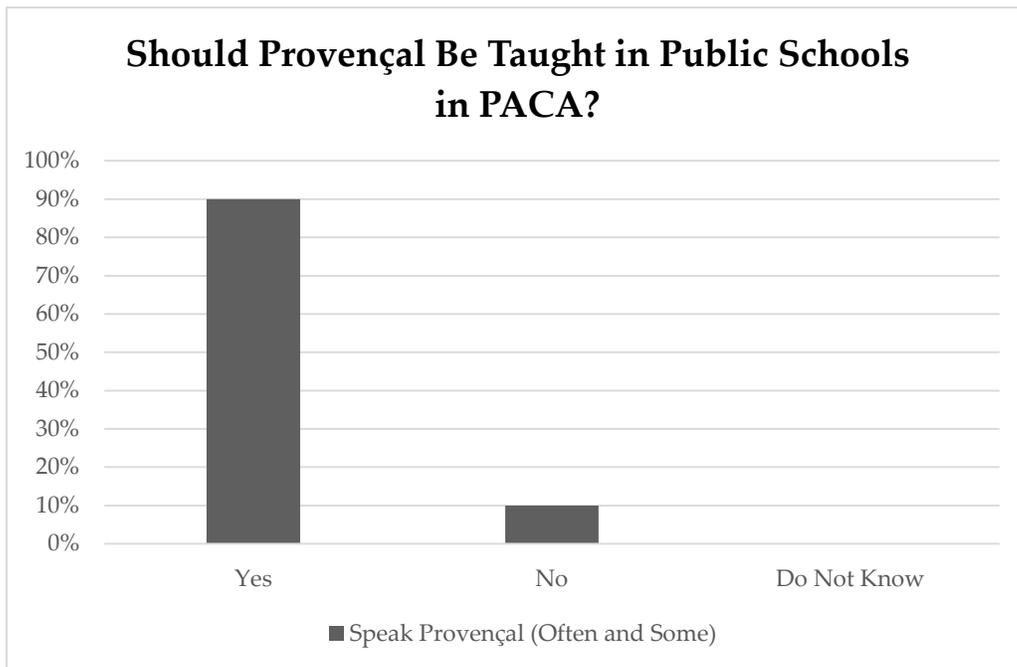
When asked if Provençal was a variety of Occitan or Langue d’oc, 6 (60.00%) stated “Yes”, 2 (20.00%) indicated “No” and another 2 (20.00%) responded “Do Not Know”.



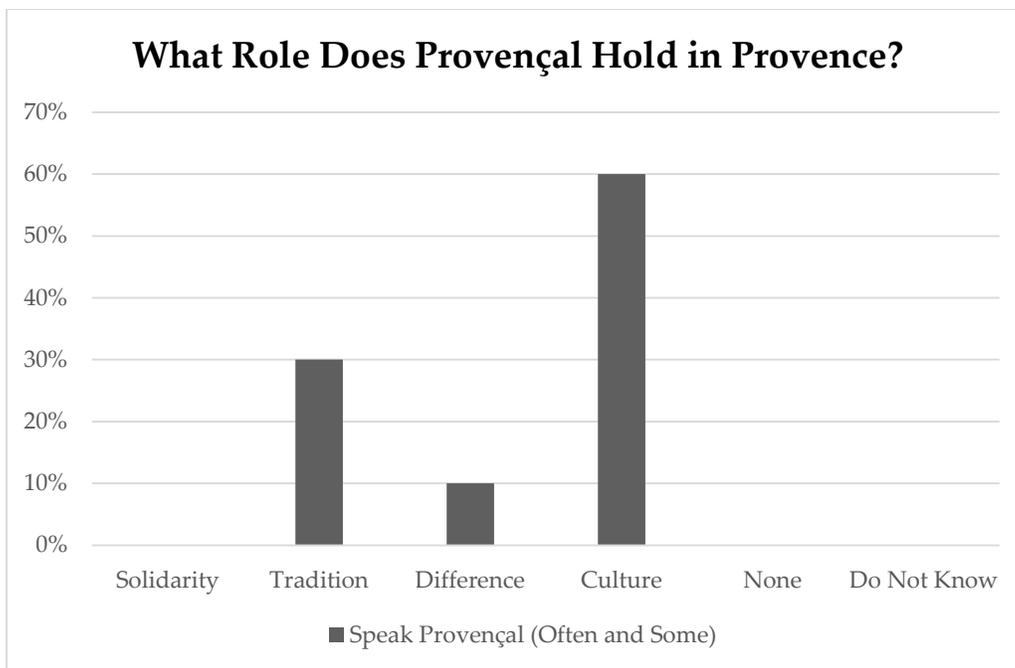
To the question concerning whether the participant thought Provençal was its own language, 5 (50.00%) indicated “Yes”, 3 (30.00%) responded “No” and 2 (20.00%) replied “Do Not Know”.



To the question whether Provençal should be taught in public schools in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 9 (90.00%) indicated "Yes" and 1 (10.00%) responded "No".

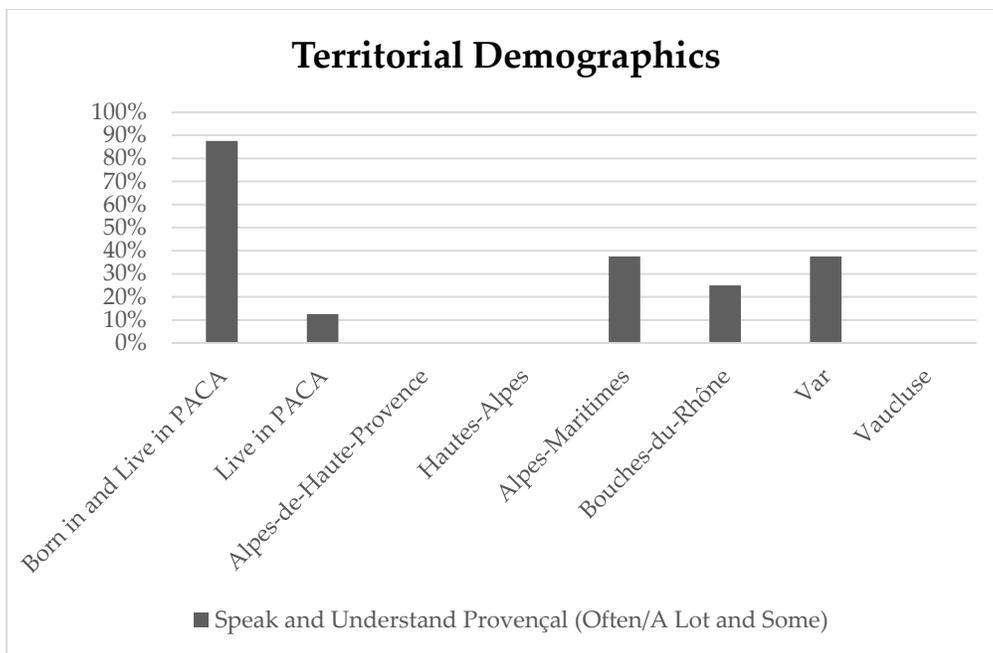


When asked what role Provençal held in Provence, 6 (60.00%) selected "Culture", 3 (30.00%) specified "Tradition" and 1 (10.00%) chose "Difference".

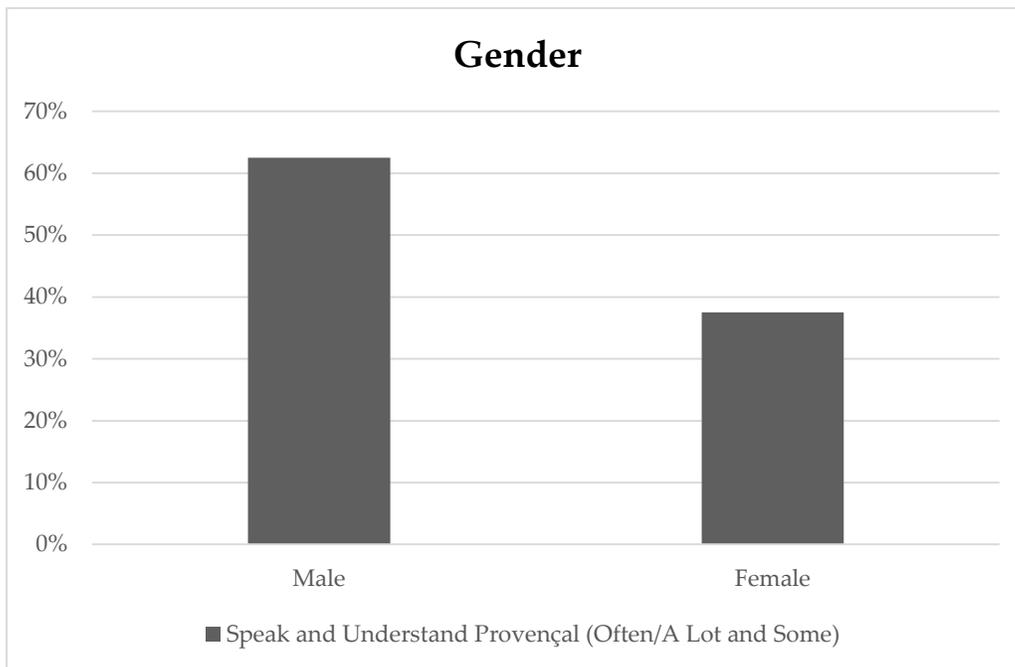


PACA: Speak and Understand Provençal, Often/A Lot and Some

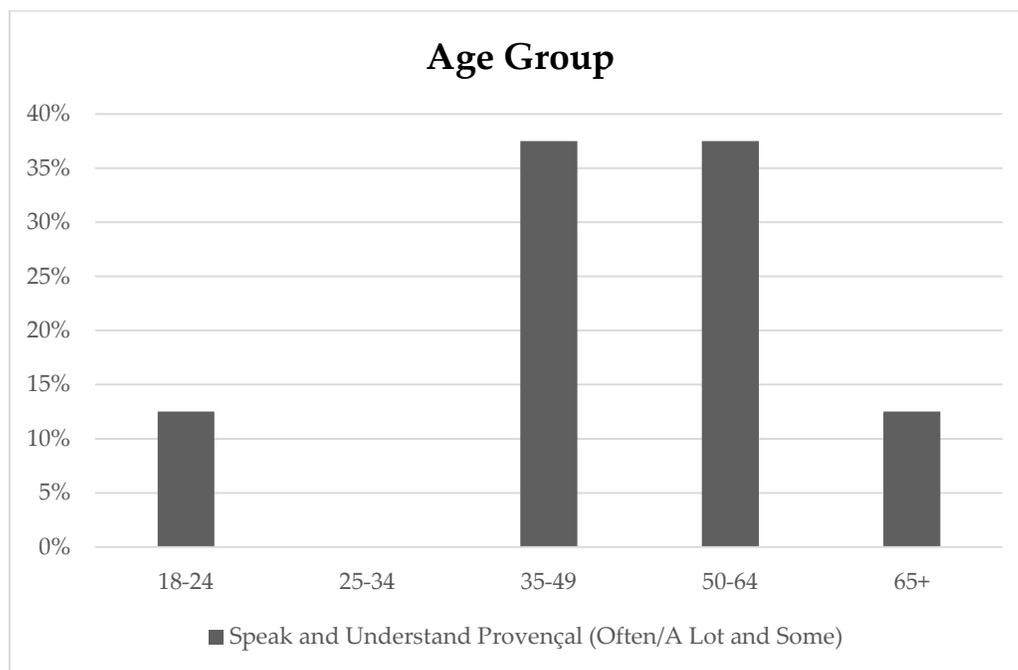
Among this sample of 8 respondents who reported both speaking and understanding Provençal – often/a lot or some –, 7 (87.50%) were born in and live in Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur and 1 (12.50%) lives in Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, but was born elsewhere. Of these participants, 3 (37.50%) live in the Alpes-Maritimes *département*, 2 (25.00%) in the Bouches-du-Rhône and 3 (37.50%) in the Var. Six of these respondents indicated that they were regional activists: 4 cultural and 2 linguistic.



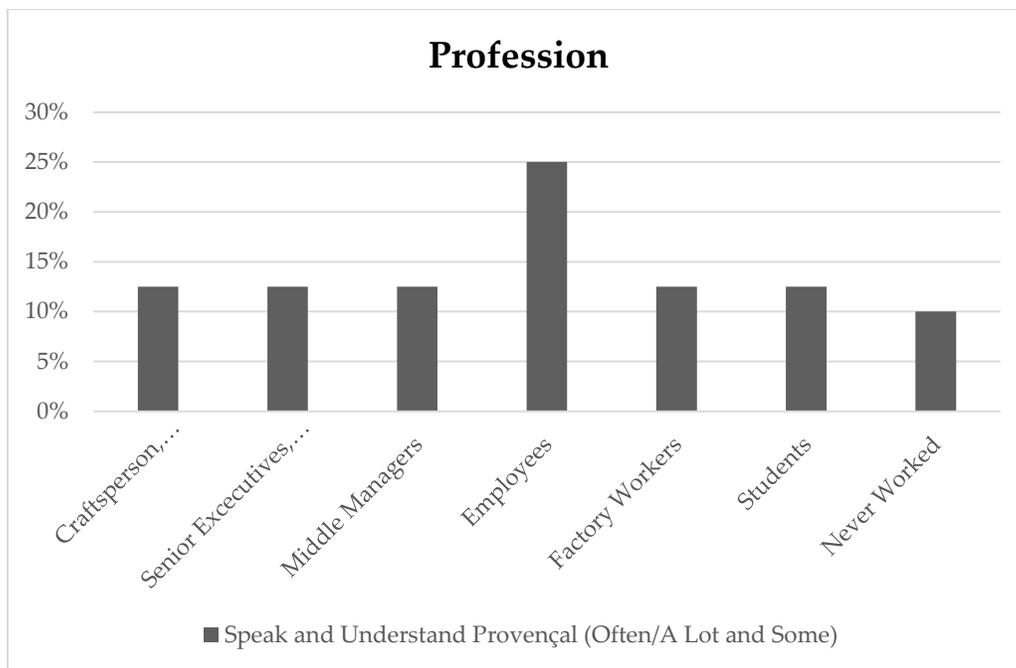
The sample broke down in the following manner for gender, age, profession and education: For gender, 5 (62.50%) were men and 3 (37.50%) were women;



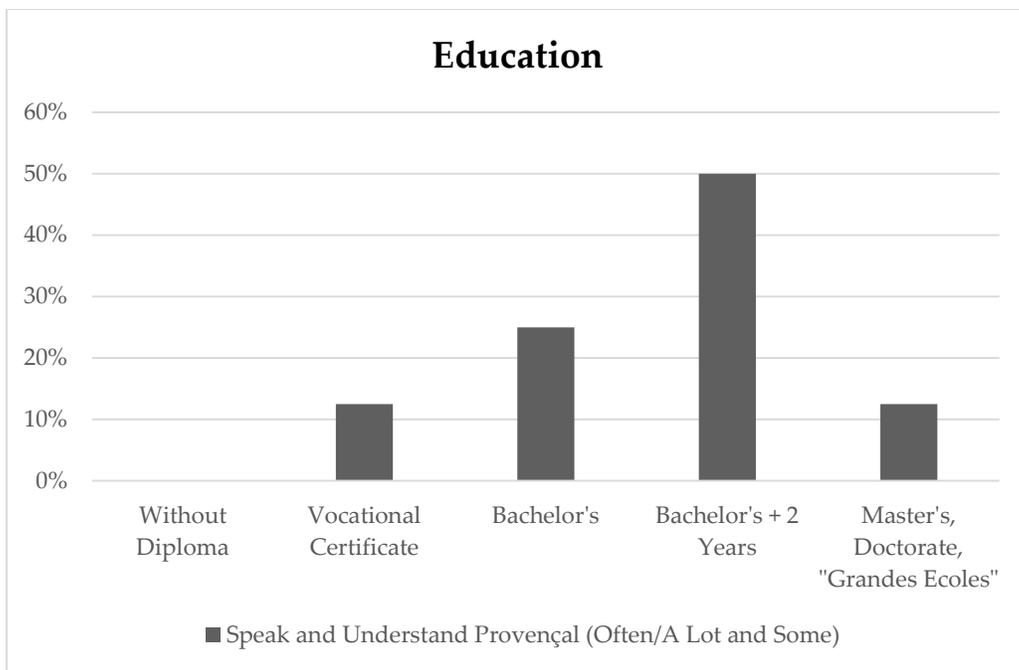
Regarding age, 1 (12.50%) was between 18 and 24 years of age, 3 (37.50%) were between 35 and 49 years of age, 3 (37.50%) were between 50 and 64-years-old and 1 (12.50%) was 65 years of age or older;



For profession, 1 (12.50%) worked as a craftsperson, storekeeper or company head, 1 (12.50%) was employed as a senior executive or an intellectual professional, 1 (12.50%) was a middle manager, 2 (25.00%) worked as employees, 1 (12.50%) was a factory worker, 1 (12.50%) was a student and 1 (12.50%) had never worked;

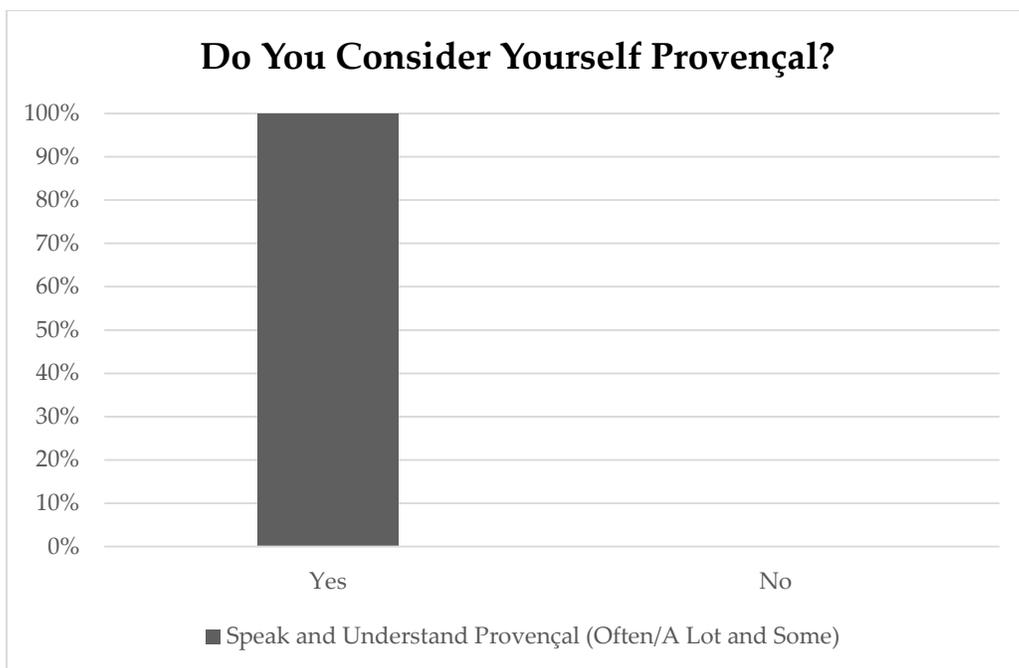


Concerning education and highest diploma earned, 1 (12.50%) possessed a vocational certificate or a national vocational qualification, 2 (25.00%) held a Bachelor's degree, 4 (50.00%) possessed a Bachelor's degree plus two additional years, such as teachers and healthcare or social professionals, and 1 (12.50%) held a Master's degree, a Doctorate or a degree from one of the *Grandes Ecoles*.

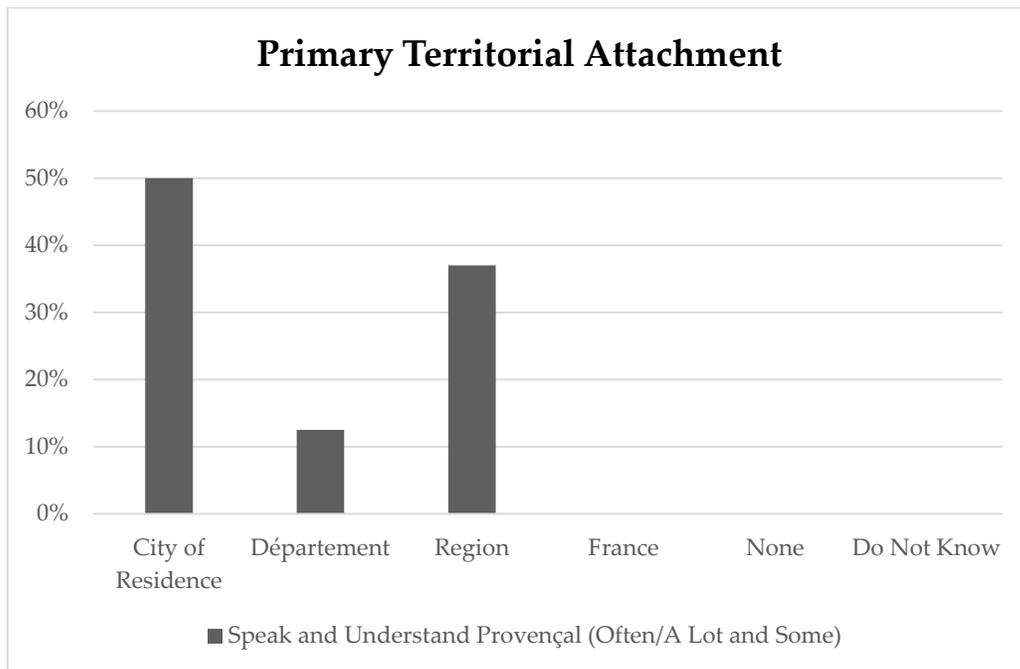


Regional Identity

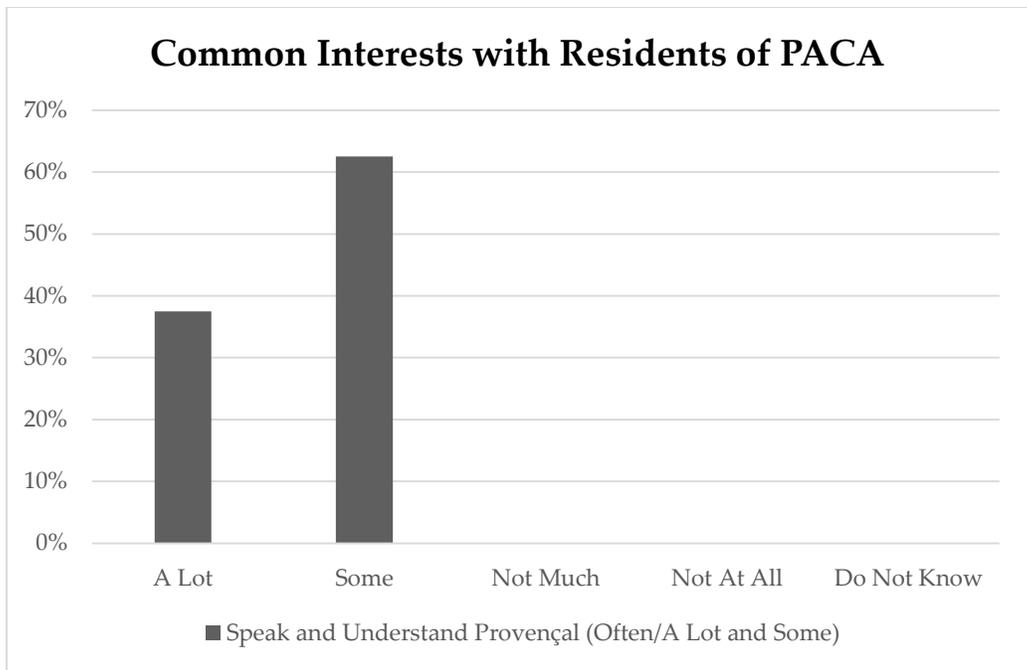
Of these 8 participants, all 8 (100.00%) considered themselves to be Provençal.



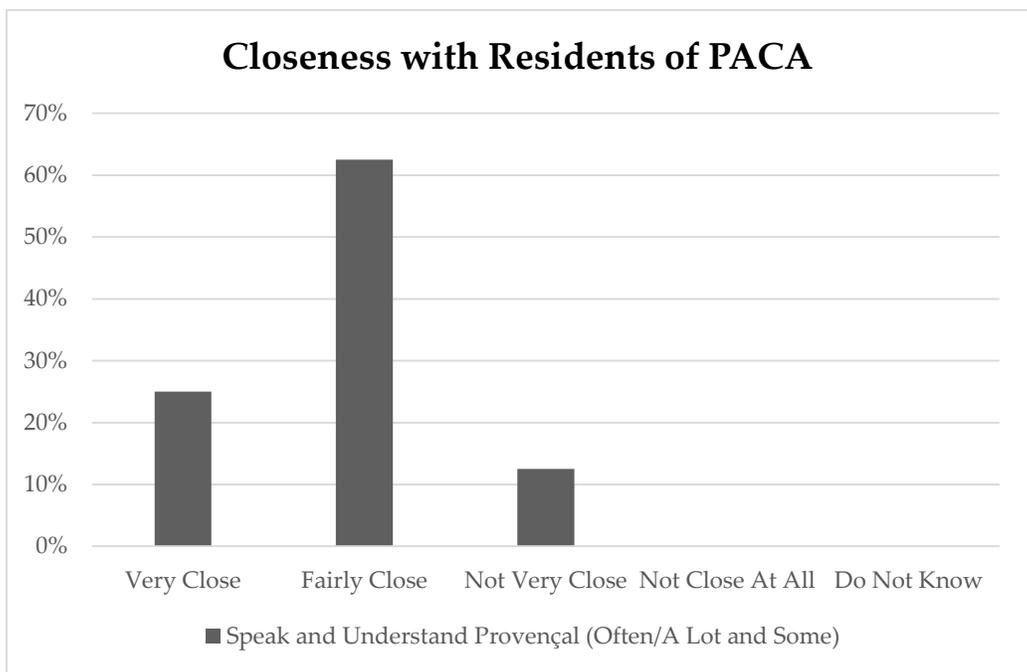
When asked to choose to which administrative territory they were primarily attached, 4 (50.00%) chose “City of Residence”, 3 (37.00%) selected “Region” and 1 (12.50%) decided on “Département”.



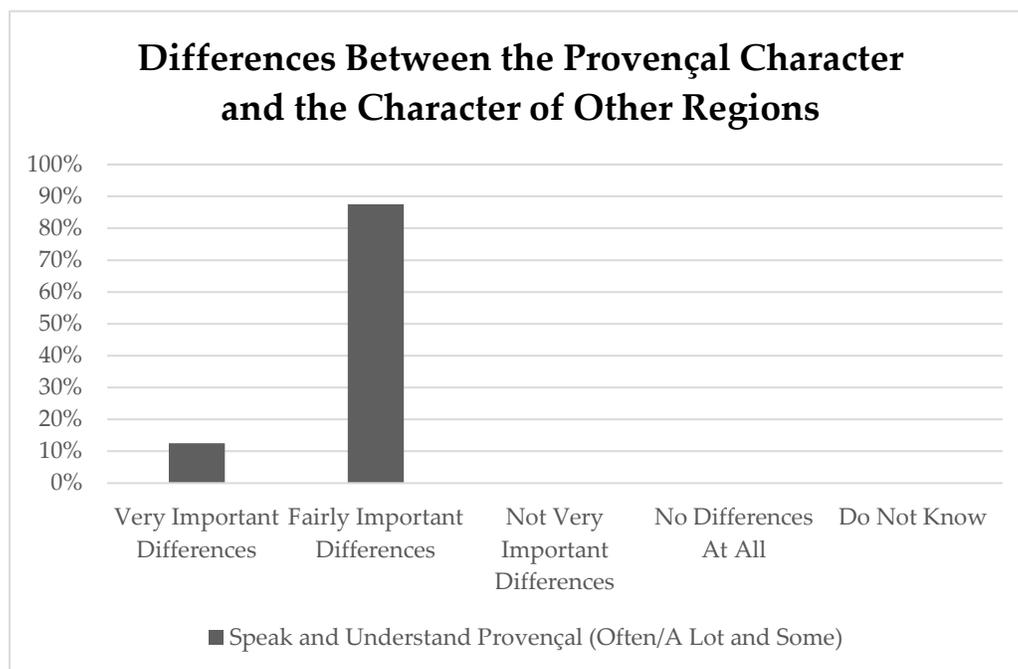
To the question regarding having common interests with other residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, 5 (62.50%) indicated that they had “Some” and 3 (37.50%) reported “A Lot”.



When asked how close respondents were to the other residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, 5 (62.50%) selected “Fairly Close”, 2 (25.00%) chose “Very Close” and 1 (12.50%) decided on “Not Very Close”.

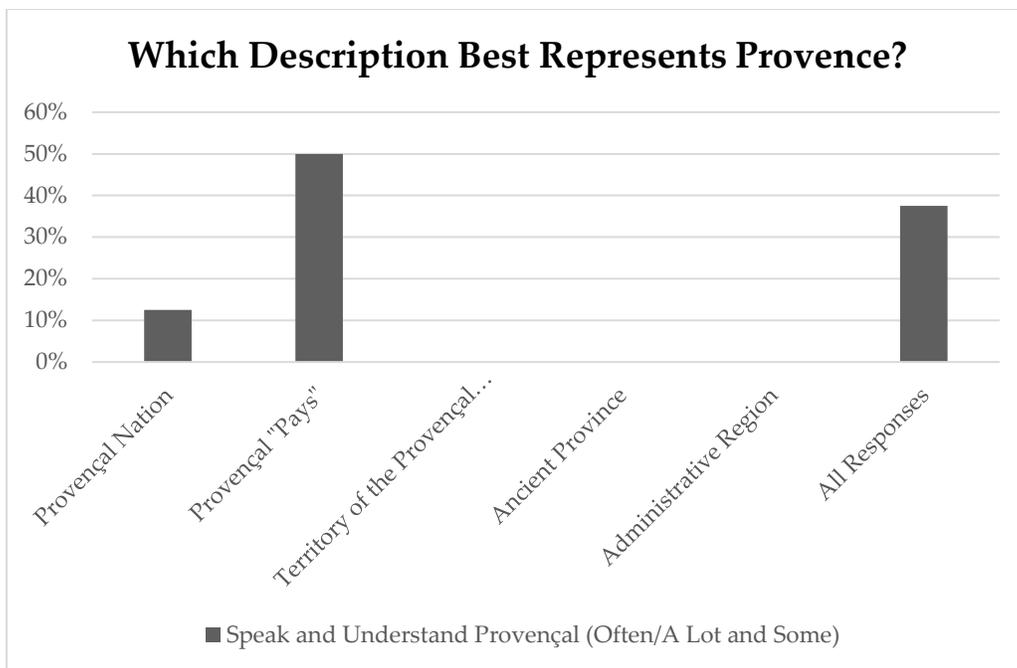


To the question inquiring about how the regional character of residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur differed from that of residents of other regions, 7 (87.50%) indicated that there were fairly important differences between the Provençaux and the residents of other regions. Furthermore, 1 (12.50%) reported that there were very important differences.

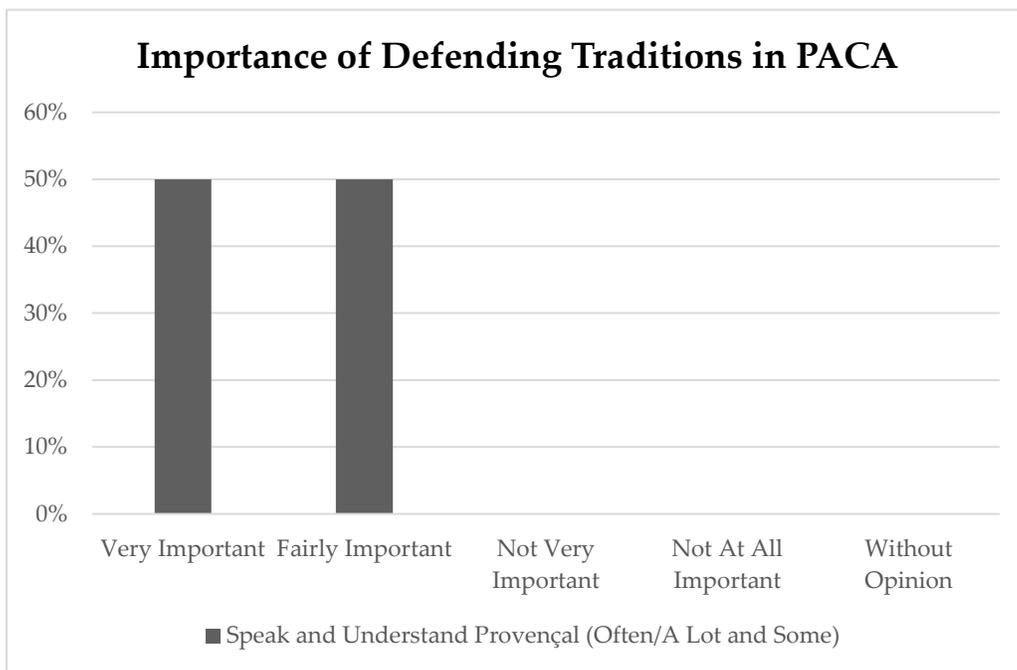


When asked to select the description that best represented Provence for them, 4 (50.00%) responded “the Provençal *Pays* or the Provençaux *Pays*”³⁰, 3 (37.50%) indicated “All Responses” and 1 (12.50%) reported “Provençal Nation”.

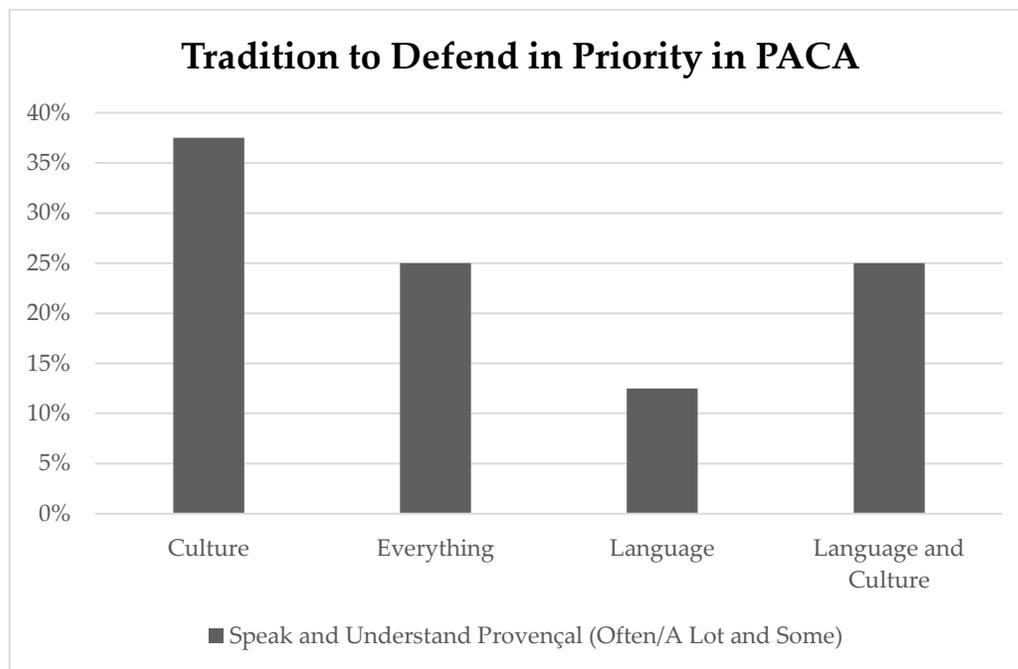
³⁰ In French, the singular, *le pays provençal*, and the plural, *les pays provençaux*, do not sound the same, which occurred in the Picard version. Since English neither requires the usage of the definite article nor the agreement of adjectives and nouns, the French singular and plural of Provençal respectively – “Provençal and Provençaux” (and with capitals) – are used to denote the difference since ‘pays’ already ends in an “s” in the singular.



To the question regarding the importance of defending traditional elements in Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur, 4 (50.00%) reported “Very Important” and another 4 (50.00%) indicated “Fairly Important”.

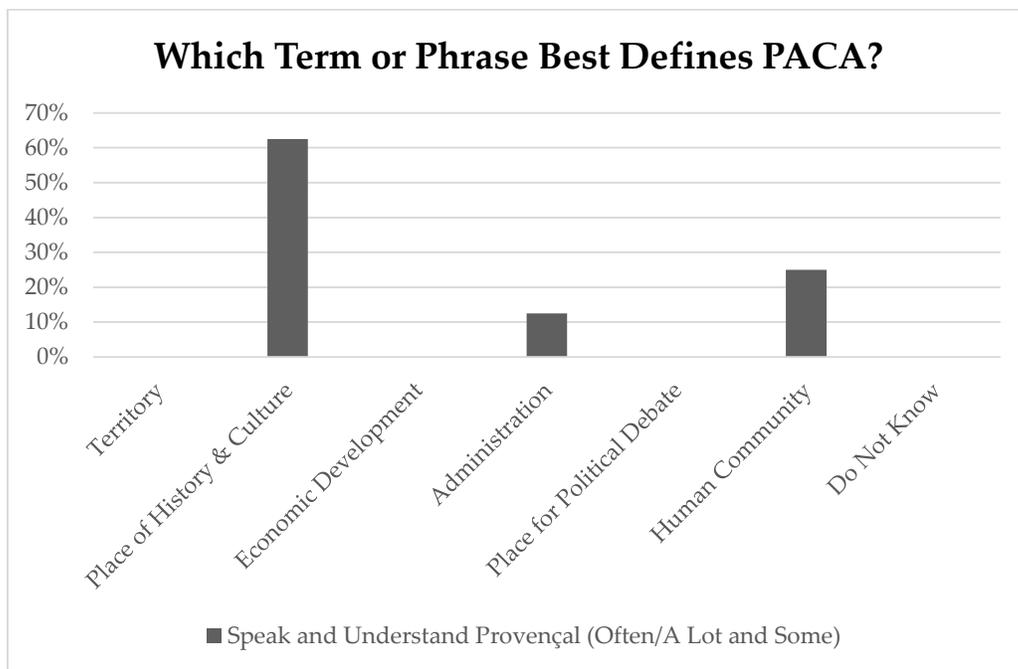


Respondents were then asked to give the name of a tradition to defend in priority; 3 (37.50%) indicated “Culture”, 2 (25.00%) stated “Language and Culture”, another 2 (25.00%) responded “Everything” and 1 (12.50%) replied “Language”³¹.

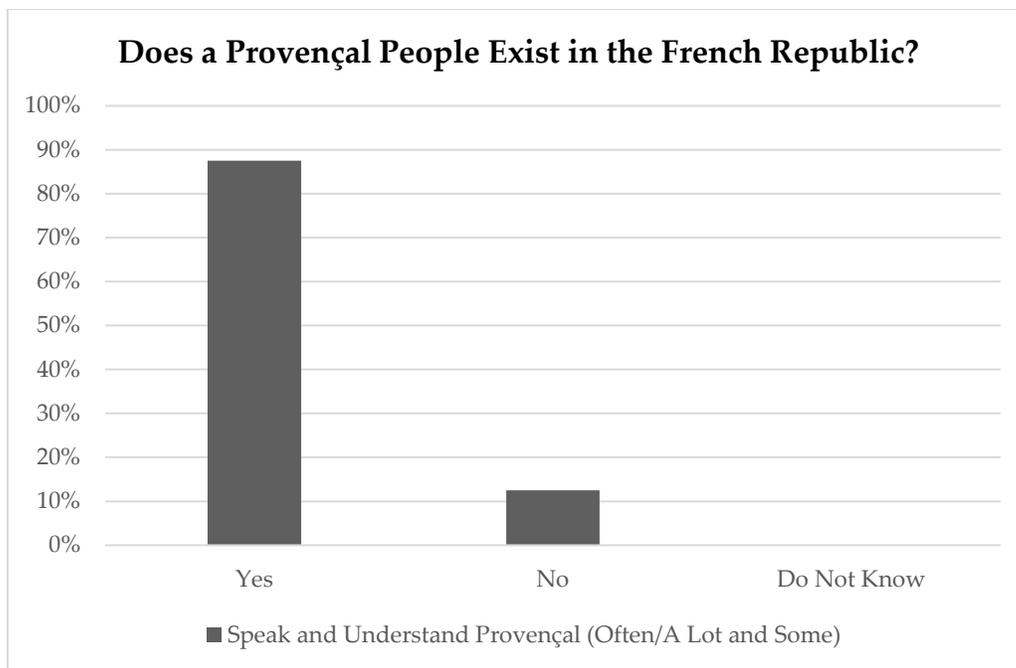


³¹ While certain elements were suggested, respondents were able to suggest their own as well. These categories represent a synthesis of reported elements. When a respondent gave a list of several things, the first was recorded; however, when a respondent either stated, “Everything” or gave a list and stated, “Everything” at the end; “Everything” was simply recorded. In other words, “Everything” had to be specifically stated for the respondent’s response to be categorized as “Everything”; otherwise, only the first element was recorded. The only exception was for the mention of “Language” or “Dialect” since this study is mainly focused upon them/it. If a respondent gave a list that included one of the two terms anywhere within it, they were recorded. However, for the category “Language and Culture”, both terms had to be mentioned as the first two terms in either order for their response to be categorized as “Language and Culture”. As a result, since these categories represent a synthesis, the numbers and percentages can be unequal to the actual number of respondents involved; furthermore, not all respondents provided an understandable answer; the compiled list maybe somewhat different for each sample. Each list will appear in alphabetical order.

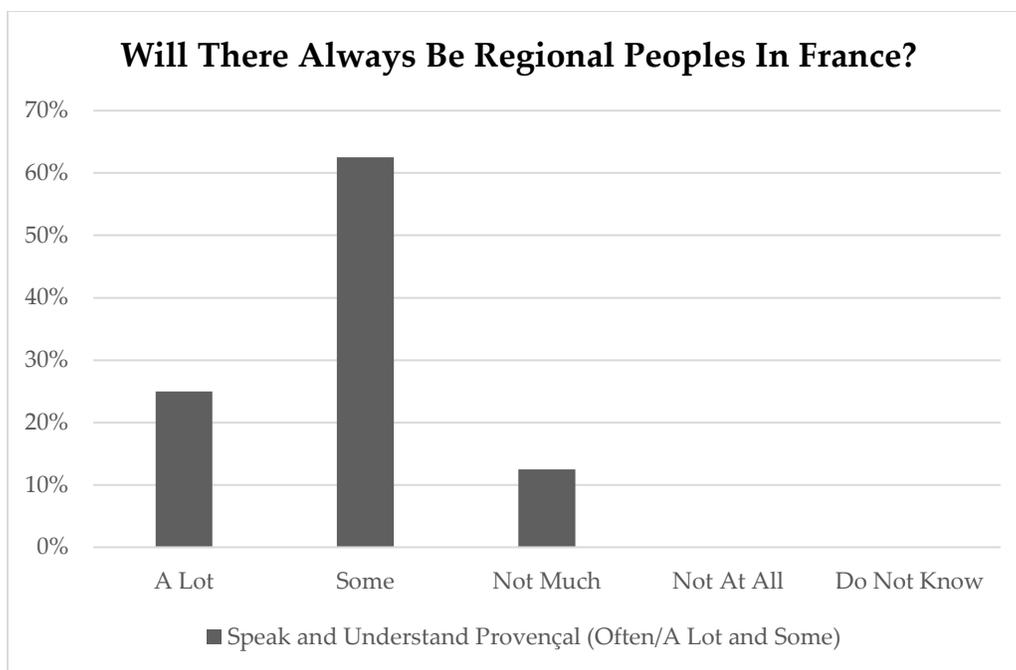
When the respondent was asked to indicate which term or phrase best defined Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, 5 (62.50%) selected "Place of History and Culture", 2 (25.00%) picked "Human Community" and 1 (12.50%) decided on "Administration".



When asked whether there existed a Provençal people within the French Republic, 7 (87.50%) responded "Yes", and 1 (12.50%) selected "No".

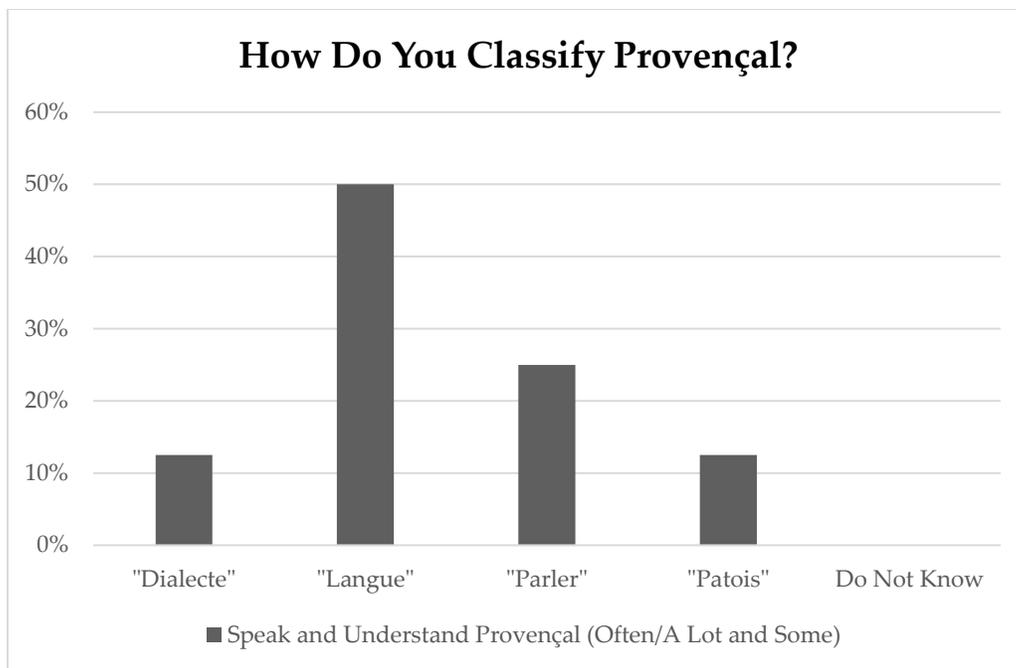


To the question concerning whether France will always contain regional peoples or groups in terms of traditions, customs and dialects, such as the Alsatians, Basques, Bretons, Burgundians, Flemish, Normans, Picards and Provençaux, mentioned in the 17th century, 5 (62.50%) responded “Some”, 2 (25.00%) indicated “A Lot” and 1 (12.50%) reported “Not Much”.



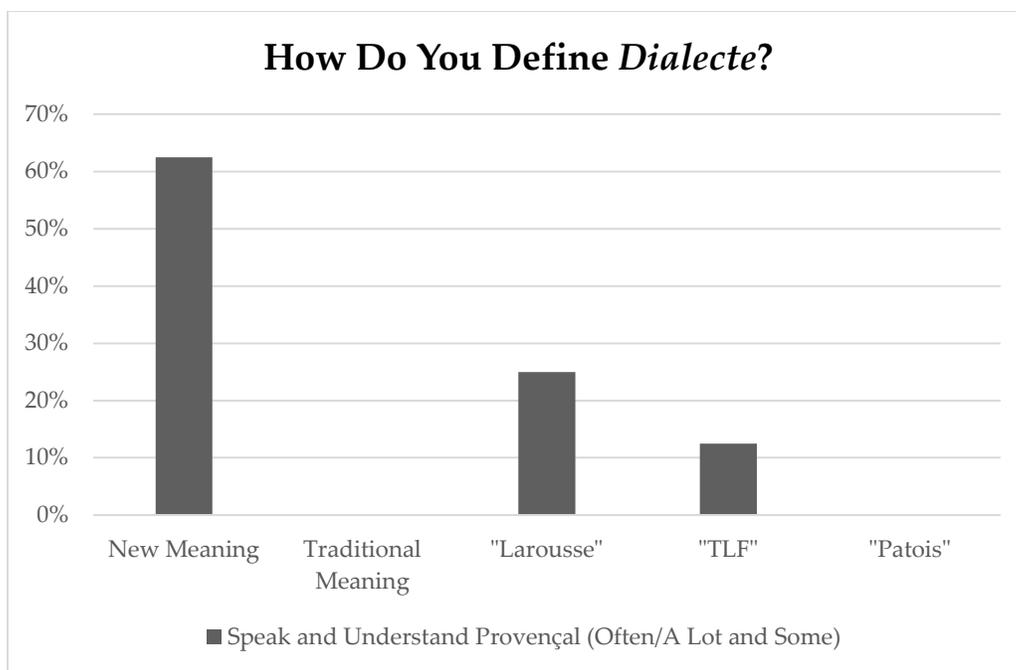
Provençal Idiom and French Language Ideology

To the question regarding the classification of Provençal, 4 (50.00%) decided on “*Langue*”, 2 (25.00%) selected “*Parler*”, 1 (12.50%) picked “*Dialecte*” and another 1 (12.50%) chose “*Patois*”.

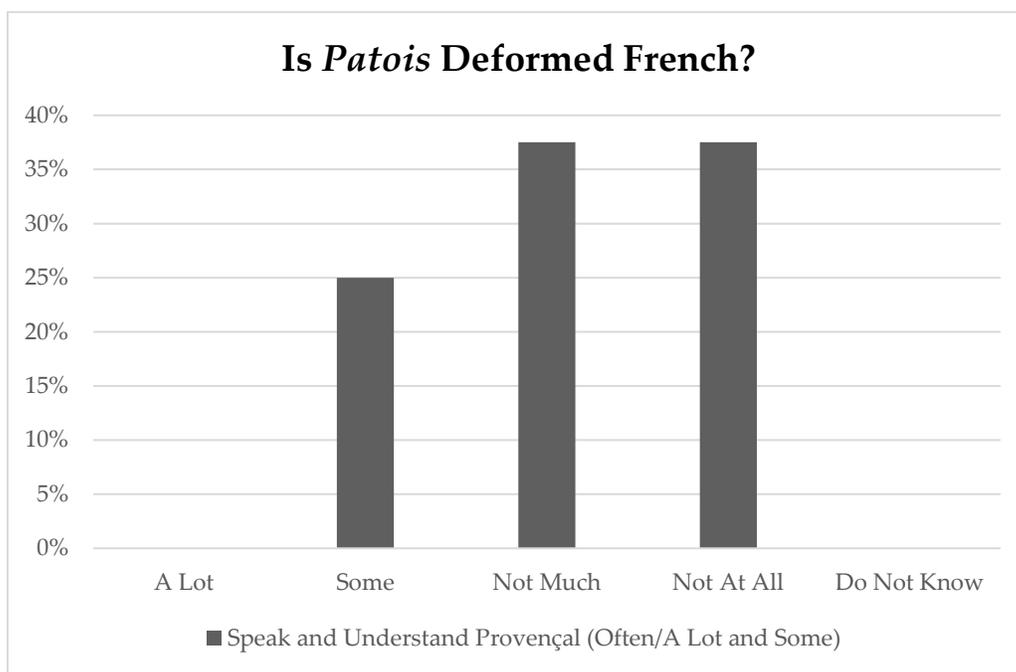


When asked to define *dialecte*, 5 (65.50%) chose the new meaning, 2 (25.00%) picked the definition used in *Larousse* and 1 (12.50%) selected the definition of the *Trésor de la langue française*³².

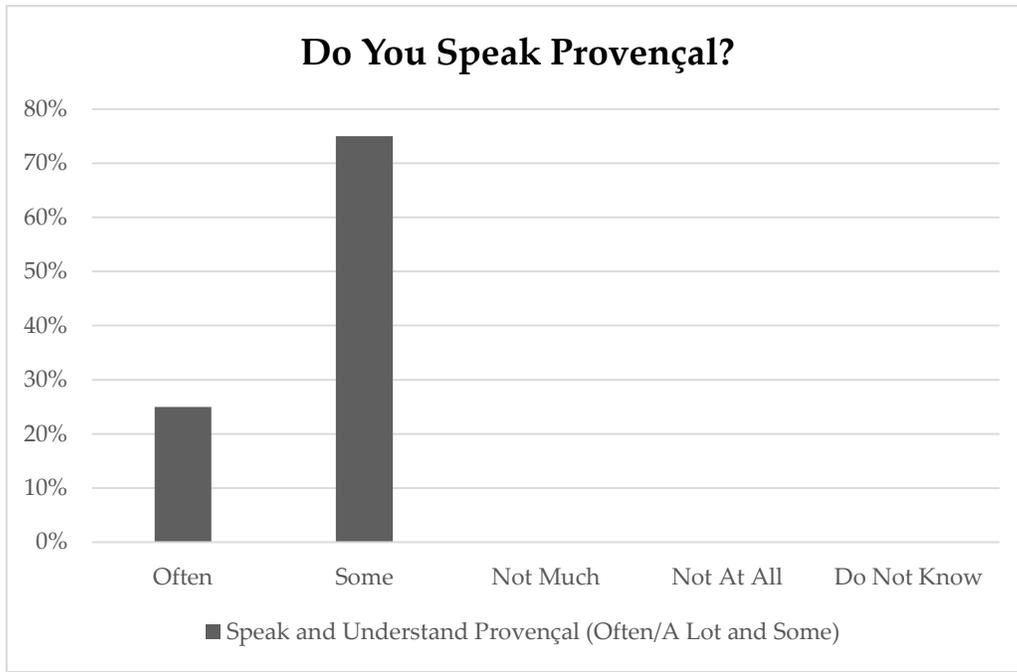
³² These were not the definitions used; they are simply an easier way of listing them.



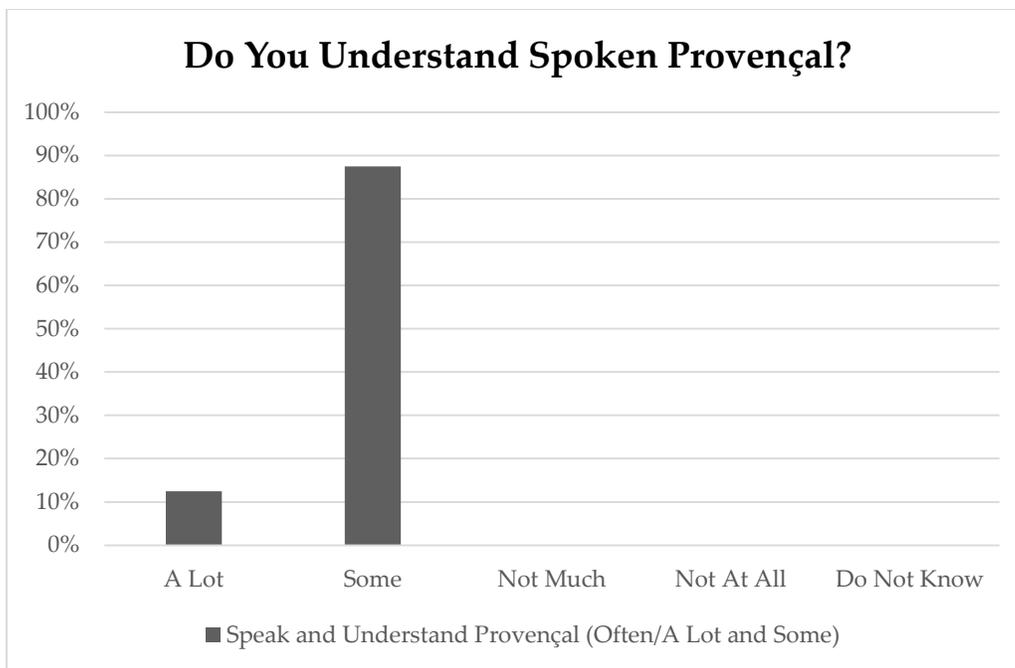
To the question asking the participant if *patois* was deformed French, 3 (37.50%) indicated "Not Much", another 3 (37.50%) responded "Not At All" and 2 (25.00%) replied "Some".



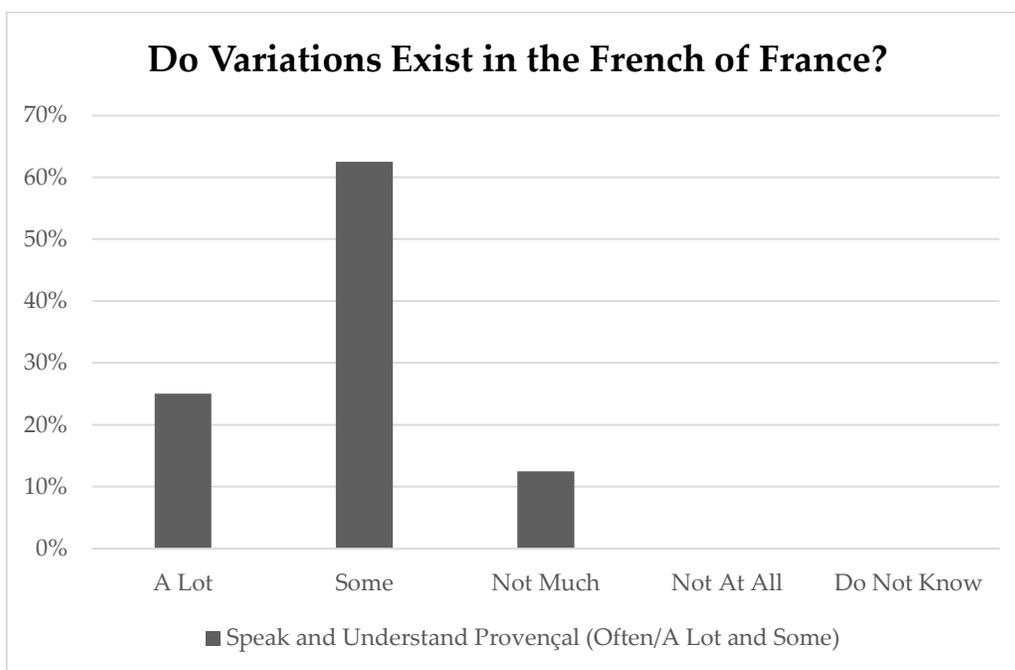
When asking the respondent to report his or her ability to speak Provençal, 6 (75.00%) responded "Some" and 2 (25.00%) indicated "Often".



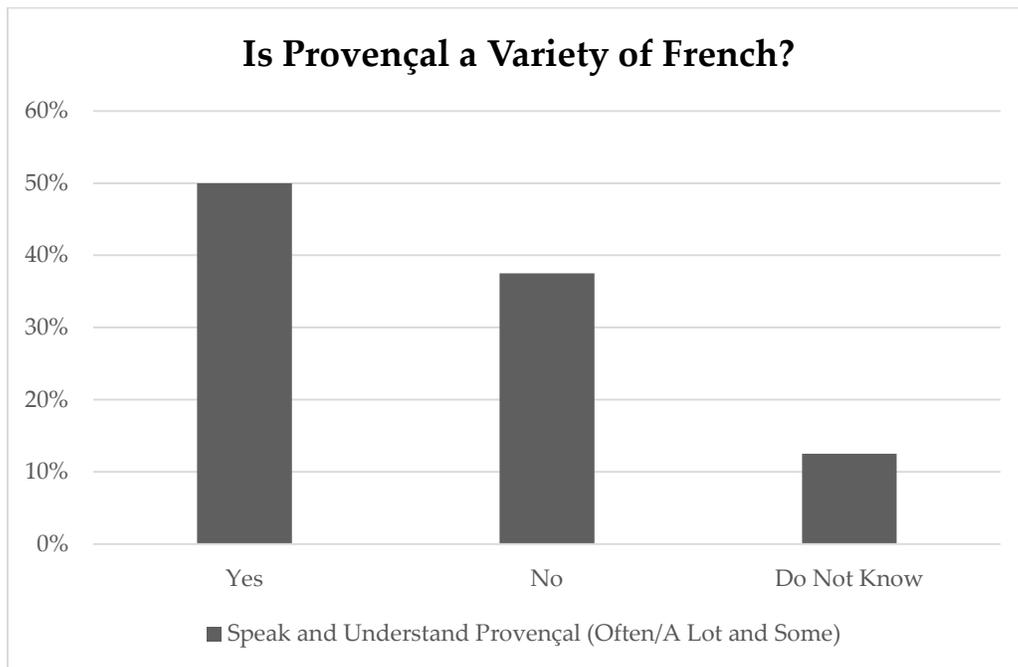
When asked if the participant could understand spoken Provençal, 7 (87.50%) specified "Some" and 1 (12.50%) indicated "A Lot".



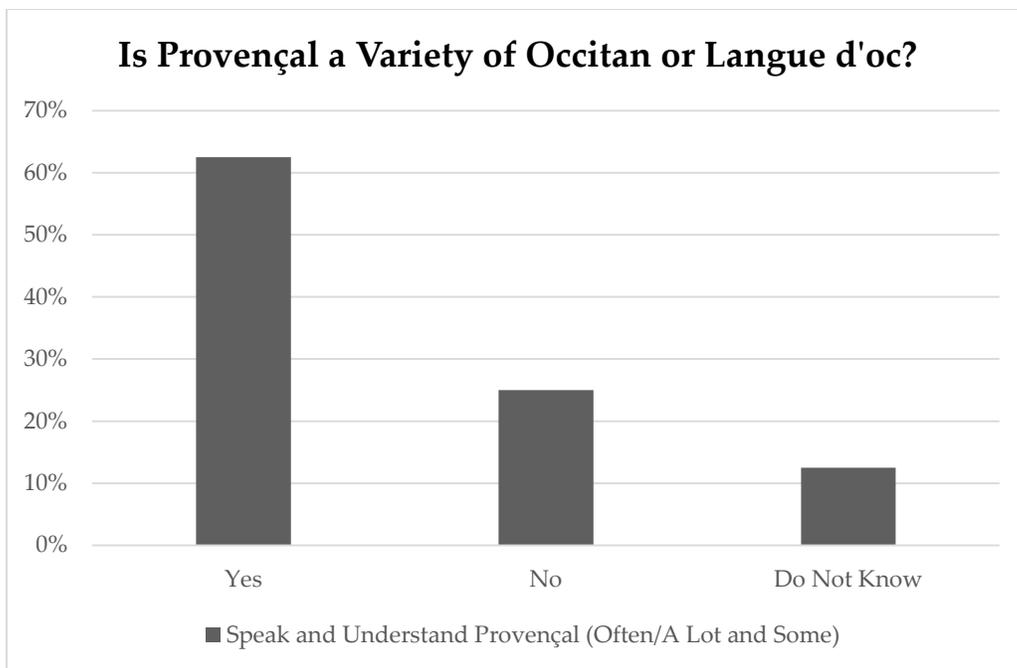
When asked if variations occurred in French in France, 5 (62.50%) indicated "Some", 2 (25.00%) selected "A Lot", and 1 (12.50%) stated "Not Much."



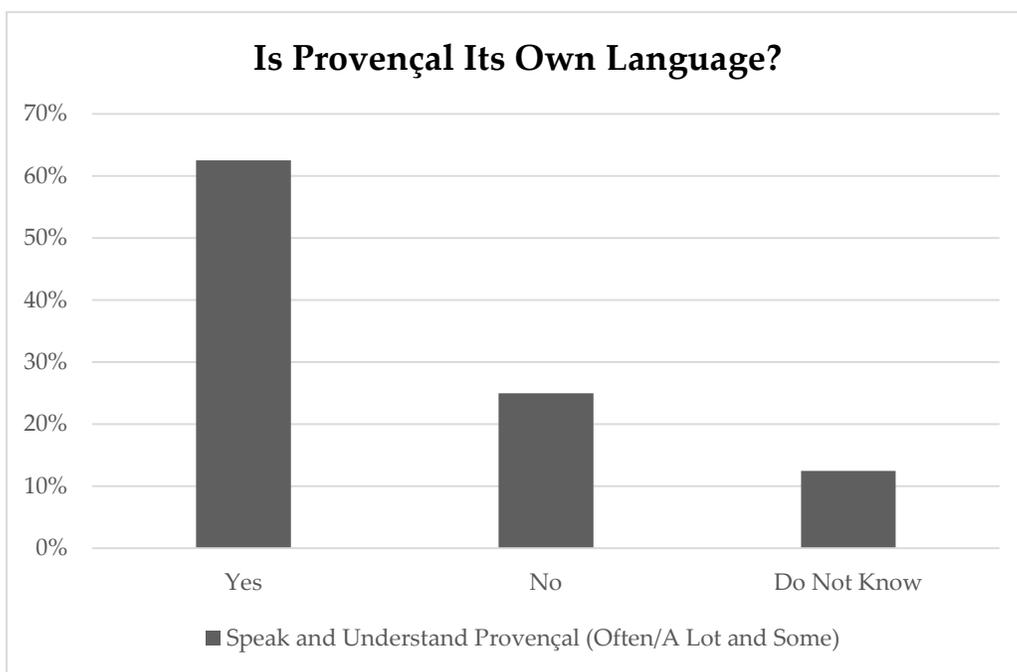
To the question asking whether Provençal was a variety of French, 4 (50.00%) responded “Yes”, 3 (37.50%) specified “No” and 1 (12.50%) stated “Do Not Know”.



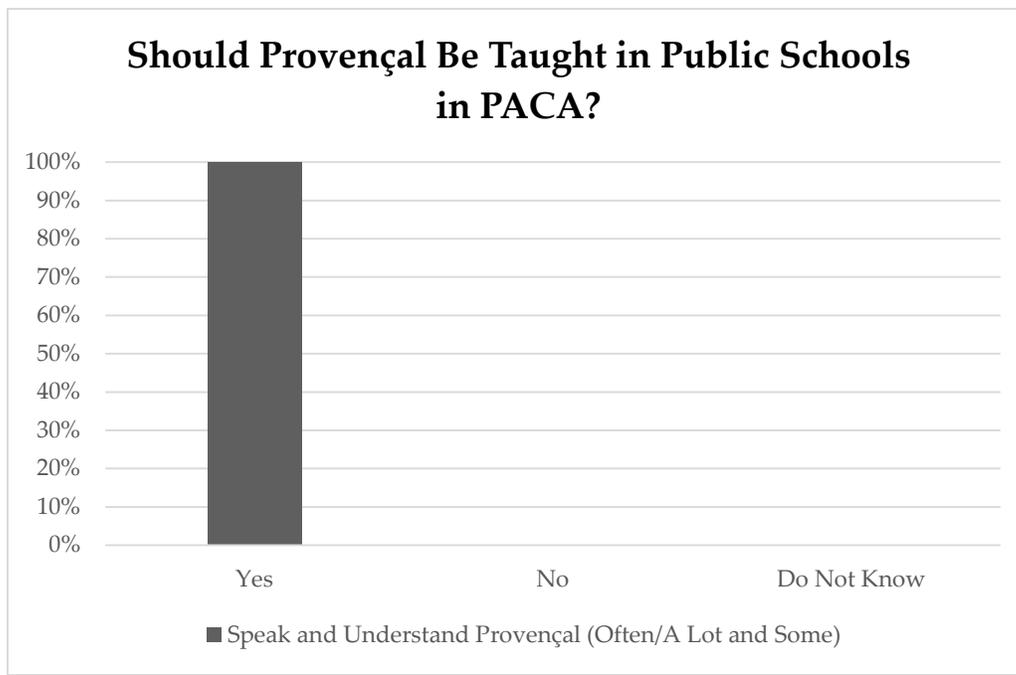
When asked if Provençal was a variety of Occitan or Langue d’oc, 5 (62.50%) stated “Yes”, 2 (25.00%) indicated “No” and 1 (12.50%) responded “Do Not Know”.



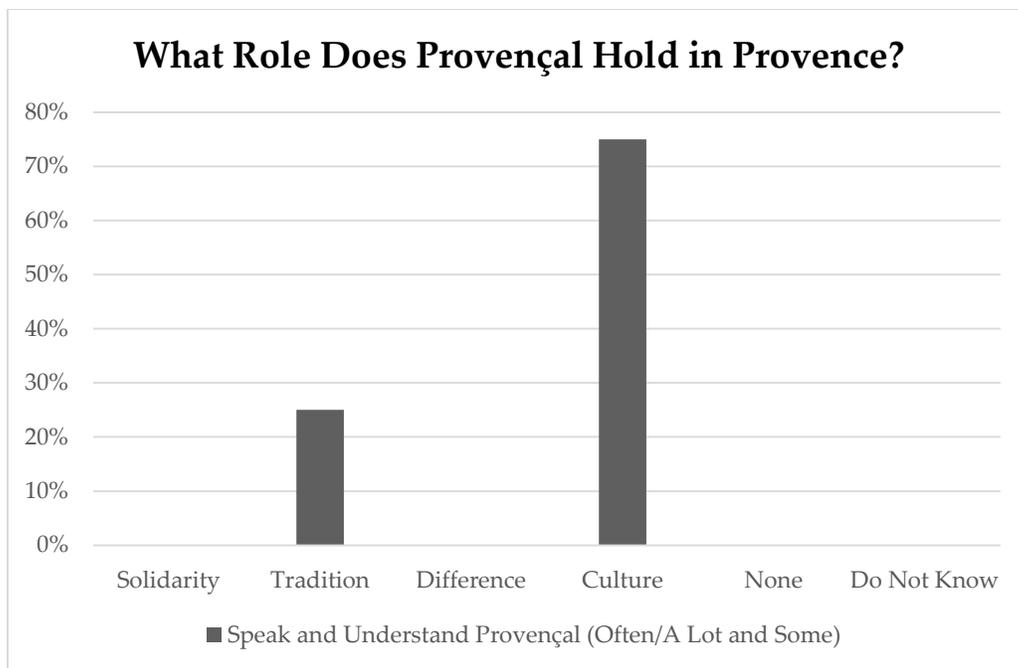
When asked if the participant thought Provençal was its own language, 5 (62.50%) indicated “Yes”, 2 (25.00%) responded “No” and 1 (12.50%) replied “Do Not Know”.



To the question whether Provençal should be taught in public schools in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, all 8 (100.00%) indicated "Yes".



When asked what role Provençal held in Provence, 6 (75.00%) selected "Culture" and 2 (25.00%) chose "Tradition".



CHAPTER NINE

Discussion

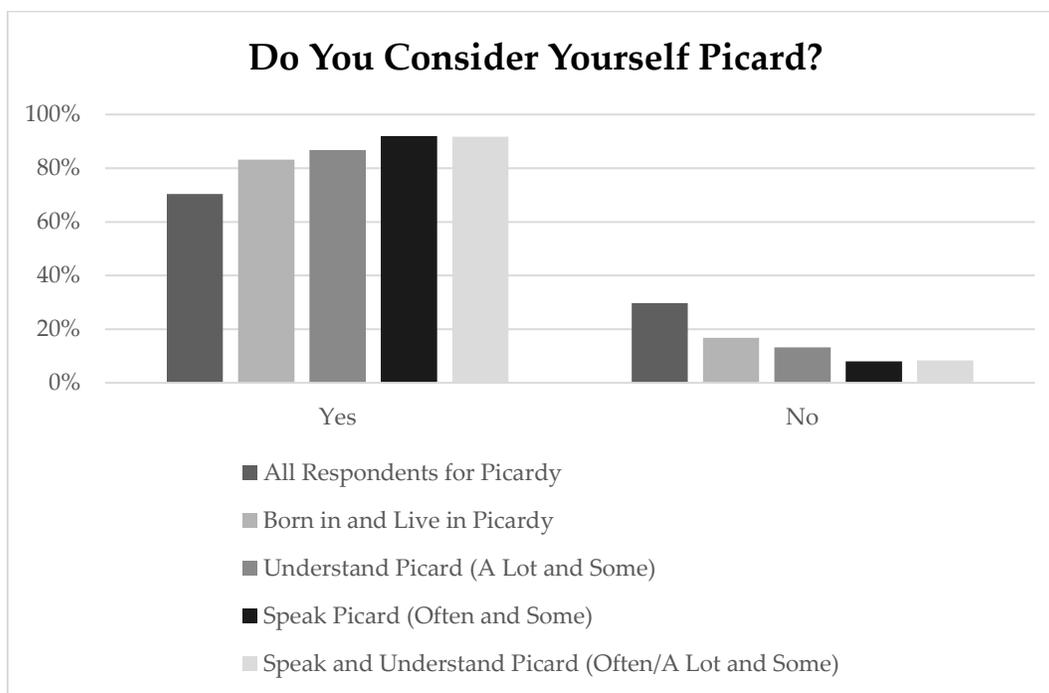
Since the responses for speaking and understanding each regional language were employed to form three of the five groups for each region, the results to those questions do not form part of this discussion. In other words, the responses to the questions specifically relating to speaking and/or understanding Picard or Provençal serve as filters in an effort to investigate reasons for the languages' survival.

Picardy

Regional Identity

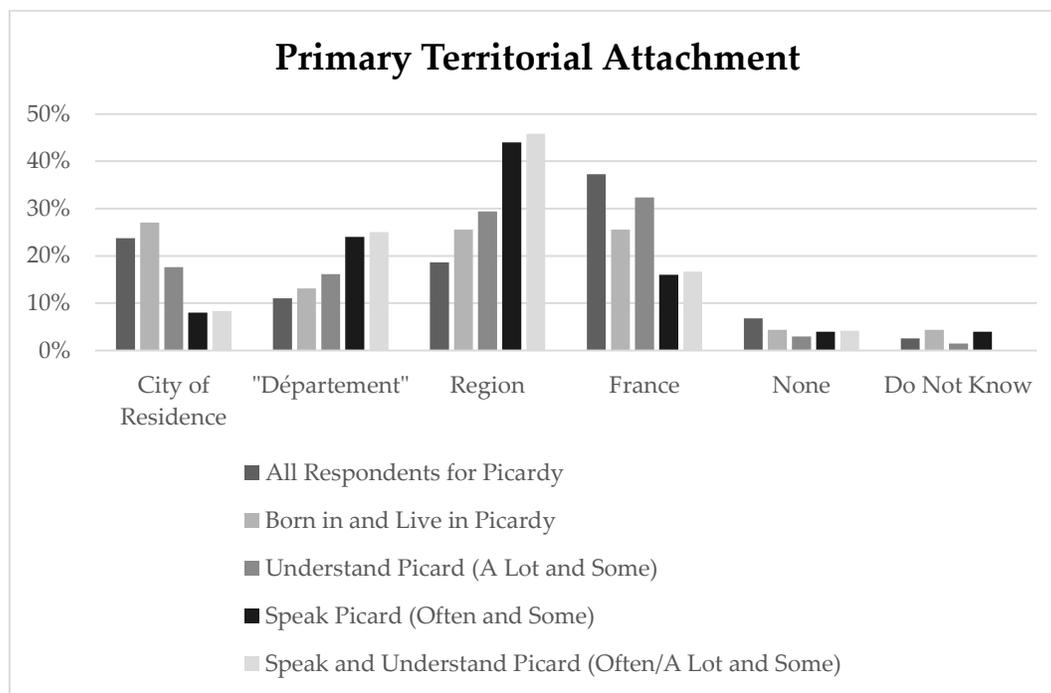
Considering oneself Picard grew steadily almost 20 percentage points across the five groups: all Picardy respondents, born in and live in Picardy respondents, understand spoken Picard (a lot and some), speak Picard (often and some) and speak and understand Picard (often/a lot and some). While approximately 70% of all Picardy respondents considered themselves to be Picard, roughly 92% of Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders considered themselves to be Picard. It thus seems that speaking

and/or understanding a language linked with a region plays a role in identifying oneself as a member of that community. While the slight difference between considering oneself to be Picard among Picard-understanders and Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders might indicate that actually speaking a territorially-related language anchors regional identity more than just being able to understand that same language.

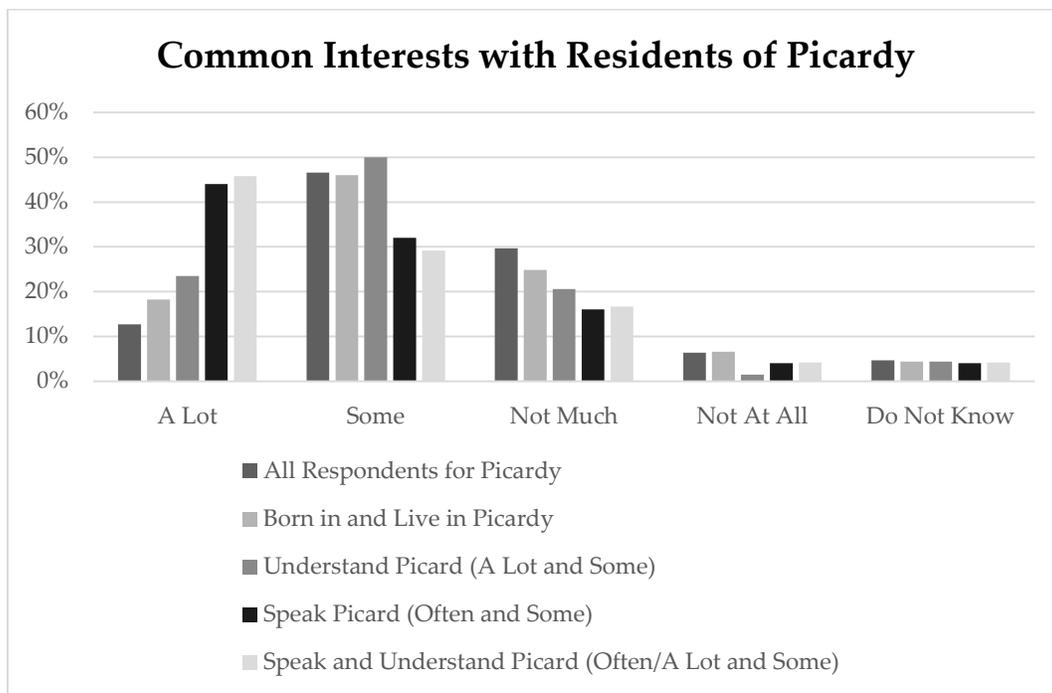


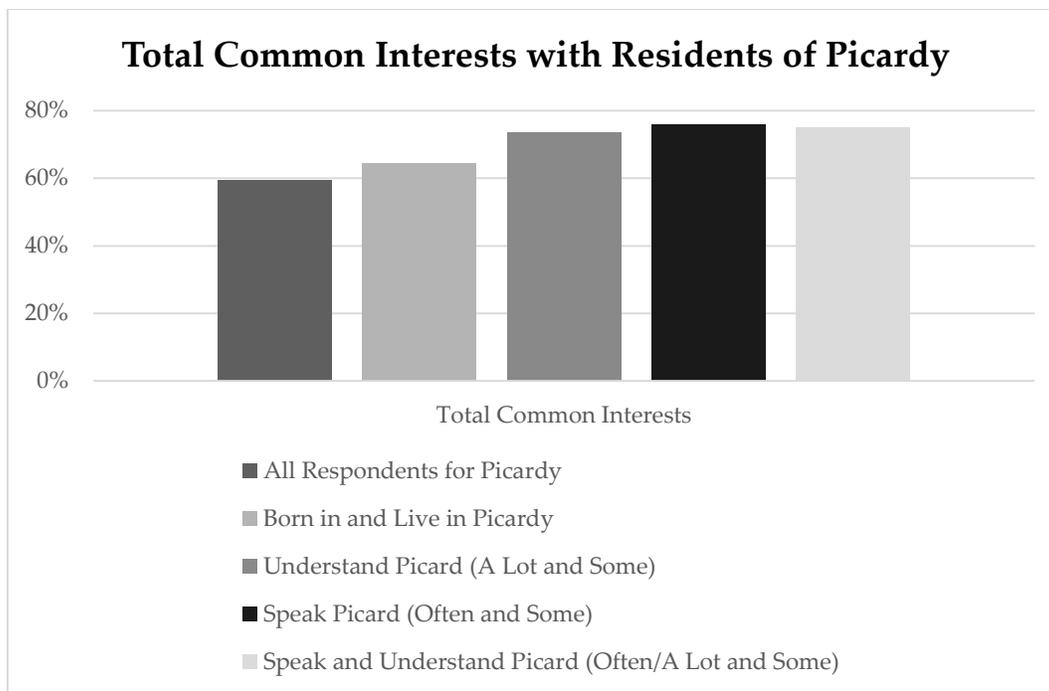
This aforementioned notion appears to be confirmed when looking at primary territorial attachment. Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders reported being most attached to their region, while Picard-understanders leaned more toward France as did all Picardy respondents and born in and live in Picardy leaned toward their city of residence.

After the region, Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders next identified with their *département*, which seems to indicate that these participants are deeply rooted into their local and regional milieus; however, it cannot be assumed that they reject their national French identity as both Dargent and Dupoirier demonstrated that local and/or regional identity and national identity are complimentary, rather than competitive in France due to France's history of centralization and nation-building. Despite this fact, the Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders may be more rooted to their local and regional milieus due to their ability to speak and understand the milieus' historic language.



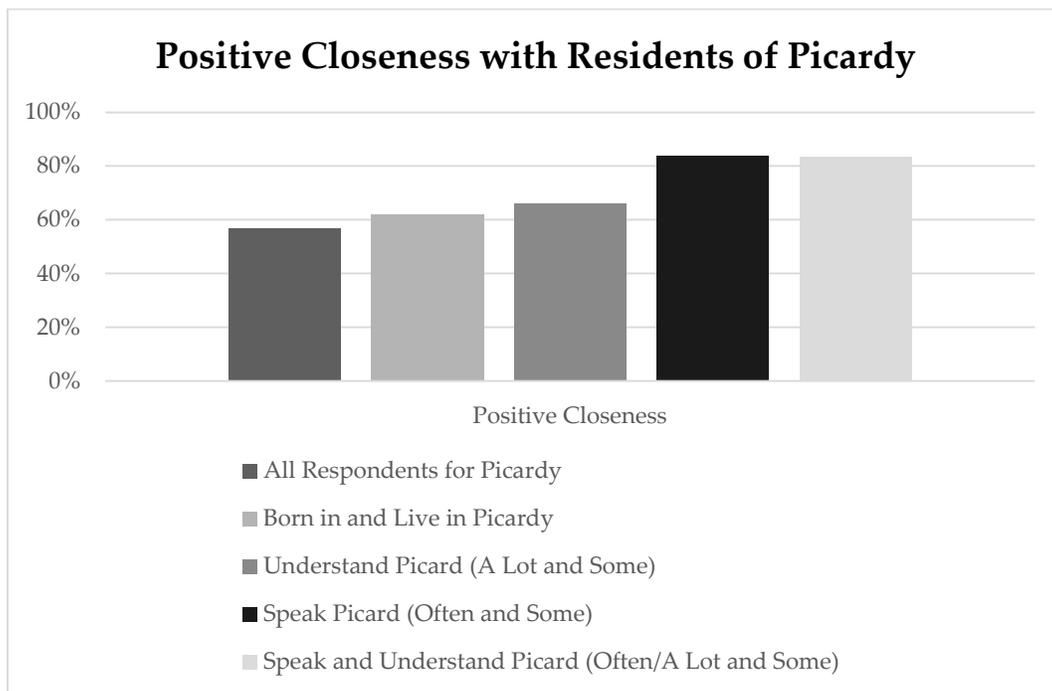
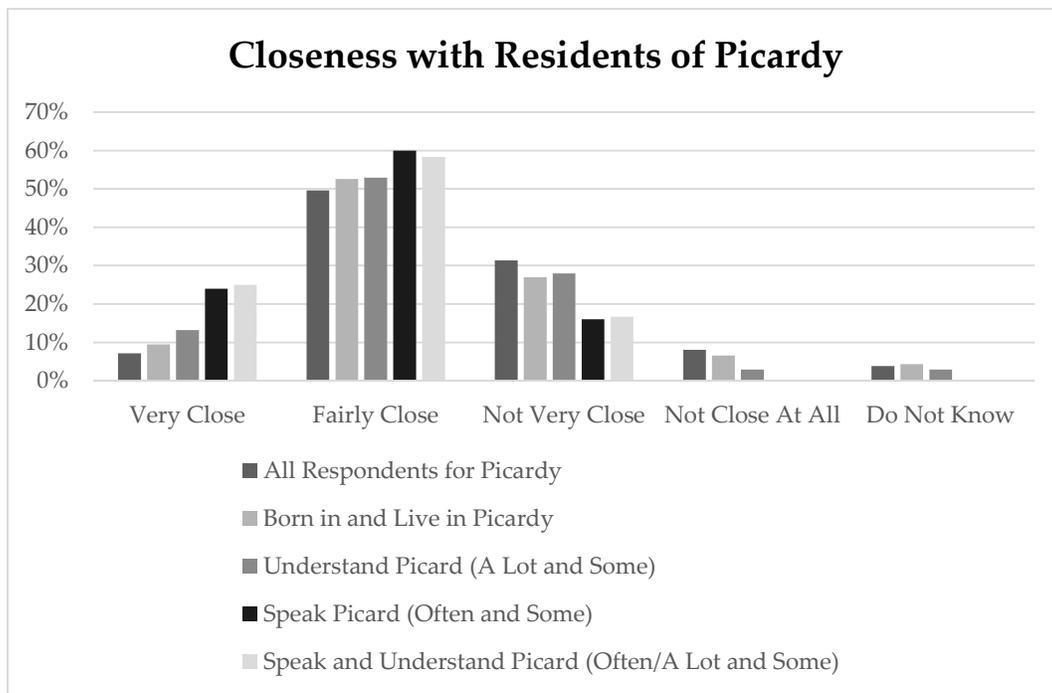
The next three notions – common interests with other regional residents, closeness with them and important differences between Picards and the residents of other regions – demonstrate that a Picard community or society exists within France. Respondents from all five groups reported positive responses for all three notions with the highest being for Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders.





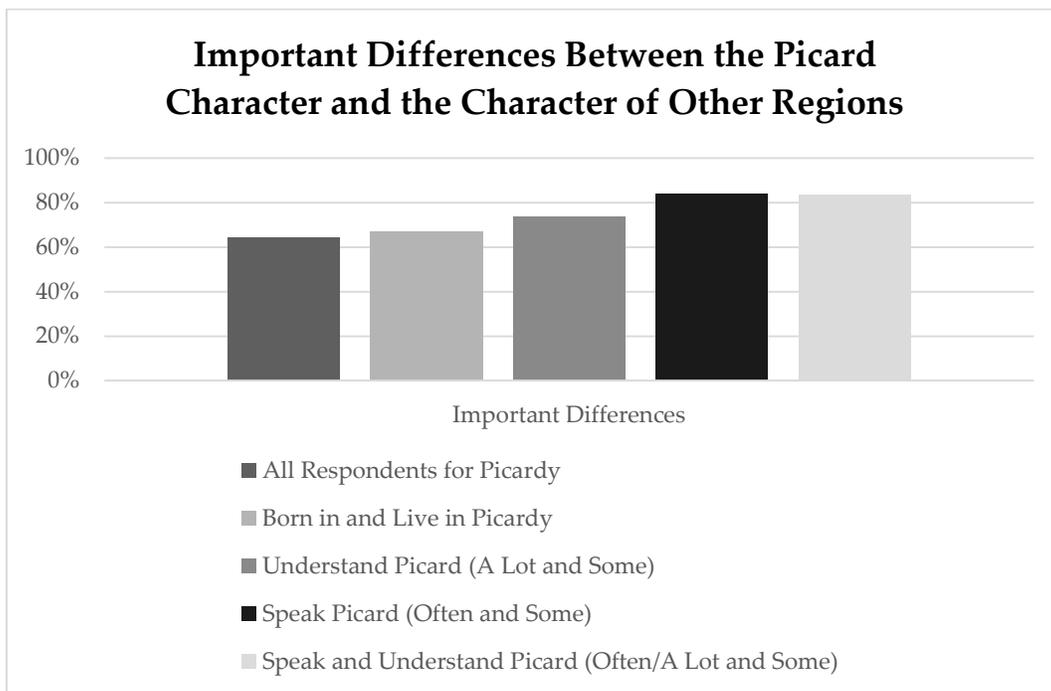
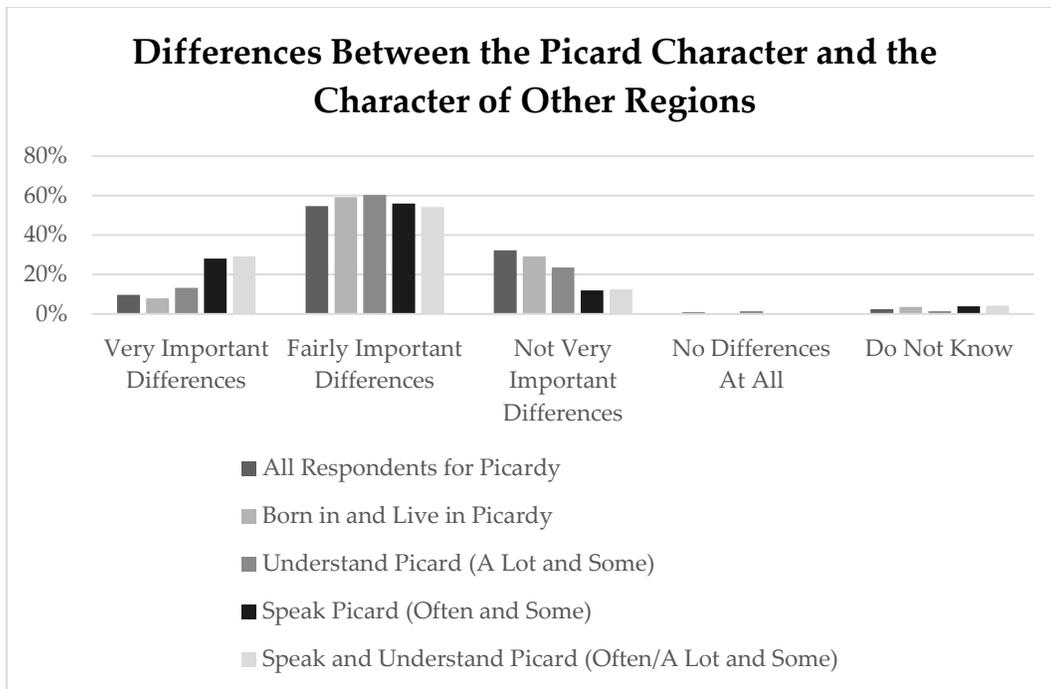
There was a 0.53% difference between Picard-understanders and Picard-speakers as well as understanders for total common interests among Picardy residents, which does not truly affect the results as this latter sample was slightly larger and could thus explain the difference. The Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders provided the most responses for “A Lot” of common interests, as well as the least responses for “Not Much”. It would appear that speaking and understanding the historic regional language either reflects or initiates common interests among language users more so than simply living in the same region does for non-language users. This makes sense when one considers that a regional language is by definition regional and is linked with regional life and its particularities. For instance, Picard terms abound in

Picardy for traditional Picard cuisine, traditional techniques, such as agriculture, and traditional games, festivals and landscapes (Devime 2010).



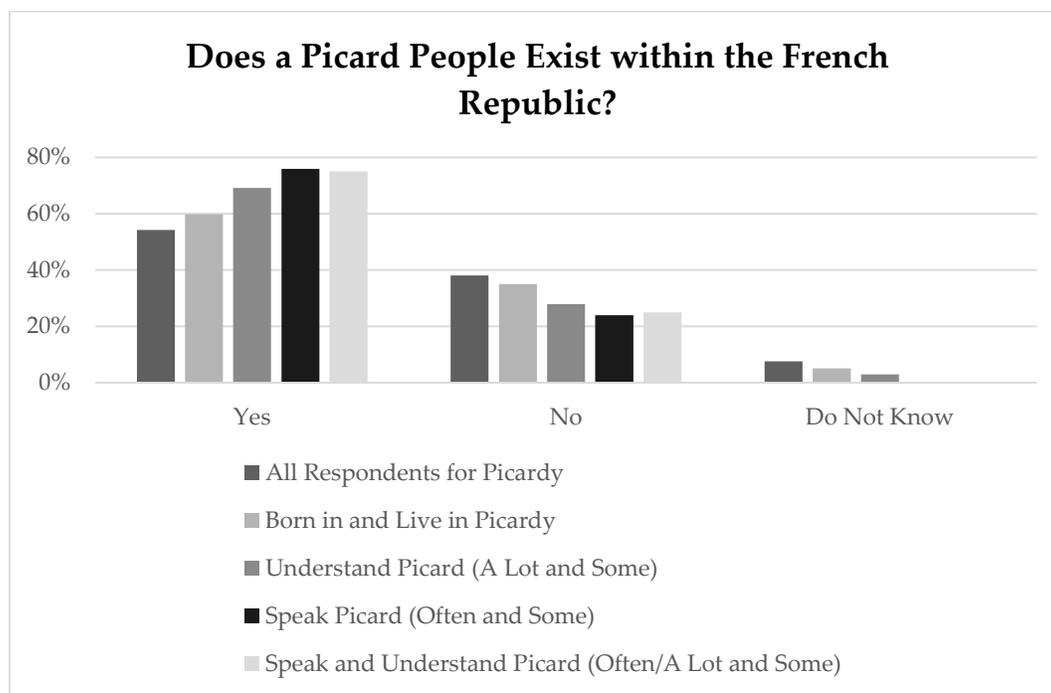
The ability to speak and understand Picard also appears linked with the amount of closeness reported between the regional residents of Picardy. While all participants reported feeling close to the other residents, it was the Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders who reported being the closest. Closeness requires either common interests or other sorts of commonality; use of Picard fits both requirements.

The next two questions also confirm that both regional societies, as well as a Picard community exists within France. All Picardy respondents reported the existence of important differences between Picards and the residents of other French regions; however, the largest quantity of important differences was reported among Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders. While these participants were not asked why they had reported their degree of difference, it is highly possible that it was due to the Picard language. After all, the largest difference between French provinces from the 1789 Revolution up until the 1920s has been attributed to language. Today, most French regions, including Picardy, continue to have their own historic language.



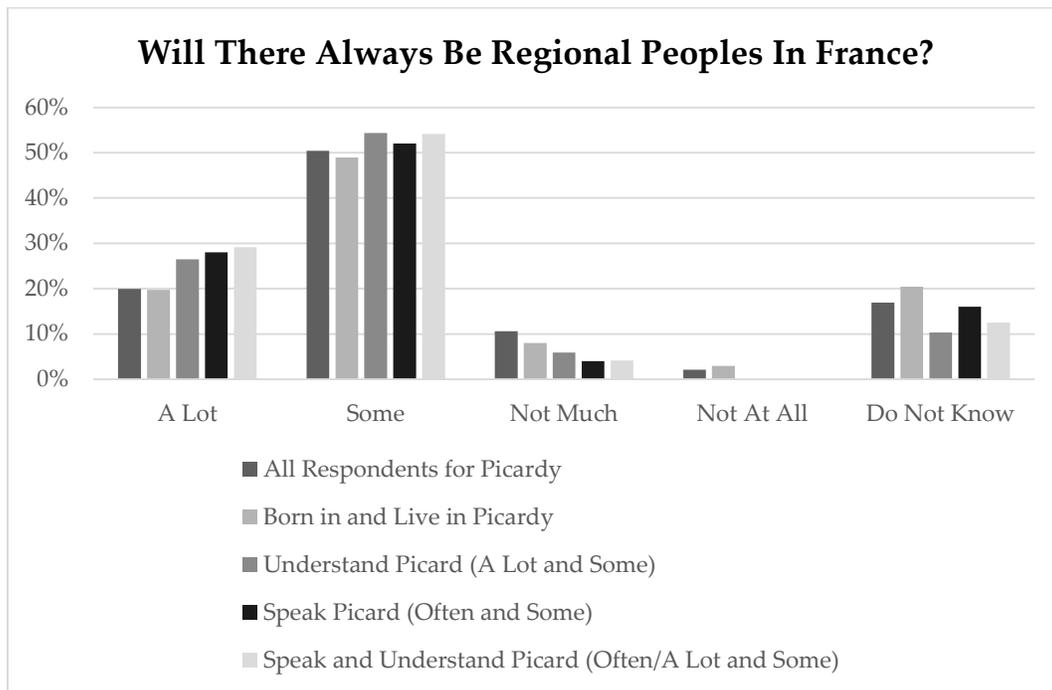
All Picardy participants positively reported that a Picard people exists within the French Republic. Positive responses steadily grew across the five

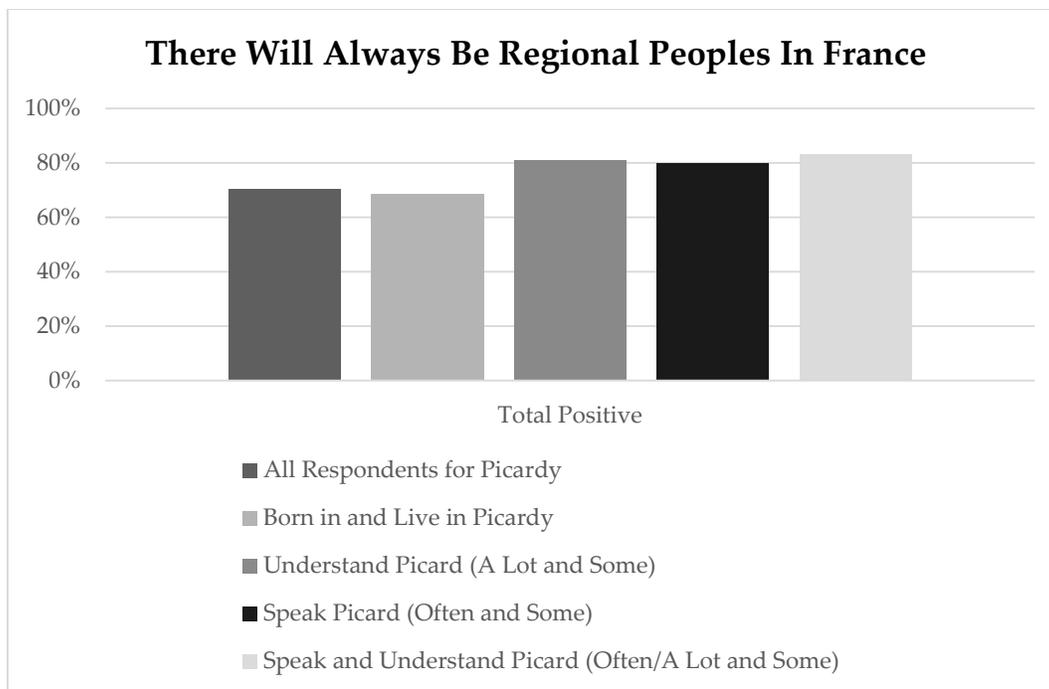
groups, and negative responses also declined across the five groups where the highest and the lowest responses both came from Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders. Again, language appears to delineate the existence of a Picard people amongst the French people, which makes sense since it was earlier demonstrated how language functions to highlight the existence of a people.



Picardy participants did not simply indicate that a Picard people exists, but also noted that other regional peoples also exist and will continue to exist within France. This revelation is interesting since French revolutionaries determined it necessary to eliminate provincial or regional peoples in order to create a united French people and nation; however, the Picards have reported

that these people both exist and will continue so to do. However, this ideological constraint may be evident here due to the rather high responses given to “Do Not Know” for all five groups.



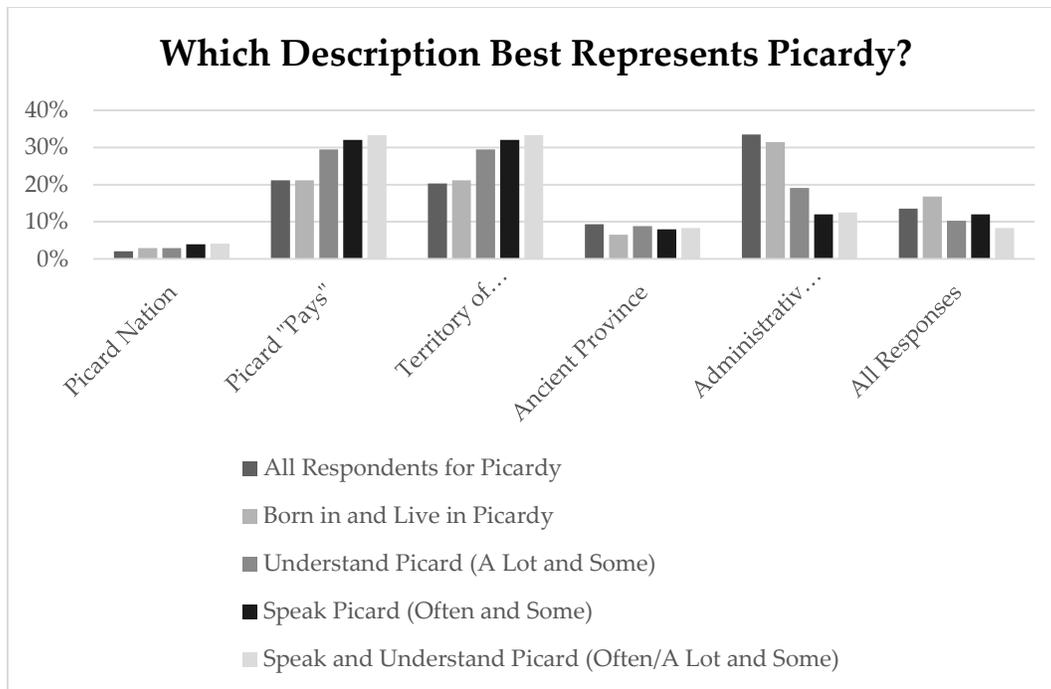


When respondents were asked to select the description that best represented Picardy, the responses fell into two general categories. The two general groups – all Picardy respondents and born in and live in Picardy – chose the functional category “Administrative Region of the French Republic” over the other options, which seems to imply that for the general citizen the region is mainly administrative. No group reported that Picardy represented the “Picard Nation” for them, which may again stem from the French ideological belief that France alone is the nation, and is not formed from the amalgamation of smaller nations.

Picard-understanders, Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders appear torn over two more cultural responses, “Picard Pays” and

“Territory of the Picard People”. In fact, for the three groups, responses are identical for each category. It would appear that the two categories were not differentiated enough for respondents to see a difference between them. Despite this potential problem, it is completely understandable that Picard-understanders, Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders would select a cultural response as most representative of Picardy since the Picard language is a cultural component of Picardy.

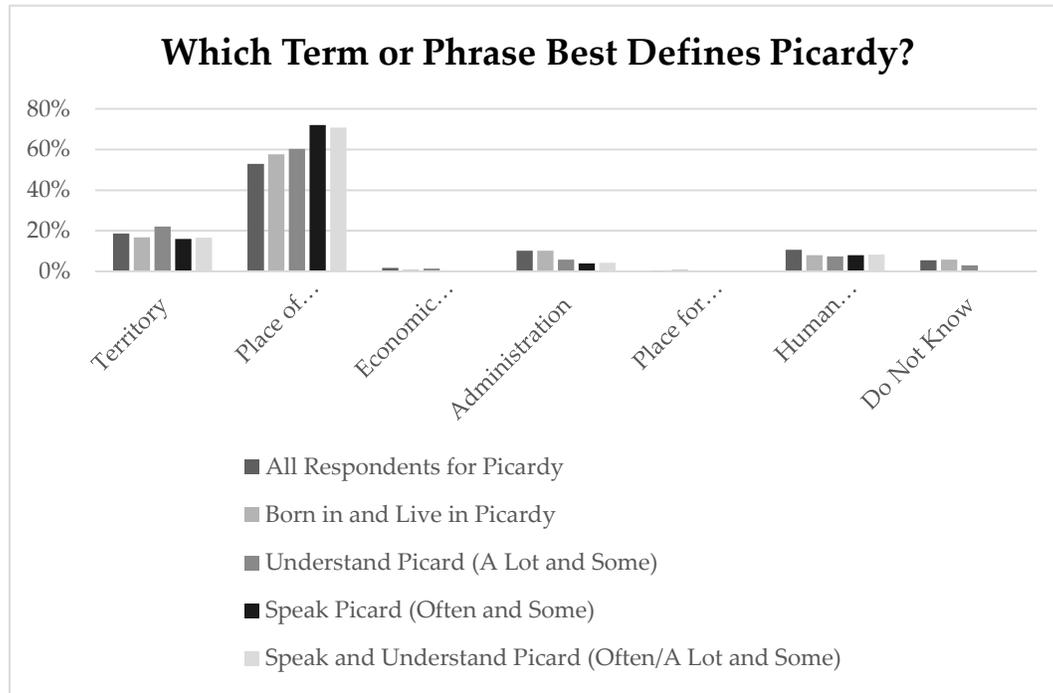
With that being said, it appears that not many participants viewed Picardy as representing all possibilities and even less as an “Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France”. As a result, this sample of Picardy respondents seems to view Picardy more in terms of its current situation or situations, rather than in its past situation. While the Picard *pays* and the territory of the Picard people can just as easily apply to administrative Picardy as to provincial Picardy, the administrative region of Picardy is certainly not provincial Picardy.



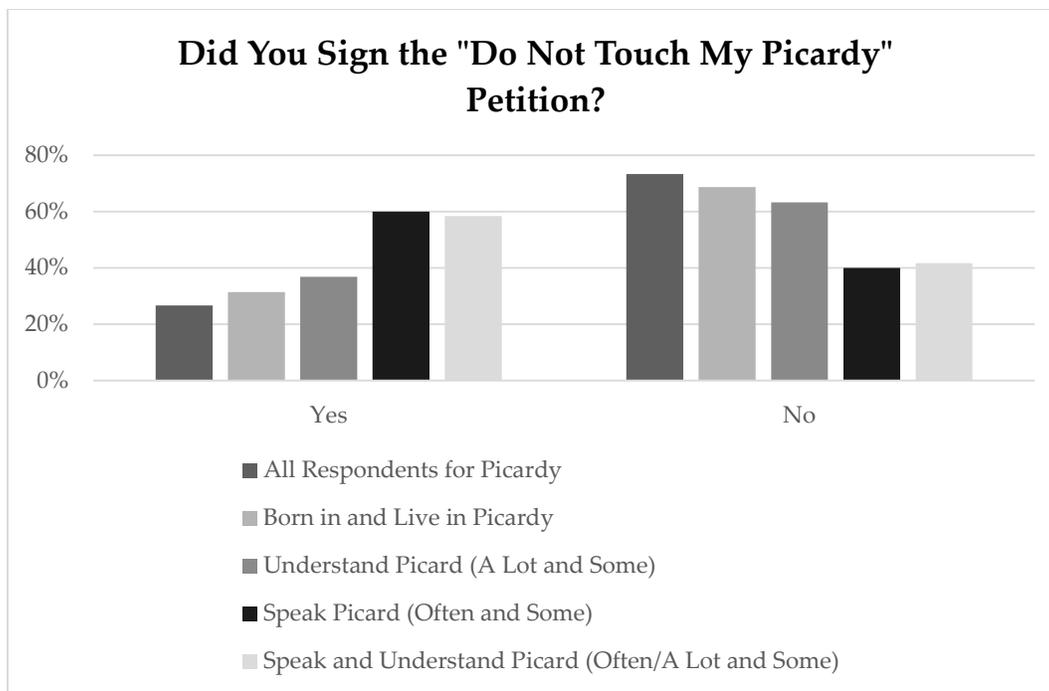
When presented with categories that clearly attempt to demarcate specific cultural and functional domains, all Picardy respondents claimed the cultural and historic category as the best definition for Picardy. Picard-speakers, Picard-speakers as well as understanders and Picard-understanders gave this cultural and historic category its highest support, which makes perfect sense since they employ the regional language. For them, Picardy is a cultural and historic place; its cultural designation outweighs its functional components.

Responses for the functional categories – place for economic development, political debate and administration – were very low. Responses for the general category, territory, were also fairly low. As a result, even among general participants, Picardy is defined through its cultural aspects, rather than its

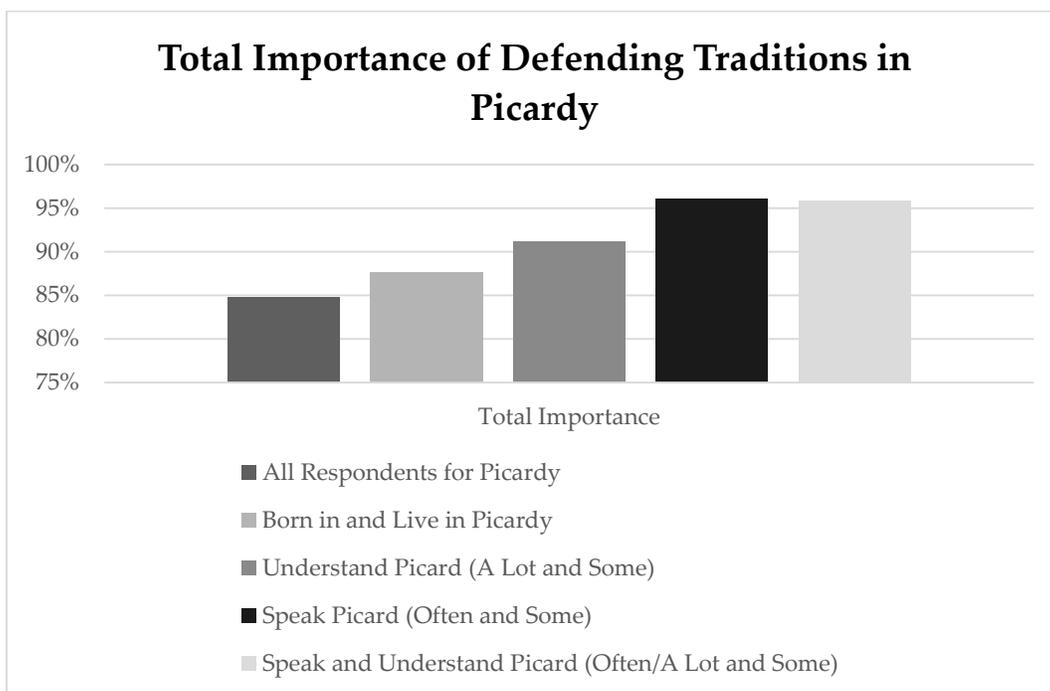
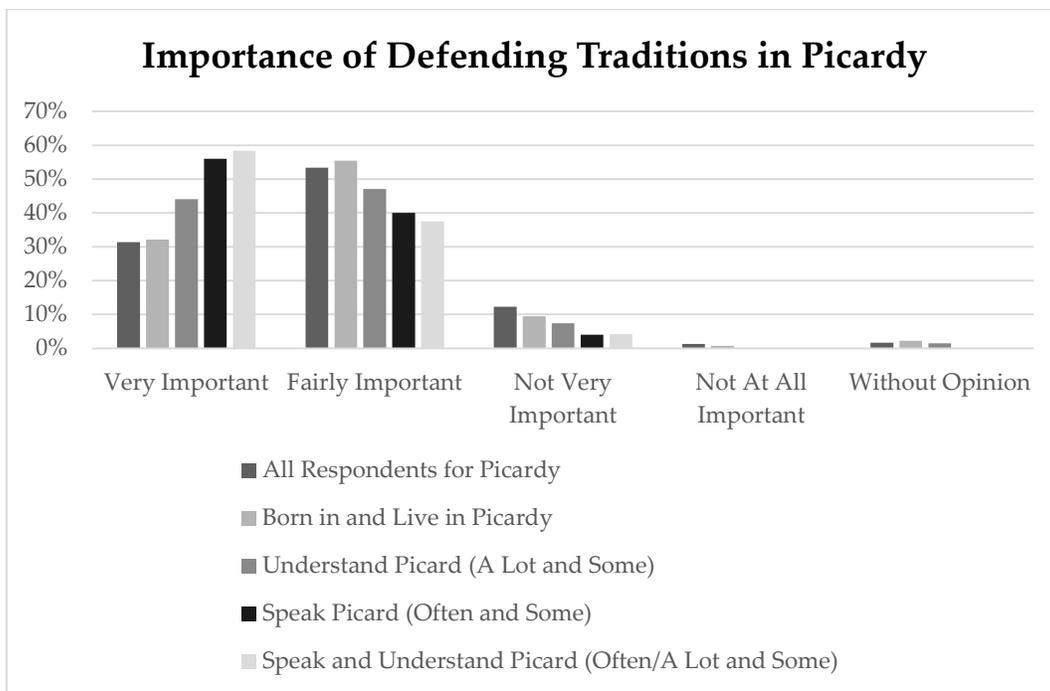
functional components. This indication seems to validate the notion that French administrative regions are the heirs to the French cultural provinces.



More Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders signed the “Do Not Touch MY Picardy” Petition more than any of the other groups. It would thus seem that Picard played either the decisive or a decisive role in their desire to protect Picardy from possibly disappearing from the map of France in both 2009 and 2014.

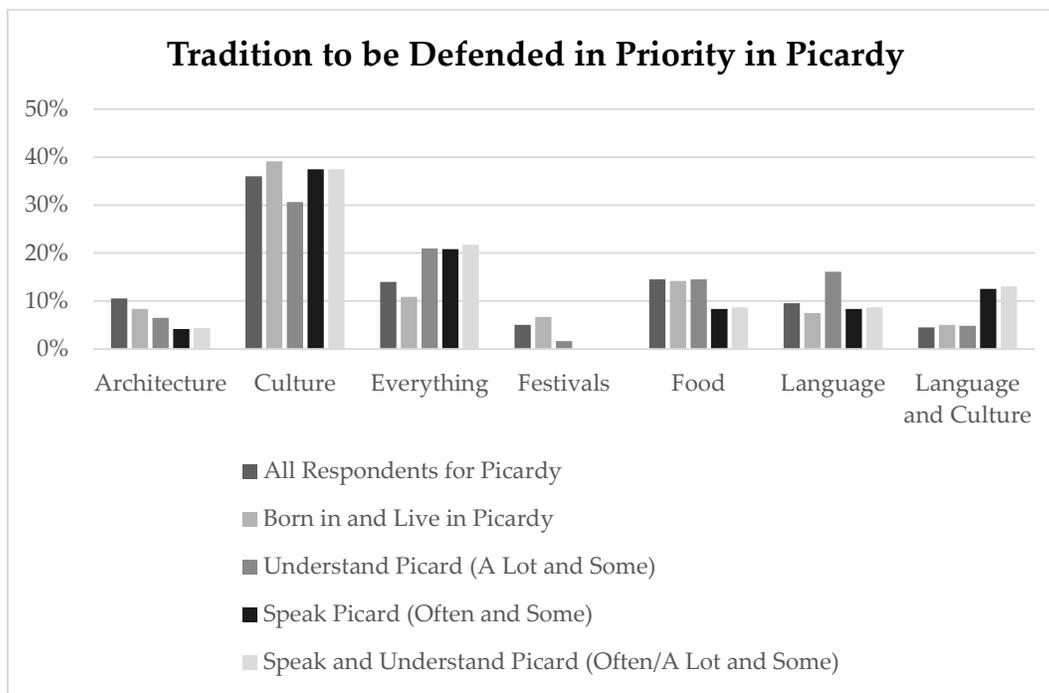


All Picardy participants reported the importance of defending traditional elements in Picardy; however, the average participant indicated that it was fairly important, while Picard-speakers, Picard-speakers as well as understanders and Picard-understanders specified that it was very important. Participants who avail themselves of one of the region's most obvious cultural symbols, language, report the importance of keeping Picardy Picard.



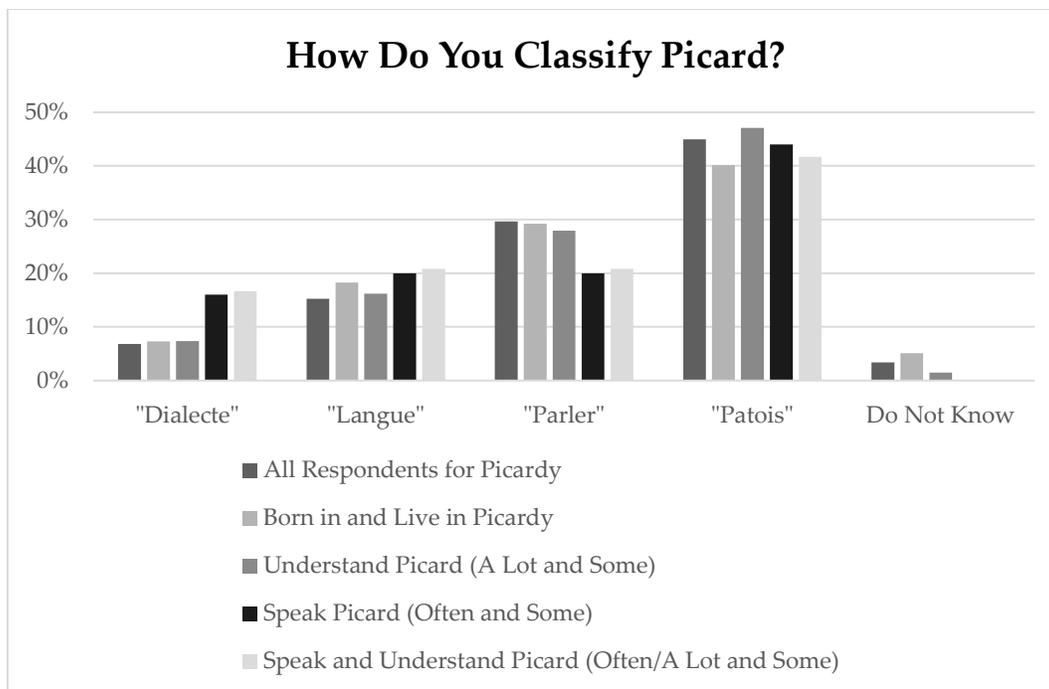
The entire sample indicated that the tradition to defend in priority was culture. Numerous respondents also indicated that the tradition “culture”

actually incorporated all other possible traditions, including language, food and festivals etc. Picards indicate thus that Picardy should neither defend nor be characterized by one tradition. It is a cultural place with diverse cultural elements and prioritizing one diminishes the entire culture.

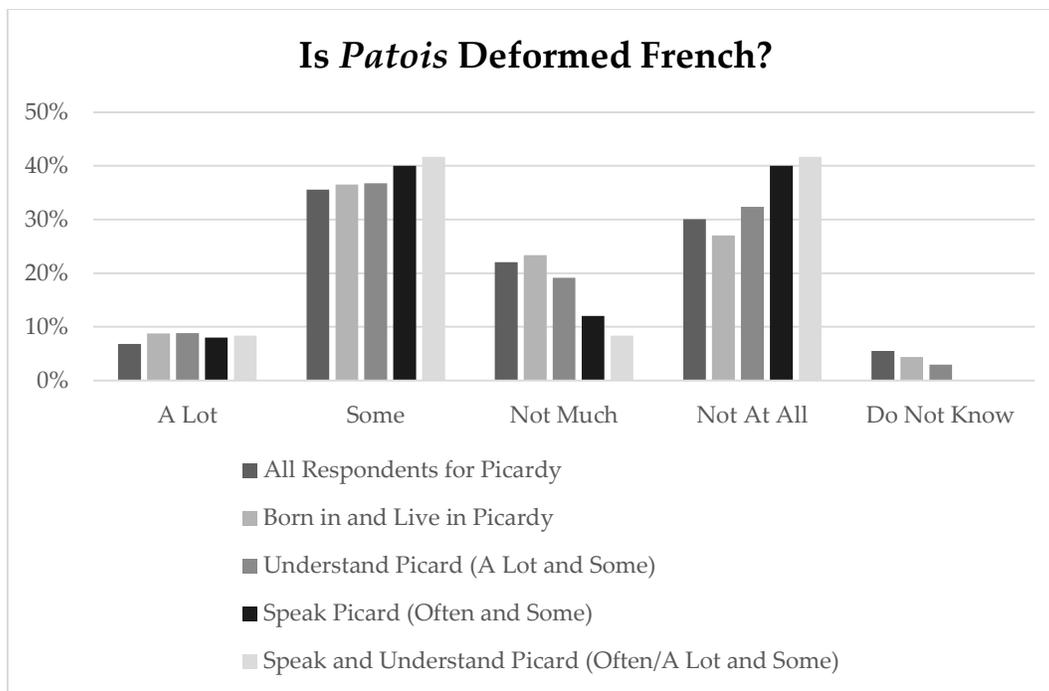


Picard Language and French Language Ideology

All Picardy respondents classified Picard as a *patois*, the most stigmatized category, which demonstrates the degree of inculcation French language ideology has attained in Picardy; however, it is also possible that certain *patois* users have accepted the term despite its negative connotations. In a sense, they might have made it their own.



However, when considering whether the respondents equated *patois* with deformed French, general respondents and Picard-understanders thought that was somewhat, while Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders tended to be torn. It would appear that among these last two groups, half continue to uphold French language ideology, whereas the other half have broken away and may still define Picard as a *patois*, but do not believe that it is deformed French.

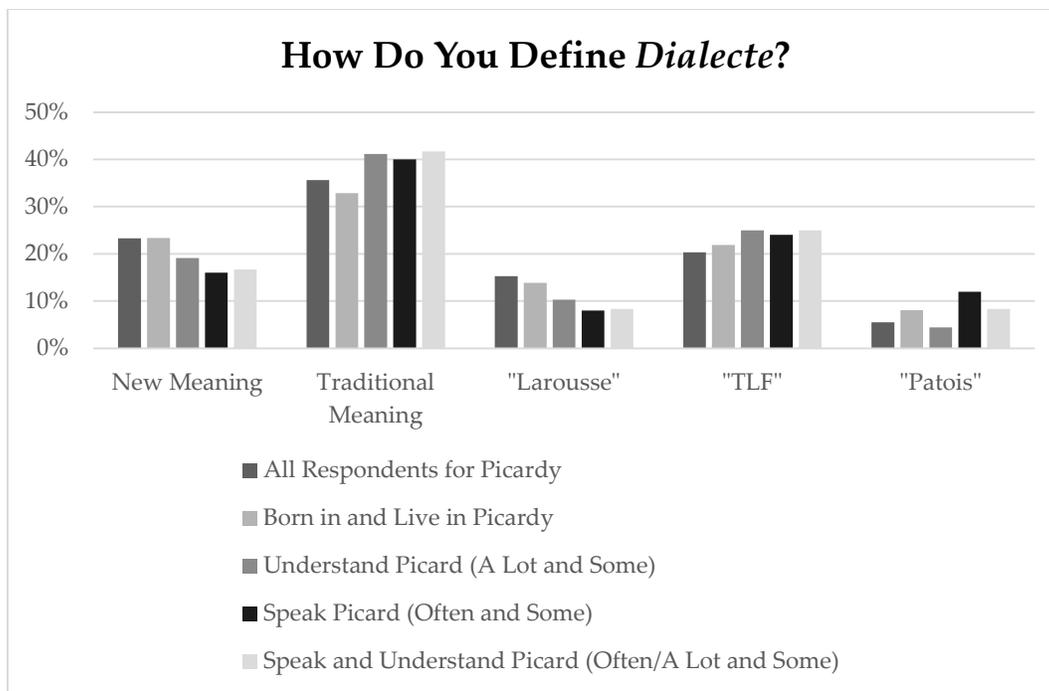


Due to French language ideology, the language/dialect issue is usually thought not to pertain to the Langue d’oïl domain since all entities in this domain, other than French, were relegated to the *patois* category long ago (Eloy 2010); however, results to the question could possibly reveal a conflict with the ideology among regional language users.

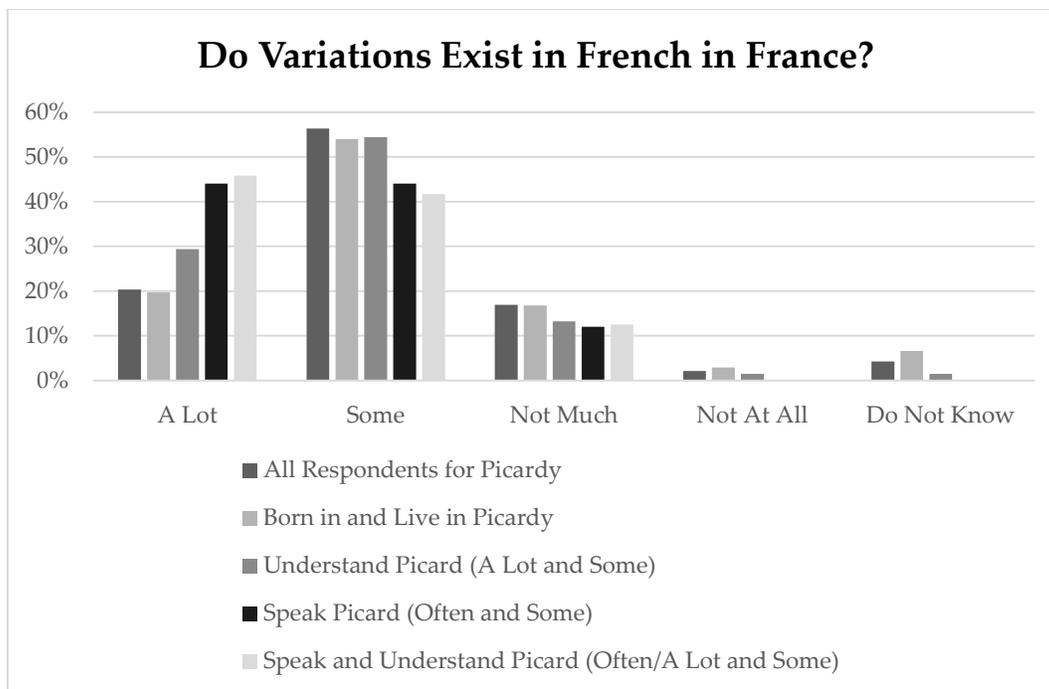
The majority of all respondents, with the Picard-users providing the highest percentages, chose the traditional French definition “particular form of a language within a group of speech forms, which does not have the status of language that the official or national language does”, which seems to reflect acceptance of French language ideology, but also seems to prioritize the

difference in status as the main difference between a dialect and a language. However, the entire sample also defined Picard as a *patois*, which implies that they do not view Picard as a dialect. Furthermore, the question did not specifically include Picard; respondents were simply asked to define dialect in general.

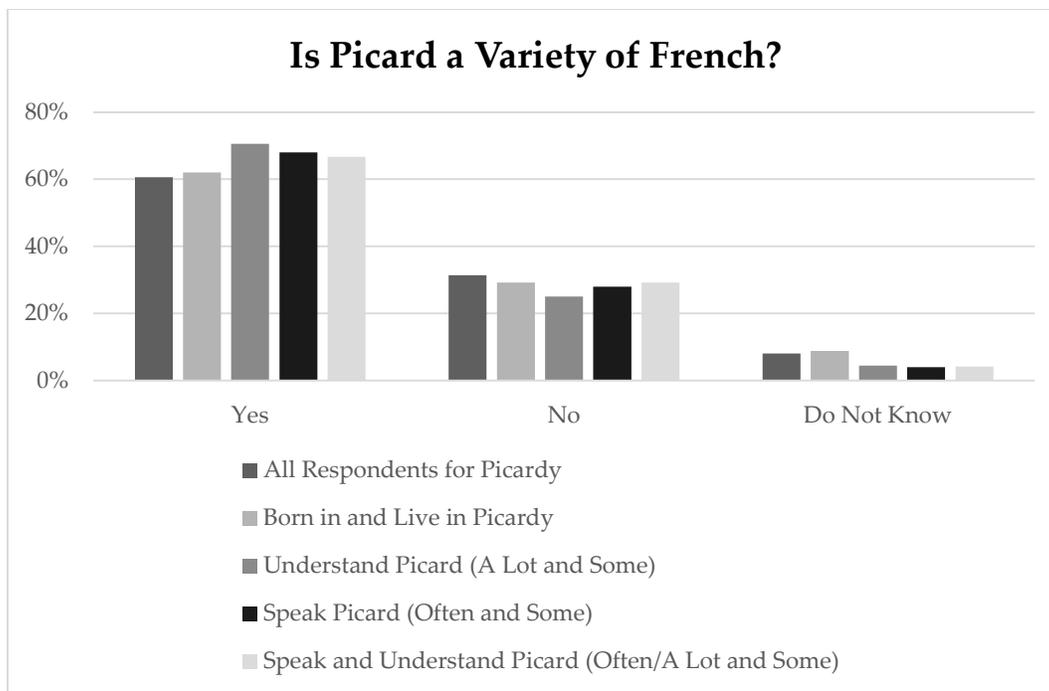
The new meaning, at least in France, and in French, of “a variety of a language” received the second highest percentages from the all respondents of Picardy group as well as the born in and live in Picardy group, while all three Picard-user groups gave the second highest results to “regional form, spoken and especially written, of an ancient language”, which attests to the past, rather than present situation in France. Moreover, it appears to represent the situation of Picard, Norman and Champenois in ancient France before they were reduced to the status of *patois*. Also, this definition highlights the former written aspect, i.e., dignified aspect, of ancient dialects.



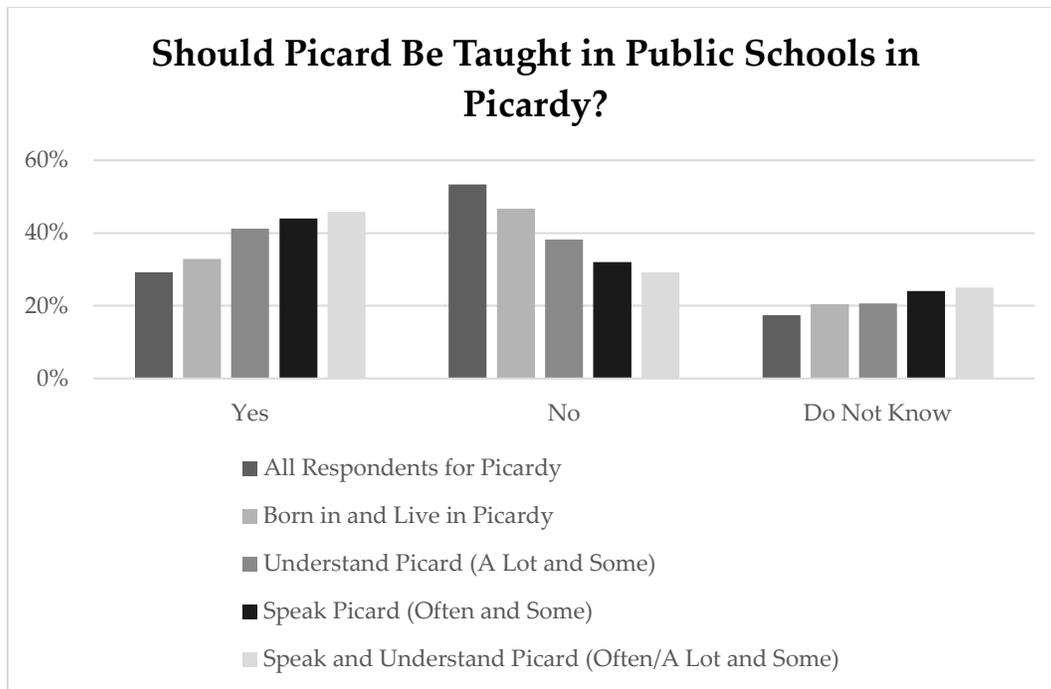
All Picardy participants do not hesitate to indicate that variations exist in French in France. As they are taught French within the general curriculum of the French national education system and also live in France, they inevitably encounter variations – both regional and social – from time to time. As a result, French language ideology does not hold true here.



With the classification of Picard, French language ideology appears to continue to reign, or at least cause confusion, since all five groups classified Picard as *patois* and half of Picard-speakers and Picard-speakers as well as understanders indicated that *patois* was not deformed French, but here, all five groups consider Picard to be a variety of French.

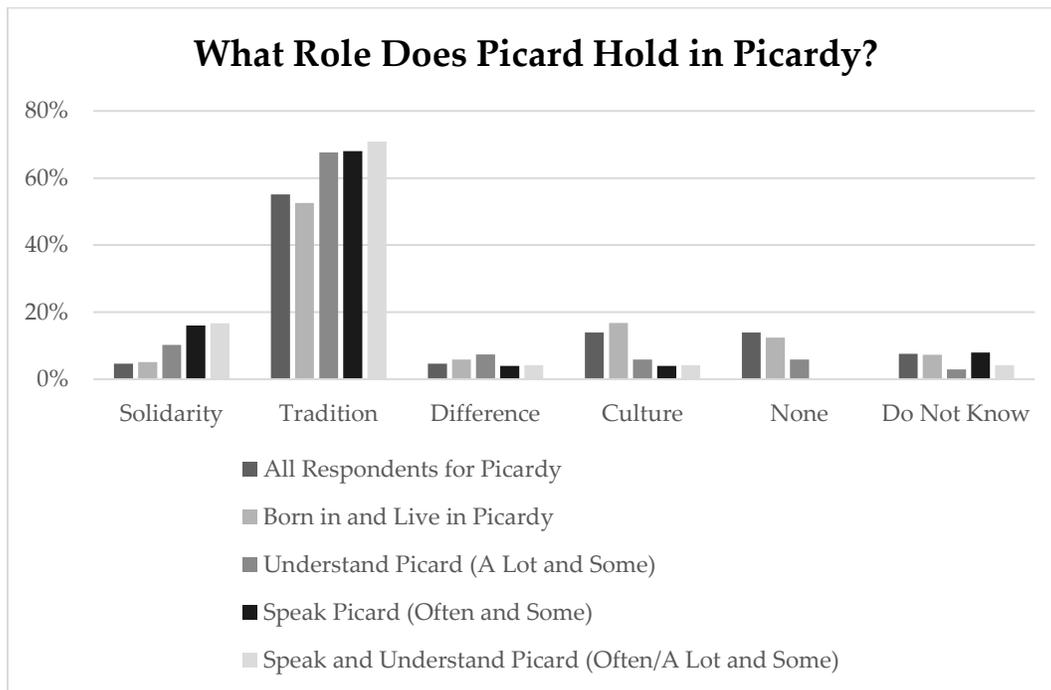


While Picard-speakers, Picard-speakers as well as understanders and Picard understanders support the teaching of Picard in public schools in Picardy, all Picardy respondents as well as those born in and living in Picardy do not. Despite the fact that respondents were not asked to explain their choice, it would seem that for those who speak or understand Picard, it is valued as a cultural component or identity-marker in Picardy that they would like to see spread to new generations, whereas for those who do not speak or understand it, its cultural importance may not identified.



All five groups see Picard as a tradition in Picardy. Based upon the definition of the term *tradition* as a “set of legends, facts, doctrines, opinions, customs, uses, etc. orally transmitted over a long period of time” (Larousse 2016: Online), it would appear that Picard either represents the oral transmission of facts and customs or the facts and customs themselves. It may become difficult to distinguish the oral transmission of customs from the medium of transmission, the language. Regardless of how its role is classified, Picard is still important in Picardy; each Sunday, a column written in Picard appears in the regional newspaper, *Le Courrier picard*, and this same paper has been printing four pages, the first two and the last two, of a daily edition entirely in Picard

once a year for the past five years¹. This fact indicates that Picard is capable of being the medium for handling modern societal, political and technological topics that Picards encounter daily.



Conclusion for Picardy

While numerous reports claim that Picards have a low level of regional identity, these results contradict those reports. Picardy may have been historically and geographically ill-defined, but based upon its history as well as these results, it was not linguistically or culturally ill-defined. Picards are Picard

¹ The pages from November 6, 2014 appear in the appendix as an example; their French versions also appear since both versions are published together with the Picard versions appearing first in the newspaper. This occurrence also included a special section concerning the recently translated “Le Petit Nicolas” into Picard; only a couple pages of it are included in the appendix.

and want to remain so despite the official disappearance of Picardy from the French map.

Use and knowledge of the Picard language appears to intensify both attachment as well as identification with Picardy. Since language is often employed as a symbol to denote the existence of a people or a community, such as what exists in France in relation to the French nation, Picard-speakers seem to have applied this notion to Picardy. Picard-speakers seem to have demonstrated that through common interests, closeness with regional residents and important differences between Picards and the residents of other regions, a Picard community does indeed exist within France, and it is called, Picardy. Furthermore, despite Picardy's geographical proximity to Paris and its influence combined with its importance in early French national history, Picardy has remained a separate entity within the French nation². The undeniable success of the film "Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis"³ (2008), which amusingly highlights the particularities of the Ch'tis, the Picards' cousins and new regional co-residents,

² Today, Picardy is no longer an official region of France, but it seems highly unlikely that it will disappear anytime soon in the hearts and minds of its inhabitants. The deployment of numerous petitions attest to the Picards' attachment to Picardy and that they did everything within their power to prevent it from disappearing from the French map. Picardy has thus only been officially removed from the French map, rather than in reality; simply removing a name from a map does not mean that the territory no longer exists for its residents.

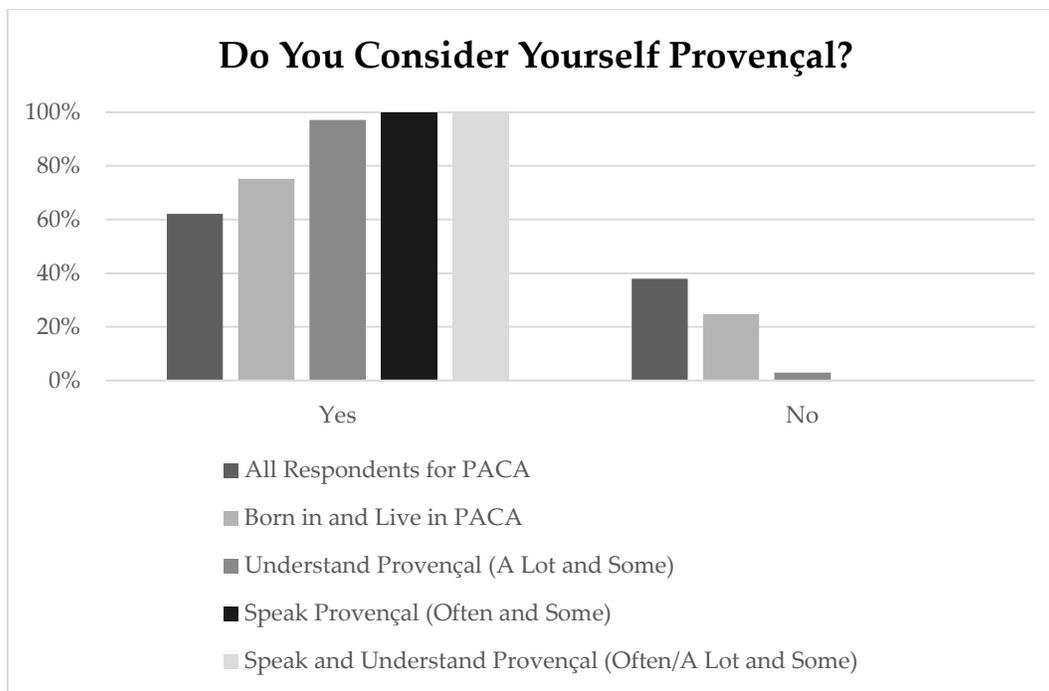
³ "Welcome to the Ch'tis' Home"; this film is the most watched film in France since the beginning of the film industry; the official English translation of the title, "Welcome to the Sticks", does not truly incorporate the true regional character and its difference portrayed in the film.

both attests to the existence as well as the interest in regional peoples and cultures in France.

Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

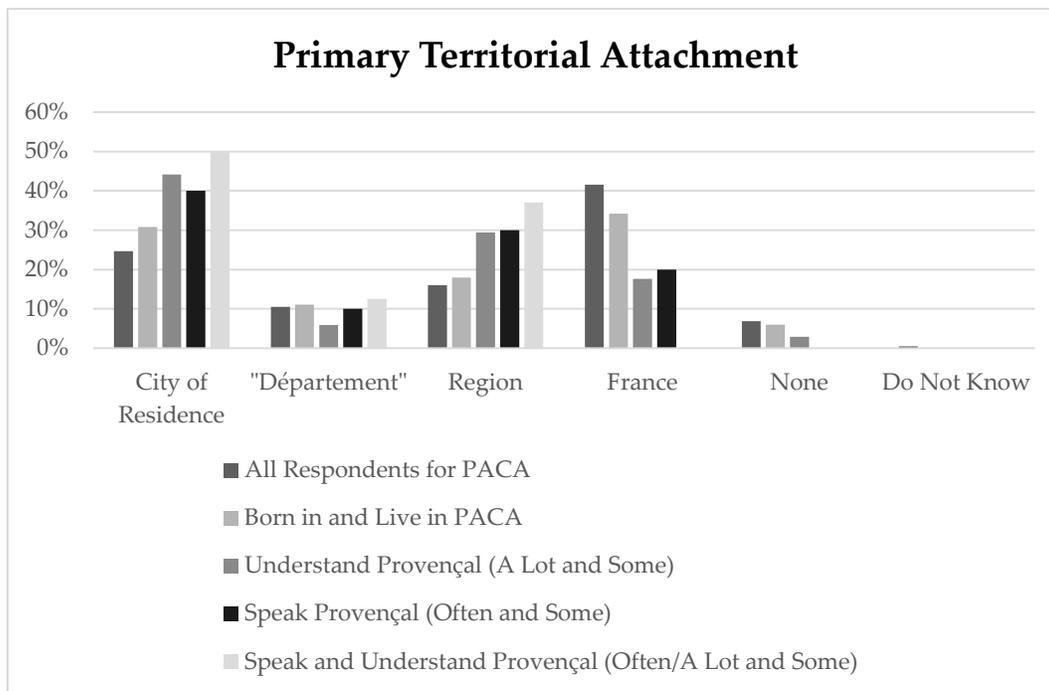
Regional Identity

All Provençal-speakers and Provençal-speakers as well as understanders consider themselves Provençal, while the other three groups do so to varying degrees. It thus seems that while the ability to speak or understand Provençal plays a role in regional identity, it is not the only element at play. Furthermore, it was earlier explained that Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur includes three different geographical realities, Provence, the Alps and the French Riviera. As a result, the term "Provençal" may not be the term employed by someone who identifies with the Alps or the Riviera.

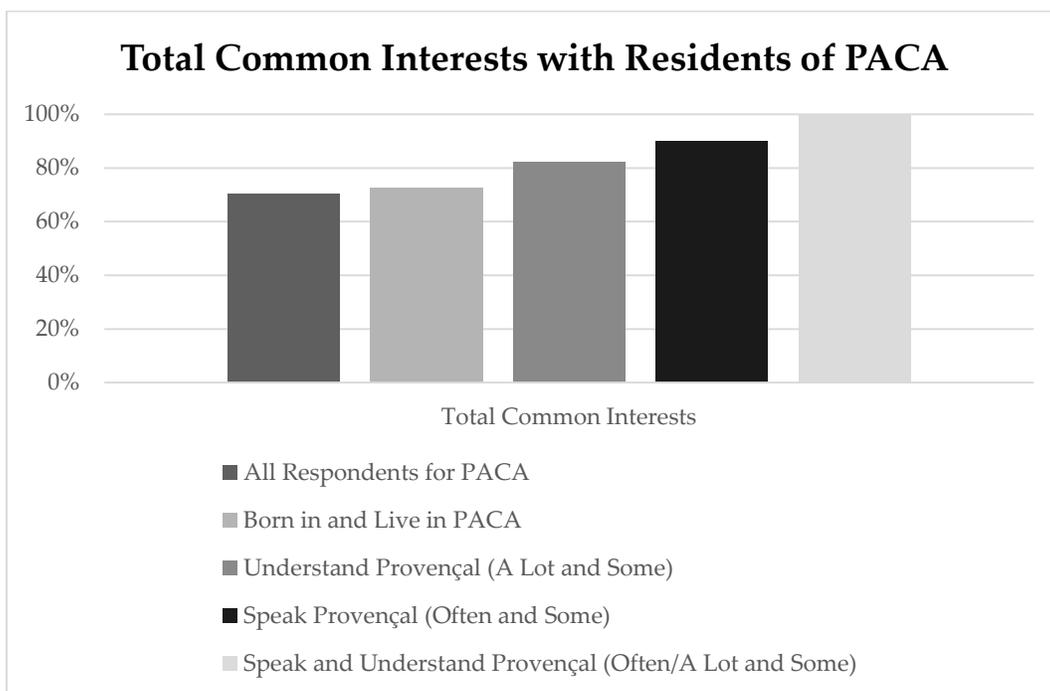
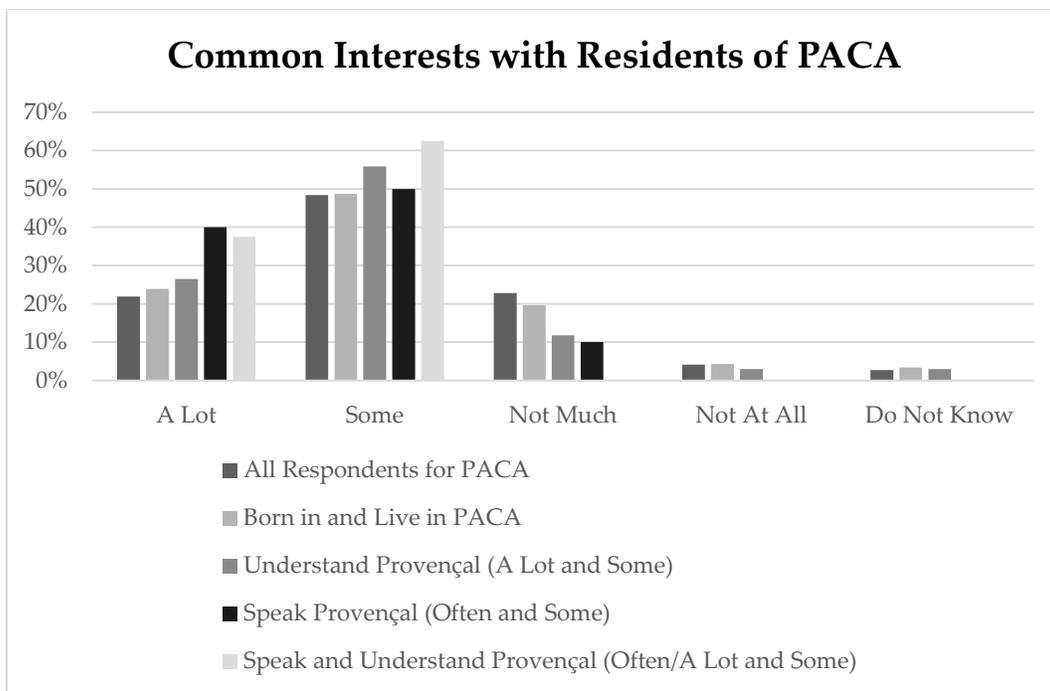


The aforementioned reason or explanation appears to come into play when considering primary territorial attachment. While attachment to France is greatest among all Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (PACA) respondents and those born in and living in PACA, the city of residence is the highest for Provençal-understanders, Provençal-speakers and Provençal-speakers as well as understanders, whereas the region came in second place for these last groups; for Provençal-speakers as well as understanders, the regional language may assist in defining them since none of them primarily identified with France. However, even among respondents who employ the regional language, they reported being most attached to their city. It was demonstrated that the past independence of cities in Provence was an important part of Provençal society

and history. This significance combined with the three distinct parts of PACA might explain this tendency.

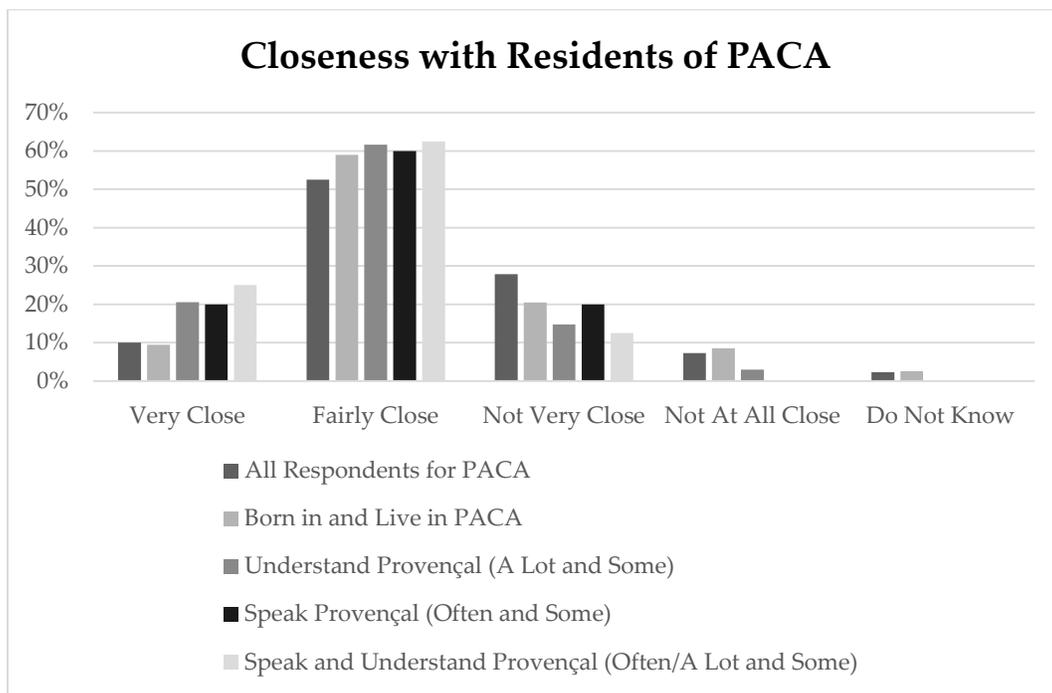


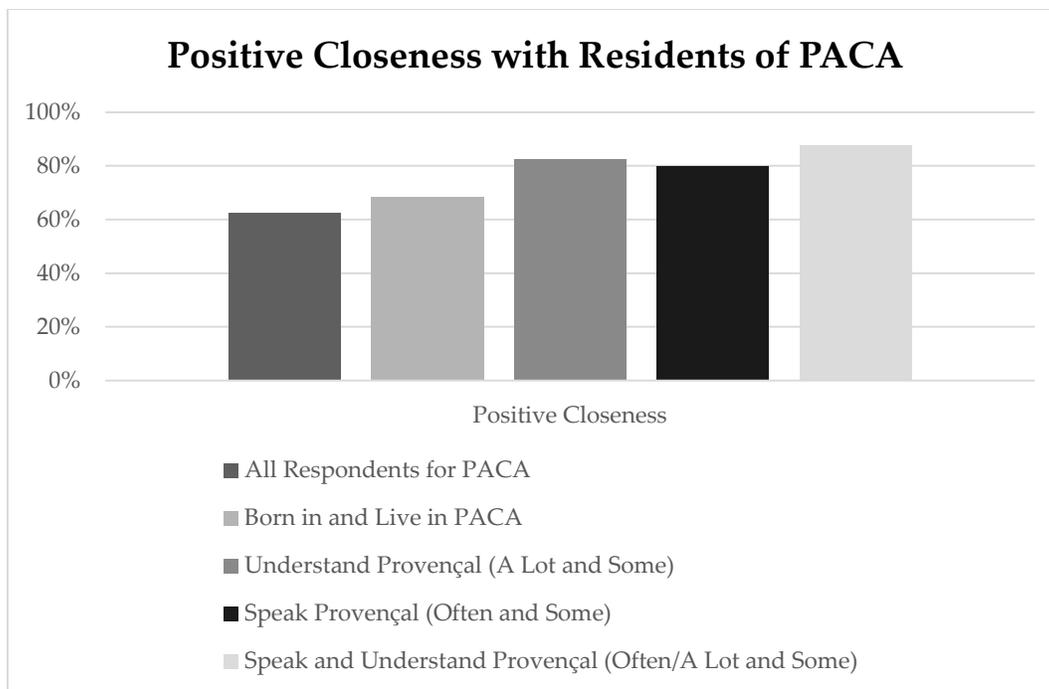
As was seen with Picardy, several related ideas demonstrate that PACA, despite constituting three geographically different entities, could be considered a regional community. All PACA categories reported having common interests with the other residents of PACA. Those who reported the most common interests were Provençal-speakers as well as understanders, Provençal-speakers and Provençal-understanders. Like with Picardy, this situation is not surprising since the regional language constitutes a common interest.



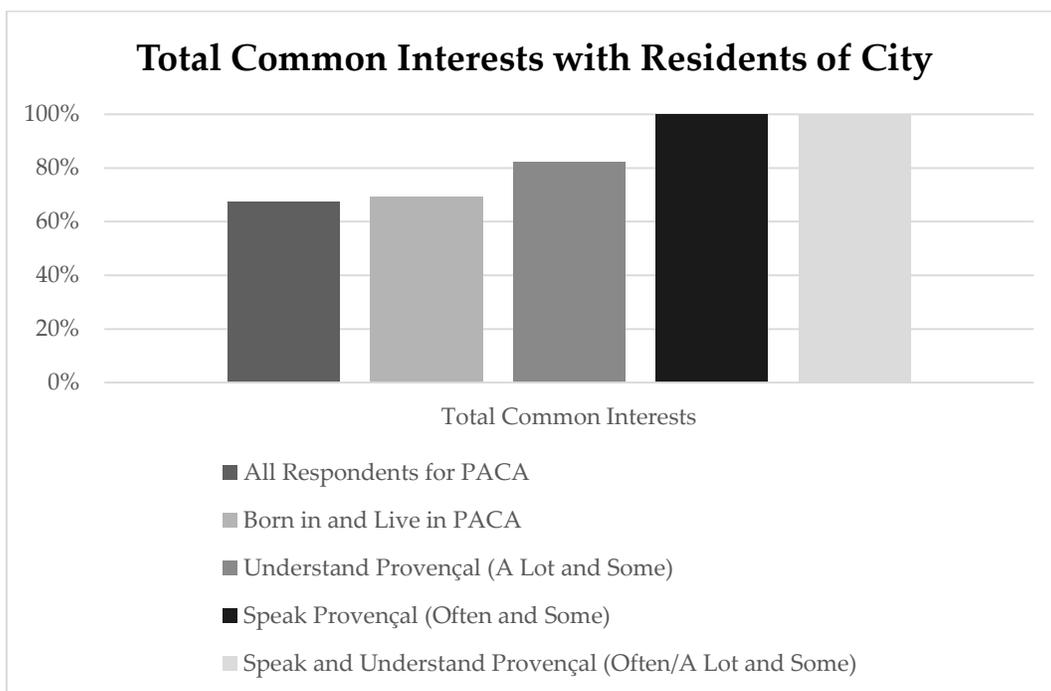
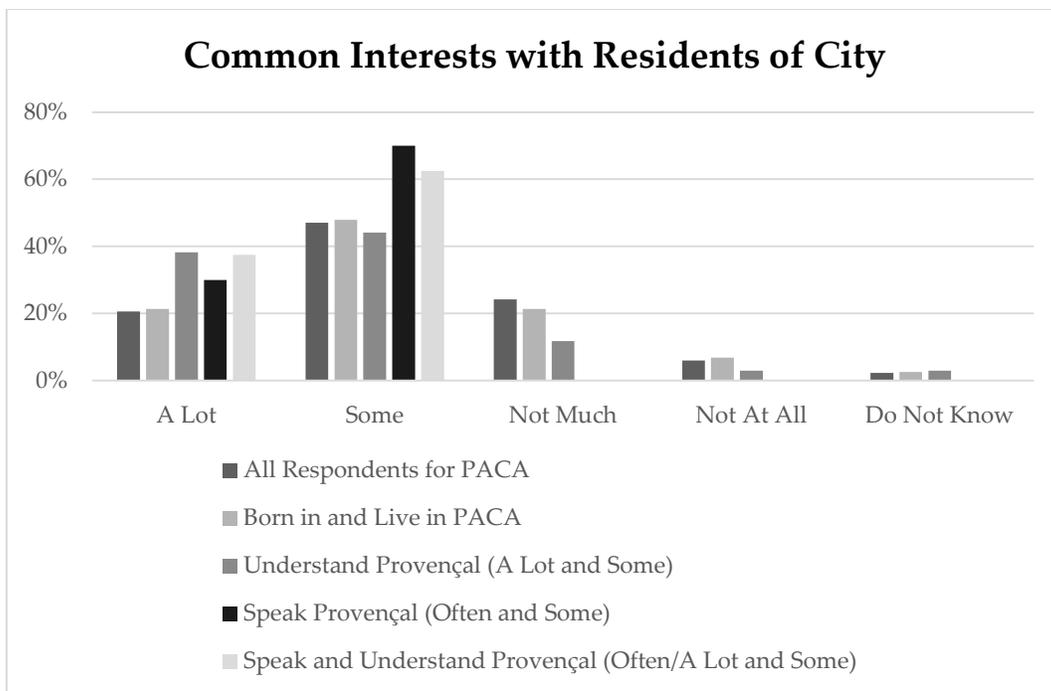
All PACA groups reported being fairly close with the other residents of the region. Provençal-speakers and Provençal-speakers as well as understanders

reported being the closest to other residents through both positive and negative responses; they were the only two groups to have not responded for “Not At All Close” and “Do Not Know”. As a result, they seem to feel close to the other residents and know it. This situation is not surprising since in order to speak a regional language, one needs others with whom to speak.



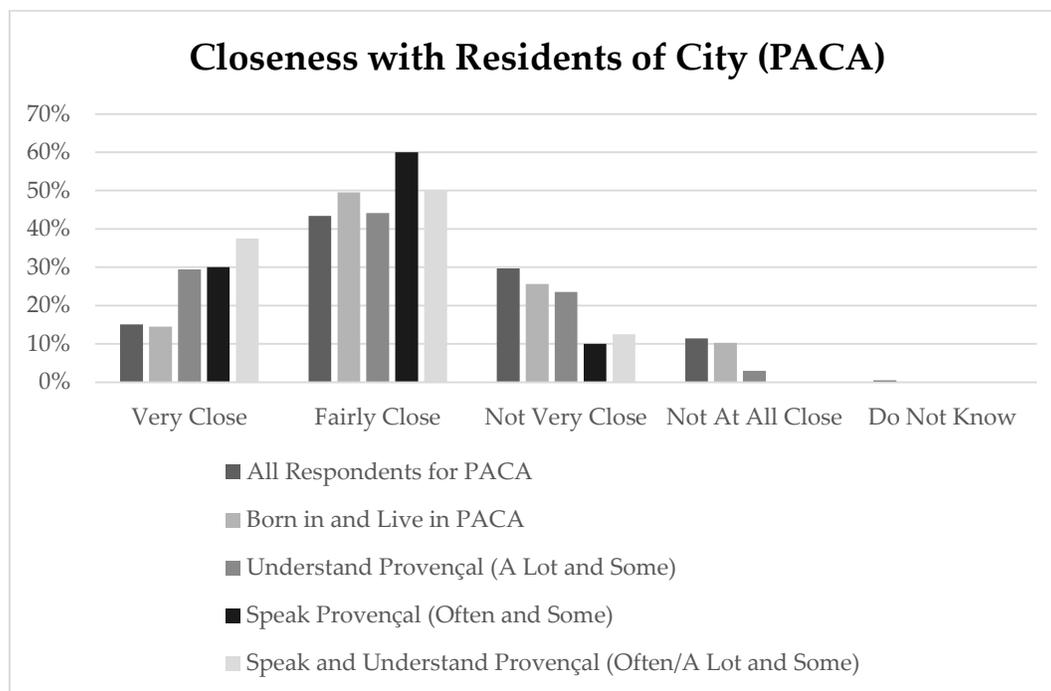


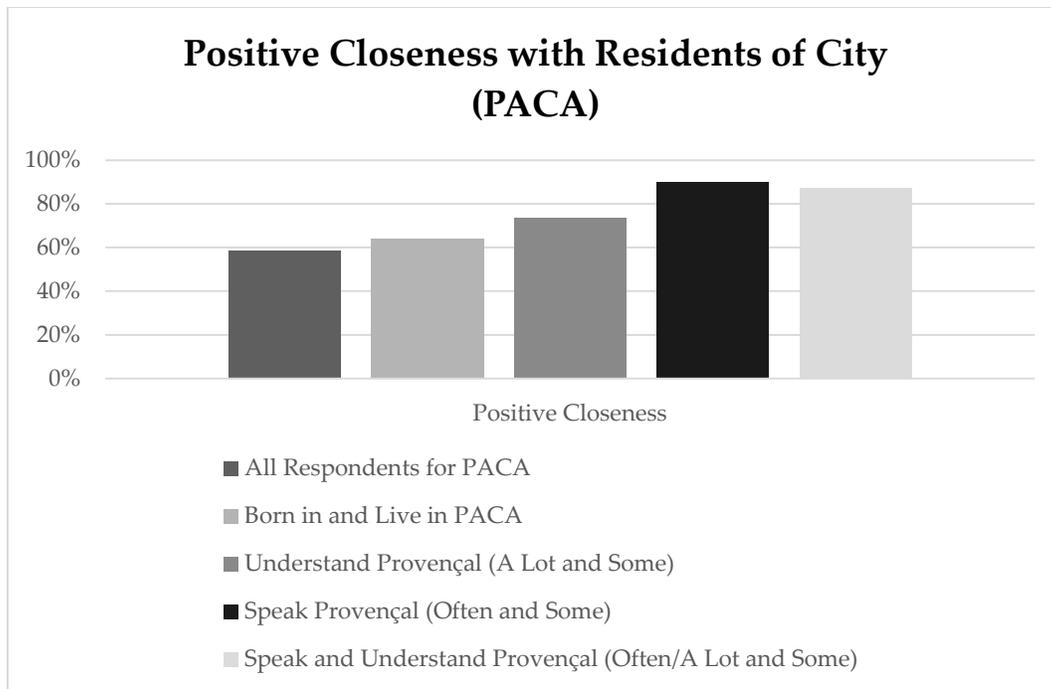
Since the majority of PACA respondents reported primarily identifying with their city of residence, it is not surprising that they also indicated that they have many common interests with residents of their city of residence. Both Provençal-speakers and Provençal-speakers as well as understanders specified that they have very high common interests with the residents of their cities. Again, a regional language would constitute a common interest, even at the city level, and it is possible for the language to have certain particularities at the city level. Just like the spoken French of Marseille is not exactly like the spoken French of Paris, the spoken Provençal of Avignon is not exactly like the spoken Provençal of Toulon.



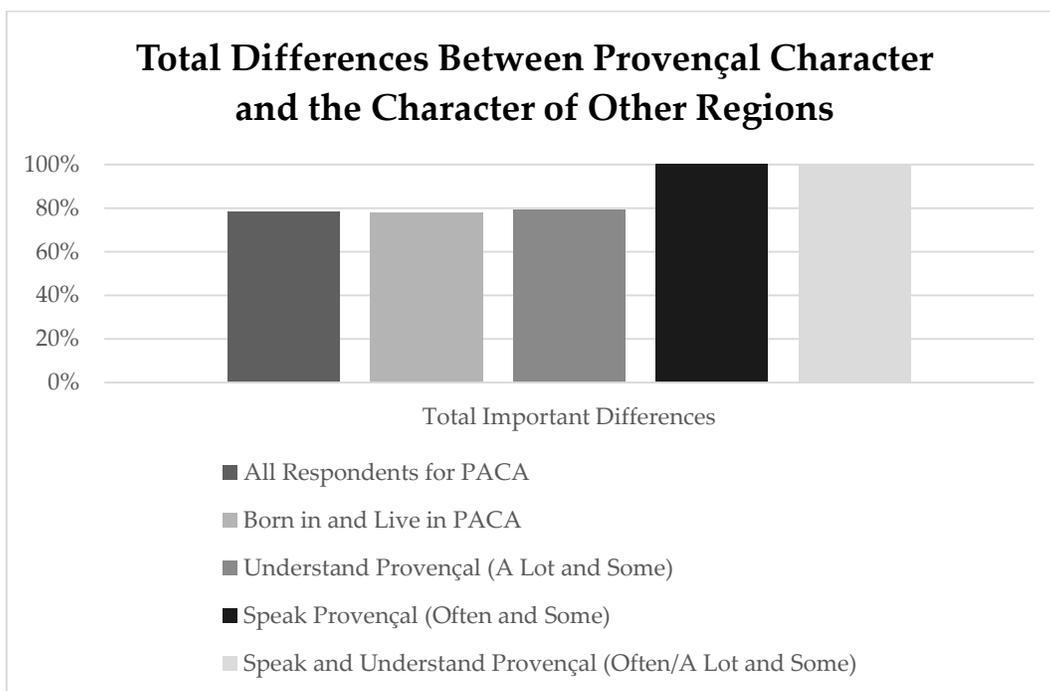
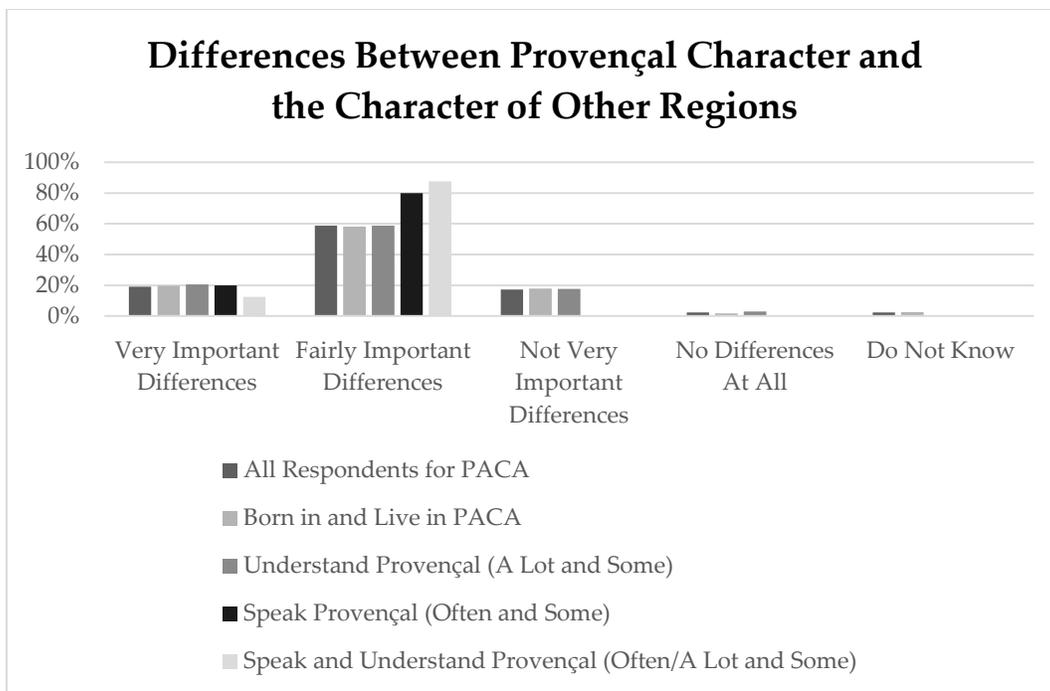
It comes as no surprise that PACA residents reported being close with the residents of their cities of residence since they also reported having common

interests with them. Furthermore, it is not surprising that Provençal-speakers indicated that they were closer to the residents of their cities of residence than with those of PACA since they most identified with their city of residence. Moreover, the independence and particularity of cities in PACA is characteristic of the PACA community. However, it is important to remember, as demonstrated by both Dargent, Dupoirier and the OIP, that territorial attachments in France are complementary, rather than competitive. Moreover, people have numerous territorial attachments just like numerous identities that come into play or are prioritized at different moments depending upon different circumstances.



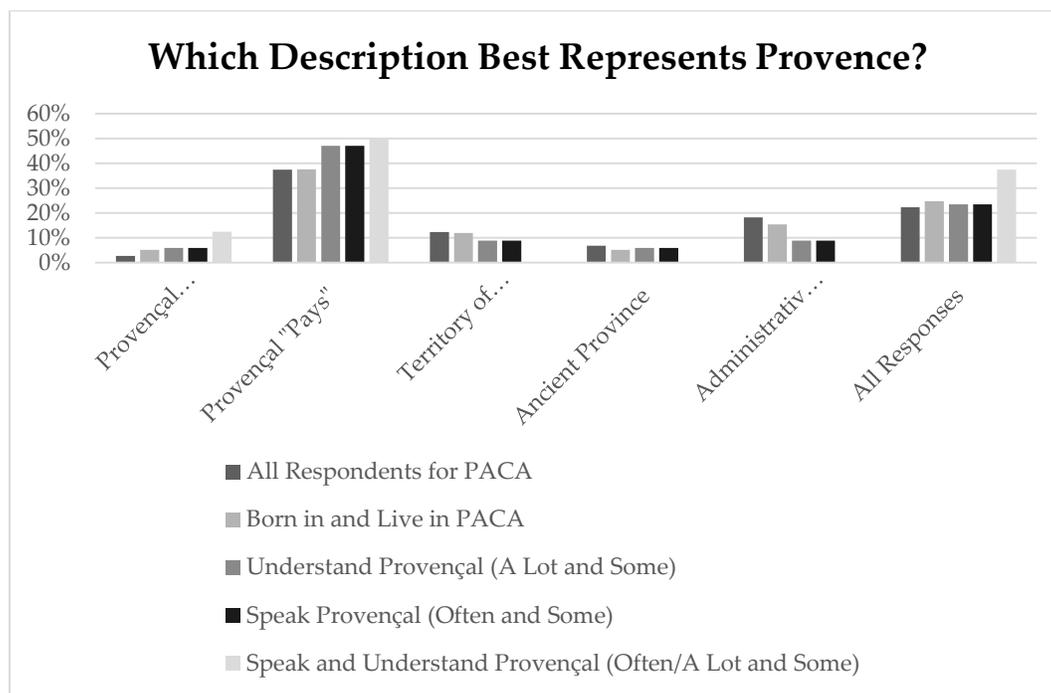


All five PACA groups indicated that there are important differences between residents of PACA and those of other French regions. With that being said, the majority reported “fairly important differences” rather than “very important differences”, which can possibly be explained by the three entities included within the PACA region. Since PACA includes three territorial entities – mountains, seaboard and interior –, it is possible that its residents feel only fairly, rather than important differences exist between them and the residents of other French regions. Furthermore, when considering that the Occitan Movement considers that all of southern France forms one large Occitania, this idea would lower the perceived differences between the Provençaux and their related neighbors.

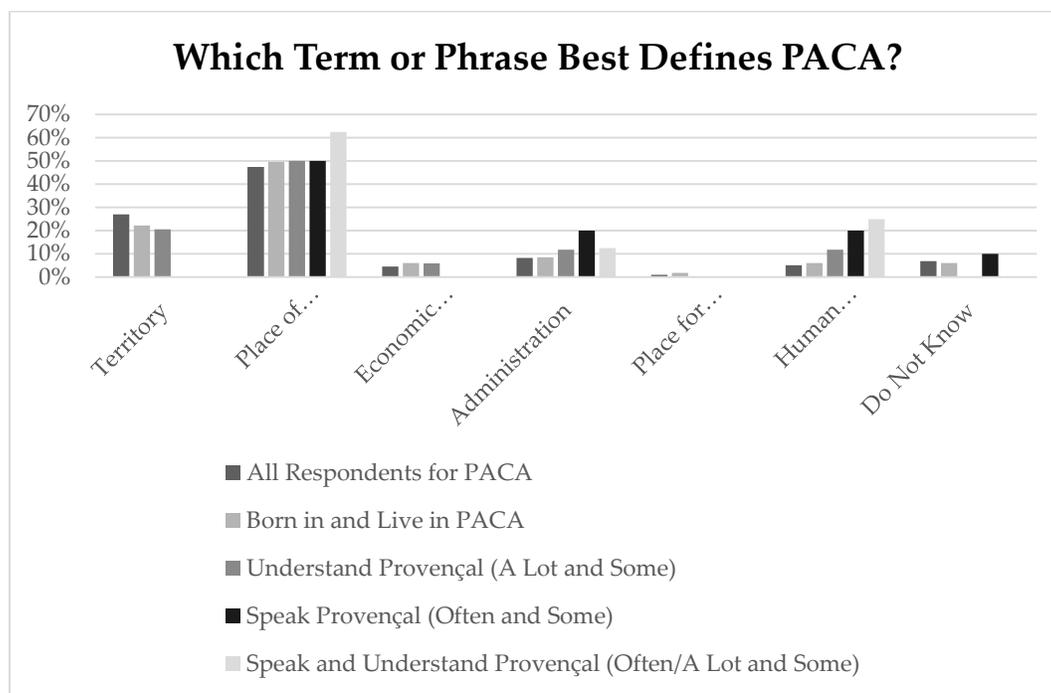


The entire sample of PACA participants, across all groups, thought that Provence was best represented by “the Provençal *pays* or the Provençaux *pays*”,

which seems to confirm that they see Provence as a cultural territory characterized by its cultural characteristics. The responses from language users were the highest among all five groups. Unlike the Picards, the Provençaux, across all groups, placed “all responses” as the second best representation of Provence. Due to the fairly high responses for “all responses”, it would seem that approximately half the sample, including general respondents, have no problem seeing Provence as an ancient province as well as a modern administrative region. In other words, the historical link between past and present appears to exist in Provence, despite the fact that the present-day region’s name is slightly different. The PACA region thus appears to be the rightful heir to the County of Provence.

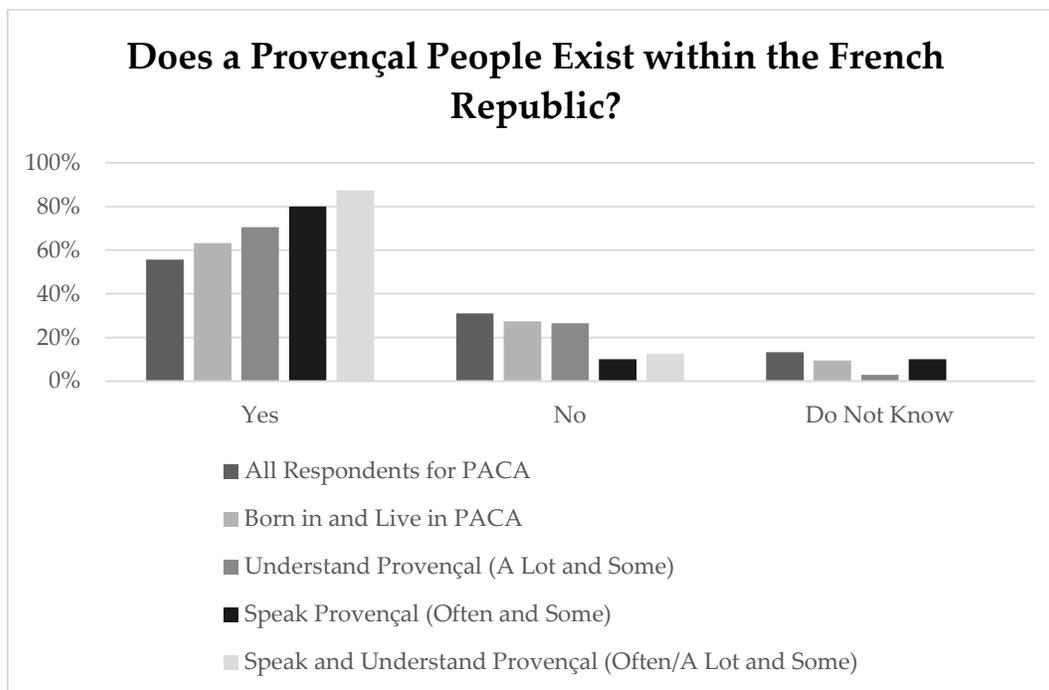


This last notion appears to be confirmed when looking at the best definition of PACA. All five groups defined PACA as a cultural and historic domain. Provençal-speakers as well as understanders were the most committed to this response. It seems appropriate that those most involved with a region's language would define the region as a "place of history and culture". Yet again, PACA has been shown to be a cultural territory per its residents.



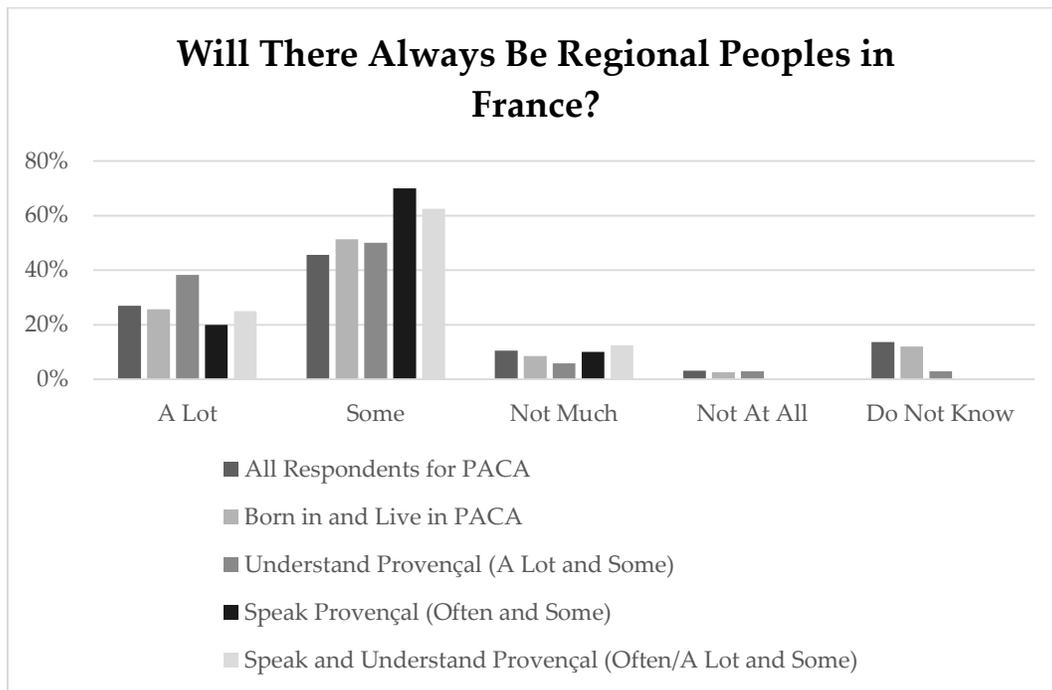
A Provençal people exists within the French Republic according to the entire PACA sample. A steady growth was reported across the five groups with the highest percentage being reported by Provençal-speakers as well as understanders. Almost 32 percentage points separates the lowest, yet still positive, responses from the highest responses. In a similar fashion, negative

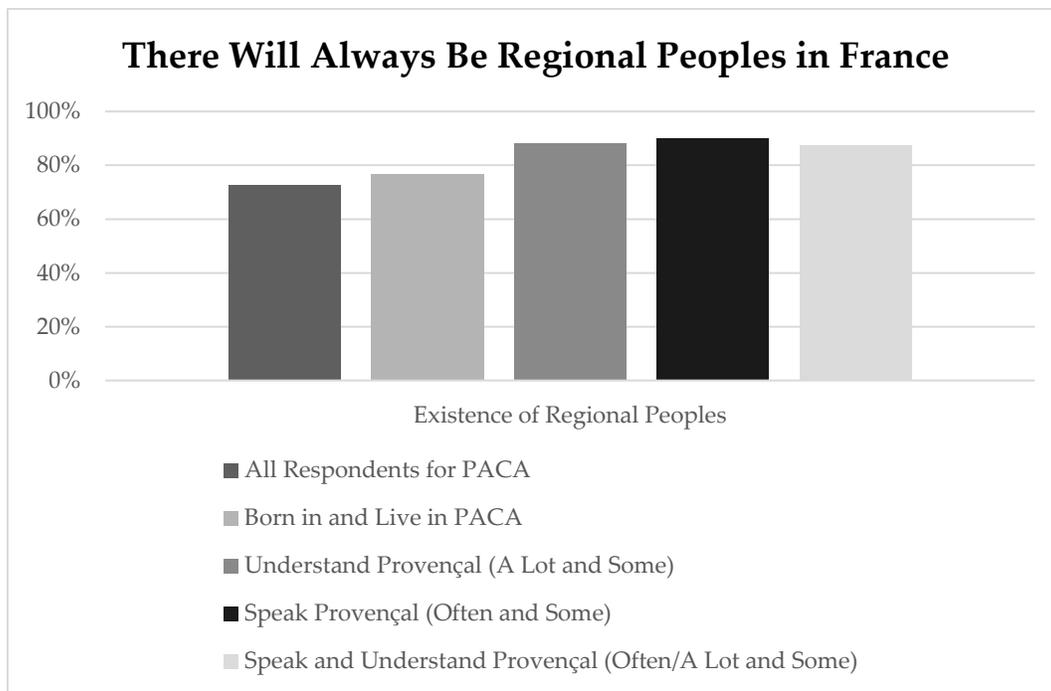
responses steadily decreased among the five groups with a slight deviation between the last two groups. The results appear to indicate that regional language usage positively assists in identifying a regional population within the French nation.



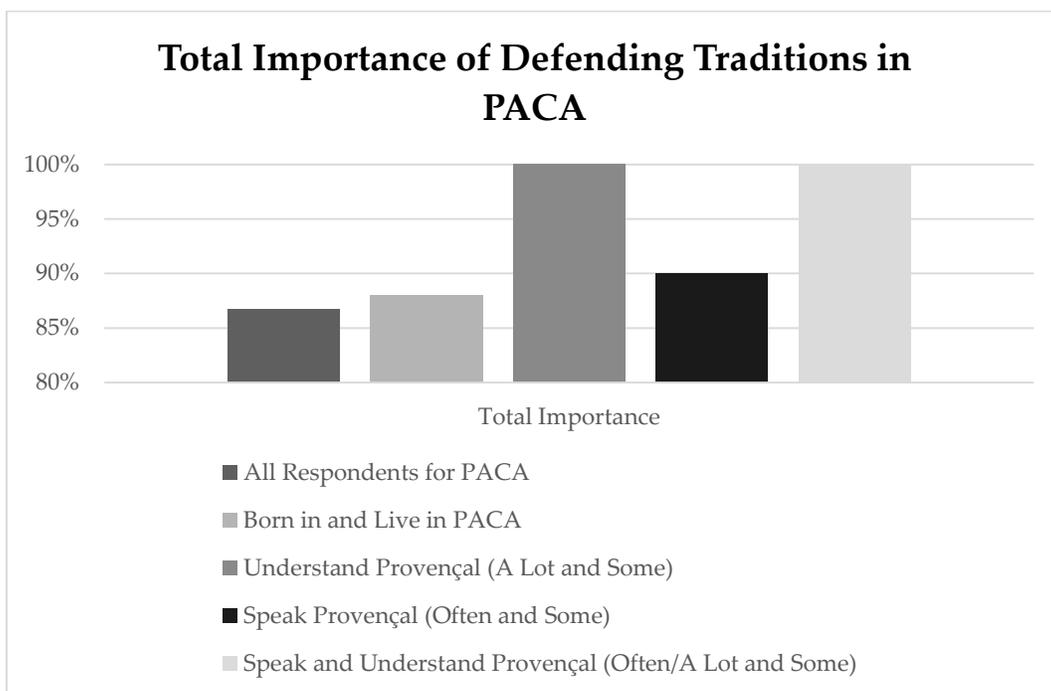
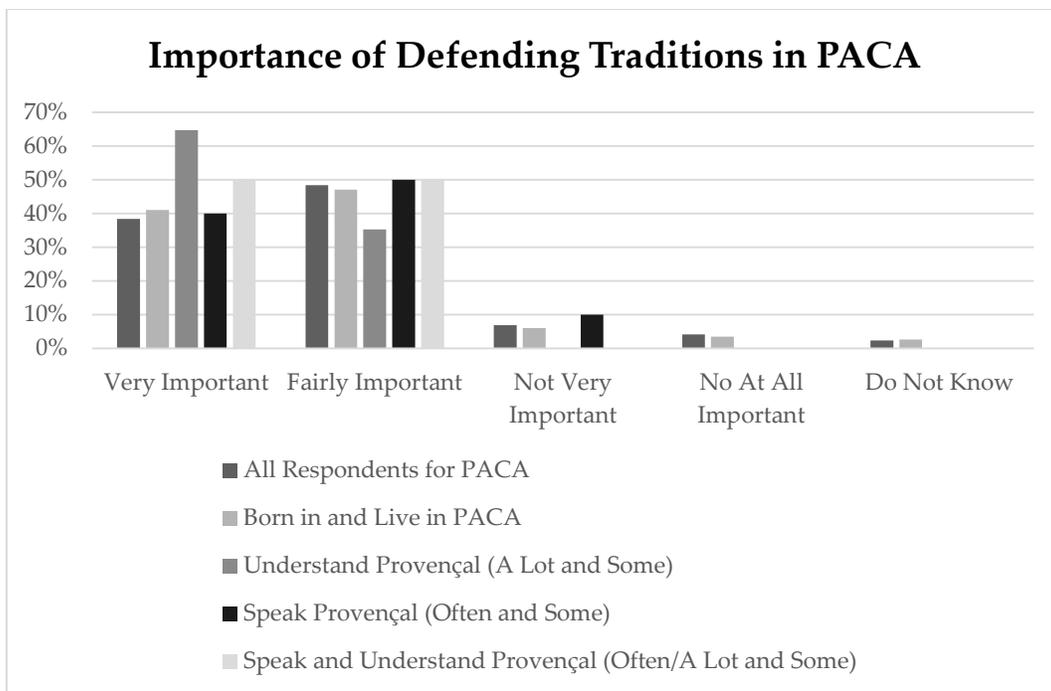
The previous results appear to confirm that regional peoples or groups exist, and will continue to exist, within France; however, the exact results do not break down as they did regarding PACA itself. While responses among Provençal-speakers and Provençal-speakers as well as understanders are again the highest, here, they are for “Some”, rather than “A Lot”. It is possible that all five groups prioritized the second positive response, rather than the first one, which they selected for PACA, since a few of the examples included groups with

which PACA residents may be less familiar, such as Burgundians, Normans and Picards. After all, Normandy and Picardy are both a good distance from PACA, and Burgundy, while geographically closer, is on the other side of the Alps.



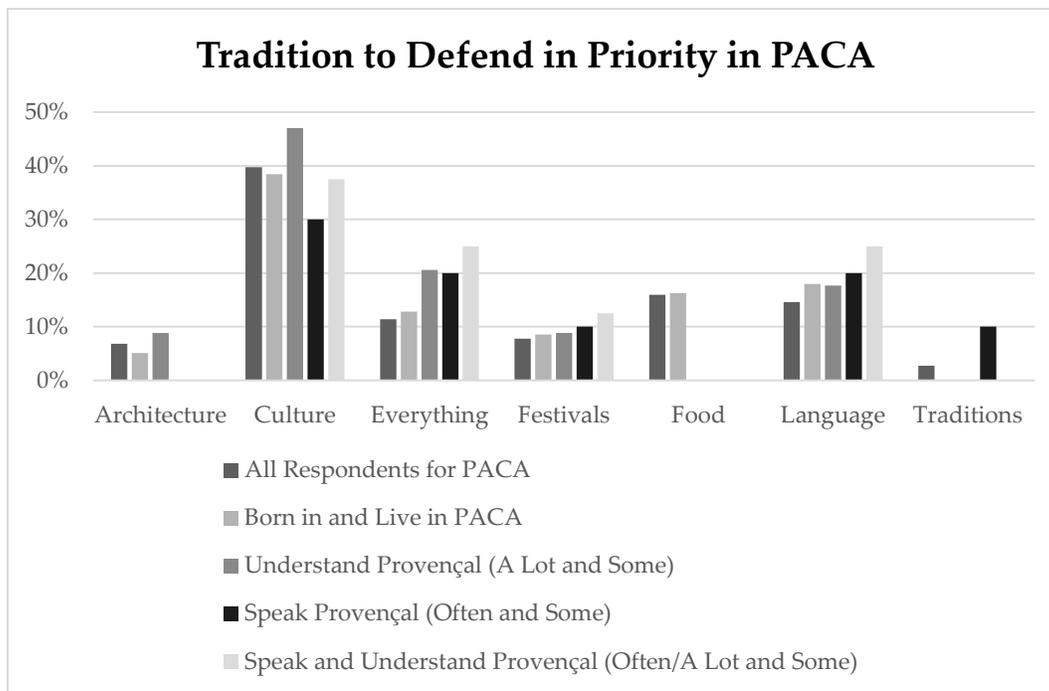


All PACA categories indicated the importance of defending regional traditions in PACA. Provençal-speakers as well as understanders indicated the highest importance by having completely avoided all negative responses as well as the indecisive one. This fact seems to imply that for them language is a tradition to defend.



The entire sample specified that culture was the tradition to defend in priority. Many participants also commented that culture incorporated all other

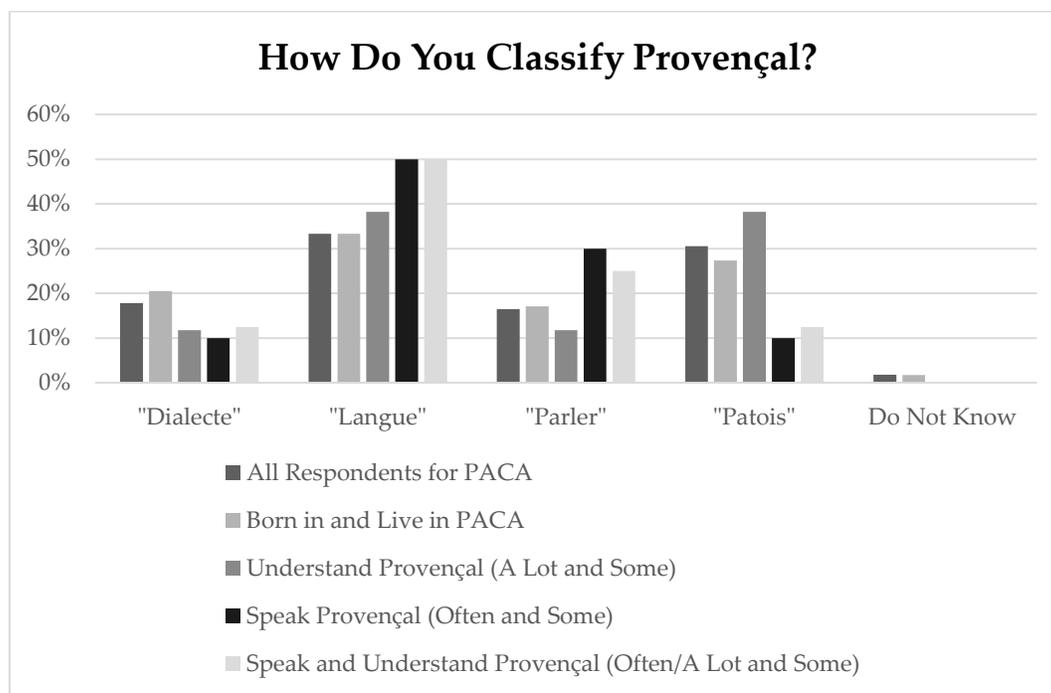
traditions or that it was impossible to choose since they formed a set. This “set” was listed as “everything”.



Provençal Idiom and French Language Ideology

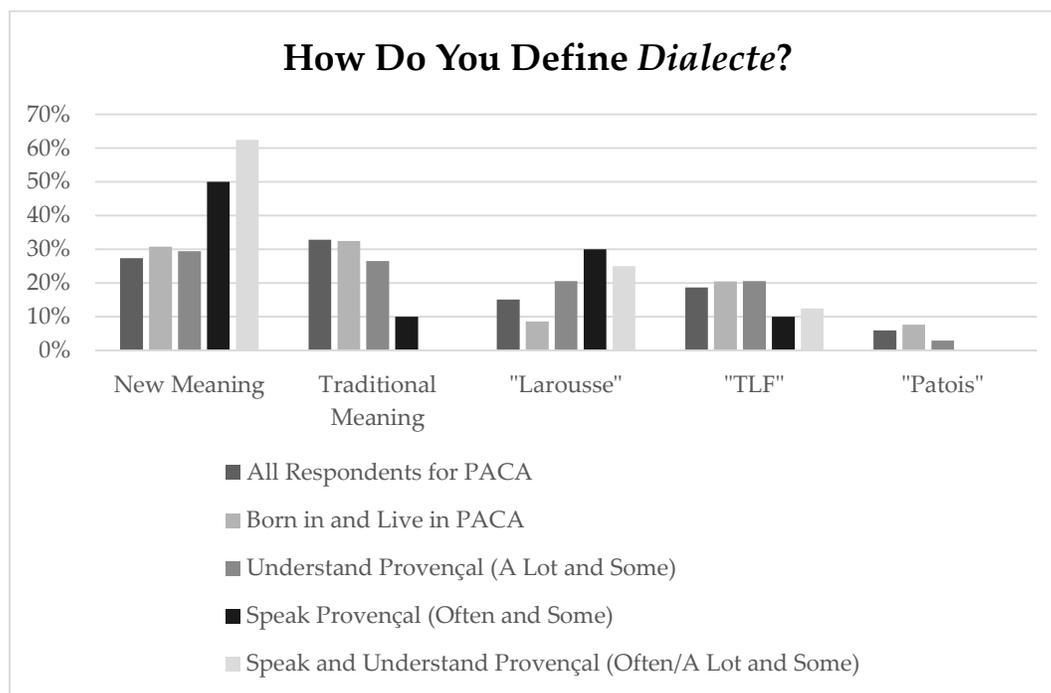
For the classification of Provençal, all groups, except for Provençal-understanders, classified it as a language. The Provençal-understanders appear to have been conflicted between language and *patois*. As a result, for them, both categories received the same amount of support. This fact may indicate that they are still influenced by French language ideology in which France only has one language, French.

Among Provençal-speakers and Provençal-speakers as well as understanders, Provençal was overall labeled a language. Within the Oc domain, knowledge of linguistic differences within it, and between it and the Oïl domain, occurred and were embraced much earlier than in the Oïl domain. As a result, it is understandable that Provençal-speakers and Provençal-speakers as well as understanders would choose this categorization.



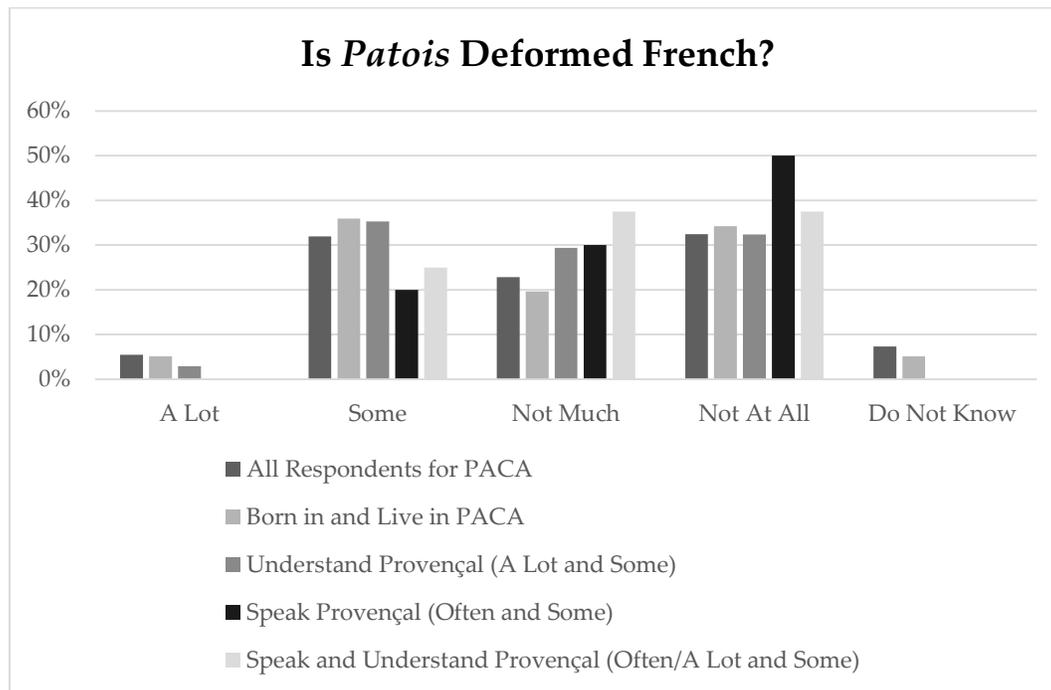
As previously stated, residents of the Oc domain tend to be somewhat more knowledgeable concerning linguistic categories since Occitan and its varieties were deemed to be linguistically separate from French some time ago. Furthermore, due to the Occitan Movement, talk of Occitan's different varieties being dialects of Occitan is fairly common. It is therefore unsurprising that the

primary definition of dialect selected among Provençal-speakers and Provençal-speakers as well as understanders was the modern meaning in France, variety of a language. Among the two non-regional language groups, the traditional French meaning slightly prevailed. It is possible that the respondents in these two groups are less influenced and/or knowledgeable of the Occitan Movement's message since they do not use Provençal. As a result, they may only think about dialects as relating to medieval France or to France's past.

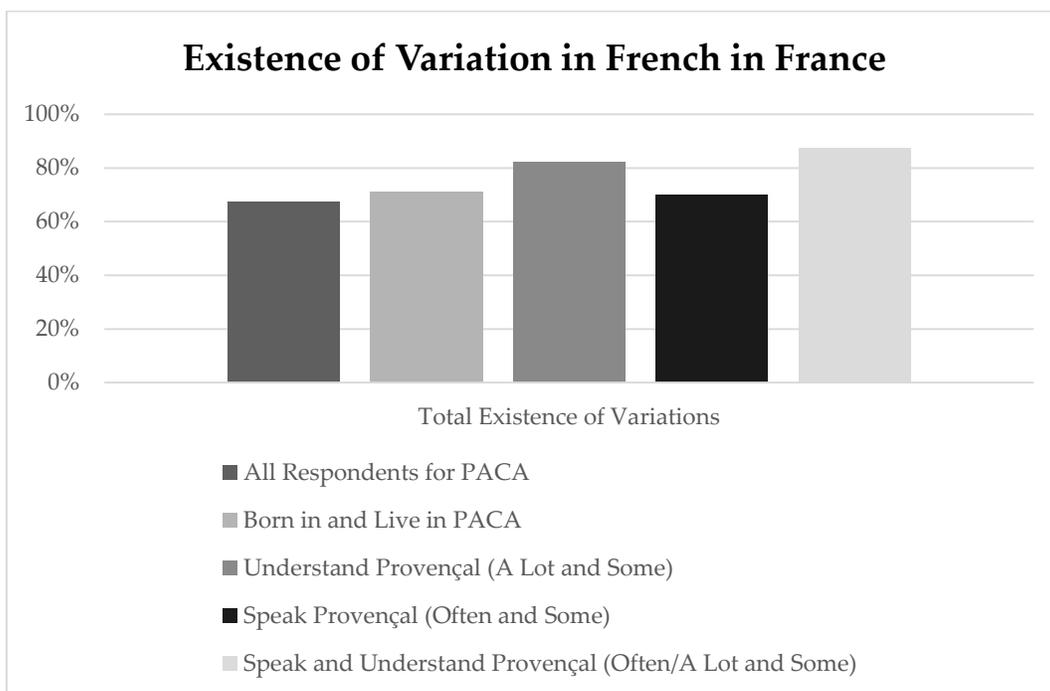
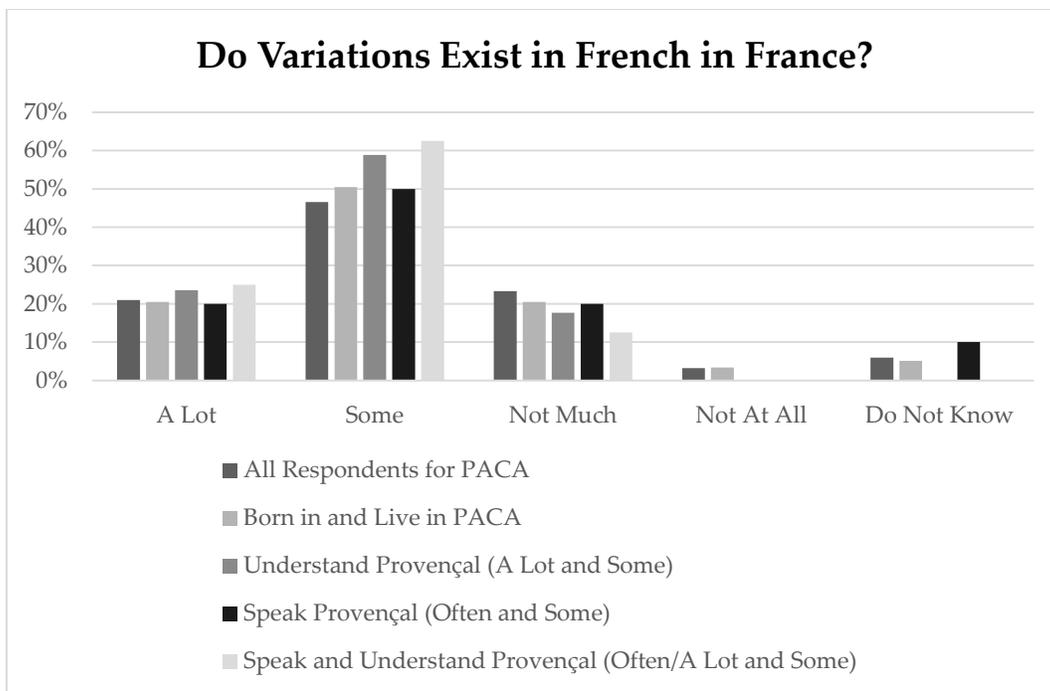


The majority of Provençal-speakers and Provençal-speakers as well as understanders do not think that *patois* is deformed French. Presumably, they have had time to think about it since they employ a regional language and not too long ago all languages, other than French, were labeled as *patois*. Among

Provençal-understanders and the two non-linguistic groups, a divide seems to exist between those who do not think that *patois* is deformed French and those who do. For those who do, French language ideology may be at play.

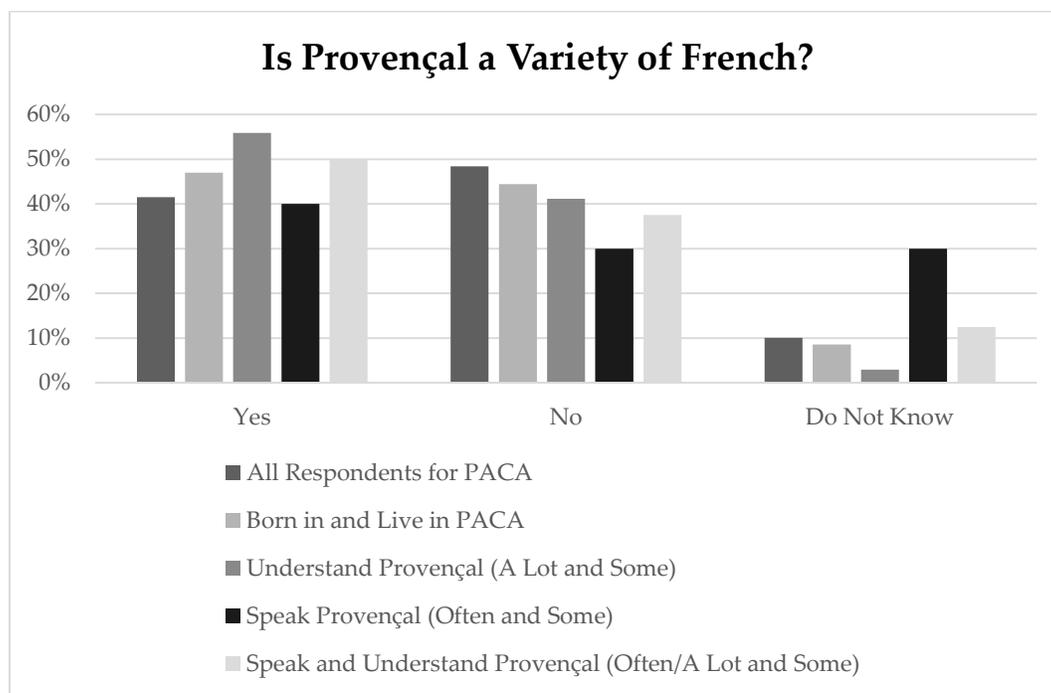


All PACA groups believe that some variation exists in French in France. Provençal-users completely avoided the “Not At All” choice, and Provençal-speakers and Provençal-speakers as well as Provençal-understanders also completely avoided the “Do Not Know” choice. For these respondents, variations undoubtedly exist in French in France despite French language ideology’s stance on the subject. It is possible that their knowledge of another language influenced their responses.

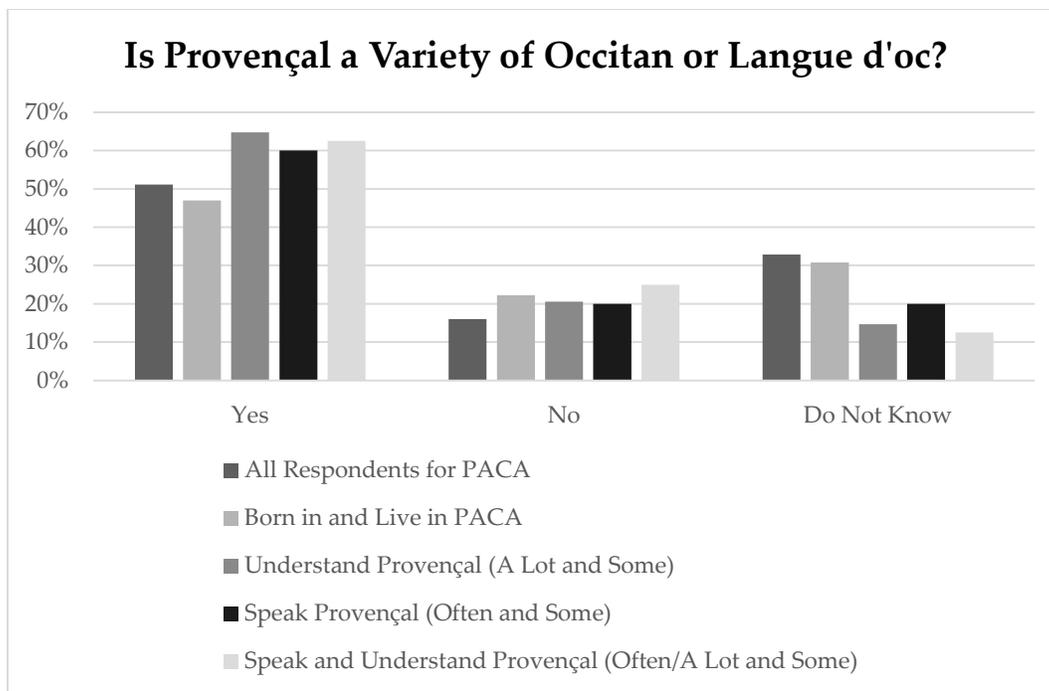


The all PACA respondent group, the born in and live in PACA group and the Provençal-understanders group are divided on the issue with the first group

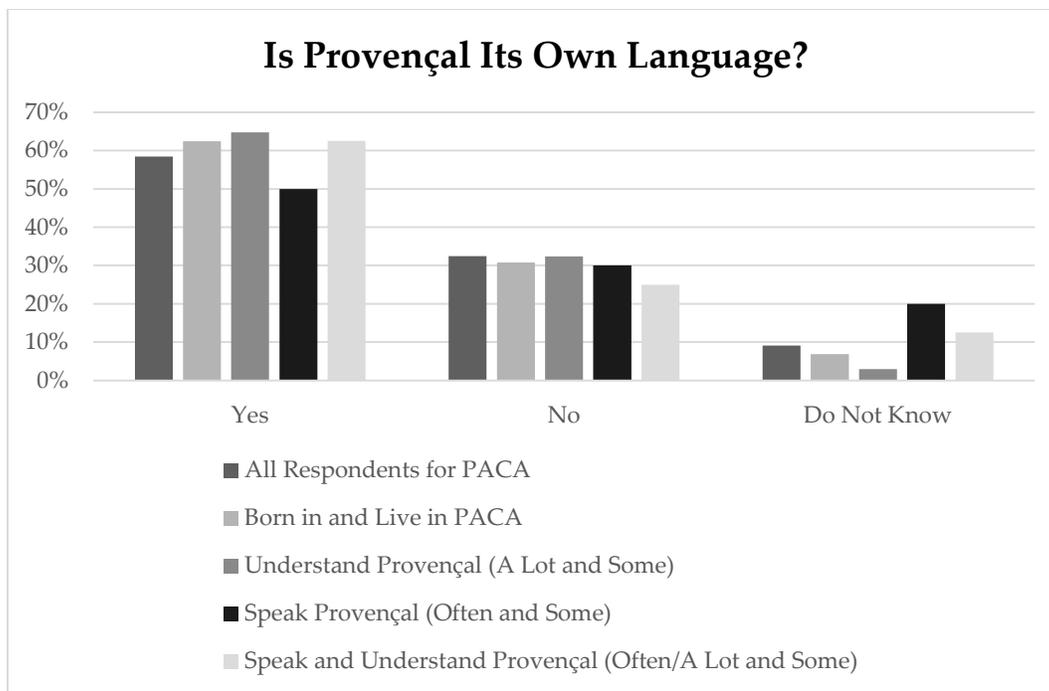
slightly favoring “No”, the second groups slightly favor “Yes” and third reporting “Yes”. The Provençal-speakers group is equally torn between “No” and “Do Not Know”, while the Provençal-speakers and understanders group, the most linguistic group, is completely uncertain between “Yes”, “No” and “Do Not Know”. It would thus seem that French language ideology is again at play among Provençal-speakers and Provençal-speakers as well as understanders.



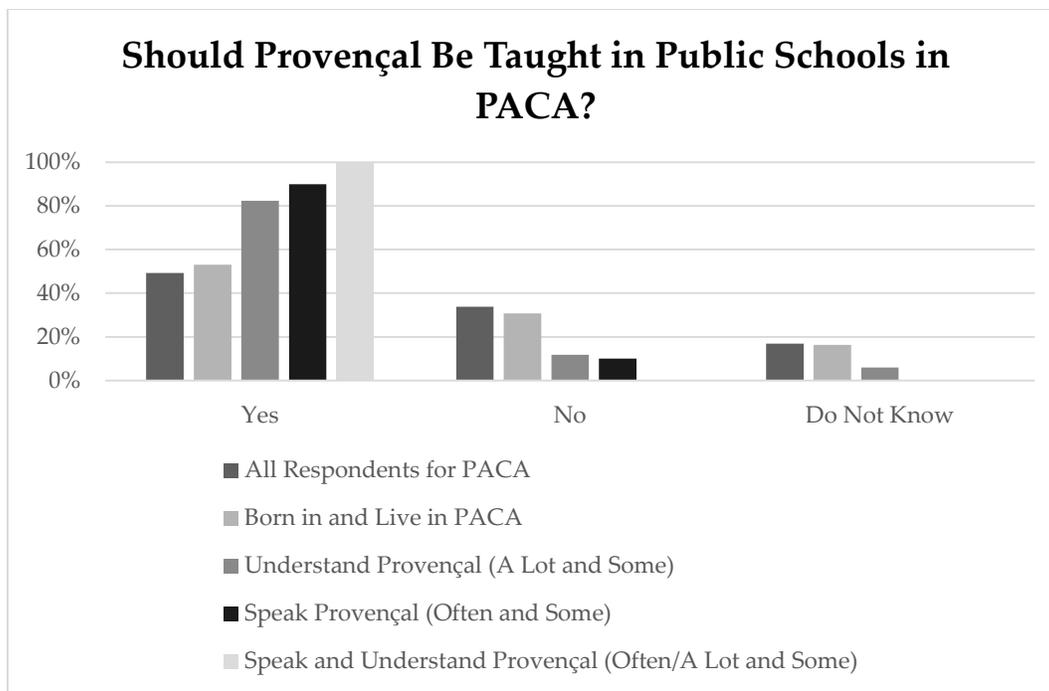
All PACA groups indicated that Provençal was a variety of Occitan or Langue d’oc; however, it is unclear exactly what this result means. Do respondents mean historically or contemporarily?



The five groups indicated that Provençal was its own language; however, while half of Provençal-speakers reported the linguistic separateness of Provençal, 30% of the other half reported that it was not its own language and the other 20% replied “Do Not Know”. This situation probably exists due to the influence of the Occitan Movement, which holds that all dialects or languages of Oc comprise one language, Occitan. It is important not to forget that there is also a Provençal Movement, which wants Provençal to be declared a separate language from Occitan; however, its stance does not seem to be actively involved here among the divided responses of Provençal-speakers since there would be no divide if it were; however, it is possible that the Provençal Movement’s goal is at play among those indicating that Provençal is its own language.

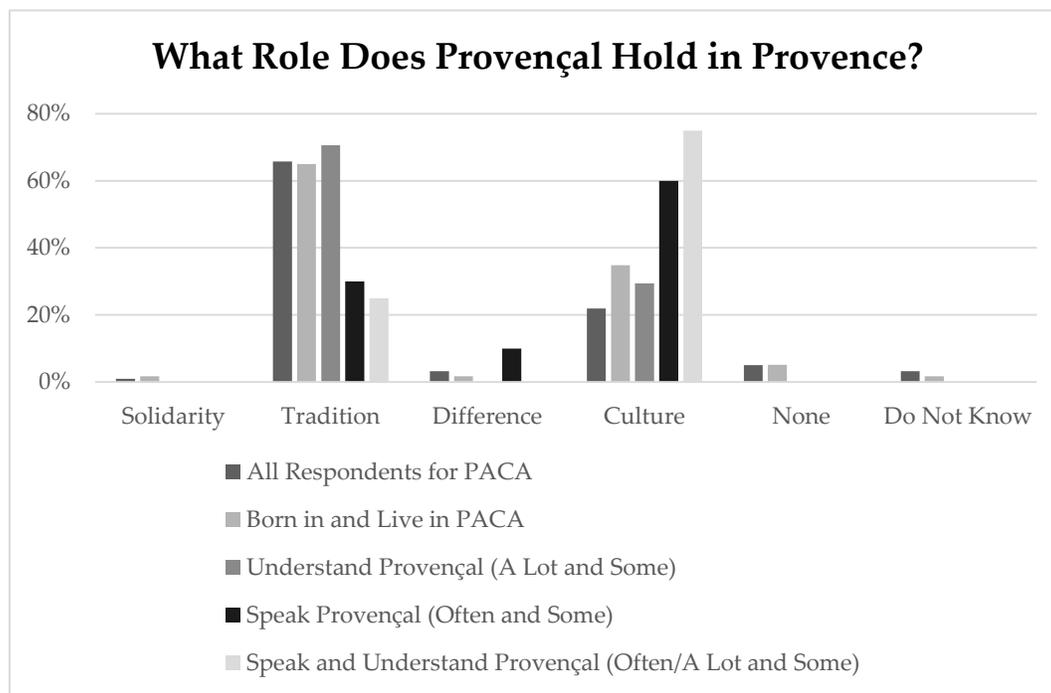


All five categories reported that Provençal should be taught in the public schools of PACA. Not surprisingly, the largest support came from Provençal-speakers as well as understanders followed by Provençal-speakers and then Provençal-understanders; however, the two general groups also support its teaching in the public schools. Provençal thus seems to play a role in the regional life of PACA and respondents appear to want this fact to continue.



According to all PACA respondents, those born in and living in PACA and Provençal-understanders, Provençal's role in Provence is as a tradition, a "set of legends, facts, doctrines, opinions, customs, uses, etc. orally transmitted over a long period of time" (*Larousse* 2016: Online). While for Provençal-speakers as well as understanders and Provençal-speakers, Provençal represents culture, a "set of ideological and material phenomena that characterize an ethnic group, nation or civilization in opposition to another group or another nation" (*Larousse* 2016: Online). It is possible that the first three groups selected their response based upon the function Provençal has held in Provence over several centuries, while the last two groups, the more linguistic groups, chose theirs based upon what characterizes Provence and differentiates it from other regions. In other

words, the culture response may demonstrate the current aspect selected by the two more linguistic groups, while the tradition response selected by the other three groups may indicate a more historical aspect. However, in order to be sure, they would need to be asked. Despite this possibility, for the linguistic groups, Provençal appears to be representative of the group, which again highlights the existence of said group within France. French revolutionaries stated that languages divided France and today, they symbolically still do. Almost each region has retained its regional language; what characterizes a regional group and differentiates it from others more effectively and symbolically than its own language?



Conclusion for PACA

While Provençal appears to play less of a role in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur today than Picard does in Picardy, Provençal-users still considered themselves to be Provençal more often than any of the two general categories did. Moreover, most of their responses were the highest concerning differences between the Provençaux and the other residents of French regions as well as for common interests and closeness with regional residents. These results seem to confirm that Provençal does indeed still play an important role in Provençal identity.

Despite the existence of three geographical territories in PACA, all PACA respondents attested to the existence of a regional community. They also demonstrated the existence of local or municipal communities, cities, which may either relate to the historical independence of cities in Provence or result from heavy immigration in PACA. Emigration as well as immigration have doubled PACA's population since 1946, which may have decreased the number of Provençal-speakers, but it does not seem to have diminished the respondents' view that PACA is a community as demonstrated through the high results concerning common interests and closeness being shared by both regional and city residents.

All PACA groups categorized PACA as a place of history and culture and reported the existence of a Provençal people, which seems to demonstrate that

despite intense immigration, the Provençaux know that they are different from other French regional peoples and that culture and history are important characteristics of PACA. All categories chose the affective “place of history and culture” as the best definition of PACA, rather than the functional category of “administrative region of the French Republic”, which further supports the idea of PACA being a regional community.

CHAPTER TEN

General Discussion and Conclusion

This study's hypothesis was supported. The continued existence of regional communities appears to assist in the survival, or resistance, of regional languages in France. However, while the results indicate that a positive relationship exists between territorial attachment to the region and the use of a regional language, further study is needed. Due to time constraints, this study looked at trends, rather than statistically significant data, which may provide additional support to this study's results.

This study was not without its oversights or problems. The two questionnaires were not officially tested before being deployed for responses. As a result, not all questions may have been completely understood by the respondents or may not have actually tested what they were designed to test. For instance, the question designed to gauge how the respondent interpreted the link between the modern region and the ancient province did not seem to be effective in Picardy, but worked fairly well in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur.

Another oversight might be that while the study's focus was on regional identity and language, the question designed to assess the language's role within

the region did not actually include the term “identity” as a possibility. Before the deployment of the questionnaires, it was believed that “solidarity” or “difference” would equate with “identity”; however, neither of them seem to have done so since Picardy respondents chose “tradition” and PACA respondents chose “tradition” and “culture”.

Another point in reference to terminology would be that it is not obvious whether participants understood the linguistic terms, including somewhat generic terms, such as “variety”, since they are not linguists, but that was not the focus of the study. As a result, while French language ideology was included in the questionnaires, and some of the results, it was not the focus. Another study could possibly investigate whether French language ideology actually hinders, or to what extent, the resistance of regional languages in France.

The number of actual language users for each region could have been higher; 68 (understanders), 25 (speakers) and 24 (speakers and understanders) for Picard and Picardy and 34 (understanders), 10 (speakers) and 8 (speakers and understanders) for Provençal and Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur. Despite this fact, Picard appears to be more employed than Provençal, which may or may not relate to its linguistic proximity to French. This scenario would be a possible topic for further research. In addition, if this study were to be conducted again, obtaining a larger sample of respondents for each region would be advisable,

which would presumably be more representative of each regions' population as well as include more respondents who employ the regional language. Based upon minority language information, more men continue to employ a minority language than women; however, both samples of this study included far more women than men.

Another suggestion for improvement to this study would be the addition of interviews. Future researchers might consider either interviewing all of the participants for each region or approximately 25% of them. Interviews would allow both respondents as well as the researcher the ability to ask questions, which would help the study to further access valuable details.

In summary, through a critical analysis of French history, both well-known as well as less-well-known, the use of previous studies and opinion polls, and the creation and employment of sociolinguistic questionnaires, this study confirms that the local or regional aspect of French society is very much alive and is also positively linked with the usage of regional languages. As other researchers have reported, such as Dargent and Dupoirier, two cultural Frances exist and they are both characterized by their particular language, culture, territory, customs and history.

Appendix

La région Picardie

Merci de répondre aux questions individuellement. Nous cherchons à connaître votre propre opinion, ne cherchez pas de réponse sur Internet. D'avance merci !

* 1. Etes-vous d'accord pour répondre à ce questionnaire ?

Oui

Non

* 2. Quel est votre sexe ?

Homme

Femme

* 3. Quelle est votre classe d'âge ?

18 - 24 ans

25 - 34 ans

35 - 49 ans

50 - 64 ans

65 ans et plus

* 4. Quelle est votre profession actuelle (ou la dernière profession exercée si chômeur (se), retraité(e), ou femme au foyer) ?

Agriculteurs exploitants

Artisans, commerçants et chefs d'entreprise

Cadres et professions intellectuelles supérieures

Professions intermédiaires

Employés

Ouvriers

Etudiants

Inactif, n'ayant jamais travaillé

La région Picardie

***5. Quel est le diplôme le plus élevé que vous avez obtenu ou (si étudiant(e)) que vous pensez obtenir ?**

- Sans diplôme ou Brevet des collèges
- Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle (CAP), Brevet d'enseignement professionnel (BEP)
- Baccalauréat d'enseignement général, technique ou professionnel
- Diplômes de niveau Bac plus 2 ans (DUT, BTS, instituteurs, DEUG, écoles des formations sanitaires ou sociales)
- Diplômes de 2ème ou 3ème cycle universitaire (licence, maîtrise, master, DEA, DESS, doctorat) ou diplômes de grande école)
- Ne sait pas

***6. Quel est votre lieu d'origine ? (Code postal ou numéro du département)**

***7. Quel est votre lieu de résidence actuel ? (Code postal ou numéro du département)**

***8. Vous considérez-vous picard(e) ?**

- Oui
- Non

***9. Etes-vous militant régional ?**

- Oui
- Non

***10. De quel genre ?**

- Culturel
- Linguistique
- Politique

La région Picardie

* 11. Auquel de ces lieux avez-vous le sentiment d'appartenir avant tout ?

- La ville, la commune où vous habitez
- Votre département
- Votre région
- La France
- Aucun
- Ne sait pas

* 12. Diriez-vous que vous avez beaucoup, assez, peu ou pas du tout d'intérêts en commun avec les autres habitants de la région Picardie ?

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

* 13. Diriez-vous que vous avez beaucoup, assez, peu ou pas du tout d'intérêts en commun avec les autres habitants de votre commune ou village ?

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

La région Picardie

*** 14. Quel est le mot qui, selon vous, caractérise le mieux la Picardie ?**

- La solidarité
- La qualité de vie
- La croissance économique
- La nature
- La tradition
- Le dynamisme
- La culture
- Ne sait pas

*** 15. Quel est le mot qui, selon vous, caractérise le mieux votre commune ou village ?**

- La solidarité
- La qualité de vie
- La croissance économique
- La nature
- La tradition
- Le dynamisme
- La culture
- Ne sait pas

*** 16. Diriez-vous que vous vous sentez très proche, assez proche, pas très proche ou pas proche du tout des habitants de votre région ?**

- Très proche
- Assez proche
- Pas très proche
- Pas proche du tout
- Ne sait pas

La région Picardie

***17. Diriez-vous que vous vous sentez très proche, assez proche, pas très proche ou pas proche du tout des habitants de votre commune ou village ?**

- Très proche
- Assez proche
- Pas très proche
- Pas proche du tout
- Ne sait pas

***18. En pensant au caractère des gens qui habitent en Picardie, et au caractère des gens qui habitent dans les autres Régions françaises, vous-même, pensez-vous qu'il y a :**

- Des différences très importantes
- Des différences plutôt importantes
- Pas beaucoup de différences
- Pas de différences
- Ne sait pas

***19. Selon vous, qu'est-ce que le picard ?**

- Un dialecte
- Une langue
- Un parler
- Un patois
- Ne sait pas

La région Picardie

*20. Comment définissez-vous le mot *dialecte* ?

- Variété régionale d'une langue
- Forme particulière d'une langue qui n'a pas le statut de langue officielle ou nationale, à l'intérieur d'un groupe de parlers
- Ensemble de parlers qui présentent des particularités communes et dont les traits caractéristiques dominants sont sensibles aux usagers
- Forme régionale, parlée et surtout écrite, d'une langue ancienne
- Patois

*21. Parlez-vous picard ?

- Souvent
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

*22. Avec qui et quand ? Etes-vous fier d'être picardisant(e) ?

*23. Comprenez-vous le picard parlé ?

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

La région Picardie

***24. Pensez-vous que le picard doive être standardisé ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***25. Pourquoi non ?**

***26. Selon vous, qu'est-ce que le ch'ti ou le ch'timi ?**

- Une variété du picard
- Une variété du français
- Une variété du flamand
- La langue historique du Nord
- Un patois

***27. Pensez-vous que le picard doive être enseigné à l'école en Picardie ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

La région Picardie

*28. Selon vous, la Picardie représente ?

- La nation picarde
- Le pays picard ou les pays picards
- Le territoire du peuple picard
- Une ancienne province du Royaume de France
- Une région administrative de la République française
- Toutes les réponses mentionnées ci-dessus

*29. Trouvez-vous que l'ancienne description des Picards par le géographe Vivien de Saint-Martin comme ayant « un caractère enjoué et railleur » a un sens aujourd'hui ?

- Tout à fait
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

*30. Connaissez-vous *De l'Universalité de la langue française de Rivarol* ?

- Oui
- Non

*31. Quels *dialectes* discute-t-il là-dedans ?

- Picard et Normand
- Picard et Provençal
- Champenois et Francien
- Francien et Provençal
- Champenois et Languedocien

La région Picardie

*** 32. Le picard est-il une langue d'oïl ou une langue d'oc ?**

- Une langue d'oïl
- Une langue d'oc
- Ne sait pas

*** 33. Selon vous, y-a-t-il aujourd'hui une langue d'oïl ou des langues d'oïl ?**

- Une
- Des
- Ne sait pas

*** 34. Etes-vous d'accord avec la phrase des éditeurs du livre *Les Langues de France* : « Les questions relatives à l'aire linguistique d'oïl sont d'autant plus complexes que la langue nationale en est issue et que ce statut de parler directeur brouille les perspectives » ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

*** 35. Selon vous, le français national ou standard est né ?**

- Du francien
- Du picard
- Du provençal
- De la langue des rois et de leurs cours
- De la langue des élites intellectuelles parisiennes
- D'un mélange de la/des langue(s) d'oïl
- D'un mélange de la/des langue(s) d'oc
- D'un mélange de la/des langue(s) d'oïl et de la/des langue(s) d'oc
- Ne sait pas

La région Picardie

***36. Pensez-vous qu'il y ait des variations régionales du français en France ?**

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

***37. Diriez-vous que le picard soit une variété du français ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***38. Une variété régionale ou sociale ?**

- Régionale
- Sociale
- Régionale et sociale
- Ne sait pas

***39. Pensez-vous que le picard soit plus stigmatisé en France que le normand ou le champenois ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

La région Picardie

***40. Etes-vous d'accord avec la phrase des éditeurs du livre *Les Langues de France* : « Plus que d'autres, les variations et variétés d'oïl ont souffert du [rapport de la langue au patois] ... Elles ont été et sont vécues et qualifiées de formes dégradées du français, français corrompu au XVIIIe siècle, écorché, déformé, voire abrégé, raccourci ou allongé aujourd'hui » ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***41. Diriez-vous qu'une langue soit porteuse d'une culture ?**

- Oui
- Non

***42. Toutes les langues ou juste les langues nationales ?**

- Toutes les langues
- Les langues nationales

***43. Trouvez-vous que l'ancienne description des Picards par l'historien Michelet comme étant « une race puissante : prompts à la pensée et pourtant tenaces, vifs et persévérants, ils unissent les qualités des Méridionaux à celles des gens du Nord » a un sens aujourd'hui ?**

- Tout à fait
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

La région Picardie

***44. Avez-vous entendu la phrase suivante ? Ce qui n'est pas clair n'est pas français.**

- Oui
 Non

***45. Pensez-vous qu'elle soit correcte ?**

- Beaucoup
 Assez
 Peu
 Pas du tout
 Ne sait pas

***46. Pensez-vous que le patois soit le français déformé ?**

- Beaucoup
 Assez
 Peu
 Pas du tout
 Ne sait pas

***47. Selon vous, qu'est-ce qu'un patois ?**

La région Picardie

***48. Selon vous, quel rôle joue le picard en Picardie ?**

- La solidarité
- La tradition
- La différence
- La culture
- Aucun
- Ne sait pas

***49. Pensez-vous que les Français (hors la région) connaissent bien la région Picardie ?**

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

50. Diriez-vous que la notion de l'historien Robert Fossier de 1974 sur les limites et l'unité de Picardie soit encore valide ? *La Picardie n'existe pas ... s'il n'y a pas de Picardie, au moins y a-t-il des « pays picards ».

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***51. Connaissez-vous le spectacle nocturne « Le Souffle de la Terre » ?**

- Oui
- Non

La région Picardie

***52. Y avez-vous assisté ?**

- Oui
 Non

***53. Quel en est le thème principal ?**

- L'histoire de la France septentrionale
 L'histoire de Picardie
 L'histoire de France
 L'histoire d'Amiens
 L'histoire du Nord-Pas-de-Calais

***54. Assistez-vous aux événements culturels picards (par exemple Chés Wèpes, Chés Cabotans d'Amiens, Le Souffle de la Terre, etc.) ?**

- Beaucoup
 Assez
 Peu
 Pas du tout

***55. Pensez-vous qu'il soit très important (ou non) de défendre ce qui est traditionnel dans une région (par exemple le dialecte ou la langue, la culture, la cuisine, le style des maisons, les fêtes) ?**

- C'est très important
 C'est plutôt important
 Ce n'est pas très important
 Ce n'est pas important du tout
 Sans opinion

La région Picardie

***56. Lequel de ces éléments en priorité ? (le dialecte ou la langue, la culture, la cuisine, le style des maisons, les fêtes, etc.)**

***57. Lisez-vous le magazine « L'Esprit de Picardie » ?**

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout

***58. Pour défendre vos idées, faites-vous partie ou seriez-vous prêt à faire partie d'une organisation ou d'une association du type suivant : un mouvement régionaliste ?**

- Oui, en fait partie
- Oui, serait prêt à en faire partie
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***59. Avez-vous signé la pétition « Touche pas à ma Picardie » ?**

- Oui
- Non

La région Picardie

***60. En pensant à la région Picardie, quel est, parmi les mots et les expressions suivants, celui qui vous paraît le mieux la définir ?**

- Un territoire
- Un lieu d'histoire et de culture
- Une administration
- Un lieu de développement économique
- Une communauté humaine
- Un lieu de débat politique
- Ne sait pas

***61. Diriez-vous qu'il existe un peuple picard au sein du peuple français ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***62. Diriez-vous qu'il existe un peuple breton au sein du peuple français ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***63. Diriez-vous qu'il existe un peuple corse au sein du peuple français ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

La région Picardie

***64. En considérant que la France est une patrie, comment situez-vous votre région ou village ?**

- Comme une petite patrie
- Comme un pays
- Comme un lieu d'origine
- Comme un lieu de résidence
- Ne sait pas

***65. Qu'est-ce qu'un pays ?**

***66. Etes-vous d'accord avec le point de vue du Comité flamand (de France) du milieu du 17ème siècle : « Quant aux mœurs, coutumes et dialectes, la France va toujours inclure les Bretons, les Normands, les Provençaux, les Basques, les Bourguignons, les Picards, les Alsaciens et les Flamands » ?**

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

***67. Etes-vous picard(e) ?**

- Oui
- Non

Merci pour votre assistance !

La région Picardie

Vous avez choisi de ne pas continuer ce questionnaire. Merci pour votre intérêt.

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

Merci de répondre aux questions individuellement. Nous cherchons à connaître votre propre opinion, ne cherchez pas de réponse sur Internet. D'avance merci !

* 1. Etes-vous d'accord pour répondre à ce questionnaire ?

Oui

Non

* 2. Quel est votre sexe ?

Homme

Femme

* 3. Quelle est votre classe d'âge ?

18 - 24 ans

25 - 34 ans

35 - 49 ans

50 - 64 ans

65 ans et plus

* 4. Quelle est votre profession actuelle (ou la dernière profession exercée si chômeur (se), retraité(e), ou femme au foyer) ?

Agriculteurs exploitants

Artisans, commerçants et chefs d'entreprise

Cadres et professions intellectuelles supérieures

Professions intermédiaires

Employés

Ouvriers

Etudiants

Inactif, n'ayant jamais travaillé

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

***5. Quel est le diplôme le plus élevé que vous avez obtenu ou (si étudiant(e)) que vous pensez obtenir ?**

- Sans diplôme ou Brevet des collèges
- Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle (CAP), Brevet d'enseignement professionnel (BEP)
- Baccalauréat d'enseignement général, technique ou professionnel
- Diplômes de niveau Bac plus 2 ans (DUT, BTS, instituteurs, DEUG, écoles des formations sanitaires ou sociales)
- Diplômes de 2ème ou 3ème cycle universitaire (licence, maîtrise, master, DEA, DESS, doctorat) ou diplômes de grande école)
- Ne sait pas

***6. Quel est votre lieu d'origine ? (Code postal ou numéro du département)**

***7. Quel est votre lieu de résidence actuel ? (Code postal ou numéro du département)**

***8. Vous considérez-vous provençal(e) ?**

- Oui
- Non

***9. Etes-vous militant régional ?**

- Oui
- Non

***10. De quel genre ?**

- Culturel
- Linguistique
- Politique

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

* 11. Auquel de ces lieux avez-vous le sentiment d'appartenir avant tout ?

- La ville, la commune où vous habitez
- Votre département
- Votre région
- La France
- Aucun
- Ne sait pas

* 12. Diriez-vous que vous avez beaucoup, assez, peu ou pas du tout d'intérêts en commun avec les autres habitants de la région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur ?

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

* 13. Diriez-vous que vous avez beaucoup, assez, peu ou pas du tout d'intérêts en commun avec les autres habitants de votre commune ou village ?

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

*** 14. Quel est le mot qui, selon vous, caractérise le mieux la Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur ?**

- La solidarité
- La qualité de vie
- La croissance économique
- La nature
- La tradition
- Le dynamisme
- La culture
- Ne sait pas

*** 15. Quel est le mot qui, selon vous, caractérise le mieux votre commune ou village ?**

- La solidarité
- La qualité de vie
- La croissance économique
- La nature
- La tradition
- Le dynamisme
- La culture
- Ne sait pas

*** 16. Diriez-vous que vous vous sentez très proche, assez proche, pas très proche ou pas proche du tout des habitants de votre région ?**

- Très proche
- Assez proche
- Pas très proche
- Pas proche du tout
- Ne sait pas

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

***17. Diriez-vous que vous vous sentez très proche, assez proche, pas très proche ou pas proche du tout des habitants de votre commune ou village ?**

- Très proche
- Assez proche
- Pas très proche
- Pas proche du tout
- Ne sait pas

***18. En pensant au caractère des gens qui habitent en Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, et au caractère des gens qui habitent dans les autres Régions françaises, vous-même, pensez-vous qu'il y a :**

- Des différences très importantes
- Des différences plutôt importantes
- Pas beaucoup de différences
- Pas de différences
- Ne sait pas

***19. Selon vous, qu'est-ce que le provençal ?**

- Un dialecte
- Une langue
- Un parler
- Un patois
- Ne sait pas

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

*20. Comment définissez-vous le mot *dialecte* ?

- Variété régionale d'une langue
- Forme particulière d'une langue qui n'a pas le statut de langue officielle ou nationale, à l'intérieur d'un groupe de parlers
- Ensemble de parlers qui présentent des particularités communes et dont les traits caractéristiques dominants sont sensibles aux usagers
- Forme régionale, parlée et surtout écrite, d'une langue ancienne
- Patois

*21. Parlez-vous provençal ?

- Souvent
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

*22. Avec qui et quand ? Etes-vous fier d'être provençalophone ?

*23. Comprenez-vous le provençal parlé ?

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

*24. Ecrivez-vous le provençal ?

- Oui
 Non

25. Si oui, quelle graphie employez-vous ?

- La graphie française
 La graphie classique ou occitane
 La graphie mistraliennne
 La vôtre
 Ne sait pas

*26. Selon vous, le provençal est-il standardisé ?

- Oui
 Non
 Ne sait pas

*27. Pourquoi non ?

*28. Selon vous, qu'est-ce que le niçois ?

- Une variété du provençal
 Une variété de l'occitan
 L'occitan ou langue d'oc
 La langue historique de Nice et son pays
 Un patois

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

*29. Selon vous, qu'est-ce que le languedocien ?

- Une variété du provençal
- Une variété de l'occitan
- L'occitan ou langue d'oc
- La langue historique du Languedoc
- Un patois

*30. Pensez-vous que le provençal doive être enseigné à l'école publique en Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur ?

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

*31. Y-a-t-il des écoles bilingues « provençal-français » en Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur ?

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

*32. Comment s'appellent-elles ?

- ABCM
- Calandretas
- Diwans
- Ikastolas
- Sans nom collectif

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

*33. Selon vous, la Provence représente ?

- La nation provençale
- Le pays provençal ou les pays provençaux
- Le territoire du peuple provençal
- Une ancienne province du Royaume de France
- Une région administrative de la République française
- Toutes les réponses mentionnées ci-dessus

*34. Trouvez-vous que les anciennes descriptions des Provençaux par le géographe Vivien de Saint-Martin comme ayant « un caractère gai, des manières démonstratives et un peu bruyantes » et par l'historien Michelet comme étant « violent[s], bruyant[s], mais non sans grâce » ont un sens aujourd'hui ?

- Tout à fait
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

*35. Connaissez-vous *De l'Universalité de la langue française de Rivarol* ?

- Oui
- Non

*36. Quels dialectes discute-t-il là-dedans ?

- Picard et Normand
- Picard et Provençal
- Champenois et Francien
- Francien et Provençal
- Champenois et Languedocien

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

***37. Le provençal est-il une langue d'oïl ou une langue d'oc ?**

- Une langue d'oïl
- Une langue d'oc
- Ne sait pas

***38. Selon vous, y-a-t-il aujourd'hui une langue d'oc ou des langues d'oc ?**

- Une
- Des
- Ne sait pas

***39. Selon vous, le français national ou standard est né ?**

- Du francien
- Du picard
- Du provençal
- De la langue des rois et de leurs cours
- De la langue des élites intellectuelles parisiennes
- D'un mélange de la/des langue(s) d'oïl
- D'un mélange de la/des langue(s) d'oc
- D'un mélange de la/des langue(s) d'oïl et de la/des langue(s) d'oc
- Ne sait pas

***40. Pensez-vous qu'il y ait des variations régionales du français en France ?**

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

***41. Diriez-vous que le provençal soit une variété du français ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***42. Une variété régionale ou sociale ?**

- Régionale
- Sociale
- Régionale et sociale
- Ne sait pas

***43. Diriez-vous que le provençal soit une variété de l'occitan ou de langue d'oc ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***44. Diriez-vous que le provençal soit une langue à part ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur***45. Pourquoi ?*****46. Diriez-vous qu'une langue soit porteuse d'une culture ?**

- Oui
- Non

***47. Toutes les langues ou juste les langues nationales ?**

- Toutes les langues
- Les langues nationales

48. Avez-vous entendu la phrase suivante ? *Ce qui n'est pas clair n'est pas français.

- Oui
- Non

***49. Pensez-vous qu'elle soit correcte ?**

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

***50. Pensez-vous que le patois soit le français déformé ?**

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

***51. Selon vous, qu'est-ce qu'un patois ?**

***52. Selon vous, quel rôle joue le provençal en Provence ?**

- La solidarité
- La tradition
- La différence
- La culture
- Aucun
- Ne sait pas

***53. Pensez-vous que les Français (hors la région) connaissent bien la région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur ?**

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

*54. Lisez-vous « La Région, le magazine » ?

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

*55. Etiez-vous d'accord avec le président du conseil régional Michel Vauzelle quand il a demandé au ministre de la Culture de déclarer le provençal langue à part entière, distincte de l'occitan ?

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

*56. Connaissez-vous la réponse du ministre de la Culture ?

- Oui
- Non

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

***57. Assistez-vous aux événements culturels provençaux (par exemple la pastorale Maurel, les danses provençales, la pétanque, les fêtes, les festivals, les manifestations, l'École Occitane d'été en Provence, l'Université d'été MARPÔC, etc.) ?**

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

***58. Pensez-vous qu'il soit très important (ou non) de défendre ce qui est traditionnel dans une région (par exemple le dialecte ou la langue, la culture, la cuisine, le style des maisons, les fêtes) ?**

- C'est très important
- C'est plutôt important
- Ce n'est pas très important
- Ce n'est pas important du tout
- Sans opinion

***59. Lequel de ces éléments en priorité ? (le dialecte ou la langue, la culture, la cuisine, le style des maisons, les fêtes, etc.)**

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

***60. Pour défendre vos idées, faites-vous partie ou seriez-vous prêt à faire partie d'une organisation ou d'une association du type suivant : un mouvement régionaliste ?**

- Oui, en fait partie
- Oui, serait prêt à en faire partie
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***61. Connaissez-vous le Collectif Provence, le Félibrige et l'Institut d'Etudes Occitanes ?**

- Les Trois
- Deux des trois
- Un des trois
- Aucun
- Ne sait pas

62. Faites-vous partie d'un (ou plus) de ces groupes ? Lequel ou lesquels ?

***63. Savez-vous qu'il y a une pétition sur internet intitulé « Le provençal maintenant » qui vise la reconnaissance de *la langue provençale* comme une langue de France ?**

- Oui
- Non

***64. L'avez-vous signée ?**

- Oui
- Non

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

***65. Diriez-vous que la région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur fasse partie de l'Occitanie ?**

- Tout à fait
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

***66. Etiez-vous d'accord avec le président du conseil régional Michel Vauzelle quand il a essayé de changer le nom de la région de la Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur à la Provence ?**

- Tout à fait
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Sans opinion

***67. Pourquoi non ?**

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

***68. En pensant à la région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, quel est, parmi les mots et les expressions suivants, celui qui vous paraît le mieux la définir ?**

- Un territoire
- Un lieu d'histoire et de culture
- Une administration
- Un lieu de développement économique
- Une communauté humaine
- Un lieu de débat politique
- Ne sait pas

***69. Diriez-vous qu'il existe un peuple provençal au sein du peuple français ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***70. Diriez-vous qu'il existe un peuple breton au sein du peuple français ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

***71. Diriez-vous qu'il existe un peuple corse au sein du peuple français ?**

- Oui
- Non
- Ne sait pas

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

*** 72. Diriez-vous qu'il existe un peuple occitan au sein du peuple français ?**

- Oui
 Non
 Ne sait pas

*** 73. Diriez-vous qu'il existe un peuple niçois au sein du peuple français ?**

- Oui
 Non
 Ne sait pas

*** 74. En considérant que la France est une patrie, comment situez-vous votre région ou village ?**

- Comme une petite patrie
 Comme un pays
 Comme un lieu d'origine
 Comme un lieu de résidence
 Ne sait pas

*** 75. Qu'est-ce qu'un pays ?**

La région Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur

***76. Etes-vous d'accord avec le point de vue du Comité flamand (de France) du milieu du 17ème siècle : « Quant aux mœurs, coutumes et *dialectes*, la France va toujours inclure les Bretons, les Normands, les Provençaux, les Basques, les Bourguignons, les Picards, les Alsaciens et les Flamands » ?**

- Beaucoup
- Assez
- Peu
- Pas du tout
- Ne sait pas

***77. Etes-vous provençal(e) ?**

- Oui
- Non

Merci pour votre assistance !

Vous avez choisi de ne pas continuer ce questionnaire. Merci pour votre intérêt.

The Picardy Region

Please respond individually to the questions. We are looking for your own opinion; please do not look for responses on the Internet. Thank you in advance!

1. Do you consent to answer this questionnaire?

Yes

No

(If the respondent answers, "No", they will see the following message: "You have chosen not to continue this questionnaire; thank you for your interest.")

2. Gender:

Male

Female

3. Age Group:

A. 18 – 24 years old

B. 25 – 34 years old

C. 35 – 49 years old

D. 50 – 64 years old

E. 65+

4. What is your actual profession (or the last profession performed if unemployed, retired or a housewife)?

A. Farmers

B. Artisans, storekeepers and company managers

C. Executives and higher intellectual professionals

D. Middle managers

E. White-collar employees

F. Factory workers

G. Students

H. Inactive, never having worked

5. What is the highest diploma that you have received or (if student) that you think you will receive?
- A. Without diploma or *Brevet* of Junior High School
 - B. Certificate of professional aptitude (CAP), *Brevet* of professional teaching (BEP) *Baccalauréat* of general, technical or professional teaching
 - C. Diplomas of level *Bac* plus 2 years (DUT, BTS, Instructors, DEUG, Schools of Sanitary and Social Formations)
 - D. Diplomas of 2nd and 3rd university levels (Bachelor's degree, Master's degree (old), Master's degree (new), *DEA*, *DESS*, Doctorate) or *Grande Ecole* diplomas
 - E. Do Not Know

6. Place of Origin:

Postal code or number of the *département* of origin:

7. Place of Residence:

Postal code or number of the *département* of place of actual residence:

8. Do you consider yourself to be Picard?

Yes

No

9. Are you a regional activist?

Yes

No

10. If yes, of which type?

Cultural

Linguistic

Political

11. To which of these places do you have the sentiment of belonging to above all?
- A. The city or commune where you live
 - B. Your *département*
 - C. Your region
 - D. France
 - E. None
 - F. Do Not Know
12. Would you say that you have a lot, some, not much, or no interests in common with the other residents of the Picardy region?
- A. A Lot
 - B. Some
 - C. Not Much
 - D. None
 - E. Do Not Know
13. Would you say that you have a lot, some, not much, or no interests in common with the other residents of your commune or village?
- A. A Lot
 - B. Some
 - C. Not Much
 - D. None
 - E. Do Not Know
14. According to you, which word best characterizes Picardy?
- A. Solidarity
 - B. Quality of life
 - C. Economic growth
 - D. Nature
 - E. Tradition
 - F. Energy
 - G. Culture
 - H. Do Not Know

15. According to you, which word best characterizes your commune or village?

- A. Solidarity
- B. Quality of life
- C. Economic growth
- D. Nature
- E. Tradition
- F. Energy
- G. Culture
- H. Do Not Know

16. Would you say that you feel very close, fairly close, not very close or not at all close with the residents of your region?

- A. Very Close
- B. Fairly Close
- C. Not Very Close
- D. Not At All Close
- E. Do Not Know

17. Would you say that you feel very close, fairly close, not very close or not at all close with the residents of your commune or village?

- A. Very Close
- B. Fairly Close
- C. Not Very Close
- D. Not At All Close
- E. Do Not Know

18. In thinking about the character of the residents of Picardy, and of the character of the residents of the other regions of France, yourself, do you think that there are:

- A. Very Important Differences
- B. Fairly Important Differences
- C. Not A Lot of Differences
- D. No Differences At All
- E. Do Not Know

19. According to you, what is the Picard tongue?
- A. A dialect
 - B. A *langue*
 - C. A form of speech
 - D. A *patois*
20. How do you define the word *dialect*?
- A. Regional variety of a language
 - B. Particular form of a language within a group of speech forms which does not have the status of language that the official or national language does
 - C. Group of speech forms that hold common particularities of which the dominant characteristics are known among its users
 - D. Spoken, and especially written, regional form of an ancient language
 - E. *Patois*
21. Do you speak Picard?
- A. Often
 - B. Some
 - C. Not Much
 - D. Not At All
 - E. Do Not Know
22. If often or some, with whom and when? Are you proud to be a Picard speaker?
23. Do you understand spoken Picard?
- A. A Lot
 - B. Some
 - C. Not Much
 - D. Not At All
 - E. Do Not Know
24. Do you think that Picard should be standardized?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

25. If no, why not?

26. According to you, what is Ch'ti or Ch'timi?

- A. A variety of Picard
- B. A variety of French
- C. The historic language of the Nord (*département*)
- D. A *patois*

27. Do you think that Picard should be taught at schools in Picardy?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

28. According to you, what does Picardy represent?

- A. The Picard nation
- B. The Picard *pays* or the Picard *pays* (plural)
- C. The territory of the Picard people
- D. An Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France
- E. An Administrative Region of the French Republic
- F. All of the above responses

29. Do you find the ancient description of the Picards by geographer Vivien de Saint-Martin as having "a cheerful and mocking character" is correct today?

- A. Completely
- B. Some
- C. Not Much
- D. Not At All
- E. Do Not Know

30. Do you know *De l'Universalité de la langue française* by Rivarol?

Yes

No

31. If yes, which *dialects* does he discuss inside?

A. Picard and Norman

B. Picard and Provençal

C. Champenois and Francien

D. Francien and Provençal

E. Champenois and Languedocien

32. Picard is a *Langue d'oïl* or a *Langue d'oc*?

A. A *Langue d'oïl*

B. A *Langue d'oc*

C. Do Not Know

33. According to you, there are today one *Langue d'oïl* or several *Langues d'oïl*?

A. One

B. Several

C. Do Not Know

34. Do you agree with the phrase from the editors of the tome *Les Langues de France*: "The questions relating to the linguistic realm of *Oïl* are even more complex since the national language comes from this realm and its status as the guiding speech form confuses the perspectives"?

Yes

No

Do Not Know

35. According to you, National or Standard French was born?

A. From Francien

B. From Picard

C. From Provençal

- D. From the language of the kings and their courts
- E. From the language of the Parisian intellectual élites
- F. From a mixture of the *Langue(s) d'oïl*
- G. From a mixture of the *Langue(s) d'oc*
- H. From a mixture of the *Langue(s) d'oïl* and the *Langue(s) d'oc*
- I. Do Not Know

36. Do you think that there are regional variations in French in France?

- A. A Lot
- B. Some
- C. Not Much
- D. None At All
- E. Do Not Know

37. Would you say that Picard is a variety of French?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

38. If yes, a regional or social variety?

39. Do you think that Picard is more stigmatized in France than Norman or Champenois?

- Yes
- No

40. Do you agree with the phrase from the editors of the tome *Les Langues de France*: "More than the others, the variations and varieties of *Oïl* have suffered from the [relationship between language and *patois*] ... They have been qualified and are lived as forms of degraded French, *corrupt French* in the 18th century, *broken, deformed*, even *abbreviated, shortened* or *thinned* [French] today?"

- Yes
- No

Do Not Know

41. Would you say that a language is the carrier of a culture?

Yes

No

42. If yes, all languages or just national languages?

All languages

National languages

43. Do you find the ancient description of the Picards by historian Jules Michelet as being "a powerful people, quick to react, yet stubborn, sharp and persevering. They unite the qualities of Southerners with those of Northerners" is correct today?

A. Completely

B. Some

C. Not Much

D. Not At All

E. Do Not Know

44. Have you heard the following phrase?

What is not clear is not French.

Yes

No

45. If yes, do you think that it is correct?

A. A Lot

B. Some

C. Not Much

D. Not At All

E. Do Not Know

46. Do you think that *patois* is deformed French?

- A. A Lot
- B. Some
- C. Not Much
- D. Not At All
- E. Do Not Know

47. According to you, what is a *patois*?

48. According to you, what role does Picard play in Picardy?

- A. Solidarity
- B. Tradition
- C. Difference
- D. Culture
- E. None
- F. Do Not Know

49. Do you think that the French (outside of Picardy) know Picardy well?

- A. A Lot
- B. Some
- C. Not Much
- D. Not At All
- E. Do Not Know

50. Would you say that the notion of Robert Fossier of 1974 on the boundaries and unity of Picardy is still correct?

Picardy does not exist ... if there is no Picardy, there are at least "Picard countries".

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

51. Are you familiar with the nocturnal show "The Breath of the Earth"?

- Yes

No
Do Not Know

52. If yes, have you seen it?

Yes
No

53. If yes, what is the plot?

- A. The history of Northern France
- B. The history of Picardy
- C. The history of France
- D. The history of Amiens
- E. The history of Nord-Pas-de-Calais

54. Do you attend Picard cultural events (for example, *Chés Wèpes*, *Chés Cabotans d'Amiens*, "The Breath of the Earth", etc.)?

Yes
No

55. Do you think that it is very important (or not) to defend what is traditional in a region (for example, language, culture, cuisine, style of houses, festivals, etc.)?

- A. It is very important
- B. It is fairly important
- C. It is not very important
- D. It is not at all important
- E. Without opinion

56. Which of these elements in priority? (language, culture, cuisine, style of houses, festivals, etc.)

57. Do you read the magazine "L'Esprit de Picardie"?

A. A Lot

- B. Some
- C. Not Much
- D. Not At All

58. In order to defend your ideas, are you a member or would you become a member of an organization or an association of the following type: regional movement?

- A. Yes, am a member
- B. Yes, would become a member
- C. No
- D. Do Not Know

59. Have you signed the petition "Touche pas à ma Picardie"?

- Yes
- No

60. In thinking about the Picardy region, which among the following words and expressions is the best at defining it?

- A. A territory
- B. A place of history and culture
- C. An administration
- D. A place of economic development
- E. A human community
- F. A place for political debate
- G. Do Not Know

61. Would you say that there exists a Picard people among the French people?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

62. Would you say that there exists a Breton people among the French people?

- Yes
- No

Do Not Know

63. Would you say that there exists a Corsican people among the French people?

Yes

No

Do Not Know

64. In considering that France is a homeland, how do you situate your region or village?

A. As a small homeland

B. As a *pays*

C. As a place of origin

D. As a place of residence

E. Do not know

65. If a *pays*, what is a *pays*?

66. Do you agree with the point of view of the Flemish Committee (of France) from the middle of the 17th century: "As far as morals, customs and dialects go, France will always include Bretons, Normans, Provençaux, Basques, Burgundians, Picards, Alsations and Flemings"?

A. A Lot

B. Some

C. Not Much

D. Not At All

E. Do Not Know

67. Are you Picard?

Yes

No

Thank you for your help!

The Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur Region

Please respond individually to the questions. We are looking for your own opinion; please do not look for responses on the Internet. Thank you in advance!

1. Do you consent to answer this questionnaire?

Yes

No

(If the respondent answers, "No", they will see the following message: "You have chosen not to continue this questionnaire; thank you for your interest.")

2. Gender:

Male

Female

3. Age Group:

A. 18 – 24 years old

B. 25 – 34 years old

C. 35 – 49 years old

D. 50 – 64 years old

E. 65+

4. What is your actual profession (or the last profession performed if unemployed, retired or a housewife)?

A. Farmers

B. Artisans, storekeepers and company managers

C. Executives and higher intellectual professionals

D. Middle managers

E. White-collar employees

F. Factory workers

G. Students

H. Inactive, never having worked

5. What is the highest diploma that you have received or (if student) that you think you will receive?
- A. Without diploma or *Brevet* of Junior High School
 - B. Certificate of professional aptitude (CAP), *Brevet* of professional teaching (BEP) *Baccalauréat* of general, technical or professional teaching
 - C. Diplomas of level *Bac* plus 2 years (DUT, BTS, instructors, DEUG, Schools of Sanitary and Social Formations)
 - D. Diplomas of 2nd and 3rd university levels (Bachelor's degree, Master's degree (old), Master's degree (new), *DEA*, *DESS*, Doctorate) or *Grande Ecole* diplomas
 - E. Do Not Know

6. Place of Origin:

Postal code or number of the *département* of origin:

7. Place of Residence:

Postal code or number of the *département* of place of actual residence:

8. Do you consider yourself to be Provençal?

Yes

No

9. Are you a regional activist?

Yes

No

10. If yes, of which type?

Cultural

Linguistic

Political

11. To which of these places do you have the sentiment of belonging to above all?
- A. The city or commune where you live
 - B. Your *département*
 - C. Your region
 - D. France
 - E. None
 - F. Do Not Know
12. Would you say that you have a lot, some, not much, or no interests in common with the other residents of the Provence region?
- A. A Lot
 - B. Some
 - C. Not Much
 - D. None
 - E. Do Not Know
13. Would you say that you have a lot, some, not much, or no interests in common with the other residents of your commune or village?
- A. A Lot
 - B. Some
 - C. Not Much
 - D. None
 - E. Do Not Know
14. According to you, which word best characterizes Provence?
- A. Solidarity
 - B. Quality of life
 - C. Economic growth
 - D. Nature
 - E. Tradition
 - F. Energy
 - G. Culture
 - H. Do Not Know

15. According to you, which word best characterizes your commune or village?
- A. Solidarity
 - B. Quality of life
 - C. Economic growth
 - D. Nature
 - E. Tradition
 - F. Energy
 - G. Culture
 - H. Do Not Know
16. Would you say that you feel very close, fairly close, not very close or not at all close with the residents of your region?
- A. Very Close
 - B. Fairly Close
 - C. Not Very Close
 - D. Not At All Close
 - E. Do Not Know
17. Would you say that you feel very close, fairly close, not very close or not at all close with the residents of your commune or village?
- A. Very Close
 - B. Fairly Close
 - C. Not Very Close
 - D. Not At All Close
 - E. Do Not Know
18. In thinking about the character of the residents of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, and of the character of the residents of the other regions of France, yourself, do you think that there are:
- A. Very important differences
 - B. Fairly important differences
 - C. Not a lot of differences

- D. No differences at all
- E. Do Not Know

19. According to you, what is the Provençal tongue?

- A. A dialect
- B. *A langue*
- C. A form of speech
- D. *A patois*
- E. Do Not Know

20. How do you define the word dialect?

- A. Regional variety of a language
- B. Particular form of a language within a group of speech forms which does not have the status of language that the official or national language does
- C. Group of speech forms that hold common particularities of which the dominant characteristics are known among its users
- D. Spoken and especially written regional form of an ancient language
- E. *Patois*

21. Do you speak Provençal?

- A. Often
- B. Some
- C. Not Much
- D. Not At All
- E. Do Not Know

22. If often or some, with whom and when? Are you proud to be a Provençal speaker?

23. Do you understand spoken Provençal?

- A. A Lot
- B. Some

- C. Not Much
- D. Not At All
- E. Do Not Know

24. Do you write in Provençal?

- Yes
- No

25. If yes, which orthography do you use?

- A. French orthography
- B. Classical or Occitan orthography
- C. Orthography of Mistral
- D. Your own
- E. Do Not Know

26. According to you, is Provençal standardized?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

27. If no, why not?

28. According to you, what is *Niçois*?

- A. A variety of Provençal
- B. A variety of Occitan
- C. The historic language of Nice and its country
- D. A *patois*

29. According to you, what is *Languedocien*?

- A. A variety of Provençal
- B. A variety of Occitan
- C. Occitan or *langue d'oc*

- D. The historic language of Languedoc
- E. A *patois*

30. Do you think that Provençal should be taught at public schools in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

31. Are there bilingual Provençal-French schools in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

32. If yes, what are they called?

- ABCM
- Calandretas
- Diwans
- Ikastolas
- Without a collective name

33. According to you, what does Provence represent?

- A. The Provençal nation
- B. The Provençal *pays* or the Provençaux *pays* (plural)
- C. The territory of the Provençal people
- D. An Ancient Province of the Kingdom of France
- E. An Administrative Region of the French Republic
- F. All of the above responses

34. Do you find the ancient descriptions of the Provençaux by geographer Viven de Saint-Martin as having "a happy character with demonstrative manners and a little noisy" and by historian Michelet as being "energetic and noisy, but not without grace" are still true today?

- A. Completely
- B. Some
- C. Not Much
- D. Not At All
- E. Do Not Know

35. Do you know *De l'Universalité de la langue française* by Rivarol?

- Yes
- No

36. If yes, which *dialects* does he discuss inside?

- A. Picard and Norman
- B. Picard and Provençal
- C. Champenois and Francien
- D. Francien and Provençal
- E. Champenois and Languedocien

37. Provençal is it a *langue d'oïl* or a *langue d'oc*?

- A. A *langue d'oïl*
- B. A *langue d'oc*
- C. Do Not Know

38. According to you, is there one *langue d'oc* or Occitan or several *langues d'oc* or Occitans?

- A. One
- B. Several
- C. Do Not Know

39. According to you, National or Standard French was born

- A. From Francien
- B. From Picard
- C. From Provençal
- D. From the language of the kings and their courts
- E. From the language of the Parisian intellectual élites

- F. From a mixture of the *langue(s) d'oïl*
- G. From a mixture of the *langue(s) d'oc*
- H. From a mixture of the *langue(s) d'oïl* and the *langue(s) d'oc*
- I. Do Not Know

40. Do you think that there are regional variations of French in France?

- A. A Lot
- B. Some
- C. Not Much
- D. None At All
- E. Do Not Know

41. Would you say that Provençal is a variety of French?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

42. If yes, a regional or social variety?

43. Would you say that Provençal is a variety of Occitan or *langue d'oc*?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

44. Would you say that Provençal is a separate language?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

45. Why?

46. Would you say that a language is a carrier of a culture?

- Yes

No

47. If yes, all languages or just national languages?

All languages

National languages

48. Have you heard the following phrase?

What is not clear is not French.

Yes

No

49. Do you think that it is correct?

A. A lot

B. Some

C. Not Much

D. Not At All

E. Do Not Know

50. Do you think that *patois* is deformed French?

A. A Lot

B. Some

C. Not Much

D. Not At All

E. Do Not Know

51. According to you, what is *patois*?

52. According to you, what role does Provençal play in Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur?

A. Solidarity

B. Tradition

- C. Difference
- D. Culture
- E. None
- F. Do Not Know

53. Do you think that the French (outside of the region) know Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur well?

- A. A Lot
- B. Some
- C. Not Much
- D. Not At All
- E. Do Not Know

54. Do you read "La Région, le magazine"?

- A. A Lot
- B. Some
- C. Not Much
- D. Not At All
- E. Do Not Know

55. Were you in agreement with the president of the regional council Michel Vauzelle when he asked the Minister of Culture to have Provençal declared a separate language from Occitan?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

56. Do you know the response of the Minister of Culture?

- Yes
- No

57. Do you attend Provençal cultural events (for example, Maurel pastoral, Provençal dances, *pétanque*, festivals, manifestations, Occitan School of Summer in Provence, University of Summer MARPÒC, etc.) ?

- Yes

No

58. Do you think it is very important (or not) to defend what is traditional in a region (for example, language, culture, cuisine, style of houses, festivals)?

- A. It is very important
- B. It is fairly important
- C. It is not very important
- D. It is not at all important
- E. Without opinion

59. Which of these elements in priority? (language, culture, cuisine, style of houses, festivals, etc.)

60. In order to defend your ideas, are you a member or would you become a member of an organization or an association of the following type: regional movement?

- A. Yes, am a member
- B. Yes, would become a member
- C. No
- D. Do Not Know

61. Are you familiar with the *Collectif Provence*, the *Félibrige* and the *Institut d'Etudes Occitanes*?

- A. All three
- B. Two of the three
- C. One of three
- D. None
- E. Do Not Know

62. Are you a member of one (or more) of these groups? Which one or which ones?

Yes
No

63. Do you know that there is an online petition called “Le provençal maintenant” which aims for the recognition of the *Provençal language* as a language of France?

Yes

No

64. If yes, have you signed it?

Yes

No

65. Would you say that the Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur region is a part of *Occitania*?

Yes

No

Do Not Know

66. Were you in agreement with the regional council president Michel Vauzelle when he tried to change the name of the region from Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur to Provence?

Yes

No

67. If no, why not?

68. In thinking about the Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur region, among the following words and expressions, which best defines it?

A. A territory

B. A place of history and culture

C. An administration

- D. A place of economic development
- E. A human community
- F. A place of political debate
- G. Do Not Know

69. Would you say that there exists a Provençal people among the French people?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

70. Would you say that there exists a Breton people among the French people?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

71. Would you say that there exists a Corsican people among the French people?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

72. Would you say that there exists an Occitan people among the French people?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

73. Would you say that there exists a *Niçois* people among the French people?

- Yes
- No
- Do Not Know

74. In considering that France is a homeland, how do you situate your region or village?

- A. As a small homeland
- B. As a *pays*
- C. As a place of origin
- D. As a place of residence
- E. Do Not Know

75. If a *pays*, what is a *pays*?

76. Do you agree with the point of view of the Flemish Committee (of France) from the middle of the 17th century: "As far as morals, customs and dialects go, France will always include Bretons, Normans, Provençaux, Basques, Burgundians, Picards, Alsations and Flemings"?

- A. A Lot
- B. Some
- C. Not Much
- D. Not At All
- E. Do Not Know

77. Are you Provençal?

- Yes
- No

Thank you for your help!

Ech kiné éd l'Ainne i tue sin fiu, ses tchiens et pi i s'détruit PAGE 41

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PAGE 37

ÉSPÉCTAQUES

Claudia Tagbo, un
phénomène éd scène
complémtint « crazy »

PAGE 46

ANMIEN

Chés voésins
is foait't prinde
deux metteus d'fu

PAGE 14

Chés cinsiers is raq'té leu colére

AGRICULTURE Hiér, is ont dénonchè chol réglémintation
« d'trop poésante », surtout à pérpos d'él pollution. PAGES 5 ET 16



Chés rues d'Anmien - pi chés CRS - is ont tè imbrondjées d'poteu pèr chés défileus. (Cliché GUILLAUME CLEMENT)



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CH'L'HONNE D'ENHUI



NICOLAS REITZBAUM i dessaque un **beau live déjé bien atcheuillé, dsu chol chinmière d'éch Père Lachaise.** Os avez inné « Route 66 » dépuilé in 2012. Os vos mergoussez avec « Le Père Lachaise, jardin des ombres... », un beau live, qu'i sorte à mon Michel Lafon (228 pages, 29,95 €). Ch'Amiénois (d'origine) Nicolas Reitzbaum il o ransé dix moés durant din chés voéyettes éd chol pu célèbre éd chés chinmières éd Paris. I n'no écrit un sapré beau live. D'éch tombe à Edith Piaf, fin simple mais l'pu visitée, à ch'i-lo à Voltaire et pi à La Fontaine, qu'ch'étoait d'chés prémes à être insévis lo, o voéyage din ch'temps passé et pi... un molé din l'éternité.

L'CRÔTÉ

Ène ènée apreu qu'éch Baie des Anges il o coulé

Ène ènée, ch'est ch'qu'il éro fallu à ch'patron d'épéque du Crotole, Patrick Nicolai, pour es ratampic. Un d'ses trauilleux, éch Baie des Anges, il avoait coulé l'20 éd novimbe 2013 à Tréport. Apreu ch'éprouve, a coé t'è pu pire avec tout ch'rimblément administratif : poéyer ch'premier moés d'travail à chés quatre matlots, foaire vir qu'éch batiéu il étoait in état pour qu'echl assurance al rimborse... « J'émchine tout juste à venir à Tréport » qu'i déclare éch patron, qu'i trache à racater un nouveau trauilleu « pour chés étants »



Ch'Baie des Anges i foaisait l'fierté d'éch patron d'épéque.

BIEUVÉ

Ène photographe al épouse à Paris

Dusqu'au 8 éd décembre, Hortense Souchet al épouse des clichés qu'is ont t'pris durant ène ènée din chés logements sociaux, el pu souvint à Bieuvé. A s'ient à l'cite d'échl architecture pi d'éch patrimoine, à Paris (Palais d'Chailiot, libe d'intrèr). Esn abotchége « Espaces partagés » i s'épousuro avec échl édition d'éch live « Ensembles » [édité à mon Créaphis 2014, 20 €].

TPIC202.

CANÇON

Michel Pruvot i cante Baryton

« Ch'picard, j'él pèrle. Èj su nè à Rue, à l'arbout à Johnny, qu'ti il est nè din chol rue. » Ch'pu picard éd chés corbillonneus d'France, Michel Pruvot, i s'réclame éd ses rachènes picardes.

« J'ai t'è avé à Machy, doù qu'mes viux gins is t'noat' éch café : chl'Auberge d'él Vallée. Èj viens d'él racater, avec din l'idée d'nin foaire ène guindjète. » Ch'est din ch'viu café populaire-lo, à doù qu'il o t'è avé, qu'chés viux Picards, picardisants, is li ont appris à juer à cartes, mais is li ont étou appris à s'édiviser in picard.

Des cançons in « ch'i », n'avoait d'jé écrits, produits pi cantées, édpu qu'Edmond Tanière, au crmichmint d'chés radios libes (in 1981) i n'avoait lancé l'mode. Michel i s'ramintéut d'Radio Quinquin, ène radio qu'al émettoait édpu un café d'quartier doù qu'o n'hitindoit qu'des cançons in « ch'i (qu'ch'est, feut-ti coér èl l'èrdire, ène tornure éd picard) qu'Renaud i rindro célèbes apreu ch'film *Germain*.

Quante il animoait sn'émission din Fréquence Nord, in 1983 pi 1984, Michel il o adjincé un 45 tours avec quate cançons in ch'i. Mais s'vraie cançon in picard, Michel i vient d'él l'inregistrer dsu sin darin album *Ça balance au bal musette*.

A s'appelle *Ch'tiot picard*, pi al est nèée d'él rimconté d'échl jeuu d'corbillon avec un confrère d'éch *Courrier Picard*, Jean-Marc Chevauché.

Li, qu'i n'no écrit chés paroles, il o t'è un moment responsable d'échl édition d'Adville éd no jornal. Ch'est lo qu'il ont vnu



Michel Pruvot (à main gaeuche) avec Jean-Marc Chevauché, Baryton d'sin surpichet, à coése d'és forté voex.

amis : ène amitié forte, durable. Is n'ont point peu foaire d'éfant : adon, is ont foait ène cançon. Putot qu'éd vos nin diviser, os vos invitons à l'acouter su ch'iste wèbe d'éch *Courrier picard* pi din ch'l'Intarnète, p'èr Youtube o bien DailyMotion. Is l'è cant' t'è touté d'è. Os comprendrez lo c'mint qu'a s'foait qu'èl surpichet à

Jean-Marc Chevauché ch'est : Baryton.

PHL

A acouter pi à vir
www.courrier-picard.fr

COURRIER PICARD JEUDI 6 NOVEMBRE 2014

MONTOIDJI

L'fond d'éch treu ?

Nin vlo ène neuve tous les smaines, achteure, din ch'épépe d'éch treu demuché durant ch'chantier d'él rue Albert-ler à Montdidji (Somme). D'prème, chés commères qu'is ont leus vintes qu'is bach't is n'mand't à l'mairie qu'al mèche des potieux miu aplachés pour comprindre chés cangemints à l'écriture. Pour eux ch'est gramint d'combot, pi is sont sans rsorce. Ed deux, chol municipalité al dit qu'c al foait d'sin miu » pi a s'délamine qu'éch proujet i luche ralinti p'èr éd « insurmontables ». Enhui jeudi, apreus des smaines à joque, échl ouvrage i doét qu'emminer. Ch'est t' pour vir èl fond d'éch treu ?

ANMIEN

Chés motèrds conte chol zone

Deux smaines apreu l'mort d'un jeune motèrd din l'zone Nord, chol Fédération française éd chés motèrds in colère a s'èrmeue. Al dénonche èq chés routes et pi chés échipemints is sont in méchant état din chol zone. « A foait 10 ans qu'os dimandons qu'o radimanche chés routes din l'zone industrielle, vu qu'enhui ch'est o n'peut pu dangereux. Seulmint, rien n'a janmoais t'è foait ! » qu'il érgrette Philippe Ledunq, d'él FFM.



Pour chol FFM, ch'éch'chipemint d'ville ch'est un eute danger in plus.

CLARMONT

Chés Clarmontoés din ch'gardin

Ch'est l'noésième ènée d'afilée qu'ène dizaine éd Clarmontoés rédeux d'él nature o bien matchés d'gardineries, is leus rassant' din un gardin qu'il appartient à l'ville. Avoait c'minché din l'idée d'échanger chés savèrs, et pi ch'èch'pée « Insanne din ch'gardin » al o foait jarrer un véritable gardin d'plaisi qu'i reste achteure à int'èrènt. Chés achuchons d'éch groupe is s'ètrouv't là-bos deux mar-dis tous les moés.

PÉRONNE

Des freus pour ène antenne

Chés gins qu'is rést' din ch'viu Mont-Saint-Quintin is ont souvint du mau à leu tète, et pi leu télé o bien leus portables is leu brouill't. Is nin veurt à chés ondes qu'is sont invoeées p'èr échl antenne d'échl ancienne radio Galaxie. Ch'fatrinchillage d'éch poste i froait étou gramint d'busin rapport à chés molins d'èrroédichemint.

NOÉYON

Ène démission à l'UMP apreu un coeup leuate

Èchl abjont in sous-main à l'direction d'échl UMP pour Compiègne-Noéyon pi s'zalintours, Alexandre Cavé, i n'è p'èrsinro point à chés votages départementals à Noéyon-Guiscard, in mars 2015. I s'a démis hier éd sin poste din sin parti. Toute i découle d'ène aloaire leuate : deux Complégnos qu'o présument d'avoir atatché un docteur éd l'Ainne éd 28 d'octobre, is l'atchus't d'avoir écmanté ch'coeup-lo. Margré qu'i n'y euche érien à l'quèrque contré li, Alexandre Cavé il o t'è dérilé d'chés plans d'UMP. Il avoait anouché au moés d'sectème qu'i s'portroait « avec o bien sans ch'ingagemints » d'éch parti.

CH'TOITE D'ENHUI



Nadim Bayeh @Nadim Bayeh...
A riute ed brin din chés grands boulevard's d'Ammien...
A n'sro point aisé à n'ètier !

Ch'fêlité d'chés c'mères à Ammien intréqu'èl il o t'habité d'ètrémours... et pi d'Zarèbes.
Ch'Mail Albert ler et pi ch'quartier d'él gare is ont t'è « èndecorbo »

AILLY-SU-NOËE

Ch'BMX Park biéto défini

C'minché l'20 d'octobre à Ailly-su-Noëe éch BMX Park (ch'est ène voée avec ène rampe in bos pour foaire du BMX éd'ur) i s'ro défini in bout d'esmaine. Adjincé avec des tornants et pi des lingnes droètes bochées, chol piste al o t'è imaginée avec l'équede éd chol Fédération française éd Cyclisme qu'al o passé tout d'ossier technique à chés élus. Oz anonche qu'échl installation ch'est l'prème in France, pi qu'al sarviro à foaire connoître éch BMX tout partout. L'commune al o plac'hé din les 30 000 euros din ch'f'rtchuit qu'i s'ro inauduré in granne richimpète, avec chés déléjés d'chol FFC, èl 22 éd novimbe.

ANMIEN

Dol légionnellose din l'ieu cœude

Ch'31 d'octobre passé din ch'service éd dermatologie d'échl hospital nord, ène analyse d'échl ieu d'chés douches pour chés malades al o montré qu'i y avoait gramint d'actéries d'legionnellose din chés tuyeux d'ieu cœude, au-dsu d'chol norme. « Point un malade il o t'è infé » qu'il o déclaré Walid Ben Brahim, éch dirigeu d'communication d'éch CHU.

BRISSAY-CHOËGNY

Des cots morts impoissonnés

D'éch vèrdi 31 d'octobre dusqu'à sémidi passé, p'èr nuit, trois cots is sont morts, surmint à coése d'un impoissonnement. Deux familles éd Brissay-Choëgny (Ainne) is s'in vont porter plainte à l'gendarmérie d'Ribemont. Chés bétails is ont t'è détéupés din l'même péraage d'éch village éd 300 gins. D'apreus ène éd chés familles, qu'al o t'è vir éch vèto, o n'séroait point sarvi d'mort-au-rot.

Le kiné de l'Aisne tue son fils, ses chiens et se suicide PAGE 41

Courrier picard



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AMIENS

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AMIENS



Le nouvel hôpital
attise les curiosités
PAGE 12

NATATION

Il manque 53 000 €
dans les caisses
du club d'Amiens
PAGE 37

SPECTACLES

Claudia Tagbo, une bête
de scène totalement
« crazy » en Picardie
PAGE 46

AMIENS

Les riverains ont
permis d'interpeller
deux incendiaires
PAGE 14

Les agriculteurs déversent leur colère

AGRICULTURE Ils ont dénoncé hier la réglementation « trop contraignante » notamment en matière de pollution. PAGES 5 ET 16



Les rues d'Amiens - et les CRS - ont été couvertes de purin par les manifestants. Deux agriculteurs ont été arrêtés hier. (Photo GUILLAUME CLEMENT)



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L'HOMME DU JOUR



NICOLAS REITZBAUM L'auteur amiénois sort un livre déjà très remarqué, sur le cimetière du Père Lachaise.

Vous avez aimé *Route 66*, publié en 2012. Vous allez adorer *Le Père-Lachaise, jardin des ombres...*, un beau livre, qui vient de sortir chez Michel Lafon (228 pages, 29,95 €). Nicolas Reitzbaum, Amiénois d'origine, a passé dix mois à arpenter le plus célèbre des cimetières parisiens. Il en a tiré un livre remarquable. De la tombe d'Edith Piaf, très sobre mais la plus visitée, à celles de Voltaire et de La Fontaine qui furent à l'origine de cette nécropole, on y voyage dans le temps et... dans une part d'éternité.

LE CROTOY

Un an après le naufrage du Baie des anges

Un an, c'est ce qu'il aura fallu à l'armateur crotois du Baie des anges, Patrick Nicolay, pour se relever. Un de ses chalutiers, le Baie des anges, s'est échoué le 29 novembre 2013 au Tréport. Très vite, à l'émotion ont succédé les tracasseries administratives : payer le premier mois d'arrêt de travail des quatre matelots, prouver le bon état du navire pour que l'assurance rembourse. « Je commence à peine à remettre les pieds au Tréport », assure l'armateur qui est en cours d'acquisition d'un nouveau chalutier « pour les enfants ».



Le Baie des anges faisait la fierté de l'armateur.

BEAUVAIS

Une photographe expose à Paris

Hortense Soichet expose actuellement (jusqu'au 8 décembre) des photos prises à l'intérieur de logements sociaux, notamment à Beauvais pendant un an, à la Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine à Paris (Palais de Chaillot, entrée libre). Son exposition, *Espaces partagés*, se prolonge par la publication d'un livre, *Ensembles* (éditions Créaphis, 2014, 20€).

TRE0104.

CHANSON

Michel Pruvot chante Baryton

« Le picard, je le parle. Je suis né à Rue, contrairement à Johnny qui, lui, est né dans la rue », l'accordéoniste le plus picard de France, Michel Pruvot, revendique ses origines picardes. « J'ai été élevé à Mächy où mes grands-parents tenaient un café : L'Auberge de la Vallée. Je viens de la racheter avec, comme projet, d'en faire une guinguette. » Elevé dans ce café populaire, les vieux Picards, picardisants, lui ont non seulement appris à jouer aux cartes ; ils lui ont aussi enseigné la langue picarde.

Des chansons en Ch'ti, il en avait déjà écrites, produites et chantées, depuis qu'Edmond Tanière, à l'époque des premières radios locales (en 1981) en avait lancé la mode. Michel se souvient de Radio Quinquin, diffusée depuis un café de quartier où fusaient les chansons en Ch'ti (qui, faut-il le rappeler, n'est autre qu'un dérivé de la langue picarde), que popularisera Renaud, après le film *Germinol*.

Lorsqu'il animait son émission sur Fréquence Nord, en 1983 et 1984, Michel réalisa un 45 tours avec quatre chansons en Ch'ti. Mais sa vraie chanson en pur picard, Michel vient de l'enregistrer sur son dernier album *Ça balance au bal musette*.

Intitulée *Ch'tiot Picard*, elle est née de la rencontre de l'accordéoniste avec notre confrère du *Courrier picard*, Jean-Marc Chevauché. Ce dernier, qui en a écrit les paroles, a officié comme responsable de notre édition Picardie maritime, à Abbeville. C'est là que naquit leur amitié. Une



Michel Pruvot (à gauche), avec Jean-Marc Chevauché, surnommé Baryton en raison de sa forte voix.

amitié forte et solide. Ne pouvant pas faire un enfant, ils ont donc fait une chanson. Plutôt que de la décrire, nous vous invitons à l'écouter sur le site web du *Courrier picard* et sur Internet via Youtube ou Dailymotion. Ils l'interprètent tous les deux. Vous comprendrez alors pourquoi le surnom de

Jean-Marc Chevauché est Baryton.

PHL

À écouter et voir
www.courrier-picard.fr

CLERMONT

Les habitants au jardin

Pour la troisième année consécutive, une dizaine d'habitants de Clermont, amoureux de la nature ou jardiniers amateurs, se réunissent dans un jardin appartenant à la mairie. Partie d'un échange de savoirs, cette opération, baptisée « Ensemble au jardin », a permis la naissance d'un véritable jardin d'agrément qu'il faut maintenant mettre en valeur. Les membres du groupe s'y retrouvent deux mardis après-midi par mois.

PÉRONNE

La peur de l'antenne

Les habitants du vieux Mont-Saint-Quentin ont souvent mal à la tête. Ils constatent des interférences sur leurs télévisions ou leurs téléphones portables. Ils accusent les ondes émises par l'antenne de l'ancienne radio Galaxie, aujourd'hui devenue Evasion. Les équipements de la radio génèrent aussi des nuisances sonores dues aux ventilateurs de refroidissement.

NOYON

Démision à l'UMP après un fait divers

L'officier adjoint à la direction de l'UMP pour la circonscription Compiègne-Noyon, Alexandre Cavé, ne se présentera pas aux élections départementales à Noyon-Guiscard, en mars 2015. Il a démissionné, hier, de ses responsabilités au sein du parti. Conséquence d'une sombre histoire : deux Compiègnais, agresseurs présumés d'un médecin axonnais le 28 octobre, l'accusent d'avoir commandité cet acte. Même si aucune charge n'a été retenue contre lui, Alexandre Cavé est rayé des plans de l'UMP. Il annonçait, en septembre, vouloir se présenter « avec ou sans l'investiture » du parti.

LE TWEET DU JOUR



Nadim Bayeh @NadimBayeh_ Ruissellement de merde dans les grands boulevards d'Amiens... Ça va être dur à nettoyer !

Le passage des agriculteurs à Amiens ce mardi a baloté des traces bien visibles... et odorantes. Le Mail Albert 1^{er} et le quartier de la gare ont été endoctrinés.

AILLY-SUR-NOYE

Le BMX park bientôt fini

Lancé le 20 octobre dernier à Ailly-sur-Noye, au sud d'Amiens, le BMX park - une piste avec une rampe en bois pour pratiquer le BMX - doit être livré en fin de semaine. Composée de plusieurs virages et de lignes droites vallonnées, cette piste a été conçue en partenariat avec la Fédération française de cyclisme (FFC) qui a livré le dossier technique à la collectivité. Cet équipement est annoncé comme une première en France et a pour objectif de développer cette discipline dans l'Hexagone. La commune a investi quelque 30 000 euros dans ce circuit, qui sera inauguré en grande pompe avec des représentants de la FFC, le 22 novembre.

COURRIER PICARD JEUDI 6 NOVEMBRE 2014

MONTOIDIÉ

Le fond du trou ?

Chaque semaine apporte son nouvel épisode dans la saga de la cavité découverte lors des travaux rue Albert-1^{er} à Montdidier (Somme). D'abord du côté des commerçants, qui continuent de voir leur chiffre d'affaires baisser et qui réclament à la mairie une signalétique adaptée au changement de circulation mis en place. Ils se sentent abandonnés face aux difficultés. Ensuite du côté de la municipalité, qui dit faire « de son mieux » et regrette que le projet soit ralenti par des « impondérables ». Ce jeudi 6 novembre, les travaux doivent reprendre après de longues semaines d'attente. Pour voir enfin le fond du trou ?

AMIENS

Les motards contre la zone industrielle

Après la mort d'un jeune motard il y a deux semaines sur la zone industrielle Nord, la Fédération française des motards en colère (FFMC) se mobilise. Elle dénonce la dangerosité des routes et du mobilier urbain sur ce site. « Cela fait dix ans que nous demandons des améliorations pour la zone industrielle car actuellement, c'est très dangereux. Malheureusement rien n'a jamais été fait », regrette Philippe Leduncq, de la FFMC.



Pour la FFMC, le mobilier urbain est un danger de plus.

AMIENS

La légionellose dans l'eau chaude

Un contrôle opéré le 31 octobre dernier dans le service dermatologie de l'hôpital nord, sur l'eau des douches prises par les patients, a révélé la présence de la bactérie de la légionellose dans le réseau d'eau chaude à un taux supérieur à la normale. « Aucun patient n'a été infecté », détaille Walid Ben Brahim, directeur de la communication du CHU.

BRISSAY-CHOIGNY

Des chats morts empoisonnés ?

Dans la nuit du vendredi 31 au samedi 1^{er} novembre, trois chats sont morts, probablement victimes d'un empoisonnement. Deux familles de Brissay-Choigny, dans l'Aisne, ont décidé de déposer plainte à la gendarmerie de Ribemont. Les félins ont été retrouvés dans un même secteur de ce village de 300 habitants. Selon l'une des familles, qui a consulté un vétérinaire, il ne s'agirait pas de mort-aux-rats.

INÉDIT

Une nouvelle
du Petit Nicolas
exclusivement
pour nos lecteurs

PAGES II ET III

**ÉDITION**

Les traducteurs
picards
nous parlent
du Petit Nicolas

PAGE IV



JEUDI 6 NOVEMBRE 2014

CAHIER

SPECIAL

Le Petit Nicolas fait sa rentrée en picard

Le Petit Nicolas, de Goscinny et Sempé, fait son entrée en picard dans la collection des « Langues de France » chez IMAV éditions.



« *Ch'est mi ch'pu boin* »

« *Je suis le meilleur* »

NOUVELLE

Ch'sapré lapin

En exclusivité pour nos lecteurs, et en « bonus » à l'édition picarde, une nouvelle supplémentaire du Petit Nicolas en parler picard.

Étoait rudmint fameux l'école, innhui ! Comme os avoéme t'è bien sages quasimint tout l'èsmaine durant, no maristrisse al o amné dol pate à pértrir, a nos nn' o donné chatchun un morcieu, et pi a nos o appris à foaire un tchot lapin, avec des grandes euelles.

Min lapin à mi, ch'étoait ch'pu bieu lapin d'no classe, ch'est no maristrisse qu'al l'o dit. Agnan il étoait moussu et pi i disoit qu'ch'étoait point juste, qu'él siéne éd lapin il étoait aussi bieu qu'él miéne, qu'él j'avoais copié ; mais bié seur, a n'étoait point vra. Ch'qu'i s'passe avec Agnan, ch'est qu'vu qu'ch'est li préme in classe et pi qu'il est ch'préféré à chol maristrisse, il n'aime point quante un eute il est compliminté à s'plache ; et pi tandi qu'Agnan il bréyoait, chol maristrisse al o puni chés camarades pasqu'à plache éd foaire des lapins, is leu chamalloit'at avec chol pate à pértrir.

Alceste, i n'sé battoait point, mais i n'avait point voulu foaire éd lapin ; il avoait mingé dol pate à pértrir et pi a n'avoait point plé, et pi chol maristrisse al o dit qu'ch'étoait bien l'darin coup qu'al inséyoait d'nos foaire plaisir. Ch'étoait vramint éne boéne classe. J'ai rintré à no moaison rudmint contint, avec min lapin din m'main pour qu'i n'fuche point équérbouillé din m'carte. J'ai rintré à tout courant din no fornî pi lo j'ai crié :

— Rbée, manman !
Manman al o poussé un cri et pi a s'a rtorné d'un seul cœup.

— Coulos, qu'al o dit manman, cobien d'cœups qu'i feuro qu'él t' nmande d'én point rentrer comme un dératé din no fornî ? Alors lo, mi j'ai foait montrer min lapin à manman.

— Bon, vo l'avez tes mains, qu'al o dit manman. Tin collation i l'attind.

— Mais rbée min lapin, manman, qu'j'ai dit. No maristrisse al o dit qu'ch'étoait ch'pu bieu d'tout no classe.

— Finbien, finbien, qu'al o dit manman. Achteure, prépèret' !

Mais mi, j'ai bien vu qu'manman a n'avoait point rbéyé min lapin. Quante al dit : « Fin bien, fin bien », comme o, ch'est qu'a n'érbbe

point vramint.

— Tu n'os point rbéyé, min lapin, qu'j'ai dit.
— Coulos ! qu'al o crié manman. J'j'ai déjô nmandé d'aller t'prépèret' pour érchiner ! J'sus déjô épinèe assen comme o pour qu'tu n'fuche point indigne ! J'én durera point qu'tu fuches indigne !

Alors lo, ch'étoait un molé d'trop ! Mi, j'foais un lapin éstra, no maristrisse al dit qu'ch'est ch'pu bieu d'tout no classe, qu'meume éch préféré d'Agnan i n'n'rage, et pi à no moaison j'ém foais atuire !

A n'est vramint point juste, est vrai sans quoé, à l'fin des fins ! Ch'est d'lo qu'j'ai donné un cœup d'pied din ch'tambouret d'éch fornî et pi qu'j'ai sorti tout courant, et pi j'ai rintré din min cambinet pour grouler, et pi j'm'ai chté su min lit, mais d'vant j'avoais mis min lapin dsu m'tabe, pour én point l'écatir. Et pi Manman al a rintré din min cambinet.

— Ch'est point fini, Coulos, tes mnées ? qu'a m'o dit. Tu t'in vos déchinde érchiner si tu n'vieux point qu'él raconte tout o à papa.

— Tu n'os point rbéyé min lapin ! qu'j'ai dit.
— Bon, bon, bon ! qu'al o dit manman. J'él voés, tin lapin. Il est fin rétu, tin lapin. Lo, t'es contint ? Achteure, tu sros sage o bien j'min vos m'mette in prousse.

— I n'té plait point, min lapin ? qu'j'ai dit. Éj m'ai rmis à braire, pasqu'est vra. Ch'est point l'peinne éd bien suire in classe si apre, un cœup rintré à no moaison, o n'aime point vo lapin. Et pi os ons intindu l'voéx à papa, in bos.

— Doù qu'os éte ? qu'il o crié papa. J'sus lo ! J'ai rintré d'boéne heure !

Et pi papa il a rintré din min cambinet.
— Ehbè ? qu'il o nmandé. Quoé qu'ch'est qu'i s'passe ichi ? Oz intind des hurlées du bout d'no gardin !

— I s'passe, qu'al dit manman, éq Coulos il est indigne édpi qu'il a rvénu d'école. Vlo ch'qu'i s'passe !

— J'én sus point indigne, éq j'ai dit.
— Un molé d'calme, qu'il o dit papa.

— Bravo ! qu'al o dit manman. Bravo !

Donne-z-i raison, t'i ! Apreu tu fros l'seur-prins quante i torméro vilain !

— Mi, j'i donne raison contré t'i ? qu'il o dit papa. Mais j'én donne mie raison à parsonne, mi ! Pour un coup qu'él rinte éd boéne heure, va qu'él trouve un drame à no moaison. Mi qu'j'ém foaisois un plaisir d'rintrer si vite apre éne rude journée, est gainné !

— Et pi mi ? qu'al o nmandé manman, tu creus qu'is n'sont point dures étou, les



Un dessin de Sempé illustrant la nouvelle originale. (IMAV éditions / Goscinny - Sempé)

miénes éd journées ? Ti, tu sortes, tu voés du monne. Mi, j'réste ichi comme éne esclave, à travailler pour rinde no maison vivabe, et pi pèr déssu l'mértché i feut qu'él dure éd méchante humeur éd chés deux mossieus lo.

— Mi, j'sus d'méchante humeur ? qu'il o crié papa in butchant su m'tabe, et pi j'ai yeu peur pasqu'il o manché d'avoér min lapin, et pi lo, il étoait t'jolimint raplati.

— Tout à foait qu'os d'méchante humeur, qu'al o dit manman. Et pi j'croés qu'tu froais miu d'én point crier dvant ch'éfiant !

— I m'sanne éq ch'est point mi qu'él foaisois braire, éch plot, qu'il o dit papa.

— Ch'est o, ch'est o, dis tout d'suite éq j'él lapide, qu'al o dit manman.

Adon, papa il o l'vè ses poings d'chaque coté d's brongne et pi il o cminché à foaire des grandes agambées din min cambinet, et pi, vu qu'min cambinet il est tout tchot, i dvoait torner in rond tout l'temps.

— Os allez m'rinde fou, ichi ! qu'i crioait papa. Os aller m'rinde fou !

Adon, manman a s'a assis su min lit, al o cminché à réspirer fort, pi a s'a mis à braire, et pi mi j'aime point quante manman al braie, alors j'ai brai, mi étou. Papa i s'a arrêté d'marcher, i nos o rbéyé et pi i s'a assis au coté d'manman, i o passé sin bros alintour éd ses épeules, il o satché sin mouchoér éd ses poches, et pi i l'lo passé à manman qu'a s'a mouché fort éd din.

— Bon, bon, m'tchote, qu'il o dit papa. Os sommes réditchules éd nos imballer comme o. Os sommes tértous épinèes... Coulos, mouque tt' !... et pi ch'est pour o qu'os disons n'importé quoé.

— T'os raison, qu'al o dit manman. Mais quoé

qu'ch'est qu'tu veux, quante i monte éd l'orage comme innhui, et pi qu'éch plot...
— Mais oui, mais oui, qu'il o dit papa. J'sus seur éq toute i vo s'arringer. I feut un molé d'psychologie avec chés éfants, tu l'sais bien. Attinds, tu vos vir.

Et pi papa i s'a torné d'in coté et pi i m'o passé s'main din mes gveux.

— Ti point vra, qu'il o dit papa, qu'min tchot Coulos i sro fin ginti avec manman et pi qu'i s'in vo li nmander pardon ?

Mi, j'ai dit qu'ou, pasqu'ch'pu boin moment, à no maison, ch'est quante os décessons nos chamailles.

— J'ai été un molé arbitraire avec li, qu'al o dit manman. Tu sais qu'il o fin bien travaillé à l'école, no tchot Coulos. S'maristrisse a l'lo coplimenté dvant tous ses tchots camarades.

— Mais est fin bien, o, qu'il o dit papa. Ch'est éstra ! Os voyez bien qu'il n'y o point d'quoé braire. Mais avec tout o, mi j'aglave éd fain, et pi ch'est l'heure d'érchiner. Apreu mingor, Coulos tu m'racontes tes ésploés.

Et pi papa pi manman is ont rigolé ; alors, mi j'étoais rudmint contint, et pi durant qu'papa il imbrassoait manman, j'ai t'è prinde min bieu lapin pour él foaire montrer à papa.

Et pi papa i s'a rtorné et pi i m'o dit :

— Allons, Coulos, achteure éq toute i vo pour l'émitu, tu t'in vo éte raisonnabe, hein min flu ? Alors, j'ète chol coéchonnerie lo qu'tu tiens din t'main, pi lave bien tes mains, et pi os allons rchiner trintchillemint.

D'APRÈS « LE CHOUJETTE LAPIN » DE RENÉ GOSCINNY

Traduction de Jacques Duplhy et Jean-Luc Vigneux. Relecture et correction de Delphine Vigneux (septembre 2014)

JEUDI 6 NOVEMBRE 2014 COURRIER PICARD

Le Chouette lapin

C'était drôlement chouette à l'école, aujourd'hui ! Comme nous avions été très sages pendant presque toute la semaine, la maîtresse a apporté de la pâte à modeler, elle nous en a donné un peu à chacun, et elle nous a appris à faire un petit lapin, avec de grandes oreilles. Mon lapin, c'était le meilleur lapin de la classe, c'est la maîtresse qui l'a dit. Agnan n'était pas content et il disait que ce n'était pas juste, que son lapin était aussi bien que le mien, que j'avais copié ; mais bien sûr, ce n'était pas vrai. Ce qu'il y a avec Agnan, c'est que, comme il est le premier de la classe et le chouchou de la maîtresse, il n'aime pas quand quelqu'un d'autre se fait féliciter à sa place ; et pendant qu'Agnan pleurait, la maîtresse a puni les copains parce qu'au lieu de faire des lapins, ils se battaient avec la pâte à modeler. Alceste, il ne se battait pas, mais il n'avait pas voulu faire de lapin ; il avait goûté à la pâte à modeler et ça ne lui avait pas plu, et la maîtresse a dit que c'était bien la dernière fois qu'elle essayait de nous faire plaisir. Ça a été vraiment une chouette classe.

Je suis rentré à la maison drôlement content, avec mon lapin dans la main pour qu'il ne soit pas aplati dans mon cartable. Je suis entré en courant dans la cuisine et j'ai crié :
 – Regarde, maman !
 Maman a poussé un cri et elle s'est retournée d'un coup.
 – Nicolas, elle a dit maman, combien de fois faut-il que je te demande de ne pas entrer dans la cuisine comme un sauvage ?

Alors moi j'ai montré mon lapin à maman.
 – Bon, va te laver les mains, a dit maman. Le goûter est prêt.
 – Mais regarde mon lapin, maman, j'ai dit. La maîtresse a dit que c'était le plus chouette de toute la classe.
 – Très bien, très bien, a dit maman. Maintenant, va te préparer.

Mais moi, j'ai bien vu que maman n'avait pas regardé mon lapin. Quand elle dit : « Très bien, très bien », comme ça, c'est qu'elle ne regarde pas vraiment.

– Tu ne l'as pas regardé, mon lapin, j'ai dit.
 – Nicolas a crié maman, je t'ai déjà demandé d'aller te préparer pour le goûter ! Je suis assez énervée comme ça pour que tu ne sois pas insupportable ! Je ne supporterai pas que tu sois insupportable !

Alors, là, c'était un peu fort ! Moi, je fais un lapin terrible, la maîtresse dit que c'est le meilleur de toute la classe, même ce chouchou d'Agnan est jaloux, et à la maison on me gronde !

C'est drôlement pas juste, c'est vrai, quoi, à la fin ! Et j'ai donné un coup de pied dans le tabouret de la cuisine et je suis sorti en courant, et je suis entré dans ma chambre pour bouder, et je me suis jeté sur mon lit, mais avant j'ai mis mon lapin sur le pupitre, pour ne pas l'écraser.

Et puis Maman est entrée dans ma chambre.
 – Ce n'est pas un peu fini, Nicolas, ces manières ? elle m'a dit. Tu vas descendre goûter si tu ne veux pas que je raconte tout à papa.

– Tu n'as pas regardé mon lapin ! j'ai dit.
 – Bon, bon, bon ! m'a dit maman. Je le vois, ton lapin. Il est très joli, ton lapin. Là, tu es content ? Maintenant, tu vas être sage ou je vais me fâcher.

– Il ne te plaît pas, mon lapin ? j'ai dit, et je me suis mis à pleurer, parce que c'est vrai, c'est pas la peine de bien étudier à l'école si après, chez vous, on n'aime pas vos lapins. Et puis on a entendu la voix de papa, d'en bas.

– Où est tout le monde ? a crié papa. Je suis là ! Je suis revenu de bonne heure !

Et puis papa est entré dans ma chambre.
 – Eh bien ? il a demandé. Qu'est-ce qui se passe ici ? On entend des hurlements depuis le jardin !

– Il se passe, a dit maman, que Nicolas est insupportable depuis qu'il est revenu de l'école. Voilà ce qui se passe !
 – Je ne suis pas insupportable, j'ai dit.

– Un peu de calme, a dit papa.
 – Bravo ! a dit maman. Bravo ! Donne-lui raison contre moi.



Autre dessin de Sempé pour illustrer « un chouette lapin ». (IMAV éditions / Goscinny - Sempé)

Après tu seras le premier étonné quand il tournera mal !

– Moi, je lui donne raison contre toi ? a dit papa. Mais je ne donne raison à personne, moi ! j'arrive de bonne heure, exceptionnellement, et je trouve un drame à la maison. Moi qui me réjouissais de rentrer si tôt après une dure journée, c'est réussi !

– Et moi ? a demandé maman, tu crois qu'elles ne sont pas dures, mes journées ? Toi tu sors, tu vois du monde. Moi, je suis ici comme une esclave, à travailler pour rendre cette maison vivable, et en plus il faut que je supporte la mauvaise humeur de ces messieurs.

– Moi, je suis de mauvaise humeur ? a crié papa en donnant un coup de poing sur mon pupitre, et j'ai eu peur parce qu'il a failli avoir mon lapin, et ça, ça l'aurait drôlement aplati.

– Parfaitement que tu es de mauvaise humeur, a dit maman. Et je crois que tu ferais mieux de ne pas crier devant le petit !
 – Il me semble que ce ne n'est pas moi qui le faisais pleurer, le petit, a dit papa.

– C'est ça, c'est ça, dis tout de suite que je le martyrise, a dit maman.

Alors, papa a mis ses poings de chaque côté de sa figure et il a commencé à faire des tas de grands pas dans ma chambre, et comme ma chambre est petite, il devait tourner tout le temps.

– On va me rendre fou, ici ! il criait papa. On va me rendre fou !

Alors, maman s'est assise sur mon lit, elle a commencé à respirer des tas de fois, et puis elle s'est mise à pleurer, et moi je n'aime pas quand ma maman pleure, alors j'ai pleuré aussi, papa s'est arrêté de marcher, il nous a regardés et puis il s'est assis à côté de maman, il lui a passé son bras autour des épaules, il a sorti son mouchoir et il l'a donné à maman qui

s'est mouchée très fort.

– Allons, allons, chérie, a dit papa. Nous sommes ridicules de nous emporter comme ça. Nous sommes tous énervés... Nicolas, mouche-toi... et c'est pour ça que nous disons n'importe quoi.

– Tu as raison, a dit maman. Mais qu'est-ce que tu veux, quand il fait orageux comme aujourd'hui, et que le petit...

– Mais oui, mais oui, a dit papa. Je suis sûr que tout va s'arranger. Il faut un peu de psychologie avec les enfants, tu le sais bien. Attends, tu vas voir.

Et puis papa s'est tourné vers moi et il m'a passé sa main sur les cheveux.

– N'est-ce pas, a dit papa, que mon Nicolas va être très gentil avec maman et qu'il va lui demander pardon ?

Moi, j'ai dit que oui, parce que le moment le plus chouette, à la maison, c'est quand nous terminons nos disputes.

– J'ai été un peu injuste avec lui, a dit maman. Tu sais qu'il a très bien travaillé à l'école, notre Nicolas. La maîtresse l'a félicité devant tous ses petits camarades.

– Mais c'est très bien, ça, a dit papa. C'est magnifique ! Vous voyez bien qu'il n'y a pas de quoi pleurer. Mais avec tout ça, j'ai faim, et c'est l'heure du goûter. Après, Nicolas va me raconter ses succès.

– Et papa et maman ont rigolé ; alors, moi j'étais drôlement content, et pendant que papa embrassait maman, je suis allé prendre mon chouette lapin pour le montrer à papa.

– Et papa s'est retourné et il m'a dit :

– Allons, Nicolas, maintenant que tout va bien, tu vas être raisonnable, hein ? Alors, va jeter cette cochonnerie que tu tiens là, lave-toi bien les mains et allons goûter tranquillement.

RENÉ GOSCINNY

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IV CAHIER SPÉCIAL

COURRIER PICARD JEUDI 6 NOVEMBRE 2014

EN
BREF

DESSIN

Un concours avec

Passeur de rêves

Du 16 octobre au 5 novembre, la librairie Martelle, d'Amiens (et son secteur jeunesse, Passeur de rêves) a organisé un concours « Dessine le Petit Nicolas » à l'occasion de cette sortie du héros de Goscinny et Sempé en picard. Les résultats du concours seront proclamés ce 6 novembre à 18 heures, en préambule de la rencontre avec les traducteurs, à la librairie Martelle.

RENCONTRE

Le Petit Nicolas et le Courrier en picard

S'associant avec notre « journal en picard » de ce jour, IMAV Editions, la librairie Martelle et France Bleu Picardie organisent, ce jeudi 6 novembre à 18 heures à la librairie Martelle (3, rue des Vergeaux à Amiens), une rencontre-dédicace avec Anne Goscinny, Jean-Luc Vigneux et Jacques Dulphy (les traducteurs du Petit Nicolas en picard de la Somme, également responsables de la traduction en picard du Courrier picard de ce jour) et Daniel Muraz, adjoint au rédacteur en chef du Courrier picard.

PÉDAGOGIE

Un outil pour les enfants

Si le Petit Nicolas est, avant tout, un plaisir de lecture, il affirme aussi une volonté de faire oeuvre de pédagogie. L'ouvrage comprend ainsi un grand lexique des termes utilisés, ainsi qu'une bibliographie de glossaires en picard et d'ouvrages de référence sur la bande dessinée (Sans oublier une biographie de Goscinny et de Sempé...). Et l'on pourra même glisser dans le livre ce cahier spécial, avec sa nouvelle exclusive traduite!

EDITION

Un livre du patrimoine
Le Petit Nicolas est un vrai succès d'édition. Traduit dans 45 pays, les aventures du célèbre petit garçon regroupent 222 histoires, publiées en 14 volumes chez IMAV Editions et en folio junior. Les ventes annuelles tournent autour de 300 000 exemplaires pour l'ensemble de la série.

Courrier picard Cahier spécial au n° 22.410 du 6 novembre
Directeur de la publication : Gabriel D'HARCOURT
Réalisation : Daniel MURAZ
Rédaction : Fabrice JULIEN, Jacques DULPHY, Jean-Luc VIGNEUX

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LITTÉRATURE

Après Tintin et Astérix, le Petit Nicolas se met à parler picard

Les éditions IMAV, dirigées par la fille de René Goscinny, sortent aujourd'hui les aventures du Petit Nicolas en picard. Exercice auquel il se prête bien.



Le tour de Gaule du Petit Nicolas fait escale en Picardie. Après les aventures en langue corse, en breton, en arabe maghrébin, en yiddish et en créole (de Martinique, de la Réunion, de Guadeloupe et de Guyanne), le célèbre personnage imaginé par le duo Sempé/Goscinny parle désormais picard. Sorti aujourd'hui, *Ch'Tchot Colas in picard* s'inscrit dans la collection Langues de France des éditions IMAV, dirigées par Anne Goscinny (fille de), qui ambitionne de traduire les aventures de ce best-seller de la littérature pour enfants dans les 75 langues de France.

« Le picard ressemble au français de Goscinny »

Après Tintin, Astérix, ou encore les Simpson, c'est donc au tour de ce personnage emblématique et indémodable créé en 1959 de prendre l'accent picard, ou plutôt les accents picards. Ce recueil de six histoires compte en effet deux aventures traduites en picard de Tournai (Wallonie), deux autres en



Jean-Luc Vigneux et Jacques Dulphy ont mis du picard dans la bouche de Ch'Tchot Colas.

picard de l'Artois (Nord-de-Calais), les deux dernières étant écrites en picard de chez nous, ou plus exactement de la région Ab-

beville-Amiens.

Une fois encore, IMAV éditions a confié ce travail à Jacques Dulphy et Jean-Luc Vigneux, membres

des Picardisants du Ponthieu et du Vimeu, fondateurs, entre autre, de la revue *Ch'Lanchron*. Comme pour les traductions d'Astérix et de Tintin, les deux Picards, respectivement natifs du Vimeu et du Ponthieu, ont confronté leur travail pour offrir au lecteur la traduction la plus fidèle possible.

« Le but est de faire une écriture lisible et de proposer un picard qui peut être dit et lu facilement », explique Jean-Luc Vigneux. Et contrairement à d'autres ouvrages, le Petit Nicolas semble se plier facilement à cet exercice. « Le picard ressemble au français de Goscinny dans le sens où c'est une langue qui coule, poursuit Jacques Dulphy. C'est une écriture volontairement infantile, et le picard s'y prête bien. » C'est aussi toute la magie du Petit Nicolas dont les aventures, dans le Paris du début des années 1960, semblent indémodables et transposables à l'infini. « Chez le Petit Nicolas, il n'y a pas de vaches et de prairies comme ici, pourtant, ça fonctionne. Cela nous ramène et on a l'impression de se retrouver il y a cinquante ans dans la cour d'école. »

FABRICE JULIEN

3 QUESTIONS À

« Le Petit Nicolas est intemporel »



ANNE GOSCINNY, fille de René, est à la tête des éditions IMAV. Elle ambitionne de traduire les aventures du Petit Nicolas dans les soixante-quinze langues de France.

► **Pourquoi une traduction du Petit Nicolas en picard ?** Nous avons eu envie d'aborder le maximum de langues de France, et la traduction en picard est la neuvième de la collection. Une traduction dans une autre langue est toujours très intéressante d'un point de vue intellectuel. Elle permet d'apporter un nouvel éclairage sur l'œuvre, grâce à la richesse du vocabulaire. Nous avons l'intention de traduire

cette œuvre dans les 75 langues de France, c'est une initiative à laquelle je suis très attachée. Et je trouve qu'une langue régionale est toujours plus émouvante qu'une langue étrangère. Pour ma part, ma préférence va au yiddish, qui était la langue maternelle de mon père.

► **Le Petit Nicolas a-t-il une place particulière dans votre cœur ?** J'adore toute l'œuvre de mon père : Astérix pour l'humour, Lucky Luke pour les parodies de Western ou encore Izngoud pour les calembours. Mais le Petit Nicolas est certainement celui dont je me sens le plus proche. Mon père n'a pas eu le temps de me raconter son enfance, et je pense qu'il y

a beaucoup de lui et de l'enfance de Sempé dans ce personnage.

► **Ce personnage a été créé en 1959 et connaît toujours un réel succès. Pourquoi ?** Quand je vais chercher mes enfants au collège, je retrouve encore l'école du Petit Nicolas. C'est un personnage intemporel. Les tablettes numériques ont beau remplacer les encriers et les pupitres, l'essentiel reste. Dans une classe, quelle que soit l'époque, il y a toujours le cancre, l'élève studieux, la maîtresse. Je suis persuadée que les enfants qui lisent le Petit Nicolas aujourd'hui ne se rendent même pas compte que les objets et l'environnement sont d'une autre époque.

ÉPHÉMÉRIDE 53

JEUDI 6 NOVEMBRE 2014 COURRIER PICARD

LA RECETTE DU JOUR



Le gâteau de Mers-les-Bains

Préparation : 1 h
Cuisson : 45 mn (180°)

• 600 g de pommes acidées, 400 g de farine, 5 œufs, 1/2 litre de lait, 1 paquet de levure chimique, sucre vanillé, sel, 150 g de sucre, 80 g de beurre, 5 cl de calvados.
Garniture : 4 dl de crème fluide, 80 g de sucre semoule.

Peler les pommes, les couper en quartiers, ôter le cœur et les pépins. Découper les quartiers de pommes en lamelles.
Mélanger la farine et la levure chimique. Verser les œufs, le lait, le sel, le sucre et les incorporer à la farine. Ajouter le calvados, ainsi que le beurre fondu, mélanger. Disposer les pommes dans une tourtière beurrée. Verser la pâte par-dessus. Mettre cuire à four. Siôt cuit, démolir le gâteau sur une grille et laisser refroidir. Fouetter la crème. Dès qu'elle épaissit, y mélanger le sucre. Décorer la surface du gâteau avec la crème Chantilly, en se servant d'une poche à décorer munie d'une douille centrale.
Dans la région on remplace le lait par la crème du lait bouilli, que l'on conserve pendant plusieurs jours de suite. Avant utilisation, battre la crème pour la rendre fluide.

HOROSCOPE DU JOUR

Si vous fêtez votre anniversaire aujourd'hui Vous avez besoin de vous changer les idées. Faites de votre soirée un événement ! Inventez, invitez, amusez-vous !

BÉLIER (21/03 - 20/04)

Travail-Argent « journée favorable à la spéculation et aux placements. Demandez l'avis d'un spécialiste. Amour « une idylle prometteuse pourra fleurir de manière soudaine ou dans des conditions inattendues. Santé « gorge fragile.

TAUREAU (21/04 - 21/05)

Travail-Argent « vous n'aimez pas rendre des comptes mais vous n'avez pas le choix. Amour « n'estez positif. Si vous êtes célibataire, vous rencontrerez bientôt une personne qui saura vous apprivoiser. Santé « bonne vitalité.

GÉMEAUX (22/05 - 21/06)

Travail-Argent « vous aurez du mal à garder votre sang-froid et à être objectif. Ne dépassez pas les bornes. Amour « l'impression persistante que votre partenaire vous délaisse vous rendra triste. Santé « excellente mais votre moral est en baisse.

CANCER (22/06 - 22/07)

Travail-Argent « vous vous sentirez très performant et vous irez au bout de vos idées. Amour « vous retrouverez une bonne dose d'optimisme. Vous en oublierez vos doutes et repartirez du bon pied. Santé « faites un footing ou de la marche.

LION (23/07 - 23/08)

Travail-Argent « on vous sollicitera pour des tâches dont vous ne voulez pas. Amour « quelques mises au point s'avéreront nécessaires au sein de votre couple ou en famille. Santé « vous ne manquez pas de vitalité.

VIERGE (23/08 - 23/09)

Travail-Argent « les démarches que vous entreprendrez vous donneront entière satisfaction. Amour « vous ferez une rencontre surprenante ou insolite qui aboutira pourtant à une relation positive. Santé « soyez prudent au volant.

BALANCE (23/09 - 22/10)

Travail-Argent « ce n'est pas le moment de solliciter de nouveaux délais. Vous devrez faire de gros efforts. Amour « en famille, quelque chose ne va pas en ce moment et cela vous énerve. Posez les bonnes questions. Santé « troubles allergiques.

SCORPION (23/10 - 22/11)

Travail-Argent « vous êtes légué mais il faudra vous montrer plus réceptif pour ne pas rater une belle opportunité.

Amour « vous vous sentirez mal à l'aise en société et pas très sûr de vous. Sortez de votre réserve. Santé « attention aux excès.

SAGITTAIRE (23/11 - 22/12)

Travail-Argent « vous aurez les coudées franches. Profitez de cette belle opportunité. Amour « vous changerez si vite d'humeur que votre partenaire ne parviendra pas à rester sur la même longueur d'onde que vous. Santé « bonne endurance.

CAPRICORNE (23/12 - 20/01)

Travail-Argent « vos rentrées d'argent sont attendues. Essayez de vous montrer un peu moins autoritaire. Amour « le coup de foudre vous attend au coin de la rue. Soyez prêt à toute éventualité. Santé « sommeil perturbé.

VERSEAU (21/01 - 19/02)

Travail-Argent « vous faites de grands projets : pour certains ce sera dans le cadre professionnel, pour d'autres dans l'espoir d'améliorer leur situation. Amour « vous n'appréciez pas que l'on se mêle de votre vie privée. Santé « vous manquerez d'allant.

POISSONS (20/02 - 20/03)

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ÉPHÉMÉRIDE

Saint Léonard

C'est, en Picardie, le protecteur de Bailoy-Saint-Léonard (80) et de Gauville (80). Il vécut au 6^e siècle.
Demain : Carine

Quelques 6 NOVEMBRE :

• 966 : mort d'Oldaric, archevêque de Reims, seigneur d'Atthes et d'Ennemain (80).



• 1692 : naissance à Paris de Romane (le nom de sa mère) à Grivillers, pres de Montdidier. Il meurt à Paris en 1763.

• 1800 (15 brumaire An IX) : une louve est tuée à Ailraines (80), au bois de Courchon, par le citoyen Bernieulles, cultivateur, qui était parti à la chasse.

• 1918 : mort à Paris de Pascal Ceccaldi, avocat, journaliste et homme politique. D'origine corse, président du conseil général (radical) de l'Aisne en 1917, c'est aussi le fondateur du « Démocrate de l'Aisne ».



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LE DESSIN D'ALEX



L'EDITORIAL DE MICKAEL TASSART

Où va-t-on Monsieur Hollande ?



Coup de sifflet : mi-temps. Mais pas le temps de souffler pour le président de la République François Hollande qui a choisi l'arène médiatique pour un exercice périlleux dont il ne peut toutefois faire l'économie : le bilan de mi-mandat. Le bilan ? Beaucoup l'ont fait avant lui et les plus nombreux ne sont pas tendres à l'égard de la politique de François Hollande. Notamment sur le front de la lutte contre le chômage. Qu'il ressorte le casque, les critiques vont pleuvoir. Mais comment peut-il en être autrement pour un président qui avait promis - les yeux dans les yeux - d'inverser la courbe du chômage ? Il a échoué. Pas dupe, son ministre du Travail (et de l'Emploi), François Rebsamen, a déjà annoncé la couleur en estimant que le bilan à mi-parcours n'était pas « satisfaisant ». François Hollande va demander du temps aux Français. Ils se sont déjà montrés patients. Ce soir, le président sera un peu dans la

peau du conducteur en rase campagne, à qui les passagers hurlent qu'il fait fausse route, mais qui veut montrer coûte que coûte que le chemin qu'il a choisi est le bon.

En deux ans et demi à l'Élysée, François Hollande a déboulonné un électorat pour qui le mariage pour tous a été le seul phare progressiste dans le brouillard du social-libéralisme. Le président devra faire preuve de pédagogie et de persuasion pour défendre son action. Montrer qu'il sait ce qu'il fait.

L'épisode de la réforme territoriale ne plaide pas en sa faveur. Cette carte des nouvelles régions, visiblement griffonnée à la hâte sur un coin de bureau, reste jusque-là comme un symbole d'une méthode de gouverner à la petite semaine. Brimbalée entre la Champagne-Ardenne et le Nord - Pas-de-Calais, la Picardie attend aussi de François Hollande qu'il clarifie les choses : où va-t-on, Monsieur le Président ?

Des recettes pour parler le picard

LANGUE Même s'il n'est pas une matière scolaire à part entière, le picard a droit de cité à l'école. Deux enseignants ont rédigé une méthode pour ceux qui souhaitent l'enseigner.

Des chants populaires traditionnels, une recette de soufflé aux pommes, des éléments d'histoire et de géographie communs à cette grande région qui s'étend du Sud de la Wallonie aux portes de l'Île-de-France... Alain Dawson et Pierre Guilgot, tous deux enseignants - le premier à l'UPJV, le second au lycée de la Hotoie à Amiens - ont rédigé une méthode de picard destinée aux établissements d'enseignement primaire et secondaire. L'idée est née dans le cadre d'un projet européen Interreg « Programme de développement d'une culture transfrontalière commune », auquel ont pris part l'Agence pour le picard, la fédération Insanne (Nord), El Méjo des Wallons et la Roulotte théâtrale, tous deux implantés dans le Hainaut, province belge du Sud de la Wallonie.

Le picard ne bénéficiant d'aucun statut officiel susceptible d'en faire une matière scolaire à part entière, l'ouvrage est avant tout destiné aux enseignants bénévoles qui animent des clubs du midi, au sein desquels ils s'efforcent de faire vivre le picard.

Prendre conscience de la richesse d'un patrimoine

« Nous sommes partis d'un constat : la langue picarde, même si elle n'a pas d'existence officielle, continue à véhiculer une identité forte, rappelle Pierre Guilgot. Cette



Pierre Guilgot a coécrit avec Alain Dawson, une méthode destinée aux professeurs qui souhaitent enseigner le picard.

méthode est un outil pour faire vivre cette identité. Et si nous, Picards, ne cherchons pas à défendre ce patrimoine, personne ne le fera pour nous... »

Une partie linguistique, avec un dialogue proposé en trois variétés de picards différentes - le picard a beau être une langue, il n'en est pas moins divers - une partie dédiée à la civilisation, une sélection de textes littéraires et des activités à mener en classe avec les élèves... Conçue par des enseignants, pour

des enseignants, la méthode s'apparente à celles qui existent en matière d'apprentissage des langues étrangères.

Au-delà, elle se veut aussi un outil permettant aux élèves de prendre conscience de ce patrimoine culturel et linguistique commun à la Picardie, au Nord-Pas-de-Calais et à la Wallonie picarde. « Dans le Nord-Pas-de-Calais, les gens qui parlent le Ch'Ti ont rarement conscience de parler une forme de picard. Cette langue est pourtant née il y a 1 000

ans alors que le terme de Ch'ti, est né dans les tranchées de la Grande Guerre », rappelle Pierre Guilgot qui ambitionne aussi, à travers de cette méthode, de mettre fin à la stigmatisation sociale qui entoure le parler picard. L'idée, étant d'en faire un élément parmi d'autres, d'une richesse culturelle qui n'a de sens que si elle est synonyme de diversité. « De nombreux habitants de la région, et donc aussi des enfants, utilisent des mots, des tournures en picards qui ne sont pas toujours

Le picard est une langue « praticable »

La survie d'une langue passe par la transmission... De ce point de vue, le rôle des enseignants référents est primordial, enseignement informel du picard à l'école, reposant avant tout sur leur investissement. La méthode démontre par ailleurs que le picard est une langue tout à fait praticable, quitte à ce qu'elle ne le soit qu'imparfaitement : « Il est préférable de parler en faisant des fautes, plutôt que de ne pas parler le picard du tout », rappelle Pierre Guilgot.

identifiés en tant que tels. Et quand ils le sont, c'est souvent parce qu'on leur fait remarquer qu'ils parlent "mal" le français ».

De fait, le picard, y compris lorsqu'il est question de l'accent, est souvent réduit à un vulgaire patois, avec ce que le terme peut véhiculer de péjoratif. Il est aussi assimilé globalement à « une langue des pauvres », le français apparaissant par opposition, comme celle d'une élite sociale. « Le but, c'est donc aussi de faire en sorte que toutes deux apparaissent comme une vraie richesse, mais à condition qu'elles soient dissociées », rappelle Pierre Guilgot.

PHILIPPE FLUCKIGER

CH'DESSIN A ALEX



CH'MOT D'BILLET A MICKAEL TASSART

A doù qu'o s'in vo, Monsieur Hollande ?



Cœup d'sifflet : oz est à l'mi-temps. Mais ch'président François Hollande i n'ero point l'temps d'souffler. Il o coéist ch'téyate médiatique pour pêrfoaire un exercice éscabreux qu'i n'peut point aller outre : ch'bilan du mitan d'sin mandat. Ch'bilan ? Gramint d'vant li is l'ont foait, et pi chés pu drus is n'sont point doreux au gar d'és politique.

Ch'est surtout à pèrpos d'és lutte alinconté d'éch chomage. Si i rdéssaque sin casque, chés critiques is s'in vont pluvoer. Mais cmint qu'i poroit foaire autremint un président qu'il avoait promis din l'blanc des zius d'érormer à l'invèr d'l montée d'éch chomage ? Il o manché. Point nayu, sin ministre du Travail (et pi d'implôlé), François Rebsamen, il o déjé prins les dvants in foaisant savôur qu'éch bilan à mitan-cmin i n'étoait point « satisfaisant ». François Hollande i s'in vo dmander du temps à chés Français. Is ont déjé yeu bien dol paciènce.

Au vrêpe, ch'président i sro un molé din

l'cassaque d'un conduiseu d'auto au mitan d'chés camps, pi qu'chés gins à coté d'li is li crit'it qu'i s'bêrlure d'écmin, mais qu'il i prétind qu'él route qu'il o coéist ch'est chol boène, et pi qu'ch'est comme o qu'i feut qu'a fûche.

In deux ans et dmi à mon Lysè, François Hollande il o déturbé chés votés qu'is n'ont vu d'avanchêe qu'din ch'mériage pour tértous au mitan d'chés breumes épaises d'éch socio-libéralisme. I feuro qu'éch président il asplique pi qu'i convainque gramint pour définde sin bilan. Foaire montrer qu'i sait ch'qu'il foait. Ch'passage éd chol réforme éd terti-toères a n'arange érien. Chol carte éd chés nouvelles régions, broussée au coin d'ène tabe, al érsanne à d'avanchêe à ziu goutte. Bringbalée intar-deux l'Champagne-Ardenne et pi ch'Nord-Pas-d'Calais, no Picardie al attend elle étou qu'éch Président i diche éch fond d'és pinsée : à doù qu'o s'in vo, Monsieur l'Président ?

Dz'ercettes pour édviser in picard

PÉRLAGE Margré qu'éch picard i n'fûche point éne matière éscolaire in prope, il o qua meume és plache din chés écoles. Deux maristères is ont écrit éne méthode pour él foaire aprinde.

Des canchons d'él tradition picarde, éne ércette éd soufflé à mes, des morcieux d'his-toère et pi d'jographie qu'is s'rapport' à chol granne région qu'al vo d'él Wallonie dusqu'à chés parages éd Paris... Alain Dawson et pi Pierre Guilgot, touté deux professeurs — ch'prème à chl'Université Picardie Jules Verne, éch deuse din ch'lycée d'la Hotoée à Ammien — is ont ahansé éne méthode éd picard pour chés classes du primaire et pi d'chu scondaire. Ch'i'dée lo al o jamé din ch'développement d'un proujet européen Interreg (ch'Programme éd développement d'ène tchulture commune pèr-déssu d'chés frontières), doù qu'iy avoait d'rassannés chl'Agence pour éch picard, chol fédération Insanne (Nord), Él Mèjo dès Walons, et pi l'Roulotte théâtrale (deux sociétés d'chu Hainaut belge, intré Charleroi et pi Mons in Borinage).

Du faite qu'éch picard i n'o point chl'érconnaissance officielle qu'al poroit nin foaire éne matière éscolaire pour du boin, échl'ouvrage i s'adrèche au prème à chés maristères qu'is inced'it bénévomint dz'atèyers d'picard, lo qu'isinséy't éd foaire vive éch périlage à nonne.

« In eminchant, os nos ons résou : ch'est point pasqu'éch picard i n'o point d'plache officielle qu'is l'im-pêchroait d'porter sin caractère bien prope à li, qu'il assure Pierre Guilgot. Chol méthode lo, ch'est d'otillage pour foaire vive échl'idin-

TPIC456.



Pierre Guilgot il écrit avec Alain Dawson chol méthode pour chés maristères aprinde éch picard à leus élèves.

tité lo. Et pi, si nous eutes chés Picards os n'trachons point à définde no patrimoène, parsonne én' varo l'foaire à no plache...»

In abordant chol lindjuistique, avec éne adviserie qu'al est présintée din troés vértures éd picard (ch'picard ch'est un périlage vivant qu'i cange, à mzure) ; avec éne partie qu'al est dédiée à chol civilisation ; avec édz écrits littéraires picards détrièr, et pi dz'otcupations éscolaires à mner in classe avec chés élèves... ahansée pèr

des maristères pour des maristères... éch live i s'apèrie à chés méthodes d'apprentissage éd chés périls horzins. O peut l'ravisier étou comme un oti qu'il foait vir à chés élèves tout ch'patrimoène tchulturé et pi lindjuistique qu'i s'értrouve in Picardie, din ch'Nord-Pas-d'Calais et pi in Wallonie picarde. « Din ch'Nord-Pas-d'Calais, chés gins qu'is dit'éd du Chti is n'sont point souvint au fait qu'is pèr'l' éne tornure éd picard. Ch'périlage lo il a portant vnu au monne i y o mille

ans, atandi qu'éch mot Chti i s'a s'aché d'chés tranchées d'Quatore » qu'i ramintout Pierre Guilgot. Chol méthode al pousse étou l'granne idée d'abolir chol désespération sociale qu'oz acolle à ch' périlage picard ». Ch'est pour qu'o l'érbèche comme un morcieu, au mitan dé s'z'eutes, din no granne richesse tchulturelle qu'a n'o vralmint du sin éq quanté al froumionne. « Gramint d'gins d'ichi, édon gramint d'efants étou, is implô'nt des mots pi dz'expressions in picard, sans leu nn'apêrchevoér.

Ch'picard ch'est un périlage « aprindabe »

Pour qu'un périlage i viche, i feut qu'i fûche passé d'un à l'eute... Vu d'éch sin lo, i plache éd chés maristères éd référinche a n'o point d'prix: échl'insègnemint éspontané d'éch picard à l'école i s'apooe pèr-déssu toute su leuz ingagemint. Chol méthode al monte étou qu'éch picard ch'est un périlage tout à foait aprindabe, meume qu'a n'sroit point pèrfoait: « I veut miu s'édviser avec un molé d'bêrlures, putot qu'point d'picard du tout! », qu'i déclare Pierre Guilgot.

Quante o leu foait montrer, ch'est souvint pour leu dire qu'a n'est point bleu, qu'is n'sait'té point bien pèrer in français »

Comme d'effet, ch'picard, meume quanté i n'sroit tchéstion qu'd'échl'acint, il est souvint récompèré à du méchant patois, avec tout l'mau qu'i y o din ch'mot lo. Souvint o l'damèprise à tant qu' « périlage éd lazèr », in atandi qu'à l'arbut ch'français ché sroit ch'périlage éd la heute. « Ch'i'dée ch'est coré étou qu'o s'zè voêche touté deux comme éne fortune, du moment qu'o s'zè désépère » qu'i promne Pierre Guilgot.

PHILIPPE FLUCKIGER

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Biography

Patrick Seán M^CCrea was born and raised in Michigan. He received a Bachelor of Arts in French and Psychology from the University of Michigan as well as a *Diplôme approfondi de langue française* (DALF) (Diploma in Advanced French) from the Université de Provence. It was in Provence where he developed his interest in regional languages in France and their plight. Patrick has obtained a Master of Arts in Linguistics from Tulane University as well as a Ph.D. in Linguistics through the Interdisciplinary Program in Linguistics at Tulane University.