English Spoken in the Channel Islands

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1. Introduction

Islands have always been of interest to linguists researching linguistic variation and change, as speech communities that have been able to develop in isolation and under special conditions for centuries often prove to have developed different dialects than the mainland. The Channel Islands are no exception. Despite the fact that they have been under the English and British Crown since 1066, the Channel Islands spoke French, as they have for centuries, up until around the 19th century. Today, their original local French dialects are dying out, while English has replaced them, but their English dialect has a number of distinct characteristics that appear to stem from the language contact between their French dialects and English. This article will examine some of the ways the Channel Island English variety differs from Standard English, and how that variety has been affected by Norman French.

In order to answer these questions, the article will examine a few phonological and morphosyntactic features in a recording of two native speakers of respectively Jersey English and Guernsey English. The recording is from an interview for radio program conducted by BBC Radio in 2015 and is published on the British Library's webpage, and whereas many previous studies tend to focus on only one of the islands, either Jersey or Guernsey, this study will look at both islands, as the interview consists of a speaker from each island. According to previous studies, the general linguistic situation across the islands is more or less the same – thus this study is mainly going to treat Channel Island English as one single dialect, despite possible local variations.

The article will start out with a section about previous studies on the topic and the methods of this study. Here, it will be discussed why the particular features have been chosen for this study, as well as why the particular recording with the interview has been chosen. The next section will be a brief summary of the history of the Channel Islands and their language. This is done to provide basic knowledge that will be relevant for an understanding of the linguistic situation in the Channel Islands in general. With this knowledge of the historical and linguistic context, the article will next examine three phonological aspects of the dialect of English spoken on the isles, based on the interview. This part will contain two features that were present in the interview, and one that was

not. Afterwards, the article will examine two morphosyntactic features of the dialect, both present in the interview. In the end, a small discussion of the findings will be presented.

2. Previous studies and the methods of this study

For many years, it was a given that studies of the language in the Channel Islands would be a study of their French – Norman French, which was the original language of the isles and used for centuries, is preserved until this day, and it is a dialect that differs significantly from Standard French. Furthermore, each island also had a few different features that are well documented (e.g. Jones 2001; 2007; Liddicoat 1994), and therefore, the different dialects of the islands are often referred to by their Norman French names: *Jérriais* (Jersey French), *Guernesiais* (Guernsey French) and *Sercquiais* (Sark French). There were much fewer studies of the English varieties, despite the current linguistic situation of the islands, where English now is the main language. When detailed studies of English on the isles did begin to appear, they mostly focused on one island, often Guernsey English (e.g. Ramisch 1989). However, as Ramisch (1989, 21) points out in his study of Guernsey English, 'the general linguistic situation in Guernsey, Jersey and Sark is largely identical. It seems therefore justified to take Guernsey as an example of the Channel Islands as a whole'. Since then, more studies of the islands have been made of both Jersey English (from here on referred to as JersE), Guernsey English (GuernsE) and of the Channel Islands as a whole, however, mostly with focus on morphosyntactic features rather than phonetic features (e.g. Rosen 2014; Jones 2010). Many of the studies of the phonological features of the isles refer back to Ramisch's study from 1989, and his study is based on data collected in 1985 (Ramisch 1989, 75).

According to these studies, there are several features of Channel Island English that differ from Standard English. Some of them seem to stem from their French dialects, while others might have been brought along by emigrants from the British Isles. For the purpose of this article, however, only five features that all might stem from language contact with French have been selected to illustrate this difference between the dialects. These features have been chosen based on what previous studies have stressed as the most significant differences, along with what was most striking in the interview with two native speakers.

The interview is a recording produced by BBC Radio Devon (2015). The interview is part of a project called The Listening Project, which is a project where different BBC producers record people sharing an intimate conversation on a topic of the speakers' choice in order to form a picture of lives and relationships today. The speakers in this specific interview, one speaker from Jersey and one speaker from Guernsey, both between 80-90 years old, have a conversation about their lives during the German occupation in the Second World War. This interview has been chosen

because of the fact that the speakers are not consciously concerned about their dialects and how they speak, as the focus of the interview is on their lives, not linguistics, and therefore they might speak freely, as they would in their everyday lives. The examples used are thus authentic, and though the two speakers of course are not representative for all speakers of the isles, the fact that two randomly chosen speakers actually produce these features that Ramisch and others describe, shows that the dialect was still present at the time of recording in 2015. It is important to note, however, that not all of the features that Ramisch attested are present in the interviewees' speech, just as the features might not all be present today in speakers from younger generations. This is because of a possible standardisation of the language, possibly due to the isles' growing connection to Britain during the 36 years since Ramisch's study. For this reason, one of the phonological features that will be described later is a feature listed in several studies, but which was not present in the speech of the interviewees. The features found in the interview will function as a steppingstone to discuss how and why they occur based on what other scholars have documented.

Aside from the above-mentioned abbreviations and terms, other terms that will be used in this article are CIE (Channel Island English), NorF (Norman French, though what is meant by Norman French is actually Channel Island French. NorF is used instead of CIF to avoid confusion with CIE), SE (Standard English), StF (Standard French), and RP (Received Pronunciation).

3. The history of the Channel Islands

3.1 Geographically

The Channel Islands is a group of islands that form an archipelago and consist of four inhabited islands (Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark) and several smaller islands. Even though the name of the islands and the political connections to Great Britain imply that they are situated directly in the English Channel, the archipelago is much closer to France than it is to England (cf. Figure 1, p. 4). The isles lie just off the coast of Normandy, west of the Cotentin peninsula of France in the bay of St. Malo. Jersey, the biggest island, is just around 25 km from the French coast and Alderney only around 14 kilometres from the coast, while the distance between England and Jersey is around 150 km and between England and Alderney is around 110 km (Ramisch 1989, 5-6). The largest of the islands is Jersey with an area of 116 km^2 and a population estimate of 107,800 in 2019 (States of Jersey, n.d., "Population"), and the second largest island is Guernsey with an area of 62 km^2 and a population of 63,385 in 2020 (States of Guernsey, n.d.). The Isle of Alderney has an area of 8 km^2, and the smallest inhabited island, Sark, has an area of 5 km^2 (Ramisch 1989, 6).

Figure 1. A map of the Channel Islands.

3.2 Historically and politically

Even though they geographically are situated closer to France than the UK, the islands are dependencies of the British Crown. The islands are neither fully independent nor colonies of Britain, but they do have their own government and parliamentary system that are different from Great Britain's system. At the same time, as dependencies of the British Crown, they do recognise Queen Elisabeth II as "the Duke of Normandy" (Paździora 1998, 2).

The name of the isles has in many European languages been influenced by the English name, such as in Danish, where the isles are called *Kanaløerne*, a direct translation of *the Channel Islands*. However, several other languages use a different name for the isles: The French name is *les Îles Anglo-Normandes* ("The Anglo-Norman isles"), in Polish they are called *Wyspy Normandzkie*, in Czech and Slovak they are called *Normanské Ostrova* and in German they are sometimes called *Normannische Inseln,* all meaning "Norman Isles" (Paździora 1998, 1). These names originate from the history of the isles: In the 9th century A.D., Normans came from Scandinavia and settled on the northwestern coasts of France, and the area was given the name Normandy – the land of the Northmen (Ramisch 1989, 8-9). The islands became a part of Normandy, and so in the year 1066, when Duke William II of Normandy (William the Conqueror) invaded England and defeated the Anglo-Saxon King Harold in the Battle of Hastings, the Channel Islands were for the first time connected to the English Crown, as the Duchy of Normandy was united with England. Today, this Norman conquest of England is something that has an important historical significance for present inhabitants of the Channel Islands, as it had an enormous impact on the creation of a national identity. It is something that they like to point out with a smile when they are asked if the Channel Islands belong to England – it is actually the opposite (Ramisch 1989, 9). In a way, they argue, it is England that belongs to the Channel Islands, since it, after all, was the Channel Islands who were on the winning side, when they, the Normans, conquered England.

In 1204, after the loss of Normandy to France, the Channel Islands was recaptured by England, and the inhabitants pledged loyalty to the English King, who was still functioning as the Duke of Normandy (Ramisch 1989, 9-10; Paździora 1998, 9). France tried repeatedly to invade the isles, but because the isles remained loyal to the English Crown, they were granted a wide autonomy that along with the geographical separation from the British Isles gave the Channel Islands freedom to continue their semi-statehood. This makes the Channel Islands the only part of what was the Duchy of Normandy that has stayed under English influence even though they have never actually been part of England (Ramisch 1989, 10).

3.3 The language context

The geographical position of the isles is of course of importance for the language spoken on the islands. With the closest mainland being French, the French language has been present on the isles throughout history. In fact, the inhabitants of the isles have until relatively recently had Norman French as their mother tongue and original language since the Normans arrived in the 9th century. When England lost Normandy in 1204, it had no significant effect on the language of the Channel Islands (Ramisch 2008, 205). Because of the distance, which played a far bigger role in the Middle

Ages than it does today, most of the trade from the islands with the outside world still went through Normandy. The inhabitants of the islands were still Norman, with their Norman culture and language, even though, as mentioned earlier, they remained loyal to the Duke of Normandy and therefore the English Crown.

With larger military units from England on the isles in the late 18th century and early 19th century, the situation slowly began to change. Along with English soldiers came English merchants and settled in the capital towns of Jersey and Guernsey (respectively St. Helier and St. Peter Port) and the towns developed into international trade centres. The inhabitants now had contact with the English language, but during the first half of the 19th century, the islanders were in general still French speaking. English began to be taught in schools and after the Napoleonic wars, a lot of immigrants from Britain came to the isles. In 1891, 15-16% of the inhabitants of Jersey and Guernsey were immigrants from England, Wales, Scotland, or Ireland (Ramisch 2008, 207). As better transport, for example steamboats, were invented, more tourism started growing, and the isles' trade relations with England grew stronger. In the 20th century mass media from Britain brought English into the homes of the islanders, and now, over the last 100 years, the Norman French dialects have declined rapidly. According to the 2001 census of Jersey, 2,874 people spoke Jérriais – that is only 3% of the population (States of Jersey, n.d., "Jérriais"). Furthermore, those who do speak the dialect are all bilinguals (as they speak English as well) and most of them were aged 60 years old or more. It is safe to say that the Norman French dialects are dying out, despite the islands' desperate attempts to keep the language from disappearing (Ramisch 1989, 61). Today, in schools, students are taught Standard French rather than Norman French, and even though most street names and villages have French names, they are pronounced in English. Standard French has traditionally been seen as more prestigious than Norman French, which is a factor that might have participated in the dialect dying out.

However, because of the relatively quick shift from Norman French to English as the main language on the isles, the languages have influenced each other. The Norman French, or at least traces of it, might survive for a while longer through the use of Norman features in English spoken on the islands (Rosen 2014, 3). That, along with the geographical isolation and local identity has resulted in the emergence of a distinctive variety of English with features that vary from Standard English.

4. Phonological features

The following section will look at three different phonological features that might stem from language contact with Norman French. The section will explore two features that were present in the interview and one that was not.

4.1 The diphthong /aɪ/

One of the most noticeable phonological features in the interview is the realisation of the diphthong /aɪ/. In RP, the diphthong in words such as *fight* or *buy*, the starting point is considered to be in an open front position, as illustrated in Figure 2 (Caudery and Bohn 2017, 70). In the interview, however, the speakers both produce the diphthong with a starting point that is further back than in RP, and the diphthong becomes [ɑɪ] instead, as illustrated in Figure 3 (Ramisch 1989, 165):
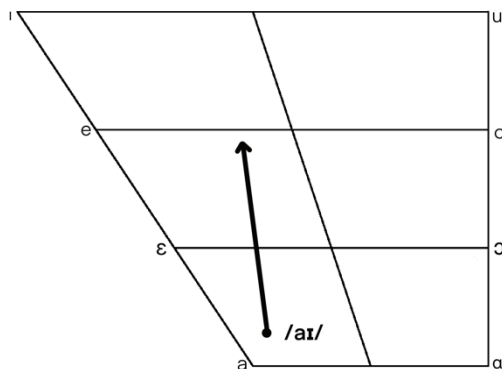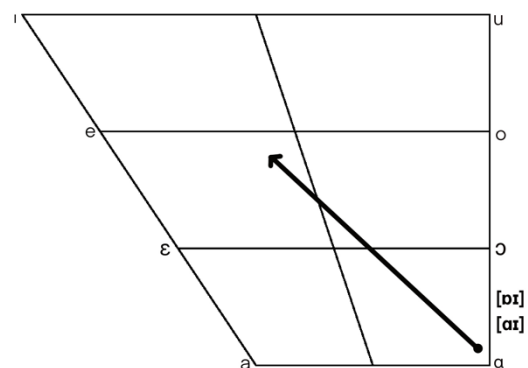
Figure 2. RP.

Figure 3. CIE.

An example of a sentence spoken by the speaker of JersE illustrates just how often this diphthong is produced:

(1)   'On one particular [nɑɪt] [ɑɪ]'d been playing cards with [mɑɪ] work mate and eh when [ɑ] went [ˌaʊtˈsɑɪd] [mɑɪ] [bɑɪk] had disappeared and that was eh [kwɑɪt] a blow for me' (BBC 2015, 10:55-11:08).

Additionally, according to Ramisch, the initial vowel of the diphthong can also be rounded so that the sound produced is [ɒɪ] (Ramisch 1989, 165).

The question then is whether or not this feature stems from language contact with Norman French. The realisation of /aɪ/ as [ɑɪ] or [ɒɪ] is not restricted to CIE but can also be found in

various other dialects of English. One example is in a dialect from London, the Cockney dialect. Wells (1982, 308) describes about the diphthong that here the initial vowel tends to start further back as well: 'The phonetic quality of the first element of the diphthong characteristically ranges from central to fully back, [ɑ+] to [ɑ]; in more vigorous, 'dialectal' Cockney it may also be rounded, [ɒ]'. Furthermore, there are many traditional rural dialects that use the allophone [ɔɪ] as an equivalent to /aɪ/. These realisations of /aɪ/ occur in areas of the south and east of England, the midlands and up to around Lancashire (Ramisch 1989, 166-167). In Ireland it is a normal feature as well: In some popular dialects of Irish English, there tends to be no difference between /aɪ/ and /ɔɪ/, which has led to the stereotype in the United States that the Irish say 'noice toime' instead of *nice time* (Wells 1982, 308).

This means that this feature could easily have been a feature brought from the British Isles via the immigrants that came to the Channel Islands and might not be due to language contact. However, it is noteworthy that the diphthong [ɑɪ] is used frequently in both Guernesiais and Jérriais (Ramisch 1989, 167). The diphthong [aɪ] does exist in NorF, so it cannot be a case of phonetic substitution, but the fact that it is such a frequent sound in NorF might be connected to its frequency in CIE. Words that in StF end with -*er* have in NorF the diphthong [ɑɪ] in that position. An example is the word *donner* ('give'). In StF the final vocal is pronounced as [e] but in NorF the word is pronounced [dunɑɪ] (Ramisch 1989, 167; 2008, 209). Likewise, [ɑɪ] is also used in other tenses:

Table 1. Uses of [ɑɪ].	StF	NorF
Second person plural of the present tense	*Vous donnez* ('You give') *Vous finissez* ('You finish') *Vous vendez* ('You sell')	[vu dunɑɪ] [vu finisɑɪ] [vu võndɑɪ]
The imperative plural	*Donnez!* ('Give!) *Finissez!* ('Finish!') *Vendez!* ('Sell!')	[dunɑɪ] [finisɑɪ] [võdɑɪ]
Past participle of verbs whose participle forms end in -*é*	*Donné* ('Given')	[dunɑɪ]

This is in other words a feature that cannot conclusively be proved to originate from either language contact with NorF or from the British immigrants, but it seems likely that language contact is partly

the reason that this feature has been part of the dialects of both Jersey and Guernsey and has been preserved so well in the dialects up until today.

4.2 Non-prevocalic /r/

A feature that can also be found in the interview, though not as frequently as the diphthong [ɑɪ], is a non-prevocalic /r/. This feature is a prominent feature and also a distinguishing feature of different dialects of English (Ramisch 1989, 168). In many different dialects of English, /r/ can occur in a preconsonantal position (e.g. far /fɑr/) and in final position (e.g. farm /fɑrm/). These are called rhotic dialects and includes some dialects of American, Canadian, Scottish and Irish English, as opposed to the non-rhotic dialects, which have lost the non-prevocalic/r/, such as RP, Australian, New Zealand and South African English, (Caudery and Bohn 2017, 84). In RP that means that *far* is pronounced /fɑː/ (OED 2021, s.v. *far*) and farm is pronounced /fɑːm/ (OED 2021, s.v. *farm*). In England the realisation of the non-prevocalic /r/ has been declining for centuries, as lack of /r/ has been connected to social prestige, but there are many dialects where /r/ is still realised, for example in a large area of the south and west of England, around Liverpool and near the border to Scotland (Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt 2007, 69-70). In rhotic dialects the /r/ is realised as a [ɹ] or [ɻ] that begins simultaneously with the preceding vowel, making the vowel retroflexed and giving the vowel 'r-colouring' (Caudery and Bohn 2017, 84).

This is what happens in an example from the interview with the word *harbour* in a sentence uttered by the speaker of GuernsE:

(2)   'but by then the Germans had bombed the [ˈhɑːbəɹ] of St Peter Port' (BBC 2015, 03:38-44).

The non-prevocalic /r/ is not strong but it is there, indicating the rhotic dialect. In this exact example, it could be argued that the /r/ is actually a linking /r/ that occurs because the word is followed by another word that begins with a vowel (here *of*), so that the uttering is actually [ˈhɑːbəɹəf seɪnt] and so on. However, though the sound of the /r/ might be emphasised because of this, the /r/ is also present in instances without a following vocal. This can be heard in another example, where the GuernsE speaker uses the word *harbour* again without a vocal sound following it:

(3)   'when they dropped about five high explosive bombs in the old [ˈhɑːbəɹ]' (BBC 2015, 30:29-34).

Though the sound of the /r/ is slightly weaker and almost not present in this example, it is still there. This is a feature listed in many studies of the dialects of the Channel Islands, and the dialect is thus traditionally classified as rhotic (Jones 2010, 44; Ramisch 1989, 168-72; Trudgill and Hannah 2017, 121).

However, there also seem to be several instances in the interview where it would be assumed of a rhotic dialect that there would be a non-prevocalic /r/, but where no /r/ was present. This actually seemed to happen quite often. In another sentence, produced by the same speaker, there is no /r/ in the word *car*:

(4) 'They drove in a Guernsey police /kɑː/' (BBC 2015, 05:07-12).

It seems that this speaker mixes slightly, while the JersE speaker appears not to produce a non-prevocalic /r/ at all (he for example pronounces *farmer* [ˈfɑːmə] (BBC 2015, 41:47)). According to Ramisch (1989, 173) the non-prevocalic /r/ tends to be a feature of individual speakers, and it is also a feature that is becoming increasingly rare. It might therefore be purely coincidental that one speaker here does it with some words while the other does not do it at all, and that does not exclude the possibility that other speakers of CIE use it regularly today.

On one hand, as it is a feature of many other dialects of English, the feature could stem from influence from these dialects, but there is also the possibility that it is an influence from NorF. It might be attributable to transfer from the NorF ending *-eur* (Jones 2010, 44), and in NorF /r/ also regularly occurs in preconsonantal and final position, as in words such as the StF *parti* [parti] 'gone' and *vert* [var] 'green' (Ramisch 1989, 172). The NorF speakers are thus accustomed to pronouncing the /r/ in those environments, and that could have had an impact on their English. Ramisch (2008, 211-212) also argues that ending *-er* in GuernsE, which can be pronounced as [œr], is also an indication of NorF influence: 'the pronunciation of words such as *better* or *youngster* is [ˈbetœr] and [ˈjʌŋstœr]. There is evidently an influence from Norman French here, the same ending [œr] also being used in Guernsey French as in [lə pçrtœr] (Standard French *le porteur* 'carrier')' (Ramisch 2008, 212). Furthermore, the ending [œr] is also found in loan words from English in Guernesiais, such as the English words *shutter* and *mourner*: [lə ʃɔtœr] and [lə mɔrnœr] (212).

In other words, while it cannot be proven conclusively that this feature stems from language contact either, there are indications that there are connections to NorF, and these connections might have facilitated the establishment of this feature as a regular feature of the dialect. It is,

though, a feature that is in decline as the language is developing towards a more standardised version of English, compared to when Ramisch did his study.

4.3 The vowel /ʌ/

Another feature that Ramisch lists as a typical feature in GuernsE is interestingly absent in the speech of the two interviewees. Ramisch found that the RP vowel /ʌ/ tends to be pronounced as [ɔ] in CIE (Ramisch 1989, 173; 2008, 210). The RP vowel /ʌ/ is a sound that is half-open to open, centralised back or central and unrounded, whereas the CIE realisation, [ɔ], is further back and more importantly rounded, as illustrated in Figure 4 (Ramisch 1989, 173). This results in words such as *sun* (or *son*), *hut*, and *duck* are realised as [sɔn], [hɔt] and [dɔk] rather than with the vowel /ʌ/.

Figure 4. /ʌ/ in RP and realisation in CIE.
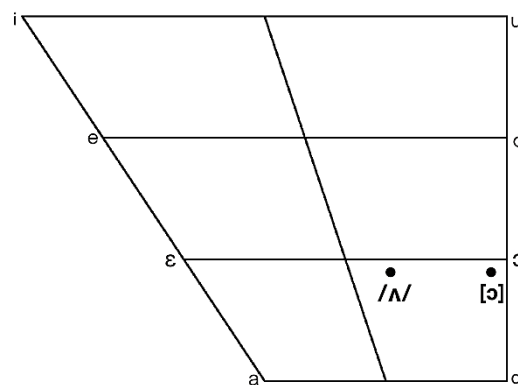
It is a somewhat unique feature that is not found in other dialects of English. The closest is the vowel [ɒ] that is reported to occur in a few other dialects, but CIE seem to be the only one to use [ɔ] instead of /ʌ/ (Ramisch 1989, 174). Because of this, the reason for this substitution is likely to stem from NorF, rather than be an influence from other dialects of English. NorF does not have the vowel sound /ʌ/, but it does have /ɔ/, and because the two sounds are so alike in their phonetic quality (Figure 4), /ʌ/ is substituted with /ɔ/. This also happens with English loan words in NorF: the word *bus* is pronounced [la bɔs] in NorF, which serves as a confirmation of the hypothesis that a substitution takes place.

However, Ramisch also points out that it is a feature that 'one can assume … will generally become less frequent in the future' (Ramisch 1989, 175). In his study, he found that older informants tended to use [ɔ] in place of /ʌ/ more than the younger ones, and since it seems unlikely that the younger people will begin to use [ɔ] more the older they get, the feature will most likely disappear with younger generations of speakers.

The two interviewees are of course not representative for all speakers on the isles, but nevertheless, none of them uses [ɔ] instead of /ʌ/. One of the words Ramisch mentions as an example of a word, where the vocal would be substituted is in the word *sun*, as mentioned above (Ramisch 1989, 173). There happens to be examples from both speakers in the interview, where they use the word *sun* or the homophone word *son*, which is orthographically spelled differently but phonetically sounds the same. The GuernsE speaker said the following utterance, using the word *sun*:

(5)   'letting the [sʌn] dry … the water' (BBC 2015, 39:06-13).

The vowel might be slightly further back than in RP, but it is definitely not rounded. Likewise, the JersE speaker uses the word *son*:

(6)   'his [sʌn] and his foreman, I think' (BBC 2015, 42:02-06).

Here too, the vowel is no different from that used in RP. The same happens in all the other words in the interview with the RP vowel /ʌ/ as well, for example *hut* is pronounced [hʌt] (07:10) and *Don* [dʌn] (02:03). Based on this, it seems that Ramisch was right in his prediction that this feature would increase in use with newer generations.

5. Morphosyntactic features

The following section will explore two different morphosyntactic features of CIE that were both present in the interview.

5.1 Non-standard use of definite article

One feature of CIE that varies from SE is the non-standard use of the definite article *the*. The article can in CIE be used in contexts where it would not normally be used in SE. Ramisch (1989, 113-116) created a list of contexts where the definite article occurs particularly in GuernsE, and Jones (2010, 46) confirmed that the list applies to JersE as well. The list is repeated here with different examples from both Ramisch himself, Jones, Rosen (2014), and from the two speakers in the interview.

   (a) Names of languages:
(7)   'Now everyone speaks **the** English' (Jones 2010, 46).

(8)   'my father knew the good French – and **the** English and the patois' (Ramisch 1989,
        114).

        (b) Adverbials of direction and position, especially with street names:
(9)   'It was hardly a boat […] and when they put it down **the** Bonne Nuit Bay, it sank'
        (BBC 2015, 24:40-48).
(10)   'Only if you want to, well, do extra shopping then you'd better go into **the** town to do
        it' (Jones 2010, 46)

        (c) Adverbials of time expressing regular repetition:
(11)   'He gives the news out on the wireless in h'm in patois on **the** Friday' (Ramisch 1989,
        115).
(12)   'And we would have steak on **the** Saturday and we would have a roast on **the** Sunday
        (Rosen 2014, 166).

        (d) Before plural noun phrases with generic references:
(13)   'but they didn't seem to bother with **the** children at all' (Rosen 2014, 166)
(14)   '**The** Jersey people are quite stubborn, you know' (Jones 2010, 46)

        (e) Before the noun *school* (as an institution) and in the idiomatic expression *go by bus*:
(15)   '[Guernsey French] wasn't taught in **the** school' (Ramisch 1989, 116).
(16)   'It was always by **the** bus we went' (Ramisch 1989, 116).

In example (13) and (14) the speaker is not referring to a particular group of children (in 13) or
Jersey people (in 14), a particular entity, but is talking about children and Jersey people in general
terms. In SE the use of a generic *the* with plural noun phrases is restricted to only two cases:
nationality nouns (e.g. the Germans, the English) and phrases with an adjective head that refers to
a group of people (e.g. the locals, the rich) (Ramisch 1989, 115).

Interestingly, one of the speakers in the interview, the GuernsE speaker, also produced an
example that does not seem to fit into any of Ramisch's categories (however, Ramisch (1989, 113)
also writes that the list is a list of places where the article occurs *particularly* – not exclusively):

(17)   'but by then, the Germans had bombed the harbour of St Peter Port on **the** Friday'
        (BBC 2015, 03:37-45).

The *the* is in connection with an adverbial of time, but it is not expressing a regular repetition – he is not saying that Germans bomb the harbour every Friday, but that it happened on a Friday. The speaker used the same *the* a second time much later in the interview, proving that the first time was not just a slip of the tongue:

(18)   'that happened on **the** Friday evening' (31:57-32:00).

Here too, the speaker is talking about a singular event, not a regular repetition. It has not been specified which Friday, he is talking about, beforehand in the conversation, so the definite article in neither of the examples is used to refer back to a previous mentioned Friday either. It is therefore another example of non-standard use of definite article that seems to be common in CIE, or at least for this GuernsE speaker.

Ramisch (1989, 118-124) suggests that the use of definite articles in all these contexts stems from NorF, and Jones (2010, 46) agrees. In StF the definite article in these contexts listed is often optional, but NorF would have definite articles in each of these contexts, and it would be unusual to omit it (Ramisch 1989, 118). An example, where definite article is used, is in the NorF translation of (7): *Auch't'haeure nou pâle tous **l'**Angllais* (Jones 2010, 46). Here, a definite article is present, and so is it in the Guernesiais translation of (8): [mõ pɛr savɛ **lə** bwõ frãse e lõgje e **lə** patwa] (Ramisch 1989, 118). Here, the expression *the good French* seems to be a literal translation from Guernesiais, which is a clear indication of transference. Both of these examples of French translation illustrate the definite article's connection to NorF in context (a), but the same occurs for the other contexts (b) to (e) as well. Just to illustrate: the expression *to go in the bus* from (16), for example, is a literal translation of the Guernesiais [alɑi dõ **la** bɔs] (Ramisch 1989, 123).

A definite article in some of these contexts also occurs in other dialects of English as well. English-Gaelic bilinguals, for example, are recorded to use the definite article in context (b), adverbials of direction and position, for example in *the Loch Mealt* or *the Billingsgate* (Ramisch 1989, 119). However, though an influence from other dialects of English cannot be completely excluded in some of the contexts, there are other contexts (e.g. (c) and (d)) with no corresponding use of *the* in other dialects, and therefore it seems more likely that the non-standard uses of the article stem from contact with NorF (Ramisch 1989, 123).

5.2 FAP

'FAP' is a term for another feature found in CIE. The feature is a sentence structure that includes a **F**irst verb (usually *go* or *come*) + the conjugation ***A**nd* + a **P**lain infinitive (Jones 2010, 50). The construction is one of the more distinct features of CIE, and it is also present in the interview, for example in a sentence uttered by the JersE speaker, (19a). Here, the example is illustrated along two SE constructions, (19b) and (19c).

(19)

    a.   'Another farmer, his son, and his foreman, I think, went and paint some eh some swastikas on this farmer's granite pillars' (BBC 2015, 41:58-42:09).

    b.   His son and his foreman went and painted some swastikas.

    c.   His son and his foreman will go and paint some swastikas.

This FAP construction in (19a) differs from the SE constructions in (19b) and (19c), as the construction in (19a) uses an inflected verb in the first verb position (V1) and an infinitive verb in the second (V2), whereas the construction in (19b) uses inflected verbs in both positions and (19c) uses infinitive verbs in both positions.

In SE, constructions as in (19b) and (19c) are used frequently, but never (19a). Verb-*and*-verb constructions, or pseudo-coordinations, have existed in the English language for a long time, and there are examples of them already in Old English and Middle English (Rosen 2014, 104). There are different types of coordination, as seen in (19b) and (19c) that are different from the ordinary coordination in example (20):

(20)   They went to the farm, and they painted on the pillars.,

What is different is that (20) is an ordinary coordination, whereas (19b) and (19c) are pseudo-coordinations, which is '[an] apparent coordination of two units where the relationship between them is not one of equality, unlike in canonical coordination' (Aarts 2014, s.v. *pseudo-coordination*). This means that the verb or predication that precedes *and* has an idiomatic function rather than a literal function. Ordinary coordination refers to a structure that typically describes two events, whereas pseudo-coordination refers to a structure that describes one single event (Rosen 2014, 106). In other words, according to de Vos (2004, 182), the two verbs in an ordinary coordination would be understood in their lexical meaning, but in pseudo-coordinations the meaning of V1 is semantically bleached. He illustrates this with the following example:

(21)

    a.   Somebody went and read the constitution!

        'A person actually read the constitution'

    b.   Somebody walked and read the constitution

        'A person physically walked and read the constitution at the same time'

In (21a) V1 is 'bleached' meaning that it does not require any interpretation with an actual movement. In fact, the reader could be lying in a sofa while reading the constitution, and the sentence would still be felicitous. In contrast, (21b) requires a literal reading of the verbs lexical meaning, and the verbs thus describe two different events.

Figure 5 shows different kinds of coordination that are useful when identifying FAP structures. The scene-setting coordination describes one event, where V1 sets the scene and V2 expresses the action. Here a prepositional phrase can be an inserted (e.g. *to town*), which, on the other hand, cannot be inserted in a contiguous coordination, which is also restricted to a smaller set of verbs in V1, and those are typically *go* and *come*. (19b) can therefore be read as both a scene-setting and a contiguous coordination, depending on the context.

Figure 5. Types of coordination (Rosen 2014, 106).
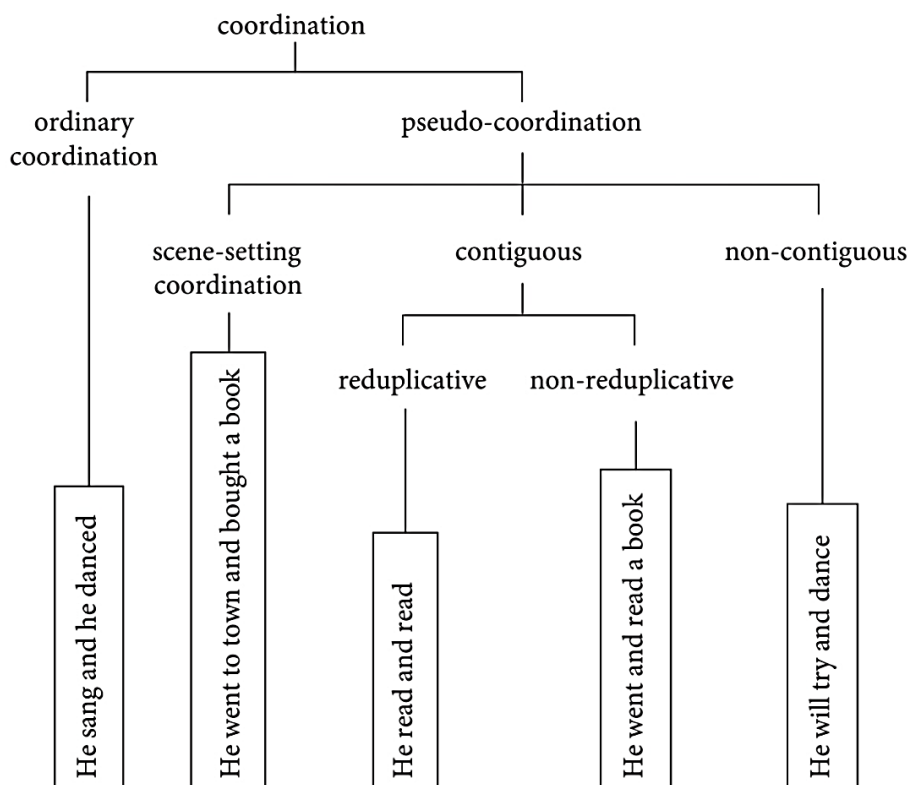
The FAP feature behaves slightly differently from pseudo-coordinations in one aspect, but in other aspects, they follow the definitions of pseudo-coordinations. Both verbs in a pseudo-coordination must have the same morphological form (de Vos 2004, 181). However, that is not the case with the FAP feature, as we saw in (19a). Here, there is an inflected verb in V1 and an infinitive verb in V2. Otherwise, except from this variation in the morphological form of the verbs, the FAP structures resembles pseudo-coordinations. In the FAP structures of CIE, there is a subject that is inanimate and acts intentionally and the structures can be understood as describing one single event (Rosen 2014, 113). Negations as well as adverbs are positioned before V1, meaning that they modify the construction as a whole. Rosen (2014, 112-113) found that most of the FAP structures in her study were contiguous, non-reduplicative pseudo-coordinated structures, and a few of them were scene-setting coordination, as seen in Figure 5. The most frequent verbs to occur in V1 is a form of *go* or *come*.

In example (19a) the FAP likely has a literal meaning – they literally went over to the farm, and they painted on the pillars. But, as mentioned earlier, the meaning of V1 in pseudo-coordinations can also be semantically bleached, making the meaning more abstract such as in example (22):

(22)   And then I went and marry a farmer. (Rosen 2014, 114)

Here, the FAP is there not to signal that the speaker physically went somewhere and married a farmer, but it signals a sudden turn in the narrative sequence, as she changed the topic of the conversation.

FAP structures can also often be used to express a sense of 'proceeding without hesitation and despite any potential obstacles' (Rosen 2014, 114). Furthermore, in both FAP structures and pseudo-coordinations, V1 can be used to signal the speaker's attitude towards the event. V1 adds a speaker-coloured perspective to the event described by V2 and gives the structure 'a lively colloquial flavour' (Biberauer and Vikner 2017, 79). This means that while (19a) can be read with a literal meaning of the first verb, the FAP can also signal the speaker's attitude towards the situation. The context of the utterance (19a) is that a farmer on Jersey refused to sell potatoes to the locals during the WWII, as he was supplying the Germans. Another farmer, his son and his foreman *went and paint* swastikas on the pillars (BBC 2015, 41:58). The speaker creates a turn in the narrative and creates a sort of distance to the action from himself through the use of FAP. They happened to paint the pillars 'without hesitation and despite any potential obstacles', and it seems that the FAP also signals that the speaker knows that it is a wrong action, but he actually finds it

funny and well deserved. The speaker proceeds to say that 'unfortunately' one of them was caught, also signalling his view on the matter. In that way, FAP encodes the speaker's perspective.

So, this shows that the FAP feature can have the same effect in CIE as pseudo-coordination has in SE – but if it has the same meaning as other pseudo-coordinations in English, why is it constructed differently, with one verb that can vary and one that is infinitive? The feature does not seem to occur significantly in other varieties of English, even though a few examples of it has been found in for example South African English and in Asian varieties of English (Rosen 2014, 119-120). However, these do not occur anywhere as frequently as in CIE. Because it is not observed as a frequent feature in any other dialect, it seems likely that the features existence has something to do with language contact between NorF and English.

The feature does not stem from a direct translation of verb+*et*+infinitive, as that structure does not exist in NorF (or in other Romance languages) (Rosen 2014, 120). However, there are different periphrastic structures that contains a finite verb followed by an infinitive. According to Rosen (2014, 120) these are structures such as NorF /s ãn ale/+infinitive, sometimes expressed by /alɛ/+infinitive (French *aller*+infinitive), /eːtr a/+infinitive (French *être en train de*+infinitive), /vnẽ d/+infinitive (French *venir de*+infinitive) and more specifically compound verbs like /alɛ vɛː/ (French *aller voir*, 'visit'), /alɛ ʃɛrʃɪ/ (French *aller chercher*, 'go look for'), /alɛ travɑji/ (French *aller travailler*, 'go to work'). Furthermore, many of the NorF verb forms are homophonous, meaning that the infinitive form sometimes sounds the same as the singular present indicative form or the subjunctive form, which could potentially confuse NorF speakers learning English tense in coordinated structure (Rosen 2014, 120-121). Especially, when there are also verbs in English whose past tense and/or past participle form is the same as the infinitive form, such as in *cut, set, run*, and *put*, which means that phrases like *I went and cut* could be misread (Rosen 2014, 121). Pseudo-coordinated structures and FAP structures can have the same semantic meaning, as seen above, and they too can be similar in semantics to NorF *aller voir*, *aller chercher* and so on. And so, because the English forms are partly similar to their native language, but without a proper equivalent, the NorF speaker reanalyses the pseudo-coordinations, based on the model of their native language, and created the FAP structure that has then become part of their dialect.

FAP can also be argued to be a generalisation and simplification of a perceived English pattern (Rosen 2014, 122). FAP might be a conflation of verb+*and*+verb and verb+*to*+infinitive (as in *I went and saw John* and *I went to see John*), as the existence of the *went*+*to*+infinitive construction might confuse the second language learner. Furthermore, there is also the construction *go*+*and*+verb (as in *I'll go and see*) that might also contribute to the confusion (Jones 2010, 51). Simplification of target structures is generally a universal tendency in the early stages of language

learning, and since non-standard use of an infinitive in the V2 position in pseudo-coordinations would not have complicated communication, it would not be a problem for the NorF speakers, when they communicated with British settlers and traders in the 19th century (Rosen 2014, 122). The simplification might have been a more manageable way of relating the past, and therefore have become a standard feature during the imperfect group learning.

All in all, the FAP features mirror the SE verb+*and*+verb constructions, or the pseudo-coordinations, as well as the Norman French multi-verb sequences and has gradually become part of the bilingual islanders' speech, and therefore it has also become part of the monolinguals' speech in later generations.

6. Discussion

This study has only analysed few of the features of CIE described by Ramisch, Rosen, Jones, and others. There are several other features, many of which has direct connection to NorF and many that are normal features in many other dialects as well, and while several of them are present in the interview, there are also a lot of them that are not. Speech of course differs from person to person, and as mentioned earlier, two people are not at all representative for the rest of the native speakers of this dialect. The two participants in the recording used in this current study were both between 80-90 years old, when they were recorded (in order for them to be old enough to remember their life during the German occupation). They both grew up on the isles, as did their parents. However, they never discuss, if they have lived their whole lives on the isles, or if they, for example, have studied elsewhere, or for other reasons spent time away from the islands. Doing so, or having relatives with different dialects, or many other possible factors might have influenced their speaking and maybe standardised their dialect. Furthermore, according to Krug and Rosen (2012, 118) 'many local linguistic features do not seem to survive in more formal situations'. Even though the speakers seemed to be relaxed and unconscious of their way of speaking, it was still an interview for a radio program, and they still might speak differently than they would while speaking to their friends, their family or even their local grocer. Therefore, it is not possible to determine, based on this study, if the lack of [ɔ] as the realisation of /ʌ/, for example, is a general change on the islands since Ramisch's study from 1989, or if it is just a coincidence that these two speakers do not do it. However, though the speakers did not produce all of the features their dialects are known for, they did produce some of them, and the fact that two randomly chosen speakers do produce these features, shows that these features are still present on the isles.

As mentioned earlier, these speakers were both in their 80's at the time of the recording. For further studies, it would thus be optimal to use recordings from more speakers than just the two

and from speakers from different generations as well. Because of the different ways generations speak, it would be interesting to analyse younger speakers and see, if there is a difference in their manner of speaking compared to this older generation. Many of the studies done on the phonology of the isles have been done more than 10 years ago, and all of them are referring back to Ramisch's study done 34 years ago, so a more present study would be of interest, to see for example, if the apparent loss of /ʌ/ realised as [ɔ] is a general development on the isles and if other features are disappearing as well. That is likely, as English in the Channel Islands is becoming more and more standardised, as younger generations in general experience more contact with Britain as more and more people move to the UK to study and/or work and end up spending years on the mainland before returning to the isles (Rosen 2013, 103). It is thus likely that CIE is developing and moving towards a more levelled and standardised variety of English, where the NorF features might slowly disappear along with NorF itself.

7. Conclusion

This article has explored different features that makes Channel Island English differ from Standard English and has furthermore questioned where the features originate. This has been done on the basis of features found in an interview of two native speakers of respectively Jersey English and Guernsey English, and by comparing these findings in the interview to previous studies.

The Channel Islands used to be a part of the old Normandy, and therefore the main language on the isles has for centuries been Norman French, even after the isles came under the British Crown. The Isles have gone from being Norman French speaking to English speaking in a relatively short time. The shift began the 19th century where means of transportation between the UK and the Channel Islands became better, thus bringing more tourism as well as British traders and settlers to the isles. Later, radio and television brought the English language into the private homes of the islanders. Today, their French dialects are dying out, as English has now completely become the main language on the isles, and only Standard French is taught in school. However, some parts of the dialects have survived for at bit longer through English, as there are several non-standard features in their English that seems to stem from Norman French.

Some of the phonological features of Channel Island English that was present in the speech of the two interviewees were the realisation of the diphthong /aɪ/ as [ɑɪ] or [ɒɪ] and the presence of a non-prevocalic /r/. Both these features exist in other dialects as well. The [ɑɪ] diphthong exists, for example, in Irish English and in the Cockney dialect, and therefore it could stem from influence from those dialects. However, the presence of [ɑɪ] in NorF is noteworthy, where it is a frequent sound. It thus seems likely that the language contact has at least facilitated establishing

[ɑɪ] as a normal feature of Channel Island English. Likewise, non-prevocalic /r/ cannot be conclusively proved to stem from either language contact with Norman French or influence from other dialects. Many dialects are rhotic dialects, but there is also the possibility that the feature stems from the Norman French ending *-eur*, and pronunciation of /r/ in Norman French also regularly occurs in preconsonantal and final position. Speakers of Norman French are thus used to pronouncing /r/ in those environments, thus facilitating the establishment of this feature. There is another phonological feature that can be attributed to Norman French more easily: the realisation of the vowel /ʌ/ as [ɔ]. This is a feature that is not found in other dialects of English, and since the vowel /ʌ/ does not exist in Norman French, it has most likely been substituted with [ɔ]. This feature, however, was not present in the interview, maybe indicating that this feature has slowly been dying out among speakers from younger generations since Ramisch's study in 1989.

The two morphosyntactic features examined in this article are the non-standard use of the definite article *the*, and the FAP structure. The use of the definite article is likely to stem from Norman French, as the contexts, in which they occur in the Channel Island English dialect, all are normal in Norman French, and it would be strange to omit the article in these contexts in Norman French. The usage of *the* thus is a direct translation of Norman French that has become a standard feature of Channel Island English. The FAP feature seems to be quite unique and has not been found with the same frequency in any other dialects. It thus seems likely that the Norman French speakers of English, who were influenced by their native language's syntactic structures, reinterpreted the different verb-*and*-verb structures of English, and created the FAP structure instead of pseudo-coordinations. The semantic meaning of the structures seems to be the same, however, as the first verb in the FAP structures can be semantically bleached and thus the structure can be used to express a speaker-coloured view on the event expressed by the second verb.

All these features together, whether they stem from language contact with Norman French or influence from other dialects, have created a distinctive mixture of features in this dialect. However, language is constantly changing, and speech is individual, and so these two speakers from the interview are not representative of all of the Channel Islands. Several of the features found by previous studies were present in the interview, here illustrated with four examples, but there are also several that were not, here illustrated with one example. This study has thus shown different aspects that makes Channel Island English differ from Standard English as well as shown examples of Norman French influences on the language.

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