Êcliaithe Man Tchoeu

[*Light Up My Heart*]:

Applied Ethnomusicology and the Revitalisation
of the Endangered Language of Jèrriais

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Christopher Lawrence Hanby, declare that the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is clearly stated.

Signed:

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Abstract

Around 40% of humanity's 7000 active languages are endangered and at risk of 'death' or, perhaps more accurately, colonial linguicide this century. Many researchers and activists are working towards linguistic and cultural justice and revitalisation, but the role of music in this process is under-researched. Jèrriais is an endangered form of Norman, unique to the British island of Jersey. This dissertation draws on autoethnographic fieldwork in Jersey, my home island, largely conducted over twelve months during 2017 and 2018. It investigates the ways in which music can help boost the status of a language, towards revitalisation. To this end, it aims to answer two central research questions: 1) How, and to what extent, can music help shape linguistic/cultural identity and language beliefs? 2) What can an in-depth applied ethnomusicological study tell us about the process and the potential for such musical language activism?

My theoretical approach connects key ideas from sociolinguistics regarding language revitalisation (e.g. language planning, language identity, language beliefs) with relevant work in music studies (e.g. music's relationship to language, identity, and consciousness). I consider these issues in relation to the context of Jersey, particularly regarding Jersey's deliberate anglicisation and the question of linguistic justice.

Fieldwork was oriented around four applied projects: recording an album with my own pop-folk band, Badlabecques; a school singing project to learn a Jèrriais anthem; a children's choir that performed this anthem on a significant public holiday; and a community-based collaborative songwriting project. My conclusion discusses the encouraging ethnographic evidence alongside limitations and challenges. I argue that applied ethnomusicological interventions can aid revitalisation processes, particularly by positively influencing cultural identity and language beliefs, as part of a broadly conceived cultural revitalisation strategy that takes an ecological approach. I consider some of the wider implications of this, both within and beyond academia.

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1.

Introduction: The Jersey context

Lé Jèrriais

L Un haut homme mâté èrgardant vèrs l'av'nîn,
é Eune femme accliutchie, ses pensées vèrs démain,
J Un bâton touônné sus sa tête, janmais sèrvi i' né s'sa,
è Not' langage comme eune balle, codpîsée 'chîn et là,
r Eune femme baîssie à assemblier des lettres et des affaithes,
r San janne homme baîssi étout à chèrchi des mémouaithes,
i Un p'tit garçon, pour ouï not' vielle langue il arrête,
a Un ballot d'vièrs livres pitchis oubliés dans eune boête,
i La p'tite mousse qu'apprendrait vite, car oulle est bein sage,
s Les gens agenouoillis, suppliant dé sauver not' vièr langage!

[*L A tall man stands looking to the future,*
é A woman crouched, her thoughts toward tomorrow,
J A walking stick turned on its head, never to be used,
è Our language like a ball, kicked here and there,
r A woman stooped collecting letters and documents,
r Her young man bent also searching for memories,
i A little boy stops to hear our old language,
a A bundle of old lost books thrown away in a box,
i The little child fast learning, because she is so clever,
s The people on their knees, imploring us to save our old language!]

(Joan Tapley, 1996, translated by Marianne Coutanche)

Overview of the dissertation

About 42% of humanity's 7000 active languages are currently endangered (Ethnologue, 2019), and according to recent research by Bromham *et al*. (2022) over 1500 of these are at risk of loss by the end of the 21st century. Language endangerment can have many contributory factors, though perhaps the fundamental cause in most cases would be best

described as colonial linguicide: deliberate elimination driven by the language ideologies of coloniality, even where formal colonialism is absent. Roche theorises this global crisis as a product of nationalism, colonialism, racism, and capitalism, arguing that "language oppression and revitalization are connected to both processes of historical change and social struggle" (2022, p. 16). Many researchers and language activists are responding to this urgent situation, working towards linguistic and cultural justice, reclamation, and revitalisation. However, the role of music in these movements is under-researched and under-theorised. A number of musicians are involved in language revitalisation, but few academic studies have investigated the specific contribution of music to this process, and no in-depth studies (to my knowledge) have explored the potential for applied ethnomusicological research in this area.

This dissertation considers the capacity for music to aid the safeguarding and revitalisation of endangered languages, with an ethnographic focus on the critically endangered language of Jèrriais in my home island of Jersey. I was born and raised in Jersey, and I am a Jèrriais learner, currently able to speak with an 'intermediate' level of fluency (roughly B1 on the Common European Framework of References for Languages). I have been directly involved with Jèrriais language activism since 2012, detailed below.

My central thesis, which my fieldwork was designed to explore, proposes that applied music research, including creative interventions, can significantly contribute to language revitalisation by positively influencing language attitudes, beliefs, and ideologies and actively shaping cultural identity as part of a more comprehensive language planning strategy. These are central issues at the heart of a community's language practice, fundamental to meaningful and sustainable revitalisation. My work thus explores novel and potentially useful ethnographic and theoretical terrain, given the fact that engaging and winning over the community itself is challenging and often lacking in practical and creative strategies. This ideological aspect of language revitalisation planning is known as 'status planning', which I discuss below. As a unique kind of social practice, music offers exceptional potential to enhance the status of a language. This study examines this capacity via applied ethnomusicological research.

I have approached my fieldwork with the following research questions in mind. Firstly, how and to what extent can music help shape cultural identity and language beliefs in such a way as to aid language revitalisation in Jersey? Secondly, what can an in-depth applied

ethnomusicological study tell us about the process and the potential for musical language activism? Two related sub-questions have occupied me along the way, namely: what are the limitations, dangers, and problems of such work? And, how is the Jersey case study potentially helpful for other endangered languages?

In this introductory chapter, I discuss Jersey and Jèrriais in some depth, to provide an important foundational understanding of both the historical background and the contemporary context. Chapter two is a review of key literature, particularly from the fields of music studies and sociolinguistics. I situate my research in the wider context and present the central thesis of my dissertation as an original contribution at the intersection of these disciplines.

One aspect of the originality of this work, beyond the particular application of music scholarship to language activism, is the depth and scope of my long-term autoethnographic applied ethnomusicological study. Chapter three explores the rationale for this methodology and considers some of the conceptual and ethical challenges I encountered during fieldwork.

In each of the four ethnographic chapters that follow, I describe and discuss my four applied projects. My most long-term involvement with language revitalisation in Jersey has been with my pop-folk band Badlabecques. The production and release of our album *Cocolîncheux!* in autumn 2017 is the focus of chapter four. Chapter five chronicles a project teaching the song 'Man Bieau P'tit Jerri/Beautiful Jersey' to 280 children from ten different classes across six primary schools over several months in spring 2018. 'Man Bieau P'tit Jerri' is the most well-known Jèrriais song, used as an anthem at large cultural occasions like sporting events, giving it a particular connection to cultural identity. A follow-on project comprises chapter six, in which I helped organise a children's choir to perform the same song on Liberation Day 2018. This has become a de facto 'Jersey day' in which cultural identity is publicly constructed. Chapter seven describes the Jersey Song Project, which facilitated collaborative songwriting between local musicians and Jèrriais speakers, towards a final performance of songs at a professional venue. In autumn 2018, I organised for twelve local bands and solo artists to work with Jèrriais speakers and come up with a song for the final gig, leading to a range of outcomes.

The first part of my conclusion restates my central thesis, original contribution, and a summary of the four projects. I reflect on some of the most memorable and significant moments of intersubjective musical and linguistic sociality in which Jèrriais was revalorised

and identified with. In short, the richness and range of my ethnographic material provide compelling and illuminating evidence of positive identifications with Jèrriais via musical experiences. This is then put into some critical context by discussing the limitations and challenges my research was constrained by, not least my own partial positionality. My key findings concern the beneficial effects of musical language activism that are 'interior' to the music event (occurring within the course of the music experience itself), and those that are 'exterior', though connected in some way (related forms of non-musical discourse including media publicity, word-of-mouth conversations et cetera). Drawing on my discussions of music, identity, and subjectivity, I argue that at the most profound level, music's unique contribution to boosting the status of a language lies beyond simply generating publicity or being 'fun' and engaging. As my research shows, the most significant aspect is found in music's performative capacity to shape both the individual and the collective, to enact shared consciousness, affect, subjectivity, and identity.

This being the case, I explore the implications for future research, propose some likely common patterns, and raise questions that will have different answers for each context. I strongly encourage greater interdisciplinary collaboration that includes an ethnomusicologically-informed recognition of music's potential role in language revitalisation, particularly via the reconstruction of cultural identity and language ideology. Furthermore, given the urgency of linguistic and cultural endangerment, I call for applied work in musical scholarship/activism, taking an ecological approach to empathetic decolonial cultural revitalisation.

Châr er la gâche

> Rays of mid-morning sunshine dance their way to my golden-green mint tea in our relaxed corner of the Jersey Museum café. It's late September 2021, and around twenty Jèrriais speakers and learners are contentedly chatting, laughing, and chinking teaspoons on coffee cups. Behind us on the wall is a large multi-screen video display showing a mix of Jersey landscapes, heritage architecture, and archive materials in high definition. Most of the group are retired, silver-crowned native speakers, but some are younger students like me, with various degrees of fluency and expertise, including a few full-time Jèrriais teachers. Two curious French tourists have joined us today: a well-dressed middle-aged woman and her mother, who seems perhaps past the age of caring whether to conceal her equally enthusiastic, intrigued, and bemused response to the novel sounds of our unique island tongue, both familiar and strange to her. At the end of our rather long bunch of tables sits my good friend Françouais Le Maistre, with his characteristic 'Amish style' snowy-white beard framing his face and chin, minus the moustache. Françouais (officially François, but I have become accustomed to using the more familiar Jèrriais form) is a native Jèrriais speaker who

was born in 1937, just prior to the Nazi occupation of Jersey from 1940-45. He is a very well-known and much-loved figure in the Jèrriais community and Jersey as a whole. Not only was he a highly respected farmer and senior civil servant in agriculture and fisheries, but he and his brother Jean, a former politician, have been key activists for Jèrriais for many years. Their father, Dr. Frank Le Maistre, received an honorary doctorate from the University of Caen for his Jèrriais-French dictionary (1966), and records show their family have been living in the island since the 14th century.

A natural lull in the conversation tells me my moment has arrived. I slip away from the café tables, sneak round to the kitchen, and pick up the chocolate cake I had tucked away, to which the chef has expertly added the phrase 'Bouôn annivèrsaithe!' [*Happy birthday!*] in bright white icing. Today is Françouais' 84th birthday, but he's no attention seeker so, typical of him, he hasn't told anyone. However, I do know he likes good food and would probably be happy with just a little bit of fuss. I return to our corner, cake in hand, and as I re-enter the hubbub, a voice pipes up – my voice – singing a very familiar tune, 'Bouôn annivèrsaithe, bouôn annivèrsaithe, à té chièr Françouais, Bouôn annivèrsaithe!' [*Happy birthday, happy birthday, to you dear Françouais, happy birthday!*]. A few folks are a little surprised, not least Françouais, but everyone quickly joins in as it becomes clear who I'm singing to. It's a very warm and amicable moment, and Françouais is quick to respond "Ah mèrcie man garçon - y'a un p'tit couté?" [*Ah thank you my boy – is there a little knife*?]. I reply, "Oui bein seux, ch'est pouor châret auve tout le monde" [*yes of course, it's to share with everyone*].

Just like this group in the museum, Jèrriais as a language and culture may be framed by constructions of the past, but there is also still a vibrant, living community humbly enacting and enjoying our heritage, often through the simple pleasures of good company, conversation, singing, coffee, and the occasional chocolate sponge. Naturally, our first instinct is to châret la gâche [*share the cake*].

As mentioned, this chapter focuses on Jersey and Jèrriais, describing the most relevant historical, cultural, and political dimensions of the Jersey context, along with some critical analysis. A central aspect of this is the need to understand Jersey's deliberate anglicisation and the concomitant attempt to eliminate Jèrriais as a manifestation of coloniality. First, I trace the development and establishment of Jèrriais over the first few centuries, from its Norman roots up to nineteenth-century modernity. I then address Jersey's forced anglicisation from this point onwards through the theoretical lens of coloniality, drawing on literature from the Latin American research program on modernity/coloniality and decolonial thought (MCD). Whilst Jersey was not formally colonised by the English, I show why this lens is nevertheless appropriate as an analytical tool. Nazi occupation from 1940-1945 was a major cultural rupture and blow to the use of Jèrriais, with Jersey's subsequent liberation ushering in a new era of British nationalism and further anglicisation. My discussion of this leads to an analysis of post-war Jersey, popular culture, and the arrival

of the neoliberal era, which again deepened modernist, anglocentric ideology and the supremacy of the English language. A consideration of cultural identity in contemporary Jersey reflects on a recent government-led consultation, with implications for Jèrriais in the immediate present and near future. This helps illuminate the local context in which I have developed my music research.

Jersey today is an urbanised, high-tech offshore finance centre, yet with its own ancient island culture and heritage, natural beauty and ecological assets. Roughly fifteen by eight kilometres, Jersey is a small island with a somewhat transient population (now over 100,000 with only around 50% Jersey-born; States of Jersey Statistics Unit 2012). Despite being situated just twenty-four kilometres from the French coast of Normandy, Jersey is in fact a British 'crown dependency' with its own parliament and legal system, authorised by the monarchy via the Privy Council.

Jèrriais is currently considered to be critically endangered, with only a few hundred native speakers remaining, all over retirement age (as far as I know). The last island-wide survey in 2012 showed that only around 3-4% of the population claimed any real working knowledge of Jèrriais (States of Jersey Statistics Unit, 2012), with 13% able to speak some common words or phrases. Nevertheless, Jèrriais has survived, and in recent years revitalisation has begun, thanks to a few key activists and organisations. I describe these in more detail below, but in short, they started as groups to support Jèrriais publications and social events, and this eventually led to formal support from the government of Jersey via the creation of L'Office du Jèrriais in 1999. This is a small but growing department that teaches and promotes the language and is now the driving force in Jèrriais revival, developing official language policy and planning. Lessons were introduced in some schools after a positive survey response from several hundred parents, and there are also adult classes and a growing range of resources. The numbers of speakers and learners will most likely be slightly higher now than in 2012, thanks to the revitalisation programme, though sadly the population of surviving native speakers will have decreased. As this demographic ages, they are slowly becoming less mobile and social, often tending to stay in their homes, mostly in the island's non-urbanised areas, across the north and west of the island. This is why the informal Jèrriais conversation groups, such as the one described in the above vignette, are so important. After a forced break due to the COVID-19 pandemic, there are now opportunities to meet and speak some Jèrriais on every weekday in various accessible locations across the

island. Numbers range from perhaps less than half a dozen on a quiet day, to over twenty on a busier day. Outside of groups like this, or on other more formal occasions, it is now very rare to hear any Jèrriais spoken in public. But thanks to the revitalisation programme, those who do speak some Jèrriais not only have more opportunities to do so but increased confidence and motivation to use the language whenever possible.

Music and song are part of Jèrriais life and have also been an active part of the revitalisation strategy. In 2012 I was approached by L'Office du Jèrriais to record six Jèrriais songs in a more current style, intended to be a fun and accessible teaching resource. Badlabecques is an amateur pop-folk band that grew out of that commission. As described in chapter four, the band is now well-established in the local cultural landscape, with performances, records, and features in the local press, all raising the profile of Jèrriais and helping shape its public image as a living part of local cultural identity. Badlabecques' repertoire mixes relocalised traditional songs, translated pop 'covers', and original material, arranged in a style described as 'pop-folk'. My academic research has evolved from theorising this project.

Jersey and Jèrriais: a brief sketch of the first 900 years

Some form of Latin-based language has been spoken in Jersey for approximately two millennia, having arrived with the Romans (Jones, 2009, p. 9). Viking Norsemen later invaded and settled in the island, incorporating Jersey into the newly established Duchy of Normandy in 933 (Jennings and Marquis, 2011, p. 45). Consequently, Jèrriais evolved as a unique form of Norman unique to Jersey. It is a Latin-based Romance language, influenced by Norse, with traces of Celtic, Germanic, and latterly French and English. Jèrriais is still sometimes referred to as 'Jersey French', though thankfully this trend is now shifting in favour of its proper name as its status as a distinct language is being accepted. There is still a misconception in some quarters that Jèrriais is somehow a 'corruption' of French and is thus not really a proper language. This erroneous notion was a deliberate construct of coloniality, as detailed below. In fact, the two languages evolved concurrently, and whilst there is a strong family resemblance, ultimately, the critical issue is that they are different enough to build an identity around. Beyond a significant divergence in vocabulary, the main linguistic differences between the two languages are summarised by Goelzer:

> Jèrriais differs from Standard French in many ways. The phonetic inventories are different in terms of both vowels and consonants; phonological differences are apparent; the morphology demonstrates variation such as in cases concerning pronouns and gender distinctions and the use of the past historic tense in oral discourse; and finally, the syntax of Jèrriais differs significantly at times from the standard, as we saw in terms of adjective position, compound preposition formation, and preposition choice. (2005, p. 64)

Apart from several relatively short invasions and occupations, since the thirteenth century Jersey has been the personal possession of the English/British monarch, allowing a form of political independence, though fundamentally tied to the Crown. This is ultimately due to a simple quirk of history, the fleeting contingency of which is so insubstantial that its pivotal historical significance is never mentioned by those wishing to proudly assert Jersey's British identity today. In 1204, King John of England lost control of Normandy to King Philip II of France. John had left the territory in the military hands of two Norman knights, brothers Pierre and Jean de Préaux. In defeat, Jean bowed to King Philip, but Pierre had recently been made Lord of the Channel Islands by King John, so in the end he settled Jersey's destiny by pledging his allegiance to John instead. Indeed, the issue is even more tenuous because if Pierre de Préaux had not cunningly managed to omit the Channel Islands from King John's surrender terms (most likely overlooked by Philip), the restructuring of power and territory in the aftermath would have been very different (Cook et al., 2006, p. 689). A pithy local phrase summarises this, once told to Badlabecques drummer Johnny Pearse by "some old boy" and often repeated since: 'Jersey by birth, French by nature, British by mistake'.

Local feudal lords (*seigneurs*) were more divided than Pierre de Préaux, depending on the division of their fiefs in Jersey, Normandy and England. Meanwhile, the opinion of the common folk is lost to history. Still, it is hard to imagine commoners would have welcomed becoming the closest enemy territory to France. Whilst Pierre de Préaux retired to his rich rewards in England (complete with land, title, and even an English wife), Jersey had to work out its complex cultural relations over many centuries of tension, conflict, invasion, occupation, and recapture.

Consequently, over time, increasing numbers of English soldiers became the first significant local presence of the newly evolving English language (Jones, 2009, p. 2). Whilst

French was the language of 'High domains' such as the law and the Church, Jèrriais emerged as the 'Low domain' language, or quotidian social vernacular, spoken universally by all classes (Sallabank, 2013, p. 81). Despite this clear diglossic relationship, until recently, Jèrriais was not generally understood to be a distinct language (indeed, some detractors still contest this), but more of a regional variation, and during the onset of modernity there is some evidence of a class divide that perceived 'good French' to be superior, as shown in this quote from an account by clergyman Philippe Falle, written for English audiences in 1694:

> Conversation among the more genteel and well-bred, all these are in good French, but what the Vulgar do speak is confessedly not so. (Cited in Jennings and Marquis, 2011, p. 187)

However, this snobbery is a small foretaste of the prejudice and violence that would arrive with anglicisation as modernity advanced. A minority of locals – typically wealthy, educated men from feudal families – became trilingual with English, but this was less common until the nineteenth century.

Up until the 1700s, Jersey's economy had been primarily based on agriculture (apples, wool, dairy, tomatoes, potatoes, flowers) and fishing, with a certain amount of privateering (and outright piracy). But as local elites became increasingly engaged with British colonialism, including some enthusiastic investments in the slave trade and American colonies, feudalism gave way to capitalism and modernity. Shipbuilding, international trade and commerce, and banking developed, taking advantage of Jersey's unique legal and low-tax status as a crown dependency. Eventually, English became the primary language of commerce (and, to a large degree, social capital, discussed below).

French remained the official language of law and politics until the twentieth century, when English became fully dominant. But by the early nineteenth century, language use, beliefs, and ideologies were already significantly changing, and traditional Jèrriais lifeways began to be marginalised and actively oppressed. This led to the extensive anglicisation of the twentieth century.

Jèrriais, coloniality, and modernity

In Jersey, the decline of Jèrriais is typically described in matter-of-fact terms that either omit its causes entirely or detail certain demographic shifts and socio-cultural developments as self-explanatory. For example, The Island Wiki simply states:

> [T]he great invasion of English residents, which began in Victorian times, together with the influence of English-trained teachers in the schools and the far-reaching effects of radio and television, have made English the dominant language. (The Island Wiki, n.d., online)

Changes such as this are often presented with the effect of assuming the language shift was inevitable and 'natural', but this pose belies the underlying ideological and political processes that occurred. Jersey historian John D. Kelleher acknowledges the institutional and cultural influence of "a large English immigrant population and an increasingly powerful native commercial bourgeoisie" in the nineteenth century (1991, p. 125). Efforts to realign political and judicial structures "onto a basis more reflective of its wealth, number and desire for capitalist expansion" intensified, particularly between 1830 and 1860 (Ibid). Kelleher states:

> English immigrants to the island were convinced of the superiority of their language and showed no inclination to learn the local vernacular. This linguistic self-righteousness was shared by a section of Jersey middle-class, notably those educated or trained in England. English was identified as the language of commercial success and moral and intellectual advancement. These tendencies were enhanced by the attitude of the British authorities who began to see the advantages of an anglicised Jersey. (1991, p. 269)

Fundamentally, it is the domineering 'rational' ideology of modernity, rooted in violent, oppressive coloniality that consciously and coercively drove language change in Jersey.

Jersey was never officially colonised, so by invoking the term 'coloniality' it is important to recognise key differences with nations and cultures that were formally (and far more violently) colonised, as well as the need to avoid simply engaging with coloniality as a metaphor (Tuck and Yang, 2012), or worse, modish jargon. Rather, I am concerned with the ways in which coloniality as a cultural 'totality' – as an all-encompassing ideological

framework – led to the actual oppression of Jèrriais culture and language, and the ongoing legacy of problematic modernist language ideology. Coloniality thus refers to the ideological infrastructure of modernity – its 'darker side' (Mignolo, 2011) – unfolding both within and beyond formal European colonialism. This concept comes from the pathbreaking theory that emerged from what is broadly known as the Latin American research program on modernity/coloniality and decolonial thought (MCD), developed by scholars such as Quijano (2007), Mignolo (2007), Maldonado-Torres (2007), Lugones (2007) and others. Maldonado-Torres introduces the concept of coloniality as follows:

> Coloniality, instead, refers to long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the strict limits of colonial administrations. (2007, p. 242)

The forced imposition of eurocentric ontology and epistemology as a universal totality produced categorial, hierarchical, and ultimately dichotomous (human/subhuman) social structures across the globe, following the white supremacist logic of modernity/rationality. Inequitable power dynamics were fundamentally predicated upon colonial concepts of race, class, gender, and sexuality, and the ramifications of colonial domination led to widespread cultural, economic, ecological, cosmological, and – of course – linguistic obliteration. Maldonado-Torres states:

> [W]hile the coloniality of power referred to the interrelation among modern forms of exploitation and domination (power), and the coloniality of knowledge had to do with impact of colonization on the different areas of knowledge production, coloniality of being would make primary reference to the lived experience of colonization and its impact on language." (2007, p. 242)

This impact on language was ontological not only because language embodies identity but because language is performative, it enacts and structures worlds.

This architecture of cultural supremacy as a model of power came to define and determine intercultural differences globally, even at a domestic level, within the purview of the European 'motherland'. There is some precedent for scholarship that applies such theory

to contexts that were not formally colonised, or at least not subject to the same degree of violence and dehumanisation that non-white/non-European people experienced. Cazzato has considered the ramifications of coloniality in the Mediterranean, drawing on Quijano and Mignolo to observe that:

> Coloniality, as a matter of fact, is the invisible but constitutive side of the whole of modernity. To this extent, the workings of coloniality have also governed the relations within Europe. (2016, p. 3)

Loftsdóttir has explored similar issues in relation to Iceland and imperial Denmark, referring to a range of scholars, including Stoler (1989) in stating that:

> Explorations of how coloniality was lived and executed at the margins of Europe can be seen as a part of the deeper and more nuanced analysis of colonialism for which Stoler and others have called for (2018, p. 4)

As Grosfoguel notes, the subordinating, Othering, and racialisation processes of coloniality are not limited to skin colour and appearance in general:

> [A] focus on color alone does not address the fact that, although diverse colonized groups may be phenotypically indistinguishable from dominant colonizer groups, they can nevertheless be racialized as inferior others in a colonial situation. The racialization of the Irish in the British empire is a good example of how this process is not fundamentally about skin color but about a location within a colonial relationship. (2004, p. 326)

Whilst Jersey was not formally colonised, the peculiar history of the island, which shifted from Norman fiefdom to 'Crown dependency', established a hierarchical relationship that makes it effectively a client state, partially independent but very much subservient to British imperial interests. Jersey's political status since 1204 evolved as a kind of de facto colony, and its population was particularly vulnerable to the overpowering compulsion of coloniality, in this case by English perpetrators. This state of affairs can be classified as 'internal colonialism', which is a framework that seeks to understand the "structural, political, and economic inequalities between regions within a nation-state. It also depicts intra-national

exploitation of distinct cultural groups" (*The Encyclopedia of Political Thought,* Dey, 2014). Jèrriais identity and culture found itself very much 'at the margins of Europe', awkwardly isolated on a minor British island in a French backwater. Arguably, modernity/coloniality had already taken root, but from the early 1800s onwards, that root sprouted and spread as anglicisation set in. There was a concerted effort from English interlopers, including some writers passing through and influential immigrants, to convince Jersey elites not only that 'The Kings English' (and later 'Queen's English') was superior to Jèrriais but that eliminating Jèrriais and adopting English ways of thinking, doing, and being was the only route to being modern and civilised. The "backward" tongue of the "illiterate peasants" and "country bumpkins" was something to be abolished in the name of progress (Sallabank, 2013, p. 107, 2011, pp. 22, 26). Consequently, as Kelleher observes, "the motives behind certain members of the gentry's desire to anglicise were both social and economic" (Kelleher, 1991, p. 280).

Quijano notes the typical colonial process of firstly repressing local modes of knowing, signification and expression (Quijano, 2007, p. 169), but then replacing them with colonial patterns of expression, knowledge creation, and so on. Submission to the new, dominant world view and modification/assimilation into colonial cultural practices are required to access social and economic capital. Quijano notes, "After all, beyond repression, the main instrument of all power is its seduction" (Quijano, 2007, p. 169). This is consistent with what occurred – and still occurs – in Jersey, as the following excerpts cited in Jennings and Marquis (2011) depict. First, W. Plees, an Englishman and long-term resident in the island, published '*An Account of the Island of Jersey*' in 1817, just after the Napoleonic Wars had increased the British military presence. He describes Jèrriais as an "abominable patois", and continues:

> This medley really is disgraceful to the island, and it is extraordinary that no efforts have yet been made to remedy the defect. English is, however, becoming daily more and more prevalent… it would indeed be soon equally spoken throughout the island, as the present jargon, were it particularly encouraged. Political considerations seem to render this highly desirable. (1817, cited in Jennings and Marquis, 2011, p. 192)

Another English author writing in the same period, Thomas Quayle, notes that "In other provinces of the British Empire, languages were once spoken which are now passed, or passing into oblivion … These they wisely agree to forego" (1815, cited by Jennings and

Marquis, 2011, p. 195). Quayle then proposes ridding Jersey of its "tongue of an enemy; a branch of a dialect, of a jargon" by targeting women in particular:

> In order to affect this, the first and most important step is yet to be taken; that is, in the general education of females. Our first tongue, as it is received from our mothers and nurses, is properly termed our maternal tongue. (Ibid)

Quayle opines that it is no good sending a man away to England for education if his wife "and female servants" still speak Jèrriais, indeed:

> Had an annual sum been devoted half a century ago, to the support of a decent English matron, to reside near each of the churches, and instruct female children… the struggle between the two tongues would now have been over. (Ibid)

This is a clear example of the systemic exploitation of gender, typically by educated 'men of letters', in structuring coloniality, as Lugones (2007) and others have discussed. Exploitative colonial concepts of gender roles were "a violent introduction consistently and contemporarily used to destroy peoples, cosmologies, and communities as the building ground of the 'civilized' West" (Lugones, 2007, p. 186). Such constructions of gender and control over child-rearing practices were fundamental to many aspects of coloniality, not least the manipulation, and, ultimately, the cultural abuse and dispossession, of all future generations.

The notion of modernity was always necessarily predicated upon an advance away from premodern, or 'traditional' lifeways: "history was conceived as an evolutionary continuum from the primitive to the civilized; from the traditional to the modern; from the savage to the rational; from pre-capitalism to capitalism, etc." (Quijano, 2007, p. 176). Via this logic, Jèrriais culture and identity became destined for erasure, relegated to a permanently inferior ontological category, with an illegitimate and worthless epistemological framework, henceforth associated with antiquity, irrelevance, and inevitable obsolescence.

With regard to language ideology specifically, Bauman and Briggs (2003) have made a compelling case that "constructions of language (meaning both ideologies of language and metadiscursive regimes) and tradition played a central role in creating the modernist project" (Bauman and Briggs, 2003, p. 299). Led by influential European figures such as Locke, Bacon,

Hobbes, Herder, and others, the progress of civilisation required the application of modernist rationalism to the composition of emergent nationalism:

> In addition to legitimating structures of inequality in the public sphere, the language ideologies of Locke and Herder converge in denying the legitimacy of multiple voices and multiple languages in public discourse. Their respective visions of political community and national interest have in common principled insistence on linguistic and discursive standardization and regimes of purification: social and political cohesion demand one language, one metadiscursive order, one voice. (Bauman and Briggs, 2003, p. 195)

Another Georgian-era English author, Henry Inglis, epitomises this language ideology perfectly:

> The unsettled state of language in Jersey, must be admitted to be a great obstacle to the refinements of civilization. The use of a pure language as one universal medium of communication, offers to the moral and intellectual condition of a people, as great a facility for improvement, as rail roads, and steam, offer to commerce. But this medium, Jersey has not yet the advantage of. The universal language is still a barbarous dialect. (1835, cited by Jennings and Marquis, 2011, p. 199)

Over the following decades, this modernist logic was to have great influence, motivating the primary agents of anglicisation: British authorities, English capitalist immigrants, and complicit local elites, who in turn led the aspirational middle classes (see: Kelleher, 1991). In 1857, exiled French writer Victor Hugo observed the shame associated with Jèrriais, and the desire to anglicise, addressing locals "qui rougissez de parler comme ont parlé vos pères, et qui faites enseigner l'anglais à vos fils, vous qui ôtez à vos rues leurs vieux noms français pour leur donner des noms britanniques" [*who blush to speak as your forefathers spoke, and who have your sons taught in English, you who remove old French names from your streets in order to give them British names*] (1857, p. 104; translation by Jennings and Marquis, 2011, p. 214).

In the same year, local newspaper La Chronique de Jersey lamented the anglicisation of the island, illustrating an increasing divide between the anglophile urban population and

the countryfolk:

> [L]es habitants de nos campagnes ne peuvent voir avec plaisir cet espirit d'envahissement qui se manifeste de toutes parts et qui ne tend à riens moins qu'à nous ravir notre ancienne langue pour y substuituer la langue anglaise.
>
> [*The inhabitants of our countryside cannot view with pleasure this spirit of invasion which manifests itself on all sides and which is inclined to nothing less than to rob us of our old language and replace it with English*]. (14/1/1857, cited in: Kelleher, 1991, p. 288)

Despite efforts by some locals to hold back the tide – most notably a group of poets and scholars in the 1870s (see: Kelleher, 1991, p. 585) – the forces of modernity and English coloniality proved overwhelming. Jèrriais poet Phillipe Langlois provides a glimpse into the state of things by 1873, with the first few lines of his poem about Jèrriais:

> J'avons entendu des Angliais
> Se moquir du bouan vier Jèrriais;
> De trouver à r'dire est lus mode,
> De cmander partout est lus code.
>
> [*We have heard the English*
> *Making fun of good old Jèrriais:*
> *They're always finding fault;*
> *And making it their business to order everyone around.*
> (1873, Jennings and Marquis, 2011, p. 205)

Jersey's anglicisation increased exponentially in the twentieth century, though as anthropologists Eriksen and Roche emphasise, cultural and linguistic coercion and domination do not always announce themselves openly. Eriksen has observed that such forms of oppression "are not necessarily of a physical and overt kind. On the contrary, they are often invisible to the casual observer, and they are sometimes not even articulated as forms of oppression either by the oppressors or by the victims" (Eriksen, 1991, p. 3). Roche defines this as a version of what Nixon (2011) has called 'slow violence':

> The structural violence of linguistic erasure is slow because it operates by disrupting the transmission of language from one generation to the next. And it is violent because it invades intimate spaces—the home, the family, the child-parent bond—and renders important decisions in these contexts—like which language to transmit—un-free; it promotes assimilation not by forbidding or banning certain languages, but by making desired options impractical, and undesirable options both convenient and rewarding. (Roche, 2019a, p. 500)

In a direct abuse of human rights, actual physical violence was used on children in schools, particularly after 1894 when compulsory primary education was introduced (for girls as well as boys), with teaching in English. From 1912, the use of Jèrriais was indeed banned in schools and liable to provoke corporal punishment (Omniglot, n.d.; Scott-Warren, n.d.). It is difficult to comprehend the existential trauma inherent to the child's experience of this abuse, in terms of the psychological violence of being forbidden to speak the very language that had *spoken them* – framed their world and interpellated their very being – since birth. Othering and devaluing Jèrriais language and culture inevitably Others and devalues those who bear it. Today, this would breach article 30 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which states that children should not be denied the right to enjoy their own culture or use their own language (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2009, p. 2).

Coloniality was inherent to the development of modern education systems in Jersey, with funding from the British Privy Council, and later the States of Jersey being dependent on standards of 'efficiency' awarded by His Majesty's Inspectors, who directed policy and laid down conditions according to English ideals (Kelleher, 1991, pp. 298–299; The Island Wiki, n.d.). Indeed, such a strict focus on English and English-style education was a form of what Phillipson terms 'linguistic imperialism' (2009). A private English-language school for boys, Victoria College, had already been founded by anglophile reformers in 1852, modelled on English public schools, with Jèrriais prohibited (Jones, 2003, p. 3). Victoria College "represented the apex of the desire to anglicise" (Kelleher, 1991, p. 299), so the affluent (and male) social elites who were educated there would undoubtedly go on to replicate its language ideology as influential adults. Ironically, a century of compulsory school attendance in Jersey transformed a trilingual island into a monolingual one (bar a few subcultural exceptions). It is hard to overstate the profound and comprehensive repercussions of UK-led

English language education, steeped in modernist coloniality, on the language, culture, and society of Jersey.

The years prior to World War II saw further anglicisation and continued stigma attached to Jèrriais. Daily flights to England began after the construction of Jersey Airport in 1933, and tourism became increasingly important to the economy. Arguably, it was during this period that the first generational break with Jèrriais was occurring, with families deliberately choosing not to pass on their language to their children. English coloniality was built into official policy, but it also involved everyday prejudice and shaming, as shown by the following quote from a participant in research by Sallabank:

> Historically you see … the previous generation – it was so strongly discouraged in school – to the point, not in my time but before that, you could be punished for speaking Jèrriais in the playground or in school … it was quite strong at one stage, probably I don't know twenties, thirties ... I never knew that but even in my day you were thought of as a country bumpkin basically – if you admitted to it … so a lot of people almost deliberately discouraged their children at home so that they wouldn't get that. (Sallabank, 2013, p. 107)

Indeed, my own family was affected by this. My paternal grandmother only spoke French and Jèrriais until she attended school around 1919, but as an adult she married an Englishman and did not pass on any Jèrriais to her four children. An English monoglot, modernist language ideology had made a decisive rupture, and the coloniality of Thomas Quayle's Machiavellian vision for the "general education of females" (1815) had finally come to fruition, dispossessing future generations of their rightful cultural heritage.

The Occupation of Jersey 1940-1945, and Liberation Day

Across the Channel Islands, the Nazi occupation of 1940-1945 represents a profoundly significant fixed point on the horizon of local cultural memory. In local convention, one always capitalises the 'o' of the phrase 'the Occupation', signifying a harrowing and transformative period. Jersey was permanently changed, and as archaeologist and historian Gilly Carr states, even today, "German Occupation is an important part of Channel Islands identity" (Carr, 2014, p. 292). When Nazi forces withdrew, they left behind "a particular post-

Occupation landscape of barbed wire, mined beaches, toppled monuments, vandalised properties, labour camps, concrete fortifications, ruined coastlines, and traumatised populations" (Carr, 2014, p. 7). Thousands of islanders had been evacuated or, if they stayed, they were variously restricted, abused, imprisoned, deported, executed or simply suffered the more 'mundane' aspects of occupation on a small island: loss of freedom, isolation, poor health, daily hardships, hunger, malnutrition et cetera; not to mention the psychological impact of witnessing war crimes perpetrated on neighbours and foreign slave workers alike. Or perhaps worse: collaborating in such crimes (Travers, 2012).

The impact on Jèrriais was also considerable, despite having some practical value as a local 'secret code', unintelligible to Nazi soldiers. A fifth of the population, including a large percentage of children and young people, spent five years in England as refugees, forgetting or missing out on Jèrriais altogether. On their return, English was increasingly seen as "the key to social advancement", whereas Jèrriais conferred "low prestige" (Jones, 2003, p. 5).

There was an understandable degree of British patriotism during the Occupation. Indeed, pre-war anglicisation was already further intertwining local identity with imperial Britishness, partially built upon Jersey's history of both Royalism and militarisation (being a garrison island and long-term frontline with France). But affection for all things British and military was given a visceral boost as Churchill's Tommies marched up from the harbour on May 9th 1945. As historian Dan Travers notes,

> British troops came to symbolize the revered conceptions of unity and heroism that are the essence of the Churchillian myth, as brave British soldiers returned to Jersey and the island's population took to the streets waving Union flags in a unified display of patriotism to the motherland. (Travers, 2012, p. 181)

This first Liberation Day represents a watershed moment in local identity, being permanently reconstructed and emplaced within a frame of post-WWII British nationalist mythology and ideology. At first, the day was formally celebrated and commemorated every five years, but it has been an annual event since 2000 (in my view, driven by a desire to make the event a key site of identity construction in the service of the established hierarchical conservative socio-political order, detailed below). After five years of struggle, it is understandable that the local population of the late 1940s would find it difficult to commemorate the Occupation in a manner that confronted the trauma, humiliation,

complexity, guilt and pain of this bleak time. Instead, following the suggestion of British Home Secretary Herbert Morrison, the first few commemorative ceremonies after the war were led by local elites in a way that encouraged "pushing aside darker memories" to indulge the triumphalist official British war narrative rather than dwell on the "dark years" (Carr, 2014, p. 212). This vision of victory facilitated Victorian-style repression of very real trauma. Historian Paul Sanders observes: "with no place other to fit their war memory than the straightjacket of UK war memory – the Churchillian paradigm – islanders locked into the celebration of sublime heroism and unwavering steadfastness" (Sanders, 2005, p. 256). The 'Churchillian paradigm' is characterised by a proliferation of nationalistic symbolic and discursive tropes, including Union flags, V-signs, anthems, rituals, memorials, military imagery, 'finest hour' mythology, and of course, the lionisation of Churchill himself (Travers, 2012). It has provided the overarching framework for official celebrations of Liberation Day ever since. Despite slight amendments to incorporate some more reflective and inclusive messages since the 1990s, Liberation Day is still "used as a device to seamlessly connect the island's Second World War experience to glorious British victory, despite Jersey having little part in it" (Travers, 2012, p. 35).

Liberation Day is now certainly a major highlight of the island's cultural calendar, with its own public holiday and large-scale official public ceremony in Liberation Square, involving all senior representatives of public office. Fictive kinship is consciously constructed and maintained via collective gathering, ceremonial and period clothing, militaristic parades, ceremonial and re-enactment ritual actions, flags, speeches, performed texts, prayers, music and song, monuments and commemorative spaces, all of which deliberately link a carefully curated history to Jersey identity. The formal ceremony typically ends at noon and is followed by an informal 'street party' nearby, featuring live entertainment, food and drink stalls, and craft stalls. During the ceremony, the song 'Man Bieau P'tit Jerri/Beautiful Jersey' is usually performed by a single adult and traditional brass band, who play a rather genteel, sedate and sentimental musical arrangement. Recent years have also seen the introduction of a children's choir who join in with the English verse after a section of Jèrriais. The words are printed in the ceremony programme, and a good proportion of the crowd tends to sing along (see chapter six).

The Occupation is thus a keystone of Jersey's self-image as an island, making Liberation Day a simultaneous day of remembrance of the past and celebration of local

identity in general; a kind of 'Jersey day'. The narrative of the downtrodden but plucky and courageous island surviving and triumphing over the Occupation is a central part of the story Jersey tells itself about its cultural character: perseverance, integrity, resourcefulness, resilience, community-mindedness, independence (though loyal to the British Crown), heroism and so on. But the Churchillian paradigm in particular, and its inherently nationalistic agenda, has made Liberation Day into a compulsory annual performance of a very Churchillian, British Jerseyness.

I will expand upon these issues in chapter six, but the direct relevance of all this to my research operates on three levels. First, the song 'Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri/Beautiful Jersey' is central to two of my applied projects, and as I will explain, its cultural significance was largely established through Liberation Day ceremonies. Second, the closer cultural embrace of Britishness intrinsically reifies anglicisation as a default. But most profoundly, the Churchillian paradigm is intractably imbricated with discourses of authoritarian, hierarchical, conservative, monolingual anglophone British coloniality; i.e. the very same social forces that oppressed Jèrriais in the first place. Churchill himself was not only an aggressive proponent of colonialism, imperialism, and a 'white man's burden' version of white supremacy (Addison, 1980, pp. 39–40; Heyden, 2015; Neumann, 2013, p. 1377; Toye, 2010, p. 253), but preached an explicit articulation of anglocentric modernist language ideology, helping lay the foundations for the post-war Anglo-American linguistic imperialism of the 'English-speaking peoples' (Churchill, 1982/1956-58; Docherty, 2018; see also: Phillipson, 2009). Churchill was an architect of the 'special relationship' between Britain and the U.S.A., and in the course of a House of Commons speech in 1941, he declared: "…the British Empire and the United States, fortunately for the progress of mankind, happen to speak the same language and very largely think the same thoughts ..." (Morton, 1943, p. 152; cited in Phillipson, 2009, p. 105). These 'same thoughts' – in other words, anglocentric, capitalist coloniality/modernity – became inherent to the project of making English the global, 'universal' *lingua franca,* as evidenced in Churchill's promotion of BASIC English (British American Scientific International Commercial English) (Phillipson, 2009, p. 114) as a means of 'civilising' imperial subjects. The language ideology of the inventor of BASIC English, Charles Ogden, is made clear by the quote, "what the world needs is about 1000 more dead languages—and one more alive" (Ogden, 1934, cited in: Phillipson, 2009, p. 31).

This issue is significant for Jersey and Jèrriais, partly because of the ideological work of re-imprinting anglocentric, Churchillian, British coloniality (and all that that entails) on the local psyche that occurs every Liberation Day; but also because of the fundamental role this mentality played in structuring what Phillipson refers to as "the linguistic imperialism of neoliberal empire" (Phillipson, 2009, p. 103), in which Jersey elites have played an influential role. When in 1943, Churchill claimed, "the empires of the futures [*sic*] are the empires of the mind!" he was not wrong (Churchill, 1974/1943: 6826).

Post-war Jersey, popular culture, and neoliberalism

After the war, a debilitated and economically impoverished island pushed to re-establish tourism, deepening links with its primary target market, the U.K. This generated over half of Jersey's national income by 1960 (Jones, 2003, p. 6). Population grew, particularly via British and Irish immigrants. English became the official language of government. Local media, including television, developed in English, and two newly built cinemas showing Hollywood blockbusters became popular. Pop culture, including fashion and music, largely followed U.K. and U.S. trends, with a several famous rock and pop acts performing in Jersey including The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, and The Small Faces (BBC, 2004).

Perceiving the imminent decline of Jèrriais, some individuals and organisations began to organise in this period, laying the foundations for the eventual establishment of a government department for Jèrriais – L'Office du Jèrriais – in 1999, and the revitalisation movement of today. These activists include the aforementioned Dr. Frank Le Maistre, a farmer from an old Jersey family who became a prolific Jèrriais writer and published his Jèrriais-French dictionary in 1966. Four key organisations that are still active are Le Don Balleine, a legacy trust fund established to promote Jèrriais after the death of Arthur Balleine in 1943; L'Assembliée d'Jèrriais, a social group for the Jèrriais community, which also promotes the language; La Société Jersiaise, a historical society with a language section; and later, Le Congrès des Parlers Normands et Jèrriais, an action group with regional links to Normandy which coordinates Jèrriais/Norman events and activities.

Whilst tourism, media, pop culture and demographic changes inherently contributed to anglicisation and processes of modernity, a profoundly consequential change occurred as Jersey's elites embraced financialised capitalism and developed the island's status as a tax

haven[1] and offshore finance centre. Even on a surface level, the physical, cultural, and demographic changes this brought to Jersey's micro-society have been transformative. From the 1960s, inward migration grew rapidly among three broad groups: wealthy elites (including some "empire families"; Ogle, 2020), taking advantage of a low-tax economy; professional services including banking, law, technology, administration, Civil Service and other expertise; and low-paid labour mostly arriving from France, Portugal, Madeira, and more recently, Eastern Europe, to work in hospitality, retail, building, gardening, transport, et cetera, adding to the numbers of agricultural workers already present. Few of these new arrivals would have any reason to learn Jèrriais, and were generally not encouraged to. The island became increasingly urbanised, including housing, banks, offices, commercial and industrial properties, and an ever-evolving road system (cars now outnumber residents). Even part of the sea on St. Helier's waterfront has been reclaimed to expand the area around the harbour, in order to accommodate larger commercial vessels and private yachts (Johnson, 2016a). Urbanisation and human activity has also had a detrimental effect on Jersey's ecology and biodiversity, including threats to nineteen Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs) (Liddiard, 2018) and species such as the puffin and the unique Jersey toad.

These are the external results of an island falling ever more deeply into the grip of coloniality. Anglicisation, and the linguistic imperialism of neoliberal empire have been part and parcel of this process, the repercussions of which emanate outwardly from Jersey via commerce and politics, as well as reverberate inwardly in terms of the pernicious effects on Jèrriais and local culture. There are several interlocking aspects to this, so I will keep to the most salient parts.

First, whilst Jersey was already functioning as a tax haven to some extent before WWII, its finance industry hugely expanded in the 1960s in order to facilitate the continued colonial theft from newly independent former colonies via capital flight (so-called 'funk money'), coupled with the neocolonial financial imperialism of 'development' aid and private investment, that came with particular conditions (Ogle, 2020). As financial markets were liberalised from the 1970s onwards, Jersey's finance industry grew with little to no

[1] To use Ogle's definition (2020), "Tax havens are commonly understood to be jurisdictions with zero or very low tax rates for corporations and/or individuals as well as certain secrecy provisions that guarantee the anonymity of those wishing to conceal assets from the eyes of prying taxmen" (Ogle, 2020, p. 218). Despite the protestations of industry bodies such as Jersey Finance, there is no doubt that the general descriptor 'tax haven' is accurate for Jersey, as I show (see also: Murphy, 2021a; Tracy, 2021).

regulation, playing a global role at the dawn of neoliberalism (Christensen and Hampton, 2016; Ogle, 2020; Sikka, 2015). Eventually, after decades of unethical activity, scandals, and "tolerance of financial criminality" (Christensen, 2017, online), some reforms have been made, but the basic neoliberal industry model remains. Today, Jersey trusts control £1 trillion in assets, and the island hosts 32,000 registered companies, six of the nine law firms in the 'offshore magic circle'[2], as well as various hedge funds, private equity firms, shadow banks and other 'wealth management' firms (Christensen, 2017; Locate Jersey, 2020). Amongst a range of financial services provided by the industry, some of which may well be arguably legitimate and ethical, Jersey's finance sector continues to enable global tax abuses, secrecy, capital flight, and Illicit Financial Flows (IFFs), facilitating exploitative neoliberal capitalism and the neocolonial domination of the Global North over the Global South (See: Christensen, Shaxson and Wigan, 2016; Christensen, 2017; Knobel, 2017; Reuter, 2017; Miyandazi and Ronceray, 2018; Tax Justice Network, 2020; United Nations, 2020; Hickel, Sullivan and Zoomkawala, 2021; Murphy, 2021b). Jersey still does not have an inheritance, wealth, capital gains, or general corporation tax (States of Jersey, 2021a; Tracy, 2021).

As a number of scholars have theorised and systematically demonstrated, the coercive epistemic and ideological violence of anglocentric linguistic imperialism is a constitutive element of neoliberalism, constructing the capitalist 'Anglosphere' (Barrantes-Montero, 2018; Hsu, 2015; Koslowski, 2018; see: Phillipson, 2009; Wellings and Mycock, 2019). This perspective assumes an understanding of language as power, and shows how constructions of 'global English' continue "to establish hierarchical difference through linguistic othering" as a tool of neoliberal coloniality (Hsu, 2015, p. 123). There is no room here to explore this fully, but the key points are that the *product* of global English as a 'universal' communicative infrastructure embeds and enacts Western values and inequitable market ideologies in the various molecular *processes* of 'linguistic capital accumulation' via dispossession; and the advancement of this is a normative *project* which dovetails with economic, political, communicative, cultural, educational, technological, and scientific imperialism serving Anglo-American neoliberal interests (Phillipson, 2009, p. p2,68,106,132).

[2] The offshore magic circle is a common collective term for a group of the largest multi-jurisdictional law firms specialising in offshore financial centres, in particular Bermuda, Cayman Islands, British Virgin Islands, Guernsey, and Jersey (see: Wikipedia, n.d.).

This combination of *product*, *process*, and *project* "contributes to the imperial production of subjectivities, through communicative networks, creating a synergy that integrates structural and ideological elements in the new world 'order'" (Phillipson, 2009, p. 135). Whilst the most explicit versions of the project are systematically promulgated by politicians, the World Bank, organisations such as the British Council, and the global English teaching industry, there is no conscious conspiracy here across the whole system (Phillipson, 2009, p. 74). Rather, the privileging of English is part of the discursive outworking of the fact that major stakeholders and industries, including the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organisation, the North American Free Trade Association, transnational corporations, powerful states and alliances, various NGOs and development organisations, Anglo-American media, the international finance industry, and others are all singing, in English, from the same hymn sheet of 'capitalist realism' (Fisher, 2009) as a civilising mission of globalisation. By repeating Margaret Thatcher's refrain of 'There Is No Alternative', dominant forces require local actors in the Global South to acquiesce to the symbolic power of their narrative, assenting to its legitimacy and authority.

Jersey's government, its finance sector, and its general culture are fully complicit in this product, process, and project. Outwardly, as an extension of the City of London and handmaiden of the British state, the hybrid government/finance sector (they are indeed conjoined) perpetuates the neoliberal imperialism of the Anglosphere. Inwardly, Jersey has been economically, politically, and ideologically captured by the finance industry. Democracy is extremely weak, to the extent that industry lobby group Jersey Finance literally writes its own legislation and instructs the consistently right-wing government to pass it (Christensen and Hampton, 2016; Murphy, 2021b, 2011). As Christensen observes, "conflicts of interest and corruption are rife and the elite have made their own interests synonymous with the interests of the entire population" (Christensen, 2017, online). Even mild critique of the status quo is often vehemently opposed as an 'attack on Jersey', shutting down dissent and critical thinking in general. The conflation of establishment interests with national interests is particularly relevant to Liberation Day, when official speeches typically conflate the notion of Jersey's freedom from Nazi occupation with free-market ideology and the 'freedom of today', though today's freedom is in limited supply, unequally distributed, and enjoyed by elites at the expense of the rest of the world. Jersey's economy is now wholly dependent on the finance industry either directly or indirectly, further entrenching neoliberal ideology, and the

dogmatic commitment to permanently low taxes has led to austerity politics. All this has increased inequality and poverty, and compounded the cost of living crisis and the housing crisis (*BBC Jersey*, 2015; *Bailiwick Express*, 2018c, 2020; *ITV News*, 2022; *Jersey Evening Post*, 2015a; McLoughlin, 2021; Murphy, 2018; Targett, 2018). In summary, as with other localities in the thrall of neoliberalism, it is clear that anglicisation and the totalising mission creep of consumerism and market ideology (Moreno, 2014) are co-constitutive elements of Jersey's habitus.

Jèrriais and contemporary Jersey identity

Given all the changes I have described, local cultural identity in Jersey has been in freefall during the past four decades or so. A recognition of this, combined with the government's desire to 'change the narrative' that Jersey is a tax haven, saw the establishment of the state-run Island Identity Policy Development Board (IIPDB) in 2019. A recent interim report notes,

> [T]here is a widely felt sense that something is being lost. In the face of rapid global change there is a strong feeling from many parts of the Jersey community that we must act to protect, preserve and strengthen the uniqueness of Jersey, lest its specialness be diminished. We feel that if we don't act now, we may live to regret our neglect. (The Island Identity Policy Development Board, 2021, p. 2)

Though arguably two centuries too late, the report and ongoing public consultation signals a concerted attempt to "define, coordinate and project a coherent and inclusive Island Identity" (The Island Identity Policy Development Board, 2021, p. 10).

Notwithstanding the deep, tacit faith in neoliberal capitalism that underpins the report, in general, the various governmental and non-governmental stakeholders and contributors appear to have been acting in good faith, for the 'good of Jersey', as they understand it. The wide-ranging document covers a number of issues, including citizenship, education, sport, heritage and culture (including the arts and language), anglicisation, the environment, the economy, community and social cohesion, as well as 'international personality'. It considers the role of the Jersey cow, the Jersey Royal potato, Jersey tomatoes, beaches, seafood, and other celebrated traditional icons of 'Jerseyness' in constructing the island's identity, alongside more recent cultural shifts like the significant cultural contribution of the Portuguese community, and technological changes in the digital era. As such, it is more

than a superficial rebranding exercise but seeks to meaningfully engage with questions of identity and the implications of this for the local community, broadly making use of a social constructionist approach to identity. It also uses inclusive language and is at pains to stress that the avoidance of exclusionary (ethno)nationalist identity politics is a priority, seeking to encourage a welcoming, liberal, diverse sense of social cohesion as a key goal.

Jèrriais features prominently, affirming a continued high-level commitment to supporting Jèrriais as a vital aspect of Jersey's identity, heritage, and 'soft power', i.e. projecting the island's identity and culture on a global stage. This commitment from government, which re-iterates a previous £1.5 million spending pledge for Jèrriais teaching, has been hard-won by Jèrriais activists in recent years. While previous governments have clearly been antagonistic, and then merely apathetic, Jèrriais is now a concrete part of the States of Jersey 'Government Plan 2020-2023', with commitments beyond this into the future. Deputy Kirsten Morel, who is the current Assistant Minister for Economic Development, Tourism, Sport and Culture, with responsibility for Culture, is very much an ally of Jèrriais, as was his predecessor, Deputy Montfort Tadier, who also happens to be the accordion player in Badlabecques. It was partly thanks to Deputy Tadier that the increase in funding and official status for Jèrriais has come about. Bilingual English-Jèrriais branding has begun to be implemented by the States of Jersey, and thanks to a proposition from Deputy Tadier, Jèrriais has been formally recognised as one of Jersey's three official languages next to English and French. The shift in the government's attitude towards Jèrriais, along with tangible investment, has already made a significant difference to public perceptions. A section of the IIPDB report states:

> [T]eaching Jèrriais in schools will embed a sense of identification, pride and citizenship in all Jersey school children, regardless of background. In a time where identity seems to have taken on a renewed significance, Jèrriais can instil in all inhabitants of Jersey a sense of belonging and a means of feeling part of their Island. Jèrriais should be an integral part of our Island Identity, promoted by Government, The States, businesses and organisations, and used as a unique selling point to those beyond our shores. Our language can play a significant role in fostering social cohesion and a sense of self-confidence amongst Islanders and, as such, we should treasure it, nurture it and be proud of it. (The Island Identity Policy Development Board, 2021, p. 57)

However, there is a danger here. The report is completely lacking in intersectional class analysis, contains no real critique of Jersey's structural inequalities, exploitative politics, and power dynamics, and the sections on the finance industry may as well have been written by Jersey Finance themselves. It claims the moniker 'tax haven' is 'unfair', and dubiously states, without evidence, that Jersey's finance industry "is an aid to globalisation that has lifted many millions out of poverty", despite overwhelming evidence indicating the contrary is true of globalised financial capitalism (Donnelly, 2019; Eikenberry and Mirabella, 2018; Ezeonu, 2008; Feldman, 2019; See: Hart-Landsberg, 2006; Kiely, 2007; Salandy, 2018; Sowels, 2019). This commitment to neoliberal doctrine and general lack of criticality embeds coloniality deeply into discourses of identity, into which Jèrriais is co-opted. Thus the danger is that this becomes one manifestation of what Hale and Millamán have called 'neoliberal multiculturalism' (Hale, 2005; Hale and Millamán, 2006). Hale observed that neoliberal governments in Central America deliberately idealised an image of the 'indio permitido' [*permitted or redeemable indian*], which granted a delimited space for Indigenous cultural expression, but in a managed and constrained manner that ultimately serves the neoliberal hegemony. Hale states:

> In particular, neoliberal governance includes the limited recognition of cultural rights, the strengthening of civil society, and [the] endorsement of [the] principle of intercultural equality. When combined with neoliberal economic policies, these progressive measures have unexpected effects, including a deepened state capacity to shape and neutralize political opposition, and a remaking of racial hierarchies across the region. (Hale, 2005, p. 10)

Jèrriais could be both moderately championed and strategically used as an image-enhancing token of distinctiveness, diversity, and cultural cachet, but limited, kept in place, and prevented from achieving widespread organic cultural revitalisation of a decolonial kind. In other words, simultaneously valorised and devalued, with the unique epistemological and ontological riches of our culture instrumentally put to work and plundered, or perhaps just erased, by the very forces of coloniality that subordinated and threatened Jèrriais in the first place. Such a move would both affirm Jèrriais identity and subsume it into a reconfigured

national Jersey identity in the process of reinforcing the legitimacy and authority of the anglocentric capitalist state, along with its concomitant English supremacy.

But optimistically speaking, this outcome is not inevitable. Currently, I am encouraged by the passion and commitment of the growing number of people who are engaging with Jèrriais at a grassroots level with genuine respect, dedication, and creativity. Formal numbers of Jèrriais students in both adult and children's classes are increasing, with others learning informally or beginning to engage, for example, via the conversation groups. Interestingly, adult learners include a significant amount of non-Jersey born professionals who have relocated to the island and have become interested in the local culture. This perhaps suggests an increased visibility and general status of the language where previously it would have gone unnoticed or seemed irrelevant. As mentioned, after a hiatus due to the COVID-19 pandemic, informal Jèrriais conversation groups have recommenced. Likewise, the Jersey Eisteddfod – the local equivalent to the Welsh Eisteddfod or Irish Oireachtas – has recommenced, with competitive sections for Jèrriais poetry and singing for both children and adults. Larger social occasions are also happening again; for example, L'Assembliée d'Jèrriais organises 'afternoon tea' events, which are relatively formal events usually featuring poetry, comedy, singing and a raffle. La Fête du Jèrriais began in 2018, bringing together a few days of festival events such as film screenings, cider tasting, talks, walking tours, and music (mostly provided by Badlabecques). Additionally, the prior government pledge for increased funding is beginning to be realised, opening up possibilities. Three new teachers have recently been trained, adding to the current four who presently work alongside a Jèrriais promotion officer (Geraint Jennings, who has played a key role in Badlabecques, discussed in chapter four). Working with this team, their passion for Jèrriais and dedication to meaningful revitalisation is evident, as is their range of creative and professional skills. Several events, opportunities, resources, games, children's books, and learning apps either have been or are being developed and disseminated. L'Office du Jèrriais' Language Strategy 2022-2025 describes an ambitious, wide-ranging plan for the coming years, including seeking ratification for Jèrriais under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which would also help hold future governments to account.

So, whilst there are genuine concerns and much work to do, there is hope for Jèrriais yet. Indeed, Hale and Millamán (2006) observed examples of Indigenous groups engaging critically with the spaces opened up by neoliberal multiculturalism, to resist, subvert, and

transgress its domesticating and inhibiting boundaries, holding forth more radical potential to enact an autonomous 'Indigenous imaginary' towards concrete decolonial socio-political goals. I will consider this issue in relation to Jèrriais in chapter eight, but to whatever extent that may be possible in Jersey, an important point to make here is that in the pursuit of such goals, Jèrriais should not be treated 'comme eune balle, codpîsée 'chîn et là' [*like a ball, kicked here and there*]. In such a highly contestable space, no outcomes are guaranteed, but music can be part of the negotiation.

2.

Literature review: The wider context

Allons mes bouonnes gens
Vite un vèrre à la main!
Vive la Compangnie!
Empliez-lé jusqu'au bord
épis viédgiz-lé bein
Vive la Compangnie!

[*Come my good people*
Raise a glass in your hand
Long live the gang!
Empty it good
and then fill it again
Long live the gang!]

(from 'Vive la Compangnie', traditional)

Having framed the key 'problem' of the endangerment of Jèrriais, which my applied music research seeks to address, I now turn to the broader picture that informs my work. This chapter presents an overview of relevant literature, mainly from the fields of music studies and sociolinguistics. I begin by introducing some key concepts from scholarship on language revitalisation and language beliefs, including the role of identity. I then discuss the relationship between language and music and establish two foundational premises: that music is profoundly connected to language, and it can undoubtedly aid language acquisition. From here, I discuss music and identity construction – a central issue for my thesis – which connects with some insights from music and consciousness studies. I compare and contrast language revitalisation and music revival, linking to debates on Intangible Cultural Heritage. I then summarise some relevant and interesting examples of theory and practice relating to music and language revitalisation from around the world. This section includes a range of perspectives, approaches, ideas, and instances of musical language activism. Some of these

have been addressed by academics (from ethnomusicology, sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, et cetera), but whether they have been theorised or not, they all involve communities engaging with their languages and cultural identities through music practices. I reflect on this global picture and situate my research and central thesis at the intersection of ethnomusicology and sociolinguistics.

Defining language revitalisation and language vitality

Recent decades have seen a rapid growth in scholarship around terms such as 'language revitalisation', 'language revival', and 'language reclamation', among others, which "are all applied to the phenomenon of attempting to bring endangered languages back to some level of use within their communities (and elsewhere) after a period of reduction in usage" (Hinton, 2011, p. 291). Hornberger distinguishes such activity from language maintenance:

> Language revitalization, renewal, or reversing language shift goes one step further than language maintenance, in that it implies recuperating and reconstructing something that is at least partially lost, rather than maintaining and strengthening what already exists. (Hornberger, 2010, p. 266)

Grenoble describes how the vitality of a language exists somewhere on a continuum between 'vital' and 'extinct', influenced by its position in a language ecology (Grenoble, 2011). A plethora of theories and models to measure vitality or help endangered languages have been proposed and explored in recent decades. For example, a general overview would include the following: Fishman's GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale; 1991), Strubell's 'Catherine Wheel' (1996), Weber and Melis' 'Socioprofiles' (1997), Landweer's 'Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality' (2000), UNESCO's nine-factor framework (Brenzinger et al./UNESCO 2003), and Lewis and Simons' EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale; 2010). Grenoble and Whaley's 'Language Vitality Network Model' (2020) is a more recent approach which I discuss in chapter eight.

Many of these models seek to measure the vitality of a language – how robust or vulnerable it may be – as a baseline from which to design a revitalisation strategy. For the purposes of understanding the vitality of Jèrriais and the effectiveness (or otherwise) of my applied research, there is no need to describe and critique all of these models in detail. However, it is worth establishing that Jèrriais activists are seeking to move up the scale from

a level that UNESCO's framework would describe as 'critically endangered', which corresponds to EGIDS Level 8b (Nearly Extinct):

> This level encompasses the stereotypical language loss situation where the only remaining speakers are among the grandparent or great grandparent generation, and are so few or so scattered that they have little opportunity to use the language with each other. (Lewis and Simons, 2010, p. 14)

Without the proactive work of the Jèrriais revitalisation programme in Jersey, this status of 'nearly extinct' would most likely apply and be the case for perhaps another decade or so, after which the language would probably become 'dormant' (level 9), and then possibly 'extinct' (the final level, 10). Some language activists prefer the term 'dormant' or 'sleeping' rather than 'extinct' or 'dead' for languages that are no longer spoken in order to resist such ontological finality. Leonard defines sleeping languages as "those that are not actively known but that are documented and claimed by a community, hence having potential for future use" (2021, p. 252) But Jèrriais is far from sleeping. The revitalisation movement has certainly gathered a lot of momentum in recent years, even if, for now, it remains in a process of reclamation and recovery from a critically endangered state. Beyond this basic assessment, language revitalisation theory provides some additional ideas and frameworks which relate to my applied research. I will discuss these key concepts now.

Language policy and planning

It is widely recognised that successful language revitalisation movements require deliberate and careful policy and planning. Julia Sallabank, who is a sociolinguist and expert on Channel Islands Norman, makes a working distinction between the two. Language policy indicates "decisions, positions and principles (often ideologically motivated) regarding language", while language planning indicates "actions or measures to implement policies, especially measures to support languages (often at grass-roots level) or which are intended to influence language practices" (Sallabank, 2013, p. 26). The details of language planning are typically worked out via various interdependent categories of activity. The most commonly used of these are 'corpus planning', 'acquisition planning', 'status planning', and, increasingly, 'use planning'. Corpus planning deals with 'the language itself', e.g. "defining a language, description and

codification, choice of script, orthography and standardisation of a language, as well as terminology development" (Sallabank, 2013, p. 26). Song archives can be an aspect of this, given that many linguistic features and cultural insights are embedded into and thus potentially observed and preserved in songs. Acquisition planning relates to the actual language teaching and learning, whether via formal education or informal community use. As discussed below, music can be useful in this area. Kaplan and Baldauf define status planning as "those aspects of language planning which reflect primarily social issues and concerns" (1997, p. 30). Ultimately, this is political and ideological, significantly determined by the extent to which the language is integral to a community's cultural identity and the level of people's freedom and desire to enact this. Use planning is an aspect of language revitalisation that has been developing as a specific theoretical concern in recent years, seeking to increase domains and instances of commonly accepted language use in social life, particularly everyday speech:

> [Use planning] is not only concerned with the introduction or reintroduction of the language in so-called 'higher' domains, but also with the protection of the language, and even its reintroduction, in more intimate, informal domains such as the home, the community, and in a variety of local institutions which, though less prestigious and powerful in a broad societal sense, are nonetheless important in terms of actual patterns of daily language use. (Dunbar, 2017, p. 77)

An important notion here is the distinction between vernacular use, where language is an accepted part of daily life with expressive, performative, and communicative value; and post-vernacular use, where the emphasis is on symbolic performance, typically for emblematic and emotive purposes, which can become normative after language shift has occurred (Shandler, 2004). Music performances are often part of this and, as I have observed in Jersey, can become ritualised, perhaps even tokenistic, and problematic if they contribute to the sense that such symbolic use is 'enough' for revitalisation. For many language revitalisation projects, a fundamental objective of use planning is to *revernacularise*, to help communities develop post-vernacular use into a renewed vernacular practice, leading to viable speech communities that can pass on the language intergenerationally. However, the way this unfolds in practice is complex and does not necessarily mean a total reversal and

replacement of the now dominant language with the endangered language, but perhaps more of a journey towards bilingual parity.

One helpful concept that brings nuance to this area is the notion of 'metalinguistic communities' (Avineri, 2012). Avineri and Harasta define this as follows:

> *Metalinguistic communities* are imagined communities (Anderson, 2006) cultivated by individuals and groups who experience a connection to a language, whether or not they have proficiency in it. The model of *metalinguistic community* provides a meaningful framework for diverse participants who experience both distance from and closeness to a heritage language and its user due to historical, personal, and/or communal circumstances. (2021, p. 8)

Thus, it may be the case that language use has shifted from vernacular semantic function to post-vernacular symbolic function, but the metalinguistic community nevertheless strongly identifies with the language and finds ways to meaningfully enact this in a potentially stable, if limited, way. As Leonard (2021) compellingly argues, ultimately, each community should have agency over the future use of their language, which may not necessarily mean achieving fully fluent vernacular speech communities. Leonard acknowledges that there are "limitations to describing and theorizing language with metrics that overly privilege language proficiency and use" (2021, p. 251), and indeed a fixation on this can be part of a 'colonial logic'. Leonard describes how proactive reassertion of identities and resistance to colonial erasure can occur even with a small corpus of words, as part of a decolonial framework of language *reclamation.* Even so, Sallabank notes the need for some proficient 'language keepers' in post-vernacular contexts:

> [S]ymbolic 'post-vernacular' use does not necessarily require the fluent use of living languages. Indeed, in some cases the standard of the language produced for symbolic purposes is very poor. It can thus be argued that continued proficient knowledge of the language by a core of committed speakers (or 'language keepers'), together with a core of committed grass-roots language activists, is necessary even for symbolic asset status. (2016, p. 558)

An important aspect of enacting metalinguistic community can be achieved via the performative power of *ethnolinguistic infusion,* which is "when group leaders incorporate elements of the group's heritage language—such as songs, loanwords, and visual displays—in the context of another primary language of communication" (Avineri et al., 2021, p. 33). Whether or not the cultivation of metalinguistic community is an element of a revitalisation programme working towards revernacularisation or whether it simply underpins post-vernacular use, the sense of 'connection' mentioned by Avineri and Harasta (in the earlier quote) is highly relevant to the role of music, as I will show. In the case of Jèrriais, viable speech communities are a clear goal of local language policy. So, whilst any instance of language in music constitutes a domain of use, a critical question regarding music is whether or not it is helping progress toward interactive vernacular use, i.e., everyday speech. To this end, the specific contribution of musical activity to use planning would thus generally be more of a strategic and indirect means to an end via corpus, acquisition, or status planning.

With regard to language planning then, music can play a valuable and potentially important role in both corpus planning and acquisition planning, as well as work towards use planning, but my research focuses on status planning. Indeed, I would argue that the most significant opportunity for language revitalisation through music lies here. Whilst the various planning areas intersect, in most contexts, teaching and compiling dictionaries et cetera *could* be done without music, but language activism that ignores a culture's music risks neglecting a vital and potentially profound mode of directly engaging with the broader cultural ecology in which the language endangerment is occurring. This perspective resonates with Weber and Melis' 'Socioprofiles' method (1997), which emphasises the need to consider the specificities of a language's sociocultural ecology in developing customised revitalisation programmes. These typically focus around cognitive, social, and affective dimensions, all of which music can clearly contribute to and be part of, depending on the context and specific goals.

A critical consideration of this culture-wide perspective is how to understand and positively engage with the attitudes, motivations, beliefs, and ideologies concerning language and culture that are most prevalent in the community. As Sallabank points out, "beliefs and attitudes are key elements in the successful implementation of language policy; managing (or attempting to influence) beliefs thus becomes a vital aspect" (Sallabank, 2013, p. 28).

Linguists will often refer to these beliefs as 'language ideologies'. McCarty provides this working definition:

> Ideologies about language are largely tacit, taken-for-granted assumptions about language statuses, forms, users, and uses that, by virtue of their 'common sense' naturalization, contribute to linguistic and social inequality. (McCarty, 2014, p. 10)

This is a complex area, difficult to grapple with both theoretically and in the field, after all, people's public opinions may differ greatly from their private attitudes, actions, and the beliefs that underpin them. Language ideologies "envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology" (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994, p. 55), so they are not simply about language in and of itself, but about political dynamics, including the profound ways in which language shapes our sense of self and the world around us. Therefore attempting to recognise and improve language attitudes, beliefs and ideologies - which I will often simply shorten to the term 'language beliefs' - is of "key importance" in language revitalisation projects (Sallabank, 2013, p. 60).

Language and identity

The relationship between a community's self-identity and its indigenous language is fundamental to the long-term prospects of the language, though of course this is rarely uniform. Fishman (1991, p. 16) helpfully divides a linguistic community undergoing language shift into three basic ethnolinguistic groups: 'Xmen[3] via Xish', who are locally born and speak the indigenous but subordinate language of Xish; 'Xmen via Yish', who are locally born but only speak the now dominant language of Yish; and 'Ymen via Yish', who are not locally born and only speak the newly dominant language of Yish. As Jones notes, it is the middle group – who will naturally have deeper identity ties to place X – that are crucial to revitalisation: "it is therefore a question of repackaging the identity of the Xmen via Yish, and convincing them of the fact that there is room for an extra dimension" (Jones, 2009, p. 261). This is crucial, for as Edwards states: "whatever the specifics, whatever the linguistic technicalities, the single most important fact in the social life of a language is its relationship to identity" (Edwards, 2009, p.

[3] Personally, I would have preferred a term less associated with gender and comic book superheroes - Xpeople perhaps.

13). Another important aspect to emphasise is the significance of intergenerational transmission, and the considerable challenge to ethnolinguistic identity in contexts where this has been interrupted (Fishman, 1991). Given that this has been the case in Jersey since at least the 1940s, if not earlier, the need to relink Jèrriais with local cultural identity across all generations is paramount.

It is worth noting here that I am using a constructivist understanding of identity as a *process*, rather than a fixed or unified 'essence'. A range of scholarship, particularly cultural theory, feminist theory, and psychology, has established this processual and multifaceted approach to identity (see, for example: Butler, 1990; Hall, 1996; Schwartz et al., 2011). *The Handbook of Identity Theory and Research* defines constructivism as the prevailing model in identity research, in which "individuals create, maintain, and revise their identity through a process of monitoring, comparing, and incorporating of feedback received from the social environment" (Schwartz et al., 2011, p. 394). This is not necessarily a product of conscious individual agency, and not all social forces are equal or benign. A range of social dynamics thus contribute to our evolving identity narratives, consisting of affinities, affiliations, commonalities, and connections, as well as the disconnections and detachments of Othering and difference. I will explore the relationship between music and identity, and its relevance to my work below.

Revalorisation, relocalisation, and centre-periphery dynamics

There are three more useful concepts from sociolinguistics that are relevant to language, music, and cultural identity: revalorisation, relocalisation, and centre-periphery dynamics. 'Revalorisation' (Cru, 2014) involves fostering a renewed recognition and value placed upon a language, which can be for various reasons. There is also a sociosemiotic dimension to revalorisation. As Dlaske notes, it is important to understand "how minority languages are mediated and accompanied by an array of other semiotic modes, or resources, and how this affects the meanings and values attached to the languages" (Dlaske, 2016, p. 84). Music is a key resource and mode of expression, with considerable intersubjective sociosemiotic potential across genres and contexts, hence its capacity for revalorisation.

Language revitalisation is inevitably a process of transformation and creative reinvention in context, rather than simply "turning back the clock" (Bentahila and Davies, 1993, p. 371). Pennycook (2010) proposes a helpful term to understand creativity in language

use. In considering the creative ways in which social discourses draw on and rework other discourses and social practices, Pennycook unpacks the term 'relocalisation' in preference to 'recontextualisation' by emphasising the productive transformation of the local via a process of hybridisation, as opposed to simply "occurrences of the same things in different contexts" (2010, p. 35). Relocalisation uses the power of the familiar to remix Otherness and forge new local forms. This is a valuable concept in relation to the use of music in language revitalisation, as I will illustrate in the adaption of 'relocalised' familiar forms of music, helping people to identify with the 'different' sound of Jèrriais.

Pietikainen and Kelly-Holmes provide another useful perspective on minority languages via the lens of 'centre-periphery dynamics'. The disempowering process of language shift removes heritage languages from their core role in a society's dominant discourses, hence "the minoritization of languages being part of peripheralization" (2013, p. 1). The status of a language in the course of revitalisation is thus "subject to the dynamics of renegotiation and contestation characteristic of the centre-periphery relationship" (Pietikainen and Kelly-Holmes, 2013, p. 1).

These three concepts elucidate the role that popular music played within my applied research, which all involved some degree of relocalising music practices that are already familiar/popular. Consequently, Jèrriais was revalorised and brought into the conscious attention of the public's everyday life – i.e., from the periphery to the centre – in novel forms. Music draws language and identity together in a new way, bringing them centre stage. It is here that the complementary strings of the music/language/identity nexus can resonate most effectively.

The relationship between music and language

The academic literature on the relationship between music and language is extensive, much of which is not directly relevant to my research. But with regards to language revitalisation, it is worth establishing two foundational premises: first, that the connections between music and language are profound; and second, that music has been shown to aid language acquisition. Feld *et al.* (2005) summarised a large body of work linking music and language during the formative periods of twentieth-century anthropology, linguistics, and ethnomusicology, categorised under four principal conversations: (1) *music as a language*, (2) *music about language* (speech surrogates), (3) *language about music* (conjunctions of verbal

and musical discourse), and finally (4) *music in language* and *language in music* (i.e. song and texted vocalisation). Feld *et al.* use ethnographic examples to "signal renewed attention to understanding how social identities are indexed and expressed in the intertwining of musical and verbal practices" (Feld et al., 2005, p. 340). My study aims to bring this attention to Jersey.

In 2012, a cross-disciplinary special issue of The Frontiers Journal Series on 'The relationship between music and language' explored the neural and psychological underpinnings of music and speech, and Jäncke's introduction to the special issue notes:

> The main point of convergence in the findings of these new studies is that music and speech functions have many aspects in common and that several neural modules are similarly involved in speech and music. There is also emerging evidence that speech functions can benefit from music functions and vice versa. (2012, p. 2)

In a rigorous and wide-ranging meta-analysis, Engh makes connections between the fields of applied linguistics, anthropology, sociology, cognitive science, and pedagogy to argue that "there is a firm empirical, theoretical and pedagogical basis to consider for the use of music as an aid in language acquisition" (2013, p. 112). Key aspects of this include: building community, breaking boundaries, connecting to culture, developing complementary cognitive processes, affective support, motivation, and a range of recall and learning methods and strategies. Trinick (2012) has also reviewed a range of literature regarding the use of song in language acquisition and identifies four complementary domains of mutual benefit for language development via music: the affective, the sociocultural, the cognitive, and the linguistic. Clearly, these pedagogical insights can apply to endangered languages. Fonseca-Mora and Gant have curated a selection of essays on music's value to foreign language education, with particular emphasis on the roles of melody and rhythm as a 'springboard' for the enhancement of learning (2016). One example of an empirical study comes from Schön *et al*. (2008), who systematically evidenced the potential usefulness of songs in language learning. Their research showed that songs can enhance mood, focus, motivation, memory, even phonological discrimination and structural awareness. Schön *et al.* conclude: "Therefore, learning a foreign language, especially in the first learning phase wherein one needs to segment new words, may largely benefit from the motivational and

structuring properties of music in song" (2008, p. 982). All this makes music directly helpful for language acquisition, which is obviously a vital aspect of revitalisation. Indeed, the main reason that I was commissioned in 2012 to record six Jèrriais songs was for teachers to use as a classroom resource in schools. However, Samuels notes an important caveat that overly relying on songs to generate correct speech is not wise: "Imagine revitalizing German from an archival collection of recordings of Wagner opera performances" (2015, p. 348). Thus, music's role in language acquisition is significant but limited, and as mentioned, I argue its critical strategic potential lies elsewhere, in status planning.

Music and identity construction

Many music scholars, notably including Frith (1996), Stokes (1994), DeNora (2000), and Hesmondhalgh (2013), have discussed how music relates to identity. Indeed, the *Handbook of Musical Identities* (MacDonald et al., 2017) presents just a fraction of this evolving scholarship over some 800 pages. At the core of all this work is the exploration of the many ways in which music is implicated in the social construction of emergent identities.

Frith considers the way that music does not just 'reflect' social structures, values and identities in a homological way but constructs a social experience. Listeners then adopt positions and *take on* identities in the course of performing the meaning of musical experience to themselves. Central to this idea is the sense in which aesthetics 'embody' ethics. An understanding of individuality, social relations, and cultural ideals form constitutive elements of a musical aesthetic, "on the basis of which ethical codes and social ideologies are understood" (Frith, 1996, p. 111). Musical sounds thus communicate, mobilise, and organise collective identities in context:

> Music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experience it offers the body, time and sociability, experiences which enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives. (Frith, 1996, p. 124)

I will return to and draw on this phrase '*imaginative cultural narratives*' several times in relation to my ethnographic material in this thesis. It is this performative capacity of music, which engages with the socially constructed nature of identity, that is at the heart of my applied research.

Stokes also explores this notion. He emphasises the role of music in evoking, creating, negotiating, and transforming a social sense of place, which has an ideological and imaginative dimension. As Stokes explains, "the 'places' constructed through music involve notions of difference and social boundary. They also organise hierarchies of a moral and political order" (1994, p. 3). Collective musical events can bring people together and "provide a powerful affective experience in which social identity is literally 'embodied' ", where a community, ethnicity, or even nationality "appears as such to itself" (Stokes, 1994, p. 12). This is particularly relevant to my fieldwork involving large-scale public events in Jersey.

However, influential musical events can also occur on a very small scale. DeNora highlights the value of considering the many ways that private musical experiences, from the mundane to the sublime, are employed as a 'technology of self' (a phrase borrowed from Foucault, 1988):

> Focus on intimate musical practice, on the private or one-to-one forms of human-music interaction, offers an ideal vantage point for viewing music 'in action', for observing music as it comes to be implicated in the construction of the self as an aesthetic agent. (DeNora, 2000, p. 46)

Some of my participants recounted examples of this private experience, for example, a father and daughter in the car on the way to school, enjoying a CD by my pop-folk band, Badlabecques (chapter four).

Hesmondhalgh sees music as a unique interface between this inner personal sphere and a shared social sphere but also identifies a danger of being too optimistic about the free self-agency an individual may have to control this process, warning against the celebration of music as a "resource for self-making" that "implicitly sees music as highly independent of negative social and historical processes" (2008, p. 329). Such processes, like the vicissitudes of consumer capitalism, may "severely constrain the ways in which music enriches people's lives in modern societies" (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, p. 6). In the process of constructing identities, the question of what is being built, why, and by whom becomes a political matter.

Nevertheless, Hesmondhalgh acknowledges the potential for music to contribute to 'human flourishing' in private and public realms, whether that is via 'co-present sociability' or mediated across space and time (2013, p. 5). Group singing in particular is a powerful crucible for identity, placing the music/language/identity nexus into discourses of the emergent

individual as a node in the collective. It dynamically intertwines the aesthetic and the social, embodying solidarity, linguistic practice, and collective identity in a direct, unmediated and holistic musical experience (see Davidson, 2011; Durrant, 2005). From football chants to church hymns, to festival crowds and karaoke, Hesmondhalgh notes how group singing provides participants with "resources to explore and expand their sense of self" (2013, p. 107) and for "powerful aesthetic experiences of commonality" (2013, p. 108). My ethnographic work will explore how this occurs in the Jersey context, in particular via group singing in schools and a choir, but also through audience participation and 'sing-along' moments at concerts and events.

Music, self, subjectivity and consciousness

In recent years, the multi-disciplinary 'quasi-discipline' of consciousness studies has begun to shed some light on the machinations of self and subjectivity in musical experiences. This is a hugely complex and emergent field, drawing on neuroscience, philosophy, psychology, history, cultural theory, performance studies, ethnomusicology and more, so there is a limit to the amount of depth that I have scope for here. But some relevant insights from this area will inform certain moments of my ethnography and my thesis conclusion.

Contemporary scholarship on consciousness has moved away from exclusively brain-focused research and theory, toward perspectives that account for the "much more distributed character of perception, cognition, and consciousness" (Herbert et al., 2019, p. 3). A more ecological approach posits the 'four Es' as being of central concern: "consciousness arises through our *embodied* experience, is *embedded* in our social and cultural existence, thus *extends* out into the world, and is manifested as we *enact* our relationships with and in it" (Herbert et al., 2019, p. 2 emphases in original). Musical experiences involve these 'four Es' - embodied, embedded, extended, enacted - in unique ways. They engage a mode or 'kind of consciousness' that is broadly distinct from purely linguistic interaction, though the line may sometimes blur (Zbikowski, 2011). A non-exhaustive list of salient issues that are of some consequence and relevance to my ethnography could include: affect, emotion, and empathy; arousal and embodied cognition; memory and imaginative involvement; absorption and dissociation; self-awareness and self-perception; transformative performativity; intersubjectivity, liminality, and extended subjectivity. All of these aspects of musical experiences have a direct bearing on the music/language/identity nexus at the heart of my

ethnography. I will return to the ecological perspective of the 'four Es' and expand upon specific insights from consciousness studies where relevant. But broadly speaking, this view chimes well with the interwoven elements of language ecology that Weber and Melis are concerned with in their 'Socioprofiles' method (1997), namely cognitive, social, and affective dimensions. The 'four Es' perspective elucidates the unique capacity of certain Jèrriais songs in certain social contexts to move, inspire, and enact new identifications.

Some of these songs are newly composed and contemporary sounding, and some are folk songs from centuries past, linking local people in the present to the consciousness of the Jèrriais community of a very different, more traditional island. While I have not seen much evidence of a unique musical tradition in Jersey, it is nevertheless important to consider musical and linguistic heritage as related issues and reflect on the points of contact and divergence between these two areas, so I will turn to this now.

Music revival and language revitalisation: some connections and differences

Traditional forms of music are invaluable aspects of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), and their safeguarding and maintenance has many links and parallels with language revitalisation. Indeed, where cultural lifeways are threatened, the preservation of music and language can be concurrent issues, woven together with the same political challenges, perhaps as part of a broader socio-cultural process (e.g., Hawaiian, Irish, and Garifuna revivals). Both music and language revivals can be considered part of the wider discourses on endangered heritages around the world, connecting with debates concerning ICH in its many forms (see: Pryer, 2018). Such debates inevitably raise "complex moral and conceptual questions about history, identity, the test of time and the desirability of future events" (Pryer, 2018: 40). The answers to these questions (the what, how, by who, and why questions of ICH) are inevitably contingent upon the particularities of circumstances and power dynamics. Catte cites Smith in arguing that:

> [T]he construction of heritage is often a top-down process managed by governments in order to naturalize narratives and identities the state finds valuable. As a challenge to future researchers, Smith encourages additional work that explores 'the links between heritage and expressions of identity' as a way to shift heritage studies away

> from what heritage *is* to what heritage *does*. (Catte, 2015, p. 8, citing ; Smith, 2006, p. 308, italics in original)

As discussed below, the role of coloniality is almost always central to cultural endangerment.

The Oxford Handbook of Music Revival identifies six themes that typically characterise music revivals, but each of these could equally relate to language revival:

> Activism and the desire for change, the valuation and reinterpretation of history, recontextualisation and transformation, legitimacy and authenticity, transmission and dissemination, and post-revival outgrowths and ramifications. (Bithell and Hill 2014: 4)

The theme of transformation is essential here. Revivals of any description are not straightforward restorations but always result in something new. They are thus "a form of cultural production" (Hill and Bithell 2014: 5) that looks forwards rather than back.

There are other lessons to be learned from music revival that can also be applied to languages. Norton (2014) has shown how the *ca trù* revival in Vietnam reveals some of the potentially unintended consequences of top-down action plans of cultural management: they can become co-opted by nationalist agendas, leading to true diversity being overshadowed and innovation hampered. This highlights the importance of having an awareness of agendas, power dynamics and hierarchies, which is an issue of particular relevance in chapter six when I discuss Liberation Day in Jersey.

Catherine Grant (2014) draws upon approaches that were developed for language revitalisation in order to theorise a model for measuring and supporting music revival. She transposes UNESCO's model of nine diagnostic factors onto a musical framework: the Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework. This is a kind of inverse of my own work: where Grant engages with language revitalisation theory to aid endangered music, I am engaging with music (theory and practice) to aid an endangered language. Nevertheless, Grant's systematic comparison between the two disciplines reveals several important points. Based on Huib Schippers' 'Five Domains of Musical Sustainability in Contemporary Contexts' (Schippers, 2010), Grant compares and contrasts how each domain can be related to language, categorising them into low, medium, and high levels of 'synergy'. Domains with high synergy are: (1) 'systems of learning' (educational processes have similar features), (3) 'contexts and

constructs' (the sociocultural aspects of sustainability are critical), and (4) 'infrastructure and regulations' (political and economic contexts). Domain (2) 'participant communities' has medium synergy (musicians tend to have specialist roles compared with everyday speakers of a language), whilst domain (5) 'media and industry' has the least synergy (media is relevant, but music industries have no correlative 'language industries').

More recently, Grant published 'A Case for Greater Interdisciplinary Collaboration in Language and Music Revitalization' (2018). She offers three rationales for stronger collaboration: the benefits of developing a shared common theoretical language; advancing theoretical frameworks and applied tools; and strengthening advocacy for endangered cultural practices in general. Grant acknowledges some scholarship has observed music practices connecting to language practices in contexts of cultural endangerment, but notes a lack of theorisation:

> These *actual* links between the revitalization of languages and music traditions, however, have generated significantly more research interest than the conceptual, philosophical, and theoretical links between the two. In general, most research into language revitalization (including much of that presented in this volume) remains delimited, only occasionally making explicit its relevance to non-oral forms of intangible cultural expressions like (non-vocal) music, dance, ritual practices, and so on. (Grant, 2018, p. 238 emphasis in original)

Grant strongly encourages cross-disciplinary dialogue and raises the possibility that music researchers "may generate new creative solutions that shift perceptions and possibilities for language revitalization strategies" (Grant, 2018, p. 241). I hope my work will contribute to this collaborative dialogue both ethnographically and theoretically, and reveal some of the possibilities that applied ethnomusicology can offer to language revitalisation.

Examples of music and language revitalisation from around the world

With so many languages facing endangerment, it is impossible to list more than a fraction of the cases of music playing a role in language revitalisation. So what follows is a sample of relevant literature, along with some significant examples of activities from outside academia. Inevitably, there is so much I have had to leave out, but the following paragraphs do provide

an indication of the creativity, diversity, and global scale of these practices. Some cases relate more to corpus planning, and some to acquisition planning, but most would be examples of status planning, bearing in mind that the word 'planning' here is somewhat loose and can just mean the informal, unstructured actions of local musicians.

Drawing on case studies from Australia, linguists Marett and Barwick recognise the importance of recording songs in documenting endangered languages, which is part of corpus planning (Marett and Barwick, 2003). Mitchell has written about hip-hop 'resistance vernaculars' within Zimbabwe, Italy, Aotearoa/New Zealand and elsewhere, observing that "the choice of local Indigenous 'resistance vernaculars' is an act of cultural resistance and preservation of ethnic autonomy" (Mitchell, 2003, p. 53). This is an example of status planning, but developing, borrowing, and remixing new vocabulary for novel forms of expression is also a kind of corpus planning.

Vallejo argues that "music is a linchpin pedagogical tool that promotes intergenerational interactions, builds social relationships, and facilitates the daily use of language in and outside the classroom" (Vallejo, 2019, p. 89). Drawing on ethnographic work with Indigenous language immersion teachers, Vallejo discusses language acquisition and use in the revitalisation of Kanien'ke:ha (Mohawk), via culture-based education (CBE). At the Casa Ahau school in Guatemala, the group B'alam Ajpu use hip-hop (including music, break-dancing and painting) to teach Mayan languages (Tz'utujil, Kaqchikel, and K'iche') and culture, combining acquisition and status planning (Barrett, 2016). Minks (2013) has shown how children's song games in Nicaragua help negotiate the socialisation process amid the 'linguistic heterogeneity' between Spanish, Kriol English, and Miskitu. Teaching children how and when to practice the language, not just the way to speak it, is both acquisition and use planning. Moriarty (2011) includes music in a broad discussion of endangered languages, observing a dual purpose for music. First, it can help increase the value of the language (status); and second, it can fulfil a pedagogical function (acquisition).

Moriarty (2011) notes the role of popular music in raising the profile of an endangered language, providing a 'way in' and impacting language beliefs among young people. The following group of examples supports this, and some deal directly with identity. Llewellyn (2000) observed the role of Welsh-language popular music in constructing more "assertive and confident" youth identities in Wales, including positions of 'anti-essentialism' and cultural resistance (Llewellyn, 2000, p. 337). Ridanpää and Pasanen (2009) see rap music

as an ‘emancipatory tool’ in language preservation and the deconstruction of ethnic stereotypes in Finland. Pennycook (2007) has shown how relocalised forms of hip-hop can employ local vernacular and engage with language beliefs in the construction of identities and discourses of authenticity. Oiruria and Clayre (2010) documented community engagement with Ekegusii in Kenya, where college students recorded music in Ekegusii as a way of identifying with the language and culture. In the Isle of Man, Woolley (2003) and Maddrell (2006) have observed the combined revival of Manx language, music, and dance, which has “contributed to the reevaluation of a Manx identity” (Woolley, 2003, p. iii). Parallels between the sociopolitical context of Manx and Jèrriais in Jersey are striking (a British crown dependency and offshore finance centre of similar population size, with English as the dominant language endangering the local language), so Manx revitalisation serves as an example for Jèrriais activists to learn from and aspire to, as it “successfully combines grassroots work with government support” (Maddrell, 2006, p. 135). I will discuss this further in chapter eight.

As Ortiz (2021) has described in a broad overview of music and the arts in language revitalisation, there are many practising musicians around the world engaged in cultural and linguistic sustainability, which underscores music’s ubiquitous relevance to language activism. Berger and Thomas brought together several examples in their wide-ranging edited collection *Global Pop, Local Language*, exploring a range of issues relating to “the politics and aesthetics of language choice in popular music” (Berger and Carroll, 2003: x). Whilst not all of these relate to endangered or even minority languages, questions of music and language ideology abound, in particular, the consequences of and resistances to unequal power balances between the global English of mainstream pop music and local heritage languages and identities (for example, I have already mentioned Mitchell’s ‘resistance vernaculars’ in hip-hop, and in chapter seven I will also discuss Szego's relevant work on Hawaiian singing; both examples are from this volume). Two recent high-profile examples of heritage language choice in popular music involve cover versions of classic pop songs in Indigenous languages. Renata Flores Rivera’s Quechua rendition of Michael Jackson’s ‘The Way You Make Me Feel’ currently has over two million views on YouTube (Beedle The Bardcore, 2015), while Emma Stevens’ Mi'kmaq version of ‘Blackbird’ by The Beatles has over 1.6 million views to date and was praised by Paul McCartney himself (National Post, 2019).

In 2013, Smithsonian Folkways curated a diverse playlist of Indigenous songs,

accompanied by a clear message:

> From Tuvan throat singing and Hawaiian drum dance chants to Kichwa flute music and songs sung among the cicadas in Papua New Guinea, the ancestral tongues of these communities embody cultural knowledge, identity, values, technologies, and arts. Through these songs, we are reminded of the value of linguistic diversity and the necessity of preserving endangered languages for the benefit of their speakers and for the enrichment of the wider world. (Smithsonian Folkways, 2013, online)

This could be described as 'meta-status planning', in other words, a conscious contribution to the global status of endangered languages in general. Another example of this is Liet International, a popular competition for endangered and minority language songs, which shows the vibrancy and prestige involved in the musical performance of such languages (Liet International, 2017), although it is unclear how much this helps their status at home. Similarly, the annual Pan Celtic Festival in Ireland features a new song competition for the languages of the six Celtic nations (Ireland/Gaelic, Scotland/Scottish Gaelic, Wales/Welsh, Cornwall/Kernewek, the Isle of Man/Manx, and Brittany/Breton). Naturally, each of these nations respectively have their own heats to find their representatives. Harasta (Forthcoming) has discussed how Cornish musicians with limited proficiency in Kernewek work together with language experts to craft their songs. Such practices have fostered metalinguistic community in Cornwall, increasing the post-vernacular use of Kernewek for political reasons and as an expression of identity. I will discuss this further in chapters four and seven as there are some interesting comparisons to be made between Kernewek and Jèrriais, particularly regarding these music projects. Song competitions can certainly have an impact, as shown by Faudree's study (2013) of the ethnic revival in Oaxaca, Mexico. The region's new Day of the Dead song contest helped local young people learn the Indigenous language of Mazatec and redefine their sense of ethnic belonging.

In 2015, the Foundation for Endangered Languages' annual conference was titled 'The Music of Endangered Languages'. The major themes were: "how music and song act as vehicles to support language traditions; how music and song are in themselves a form of celebration; and how modern - often global - musical styles may be enlisted to make endangered languages more attractive and accessible to new generations" (FEL, 2015). The programme mainly focused on traditional songs but covered an array of examples from Syriac

chants in the Middle East, Chhulung rituals in Nepal, Quechua hip-hop in Latin America, Catalan gypsies in France, Taiwanese songs, and many more. A special edition of *Language Documentation and Description*, titled 'New directions in the description, documentation and typology of endangered languages and musics', includes articles on various linguistic aspects of music connected to endangered languages, for example, Aboriginal Australian song poetry and the songs of Monti, Alaska (Svantesson et al., 2012). Connections to nationhood can also be seen in the singing of songs that valorise the Māori language and reflect Aotearoa/New Zealand's bicultural status (Bodkin-Allen, 2013, p. 12). But music that is strongly linked to place and national identity has also been used to crowd out minority languages, as Roche (2020) observes. Drawing on examples from Tibet, Roche considers music's "potentially *destructive* capacity; how it can stigmatise, marginalise, and oppress" (Roche, 2020, p. 73), by configuring a dominant language as essentialised to the 'soul' of a nation, at the expense of linguistic diversity.

One of the most direct attempts to summarise and theorise music's role in language revitalisation comes from a combined book review and article by linguistic anthropologist David Samuels (2015). He compares, contrasts, and synthesises thoughts from the works of Faudree (2013), Minks (2013) and Grant (2014). Samuels' dense article touches on a broad spectrum of relevant theory and literature covering the relationship between music and language, revitalisation theory, education theory, phenomenology, semiotics, power dynamics, market ideology, and colonialism. Indeed:

> Emerging from semiotic and phenomenological approaches to the social life of the auditory spectrum, music and language, speech and song, are each and together complexly and problematically embedded and implicated in the revitalization of cultural and expressive practices threatened by the enduring apparatus of colonialism. (Samuels, 2015, p. 348)

For Samuels, the embodiment of the voice holds forth some potential for cross-pollination:

> By considering language and music as similarly embodied forms of expression we open ourselves to also consider what exists within that shared space, and how thinking about revitalization of the one might contribute to how we consider revitalizing the other. (Samuels, 2015, p. 348)

Such mutual encouragement has been observed by MacIntyre, Ross and Sparling (2019), who consider "correlations between intense, highly motivating flow experiences, perceptions of competence, and willingness to communicate in both language and music, in the context of Scottish Gaelic and traditional music" (MacIntyre et al., 2019, p. 536). MacIntyre *et al.* explicitly call for new scholarship exploring the role of identity in musical language revitalisation: *"*From a social–psychological perspective, investigating how identity processes are affected by connecting music and language is worthy of additional research, especially in cases where a heritage language is being lost" (MacIntyre et al., 2019, p. 542). This dissertation represents an extended study on this very theme.

Another call for more research comes from Farfán and Cru (2020), who reflect on the positive role of the arts and digital media towards Mayan language revitalisation in Mexico (including Ch'ol, Chuj, K'anjobal, and Yucatec Maya). In particular, with regard to rap music, they state: "further research is needed to gauge the impact that rapping in Indigenous languages may have on policy and planning (corpus, acquisition and status) when introduced in schools" (2020, p. 9). In an effort to foster dialogue towards future research and activism, in 2019, Sparling co-ordinated an interdisciplinary conference entitled 'A' Chànain Cheòlmhor: Language Revitalization through Music' (Sparling, 2019). This brought together musicians, representatives from various community groups, and scholars largely connected to Gaelic languages (Irish, Scottish, Nova Scotian), but also including activist-scholars working with Basque, Cherokee, Apache and Jèrriais (myself). This conference formed the beginnings of what might be described as an epistemic community of scholars researching language revitalisation through music, leading to a productive roundtable at the annual conference of the Society for Ethnomusicology in 2020. I also took part in this, alongside five others. In brief, Sparling chaired the panel and gave an introductory paper outlining the importance of such research along with some theoretical considerations, drawing on research with Nova Scotian Gaelic; Hoesing discussed the role of song in documenting Lusoga in Uganda; Sleeper discussed the use of UTAUloid software as a collaborative linguistic-musical tool (see also: Sleeper, 2018); Nummelin discussed ongoing doctoral research examining the role of music in the revitalisation of Ainu in Japan (see also: Nummelin, 2021); Yamane also discussed ongoing doctoral work, in this case relating to songs, language, and orthography amongst the Kiowa Nation of Oklahoma; and I presented some of my work with Jèrriais.

Finally, Johnson (2011, 2012, 2015a, 2015b, 2019) has written about cultural

sustainability and 'sonic activism', linking music and endangered languages in the Channel Islands, particularly Guernsey and Jersey. Johnson discusses how my pop-folk band Badlabecques is "blending several aspects of local intangible heritage, including language and song, which in turn moves heritage into new creative forms of expression in the modern age, and for new audiences" (Johnson, 2015a, p. 118). I will discuss my work with Badlabecques in greater depth in chapter four, including further examples of Johnson's perspective, but it is worth noting here that along with co-authors Sallabank and Wilson, Johnson notes the symbolic value of what Badlabecques' music had already achieved by 2014, prior to my doctoral research: "Such symbols of the island's living linguistic heritage do much to highlight the importance of this minority and endangered language, and also help maintain its presence as a powerful icon of island identity" (Wilson et al., 2015, p. 269).

The diversity of musical activity relating to language activism of various kinds across the globe tells its own story. Music's ubiquitous presence in one form or another across human cultures and its intimate connection with language practices relating to corpus, acquisition, status, and use, make it a compelling medium for language activism. The scholarly insights regarding all of the above point towards, and directly call for, further research of an in-depth and ethnographic kind. In particular, there is much to be gained from a grounded study focused on the music/language/identity nexus, connecting applied ethnomusicology with sociolinguistics, working towards language revitalisation. This is where my research is situated, and I am motivated by a desire to contribute to practical strategies as well as broader theoretical understanding (and, of course, to help boost Jèrriais language and culture itself). Indeed, I have always sought to imbricate theory into performative practice, and part of the originality of this work lies in the depth and scope of my long-term autoethnographic applied ethnomusicological praxis. The methodological rationale, design, and process of this work are the focus of chapter three.

3.

J'sommes Jèrriais! Designing an applied ethnomusicological methodology for a marginalised language

Lé Nièr Beurre

The crisp, autumnal country air feels fresh on my cheeks and ears on this Friday afternoon in mid-October 2017. A year of focused fieldwork stretches ahead of me, and I've just arrived at a converted 18th-century farm complex, now serving as the headquarters of The National Trust for Jersey. I grab my guitar and a weighty PA speaker from the pile of music equipment in the boot of my car and enter the 'Pressoir', a large granite room where a marathon of apple peeling is currently underway. I'm immediately impressed by the contented buzz of activity and conversation, as well as the undeniably sweet and fresh smell of apples, 1200 lbs of which will be peeled and sliced to make this year's batch of Lé Nièr Beurre [*the black butter*]. This is a local delicacy: a thick, dark brown apple preserve cooked over a fire in a giant bachîn [*cauldron*], with liquorice, cider, and spices. Its rich, warming flavour is perhaps an acquired taste, though I've always liked it. Badlabecques have been booked once again to perform at this year's Nièr Beurre event to boost morale and help entertain the volunteers and visitors during the long, intense two-day event. At one time, Lé Nièr Beurre was made in homes and community spaces all over the island, using up the leftover apples from the summer harvest. But after several hundred years, this is the last traditional event open to the public. Just in front of the door is a huge, old, disused cider press, its trough and massive wheel made of speckled pink Jersey granite. Sacks of apples fill the press, and busy apple peelers with washing up bowls sit in every available space: on the press, crammed around rows of tables, huddled on random chairs in the spaces between. Some are even standing, chatting and peeling. I'll certainly need the microphone and PA if my voice is going to be heard.

Tonight will be a small ensemble, just myself on vocals and guitar, Johnny on drums (who turns up with his 10-year-old son Jacob), Terri and Vanessa on violins, and Dan on cajon. Having had no rehearsal, I stick to the 'safer' songs for our setlist, which I've thought through in advance but just call out to the band as we go. It mainly consists of songs from our first album, with one or two others that I know we know well or can at least improvise and feel our way through. But this is less of a concert and more of a community sing-along that people dip in and out of depending on the ebb and flow of their own conversations. The two most well-known songs, which get the clearest participation from the crowd, are local anthem 'Man Bieau P'tit Jerri' and a Jèrriais version of the old favourite, 'Vive La Compangnie' [*long live the gang*].

> At one point, Johnny's son Jacob is playing the tambourine, so I introduce him to the crowd as an 'honorary member of the band', which he seems pleased about. As I introduce our final song, the traditional 'Jean Gros Jean', I comment that it may well have been sung in that very room during the making of Lé Nièr Beurre for the last few centuries.
>
> Our set goes down well, and afterwards I head across the courtyard to see the bubbling dark brown sludge and take a turn stirring the rabot (a large L-shaped paddle stirrer that scrapes the bottom of the bachîn). The bachîn will need to be tended all night, until tomorrow afternoon. Later, as I drive back down St. Peter's valley in the dark, I wonder to myself. Is Badlabecques just performing a shallow jester's Jèrriais, rolled out to entertain tourists and prop up middle-class conservatism? Are we just a sweet and strange delicacy? Or were there, in the smiles and songs, the dedication, sweat, red-raw hands, smoke-baked clothes, and bleary, tired eyes, echos of the communitas and communal labour of yesteryear, into which Jèrriais is inextricably woven? Is this just the kind of spirit that we need, to draw a small community together and affirm that Jersey is not English, ni Français… j'sommes Jèrriais! [*we are Jersey folk!*]

This recollection of making Nièr Beurre at the very start of my formal fieldwork period touches on many of the contextual and methodological realities and challenges of my research. My own story, as a local person but also as bandleader of Badlabecques, is woven into the questions I am asking about music, language, and identity. Negotiations of various kinds – of tradition and modernity, performance and authenticity, self and other, confidence and self-doubt – were, and are, ever-present. Language revitalisation, by necessity, is a collective undertaking that requires commitment, effort, and constant tending. Music can provide a valuable social dimension to this process. It can facilitate unifying and potentially transformative identity experiences. But engaging with my home community to explore and understand such experiences, including those of children like Jacob, requires a creative, attentive, and reflexive approach.

My methodology can be broadly characterised as mixed methods autoethnographic research, taking an applied ethnomusicological approach. In this chapter, I will consider each aspect of this in order to provide a theoretical rationale and some further context. I begin with a discussion of the key conceptual framework relating to music – applied ethnomusicology – situating my work in relation to recent disciplinary debates about ethnomusicology, followed by a consideration of the practice of 'applied' work. Then I discuss my epistemological lens – autoethnography – along with its performative intention, and some relevant aspects of my positionality. Given the necessarily political and ideological nature of language revitalisation, Kroskrity outlines the importance of 'ideological

clarification' as "a precondition and an ongoing process for successful language renewal" (2009, p. 80). Kroskrity suggests three elements of a positive understanding of this process: an awareness of the need, an understanding of positionality, and an appreciation of the multiplicity of perspectives (2009, p. 80). I consider these below. This is followed by some critical reflections on the various sources of evidence that I have drawn upon to inform and enrich my ethnographic perspective, along with some discussion of the kind of 'ethnomusicological attentiveness' needed to collate, sift, sort, and analyse my sources and my experiences. This leads to a discussion of the ethical, methodological, and epistemological challenges of conducting research with children, including a rationale for choosing to do this. I conclude the chapter by summarising the main themes and acknowledging the inherently political nature of my applied methodology, with its goal of linguistic and cultural revitalisation. In the interests of clarity, prior to the deeper conceptual discourse below I will now briefly describe the main methodological processes and sources of ethnographic evidence for each chapter of this thesis.

For my chapter on the pop-folk band Badlabecques (chapter four), I recount the narrative more-or-less chronologically, drawing first and foremost on my own experience, but folding in a range of other sources and perspectives. These include social media, local press reports, audio and video recordings, personal emails, Henry Johnson's academic writing about the band, an interview, and a longitudinal focus group which was sourced from the respondents to an open-ended online questionnaire completed by audience members at our album launch in November 2017. Clearly, these last three methods – the interview, focus group, and questionnaires – are highly manufactured, and therefore their inevitable partiality and limitation require reflexive interpretation. I discuss this issue in the chapter summary.

For chapter five, which centres on my work in Jersey primary schools, my ethnography was aided by audio recordings of over thirty music workshops across all the classes. I also developed some YouTube videos, to which some children added public comments. The project was a collaboration with the Jersey Music Service (the government department responsible for delivering and supporting public music education for children and young people), so I refer to email exchanges for some additional details.

A choir of thirty volunteers was subsequently formed to perform the song 'Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri' on Liberation Day 2018, providing the ethnographic focus of chapter six. I made audio and video recordings of rehearsals, key team meetings, and the final performance. I

conducted unstructured interviews with some children and audience members on the day. Email exchanges, social media, and local press reports also provide some fruitful evidence.

The Jersey Song Project, which is the main focus of chapter seven, involved organising and curating collaborative songwriting between Jèrriais speakers and local musicians, culminating in a final performance. Some of the songwriting sessions were recorded or filmed, though much of the linguistic work was, in fact, carried out remotely via email, Facebook messenger, and WhatsApp. I make use of these exchanges, plus social media and local press reports. I also conducted interviews and created two open-ended online questionnaires, one for audience members and one for artists.

Evaluating the 'impact' of this applied work is clearly a challenge, not least because we cannot hope to assert that Jèrriais has been revitalised for years into the future; but I believe my ethnographic account provides evidence to support my central hypothesis (regarding music's potential for language activism) with a measured degree of confidence. I discuss this where relevant throughout my ethnography, and in more depth in my concluding chapter. What I can be sure about is the profound impact this journey has had on me. As a person born and raised in Jersey who has lived locally for the majority of my life, I attempt to reflexively weave my own story into my description of musical language activism in my home island. I was a musician before becoming a Jèrriais activist, and I was both of those before I became an ethnographer. The improvised counterpoint and harmonic resonance of all three activities have been productive.

Applied Ethnomusicology

Recent years have seen a continuation, and a deepening, of reflexive discussions around ethnomusicology as a research discipline (for example, see: Amico, 2020; Schultz, 2020). Ongoing questions of race, power, hierarchies, alterity, neoliberalism, and coloniality within ethnomusicology have been raised with critical urgency (see: Brown, 2020; Project Spectrum, 2020; The Scare Quotes, 2020, among others). This thesis is not the space to rehearse all of these debates, but nevertheless in the light of them, some justifications are necessary for the use of the term 'applied ethnomusicology' as my methodological framework. Furthermore, given the role of coloniality in the oppression of Jèrriais, it is important to consider the ways in which this contemporary discourse has affected my methodology. My fieldwork analysis has been significantly shaped by these discussions and by the wider literature on coloniality.

Regarding ethnomusicology, Amico (2020) and others raise the potentially extractive, colonial, Othering implications inherent to the term 'ethno-'. Amico forcefully critiques the 'ethno-' prefix but does acknowledge that "there exists ethnomusicological work that interrogates the very idea of stable, univocal 'ethnic' identities – in relation to both local and global dynamics – as well as research produced by scholars who share a similar geocultural location with their subjects" (Amico, 2020, p. 8). In my context, the 'ethnos' in question relates to the majority white, diverse society or people-group of my own community in the geographically defined island of Jersey. Thus my research follows this pattern of interrogating the notion of 'stable' collective identity in a shared geocultural location. The constructivist approach to identity at the heart of my research actively engages with the multivalent, evolving nature of cultural identity in Jersey, and I investigate the issues autoethnographically. As Shultz observes, "ethnomusicology may be defined by method rather than repertoire" (Schultz, 2020, p. 45), and in this sense, the 'ethno' prefix also indicates ethnography, which is integral to my work. For those reasons, I accept the 'ethno-' prefix as appropriate.

'Music' – in this case, forms of 'western' popular music as broadly conceived – constitutes the central activity of my research, around which my scope of social inquiry is oriented. The various types of musicking (Small, 2012) that occurred in the course of my applied projects provided intense social experiences that reveal aspects of culture and identity in Jersey, but also contribute to an understanding of the role of music in language revitalisation. Accordingly, 'ology' here pertains to both the interdisciplinary theoretical orientation embedded in the praxis of my applied approach, as well as the intended research outcome in the form of this written ethnography. My ethnography primarily draws on the focused 12-month period of fieldwork from October 2017 to October 2018. There is some chronological extension either way due to my autobiographical history, my general social embeddedness, and because of the 'organic' nature of ongoing research grounded in cultural work that began in 2012, when Badlabecques was formed.

In general terms, the 'applied' aspect of my methodology follows many other scholarly and scientific disciplines that have applied domains that explicitly link theory and practice, such as applied mathematics, physics, psychology, sociology, et cetera. But more specifically, this work could be described as an example of what Harrison (2014) has characterised as 'second wave' applied ethnomusicology, with an "emphasis on concrete

problems" (Harrison, 2014, p. 28), often in the public sphere. Thus, applied ethnomusicology can be defined as an approach to ethnomusicology that is:

> Guided by principles of social responsibility, which extends the usual academic goal of broadening and deepening knowledge and understanding toward solving concrete problems and toward working both inside and beyond typical academic contexts. (Harrison *et al*., 2010, p. 30)

Furthermore, as Shultz notes:

> Applied ethnomusicology, while not new, has become invested in a new set of critical issues including but not limited to decolonization, racial justice, Indigenous rights, repatriation and heritage work. (2020, p. 49)

The intended outcome of such work is not solely designed to provide 'data' for academic analysis but to be "a music-centred intervention in a particular community, whose purpose is to benefit that community" (Pettan and Titon, 2015, p. 4). Therefore, it is 'people-centred', involving meaningful 'collaborative partnerships' that arise from fieldwork. Ethically sound musical interventions should be guided by "principles of social responsibility, human rights, and cultural and musical equity" (Pettan and Titon, 2015, p. 4). I have certainly endeavoured to do justice to this ethos throughout my work in Jersey by upholding these ideals, acting with cultural sensitivity, and maintaining high standards of research ethics. Foundational principles of 'do no harm', informed consent, honesty, and research integrity are crucial concerns. I have also been very aware of the responsibilities and challenges of representation and advocacy, which I discuss in more depth in the following section.

To be clear, the 'concrete problem' that my research engages with is the endangerment of the language and cultural heritage of Jèrriais. My applied music projects could be framed as experiments in public engagement which were designed to contribute to language revitalisation and inclusive cultural awareness and identification. I have built my theoretical approach on the constructive potential of music's relationship with cultural identity and its possible impact on language beliefs. I have already outlined the key principles of this in chapter two, forming the theoretical foundation of my central thesis, which rests upon the hypothesis that the co-constitutive interweaving of aesthetics and ethics embodied

in and experienced through musical activities can performatively construct cultural identities and positively influence language ideologies. The role of performativity in this process is important, both conceptually and practically in the sense that this applied work has already realised some of its intended outcomes during my fieldwork with the Jersey community. New social realities have been enacted through musical/linguistic cultural practices, emphasising both the interconnectedness of music and language, as well as their emplacement in society-wide cultural ecologies. Rather than separating and hierarchising cultural domains such as language and music, an ethnomusicological approach has much to offer here. In a 2020 conference roundtable, Sparling noted the value of understanding language as one aspect of a cultural ecology, observing that:

> Ethnomusicologists are in a unique position to theorize the relationship between endangered languages and music. Just as we conceive of music *as* culture and not just *in* culture, so we conceive of language *as* culture and not just *in* culture. Something conceived as "in" culture can be taken "out" of culture, but when we conceive them "as" culture, there is no possibility of separation, and a hierarchy of cultural expressions makes far less sense (Sparling, 2020, SEM conference roundtable).

Musical language activism thus becomes a way of enacting cultural revitalisation broadly conceived.

Johnson also highlights the positive potential for ethnomusicological research into language activism:

> [A] study that interconnects a minority and endangered language and the creation of music culture offers a new perspective to ethnomusicological scholarship. It is with such a cultural interface that the researcher can see the power that song can have in mobilizing people, and how people can create song as a result of language activism. (Johnson, 2012, p. 103)

Johnson is not specifically referring to applied work here, so in fact, my research is an example of this 'cultural interface' functioning proactively as a research tool at a deeper level. The applied approach combined with the immersive autoethnographic lens can bring a richer, more grounded perspective than is present in Johnson's descriptions to date.

Ethnographically describing and analysing my applied projects raises ontological and epistemological questions of representation, politics, and positionality, to which I will now turn.

Reflecting on positionality: autoethnography and performative ethnography

Drawing on her research with Japanese American Taiko groups, Deborah Wong (2008) calls for ethnomusicologists to engage in performative ethnography, which is informed by an understanding of "how performance and political engagement can converge in the ethnographic effort" (Wong, 2008, p. 78; see also: Wong, 2019). Grounded in the rich body of literature on performativity, including feminist theory, postcolonial theory, performance studies, and philosophy of language (which traces back to philosopher J. L. Austin who coined the term performative in 1955, see: Austin, 1975), Wong seeks to convey the inextricable links between "the vibrancy and the critical effects" of the music practices she is engaged with, and reflect "on my own process of telling, testimony, and cultural critique" (Wong, 2008, p. 78).

Applied ethnomusicology can have such vibrant, critical, performative effects in three main ways: in the intersubjective dynamics of the research process itself (in 'the field' wherever that may be), in the inner subjectivity of the researcher during the construction of ethnographic 'outcomes' (writing, film et cetera), and in the multivalent social possibilities generated by any such works that are produced from the research. Wong describes certain characteristics that performative ethnography could take on, for example:

> It enacts the ways that performance itself is a social change agent: as a genre of representation, it attempts the act of transformative becoming… It assumes that performance is imbricated with, and constitutive of, cultural ideologies and political economies… It presupposes that performance is culture-making. It attends to the subjectivities engaged and probably transformed through performance. It moves between the subjectivities of the audience, the performers, the ethnographer, and others. (Wong, 2008, p. 78)

The careful shifting focus necessary to grapple with such intersubjective work leads Wong to note the importance of the sensitive and self-reflexive practice of autoethnography as a mode of enquiry for ethnomusicologists. Wong describes how the impetus for her

involvement with Taiko is rooted in her own identity journey, and a recognition of the "tremendously important cultural work" done by Taiko groups to whom she is "fiercely committed" (Wong, 2008, p. 88). Knowledge construction is always partial and situated (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005), and here Wong is no distanced observer extracting data from an exploited Other for abstruse applications in the ivory tower of academia but an embodied and embedded member of the community, with a stake in the future of Taiko.

Wong's work is autoethnographic, though without making herself the central focus, and likewise, my own work researching my own culture in my home island of Jersey necessarily requires an autoethnographic approach. Naturally, this will incorporate my own identity narrative and commitment to Jèrriais, as well as describe and understand the various moments of performative and transformative becoming that I have experienced and witnessed along the way. Autoethnography was an obvious methodological choice for this applied work, given that as a social actor I was central to the musical and logistical creation/production of three of my four research projects, though I was more peripherally active as a curator/organiser of the fourth (the Jersey Song Project). Inevitably, the analytical and reflective writing process itself has been personally influential in multiple ways; and I hope this work can also achieve some performative potential in its reception and possible legacies.

Throughout my research, I have strived to follow the model of autoethnography described by Adams, Jones, and Ellis (2014), who characterise autoethnographic research as a method that:

- Uses a researcher's personal experience to describe and critique cultural beliefs, practices, and experiences.
- Acknowledges and values a researcher's relationships with others.
- Uses deep and careful self-reflection – typically referred to as 'reflexivity' – to name and interrogate the intersections between self and society, the particular and the general, the personal and the political.
- Shows people in the process of figuring out what to do, how to live, and the meaning of their struggles.
- Balances intellectual and methodological rigour, emotion, and creativity.
- Strives for social justice to make life better.

(Adams et al., 2014, p. 1)

Regarding the notion of social justice, linguistic anthropologist Gerald Roche is among the increasing number of scholars advocating for an understanding of language revitalisation as a form of 'linguistic justice' work. According to Roche, "most language endangerment today can be considered unjust insofar as it is brought about by coercion resulting from structures of recognitive and distributive injustice" (Roche, 2019b, p. 5). From this perspective, my role as an applied ethnomusicologist in Jersey has been that of a scholar-activist, working towards linguistic justice for Jèrriais. Consequently, a consideration of my own positionality is important. Whilst my research was conducted in my home community, there is no straightforward sense in which I can claim to be an 'authentic insider'. As Cook (among others) has observed, dichotomous emic/etic positions have long been unsustainably problematic:

> Stable distinctions of insider and outsider, Self and Other, emic and etic are no longer embedded in either musicological or ethnomusicological practice; they are residues of colonialism. (Cook, 2008, p. 63)

Schultz has observed this scholarly move away from binary paradigms, and notes that one methodological approach involves "scholars inscribing the stories of their own communities and families", thus making autoethnography a deliberate strategy. Indeed, Forster (2012) and others have shown, via many discussions of 'native anthropology', all researchers investigating their own cultures can be described as "insider-outsiders" to one degree or another (Forster, 2012). This may be a result of the researcher's own mobile identity positions and the complexities of the social context itself or because of the nature of crafting ethnographic writing for multiple audiences (for example, community members and academic outsiders). Consequently, whilst autoethnography is inevitably limited and partial, it can also serve as a lens through which to make a methodological virtue of our inevitably unstable subjectivities. A self-reflexive view of my own positionality likewise reveals an interstitial, and indeed, shifting stance.

Within Jersey society, the native-speaking Jèrriais community now exist as a kind of subculture ('sub' being an apt term given the subalternised status of the language); and because I was not raised speaking Jèrriais or having any meaningful interaction with this

community, my initial engagements were as a kind of outsider, or participant-observer (though this was well before even my MA research, which in the long-run probably worked in my favour). I was warmly welcomed in, and indeed I vividly recall a particular moment in 2012, after the first time a few members of Badlabecques performed at a Harvest Supper for L'Assembliée d'Jèrriais (as mentioned in chapter one, this is a social society formed in 1951 to help promote and maintain Jèrriais). The president of the association, Winston Le Brun, approached me very enthusiastically, and emphatically said "You're the gateway! You're the gateway to the younger generation…" in reference to the possibility of reaching younger people to spark an interest in Jèrriais. I wasn't sure whether he was referring to me as an individual or the group more generally, but either way, there are two interesting aspects to this moment regarding my acceptance into the Jèrriais-speaking community and subsequent public advocacy for the language and culture.

First, the immediate affection and eager enthusiasm to include and encourage us was striking, and beyond expectations. This is something I have experienced consistently and comprehensively amongst the Jèrriais crowd, and indeed across Normandy too. I have come to believe that it is not just that they are keen to see Jèrriais continue on and thus will strategically include 'outsiders', but that despite what felt to me like a linguistic boundary, I was always *treated* as a genuine insider in the sense that I am a Jersey person who has simply not been given the chance to learn my own language. I am not *English* based on my level of fluency in English, nor *Français* based on my level of fluency in French. I am *Jèrriais – j'sis Jèrriais!* – based on my geocultural identification as a local person, both born and raised in Jersey, who is now finally as an adult able to learn and connect with the native language of my own 'ethnos'. This is an experience that was deliberately withheld from me by the prevailing coloniality that structured my social reality as a child. I am, to use Fishman's term, an 'Xman via Yish' (Fishman, 1991), in other words, a Jerseyman, but via English. And yet, as a non-Jèrriais speaker, I was at this point very much on a border – so perhaps well-positioned to become a kind of 'gateway' – but nevertheless not entirely comfortable and 'at home' in those very 'Jèrriais' environments. I am much more at home now, though still not fluent in Jèrriais, which reveals something of my own identity journey. Music performance has been at the heart of both my initial acceptance by the community themselves, but also the performativity necessary to my own identification as a member of the community. As my

competence and confidence in Jèrriais grows, that sense of belonging feels more legitimate to me.

From those early days, particularly after that conversation with Winston Le Brun, I have felt some weight of responsibility as a public advocate for Jèrriais who is indeed using music as a 'gateway' to the language and its connected cultural ecology. At times this has created real angst, perhaps experienced most intensely early on, in 2013, when Badlabecques was a headline act at La Fête des Normands in Quettehou, France. This is a cross-regional festival of Norman culture, which is alternately hosted between Jersey, Guernsey, and Normandy. I had a distinct feeling of being a kind of fraud, representing my island's language whilst barely understanding the words I was reading from the lyric book in front of me. Within Jersey, particularly when engaging with the local media, I have become known as a Jèrriais activist, and I have even been described as a 'Jèrriais expert', which was slightly disconcerting. No doubt I have made mistakes and missed opportunities. But over the years, I have been learning to bear the responsibility of advocacy with what I hope is good grace and genuine effectiveness. This is perhaps partly because of an increased level of identification, knowledge, and understanding of Jèrriais and partly due to the necessary outworkings of a more critical and analytical understanding of Jersey society. This view embraces the necessity of taking a clear stance, and "presupposes a world of politicised praxis" (Wong, 2008, p. 78). Wong questions how "we can think of taiko as the public performance of critical pedagogy" (Wong, 2008, p. 88), and in a comparable manner, I have sought to reflexively engage in forms of community education via my applied ethnomusicology projects, and my role as a (minor) public figure in the island. In this way, I have sought to build metalinguistic community. Positive Jèrriais language ideology can be performatively enacted through music, perhaps more readily and viscerally than through cognitive argument that is framed by and expressed via defaulting to English linguistic imperialism. My cultural competence as a local person (no doubt aided by a certain amount of privilege afforded by whiteness, maleness, and education), as well as my skills as a trained musician and ethnomusicologist, have facilitated the development of these projects in particular and my Jèrriais advocacy in general.

In his chapter on advocacy and ethnomusicology in *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology* (2015), Jeffrey A. Summit observes that: "Many ethnomusicologists have decided that the role of scholar and the role of advocate are not mutually exclusive and

made profound contributions to the communities they have studied" (Summit, 2015, p. 204). Summit cites Seeger, Feld, Shelemay, and Titon, amongst others. Such work, along with Summit's own contributions, set new precedents and serve as guiding exemplars for applied ethnomusicology today. However, as Summit notes: "a process of self-reflection, ideally one that cultivates humility and problematises the efficacy of social justice work, is a good first step for anyone engaging in advocacy or direct service" (Summit, 2015, p. 204). Thus, in striving to make a positive contribution to my own community, the ongoing reflexivity of autoethnography is essential as a method of self-critique rather than an act of narcissism.

Responding to coloniality in Jersey

One aspect of this study that has been challenging both conceptually and in terms of my positionality as a scholar-activist has been the question of how Jèrriais revitalisation, and my work with music in particular, can be properly and appropriately decolonial. As discussed in chapter one, English coloniality is the foundational cause of the endangerment of Jèrriais in Jersey, and consequently a response to this is necessary. As Roche states:

> If colonialism creates conditions of linguistic injustice by manufacturing maldistribution and harmful patterns of recognition, then decolonization is essential to seeking linguistic justice and addressing global language endangerment. (Roche, 2019b, p. 5)

For language activism to be properly decolonial "rather than reproducing the hierarchies that produced the injustice in the first place" (Roche, 2019b, p. 5), Roche advocates for forms of 'transitional justice' that effect profound structural changes in epistemic, social, and political spheres. I return to this issue in more depth in my conclusion, particularly in relation to the possible contribution of music. But during my fieldwork, it became increasingly clear that coloniality was not only the cause of Jèrriais endangerment but a pervasive feature of Jersey's highly stratified neoliberal society. Whatever small contribution I may have been able to make towards decolonial ends, there have inevitably been compromises and failings in my approach, which I will discuss where relevant. Jersey is a culturally and politically conservative place, which presents challenges, tensions, and conflicting loyalties in relation to Jèrriais and coloniality. In discussing researchers working in their home communities, Forster has

recognised “the added concern of disclosing what many in their communities might consider to be the ‘dirty laundry’ or the ‘family secrets’ ” (Forster, 2012, p. 20), and at times I have found it necessary to proceed with caution when raising difficult questions of linguistic and cultural oppression. This has been the case in interactions with both non-Jèrriais speakers, who can find it awkward or even offensive, and Jèrriais speakers, who may have traumatic memories of prejudice and abuse. However, when comfortable, many Jèrriais speakers will acknowledge the role that stigma, prejudice, and discrimination played in the anglicisation of Jersey, as well as the compelling social capital associated with English, and its construction as ‘superior’. The word ‘mentality’ is often used in these discussions, indicating epistemic violence. I have had a few direct conversations about this issue (in Jèrriais) with a native Jèrriais speaker, Françouais Le Maistre. As noted in the vignette at the start of chapter one, Françouais was born in 1937, and in fact, he spoke no English until he went to school. Jèrriais was forbidden, and he and his classmates were smacked with a ruler if caught using Jèrriais. Françouais agreed with me “tout à fait” [*absolutely*] when I suggested that it was really a colonial mentality that presented English as superior. Even Jèrriais speaking teachers were expected to be strict and follow the prescribed rules. This cultural, psychological, and physical abuse has never been publicly acknowledged in Jersey, and the government has never apologised for this form of state violence. But as Geiger observes, focussing decolonisation efforts solely on victims whilst “leaving the perpetrators or the conditions of victim-production unchallenged, is the direct route to preserving, naturalizing, and perpetuating the logic of elimination into the future. (Geiger, 2017, p. 230). Geiger’s response to this ‘logic of elimination’ draws on Maldonado-Torres, to seek the opposite: ‘the logic of the gift’. For Geiger, decolonial language revitalisation “affirms a new kind of humanism in the wake of the colonial disaster, in which language becomes a way of realizing ethical inter-human interaction predicated on generosity and responsibility” (Geiger, 2017, p. 229). This is a comprehensive, intersectional social project:

> Restoring the logic of the gift means materially, subjectively, and politically reorganizing society such that the people, languages, and forms of knowledge that have been marginalized, dispossessed, and subject to the logic of elimination could become subjects of generous inter-human interaction, rather than objects of unidirectional (false) charity. (Geiger, 2017, p. 230)

Clearly, I am in no position to reorganise Jersey society; I can merely attempt to advance the cause in some way via my activism and research, and thus my ongoing efforts to work in a decolonial manner must recognise the limitations and constraints of my context.

Furthermore, some of the longstanding Jersey families who may be Jèrriais supporters are members of the uppermost level of social hierarchy, politically right-wing, ostensibly conservative but very much allied with the present status quo of neocolonial, globalising, neoliberal politics (i.e., the "conditions of victim-production", Geiger 2017, p. 230). Amongst these circles, and indeed right-wing circles in general, support for Jèrriais is thus accepted on largely symbolic and tokenistic terms rather than the kind of deeply committed and transformational terms Geiger describes. It should be noted that within the Jèrriais community, there are some genuinely conservative figures who, naturally, are among the most dedicated to conserving Jèrriais. But as a global finance centre, the machinations of power in Jersey are overwhelmingly neoliberal, and thus support for Jèrriais from this end of the political spectrum tends to employ at least two strategies that could be described as localised versions of Tuck and Yang's 'settler moves to innocence'.

Moves to innocence are "strategies or positionings that attempt to relieve the settler of feelings of guilt or responsibility without giving up land or power or privilege, without having to change much at all" (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p. 10). The notion of 'settler' here is less clear-cut than in Tuck and Yang's context of the United States, so I will avoid essentialism and define my use of the term as: describing local residents outside of the practising Jèrriais community who perpetuate anglocentric coloniality in Jersey. First, 'settler nativism', which is the location or invention of Indigenous ancestry as a way of marking oneself blameless for the perpetuation of colonial power structures/coloniality; in this case, the oppression of Jèrriais. Second, 'settler adoption fantasies', where outsiders engage in some kind of Indigenous activity in order to perform an adopted identification and authenticate (within the settler-colonial imagination) a narrative wherein the Indigenous group hands over not only land but identity and future governance "for safe-keeping" (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p. 14). As Tuck and Yang describe it, "This is a fantasy that is invested in a settler futurity and

dependent on the foreclosure of an Indigenous futurity" (Tuck and Yang, 2012, p. 14).[4] Such 'false charity', to use Geiger's term, helps to maintain and legitimise elite social status by taking up positions as the natural leaders of 'traditional' Jersey, whilst simultaneously limiting, distorting, and manipulating what that means in order to serve political agendas. As described in chapter one, Jèrriais is accorded limited status within the social paradigm of "neoliberal multiculturalism" (Hale, 2005), but few social elites have become committed Jèrriais learners, speakers, and advocates beyond token words and high-profile gestures. And as we will see in chapter six, music is implicated in this. Anglocentric coloniality ultimately maintains the alienation of Jèrriais, either leading towards its eventual elimination or exploitation. But Jersey is a small island, and so at times, I have found myself publicly associated with, strategically collaborating with, or even performing *for* some of these people. I cannot quantify the extent to which my work in Jersey has been or will be in some sense compromised, exploited, or subsumed into ongoing hegemonic norms and inequalities. Nevertheless, I am at least conscious of this continuing ambivalence and have endeavoured to respond to it as best I can, both in the field and in my autoethnographic reflections. I am keen to avoid my own 'moves to innocence'.

This brings me to a consideration of audiences for this ethnography. As a doctoral thesis, it is necessary to produce this dissertation as a single author work. But there is an important ethical obligation not only to write something that is of value to Jèrriais culture and Jersey society but to recognise the myriad ways in which the community among whom I have had the privilege of moving are, if not direct co-authors, then crucially important collaborators with a profoundly significant authorial voice. Decolonial scholarship underscores the need for trans-ontological dialogue, and in this sense, the 'new knowledge' presented here has been co-constructed intersubjectively. Consequently, the Jersey audience is never far from my mind, and I certainly hope this work is productively received.

To summarise these last two sections, it is my intention that this thesis will in itself constitute a kind of performative decolonial ethnography. It represents a journey with my

[4] Clearly, there is a potential conflict or tension here, between my anti-essentialist embrace of open-ended pro-actively constructed cultural identifications and the potential for 'settler adoption fantasies'. The key questions in resolving this tension are: how do any given constructed identifications with Jèrriais relate to power and anglocentric coloniality? What are the motives and the implications for such performative moves? Settler nativism and settler adoption fantasies wield identity as a passive badge of office to perpetuate coloniality, whereas decolonial identifications can only exist, are only made performatively real, through active praxis.

own identity and culture, but it also reveals and describes some of the transformational potential of musical language activism, which I hope may leave an ongoing legacy both within and beyond Jersey. Despite certain challenges, my position as a relatively well-known and locally respected musician, academic, and Jèrriais activist facilitated my fieldwork, and indeed my positionality evolved along these lines in the course of the research. Given my public role, it is important to note that I chose to use my artist name – Kit Ashton – throughout my research, which originates from a time well before my direct involvement with Jèrriais, beginning with my previous work as a singer-songwriter.

Collating the ethnographic collage

This ethnography seeks to describe and evoke a large number of actors and a broad range of voices, including: the embodied experience of children singing, the perspectives and positionings of parents and teachers, the performing members of Badlabecques, the many participants in the Jersey Song Project, the community of Jèrriais speakers, other stakeholders, audiences, and members of the wider community. Given this, I was keenly aware of the "social ballet" (Back, 2012, p. 29) and multimodal awareness required throughout this research in order to pluralise "the vantage points from which sociological attentiveness is trained" (Back, 2012, p. 30). Consequently, my ethnomusicological attentiveness, with its interdisciplinary scope and autoethnographic starting point, has benefitted from a range of methodological tools which I have attempted to use with an expansive, responsive, and critical sensibility attuned to the "multiple registers of life" (Back, 2012, p. 29). As mentioned, these tools include interviews, questionnaires, various audio and video recordings, social media posts, local press reports, personal communications, and a longitudinal focus group, all of which enrich my own embodied, experiential perspective.

One significant discussion in qualitative research, particularly relating to ethnography, is the difference between 'manufactured' and 'found' or 'naturally occurring' evidence (Silverman, 2013, p. 47). It is essential to acknowledge the inherently limited value of 'manufactured' material, as generated by my interviews, focus group, and my open-ended focus group style questions in the classrooms and rehearsals of the schools and choir. My presence and influence, as a known local musician, Jèrriais activist, and researcher inevitably had an effect both in terms of participants' prior expectations and intentions but also in my obviously partial interactions. As applied research, clearly all these encounters were socially

situated, co-constructed experiences in which I could hardly hide my enthusiasm for and commitment to Jèrriais. Consequently, in my analysis I have avoided the straightforward 'Romantic' assumption of an entirely discreet, private, and coherent 'true self' or "deep interior" which is then 'revealed' and laid bare in people's responses (Silverman, 2013: 39). Rather, for each example I acknowledge the need to critically weigh up such exchanges and consider them within this broader context of intersubjectivity.

Paying attention to what people do as much as what they say is vital, as is an understanding that we are not simply individual actors interacting independently in a social space, but rather that our social worlds are intersubjective, ecological, and in constant flux. As Back points out, a key issue here is to be alive to the possibility of ethnographic insights emerging from complex, less-than-obvious sources and passing moments, to "develop forms of attentiveness that can admit the fleeting, distributed, multiple, sensory, emotional and kinaesthetic aspects of sociality" (Back, 2012, p. 28). The musical experiences in my fieldwork involved all of these aspects, and the music/language/identity nexus is a uniquely elusive thing to observe and understand in the midst of free-flowing collective experiences. Thus, attempting to grapple with the role of music in influencing language ideologies and constructing cultural identities has been particularly challenging, so I have needed to attune my attentiveness accordingly. In the final analysis, I have drawn together a broad range of evidence to build and interpret the ethnographic collage as best I can, which includes both manufactured and found sources, like the 'naturally occurring' public material on social media, which were created in direct response to the manufactured public performances of the applied projects. In sifting through all these various sources, it is perhaps unsurprising that I have had to actively work harder to find negative perspectives that might show music failing to make a positive contribution. After all, where music may be unsuccessful in creating new identifications with Jèrriais, or even having a detrimental effect, people are less likely to go out of their way to say so publicly; they will likely just ignore it. Consequently, unfavourable evidence (that is, unfavourable from a language revitalisation perspective) must be considered particularly significant, interesting, and in need of special attention. The area of my research where this aspect was most relevant was in my work with children, to which I now turn.

Conducting applied research with children

Involving children in applied research presents a range of challenges, so I will address these in a general theoretical way here, with further specific details added in the relevant chapters. The rationale for undertaking this kind of work is also important to establish. There are three reasons why I decided to work with children, which could be summarised as sociolinguistic, musicological, and practical. First, the current generation of Jersey children is the furthest from having a 'natural' intergenerational link with Jèrriais, being three or even four generations away from most of the extant native speakers. As such, they are an essential target demographic, and any positive revitalisation work that can be shown to enthuse them would provide helpful ethnographic evidence in support of my central thesis. Second, children tend to respond to music very readily, in a spontaneous and relatively unfiltered manner, so I thought they would be particularly receptive to a musical project and also give me relatively clear and distinct reactions. And third, on a practical level, working with schoolchildren was the most straightforward way of running a relatively large-scale project involving a significant number of people within the community. As Minks states, "Childhood, as a discursive construct, is a site of struggle over representations of sameness and difference, society and the individual" (Minks, 2002, p. 379); so being able to interact with children in Jersey as they negotiate their own identity narratives and engage with Jèrriais through music was an opportunity to gain ethnographic insights into wider discourses at work in Jersey's culture more broadly.

There is an expanding body of insightful ethnomusicological scholarship relating to children's musical cultures, musical play, and children's involvement or relationship with adult/overarching music cultures, going back at least as far as John Blacking's ground-breaking work with Venda children's songs (Blacking, 1995, first edition 1967). Indeed, Minks traces a history of music research involving children as far back as the late 1800s, though much of this is problematic and somewhat colonial (Minks, 2002). The *Oxford Handbook of Children's Musical Cultures* notes the "substantial increase" of studies of children and music during the twenty-first century, of which its thirty-five essay-chapters are testament. Other notable examples of published volumes on musical children include *The Child as Musician* (ed. McPherson, 2015), which examines the ways children learn and engage with music, and *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth* (eds. Boynton and Kok, 2006), which shows

how children are socialised into the musical life of their communities. The role of music in children's socialisation and enculturation has particular relevance for applied research as musical language activism. Emberly (2014) has noted the promising range of possibilities of applied research:

> [R]esearch with children and youth has the potential to have applied impact, which may include: long-term musical sustainment; musical revival; policies surrounding music and heritage; and wellbeing factors that are linked to musical arts and cultural practice. It is this aspect of research with children and youth, applied outcomes, that is most relevant to current movements in the field of ethnomusicology. (Emberly, 2014, viewed online)

However, Emberly also emphasises the importance of such research being well informed by key theories and methodologies from the field of childhood studies. There is a considerable amount of literature to draw from here (see: Hammersley and Traianou, 2012, pp. 21–24), some of which I have found particularly helpful. Doing research with, rather than on, children and attempting to understand and represent their perspectives and experiences brings its own practical, methodological, and ethical questions. As Kirk has described, the three main ethical issues in relation to conducting research with children are "power relations, informed consent and confidentiality"; and there are also two key methodological issues: "One is epistemological and relates to the different cultures of childhood and adulthood and the second relates to the heterogenous nature of childhood itself" (Kirk, 2007, p. 1250). Children are active social agents who experience the world on their own terms, therefore it is important not to fall foul of what Waksler describes as the common bias that children are simply incomplete adults-in-waiting, "in their very nature not grown up and thus not something rather than something", or that they are merely "unfinished, in process, not anywhere yet" (2003, p. 63). From a social constructionist perspective, all humans are 'in process', so worthwhile ethnomusicological research ought to take a child's sense of identity and belonging, their lifeworld and unique epistemological lens every bit as seriously as that of any other participant, albeit with an appropriate interpretive sensitivity which I discuss below.

Educationalist Alison Clark, who co-developed the widely recognised Mosaic approach (a visual, participatory research framework for listening to young children's views and

experiences), emphasises the need to apply a social constructionist model to the way we listen to children. Whilst the Mosaic approach itself is for children under five years of age, the core principles of listening and adopting social constructionism can also be applied to older children. Rather than an exercise in extracting 'the truth', listening is "a value-laden, context bound activity" which requires discussion and interpretation (Clark, 2001, p. 333). Children "are the experts in their own lives", skilled communicators who need to be tuned into in the sense that adults need "to adjust our listening to the many creative and sometimes non-verbal ways children communicate their views and experiences" (Clark, 2001, p. 333). Adults need to be respectful educators who are mindful of children's rights and their evolving perspectives and skills. Children engage in the social environment of the classroom community as "active learners engaged in the process of constructing meanings rather than being filled with knowledge" (Clark, 2001, p. 334).

I am conscious of the challenging responsibility to attempt to reflexively and adequately represent children's metaphorical voices, multifaceted identities, and the multiple registers of their experience, so I have tried to take an empathetic phenomenological approach. For example, observing body language is vital qualitative information, including what may be the subtle, spontaneous and instinctive actions and reactions of children who are engaging with their own cultural identity. So I have sought to take note of the more delicate, passing moments of exchange as well as the more straightforward. I have attempted to "recognise the necessary emplacement of modalities of human existence within ever-shifting horizons of temporality" (Desjarlais and Throop, 2011, p. 88) with particular regard to the sensitive, intense, and often dramatic fluctuations of children's consciousness. Within the authoritarian framework of the school environment, such subjective experiences are especially characterised by limited self-agency and a significant range of compelling external forces, of which I was one. Thus, being attuned to the "doing of social life" (Back and Puwar, 2012, p. 11) is essential in this context, perhaps even more so than solely relying on the children's conversational skills and accepting what they say at face value. I was conscious that children in Jersey tend to be very well behaved, compliant, and deferential to figures of authority so whilst on the plus side they were responsive to me and engaged well with lessons and rehearsals, there was also the challenge of trying to avoid the tendency to elicit only those answers that they believed I wanted to hear.

This tendency is partly a result of the power imbalance and partly due to our mutual positive affect and eventual attachment. In research with children, according to Christensen, "power is not, as such, nested in categorical positions, such as 'adult' or 'child', but rather in the social representations of these that we make, negotiate, work out and work with in social life" (Christensen, 2004, p. 166). Much of children's research theory suggests it can be helpful for researchers to position themselves as a non-authoritarian 'other adult' (see: Christensen, 2004), taking up an unusual or even incompetent role; and recognising "the importance of developing a participant status as an atypical, less powerful adult in research with young children" (Corsaro and Molinari, 2017, p. 12). I attempted to achieve this in several ways. Firstly, my manner was deliberately informal, relaxed, friendly and non-authoritarian. They addressed me simply as 'Kit' and not 'Mr. Ashton' like they would with the teachers and teaching assistants. My dress code was as informal as possible, whilst remaining appropriate (generally casual fashion trainers, dark jeans, t-shirt, and either casual shirt, hoody, or bomber jacket). In the schools, I began each lesson by singing them a pop-song, choosing songs they were likely to know[5], which they could either simply listen to or sing along with if they wished (and many did). This seemed to put them at ease, encouraged a cheerful mood, and helped establish my status as a musician, which was something unusual, interesting, and generally perceived as 'cool'.

Davis has noted the beneficial use of approaches "which allow children to feel a part of the research process" (Davis, 1998, p. 328). This may help reduce the sense of an inequitable power dynamic. So, in the classroom, I presented the project as a journey we were on together, firstly in the context of the 'mission' we had all been given to help save Jèrriais, and secondly with the introduction of my audio recorder, which I took as an opportunity to present the basics of my research which they were helping me with. By explaining the presence of the recorder and asking their permission to record each class and rehearsal, I was able to include them and hopefully provide a sense of agency. So beyond the necessary consent given by schools and parents, I sought active assent directly from the children themselves as collaborators in the project. I treated them as competent informants who could not only tell me about their own lives and thoughts but also about their families

[5] For clarity, the songs were: 'Valerie' by Amy Winehouse, 'Believe' by Shawn Mendes, 'Count On Me' by Bruno Mars, and 'Happy' by Pharrell Williams.

and friends. At Rouge Bouillon school, I explained the presence of the audio recorder and said that I am "learning how to think about music and language together, so I'm doing a kind of study on that." I then said that it was for university, and Hannah[6], aged 9, responded: "Wait so you're not even a adult yet?" which I took as an encouraging sign of her possible perception of me as an atypical, less 'powerful' adult. The audio recorder occasionally became an object of play, usually as children were leaving the class, involving greetings, singing, and comical voices. I usually asked for a volunteer to press stop, and was never short of offers.

But as mentioned, this 'manufactured' environment requires careful reflexive analysis. I was very conscious of my own influential presence in the room, as a friendly authority figure who is also a language activist. As discussed above, I have tried to take this into account. For example, I give more weight of significance to any negative or apathetic comments and responses that 'go against the grain', and I hold the positive responses (the overwhelming majority) in critical context. I found it difficult to reassure classes that non-positive opinions and comments were acceptable and that they were the 'experts on their own lives' so any negative thoughts and feelings were not 'wrong'. Even when openly eliciting or encouraging them as not just permissible but helpful to hear I found few children willing to give more than the smallest inklings of doubts or negativity in any way. However, a handful of valuable or indicative comments did emerge. Of course, I had to accept and respect this reluctance; after all, as Clark and Moss state:

> It is not only a question of seeing the world from children's perspectives but of acknowledging their rights to express their point of view or to remain silent. We are keen that a participatory approach to listening is respectful of children's views and also of their silences. (Clark and Moss, 2011, p. 9)

Therefore, my analysis is inevitably an incomplete interpretation of these children's various journeys with the music, with Jèrriais, with themselves, and with our different groups. Furthermore, given that identity construction is an ongoing experience which cannot be "plucked straightforwardly from the heads of participants" (Smith, 2011: 10), the process of trying to understand the evolving phenomenological subjectivities of children requires a

[6] The name Hannah is a pseudonym.

necessary 'double hermeneutic', "whereby the researcher is trying to make sense of the participant trying to make sense of what is happening to them" (Smith, 2010, p. 10).

The presence and influence of adults other than myself upon the research process must also be considered (Pyer and Campbell, 2013). These mainly included teachers and teaching assistants, as well as my supporting colleagues from the Jersey Music Service (Joanne Bond[7] and Gina McLinton), my co-leaders of the choir (Margaret Picot and Hugh Lincé), and occasionally parents and other relatives and carers. I was very conscious of this at the time and have tried to take this into account in my analysis.

It is also important to question what mandate I have even to attempt to 'shape' the language beliefs and cultural identity of these children. Jersey's government, the States of Jersey, has the overall responsibility of educating the island's children, so their favourable position and explicit support for this project provided my 'mandate' for the work in schools, and the choir was entirely voluntary of course, with parents' consent. Nevertheless, I felt a significant responsibility to work with sensitivity and care when engaging with participants of such a tender age. I strove to respect and acknowledge their own agency; and facilitate a positive experience that they could respond to in their own way, rather than dictating my own agenda. As Dirsken writes, on applied ethnomusicology:

> When one consciously intervenes, the stakes are often higher, the margin of error is often larger, and the ramifications and responsibilities are often bigger. Moreover, the potential for damage is much greater, even as the potential for doing good is much greater as well. (Dirsken, 2012, online)

There are also particular ethical and scholarly responsibilities in writing ethnographic depictions of these two projects: to reflexively render the intersubjective dynamics in authentic detail, and credibly interpret what indications I have of the children's musical experiences and internal identity narratives. Of course, as with all the evidence presented in this ethnography, these descriptions and interpretations can never be comprehensive, only indicative, but as I will argue, this does not preclude a certain amount of confidence in my findings.

[7] This is a pseudonym, as Joanne's son Robert (Bob) – also a self-chosen pseudonym – was a choir member.

Chapter summary: listening and amplifying

This chapter has sought to describe, frame, and provide a rationale for my methodological approach to field research and analysis, given the Jersey context and my own positionality. I began by outlining the specific projects relating to each of the four chapters that follow: Badlabecques, my work in schools, the choir for Liberation Day, and The Jersey Song Project. I considered my applied ethnomusicological framework, with the central goal of benefitting the Jersey community, working on the 'concrete problem' of language oppression and endangerment. I described my autoethnographic approach as both an epistemological lens and an intentionally performative move. This led to an examination of my interstitial positionality as an insider-outsider, a Jèrriais learner and public advocate, a musical language activist, and an ethnographer.

Regarding political dynamics, I considered some of the tensions, complexities, and complicities in which I became ensnarled, despite good intentions. I identified the 'moves to innocence' that characterise the tokenism inherent to much of the support for Jèrriais from the Jersey establishment, but acknowledged my own compromises in negotiating my positionality within this context. I reviewed the range of sources that have enriched my ethnographic representations, which are inescapably limited and partial, no matter how well attuned my ethnomusicological attentiveness may be. The special challenge of understanding and representing children's inner experiences was a particular focus, leading me to adopt an interpretive phenomenological approach. I considered the power dynamics of research with children, and the ethical responsibility not only to 'do no harm' throughout the fieldwork itself, but also in attempting to portray and meaningfully analyse our time together faithfully. There are politics of some kind involved with all applied research. Indeed, Law and Urry acknowledge the inherent 'lack of innocence' in the productive and performative nature of all research methodologies, applied or not, and thus emphasise the ethical requirement for reflexivity and proactivity:

> If methods are not innocent then they are also political. They help *make* realities. But the question is: which realities? Which do we want to help make more real, and which less real? (Law and Urry, 2004, p. 404, emphasis in original)

It is my hope that the chapters that follow will help amplify the reality of Jèrriais revitalisation.

4.

Badlabecques: relocalising traditional and contemporary Jèrriais songs

"Ieune, deux, trais, quat'… "

It's the 27th June 2015, and Jersey is hosting the International Island Games opening ceremony. Fatigued but excited and a little nervous, I step up to a microphone, guitar in hand on a large, brightly lit stage in front of 6000 colourfully dressed people from all over the world; with thousands more watching on large screens across Jersey, online, or listening on the radio. I look out, and down to the front rows, beyond the TV cameras and well-dressed dignitaries, and I see the joy of excited young sports teams, flags draped around them here and there, faces and bodies filled with expectant energy for the next few days to come. Their eyes look up toward the stage and all around me, where to my sides and behind me for several rows stand my many fellow performers: a large children's choir, a small children's sign-language choir, a choir of adults with learning disabilities, my pop-folk band Badlabecques, various random extra 'guests' who have decided to sing along, and on a separate stage to my left, a youth orchestra. It is a very big occasion for a small island, and having just had ten minutes of energetic pop-folk from Badlabecques, here comes the grand finale of the ceremony. After one final glance over to the youth orchestra's conductor, I lean in to the microphone and count, "Ieune, deux, trais, quat' [*one, two, three, four*]…"

Badlabecques[8] are a ten-piece amateur pop-folk band that sing in Jèrriais. I started the band with a few friends in 2012, and I am the lead singer, guitarist, bandleader and de facto manager. This chapter focuses largely on the production and release of one album, *Cocolîncheux!*[9], but I contextualise the album with some historical narrative. I will weave in some reflection and analysis along the way, for example there is some discussion of the development of the band's aesthetic, and the International Island Games Opening Ceremony,

[8] Jèrriais for 'chatterboxes'.

[9] See: Multimedia 1. The album 'Cocolîncheux!' can be streamed at: https://badlabecques.bandcamp.com/album/cocol-ncheux

and there are several points where the band's activities contribute to metalinguistic community. Whilst the ethnographic picture is largely based on my own experience, I employ a range of additional source material including social media, local press reports, audio and video recordings, personal emails, academic writing about Badlabecques, and an interview with band members by Henry Johnson. I also draw on answers from a questionnaire and a longitudinal focus group, both designed for audience members from our album launch. I have discussed the pros and cons of these methods in chapter three, so I am conscious of their limitations and partiality.

I close the chapter with a reflexive summary in which I suggest that Badlabecques has made a significant contribution to the status of Jèrriais, and helped to build metalinguistic community. This includes some degree of influencing local cultural identity and local language attitudes and ideologies, though it is difficult to evaluate both the scale of this and the potential long-term impact on the fate of the language.

Making the news

In early 2012 I was commissioned by L'Office du Jèrriais to produce some recordings of songs in a contemporary style to be used in primary schools. I made some home demos and felt the positive response confirmed that the project had the potential to become an exciting band. The demo secured our first gig performing on the smaller of two stages at Folklore Festival (a significant music festival headlined that year by Van Morrison), and it was so unheard of that a pop band would sing in Jèrriais that our performance made the local news. Since then, Badlabecques has become well established on the local cultural landscape. Over the years, we have performed at many local festivals and cultural events, released recordings, and appeared in the local press. The band's work has raised the profile of Jèrriais and helped shape its public image as a living part of local cultural identity. Indeed, this is the ethos of the band, and aiding language revitalisation is its sole reason for existence. Whilst I did not have a theoretical framework for what we were trying to do at the time, in hindsight, I can see that as a group of musicians performing in the community, we were very much trying to engage with status planning, including issues of language beliefs and cultural identity, beginning with the revalorisation of the language.

As I will explore in more detail in relation to the specific songs on the album *Cocolîncheux!*, the relocalisation processes involved using a range of contemporary sounds

that are helpful in engaging with the centre-periphery dynamics of language attitudes and ideologies. Working closely with Geraint Jennings of L'Office Du Jèrriais, Badlabecques' repertoire mixes pop arrangements of traditional songs, translated pop 'covers', and original songs, performed in an eclectic style that draws on "pop and folk influences from around the world" (Badlabecques, 2017a) with a deliberately broad appeal. Ethnomusicologist Henry Johnson is a Jerseyman who has been writing about the island for more than two decades (Johnson, 2011, p. 106) and describes the 'sonic activism' of Badlabecques as a band with an ethos or mission, "blending several aspects of local intangible heritage, including language and song, which in turn moves heritage into new creative forms of expression in the modern age, and for new audiences" (Johnson, 2015a, p. 118).

Johnson acknowledges the interconnectedness of safeguarding both music and language: "local heritage has been reproduced in the form of pop-folk music that has helped to sustain not only traditional folk songs, but also a severely endangered language" (Johnson, 2015a, p. 127). For Johnson,

> Badlabecques simultaneously operates as an agent of intervention, as a contemporary culture bearer of traditional songs and as a band that exhibits creative ingenuity through its folk transformations. (Johnson, 2015b, p. 19)

He attributes the profile of the band in large part to this creative, culturally transformed – in other words, relocalised – 'neo-traditional' sound:

> Badlabecques has established a very public position for itself as a band that represents Jèrriais through its pop-folk style. It is because of this style of music and the performance and recording activities that are a part of the performance process that the band has perhaps received much media coverage. (Johnson, 2015b, p. 24)

Johnson's writing about Badlabecques provides supportive evidence for my central thesis in general, particularly given his critical distance from the band. Johnson has attended some live performances, conducted interviews with band members, and analysed our creative output. His approach combines ethnomusicology with perspectives from island studies, heritage studies, sociolinguistics, and sociology. But so far, this work has not included a significant amount of focus and depth regarding the actual social and musical processes by which

Badlabecques may or may not be achieving our aims in the community. Johnson's research is not long-term ethnography and is not informed by an autoethnographic applied approach. Neither is it theoretically engaged with critical sociolinguistics, including decolonial concerns. However, one thing that Johnson has particularly considered is our hybrid 'neo-traditional' pop-folk musical aesthetic and its relation to our ethos: "Badlabecques is generating a style of pop-folk on Jersey that has linguistic intervention at its core" (Johnson, 2015b, p. 27). Johnson notes our attempt to imaginatively reframe tradition:

> In promoting the language, Badlabecques is also able to be overtly creative in its interpretation of traditional Jersey songs, as well as inspirational in its composition of new material. The lead singer's vocals take a predominant role, and the pop-folk backing offers a way of relocating the sounds of traditional music in one type of popular music context. (Johnson, 2015b: 27)

In the following sections, I will discuss how this approach has been a deliberate aspect of our sound from the beginning and how this evolved towards the relocalised pop-folk aesthetic of the *Cocolîncheux!* album.

Developing the musical aesthetic

At the time of the original commission in 2012, I discussed the aesthetic approach with Geraint Jennings. A key figure in the Jèrriais revitalisation movement, Geraint is a linguist, historian, author, illustrator, and poet, with an immense knowledge of Jèrriais and Jersey culture. He has always been an enormous influence and vital resource for the development of Badlabecques, as well as my own Jèrriais learning. The question of the band's 'authenticity' came up immediately, balancing the requirement of some kind of contemporary sound with the cultural context and the melodies and words of the songs I had been given. Broadly speaking, our concern was to create music that audiences would ascribe authenticity to in terms of being a believable representation of Jèrriais culture, but that would also be engaging and accessible. Following Moore's (2002) typology, this could be described as a form of 'third person' authentication, which is socially constructed and "arises when a performer succeeds in conveying the impression of accurately representing the ideas of another, embedded within a tradition of performance" (Moore, 2002, p. 218). The lyrical content was largely to do with a traditional image of Jersey itself, for example, its natural beauty, farming, fishing et

cetera, as mentioned in chapter one. So, my first instinct was not to stray too far from the traditional sound that typically accompanies these songs (as performed, for example, at La Fête Nouormande, a pan-Norman traditional festival hosted in rotation by Jersey Guernsey and Normandy). Or at least to reference what a contemporary primary school audience might perceive that sound to be, i.e., uncomplicated (mostly diatonic) harmony, acoustic instruments like the guitar or perhaps violin and accordion. The commercial folk-rock of Mumford & Sons was popular at this time, which is a good example of how popular music industries have presented and packaged folk 'authenticity' in recent years, so I drew on this as an example, along with the Irish folk-rock sounds of The Waterboys, and the English punk/folk-rock of The Levellers. The markers of 'folk' in a popular music context are typically the predictable harmony and traditional acoustic instruments, but the influence of pop/rock comes via the approach to rhythm and the production values (commonly 4/4 meter with a strong backbeat, highly compressed lead vocals sung in a more 'pop' style, short 'radio edit' arrangements, heavy mastering et cetera). I was trying to employ a positive use of the contemporary signifiers of a 'folk' sound, without straying into the kind of linguistic 'folklorisation' that sociolinguists are critical of (Sallabank 2013: 89).

This led me to explore other musical possibilities whilst maintaining that relatively defined pallet of timbre and harmony. Consequently, I experimented with different approaches to rhythm, in particular referencing the diverse sounds of Paul Simon's influential album 'Graceland' (Simon, 1986), including the mbaqanga and zydeco elements, as well as some other Latin, calypso, soca, ska, and Quebecois rhythms from various other artists. My reasoning for including these influences was first that I wanted to make the arrangements as catchy, upbeat, and interesting as I could, but also that I wanted to signal an inherent multiculturalism, reflecting the more cosmopolitan demographic and outlook of contemporary Jersey society. I was keen to avoid the possibility of my Jèrriais activism being seen as an inward-looking nationalist identity politics, so instead, I sought something more open and positive, positioning it within a multilingual outlook. As Heller states:

> The imagining of the nation includes ideological struggles over its most central values, and these struggles take place not only with respect to what monolingualism and multilingualism represent, but also to the very shape of the language to be privileged. (Heller, 2006)

In a reversal of the century-long erasure of the multilingual lived experience of native Jèrriais speakers (in favour of a monolingual ideology), I wanted to help position Jèrriais as a constitutive element of local identity that is not exclusive to the many other cultures and languages that have made a home in Jersey more recently. Massey raises the possibility of re-thinking a sense of place as "progressive; not self-enclosing and defensive, but outward looking" (Massey, 2010), and it is with this attitude that I approached the musical aesthetic. The result became something very local by definition - uniquely so given the language - but which also musically signals a particular "constellation of social relations" (Massey, 1991) connecting to the outside world. This musical indexing of multicultural values is an example of the sociosemiotic dimension of musical language activism (Dlaske, 2016).

The diverse blend of musical genres also serves to musically frame people's experience of the language of Jèrriais, as if to say '*here is something locally made, but also unfamiliar, and yet simultaneously familiar, enjoyable and attractive*'. This could be seen as a kind of strategic use of exoticism, however, my own experience of Jèrriais was an experience of a 'foreign' but locally made language that has itself evolved from foreign imports. So I felt that I was imagining and constructing a contemporary post-modern musical equivalent. For example, musical styles such as Quebecois, Zydeco, mbaqanga, calypso, and various Latin genres have all found ways to feature the accordion that sound interesting and attractive to contemporary British audiences (rhythm, arrangement and so on), so I tried to find ways of letting these sounds inform my arrangements, creating new fusions and hybrids (though I hope we have managed to avoid exploitative appropriation). Without theorising it at the time, I was instinctively attempting to engage in a process of relocalisation of the language via its new context embedded in the music's own hybridity, creating a form of 'supplemental heritage' (Pryer, 2018). The relocalised musical materials reframe the experience of Jèrriais in this way. As DeNora has pointed out, "framing is central to the way in which music comes to serve as a device in the constitution of human agency" (DeNora, 2000: 27), and such 'aesthetic agency' (DeNora, 2000: 123) is what gives rise to "imaginative cultural narratives" (Frith, 1996, p. 124).

The sound of the live band then developed around the instrumentation of the band members that interpreted these demos. Other than my own lead vocals and guitar, the original line-up was as follows: Kim Syvret (until late 2012), backing vocals; Louisa Coxshall, backing vocals; Martin Coxshall, keyboards and backing vocals; Montfort Tadier, accordion

and backing vocals; Scott Kean, bass guitar and backing vocals; Vanessa Moore, violin; Paul Olivier (until 2017), percussion. Later members are: Terri O'Donaghue (2012 onwards), violin; Kim Jordan (2012-2020), backing vocals; Dan Garrido (2017 onwards), percussion.

From local band to research project

In September 2013, I began my MA in Music at Goldsmiths, and Badlabecques became a thread in my research, eventually leading to this doctoral research. Badlabecques continued to perform and release recordings, growing in stature and experience as a band and engaging with the Jersey public in different ways. Highlights from the period 2013-2015 include: releasing a Christmas album and single (a mix of Jèrriais translations of known songs and original material by Geraint Jennings); a charity single for the National Trust of Jersey (see Johnson, 2015a); performing at the annual commemoration of the Battle of Jersey[10]; performing at local community and charity events including Lé Nièr Beurre, Bonfire night, The Halkett Hoedown, L'Assembliée d'Jèrriais afternoon tea, and many more straightforward gigs in pubs, private functions, and weddings; performing at large-scale festivals including Jersey Live, Sark Folk Festival, and Les Traversées *Tatihou* in France; performing at the opening ceremony of the 2015 International Island Games. Each of these occasions represents a contribution to metalinguistic community in the post-vernacular context, temporarily bringing Jèrriais in from the social periphery to an embodied, intersubjective musical experience.

The Island Games 2015

Given its cultural significance as an important moment in the public profile of both Badlabecques and Jèrriais, it is worth giving some context to the opening vignette of this chapter[11]. The Island Games are an international multi-sport event for small islands organised by the International Island Games Association (IIGA, 2018). The 2015 Island Games were held in Jersey, involving 24 islands and 2700 athletes from around the world (BBC Sport, 2015). The Opening Ceremony was designed to "welcome the athletes to the island with a suitable

[10] On January 6th 1781, French forces attempted to invaded the island, as a strategic threat during the Anglo-French war.

[11] See: Multimedia 2. A video clip of this performance can be viewed at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1RN0148Tr0o

mix of tradition and celebration and will focus on what makes Jersey unique" (ITV News, 2015). It was held on the 27th of June with a live audience of 6000 and several thousand more watching/listening elsewhere.[12] As planned cultural events go in Jersey, this was as big as any that have taken place on the island. It is difficult to ascertain how much of the population engaged with the ceremony and how influential it was. But it is significant that most organisations that are components of local structures of power (including government, education, police, major local businesses, sports and youth clubs, and local media) dedicated a great deal of attention to it, as well as resources.

The formal part of the ceremony was followed by some entertainment, culminating with Badlabecques playing a fifteen-minute set. The last song – a cover version of The Beatles 'With a Little Help from My Friends' in both Jèrriais and English (Badlabecques, 2015) – was effectively the event's finale. Badlabecques' performance was accompanied by Les Amis Choir (adults with learning disabilities), along with the Games Choir (primary school children from across Jersey), the Fleur de Lys Signing Choir (also primary school children from across Jersey), and the Jersey Youth Orchestra (mostly secondary school children, again from all over Jersey). In an interview before the ceremony on BBC Radio Jersey, event organiser Suzie Foster said that she asked us to perform because "well, you can't get any more 'Jersey' than Badlabecques" (BBC Radio Jersey, 2015). The feedback on Badlabecques' performance at the ceremony was highly favourable, and to date, this performance was the most high-profile and significant gig Badlabecques have done. It is perhaps a measure of how well the band has been taken to heart by the public (or at least in the minds of those programming public events) that we were asked to take on such a role, and it certainly helped establish the band (and our ethos) favourably in the public eye. This was also an important moment for the status of Jèrriais in terms of the way the language was briefly but deliberately shifted as a social practice from the periphery to the centre.[13] Jèrriais became a prominent part of the conscious celebration and construction of Jersey's cultural identity, both directly within local society and also in the representation of that identity to an international audience. By deliberately choosing to signal to the outside world that Jèrriais is integral to the most

[12] Either watching it on large outdoor screens in two separate places across the island, viewing the live or recorded broadcasts online and on local television, or just listening on BBC Radio Jersey.

[13] It is worth mentioning that the 'International Island Games Oath' was also spoken in Jèrriais and English as part of the ceremony.

positive representation of Jersey identity on an international stage, that message reverberates back very powerfully throughout the local population. It is via the demarcation of distinction from the Other that the concept of that Jersey-Jèrriais difference begins to crystalise in the local psyche, forming part of their habitus. Granted, from a decolonial perspective, there is a certain ambivalence to this unique instance of performing Jèrriais identity to an international audience. Naturally, the government of Jersey was fully invested in the political capital to be gained through hosting the Games, and as Sallabank notes:

> Guernsey, Jersey and the Isle of Man tend to promote linguistic heritage for political distinctiveness when it suits them, sometimes as languages of the past (e.g. in heritage or museum displays, or in folkloric re-enactments and performances), or for 'authentic' added value to attract tourism or international business. (2016, p. 558)

Invoking Jèrriais as central to the Jersey establishment's 'neoliberal multiculturalism' (Hale, 2005) on such a momentous occasion legitimises and naturalises the political status quo, at least to some extent. Nevertheless, through this special performance, metalinguistic community was built, identifications were enacted, and memories were made.

Cocolîncheux! Album project

By September 2016, just as I was starting my PhD at Goldsmiths, Badlabecques had gathered a small collection of songs, and we felt it was time to release a new record. Our first album *Hèque Badlabecques!* had come out four years earlier, in 2012[14]. I always intended to include Badlabecques as an element of my research, so I came to view the album *Cocolîncheux!* as a PhD project in itself, functioning as an ethnographic springboard or catalyst for the ensuing activity and publicity and engaging with the local community during the process. This took the form of three distinct phases around the album release schedule: pre-launch, launch, and post-launch. The initial phase leading up to the launch consisted of managing various concurrent aspects of the project: fundraising; project management (design, CD production et cetera); event management; publicity; as well as writing, recording, and producing the music. Each of these activities offered me unique ethnographic insights from 'the frog's eye

[14] See: Multimedia 3. The album 'Hèque Badlabecques!' can be streamed at: https://badlabecques.bandcamp.com/album/h-que-badlabecques

view' (Lury, 2012) in the abstract middle of busy everyday life – creating, negotiating, and engaging in highly dynamic, contingent moments of interconnected 'live' social action – all of which linked in one way or another to Jèrriais, music, and local cultural identity. I will try to transmit something of my experience, allowing for the caveats regarding autoethnography discussed in chapter three.

The pre-launch phase: fundraising

Fundraising went very well and came together quickly, raising a total of £9242.50 from various sources[15]. From an ethnographic perspective, the most interesting source of funding came from crowdfunding, which is a unique process of public engagement. Crowdfunding "allows founders of for-profit, artistic, and cultural ventures to fund their efforts by drawing on relatively small contributions from a relatively large number of individuals using the internet, without standard financial intermediaries" (Mollick, 2014, p. 1). In November 2016, we launched a campaign and rapidly passed our target of £2500, raising £2542.20 after commission (27.5% of the total) from 96 different fans of the band (an average of £29.01 each) who either simply donated a small amount or 'pledged' for a range of 'rewards' on a hierarchical scale[16]. We set about making our crowdfunding campaign as widely publicised and engaging as possible. The central element was a webpage that featured a video, the pledge rewards, information about the band, our ethos, our plans for the album et cetera (Badlabecques Crowdfunder page, 2016). Buoyed up by the local press, the evolution of the campaign became a social media bonanza, accumulating hundreds of likes, shares, comments, tweets and so on, alongside the constant updates and interactions with the crowdfunders themselves, who then also become cheerleaders for their cause, not wanting to see it fail. We reached our target in two weeks, which again generated helpful publicity. In many ways, the excitement and positive energy around the campaign acted as a precursor to the album marketing campaign and a form of Jèrriais status-raising public engagement. The implicit message of the campaign was that Jérriais is something valuable, interesting and even exciting to the local community and that Badlabecques is a rallying point for those

[15] These included crowdfunding, ArtHouse Jersey, Le Congrès des Parlers Normands et Jèrriais, L'Assembliée d'Jèrriais, Les Amis, and the Royal Jersey Agricultural and Horticultural Society.
[16] Whether that was £10 for a CD or £150 for a package consisting of CDs, a t-shirt, signed postcard, a high quality A3 size fine art print of the 'Cocolincheux!' artwork, and a pair of tickets to the album launch gig.

feelings, both for locals and non-locals alike. One local man, Wayne Cottrel, pledged and emailed to say:

> Very happy to support what you are doing to keep jerriais alive. My grandad spoke it but it died with him in our family, unfortunately. Keep up the hard work. A betot.[17] (Cotrel, 2017)

All this reflects the general climate of benign positivity around Jèrriais, as well as the specific enthusiasm of our 96 crowdfunders, who thus became part of the metalinguistic community. But to put this in perspective, in a population of about 100,000, that is less than 0.01% of Jersey society as a whole, and many of these were, of course, family and friends. However, the process did give us a beneficial momentum for the overall campaign, and consequently as a band we felt we had the public on our side. People were waiting enthusiastically for what we were making, and that contributed to the desire to make something that would be well received, which would link music, language, and cultural identity in a manner that would resonate with the community.

The pre-launch phase: album production

The songs we recorded for the album itself fall into three main categories: adapted cover versions, one traditional song, and songs that are in some sense original, i.e., perhaps a previously published Jèrriais poem we set to music. I briefly describe each of them below, with some reflection where relevant. I did most of the original songwriting and production for the album, with some creative and technical input from the rest of the band, particularly our bass player Scott Kean. Of the cover versions, two were well-known hits. They were The Beatles' 'With a Little Help from My Friends' (featuring Les Amis Choir, as performed at the Island Games), and Leonard Cohen's 'Dance Me to the End of Love' ('Danse-me au But du D'si' in our version, which was a regular in our setlists by this point). Combining a sociolinguistic and sociosemiotic approach, Kati Dlaske's work with YouTube music video covers and language revitalisation suggests that cover versions:

> … can have significance for language revitalisation in both language ideological (e.g.,

[17] 'À betôt' is Jèrriais for goodbye, and perhaps the most widely known phrase.

> Blommaert, 1999) and practical terms. As regards the former, these new media products can contribute to altering the indexical values attached to minority languages by making them seem attractive, 'cool' and 'sexy'. As regards the latter, they can promote the visibility, accessibility and use of the minority languages. (2016, p. 84)

From a perspective of the power relations of centre/periphery discourses, the use of songs which are already well-known and well-loved is a way of making "the power of centres work for the peripheries" (Dlaske, 2016). Whilst neither of these two cover versions can be considered very contemporary in the sense of being recently released (and it is debatable whether they could be described as particularly 'cool' or 'sexy'), both their general popularity and their particular lyrical and musical content contribute to the sociosemiotic work being done in each case. 'Danse-me au But du D'si' is the lesser-known of the two songs, but it does get recognised, and its effective harmonic and melodic features work well for us musically, complementing our style. Also, Geraint Jennings' excellent translation of the sensual, romantic lyric explores the sonic possibilities of Jèrriais in a manner that is both apposite and satisfying to sing. This particular interweaving of the poetics and musicality of Jèrriais in performance provides a good example of what Barthes has described as *signifiance,* a certain *jouissance* elicited via the "friction" between the music and the language itself (1987, p. 184). I will discuss this notion in greater depth in chapter seven, but of all the songs on *Cocolincheux!*, 'Danse-me au But du D'si' is probably the clearest example of the band, and my own lead vocal, exploring a sense of *signifiance.*

'With a Little Help from My Friends' is very well-known and was included firstly because it is a hugely familiar 'sing-along' song with a generally 'feel good' positive social message. It was also an obvious choice for the album, given our celebrated performance of it at the Island Games opening ceremony. Additionally, the implicit message of 'helping' Jèrriais is coupled with the sense of community and inclusivity, which is evident in the lyrics and also by the presence of Les Amis Choir on the recording. The song thus typifies the band's ethos, functioning as a conduit of 'fictive kinship' and social cohesion, with Jèrriais forming part of a 'non-exclusive' enactment of community. Such intertwining of music and language with communal solidarity, inclusivity and optimism exemplifies the musical integration of aesthetics and ethics, as discussed in chapter two, and thus enhances the ongoing narrative

of belonging and local cultural identity on the album. Our arrangement is a fairly straightforward translation of the original music onto the typical instrumentation of the band, with the addition of the cheerful tone of a banjo[18] and the choir. It follows a very similar form to the original except for the ending, where the band largely drop out, allowing the choir to repeat the phrase: "Aah my friends, ooh m's anmîns [*my friends*]" with a few vocal improvisations from myself on lead vocals. The recording ends with a round of applause and cheers from the choir, who evidently enjoyed themselves very much during the recording process. It is difficult to evaluate what difference the experience of performing and recording the song has made to the language beliefs and Jèrriais speaking practice of the choir themselves (many of whom have limited verbal abilities even in English), but there is no doubt that the presence of the choir, the message and popularity of the song, and the overall effectiveness of its production made this recording an important asset to the album. The macaronic switching between Jèrriais and English was also a positive factor for focus group member Ben:

> Kit So, any other thoughts on, er, the... collaboration with Les Amis?
> (Slight pause)
>
> Ben I think it's great to have a song that's got English and Jèrriais. I think you don't have to do that with every song, but I think if somebody can listen to that song and without having to look at the words, they know, more or less, what the words mean, again it's something that they can learn from. And like you say if it's a song they already know, even better, 'cos they can just have the Jèrriais on and almost subconsciously be translating it in their head. That's a really good way to, again, make Jèrriais more accessible to people. (Focus group 2)

Bilingual, macaronic, and code-switching songs and poetic verse have an extensive heritage, both historically and geographically. A wide-ranging meta-analysis by Bentahila and Davies traces examples from Spanish-English transnational pop to North African rai, Peruvian Wayno folksongs, Canadian rappers in Quebec, a Danish-American group, and others, tracing as far back as eleventh century al-Andalus, where *muwashsha* songs had mixed Romance-Arabic closing refrains called *kharjas* (2008). There is even a particular tradition of Anglo-Norman macaronic verse (Harvey, 1978). Bentahila and Davies examine a range of motivations,

[18] Played by Ed Hicks.

strategies, and effects of the use of translation and code-switching in songs, noting that: "Both may be used as affirmations of identity, as in-group markers, as stylistic devices, as a means of opening up the lyrics to outsiders or of producing effects such as alienation and exclusion" (2008, p. 247). In the focus group, Ben's insightful comment about the added accessibility provided by switching languages in a cover of a popular song resonates with Bentahila and Davies' conclusion:

> Ultimately, the use of both translation and code-switching within these songs can perhaps best be seen as part of a process of breaking down barriers: the barriers between languages themselves, between song genres and between audiences. (2008, p. 268)

Whatever the pedagogical potential of this may be, the affiliations linking Jèrriais to the familiar, crowd-pleasing song, its amiable, inclusive message, and the cultural pedigree of The Beatles, all help construct positive identifications.

Sasha, another focus group member, also seemed to appreciate the 'crossover' between languages, as well as the naïve, enthusiastic sound of the choir. I had asked the group if they had any favourite songs or 'standout' songs, and Ben and Andrew talked about other songs for a short while. Then Sasha took a turn:

> From my learning point of view, I particularly like it when you – but it's not that necessarily in the band you should do this but – I find it particularly nice when you do things like the piece with Les Amis, because I love the crossover between... and them singing so beautifully out of tune is just gorgeous! (Focus group 2)

I am conscious of not wanting to be in any way patronising to the choir, but this comment about the choir being 'beautifully out of tune' is fairly typical of feedback I have had in that it seems to be the earnest abandon of their singing style – full of infectious commitment and joy rather than technique – that makes it so endearing, and signals an attractive inclusivity.

The third cover version, if one can call it that, is somewhat more obscure. I had heard Tim 'Love' Lee's slightly comic sample-based track 'First Base Bossa' on a compilation album (Lee, 2009) and immediately saw its potential for a Jèrriais version. The original is, or at least appears to be, sampled from a Spanish teaching audio dialogue of a conversation set in a bar between a man and a woman. It is a typical romantic seduction dialogue, where the man

buys the woman a drink and asks her to dance, et cetera. I felt that the humorous, somewhat tongue-in-cheek music, combined with the linguistic setting, would work well as a final track on the Badlabecques album. Whilst our version, titled 'Jèrriais for Lovers: Lesson 1', includes some musical development in the form of an extended instrumental section featuring a melody from a prominent retro synthesiser, the basic framework is the same as 'First Base Bossa'. As noted by Dlaske (2016) in her work on YouTube covers, light-hearted fun and humour can be a helpful element of the sociosemiotic work involved in minority language activism. No one wants to listen to something that is overly preachy, nostalgic, or sentimental, so humour can be one way of subverting anxieties around language use, stereotypes and evolving identities, creating a 'third space' (Hughes, 2014) where participants can play and 'try on' identities. In this instance, the response to the closing song has been very positive. In the focus group, I played the song back, and there was a slight chuckle from Andrew as it finished; then this exchange:

Kit	So there you go... thoughts?
Sasha	I think it's a great, it's a great idea and I love the kinda comic elevator music, and the whole kitschness of it. (Focus group 2)

'Vive La Compangnie' [*long live the gang*] is the only song on the album that might be referred to as 'traditional'. It has a long historical pedigree, being one of the important songs sung in Jèrriais to keep community spirits up during the difficult years under Nazi occupation (Jennings, 2013). This popular drinking song of unknown origin has been sung across Europe and North America since at least the nineteenth century, and the Jèrriais version has been popular in Jersey since well before WWII.[19] Whenever Badlabecques play at gatherings of the Jèrriais community, it is one of the favourite sing-along songs almost always requested by the audience.

The rest of the songs on the album are, in one form or another, original tracks that can be split again into two groups, either acoustic recordings or electronic remixes. The album begins with the sound of waves crashing on the rocks below Corbière lighthouse, and

[19] In 1944 it was described as an 'old favourite' (Jennings, 2013).

an opening monologue from Geraint Jennings (an atmospheric spoken word poem that speaks of the Viking origins of Jèrriais). Then, a rooster crows and the opening song 'Cocolîncheux!' fires up. Based on a traditional European melody called a 'Scottiche' (again of obscure origins), the song was written (by myself and Geraint Jennings) as a metaphorical 'wake up call' to save Jèrriais:

> Du Nord, au Sud, à l'Êst, au Vouêt
> Du Bouôlay, au Ho, jusqu'à Gros Nez
> Lé co crie cocolîncheux
> Pouor rêvilyi touos des nos tchoeurs
> [*From the North to the South, From the East to the West*
> *From Bouley Bay, to Le Hocq, as far as Grosnez*
> *The rooster cries cockadoodledoo*
> *To wake up all of our hearts*] (Badlabecques, 2017b)

The other original acoustic songs on the album were as follows:

'Lé Feu' [*the fire*] is a very simple minor-key melody with a 'folky' feel inspired by Norman and Breton folk tunes, set to a Latin groove, sung as a call and response between male and female vocals. This is something I was keen to do as a way of featuring our female singers Kim and Louisa more, which seems to be very effective live.

'Ma Langue Êcliaithe Man Tchoeu' [*my language/tongue lights up my heart*] is the song from which I have borrowed to form the title of this dissertation. It is a musical setting of a poem by Geraint Jennings, with some adjustments made by Geraint and me. It is performed in a fairly straightforward pop-folk style, with a rock-pop influence on the vocals and drums. This arrangement uses a musical hook that functions as an instrumental chorus, creating space that may be easier on the ear of listeners who are unfamiliar with the language than a wordy Jèrriais alternative. As the only song on the album to directly address the issue of language beliefs and revitalisation, I felt it was appropriate to attempt something slightly emotive and sentimental in tone.

'Cider Man' was primarily written by our bass player Scott Kean, based on a song with the same title that was written and performed by a previous local band of his (called Malarky). The main developments were the lyrics, translated by Geraint Jennings, and a few musical tweaks from myself. It uses a musical pun – borrowing the first three ascending and

descending notes of the TV theme tune for 'Spider Man', with the English lyrics changed to 'Cider Man, Cider Man, drinks his cider from a can'. As a band, we had wanted to do a song about cider for some time, being that the local drink still maintains a status as an emblem for 'traditional Jersey'.

The ballad 'T'en r'Souveins-tu?' [*do you remember?*] takes its main musical references from classic French Chanson/ Nouvelle Chanson and singer-songwriters such as Elliott Smith and Rufus Wainwright. It is an atmospheric setting of a poem by one of the most celebrated Jèrriais poets, E.J. Luce, known as 'Elie'.

The electro remixes were a straightforward attempt to reach out to children and young people. The first of the two is a 'nightcore' remix of 'Ma Langue Êcliaithe Man Tchoeu'. As an emerging internet genre, nightcore "refers most broadly to the production of hyper-fast dance-pop music with pitched-up vocals which, crucially, is based around tracks lifted wholesale from mainstream pop, rock, and electronic dance music (EDM) time-stretched and pitch-shifted upwards, often, but not always, with additional original production" (Winston, 2017). It is uncommon for artists to release nightcore versions of their own songs, particularly on the same album as the original version, but we thought it would make an engaging addition. Whether or not listeners know nightcore as a genre, the pitched-up vocals and energetic EDM feel certainly provide a more contemporary sound. In the focus group, Ben noted that this was one of the favourite songs of his four-year-old daughter, while Andrew would skip this one in the car, referring to it as sounding like the cartoon 'Pinky and Perky'. The other remix, which was done by Scott Kean, is more of a mid-tempo 'chill out'. The piece itself does not feature any actual Jèrriais, the only vocal sound being a repeated sample from Kim and Louisa simply singing 'La-la-la' from the song 'Lé Feu'.

Despite the somewhat eclectic, bric-a-brac approach to style and production and the inevitable limitations of time and money, I feel that *Cocolîncheux!* is a fairly well-balanced album that achieved our goals of being accessible and entertaining while at the same time presenting Jèrriais as a living part of local cultural identity. In hindsight, I do feel that one major asset to the 'outreach' element of the album would have been to include a cover version of a truly contemporary well-known pop song, around which we could have built an attractive music video (an example *par excellence* of this would be the Coláiste Lurgan Irish cover of Avicii's 'Wake Me Up'), so on reflection, I do regret not putting more time and energy into this possibility. However, the album has been well-received and has functioned as

a cultural catalyst for a range of ongoing activities, not just for Badlabecques, but boosting the profile and energy of my own individual work as a researcher.

The pre-launch phase: project management

The most challenging aspect of this project was the ongoing stress of keeping all the elements together and moving forwards creatively, logistically, and financially. Printing 1000 CDs and having them ready for a particular launch date put a certain pressure on each phase, from songwriting to recording, editing, mixing, mastering, artwork, printing, and delivery; to marketing, rehearsing, launching and performing. Our limited budget meant there was often an aspect of 'pulling favours' to get the highest quality product possible, which meant engaging to some extent with language beliefs at every turn, presenting Jèrriais as a good cause worthy of support. Whether this was negotiating the price for the launch venue, or graphic design, or getting help from the customs officers when the CDs finally arrived in the island, I constantly put the ethos of the project front and centre, usually to positive effect. These everyday moments and conversations underline two encouraging facts: that Badlabecques' work is relatively well-known in Jersey and that most people are generally supportive and positive about the idea of keeping Jèrriais alive, even to the point of being willing to give practical support when presented with an opportunity to do so. These various social actors thus either form part of, or are perhaps on the peripheries of, metalinguistic community, who may just need a way of enacting this. As language beliefs are shifting there is a lot of goodwill for Jèrriais, but a limited number of ways this is currently being productively channelled.

The album artwork is another important sociosemiotic element of the project. I wanted it to be both eye-catching and meaningful, and I was very pleased to get the enthusiastic involvement of local artist Matt Falle. His striking, brightly coloured painting style is infused with "Pop, primary and primitive elements" (Falle, 2018). His final version of the album cover simply features a rooster standing in front of a rising sun, crowing the word 'Cocolîncheux!'. This image is complemented by the vibrant but minimalist graphic design of the album booklet containing all the lyrics and translations (as well as credits)[20], and one single photo of the band sitting on some rocks at Havre des Pas, on the south coast of Jersey.

[20] Designed by George Bradshaw.

Again, the message here is that Jèrriais is contemporary and attractive, and also very local and connected to heritage, bridging the present and the past.

'Cocolîncheux!' music video

Two weeks before the album launch, we released an online promotional video via YouTube, featuring the album's title track, 'Cocolîncheux!'[21]. Directed by local filmmaker James Bailey, the video takes an imaginative approach to presenting Jèrriais music: it is set in the year 2091, with a dystopian sci-fi/steam-punk aesthetic. The video begins with a mystical robed figure standing alone on a bleak cliff-face at dawn; then as he makes his way towards a strange glowing cave, some text appears on the screen:

> Fifty years after Singularity, a small human tribe clings to existence, thanks to some mysterious friends… (Bailey, 2017)

The hooded figure, played to dramatic effect by Geraint Jennings, then arrives in the cave and begins speaking his monologue into a curious steam-powered camera device. The scene cuts to a field, where a ramshackle bunch of characters – the tribe – are now sitting by an open fire, watching the hooded figure on a large screen. As he finishes, a rooster crows and the band strike up, which cues the crowd into an increasingly frantic dance around the flames while the sun gradually comes up around them. The clear metaphor here is a simple 'back-from-the-brink' drama, a group receiving the 'wake-up call' to keep dancing and make sure their kind survives, as the sun rises for a new day.

Whilst the video did not quite 'go viral' in the way that we had hoped (perhaps suffering slightly from the long, dramatic, but slow introduction), nevertheless it was very well received and garnered some excellent local press coverage. It has gathered around 5000 views to date, and the following YouTube comments:

> Loved this, amazing to hear Jerriais sung and the video was great.

> Wow. great video. I love the detail. WTG.

On Facebook (Badlabecques, 2017c), it has currently been shared 81 times, with 79 likes and

[21] See: Multimedia 4. This video can be viewed at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X28sYhPBY-A

16 comments, highlights of which are:

> !!!! Wow!!! Totally love this!!! Amazing creation everyone
>
> Love it soooo good
>
> Superb Guys; May it travel far and wide
>
> Mad Maxesque and stunningly put together. Will be there for the launch. Love you all - your biggest fan from Guernsey!
>
> Fantastic
>
> Merci….
>
> So cool. Singing that tune all the time. X

As Dlaske points out, "access to new media spaces, and especially to the (post)modern space of the Internet, can contribute to the revitalisation of minoritised languages by generating new functions and values for the languages" (Dlaske, 2016, p. 83). So, our clear intention in posting this video to YouTube was to enter the ever intimate and dynamic online space of social media with an entertaining, artistically satisfying, and (crucially) sharable music video that would ideally achieve several things: help revalorise and reposition Jèrriais ideologically, promote the album, and engage people in a positive musical identity experience. We also added subtitles to the video to increase accessibility, which prompted one commentator on Twitter to write:

> One of the best things about the new @Badlabecques video (apart from @GeraintJennings) is the English subtitles - learn @le_jerriais and listen to a great tune at the same time. (Morrison, 2017)

The album launch

The venue for the album launch ended up being an alternative to the initial plan to use the Jersey Arts Centre. This was due to a copyright issue with Sony/ATV, which meant we had to

push the date back[22]. Consequently, there were some problems with the acoustics as the Havre des Pas Lido is not a professional music venue. Nevertheless, even if the musical experience was not as professional sounding as it might have been, the gig was largely a success, and the sell-out crowd (120 people) clearly enjoyed themselves. I have a video recording, as well as subsequent notes and comments from the days following the gig, plus the online questionnaire (completed by 37 audience members) and the focus group, so this brief description of the event draws on these as well as my own experience.

The demographics of the audience were relatively broad for Jersey: an even spread of ages ranged from early twenties to retirement age, with a mix of genders and cultural backgrounds. The majority was of white UK/Jersey heritage, reflecting the rest of the island. It is difficult to ascertain class backgrounds, but combining my knowledge of the crowd and the questionnaire responses about employment sector, it was seemingly a relatively middle-class audience. Only two respondents claimed to speak any Jèrriais beyond a few words and phrases, and 65% claimed not to speak any Jèrriais.

The atmosphere at the launch was warm and convivial. In the focus group, I asked an admittedly somewhat leading question: "Has the album, or indeed, from the launch and that whole... since you've been there since the start of the journey... changed in any way, or deepened in anyway, your feelings about the language, your connection to the language… umm yeah how would you describe the effect of the album on you in terms of your relationship with Jèrriais?" After Ben's answer about the album (quoted later), Sasha commented:

> One thing I really enjoyed at your launch [was] there was such a lovely community feel, wasn't there, of all ages and types of people just having a cider and dancing and chatting. And I thought you know, this is really important (*slight pause*). So yeah, yeah from a community point of view, and you know the music makes it [Jèrriais] relevant, and it's keeping it relevant isn't it. (Focus group 2)

Clearly, my question was leading, and the caveats about the manufactured nature of the focus group discussed in chapter three apply, but rather than answer about the album, Sasha

[22] They initially denied permission to release 'With A Little Help from my Friends', causing a six-month delay. No reason for this was given, and indeed we have no idea who reversed the decision, why, or how, other than the fact that the reversal happened after a friend of the band, Niall Mac, got in touch with a contact at Sony, who said they would 'see what they can do'. Apparently sometimes it's just who you know, not what you know, that counts.

chose to talk about the launch, and her answer does ring true to my own experience of the positive ambience on the night, as well as several other comments. Sasha also used the cultural signifier of a traditional Jersey drink – cider – although other beverages were available, adding to the impression of a truly 'local' event. Sasha's comment about the 'community feel' among 'all ages and types of people' supports my observation below, that the event generated a sense of communitas (Turner, 1969).

The band performed a single set of around two hours, mixing songs from the new album with the previous album and a more recent song called 'Châchons! Bultons!' [*we sieve, we sift/bolt grain*] which is a zydeco-style twelve-bar blues, based on a Jèrriais traditional work song. There was a lot of audience interaction and participation, a raffle, various special guests[23], and explanations of songs, including one complete reading of the English translation of 'T'en r'Souveins-tu?'[24]

For many questionnaire respondents and focus group members, as well as audience and band members I spoke to in the days following the gig, one highlight of the event was when five members of Les Amis Choir joined us for 'With a Little Help from My Friends'. As ever, they sang with infectious enthusiasm and joy, which encouraged the whole crowd to join in, and prompted exuberant applause at the end of the song. In one touching moment, I was struggling to share my own microphone with two singers (due to our height difference), and Naomi West held up her flute with a microphone attached. Their added voices really boosted the final chorus of the song. Question number six on the questionnaire was "Could you give a short reflection on the album launch - the good, the bad, highlights, feelings...?" And one respondent simply wrote:

> Les Amis choir made my spine tingle - a beautifully joyful night

However, not everyone was euphoric. Also answering question six, one respondent said:

> Sound awful. Signage to event needs to be attended to. Couldn't hear backing vocals clearly enough to be intelligible. Translations of lyrics would be of great assistance.

[23] Guests included two of the extra musicians that appeared on the album - Vinny Donnelly and Naomi West, plus poetry by Geraint Jennings and Charlie Le Maistre, and members of Les Amis Choir.

[24] Performed by Charlie Le Maistre.

This highlights the difficult balance to strike as a band engaging with language activism: what level of emphasis do we put on the language itself, perhaps with more talking explanations or even printed translations, as opposed to just giving audiences a flowing musical experience they can enjoy at face value? Clearly, some audience members were more interested in the music and dancing (again, this is an answer to question six):

> It was good, especially the last few songs when the tables and seats were moved and people danced. It would have been better if there were no seats in front of the stage as more people would have danced earlier on.

Because of the highly reverberant, poor acoustics, I had deliberately put the chairs and tables as close as possible to the low-level stage and speakers, allowing a small space in front that I knew could be expanded. A few individuals had been intermittently dancing, mainly during the second half of the performance, but for the last few songs, more space was created, and about thirty or so audience members initially got up to dance, followed by another twenty or more for the encore.

The final two songs of the set (before the encore) were particularly suited to both dancing and audience participation, and it was in this closing phase of the gig that the strongest sense of communitas was constructed. 'Jean Gros Jean' is one of the oldest regional folk songs we play, of unknown origin, with various versions known across Normandy. Our version is up-tempo, with a Latin-influenced groove and a simple vocal chant that the crowd are encouraged to join in with.[25] A varied arrangement alternates between the chant, main melody verses and an instrumental riff in the relative minor. There is also a key change and a segue into the next song, which the crowd usually recognises as the famous bassline from the pop song 'I Like To Move It' (Reel 2 Real, 1994). The rest of the band then joins in, with an off-beat ska-style rhythm, and the vocals sing the Jèrriais equivalent: 'J'aime bein m'êmoûtchi.' There are three reasons why this song works well for us. First: it is well-known, having been a major hit for Reel 2 Real, and then subsequently used by Dreamworks animation studios throughout the hugely successful 'Madagascar' series of films. Both children and adults recognise it easily, and this familiarity is relocalised into a Jèrriais form.

[25] The words of the chant, 'Radînget, radîngo', do not mean anything in particular, they are really just a Jèrriais equivalent something like 'La la lai, la la ley'.

Second: it is an opportunity for some positive audience interaction and unisonance (Anderson, 2006) as the main vocal phrase is repeated several times, followed by a collective shout of the word 'Moûtchi!' Third: this is another example of the band's straightforward and unpretentious appeal to a sense of playfulness and fun. It is language activism via light entertainment. By connecting a pop arrangement of a traditional folk song with a relocalised dance/pop song containing a simple and catchy entry point to Jèrriais (a single word), this final section of the set is an excellent example of Badlabecques' creative practice as a band.

We had not particularly planned an encore, so when the crowd began to chant 'More! More! More!' I was slightly indecisive, but Scott Kean spontaneously started up the 'I Like To Move It' bassline again, prompting another round of the song. Just as this was ending, our keyboard player Martin Coxshall caught my attention and suggested we return to 'With a Little Help from My Friends', which in hindsight was an inspired idea. Not only was it in the same key as the final chord of our tierce de Picardie ending to 'I Like To Move It' (E major), but the message of the song perfectly summed up the whole event: friends and supporters gathering to help maintain Jèrriais and enjoy some music together. The crowd immediately joined in, and a small group of young men began linking arms, shoulder to shoulder, swaying back and forth, and singing along. The group slowly grew and eventually incorporated most of the dancers immediately in front of the stage, a mix of around a dozen people. It was a memorable moment. I looked around me on the stage, at my smiling, contented fellow musicians, and then across the entire crowd at this moment of togetherness, 'unisonance' (Anderson, 2006), and communitas (Turner, 1969), and I had to smile myself. The occasion, the people, the music, the dancing, and perhaps the cider had combined to facilitate "the echoed physical realization of the imagined community" (Anderson, 2006:145).

This moment can be further illuminated by the 'four Es' perspective from consciousness studies (as introduced in chapter two: *embodied, embedded, extended, enacted*). Clarke (2019) takes an ecological approach to musical consciousness and draws on Thompson (2001) to emphasise the role of an additional 'E' – empathy – as not only a facilitator of intersubjectivity, but as "the foundation for our grasp of our own subjectivity and consciousness" (Clarke, 2019: 72). In the context of highly absorbing embodied social/musical experiences, synchronised singing and dancing can cause "empathetic or affiliative connection" (Clarke, 2019: 76), most likely rooted in (though not reducible to) perceptual motor phenomena such as entrainment and mimesis, as well as engaging mirror

neuron systems (which is an issue I will expand upon later). Clarke describes a notion of empathy as a social achievement rather than an individual personality trait, which can be facilitated by the imagined and virtual subjectivities evoked in music. He notes:

> Music is in this way both a *medium* for empathic (or antagonistic) engagement with others, and an *environment* in which to explore and experiment with a range of more or less projected, fantasized, and genuinely discovered subject positions or social formations. (Clarke, 2019: 79, emphasis in original).

Even nine months on, focus group member Ben remembered this sense of togetherness and communion. After Sasha's comment about the 'community feel' of the gig, we had this exchange:

> Kit Maybe you can think of it [music] like it's an activity around which lots of other activities can happen, and people can come together with the music as the excuse to come together, sort of thing.
>
> Ben I totally agree with that cos you know I found myself right at the end of your gig when you invited everybody up to kinda just dance and, umm, I was like, I was linked up with a guy on my left who was from Les Amis, and then there was an Australian woman on the other side, and I just thought wow this is genuinely an amazing, inclusive community event.

Much like my previous leading question, Sasha's comment and my suggestion is clearly setting up Ben's response, but this co-constructed reflection does corroborate my memory and the video record regarding this brief but stirring experience of commonality and communitas. The liminality of this special occasion and the performativity of this intense moment holds transformative potential for the identity narratives of those present. In reimagining a contemporary form of Jersey collective subjectivity and nationhood that integrates Jèrriais as a constitutive element, this audience was embodying what DeNora describes as 'aesthetic agency' (DeNora, 2000, p. 123), via pleasurable singing and dancing, which affords the possibility of a reconstructed cultural identity. In the questionnaire, all answers about the launch (question six) were supportive, and here are some more of the most positive examples (the first one is the final paragraph of a longer answer):

> A genuine and authentic basis for a new definition of Jersey identity. Attempts to

define cultural identity can so easily become exclusive and puritanical but this felt deeply and truly inclusive with love and generosity in bags.

It was a very lovely show. I really liked that it was interactive and that the audience had a real role to play. Members of the band were friendly and funny. Jèrriais is close to my mother tongue so I understood some lyrics. It was a real moment of sharing (with the audience and the different guests) which shows that music is accessible for everybody and that's nice to observe that in Jersey.

It was absolutely brilliant. Wonderful atmosphere and great music. Made me feel exhilarated, melancholic at times, happy.

Good start building to an excellent finish. Excellent rapport with the audience and great audience participation. Chatted with several other audience members after the event and everyone was impressed with the music and the vibe. Excellent feel good factor.

Great. A real community shin dig that brought everyone together. Loved the inclusion of guests in each track and audience involvement.

As these articulate responses show, participants were not only aesthetically engaged and affectively moved, but they were explicitly linking such experiences with a shared sense of belonging and identity.

The post-launch phase

As a small-scale local album release, the post-launch phase was limited by budget and my own time and energy, so I took a fairly organic approach. The album is available on Bandcamp.com, and is advertised on our website and Facebook page. I ran a Facebook ad campaign leading up to Christmas, coinciding with a successful 'Christmas Special' gig at a local pub. Badlabecques have continued performing, including private functions and public events, performing songs from *Cocolîncheux!*, and CDs are usually on sale. The local media does not generally do music reviews, but songs from the album have been played on both local radio stations, BBC Jersey and Channel 103fm, with the latter inviting me to appear as a guest on their breakfast radio 'Very Interesting Person' feature. In a press release from the

Jersey Festival of Words (promoting the Jersey Song Project, see chapter seven), Badlabecques were described as a group that have "already done much to revitalise the Island's language through concerts and recordings", which was a phrase repeated in the main body of text (without quotation marks) in articles for the island's only daily printed newspaper (Jersey Evening Post, 2018a), and the aviation company Flybe's in-flight magazine (Flybe, 2018, p14), as well as on the festival website (Jersey Festival of Words, 2018). In another prominent article, the (Jersey Evening Post, 2018b) also described Badlabecques as being "at the forefront of the Jèrriais revival", simultaneously praising Badlabecques and performatively helping create the sense that there is indeed a 'revival' to speak of.

Reflexive summary: the ripple effect

As mentioned in the discussions of methodology in chapter three, 'impact' is a very difficult thing to prove in a revitalisation process that will take years, perhaps decades, to achieve. Quantifying the extent to which language beliefs have changed or identities evolved may be elusive, but I have presented some supportive evidence of positive engagement through the work of Badlabecques. Indeed, the fact that some of my data is so obviously partial – i.e. the self-selecting Badlabecques fans from the questionnaires and focus group – illustrates the enthusiasm that some participants feel. Very few of them are Jèrriais speakers (yet), which gives some tentative grounds for confidence in the positive potential for musical outreach in building the necessary "connection" (Avineri and Harasta, 2021) or, in other words, identification required to build metalinguistic community and increase the likelihood of audiences eventually becoming new speakers.

The very existence of *Cocolîncheux!* as an album and its relatively well publicised entrance onto the local cultural scene has, it seems, made a small but significant contribution to the ongoing journey of local language activism, like a pebble thrown into the middle of Jersey's social pond. At the centre of the ripple effect are those directly involved and connected to the album in a specific way: members of the band and the community of Jèrriais activists and speakers, as well as crowdfunders and fans of Badlabecques (in particular those who attended the launch). For these people, the album became a compelling focal point for a range of voluntary activities, support, enjoyment, and collective identification. Even if this participation in Jèrriais identity is largely symbolic and does not immediately result in committed language learning, it can still add vital energy to the

revitalisation process. For example, the band members seem to be predominantly interested in the music, so even after several years they have learned little spoken Jèrriais. Nevertheless, they are proud to support the language through their musical skills and perform their identification with Jèrriais via the music.[26] It is their way of enacting membership of that metalinguistic community. Whilst it could be argued that this is problematic – corralling people in the cul-de-sac of purely symbolic use – on the other hand, one has to start from somewhere, and we are still at the early stages of status planning for a critically endangered language, so I view this as progress which can be built upon. In this sense, both the process and the product of the album have been fruitful: the former as a way of engaging people in the creative journey and launch gig experience, re-animating the necessarily performative status of Jèrriais as a living language at the heart of local cultural life; and the latter as a musical artefact that continues to work in new ways, as the recording is listened to and talked about in various contexts. Its musical content embodies the band's ethos via its 'relocalising' aesthetic, which has been so warmly appreciated and embraced by our fans and those in this 'inner' zone of the ripple effect.

From a broader perspective the energy of the ripple effect may be more moderate but perhaps no less significant given its breadth across Jersey society, and the acute need to shift language beliefs and cultural identity along the scale towards revitalisation at a community level. In the discourse of centre-periphery dynamics, positive appearances in local media bring Jèrriais into a greater level of mainstream awareness and respect, presenting the language at the heart of residents' daily experience: perhaps the newspaper or digital device in their hand or the radio on in the kitchen as they cook dinner. There is no obvious causality here but rather an organic nourishing of local aesthetic agency, helping the green shoots of a new Jèrriais identity take root. Again, this all contributes to the enrichment and extension of metalinguistic community. Once released, particularly in the digital sphere, the music and its influence can to some extent take on a life of its own, travelling far and wide and potentially generating musical identity experiences in unpredictable, private, and intimate ways, e.g., a car stereo, a jogger's playlist, or a dinner party. Such dissemination constitutes new forms of ethnolinguistic infusion (Avineri and Harasta, 2021).

[26] This became clearer to me via an interview with Scott Kean (bass) and Johnny Pearse (drums), conducted by Henry Johnson (Pearse and Kean, 2018).

Earlier, I mentioned my focus group question that ended with, "how would you describe the effect of the album on you in terms of your relationship with Jèrriais?" Ben answered first, with this personal story:

> I think for me, because it's, well... it's been part of a really nice bonding experience for me cos, um, so I was taking my daughter to school every day, but she'd only just started school, so it was just the two of us in the car, and she would ask me to put the album on, and so we'd listen to it and you know we'd actually talk about it... and she'd tell me which were her favourite songs, you know and I would try and explain to her what some of the words mean, and sometimes we'd sort of sing along together and stuff like that so... yeah for me that was a really lovely experience. So yeah, I really enjoyed the album for that reason. So that was... that was great.

The facilitation of this kind of intergenerational 'bonding experience' with Jèrriais music as a constitutive element is an encouraging sign. Language use in the parent/child relationship, the crucible of identity formation, is a major target for revitalisation. Ben gives us a glimpse of music's potential to support this via the creation of meaningful, aesthetically energised social experiences within the family.

Word of mouth is also a factor in the ripple effect, though clearly this is unquantifiable beyond the few comments I have gleaned from social media. In a related sense, all those connected to the album process less directly – from the customs officers to the launch venue staff – also form part of the 'wider ripple'. They may or may not find the music itself engaging but might find themselves being supportive of Jèrriais simply by being given an opportunity to help in a practical way. Such moments of engagement may performatively develop fruitful connections or at least sow seeds for the future.

In 2018, an independent strategic review of Jersey culture, arts, and heritage was conducted by BOP consulting for the government of Jersey. It included a section on Badlabecques as an example of 'Jersey best practice'. The report recommends continued support for Jèrriais and recognises the band's significant role, saying:

> As part of wider community engagement other key players such as Badlabecques and the Eisteddfod have important parts to play but there is also a need for the Island as a whole to embrace the language as a sign of Jersey's distinctiveness in the modern

> world, ensuring that the language has visibility to the public at large. (BOP Consulting, 2018, p. 29)

Being recognised as a 'key player' is not just a testament to our hard work and creativity as a band but is indicative of the wider metalinguistic community that has supported us, and Jèrriais, on the journey so far.

Several comparisons could be made here with similar groups working with other endangered and minority languages in our neighbouring geographical regions, particularly Norman in Normandy and the six main Celtic languages. Closest to home would undoubtedly be Magène in Normandy. Magène is both an 'association' and a performing band or 'groupe de scène' that began compiling, writing, and singing in Norman in 1989, and are still active today:

> Il faut noter l'influence de la musique au développement du normand, il s'agit de la Magène. C'est une association fondée en 1989, ayant entrepris de créer un nouveau répertoire de chansons en normand, ceci dans le but de sauvegarder et de faire vivre la langue.
> [*One must take note of the influence of music on the development of Norman, thanks to Magène. This is an association founded in 1989, in order to create a new repertoire of songs in Norman, with the goal of safeguarding and bringing the language to life.*]
> (Уруська, 2020, p. 158)

Thus, Magène exists for similar reasons to Badlabecques. Indeed, Badlabecques have shared a stage with Magène (the band) on a few occasions in Normandy, and our first album, *Heque Badlabecques!,* even had versions of two Jèrriais songs they had previously recorded (one setting of a Jèrriais poem by Dr. Frank Le Maistre, and one song co-written by Geraint Jennings and primary Magène songwriter, Daniel Bourdelès). Jèrriais is, of course, a form of Norman, certainly closer to mainland Norman than French, though with clear differences, not least in pronunciation and a number of words borrowed or adapted from English. Like Jèrriais, the Norman of Normandy is also under threat, though with around 20-30,000 speakers (Magène, n.d.), out of a population of approximately 3,150,000. Over the years, Màgene has contributed to the status of Norman in a similar way to that which Badlabeques strives for with Jèrriais, though there are some apparent differences.

First of all, the Norman community in Normandy has undergone a different experience of linguistic imperialism with standard French compared with the Jèrriais community and English. Undoubtedly, coloniality was a significant driver in both contexts (see: Weber, 1974), but the power differential and economic forces involved, as well as the population size and greater linguistic difference between the respective languages has, I would argue, meant that the pressure on Jèrriais has been more pronounced. Over time, Magène has also steadily built up a greater range of resources (CDs, books, downloads, and an extensive website with over 500 pages related to Norman), which Badlabecques has not been able to do. As an association, Magène also has a form of community built into its ethos, and by extension metalinguistic community beyond that. But perhaps the most significant differences between the two bands themselves are in the musical aesthetics, with a slightly different creative approach, and the potential consequences of this divergence. Both bands employ sonic signifiers of 'folk', particularly the accordion, acoustic guitar, and relatively predictable harmony, and Magène's style also certainly draws on popular music, though perhaps more in the tradition of French Chanson/Nouvelle Chanson. But Badlabecques' sound is typically much more eclectic, dynamic, and energetic, with more of an emphasis on rhythm and groove, as opposed to the generally more elegant and genteel performances of Magène. Badlabecques' songs are, overall, less wordy, and the production style of recordings is more contemporary. The significance of all this is largely to be found, I would argue, in the difference between 'safeguarding', i.e., maintaining a language, and revitalisation. Badlabecques' aesthetic is more outwardly oriented, more suitable for outreach to new and especially younger audiences in a context where revitalisation is clearly urgent, whereas Magène's sound and erudite lyrical richness are perhaps more oriented towards an already-existing metalinguistic community seeking to sustain itself. However, there has been a challenge to recruit young people in Normandy, as the following comment from Daniel Bourdelès in 2011 shows:

> Avec la chanson, on maintient le souvenir du normand et d'une culture liée. Peut-on dire qu'on sauve la langue ? Je suis perplexe car il y a peu de jeunes dans nos diverses associations de sauvegarde. Mais, au moins, on contribue à retarder un peu l'échéance!

> [*With songs, we maintain the memory of Norman and its related culture. Can we say that we are saving the language? I am perplexed because there are few young people in our various safeguarding associations. But, at least, we are helping to delay the deadline a little!*]
> (Bourdelès, interview with Joly, 2011)

No doubt there are lessons that both Norman and Jèrriais cousins could share with each other, and there is a good degree of mutual support there already, which could certainly be built upon. But the resonances between these two contexts are clear: music has played an important role in status planning and building metalinguistic community for both languages and music groups respectively, thus highlighting the ongoing potential for future work and collaboration.

Across the water in Cornwall, where Kernewek has been awakened from a definitively 'sleeping' state, similar groups to Badlabecques have also contributed to language status. Moreover, one element of the motivation for this appears to be a process of resisting English coloniality and reasserting Cornish identity. For example, Harasta has written about how the participants of the Kan Rag Kernow [*Song For Cornwall*] festival contend for the prize of representing Cornwall at the Pan Celtic new song competition in Ireland and in doing so, aid the Kernewek revival:

> Each victory, and in fact each song, is a new opportunity for ethnolinguistic infusion, a new chance to teach another phrase or break down preconceptions, in the process of building metalinguistic connections between people, language, and ethnic identity. (Forthcoming)

Interestingly, Harasta's ethnographic research showed that few of the musicians involved, including the songwriters, are proficient in Kernewek. Many rely on a formal network of translators, coordinated by the state-funded Cornish Language Partnership (much like my own reliance on Geraint Jennings' input for most of my songwriting with Badlabecques, until recently). Such activity "demonstrates a conscious use of language by non-fluent speakers to build identity and community among Cornish people and to promote the recognition of Cornwall's distinctiveness outside of the region" (Harasta, Forthcoming). One case study, folk-rock band The Rowan Tree, actually went on to achieve joint first place in the overall Pan

Celtic competition, followed by winning the Liet International competition outright, despite not being Kernewek speakers. As with Badlabecques' own musical ethnolinguistic infusion, status planning is a central objective of this activity:

> While ethnolinguistic infusion often has a pedagogical character, its primary goal is not to teach the language, per se, but instead to instil affiliation with the group and its values, to value the language and, through it, one's affiliation to the group. (Harasta, Forthcoming)

The Rowan Tree's aesthetic relocalises contemporary forms of folk and rock, incorporating Kernewek into their deliberately Cornish sound. As the band put it themselves, they are "pushing the boundaries of traditional folk music to create a new sound, rooted in the musical heritage of Cornwall" (The Rowan Tree, n.d.).[27] An important difference with Badlabecques would be that there is a specific musical heritage to draw from in Cornwall, which is itself a relocalisation of broadly Celtic instruments and styles; whereas Badlabecques' core sound relies on borrowing from more generic folk and pop genre references and other more eclectic influences, because Jersey has no unique tradition of its own. But as with Magène, the connections here are notable: not only is music playing a role in status planning and the enactment of metalinguistic community, but such work is a consciously performative political move, marking out Cornish difference from an imposed Englishness. A song competition such as Kan Rag Kernow offers a creative opportunity for meaningful, social, embodied experiences of the imbrication of music, language, and identity, which, as Harasta observes, "creates excitement and a gateway to bring others into the language" (Harasta, Forthcoming). Badlabecques' music, and in particular our live performances like the *Cocolîncheux!* album launch with its transient moments of conviviality and communitas, reveals similar compelling possibilities.

Obviously, there are many more comparisons I could make with groups across the world doing similar kinds of musical language activism to Badlabecques, not least in the other Celtic nations beyond Cornwall. Indeed, I will discuss the Isle of Man in more depth in chapter eight. But these two examples resonate particularly well and show how similar processes are

[27] Indeed, recent work has included collaborations with Indian musicians on an ambitious intercultural project *Kolar's Gold* (Cornwall Heritage Trust, 2020).

at work at the music/language/identity nexus, with ongoing potential for further exploration and development.

In summary, by various means, the *Cocolîncheux!* album, and the band's practice in general, has aided the ongoing task of positioning Jèrriais as a distinctive, contemporary, and potentially attractive living aspect of Jersey culture, in other words advancing its status and enhancing the metalinguistic community. The publicity also had the beneficial side-effect of boosting my own social profile and position as a researcher and local cultural actor, which certainly aided my other research projects. But despite this optimistic outlook, the album's success as an applied ethnomusicology project must be kept in perspective with its inevitable limitations, as well as the sheer scale of the challenge to revitalise Jèrriais from its current state. Sallabank acknowledges that 'language-as-performance', including song, has value for activists, but with a caveat that post-vernacular symbolic use alone is insufficient for revitalisation, at least of the vernacular kind desired by activists in Jersey (Sallabank 2013: 87). In Jersey's current post-vernacular environment, even the most compelling moments of communitas, inspiration, and identification are not guaranteed to lead to abiding commitment and engagement with Jèrriais. Neither does the apparent popularity of the band directly correlate with the long-term upward trajectory of the status of Jèrriais itself, as positive as the ethnographic data may be. Indeed, it could be that by having a convenient way of expressing identification with Jèrriais metalinguistic community, some supporters may feel they have 'done their part' and go no further. Token gestures can be performative in a self-limiting way. I will return to these challenges in later chapters.

On reflection, the album's impact could also perhaps have been improved in a number of small strategic ways. For example, a Jèrriais cover of a more recent pop hit would have been a wise addition to the album. In terms of marketing, more could have been done with a bigger budget and additional time invested in seeking out local expertise in this area. The band could have performed more public gigs in the months following the launch rather than accepting mainly private bookings. We also could have spent longer writing, rehearsing, and gigging the material before coming to record it, leading to a more refined musical result. Notwithstanding the above and the many more ways I could have managed specific details better, ultimately, as an applied research project, the album has provided a wealth of ethnographic material to reflect upon, making a positive contribution towards supporting my central thesis. It seems to have boosted the status of Jèrriais, facilitating positive musical and

social experiences of ethnolinguistic identity and metalinguistic community that can continue to grow. As Slobin observes, “music can act as the stone around which the snowball effect of revitalization can cohere so it can gain momentum” (Slobin, 2014, p. 670).

5.

Mission: Save Jèrriais!
Musical language activism with children

The Greenhouse

Another sweltering hot July day at Rouge Bouillon school has made the classroom feel like a muggy greenhouse, with its wide external windows on two sides and an internal glass panel looking onto the small class next door. Music teacher Miss Stievenard tells me they were waiting to hear whether the school would actually be closed today due to the extraordinary heatwave, but in fact, the children were just told to come in wearing their PE kits instead of their standard uniform and to take extra precautions like wearing sunscreen and carrying a water bottle. A fan whirs in the corner, gallantly battling the close, heavy air, and interfering somewhat with my audio recorder. Despite the heat, these year five children are, if anything, more excited and animated by the exceptional weather rather than being subdued or afflicted by it. They are hot but not bothered. The brightness of the sunshine bounces around the music room, off the multicoloured rows of ukuleles and boomwhackers, and seems reflected into an energetic mood – refracted even – into a colourful array of chatter, fidgeting, teasing, humming, and even dancing as the children enter the space and take their places sitting randomly on the blue carpet in front of me.

I'm at the front, sitting on a child-sized primary school chair, warm guitar on my lap and my own water bottle within reach. The room is fairly large, but they bunch so close to me that Miss Stievenard asks them to move back and give me some space. Today is our fifth and final session (sixth if you count the assembly in which they performed the Jèrriais song they've learned to the rest of the school), and by the end of this lesson I'll be signing autographs and receiving hugs and high-fives. Over the past few months, we've been on a journey together, which peaked at that performance, and draws to a close today as I give them all a unique certificate and we sing together in Jèrriais one last time. My moist palms leave brief impressions on the wooden body of my guitar. But they quickly evaporate, and I'm hoping that the positive impressions I have made upon these children - in particular, any thoughts and affections for Jèrriais - don't disappear as rapidly. A few members of this class did volunteer to join a choir to perform the same song to a public audience in May, and one has even begun attending Jèrriais lessons at an after-school club, so that is positive.

> But in spite of this, and despite the obvious attachments formed between us, I do wonder what lasting effects this project may have on these children. The classroom may feel like a greenhouse today, but how many of the tiny blooms that I have tended over recent months will really take root beyond the temporary hot-house nursery of this deliberately constructed PhD project? How will they fare in the wild, through the ever-changing seasons of childhood?

Two connected and consecutive applied research projects working with local children were the main focus of my research in early 2018. Both projects centred around one particular song: 'Beautiful Jersey / Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri' (herein just 'Beautiful Jersey'). This chapter describes and reflects on the first project, which became known as The Beautiful Jersey Project. The project involved teaching the song to around 280 primary school children, who then performed it to their peers in an assembly, and received a certificate for their efforts. The Liberation Day Project followed on directly from the schools work and is described in chapter six.

The following account draws on my own ethnographic fieldnotes and observations, complemented by audio recordings of school sessions and email exchanges with school staff, L'Office du Jèrriais, and the Jersey Music Service (JMS). The JMS is part of the States of Jersey Education Department, providing a wide range of music services and support to local schools. I worked closely with them throughout both this project and the Liberation Day Project.

I begin this chapter with some further detail and discussion of research with children and summarise my approach to evaluating this work. This is followed by a brief description of the song 'Beautiful Jersey' (further details are provided in chapter six), and a consideration of the video resource I developed. I then examine the work in schools, exploring issues of local language beliefs and the process of identification with Jèrriais via three overlapping but progressive stages: from 'encounter', via 'process', to 'connection'. I draw on a range of research beyond music studies, including language pedagogy, media studies, and consciousness studies, to reflect on the ethnographic experience and show how the children collectively engaged with the project, the song, and the language. I argue that the project did indeed have an overall positive effect on the subjective identity narratives of many of the children, raising the status of Jèrriais and aiding meaningful identification to some extent. Finally, my reflexive summary reports on catching up with some of the children more than a year later, which reaffirmed my sense that the project's apparent success with regard to

status planning must be put into context with its limitations in terms of achieving ongoing collective engagement with Jèrriais in everyday life.

Working with children: practical and ethical matters

As described in chapter three, there is a considerable body of literature relating to the practical, philosophical, and ethical challenges of research with children. This includes some relevant literature from music studies relating to research with children, and I draw on this below in relation to several issues, namely: music and children's identities, ritual performances at school assemblies, music and immigrant children, and habitus. As discussed, there are many aspects to good and effective research with children, taking into account positionality and power dynamics, emotional and socio-cultural concerns, and the unique epistemological outlook of children.

With so many children involved in the project, it was impractical to get them to choose their own pseudonyms. So I chose pseudonyms for all named children and, following the example of Lahman *et al*., "names that represent given names were carefully chosen to represent the possible ethnic expression of the child's given name" (2015, p. 8). This also applies to chapter six.

As I have established, respecting and representing their individuality as well as the complexity of their multifaceted identity experiences has led me to take an empathetic interpretive phenomenological approach to my ethnographic data. Thus, I attempt to incorporate an attentiveness to body language, speech content, tone, context and the intersubjective nature of co-created experiences. Evaluation has therefore involved an analysis of these interpretations, striving to understand what the children's responses might mean in terms of language beliefs and identification with Jèrriais. For instance, there are both musical and non-musical examples of high levels of enthusiasm, commitment, and engagement with the project, which indicated a positive connection to the language, in combination with explicit verbal support for Jèrriais.

In terms of power dynamics, this project could be understood as a 'state-mandated' (i.e., schools-based) form of deliberate enculturation and socialisation of local children towards having a sense of Jersey identity that integrates Jèrriais as a significant aspect. Consequently, I felt considerable responsibility to work with sensitivity and care when engaging with participants of such a tender age, and also to do likewise in my written

representations. Given the history of coloniality and linguistic imperialism in Jersey schools and their current complete anglicisation, I felt this project was a small and transient but not insignificant opportunity to move towards the rehabilitation of this power dynamic. A similar sense of significance and responsibility applied to serving as an advocate for the Jèrriais community in these contexts. I felt this most keenly in my handling of the specific linguistic and musical heritage that formed the centrepiece of this project: the song 'Beautiful Jersey'.

The Beautiful Jersey Project: designing a project around the song

> Man bieau p'tit Jèrri, la reine des îles -
> Lieu dé ma naissance, tu m'pâsse bein près du tchoeu;
> Ô, tchi doux souv'nîn du bouôn temps qu'j'ai ieu
> Quand j'pense à Jèrri, la reine des îles!
>
> [*My beautiful little Jersey, the queen of the islands –*
> *Place of my birth, you are very close to my heart;*
> *Oh what sweet memories of good times I've had*
> *When I think of Jersey, the queen of the islands*]
> (Lennox/Le Maistre, dates uncertain)

These sentimental and patriotic words come from Jersey's most well-known and culturally significant bilingual English/Jèrriais song, 'Beautiful Jersey'. I will trace a detailed history of the song and its evolving status within the local cultural context in chapter six, but the critical fact to establish for this chapter is that during the past few decades, the song has become very well established as a kind of national anthem for Jersey. It is regularly used to represent the island at international sporting events, and other formal occasions, particularly Liberation Day. It is well-known and loved especially by older generations and those with longstanding roots in the island.

Given its cultural significance, I wanted to develop an applied research project around the song, which would ideally lead towards a performance on Liberation Day. I came up with the concept of teaching the song to as many schoolchildren as possible, intending to subsequently form a choir to take part in the formal ceremony on Liberation Day. However, during my conversations with the Liberation Day organisers, it became clear that I would be

more likely to get the 'green light' if my choir were to perform as part of the informal afternoon entertainment rather than the formal ceremony (perhaps they felt there was an element of risk, or they did not want to turn away the regular choir). I will return to the details of that day in chapter six, but having agreed on the basic format of the final performance, I then went about the task of taking the song into local primary schools in the hope of teaching the song, gathering ethnographic material, and finding a choir along the way. Throughout this project and the Liberation Day Project, I worked closely with Gina McLinton and Joanne Bond from the Jersey Music Service. We delivered either three or four consecutive music lessons (of forty-five minutes to an hour) over several weeks, across ten different classes in six primary schools. This involved approximately 280 children in years 4-6 (aged between eight and eleven). I led the classes, with Gina and Joanne in a supporting role, usually with the class teacher (and sometimes assistants) present and participating in some way.

Creative video production

Knowing that learning lyrics in a mostly unfamiliar language could be fairly challenging, especially given the long and meandering melody of the song (see appendix), I decided to design a creative teaching resource in the form of two teaching videos, which I filmed and edited. The rationale was that they would hopefully help keep students engaged and entertained, stimulate learning, and provide something for them to practice along with either in class when I was not present or at home (via YouTube). They have also remained as a teaching resource which is now regularly used by Jèrriais teachers (see Multimedia 5). Citing Berk (2009), Jones and Cuthrell (2011) underline the usefulness of video in classroom learning:

> The brain's left hemisphere processes language thereby enabling learners to process dialogue, lyrics, and plots. The right side of the brain is used to process nonverbal input such as visual images, color, sound effects, and melodies. Video also taps into the human brain's core intelligences which are verbal/linguistic, visual/spatial, and musical/rhythmic. These intelligences encompass all of the ways that the human brain learns. (Jones and Cuthrell, 2011:77)

The videos were made over the course of a few days in February 2018, using my own basic equipment (two cameras and an audio recorder). I titled them 'Mission: Save Jèrriais!', and they feature a puppet of a toad (kindly lent to me by Geraint Jennings), who talks and sings, exhorting viewers to help in the mission to save Jèrriais by learning the song 'Beautiful Jersey'. The Jersey Toad (a unique species of *Bufo spinosus)* has long been an emblem of the island, and Jersey people have historically been referred to as 'crapauds' [*toads*] across the Channel Islands. In the first video, the toad introduces herself, Agent Cliémentinne[28], from a secret James Bond/MI6-style organisation called the Special Toad Service (sonically indexed by a 'spy guitar' theme), filmed at a Jersey manor house[29] in a room reminiscent of the vintage wood-panelled grandeur of the fictional office of James Bond's boss, 'M'. Agent Cliémentinne gives a brief overview of Jèrriais, the mission, who I am (as the lead singer of Badlabecques, whom she has instructed to help with the mission), and the significance of the song 'Beautiful Jersey'. This last section in particular could be described as a contribution to cultural memory construction via 'institutional communication' (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995:129), particularly in terms of the link to the Occupation and Liberation Day.

In video two, I teach the song to Agent Cliémentinne, slowly at first, and then at full tempo[30]. Given the 1940s theme of the Liberation Day entertainment event, I wanted to write a musical arrangement that would fulfil this criterion but also be appealing to primary school children. Consequently, the arrangement of the full tempo version of the song was influenced by upbeat and comic music hall/1940s popular song, along the lines of George Formby. It features voice, guitar, accordion, bass, drums, and a later remix includes a banjolele (used for the Liberation Day choir). My arrangement was also considerably faster than the traditional version that is typically performed on Liberation Day (described in chapter six). It maintains a 4/4 meter with a clear backbeat, rather than moving to 6/8 for the chorus, slightly changing the phrasing of the melody to fit more naturally with the 4/4 meter. The overall effect brings the sound closer to a more familiar contemporary children's song, with a cheerful momentum, whilst also sonically signalling the time period of WWII.

[28] The spoken voice of Agent Cliémentinne was provided by Lily-Mae Fry, and Louisa Coxshall performed both the singing voice and the puppeteering. See: Multimedia 5. This video can be viewed at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x-R9OSqO1Jo

[29] The use of the room was kindly given by the owner, Helen Hamilton.

[30] See: Multimedia 6. This video can be viewed at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nxgDb8bOf94

As mentioned in chapter four, playfulness and humour provide a valuable creative dimension to the sociosemiotic work (Dlaske, 2016, p. 94), positive affect, and congenial social interaction needed for active status planning. Make-believe and drama engage imaginations and bridge the divide between a learner's native language and the target language (Sağlamel and Kayaoğlu, 2013), subverting stereotypes and anxieties around language use via a creative 'third place' (Hughes, 2014, p. 168). The power of humour, drama, and entertainment was certainly evident when we began the schools work because it turned out that Agent Cliémentinne was a big hit, with children often asking for more videos or inquiring whether she could come into school to see them. The role of a popular character like Agent Cliémentinne made the repetition of the song across the lessons more fun and engaging. Regarding make-believe, I used an 'opacity mask' to make it appear as if Agent Cliémentinne was simply sitting on a stool with no one operating her as a puppet. This caused some debate, particularly among year 4 children as to whether this proved she was "real" or whether it was somehow edited, with many showing a genuine desire to suspend disbelief. I think they drew their own conclusions from my evasive joking responses, but either way, Agent Cliémentinne's popularity remained.

First impressions in the schools

Of the twenty-two state-funded primary schools in Jersey, six responded positively to our invitation[31]. By chance, they were geographically spread across the island in a fairly ideal way, with one in the east (St. Martin), one north-east (Trinity), one north (St. John), one west (St. Peter), and two fairly central/south, in the main town of St. Helier (Rouge Bouillon and D'Auvergne). The general demographics I might have expected across the island, in terms of social class and linguistic background, largely held true, with interesting results. For example, those in the 'country parishes' including Trinity, St. John, and St. Peter, were more likely to have heard of Jèrriais (i.e., those living away from most urban areas and social housing, in other words, generally more middle-class children). But they were less likely to speak any languages other than English. Schools in more urban/working-class areas, i.e., St. Helier, or in

[31] Gina and Joanne felt we should focus on state-funded schools as they were the ones with the strongest relationships with the Jersey Music Service, and in any case the private and fee-paying schools are generally better resourced, so they wanted to offer this unique project to children who perhaps had fewer opportunities.

the case of St. Martin, away from town but with a social housing contingent, had fewer children aware of Jèrriais, but much higher proportions of children with a second language, or indeed a first language that was not English. Consequently, these children may be less likely to have long-standing roots in the island, but their language skills gave them an advantage.

Around fifty per cent of Jersey's current population are immigrants of one form or another, of which a large number provide an under-paid workforce[32] for the industries of agriculture, hospitality, and services such as cleaning. The latest census figures from 2011 show that around seven per cent of the population are Portuguese, and up to six per cent are Polish (States of Jersey, 2021b). As a result of these different demographics, Jèrriais was more alien and perhaps initially more challenging to promote to children in urban schools, but amongst those who had never heard of Jèrriais, these same students had fewer problems with actually learning the language and producing good pronunciation. Portuguese-background students, in particular, were adept at guessing the meaning of words, given the common Latin elements.

Irrespective of the demographics, one thing was consistent: everyone loved Agent Cliémentinne and engaged very positively with the videos from the first lesson onwards. The idea of being on a 'mission' seemed to catch their imaginations well, and each lesson came with desperate pleas for a new video (so much so that we ended up making a third video in which Agent Cliémentinne thanks them for their efforts). After watching video two for the first time, a class at Rouge Bouillon reacted clearly:

Kit	So, what do we make of that? It's quite a long song with a lot to learn and remember…
Afonso	It sounds nice. I like the song.
Kit	It sounds nice? That's good. Do you prefer the slow version or the fast version?
Various	Fast! Fast version!

[32] At £10.96 per hour Jersey's 'Living Wage' is comparable to London, though minimum wage is only £8.32 per hour (see: Jersey Evening Post, 2021).

Afonso The fast version sounds nice.

In fact, all classes much preferred this faster version and immediately responded to its jaunty rhythm by moving their bodies, nodding, tapping feet, humming or singing along, and - when standing up - 'flossing' (a dance move made famous by the video game 'Fortnite'). These physical responses, along with smiling, laughing, applauding the videos, or even just actively watching the videos in a focused way ensured me that we had made a good start. After the first session at St. John's school, my audio recorder captured the following unprompted exchange with the class teacher, Mrs. O'Brien:

Mrs. O'Brien I loved the way you had the video and interacted with the children and didn't just go straight into the song. 'Cos I think if you just went into the song they'd go 'ohhhh', but you'd given the history and the 'why' and the questions... That was really wonderful. Really good, really good. Really good stuff.

Kit Oh, that's really appreciated. I'm glad it works.

Mrs. O'Brien The video is brilliant. It's just for that age group, yeah very good, very good.

Engaging with identity and language beliefs in the classroom: encounter, process, connection

During these classroom sessions, children appeared to engage with Jèrriais in three progressive stages relating to cultural identity and language beliefs. These can be defined as: 1) moments of encounter, characterised by a sense of difference, meeting with a form of 'Other'; 2) moments of process, a more liminal state where feelings and beliefs are in a form of flux or creative 'sense-making'; and 3) moments of connection, where there is some evidence of newly forged positive attachment, a form of identification with Jèrriais. It is also worth reiterating here that the word 'connection' is the key term used by Avineri and Harasta in their definition of metalinguistic community:

> *Metalinguistic communities* are imagined communities (Anderson, 2006) cultivated by individuals and groups who experience a connection to a language, whether or not they have proficiency in it. (2021, p. 8)

My key objectives for the first sessions with each class were to establish rapport and begin a dialogue of getting to know each other, as well as to introduce the project and begin

to learn the song itself. I was conscious that my main goal was in the mode of 'status planning' rather than 'acquisition planning'. The first step towards learning Jèrriais is to learn *about* Jerriais and think and feel positively about that. From there, identification can grow. So I was more concerned with making sure that the children had a positive *experience* of Jèrriais, ideally building some kind of attachment to the language, or at least a favourable association; and less concerned with them getting a perfect accent and making them remember the meaning of every word (though they actually did well with this). I wanted it to be fun and engaging and tried to structure all the lessons to achieve a balance of working with their attention spans and energy levels as well as learning from them as participants.

As mentioned in chapter three, I began each lesson by singing them a pop song. After this, I introduced the first video, followed by some semi-structured discussion in a focus group style. My main questions at this point were about their thoughts on Jèrriais (and whether they had even heard of it), whether they speak any languages other than English[33], and what music they enjoy[34]. Every class was responsive and positive, but this first session was very much an encounter, both in terms of the newness of our relationship and also in the foreignness of Jèrriais for most children.

After video one, I asked students what they thought of the idea that Jersey has its own language. Particularly for children with no awareness of Jèrriais, I could sense the strangeness of that prospect in their quizzical faces and pensive initial silences. But once one child had responded, others tended to follow more confidently. While they generally thought it was good that Jersey has a language, comments suggested they often found it "quite

[33] Most commonly spoken languages after Portuguese were Polish, Romanian, and Italian, but there were also speakers of Spanish, German, French, Gaelic, Hungarian, Russian, Turkish, Swedish, Welsh, Greek, Shona and Afrikaans. Children were also keen to tell me about languages they were learning (French, Spanish, Mandarin, Thai and even Latin), as well as accents they can apparently do well (Scottish, Australian, New Zealand, and Canadian). This openness and multiculturalism were issues I referred to quite regularly in our discussions.

[34] In terms of discussing their musical backgrounds I was wary of peer dynamics but found this to be a good 'getting to know you' exercise. The children talked most readily about the music they enjoy listening to (or at least that they were happy for their classmates to know/believe they listen to), though some mentioned actually making music. Whilst in general they mostly identified with recent popular music (Ed Sheeran, Ariana Grande, and Shawn Mendes, as well as hiphop/rap artists like Stormzy, Eminem, and Drake were most popular), they also showed a broader palette, mentioning cinematic theme music (Pirates of the Caribbean, Star Wars) and other orchestral music (Mozart, Beethoven, and "French horn tracks"), a fair amount of rock music (Guns'n'Roses, Oasis), some electro (Martin Garrix, Mr. Nitro), and – somewhat concerningly – controversial YouTubers Jake Paul and Jeffy (see below for some further discussion on the relevance of YouTube). Latin pop artists Luis Fonsi and Camila Cabello were also mentioned several times, mostly by Portuguese students.

surprising" and "a bit fascinating". Joshua, at Rouge Bouillon, said it was "really weird", and Sophie, at D'Auvergne, responded: "It's a bit weird because knowing that Jersey has another language and that no one speaks it you would never think that there was another language, you would just think it's English". Later, several members of that same class let out an audible "Woah!" when the lyrics to 'Beautiful Jersey' first appeared on the interactive whiteboard, and after hearing the song for the first time Alice, at St. John's, said "Wow" and looked stunned. This feeling of otherness and disconnection also seemed to be present in schools where more children had heard of Jèrriais; for example at St. Peter, some children thought it sounded like "gibberish" and found it hard to believe Jersey has its own language. Even the class that was most familiar with Jèrriais, year six at Trinity, struggled at first to read and pronounce the words of the song. This is despite the fact that they had all heard of Jèrriais, and many of them had even won a prize for performing a Jèrriais poem in a local contest (the Jersey Eisteddfod). Jèrriais was still peripheral to their lives.

Occasionally, certain questions or statements suggested a sense of 'processing', in terms of their understanding of and orientation towards Jèrriais. During the first session at D'Auvergne, I asked the class what they thought about the idea that Jèrriais was used as a secret code during World War Two:

Danny	Sick. [meaning very good]
Peter	Um... My mind is melting.
Kit	Your mind is melting? Wow.
Peter	And then it's gonna explode!
Kit	[laughs] It's a bit of a mind-blowing fact is it? Yeah. Pretty cool though that they used it like that.
Anna	Uh huh.
Danny	[whispering] I think it's sick!

In my second session at St. Martin's, after Oscar reminded the class of the need to save Jèrriais, I asked them, "why do we need to save it?" Ryan was the first to make a possible connection with cultural identity:

> Because lots of other countries, like Italy, they have Italian, and like... all sorts of countries they have a language to represent their self. And Jersey should have one too.

Isabelle then tentatively followed on: "And maybe so it's like, kind of... so more people around the world know about Jersey".

Later in the same class, Ethan told me: "One of my older cousins said Jèrriais is for the posh people." This is a significant comment, given the historical suppression of Jèrriais as a 'peasants language'. Bearing in mind that the catchment area for D'Auvergne school covers a significant percentage of working-class, urban neighbourhoods and social housing in St. Helier, I interpret Ethan as follows. Perhaps Jèrriais has begun to be associated with heritage activities and organisations that tend to draw a largely middle-class audience, and Ethan's cousin, who is reasonably likely to be working-class, felt removed from that. But the fact that Ethan had talked about Jèrriais to his cousin shows he was thinking about it outside of school, and he seemed to raise it open-mindedly. I immediately asked the class if they thought Jèrriais was 'for the posh people' and he appeared happy enough with their collective answer: "No no no no no... it's for everyone."

There was also an element of uncertainty, or even concern, in coming to terms with Jèrriais as a language of Jersey identity. Another D'Auvergne student, Adam, seemed to suggest that if Jèrriais had been better preserved, the island "wouldn't be English" today:

> [inaudible] Um, a long time ago, if everyone like told actually everyone, then Jersey wouldn't be English, [*it'd be?*] Jèrriais.

The question of language use and identity, and even a possible anxiety over the replacement of English came up a few times amongst some of the monolingual students. Perhaps because of being monolingual, they found it difficult to conceive of Jèrriais being a language of Jersey *alongside* English. Having so many bilingual peers in the room was helpful in these moments as living examples of languages co-existing.

In my first session at Rouge Bouillon, Abigail, a softly-spoken petite year five girl, asked me from the back of the class: "Will it actually ha- er... will be lost forever if we can't talk Jèrriais?" Her use of 'we' there suggests perhaps the beginnings of identification with the language. And then, in a later session with the same class, I asked them: "So how are we

feeling about this mission?" Most students responded with the word "Good", but Abigail was concerned:

[Speech in the right-hand column is simultaneous]:

Abigail	I'm scared.		
Kit	Scared. Oh what you scared of?		
Pedro	Er 'cos there might be loads of... er it might... it can be dangerous.		
Kit	Ooh it could be dangerous?	Abigail	I'm scared... I'm...
Charlie	If someone wants to take over the language.		
Kit	That's an interesting question. Someone wants to take over the language? What do you think about that, what does that mean?	Abigail	[inaudible] I'm...
Pedro	Er, maybe they want to keep the language and maybe they like want to make their own Jèrriais. So they want to like... take the language away from us.	Kit	Ooh.
Kit	That's an interesting thought. Um well it's up to us if we want to learn it and make it our own.		
Abigail	I'm scared in case it gets lost.		
Kit	Yeah, well that's a very reasonable thing to be concerned about. It could all disappear unless we keep it alive.		

Listening back to that recording I am glad Abigail finally managed to make her point despite the boys jumping in; and her concern for Jèrriais is a potential indication of her attachment to the language. But the boys' idea about someone 'taking over the language' is interesting too, perhaps as a form of creative 'sense-making'. As an example of the 'double-hermeneutic'

discussed in chapter three, my interpretation of what they are processing or making sense of here is that they seem to be grappling with a notion of ownership of the language, imagining a kind of conflict with unknown other parties as an attempt to process their own uncertainty. I wondered if they were partly questioning their right to take up the language and call it their own, which is why I tried to reassure them.

Musical connection: singing together in Jèrriais, eventually

There were three main ways in which music served as a mechanism to facilitate the journey from encounter to connection: my opening songs set an atmosphere, two musical clapping games helped break up the lessons, and of course, the song 'Beautiful Jersey' was the centrepiece of the project.

Even the vocal warm-up (which came after my opening song) served as a phenomenologically positive physical and social preparation process and an essential moment of sonic and collective contact. Standing up and arranging themselves in the classroom space began the process of self-organisation as individuals in a cooperative group. A breathing exercise helped calm students and centre their attention on their bodies. Sirening and pitch-matching exercises stretched vocal cords but also connected them mentally to pitch control and the vibrant sociality of a focussed communal sound. Rather than see this process as a chore, the children seemed to find it relaxing and enjoyable, happily engaging and finding aspects of it amusing (particularly the odd sound of around thirty people sirening together). Clift *et al*. have noted the significance of breath control as one of six 'generative mechanisms' that link singing with wellbeing:

> It is obvious that singing as an activity is powered by the lungs, and promotes conscious awareness of depth and control of breathing. Breathing is also highly responsive to emotional states, and... relaxation can be induced by making an effort to breathe more deeply and slowly. (Clift et al., 2010, p. 29)

Thus, at a foundational level, before any actual singing of Jèrriais occurred, this essentially musical activity was engendering positive affect and therefore increasing the likelihood of a receptive mindset towards the language. In this regard, Hughes refers to Krashen's (1982) Affective Filter Hypothesis:

> The challenge for the teacher is to reduce anxiety and tension (in Krashen's theory, lowering the filter) and facilitating the creation of the right atmosphere for language learning. (Hughes, 2014, p. 170)

The melody for 'Beautiful Jersey' was then learned using a 'la' sound before looking at the Jèrriais lyrics. As the melody is quite long, it was important to ensure classes had a sufficient grasp of the melodic shape before connecting it with the language. By taking this approach, the students picked up the tune quickly and sang along with my guitar rhythm. This meant they could begin to enjoy the song and identify with it musically, as well as build confidence as a singing group before the subsequent challenge of the linguistic element.

Two classes (at Rouge Bouillon and Trinity) even gave themselves a spontaneous round of applause after singing the tune through in this way, acknowledging a sense that they were already 'performing' it, as well as a contented sense of achievement. In discussing amateur group singing, Hesmondhalgh (2013) considers "the ways in which performance involves transcending the self, and taking into account the other – including other ways of being, as well as other people in the crowd" (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, p. 108). By learning and collectively singing this non-lyrical version of the song, the children were already beginning to enjoy and build an attachment with this piece of Jèrriais culture, providing a beneficial platform on which to build the linguistic foundations. And they were doing so as a group, thus sowing the seeds for a new and expanded sense of self that could socially identify with Jèrriais.

I then introduced the lyrics, and we spoke rather than sang each line with a visual, phonetic guide on the whiteboard. This allowed us to focus on the pronunciation and meaning of the words before connecting them back into the song. It was at this point that the bilingual students' advantage really began to show, as they could produce a fairly good accent with little difficulty, as well as guess meanings and make links with their own languages. Knowing that this part of the lesson could potentially alienate the less linguistically able students, I tried to keep this section relatively brief and light-hearted. I refrained from drilling the pronunciation very much and emphasised there was no need to sound perfect.

Thankfully there was also a coincidental opportunity for some comic relief in the lyrics themselves. The fourth line of the chorus contains the word 'tchoeu', meaning heart, which English speakers are naturally inclined to pronounce 'ʧ uː' (like 'choo'). However, that

pronunciation is not only wrong – it should be closer to 'ʧʌ' (like 'chuh') – but it sounds like the Jèrriais word 'tchu', which the dictionary defines as '*backside, arse, bum, bottom*'. The children found this particularly funny when they realised the entire line 'Tu m'pâsse bein près du tchoeu' means 'you are very close to my heart'. Children frequently brought this up, and I was also able to refer to this minor joke quite regularly as a means of humorous engagement with the class without it ever getting tiresome.

There was also a musical element to this spoken section of the lesson as certain lines required me to teach them the rhythmic phrasing, which mainly falls quite naturally but occasionally needs some focus. Learning these lines as particular rhythmic phrases helped achieve a coherent group sound, providing what were, for most of the students, their first moments of speaking and performing Jèrriais together in a confident, sonically pleasing manner.

It is worth pointing out that as an introduction to Jèrriais speaking, this approach could potentially be critiqued from a purely language acquisition perspective, as they were not learning any phrases that could easily be put into vernacular use. It is possible that some were just learning to repeat the sounds without making much of a connection to the meaning of each word, grammatical constructs, or practical application beyond performing the song. Whilst I acknowledge this, as mentioned, I was not prioritising acquisition planning here but rather status planning. My focus in discussing the meaning of each line at this stage was less about the students being able to go away and use these words and phrases conversationally but more about them having an enjoyable and meaningful experience. The basic goal was that they would understand the meaning well enough to be able to appreciate the lyrical content – literally singing the praises of Jersey – and begin to link this with their own sense of cultural identity. Discussing the lyrics as we went enabled me to be proactive about this. For example, I tried a visualisation exercise, prompted by the lines:

> Ô, tchi doux souv'nîn du bouôn temps qu' j'ai ieu
> Quand j'pense à Jèrri, la reine des îles!
> [*Oh, what sweet memories of good times I've had*
> *When I think of Jersey, the queen of the islands!*]

I suggested the children think of a favourite memory of their own, share it with the class if they felt comfortable doing so, and then imagine that memory whenever they reach that line

in the song. Responses included some specific geographical locations in Jersey, e.g., "St Catherine's woods", “The swimming pool that the sea fills up” (Havre des Pas Lido), “The cliff what’s called ‘The Rhino’”; quite a few memories relating to family and friends, e.g. “When my baby cousin was born", "Opening Christmas presents with my sisters", "When I first met Natasha" (best friend), “Eating a sandy sandwich and making a funny face and my parents laughing”; and memories related to playing certain games, e.g., "Playing Fortnite", “Playing FIFA", and "My first goal playing football". Explicitly engaging their own memories, identities, and creative imaginations in this way allowed students to make their own identity links with the song and with Jèrriais by extension. This line in the song thus became another kind of creative ‘third place’ “where the learner finds his/her own cultural meaning and purpose” (Hughes, 2014, p. 200).

Finally, after learning the tune and beginning to grasp the words, we began to put the two together by singing along with Agent Cliémentinne. First, we sang with the slow version of the song that repeats each line twice, with me leading and Agent Cliémentinne repeating in the correct octave for the children. This was followed by the faster version, where we all sang together. Generally, the older children tended to pick things up more quickly, but even those who initially struggled were quite happy to try.

From the perspective of music and consciousness studies, these first moments of singing together in Jèrriais, however slowly and tentatively, also set in motion the initial synchronised musical motor phenomena that can serve as a foundation for increased empathy and collective identification. Such collaborative enactment of musical activity, or musicking (Small, 2012), is inherently intersubjective. The social effects of musical group interaction (MGI) amongst children, such as improved cooperation, empathy, and sense of togetherness, have been observed in a range of studies (see: Kalliopuska and Tiitinen, 1991; Kalliopuska and Ruokonen, 1993; Laurence, 2005; Rabinowitch, Cross and Burnard, 2012, 2013; Hallam, 2015). Rabinowitch *et al*. (2013) identified several empathy-promoting musical components (EPMCs) and devised a longitudinal study which found that children regularly involved in MGI showed a significant increase in empathy when compared to a control group. These EPMCs include: movement/motor resonance, entrainment, imitation, honest signalling (sense of ‘natural fit’ between sound structure and affective state), disinterest (in the Kantian sense of being without an interest in a functional outcome, i.e., for its own reward), flexibility (ability to adjust to fit the collective action), floating intentionality (semantic indeterminacy

that is thus inclusive and uniting), shared intentionality, and intersubjectivity. Singing together in Jèrriais over several sessions required or encouraged each of these EPMCs, and as Clarke (2019) discusses, this kind of empathetic shared musicking can bring forth and enact an idealised, imagined collective subjectivity. In this case, this extended consciousness incorporates an affiliation or fictive kinship not only with others in the class, but with Jersey's wider cultural community, both present and past. Music, language, empathy, and collective identity are co-constituting elements of the social experience, and indeed the children's 'mission' to help Jèrriais.

During this stage of my fieldwork, I also made several notes of how 'lovely' it was to hear the children sing in Jèrriais, however falteringly, which is something that has very rarely happened in Jersey for generations, especially in schools. From an autoethnographic perspective, as a language learner on my own journey with Jèrriais, I found this quite moving. I felt it was both a privilege and a responsibility to have learned the song and be passing it on as a small cultural torch representing Jèrriais, hoping perhaps it may help rekindle a flame of affection for the language in a new generation. Clearly, as a language activist, I was inclined to appreciate this symbolic aspect, which may have coloured my perspective of how it sounded, but Gina also commented on the effort and enthusiasm most of the children put into singing, and also the quality of the sound they produced together.

Occasionally, the relaxed atmosphere and enthusiasm resulted in moments that may not have been aesthetically perfect in a technical sense but clearly showed children having a good time. The highest note in the song – an F – occurs on the first note of the fifth line of the chorus ('Ô tchi doux souv'nîn...'). It is not a massive reach for most children, but at Rouge Bouillon, I did notice a group of boys smiling and more or less shouting the 'Ô' sound in a rather comic way, with some of them attempting a kind of mock-operatic vibrato. Much like with the pronunciation, I chose not to 'correct' this, as my intention was much more about their enjoyment and engagement level than achieving a musically precise sound, and this behaviour indicated they were having an enjoyable experience.

As the weeks progressed and classes became more familiar with the song, the commitment and eagerness of the classes remained, or possibly even increased, especially for the fast version of the song. I noticed some children had even learned the video script and would talk along with it and comment. For example, when I say, "OK, now are you ready for the fast version?" responses included "Bring it on!" and various shouts of "YEAH!" or similar,

as well as mimicking Agent Cliémentinne's voice to join in with her reply: "I guess so!" At the end of the video Agent Cliémentinne thanks me and says she will sing the song every day, urging the audience to do the same. On one audio recording from St. Peter, I noticed that a child responded quietly but resolutely, "I will. I will learn it."

By week two, some children at Rouge Bouillon were physically turning away from the screen whilst singing in order to show me they did not need to see the words anymore. I could tell they probably did still need the words, especially for the verse, but they were fairly insistent and kept turning around despite my encouragement to look at the lyrics. Again, I did not labour the point, preferring to indulge their enthusiasm rather than be overly authoritarian, but this does show a certain level of keenness, or at least a performance of it for my benefit.

I also noticed three moments when children began singing or humming the song spontaneously. One was at the very start of session two at Rouge Bouillon, in response to me asking, "Bouônjour everybody, how are we doing?" Another was in a different Rouge Bouillon class. I asked, "So who thinks they might be able to remember the song?" and a small group of girls immediately began singing it. At St. John, after one lesson ended, a few children were humming the tune for a while as I was packing up.

In our final sessions, the children prepared to perform in a school assembly. Most classes were at least moderately confident with the chorus by this point, though some were either still struggling with the verse or had not yet attempted it. They could generally remember the meaning of the chorus at least, more or less, and on the whole, looked and sounded as if they were enjoying singing the song. In most classes, I was able to walk around as they were singing in order to get a sense of how well they were engaging with the song individually and collectively. The overall energy of the sound was reasonably strong and coherent, indicating a good level of engagement for most students. I did feel that each class had real moments of 'togetherness' both aesthetically and socially, when focused on the task of singing 'Beautiful Jersey'. A few boys at Rouge Bouillon were occasionally disruptive, and there were often a few children that appeared to be less engaged, perhaps just going through the motions somewhat, by simply mouthing something approximating the words with minimal facial expression or vocal sound.

But on the whole, all these various behaviours and responses – including simple enjoyment of singing, humour and laughter, sharing personal memories, joining in with the

video script, turning away from the screen, spontaneous singing, and energetic singing – I read as widespread positive engagement. They suggest that most students were experiencing some genuine musical connection with Jèrriais, which was an ever-present aspect given the "phenomenological intertwining" (Feld and Fox, 1994, p. 27) of the language in the music.

Jacob's favourite and Evie's earworm

It is impossible to know to what extent this experience was shaping their sense of cultural identity at this stage, but the level of engagement coupled with a few comments in particular suggest that, at least for some students, something significant was happening: that they were beginning to make emotional and psychological links with the song, and thus perhaps Jèrriais in general. At D'Auvergne, in session three, after a relatively long introduction and discussion about multiculturalism, the following sequence occurred:

Maisie	Um, when I was at home I was practicing the song over and over again, and then I think Oceana started coming in and then she said she was practicing the song as well and she wanted to show me.
Kit	Wow. That is really brilliant. Well, speaking of which we've got just a little bit of time, we should probably do a bit of practice what do you reckon?
Class	[Energetically] YEAH!
Kit	It's lovely chatting but you know, we should do some work. [Jacob puts his hand up] Yup?
Jacob	Beautiful Jersey is my favourite song.
Kit	Ah, how lovely. Is it anyone else's favourite song? [Various answers at once, mostly yes and a few no]
Evie	It's growing into my favourite song.
Kit	It's *growing* into your favourite song.
Caitlyn	If... if you took away all the pop songs that would be my favourite.
Kit	OK fair enough haha.
Evie	Whenever the teacher's talking, I forget what she's saying because that song's just in my head.
Kit	[Laughing] OK well...
Teacher	[Sarcastically] Lovely Evie, thanks. [Laughter all round]

Caitlyn Evie! No, she knows [inaudible].

Kit [Laughing] Well I'm not sure if that's a good thing. OK so if we're gonna pass our mission we'd better get practicing...

There are several encouraging observations here: children, unprompted, bringing up the fact they had been practising at home and showing each other their progress; the eagerness of the class to practice the song together; Jacob declaring, again unprompted, that 'Beautiful Jersey' is his favourite song; others also showing a positive inclination towards it (though perhaps partially for my sake); Evie's earworm; and the overall positive atmosphere in the room.

From a phenomenological perspective, that earworm – or involuntary musical imagery (INMI) – is particularly interesting. The literature on INMI experiences shows that it is a complex phenomenon involving various possible situational antecedents, identity and personality traits, and musical factors (see: Beaman and Williams, 2010; Jakubowski et al., 2017; Liikkanen, 2012; Williamson and Müllensiefen, 2012). I cannot account for Evie's personality traits nor the precise situational antecedents, but some relevant factors are either known or likely. Being young and female makes Evie (statistically speaking) slightly more susceptible to INMI experiences, but it is also very likely that she had recently been listening to and practising the song (Liikkanen, 2012, p. 250). The part of the song that was 'just in her head' was probably the chorus (Beaman and Williams, 2010, p. 641), and of this, the melody and lyrics rather than timbre, harmony and expression, et cetera would probably be most vivid (Bailes, 2007, p. 565). In terms of the song itself, the long, uncommon melodic shape (for an 8-year-old in 2018) is not consistent with typical 'earworm' melodies (which have "more common global melodic contour shapes", Jakubowski *et al.*, 2017, p. 130), so other factors might compensate for this. The upbeat tempo probably helped, and if a song has become familiar, enjoyable, popular, and "emotionally distinctive" in some way, that also makes it more likely to induce INMI, so they are possible factors (Halpern and Bartlett, 2011, p. 428; Jakubowski et al., 2017, p. 123; Liikkanen, 2012, p. 238).

Clearly, it is a complex picture, so it is difficult to make concrete claims from Evie's comment. But I infer a positive connection, given the INMI literature in combination with Evie's statements that 'Beautiful Jersey' was 'growing into her favourite song', which was then 'just in her head'. It is likely that the song had become enjoyable and meaningful

enough to be repeated and practised with enough intensity to become internalised and cause an INMI experience. Jèrriais, as the linguistic component, was probably an element of this. Evie's earworm thus provides some helpful phenomenological evidence that the process of learning this song was making a significant impression on her subjective experience, including, perhaps, her identity narrative. If that was the case for Evie, then other children in the class may have been on a similar journey.

Shifting positionalities: other positive indications of connection

In discussing identity formation in music classes, Westerlund *et al*. (2017) note the recent pedagogical shift away from a simple transmission model of knowledge to a 'relational network' of co-participation in "shared practices of social communities" (Westerlund et al., 2017, p. 493). According to this view, "learning is, indeed, understood as an experience of identity, insofar as it changes our ability to engage in the world and hence potentially transforms our social positioning and self-understanding" (Westerlund *et al*., 2017:493). Children are not only developing their sense of self within the vitally important immediate 'classroom community' (Westerlund *et al*., 2017: 503), but this experience forms part of their ongoing identity narrative in the wider world. The particularities of their individual subjectivities are negotiated in diverse relationships with others, in and beyond school, so it is helpful to consider comments made by children who had talked to people at home about the project.

The majority of comments here come from the three classes at Rouge Bouillon, as this is where I had the most time for extended discussions with the students. Most of their reported responses were positive, including comments from parents, wider family (siblings, grandparents, aunties, uncles, cousins), friends, fictional conversations with two famous YouTubers, and even a dog. Of these, I felt the conversations with parents and friends were the most significant. Most were apparently supportive. Comments included "They were really happy and said I was really lucky" (Georgia, St. John), and, "They said that it's really cool" (Lexie, Rouge Bouillon).

The role of agency, to proactively choose to engage with the song and the language outside of school in important social contexts, is an indication of a positive connection and testing out a new identity attachment or shifting positionality. As Westerlund *et al*. state, agency "enables and empowers one to 'reach beyond' one's current identity or identities –

the suggestions for who you are – and wilfully act on something" (Westerlund *et al*. 2017, p. 495). Thomas, at Rouge Bouillon, told his mum and stepdad and actually "taught them a bit of the song". Jessica, also at Rouge Bouillon, took the mission to heart and used her copy of the lyrics to promote Jèrriais to her friends. She said:

> I went around my friends in my estate, and I photocopied lots and I was giving them to people in my estate.

Maisie, at Trinity, practised the song with her sister. João, at Rouge Bouillon, showed the YouTube videos to his mum and brother. His mum "really liked it", and his brother then picked the song up: "Even when I was trying to sleep, he kept on singing it". Charlie, also at Rouge Bouillon, claimed to have told a famous American YouTuber: "I told Jake Paul, and he said 'cool'." Ben then chimed in, "I told Logan!" (Jake Paul's brother Logan is also a famous YouTuber). The fact that Jake and Logan Paul are huge online celebrities with millions of subscribers to their YouTube channels makes these conversations unlikely, but making this playful claim in front of their peers is a positive step towards Jèrriais as it reveals an attempt to confer cultural cachet to the project by association. Elite YouTubers like the Pauls are (for good or for ill) highly influential role models for children of this age, at least equal to stars of music and film (Stokel-Walker, 2019, p. 18). Claiming that Jake Paul gives his seal of approval is meaningful, certainly more so than Morgan (Rouge Bouillon) telling his dog, who then supposedly barked (though this comment indicates a relaxed atmosphere).

Not all comments from friends and family were positive, making it perhaps less likely that children moving in these social circles found a nurturing environment for the green shoots of a developing identification with Jèrriais. It was harder to elicit these comments as children were clearly reticent to say anything negative to me, but some interesting points emerged. Indeed, I felt their silence and reticence in itself perhaps indicated a certain lack of positive response at home, which they were either unable to articulate or unwilling to share. The most explicitly negative comment came at St. Peter, where Jack told me, "My dad said it's a waste of time you shouldn't be speaking that language. If anything, you should be speaking French." At D'Auvergne, Alicia said, "I told my friends mum about it, but she said, 'I wouldn't do that cos I find it will mix my children up with their French'." These two comments repeat a historically common trope of negative modernist language ideology in Jersey, that French should take priority over Jèrriais and that there is a danger of unhelpful confusion

between the languages (this is not supported by evidence). Some parents and other family members were apathetic, and some siblings were dismissive. At Trinity, Corey said his brother "wasn't really that bothered" and Lacey said, "I showed it to my brothers, but they didn't give me much sympathy, they just said 'Alright Lacey, I've got homework to do so bye'." William, also at Trinity, actually performed 'Beautiful Jersey' to his 12-year-old sister, but got an incredulous response:

> I sang it to my sister and she said, 'Just stop speaking gobbledygook', and I was like, 'I'm not I'm speaking a thorough language' and she was like, 'stop lying'.

Such comments show there is still a great deal of status planning work to do in Jersey's culture at large. Consequently, for these children in particular, incipient attachments with the language that may have been developing throughout this project are threatened by more powerful influences on their cultural identities via their wider social environment. One encouraging anecdote did come my way via Jèrriais teacher Ben Spink. Between my final sessions at St. Peter and the performance of 'Beautiful Jersey' in a school assembly, there was a break for the Easter holidays. According to one parent that spoke to Ben, the family went abroad for two weeks, and their child was apparently singing the song "constantly" while away. For a child to be voluntarily singing the song for two weeks while away with their family indicates a strong connection with it, and that the family culture itself is a supportive (or at least tolerant!) environment.

Performing 'Beautiful Jersey' in school assemblies

Nikkanen and Westerlund have written about music performances within school rituals which reveal a school's core values and provide "social arenas where students can enact who they are and gain implicit knowledge that guides them on an embodied way" (2017, p. 112). The school assembly is a significant ritual of this nature, formally gathering students in a formulaic process of: filing into a hall or large space; quietly arranging themselves in order and waiting patiently; watching, listening and obediently responding appropriately as a group; engaging in collective actions like singing et cetera; filing out in order according to instructions. Some type of presentation or performance usually forms the focus of assembly rituals, so I arranged for each class to give one performance of 'Beautiful Jersey' in a school assembly. This provided a goal for every child to work towards and a focussed opportunity to

consolidate to some extent whatever burgeoning identification with Jèrriais might be beginning to become established. The assemblies themselves were also helpful research opportunities to gauge not only how the children were feeling about the song and Jèrriais, but how Jèrriais was presented and placed within the wider school culture. As Nikkanen and Westerlund point out:

> School rituals, however, involve a pedagogical paradox: they not only manifest traditional values and the prevailing order, but may also reflect and actively promote desired changes. (Nikkanen and Westerlund, 2017, p. 112)

So I was keen to see the extent to which teachers and headteachers supported the Jèrriais cause in general and whether my presentation and the performance of the song would be positioned as a form of status planning, i.e. would Jèrriais be promoted as a desirable part of their own cultural heritage going forwards, or would these performances just be more of an interesting curiosity, or worse?

At Trinity, St. Peter, St. John, and St. Martin, the entire school gathered for the assemblies. At Rouge Bouillon and D'Auvergne, being bigger schools, assemblies are split, so the children performed to a section of the school. The structure of our part of the assembly was similar for each school, with some variations in each context. I began by singing a pop song ('Count On Me' by Bruno Mars) and briefly introducing the project, before playing video one. This was followed by some short questions from myself (i.e. "Who had heard of Jèrriais before – hands up?"), and then the short version of video two, where everyone could try singing the chorus along slowly with Agent Cliémentinne. After this, the classes performed the fast version of the song, followed by some final comments from myself.

At St. Martin and Trinity, I also gave out the certificates of achievement; and at St. Peter, Trinity, and St. Martin we had a few additional words from Jèrriais teachers Marianne Sargent, Charlie Le Maistre, and Ben Spink. All the assemblies more or less went according to plan and seemed successful. But from an ethnographic perspective, certain details do point towards some notable differences both in the apparent feelings of the children and the positioning of Jèrriais in the wider school culture. It is not entirely surprising that these two things do not necessarily align, so I will briefly contrast them here and discuss some relevant details for each school.

Of the six schools I worked with, the most supportive environment for Jèrriais was St. Peter. They already had an after-school club running, a few children had Jèrriais-speaking family members, and headteacher Mrs. Dixon was positive about Jèrriais. The year five teacher, Mrs. McDermott, also happened to be the school's music specialist and was particularly keen to get children singing in Jèrriais. Consequently, the project served to reinforce and extend what was already a relatively favourable attitude towards Jèrriais, where Jèrriais was not presented as something particularly exotic or strange but encouraged as a valuable, normal part of Jersey culture. A slight majority of children had heard of Jèrriais, and the school seems to be moving towards what might be described as an 'orchestration of habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 80) that incorporates Jèrriais into its worldview. Musical practice can contribute to habitus forming for children, as noted by Dairianathan and Lum (2013, p. 2), and St. Peter produced the highest number of Liberation Day choir members by some way (thirteen out of thirty). The school also took a choir of twenty children to sing 'Beautiful Jersey' at the local Eisteddfod competition in November 2018, six months after the project ended.

The combination of a positive environment and a proactive music specialist probably contributed to the children's enthusiasm, as well as the confidence and quality of their singing. Mrs McDermott made sure they had practised along with video two and encouraged them to do so at home.[35] The results were evident at the school assembly, where they gave a solid performance (though the verse was a little weaker than the chorus). St. Peter was the only school to invite parents and other relatives into the assembly, who duly gave their children a warm round of applause. Headteacher Mrs Dixon was also full of praise and approval, manifesting the 'prevailing order' of a positive attitude towards Jèrriais, and the children appeared quite happy with the experience, as shown by subsequent comments at a later session where I gave out the certificates. The children were particularly excited by the revelation of video three and were pleased to be promised certificates, with several of them giving me a wide grin when I held them up.

[35] It also helped, perhaps, that Joanne Bond – the Jersey Music Service team member who accompanied me to the lessons – also had a son in the year five class.

The distinctly positive impression I got from the class at St. Peter's school contrasts with St. Martin's, which was somewhat more ambivalent. There may be a few reasons for this. First, we only had two full sessions together, followed by a third shorter session just before the assembly. Second, only one class learned and performed the song, so the sound was less resonant and more exposed than at St. Peter. Third, class teacher Miss Rive considers herself "not very musical", so was less confident practising the song without me. Fourth, the class themselves were notably nervous, perhaps due to the lack of practice, but according to the teacher, also due to their particular personalities (Miss Rive said the experience of performing in assembly would be "good for them"). And finally, the assembly was the last school event on the last day of term before the Easter holiday, so its potential ritualistic energy was reduced as everyone was pretty tired and keen to get it over with.

These reasons combined to result in a rather quiet, underconfident performance where the children were obediently making some kind of effort but clearly struggling somewhat and not showing much evidence of enjoying the experience. Two boys had been openly grumpy and uncooperative in the session just prior to the assembly, and others made anxious little high-pitch squeaking noises whilst Miss Rive arranged them in order, showing a kind of nervous agitation. Nevertheless, they went along with the process of performing in assembly, willingly took their certificates, politely waited until the end, and duly filed out to meet their parents. My field notes contain this impression:

> I came away with the feeling basically that we'd made these kids do this thing, that it was weird, and they just got it out of the way.

So despite an ostensibly positive school culture in favour of Jèrriais – with definite support for Jèrriais from headteacher Jenny Posner, enthusiasm from year five class teacher Miss Rive, and over half the class apparently having an awareness of Jèrriais before my arrival – there seemed to be a disconnect with the experience of the children in this project. Nonetheless, two choir members came from St. Martin, so it was at least not entirely off-putting. This lack of connection may also be partly because the school catchment contains a higher proportion of children from social housing and multi-ethnic backgrounds, making it less likely they

already have long-standing roots or connections to the Jèrriais community;[36] but as my experiences at Rouge Bouillon and D'Auvergne show, the working class and multilingual elements alone can be beneficial in other respects.

Rouge Bouillon is perhaps the clearest success story for the project out of all six schools. St. Peter already had a relatively favourable school culture regarding Jèrriais, and both Trinity and St. John, being similarly rural and middle-class, were correspondingly positive to some degree; but Rouge Bouillon and D'Auvergne were the most urban, working-class, and multicultural of the schools, and neither had Jèrriais lessons or even much awareness of Jèrriais prior to my arrival. My field notes from the Rouge Bouillon assembly repeatedly mention the sense I got that Jèrriais was something decidedly new and strange to most of the students in the audience of around 150 children:

> They were looking at each other as if to say, 'What language?' 'What is this language?' So I had to explain a few times and even then they were looking totally quizzical... The 'foreignness' of Jèrriais – I could just sense it – they were like, "What the hell is this?", whereas at Trinity and St. Peter it was more familiar.

But the performance of 'Beautiful Jersey' went very well. The combined sound of all three classes was impressive, particularly on the chorus, which was strong and confident, with many children smiling as they sang. The audience enjoyed the videos, and the assembly – acting as a significant school ritual – managed to "reflect and actively promote desired changes" (Nikkanen and Westerlund, 2017, p. 112). Furthermore, the feedback from the classes was excellent, and at the time of writing Rouge Bouillon currently has a regular Jèrriais club with some dedicated students.

There are several reasons why there was more of a connection at Rouge Bouillon. First, it was at that point the only primary school in Jersey with a dedicated music teacher, rather than a general class teacher who may also specialise in music. Thus, Miss Stievenard was not only highly capable and confident in rehearsing the children without me, but she had created more of a singing culture in the school, improving most children's conceptions of

[36] Ironically, this class actually contained the son of two members of Badlabecques, though he was perhaps the most shy and quiet student in the room.

having a 'singing identity' (Welch, 2017, p. 551), and had a school choir with several members present in my classes. Second, I had four sessions of at least forty-five minutes with each class, leading to a more well-rehearsed sound but also a deeper attachment to me, to the project, and to Jèrriais. Third, the sound of seventy-five children confidently singing the song was no doubt much more enjoyable for the participants than for the twenty-five mostly nervous students at St. Martin's. Moreover, they had just returned from the Easter holidays, rather than being imminently about to begin them. Having said all of the above, only one choir member actually came from Rouge Bouillon, which was a little surprising given their enthusiasm and the large number of year five students (approximately seventy-five). I do know several children were keen to sign up for the choir and took the sign-up forms home to their parents, so perhaps there were practical reasons the parents could not commit to getting their children to and from rehearsals (e.g. work commitments, given the working-class contingent), or maybe there were reasons they did not feel it would be worthwhile for their children (e.g. language beliefs). This highlights the significant environmental factors that influence the fate of a child's incipient identification with Jèrriais, which were largely beyond my influence.

D'Auvergne's year four assembly was a smaller and more informal affair, just gathering year five students and a few staff for a relatively short presentation and an acoustic performance without the use of video (they did not have the technical set-up). Thus, it perhaps had less of the ritualistic power of the full school assembly but made for a more relaxed atmosphere. I used the lack of video as an opportunity to consolidate the children's learning by getting them to tell the audience about the project, which they did very well. With a very limited knowledge of Jèrriais in the school culture as a whole, the language seemed to be a bit of an exotic curiosity, much like at Rouge Bouillon. But I felt our combined efforts of telling the story of Jèrriais and the song 'Beautiful Jersey' presented things reasonably well, even if the year five response was somewhat muted. The children's performance was relatively confident and enthusiastic, and by the time I led them in a final repeat of the chorus, they sounded particularly strong. When I announced that they would be getting certificates signed by Agent Cliémentinne and that there would be a third video from her, the children became quite excited, exclaiming "YESSSS!" and "Woo!".

Afterwards, despite it being the end of the school day, several children wanted to keep talking to me, including some boys that were interested in my guitar. One said that his

brother plays the guitar but that I am “way better”, while the other speculated I might be the best guitar player in the world. This highlighted for me the straightforward dimension of role-modelling as one aspect of how music can contribute to status planning. In addition to the actual content of our classes, simply being a skilled musician who is also advocating for the language adds a kind of kudos in itself. D’Auvergne also produced the second largest group of choir members (five out of thirty), which was particularly encouraging for an urban school.

At St. John’s school, every Friday morning brings a particular school ritual – the ‘singing assembly’ – where the entire school meets in the school hall and sings a selection of motivational and humorous children’s songs together (using video backing tracks, like a kind of mass karaoke). On this particular Friday, the whole-school singing was cut short to allow space for the Jèrriais videos, presentation, and performance from year five.

As mentioned, Jèrriais is a more familiar prospect in St. John than in St. Helier, so this may explain why the audience did not react particularly strongly either way. They simply seemed quite entertained by the videos and just politely clapped the performance when it came. Despite a few nerves, the performance seemed to be, on the whole, a positive experience for the performers. They knew the words, tried hard, and sang well.

Immediately after the assembly, back in the classroom, I asked the class how they felt it went. I got a few smiles, nods, thumbs up and quiet murmurs of “Good” and “Yuh”. Interestingly, when I asked for more of a definite sound for my audio recorder, I then got several enthusiastic cries of “YEAH!” and “Amazing!”. This highlights one of the challenges of working with such polite, compliant children: it is hard to know to what extent their enthusiasm is genuine, if perhaps a little suppressed until they are given permission to express themselves, or whether it is more of a performance as an act of obedience and desire to please. Comments (detailed below) point more towards the former, though it may be a bit of both. Three choir members came from St. John, showing some level of eagerness for them at least.

At Trinity, with the oldest and most competent class, I had a similar challenge ascertaining the true extent of how the children’s thoughts and feelings about the song and Jèrriais may have developed, given their consistently polite and compliant attitude and the fact that, unlike the town schools, I was not building from a starting point of near-zero in terms of their awareness and identification with Jèrriais. Some were evidently quite excited

about singing in front of the whole school and admitted to being a little nervous, but many did not display much emotion either way.

As expected, the children sang very well in the assembly. While it was apparently not a struggle for them to perform competently, I noted that many did not appear hugely enthusiastic or cheerful either. For these children, I felt they essentially took things in their stride, and wondered if perhaps they even had a kind of relationship with Jèrriais where they had already compartmentalised it into a position of acknowledged but limited priority. However, one girl was very keen and became a valuable member of the Liberation Day Choir, but she was the only one from this school. On the whole, whilst the children were perhaps less engaged than at St. Peter, I would characterise the qualified success of the sessions at Trinity school in a similar way: the project built upon what was already a relatively favourable attitude towards Jèrriais, extending their knowledge of Jèrriais and giving them a musical experience involving the language. Rounding off the assembly, I gave out the certificates and Jèrriais teacher Marianne Sargent explained that after-school classes would begin at Trinity in September. I asked the children who would be interested in learning some more Jèrriais, and – true to form for the respectful, obedient children of Trinity school – virtually every hand in the room duly went up.

Wrapping up in the schools

In hindsight, giving out the certificates during the assembly at Trinity and St. Martin's school deprived me of an opportunity to use the certificate presentation as a pretext for a follow-up session with each class. Whilst the added ritual element of receiving a certificate in front of the whole school might have arguably heightened the symbolic and emotional intensity of the experience for the children, the final sessions I had in the other schools provided some valuable further indications about their feelings towards the project and possible identification with Jèrriais. They also provided an extra chance to encourage those identifications and a more personal way of rounding off the project and saying goodbye to the children.

After watching video three (again in some cases), giving out the certificates, and asking the children if they had any questions for me (which mostly centred on Agent Cliémentinne and Badlabecques, with a few about Jèrriais), I had a chance to ask some questions of my own. As with previous sessions, I knew there was a high chance they would

give me supportive answers, so in an attempt to dig under the surface a little, I tried to elicit details in conversation. I asked them to compare their thoughts and feelings about Jèrriais before the project to now, and the ensuing discussions provided various comments.

Forty-six of these comments were positive, and ten were either explicitly negative in some way, or borderline negative / apathetic. Half of the negative comments relate to the reaction of family members at home rather than the experience of the children themselves. Of the five remaining comments, two are hard to interpret, responding to the question, “Who thinks we should keep trying to save Jèrriais?”. First, at St. John, some were slow to put their hands up, so I tried to follow this up by saying it is fine to not be sure, and eliciting their reasons; but all I got in response was half a shoulder shrug from Edward, along with the incomplete phrase, “It just kinda...” Similarly at Rouge Bouillon, a handful did not put their hands up to my question, but my attempt to gently elicit a reason why was simply met with silence, and Eva eventually saying, “I just don’t like it.” The final three negative comments all occurred in the next Rouge Bouillon class. Two comments specifically relate to language ideology or identity, and one seems more aesthetic. First, Charlie was one of two students that did not put his hand up in response to me asking whether the class agreed with another student’s statement that “we need to save Jèrriais”. I reassured them that was fine and asked if they minded telling me a bit about why. Charlie responded, "Cos this is a island of English", which prompted a short discussion on multilingualism and cultural identity. Later, with certificate in hand, Matthew told me, "I thought I'd quite enjoy learning it, but in the end I wasn't really sure about it." I assured him that that was absolutely fine, and (somewhat leadingly) asked him “Can you think of your reasons why? Was it just a bit boring or...” Matthew simply answered “Yeah” but did not elaborate.

Following directly on from Matthew (perhaps encouraged by my reassurances), Aaron evidenced a clear modernist ‘rationality’ and said he thought Jèrriais “was a little bit useless because we'll never use it in real life." I praised him for raising this issue and led into a short discussion about it, during which the other children spontaneously mentioned music as a positive use:

Rodrigo	No. It’s not useless.
Kit	Has anyone got anything you might wanna say?

Gabriela If there's an emergency – if someone like speaks Jèrriais and they don't speak English you could er… interpret them.

Kit Ah so that's a really important point, let me just ask you that then... Is language just something that you use to, say, do something like to communicate a message, or can it be something else?

Tyler It can be something else.

Kit Yeah, what else?

Aminah You can sing in...

Rodrigo Song!

Kit You can sing in it yeah! What's the point of that, why do we sing?

Rodrigo So you can like, dance to it, and like, for example, if there's a song that you really like you might know the words of it… so you might sing it, fluently.

Kit Yeah... [hand goes up] yeah did you want to say something on that?

Oscar If you're saying something and you like, if you don't want your parents to know, you could just say it…

Kit Ooh so that's another reason, it could be a secret code… [hand goes up] yup?

Kevin Sometimes people aren't that… great at talking, sometimes people like to express their feelings whilst singing.

This last comment led me to link that expression of feeling to cultural identity by talking about singing in Jèrriais at the Island Games. I reminded the class about all the previous Jèrriais literature which we could keep alive too. In response to this Aaron said, "That's not useless."

These few negative comments and related discussions show that some students were clearly still in an 'encounter' or 'processing' phase with Jèrriais and were yet to make any meaningful connection. Exactly how many were feeling like this and how open they might be to changing as a result of this project is unknown. It was inevitable that not everyone would strongly identify with the language, so I was not surprised by this.

I was not short of positive comments or details from those that did acknowledge a connection to Jèrriais. The children were always likely to be well-behaved and somewhat engaged, but they did not have to be so enthusiastic, and the details of these comments reassured me of enough credibility to note at the time:

> They said some lovely things and they probably believe them - I believed that they believe them - BUT it's hard to get them to say anything else...

As previously discussed, it is clear there is an element of the children saying what they know will please me, but embedded within that are, I believe, signs of a genuine identification with Jèrriais. These comments can be divided into those that mention the musical aspect of the project and those that relate solely to Jèrriais. For the sake of space, I will simply list a few of the best examples of each. Music-related positive comments included:

> At first, I thought that we were like speaking gibberish, just talking some weird language that I didn't know existed, and now we've actually sang the song it's actually a really beautiful language. (Phoebe, St Peter)

> When we started, I was just like singing blah blah blah what? What we doing blah, erm, and now I know, like, all the song, so now I can just sing it in front of my parents and do all that stuff. (Samuel, St Peter)

> I never used to think about Jèrriais, but now sometimes I sing the song. (Olivia, Rouge Bouillon)

> Before I didn't know, like, much about it cos I'd only heard the Badlabecques sing in Jèrriais, but now it's really interesting and I really like it. (Georgia, St. John)

Examples of general positive comments include:

> I didn't really like it at the start 'cause I thought it was too hard, now I like it. (Hannah, Rouge Bouillon)

> At first I thought that it was gonna be really boring, but then when we got into it I started wanting to do it, and I now I'm more confident about it and I wanna speak it. (Amelia, St. Peter)

And this short sequence, at Rouge Bouillon:

Matheus	Before Jèrriais wasn't really popular, and not lots of people knew it, and now lots of people know it… around the school.
Kit	And what do you think about that, do you think that's a good thing?
Various	Yes.
João	It's not good - it's amazing.

Since the project, four schools introduced voluntary Jèrriais classes to their extra-curricular activities – Trinity, St. Martin, Rouge Bouillon, and more recently, St. John – adding to St. Peter's established classes; though COVID19 temporarily disrupted this.

The most encouraging and endearing case is surely Kevin McGrath: a bright, bespectacled boy from Rouge Bouillon school. After a break of two months since their performance in assembly, I attended the final session of my last day at Rouge Bouillon (described in the opening vignette of this chapter). I had returned to give out certificates and promote the voluntary Jèrriais lessons at a nearby school called Springfield (just 850m from Rouge Bouillon). During the introduction of the class, Kevin surprised me by announcing that he had already begun attending the lessons:

Kevin	Um, a few, I think it was about a month or two ago, they had a special day at the library, which I went to.
Kit	Did you? Cool!
Kevin	Even though it was for adults – my Mum made a mistake.
Kit	That's awesome. Did you enjoy it? Did you learn any Jèrriais?
Kevin	I forgot most of it. But I am going to Jèrriais lessons now.
Kit	Wow! Oh what, at Springfield?
Kevin	Yeah, Springfield.

I then went on to tell the class about the lessons at Springfield and Kevin added:

> I just wanna say my class is happy to accept new members – there's only three of us, and we're getting ready for the Eisteddfod where we're going to do 'I'm going on a bear hunt'[37] in Jèrriais so we need a lot more people. We need a lot more!

When asked to compare their thoughts and feelings on Jèrriais before or after the project Kevin said, "I feel happy that we're gonna learn it and happy that I am continuing it at Springfield school." Despite, or perhaps because of the baking hot weather, the class were in good spirits and were quite happy to prove they had remembered the song by singing it again for me. Kevin joined in enthusiastically. After the lesson had drawn to a close, as we were

[37] 'We're going on a bear hunt' (Rosen, 1989) is a classic children's book that has been translated into Jèrriais by Ben Spink, published in September 2018.

saying our goodbyes and the children were filing out, Kevin approached me and began excitedly speaking and singing directly into my audio recorder:

Kevin	This is being recorded right?
Kit	Yup.
Kevin	[singing] Oh say [inaudible]… this is Kevin McGrath.
Kit	Keep going, keep going…
Kevin	[speaking] Kevin McGrath's here, and I love these lessons with you.
Kit	Aah. And you like your Jèrriais lessons, that's really cool.
Kevin	Yeah.
Kit	How long have you been going there then?
Kevin	About three weeks, four weeks?
Kit	Awesome, and who's the teacher down there is it Mr. Spink or…
Kevin	Mr. Spink.
Kit	Mr. Spink. Excellent. Say hello from me when you see him.
Kevin	There's only three of us in the class though. And one of the others is going to [inaudible] soon. And we need a lot more people.
Kit	Yeah well hopefully more people will come from here. Well done Kevin.

I next saw Kevin with his mum at Jersey Arts Centre, on a Sunday afternoon in September 2018, at the launch of 'J'allons à la chasse à l'ourse' (the Jèrriais version of 'We're going on a bear hunt' by Michael Rosen). He was still attending the Jèrriais lessons and as enthusiastic as ever. In June 2019, I received an email from teacher Ben Spink, saying:

> Of those 6 schools, we now teach in 4 of them: St Peter, St Martin, Trinity and Rouge Bouillon, where I teach the inimitable Kevin! He's still super keen! In fact, my line manager observed my lesson with him today and commented on his love of Jèrriais.

Reflexive summary: living shoots, shallow roots?

In June 2019, I managed to catch up with some of the Beautiful Jersey Project participants from Rouge Bouillon and St. Peter's School as they were taking part in 'Jersey Sings'. This is a large-scale local singing event involving 1400 school children who perform in two choirs of 700 over two consecutive nights, with a professional backing band and lead soloists. I was

asked to lead a Jèrriais version of their original pop-rock anthem 'Lé Pouver en Mé' [*The Power in Me*], which was the first time the event had featured some Jèrriais. I was able to ask the children about their memories of the project and get a sense of what those green shoots of enthusiasm for Jèrriais had grown into. All the children remembered me and reported having good memories of the project, as well as enjoying singing in Jèrriais. Some could even remember the song and spontaneously sang me a few lines. They were still supportive of Jèrriais in principle and found various ways to articulate the fact that it should be saved and not lost. Emilia (at St. Peter), for example, said:

> It's like an animal gets extinct, it's kind of, people are forgetting about it, but it's quite good because it's actually a personal language to Jersey.

Sam (also from St. Peter), said "It should be used a lot more, so we don't lose it", and Diogo (Rouge Boullion) said, "It's an important language to learn." Martim (St. Peter), said "I feel like everyone should learn it and know it". For some, this seemed to be more of a generic stance that Jèrriais *ought* to be saved, without a huge amount of personal commitment to actually be involved in learning it and promoting it. This may indicate a level of identification but not enough to go that extra step, maybe due to a lack of interest, a lack of attractive opportunities to engage with the language, some social or practical hindrance, or perhaps a mix of all three. Others expressed more of an identification with the language, showing pride and enjoyment in learning or singing in Jèrriais. Maria (Rouge Bouillon) said, "We have our own language – we should speak it", and Libby (St. Peter) said that Jèrriais is "something I love doing". Ana (Rouge Bouillon) said, "I would definitely try my best to keep it alive because it's part of our history". Despite some good intentions, only a minority of the St. Peter's students said that they either had been or were currently attending Jèrriais lessons. None of the Rouge Bouillon students in this group had done so either. As is the case with many people throughout Jersey, a positive attitude of supporting Jèrriais in principle does not automatically convert into making Jèrriais a regular part of ongoing linguistic development and practice, but it does build metalinguistic community. The green shoots of identification that emerged or were at least nurtured by the hothouse effect of this project appear to have flowered into a certain ongoing pride and positive attitude towards Jèrriais amongst these children, though it is hard to know how deep the roots go, and how this will grow in the future.

No matter how deep-rooted those feelings may be, the experience of taking part in the project, learning the song, and performing it in an assembly took many children on a positive journey: from encounter, via process, to connection with Jèrriais. This shaped language ideology and increased the chance of Jèrriais forming part of their cultural identity in the longer-term. That may not ever manifest in much outward action, but depending on their particular social influences and future environmental factors, these children may grow up to become Jèrriais allies at least, if not fluent speakers. This will depend, of course, on many more projects and positive initiatives that will add energy to their onward journey. This one music project was only ever going to take them so far. But for some of these children, this project served either as a catalyst for an already-existing identification with Jèrriais, or as an introduction to the language that has sparked a genuine interest and enthusiasm to continue. Their experiences had varying levels of significance and intensity, likely spanning from the more-or-less inconsequential, to generic positivity, to Kevin's dedication. Given my focus on raising the status of Jèrriais and engaging with language beliefs rather than simply pursuing language acquisition, the project appears to have achieved many of its aims. However, despite our efforts to encourage participants to attend voluntary Jèrriais classes, as well as other initiatives like the book 'J'allons à la chasse à l'ourse', there are ongoing challenges in transforming positive language beliefs into enduring linguistic engagement. So whilst this project serves as an important example of music's contribution to status planning and metalinguistic community, such projects can only do so much.

I will return to this issue in more depth in my concluding chapter, but there are several ways in which the cultural context surrounding this project could have been more favourable, leading to a more productive link between the increased identifications afforded by the musical-social activity, and longer-term Jèrriais use. Here are four examples of such possibilities: 1) if the project had been run concurrently with, or adjacent to, other attractive and creative Jèrriais projects such as drama or art activities; 2) if schools and other social institutions/contexts such as youth clubs had incorporated Jèrriais more readily into their everyday habitus; 3) if there were more regular, convenient, and free opportunities to learn, use, and enjoy Jèrriais (e.g. classes built into the curriculum); 4) if general status planning work amongst the public, including media messaging and political dynamics, had made greater progress towards improving attitudes and language ideologies that were present in the children's home environments. In short, if the cultural ecologies encompassing this

project had been more beneficial, then perhaps these green shoots would have rooted more deeply, and bloomed more boldly. Maybe in time, they still might, and at least for those children that went on to join the Liberation Day choir, their nurturing time was extended.

6.

Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri: A conflux of memory, nostalgia, and linguistic heritage

Ô tchi doux souv'nîn…

Just a few clouds dot the baby blue sky as the pleasant spring sunshine warms the crowd mingling in and around Liberation Square. They have gathered for the Liberation Day ceremony and celebrations of the 9th of May 2018. The festivities are now in full swing, '40s-style', with Dick Haymes' baritone crooning transmitting good vibes all around, from an impressively large PA system. True to the theme of the day, the covered outdoor stage at the Weighbridge is wrapped in green camouflage netting and Union Jack bunting, framing a giant Union Jack backdrop. Surrounding us - both left and right but mainly opposite the stage - stands a variety of food and drink stalls, craft and antique sellers, and children's activities including a carousel. A line of picnic tables and several rows of white plastic chairs are packed with several hundred people, perhaps even a thousand or so. Behind the food stalls, around the boundary of the Weighbridge itself, lie several buildings, including hotels, restaurants, pubs, and The Jersey Museum. All of these establishments have outdoor tables filled with both tourists and local patrons soaking up the ambience. With the formal commemorative ceremony now over, the public holiday takes on a festival atmosphere: convivial, merry, with a generous air of fictive kinship on this most patriotic day. Standing on the camouflaged stage, the newly formed Jersey Music Service Liberation Choir are about to perform the final song of their debut performance. Choir member Emily (from Trinity school) steps forward to the microphone to introduce 'Beautiful Jersey'. Having noted her confidence and enthusiasm, possibly stemming from her performance experience in amateur dramatics, I had asked Emily to make this announcement, giving her a guide script which she now adapts slightly to her own words:

> Good afternoon everybody. We hope you've enjoyed listening to the Jersey Music Service Liberation Choir singing today. We have one more song for you, which is a very special song indeed. During the World… during the Occupation, Jersey people sang this song as a way of keeping their spirits up. We hope you enjoy our version of 'Beautiful Jersey' which is sung in Jèrriais and then in English. Thank you.

A pregnant pause follows as I frantically try to start the backing track. After a long minute, in which the apparently laid-back children on stage are calmly smiling and whispering to each other, finally, the correct channel on the PA is turned up, and the song begins. As soon as the 'Formby-esque' beat gets going, the children respond with little rhythmic nods of the head, bouncing knees, and gently swaying bodies. The singing is immediately clear and confident. Halfway through verse one (in Jèrriais), the audience is clapping along, and the choir's energy audibly lifts at the first chorus. The English verse comes and goes, leading us to the 'banjolele solo', which is, in fact, enthusiastically mimed by Isabelle. On cue, she jumps forward with her banjolele, right foot out, and begins 'playing' the solo with a contented grin on her face. I hear several exclamations of 'Woo' from the crowd (I may have made one of them), and immediately most of the children are smiling gleefully. However, Imogen, who is directly to Isabelle's left, seems to have temporarily zoned out. She's standing very still with her arms by her side, staring straight out into the crowd. And Sam, a row behind, looks around fairly blankly, perhaps a little envious as he also wanted to play the banjolele. The other children are either watching Isabelle directly or viewing her starring moment on the large screen nearby. Maya is briefly transfixed, with her hand to her mouth, and as the Jèrriais chorus returns, more exclamations and applause for Isabelle ring out. One more Jèrriais chorus brings the song to an end, and the choir sing the high notes with extra gusto: "Ô tchi doux souv'nîn…" [*oh what a sweet memory*]. The final notes prompt another round of applause, and then even more applause after I announce the choir one last time. They all file off stage, chatting, laughing, and bobbing to the 1940s background music, which has now resumed its mood-setting role. As proud parents collect their children, I am congratulated by Daniel Austin, director of the Jersey Arts Centre (who programme the Liberation Day entertainment): "Kit, thank you very much indeed. They were beautiful, and it was great to have the Jèrriais in there as well. We'll have to make this a perennial thing." Only time will tell whether these children go on to become Jèrriais speakers, but one thing is clear: today, they have created some *doux souv'nîns*.

My fieldwork in Jersey schools provided some helpful ethnographic material in itself, but it was also an important process in which I was able to meet and build rapport with the twenty-five children who eventually became part of the Jersey Music Service Liberation Choir (henceforth simply the Liberation Choir). The choir project was focused on the same song as the schools project – 'Beautiful Jersey' – culminating with the final performance on Liberation Day 2018, described in the above vignette[38]. This chapter will primarily focus on this

[38] See: Multimedia 7. A video of this performance can be viewed at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nxgDb8bOf94

performance and the rehearsal process, but it will do so with reference to another performance of the same song on the same day: the ritualised formal ceremonial performance (henceforth simply the ritual performance). This occurred roughly ninety minutes beforehand, just a hundred metres away, during the traditional commemorative ceremony.

This chapter discusses the varied meanings and implications of the contrasting performances and considers the different kinds of contributions they may have made to processes of collective memory, cultural identity, and language ideology on this highly significant public occasion. Whilst it is reasonable to contend that the ritual performance may have made some positive contributions to local language ideologies, I argue it also simultaneously contributes to and suffers from three problematic ideological processes. These can be summarised as: 1) linguistic museumification, by which I mean the process through which languages become viewed and valorised as fixed, 'folklorised' cultural practices from the past rather than dynamic, living social practices of the present; 2) post-vernacular tokenism, where occasional, purely symbolic displays of language performance replace regular everyday use; and 3) problematic discourses of coloniality which assume an inherent anglocentric modernist language ideology. I contend that the Liberation Choir performance differs from the ritual performance and does not suffer from these ideological processes to the same extent. Furthermore, the ethnographic evidence strongly suggests that the choir members' process of rehearsal and public performance of the song extended and enriched their own journey of encounter, connection, and identification with Jèrriais.

I conclude the chapter by arguing that it is in this *process* – the journey, over and above the merits of the 'destination' of the final performance – that the most promising aspect of this project's musical language activism can be located. The performance was indeed fruitful in the wider sense. It contributed to the ongoing cultural repositioning and revalorisation of Jèrriais through being well-received by the audience on the day, and beyond via BBC Radio Jersey, Facebook, and YouTube. But apart from these more easily observable positive external outcomes, the potential for music projects such as this to facilitate the *internal* journey of the *participants* towards linguistic identification and metalinguistic community remains the most promising. Such promise, of course, must be hedged by an acknowledgement of limitations. In this case, these can be summarised as taking two general forms: practical capacity and ideological risk, which I discuss in my reflexive summary. As

mentioned in relation to the schools project, on a practical level, musical experiences can only take language learners so far. Therefore if they are to realise their full potential for language revitalisation, it is essential that they do not happen on their own, but in conjunction with other kinds of activity that foreground language acquisition and vernacular use. In terms of ideological risk, the dangers and problems highlighted in my discussion of the ritual performance – museumification, post-vernacular tokenism, and discourses of coloniality – are ever-present and very much contingent upon the specificities and vicissitudes of the revitalisation context.

The cultural journey of 'Beautiful Jersey'

It is hard to imagine discussing the song 'Beautiful Jersey/Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri' with anyone in Jersey without it automatically conjuring associations with Liberation Day. Before discussing the two particular performances of the song in 2018, it is vital to understand the significance of the song, including the historical context that links it to Liberation Day.

The cultural passage of the song 'Beautiful Jersey' is perhaps unlikely, and especially interesting. It began its journey rather humbly as a local music hall ballad, but over a century later, it is now a semi-official national anthem for Jersey. Composed in English by Lindsay Lennox, sometime before his death in 1906, the song initially became popular in the following decades. Then, at some point before or perhaps during World War II, local Jèrriais writer and activist Dr. Frank Le Maistre (author of the Jèrriais-French dictionary) translated the song into Jèrriais, as commonly happened with popular English and French songs.

It was during the occupation years under Nazi German rule that 'Beautiful Jersey' took on a particular poignancy by being sung at collective gatherings to boost morale and celebrate, perform, and proclaim local cultural identity. The following excerpt from an article in the *Jersey Evening Post* in January 1944 (then under German editorial control) describes a revealing example. The title of the article is 'Une Grande Séthée Jèrriaise' (a great Jèrriais evening), describing "not a concert" but a "Séthée de Compagnie" – an evening of company, togetherness, or companionship. Despite the somewhat formal tone, the sense of camaraderie, communitas, and high emotion amongst the audience is clear:

Une Grande Séthée Jèrriaise

Successful Charity Concert at St. Peter's

> With the laudable object of assisting the funds of the St. Brelade and St. Peter District Nursing Association, a Séthée Jerriaise was given in St. Peter's Parish Hall on Thursday and Saturday of last week, and was, in the opinion of all, a complete success. A well-varied programme had been arranged by the organiser and all the items proved most enjoyable. At the beginning of the entertainment Mr. S. Maillard, compère, explained that this was not a concert in the strict sense of the word, but a "Séthée de Compagnie" as enjoyed by our forbears [*sic*]… The first half was concluded by "Man Bieau P'tit Jerri," sung by Yvonne Le Mauviot, who also received a warm ovation from the audience… (*Jersey Evening Post*, 1944, cited in: Jennings, 2013, online)

The fictive kinship evoked by the deliberate phrase "as enjoyed by our forbears [*sic*]", along with the "warm ovation" received by Yvonne Le Mauviot for a distinctly Jèrriais version of 'Beautiful Jersey' evidence the kind of significance the song was beginning to take on in local identity narratives. According to Jennings (2013), the Jèrriais title, along with the patriotic significance of the lyrics and the enthusiastic response it inspired, apparently managed to "go over the head of" the strict censorship regime, most likely for lack of translation into German (Jennings, 2013, online). I have referenced the lyrics to the chorus in the previous chapter, but to illustrate the extent of this poignant patriotism, Table 1 shows the first verse, chorus, and verse two together, with a direct translation alongside the original English lyric:

Jèrriais	Direct translation	Original English
[verse one]		
Y'a un coin d'tèrre qué j'aime,	There's a corner of earth that I love,	There's a spot that I love
qué j'n'oubliéthai janmais,	that I'll never forget,	that I ne'er can forget
Dans mes pensées tréjous preunmyi.	Always first in my thoughts.	Tho' far I may roam 'twill be dear.
Car jé n'vai rein à compather à ses bieautés	For I see nothing to compare with its beauties	For its beauty will linger in memory yet,

Dans touos mes viages à l’êtrangi.	in all my travels abroad.	Where'er o'er the world I may steer.
Jèrri, man paradis, pus belle taque souos l’solé	Jersey, my paradise, most beautiful spot under the sun	Dear Jersey, fair Isle, of the ocean the queen,
Qué j’aime la paix dé chu Jèrri!	How I love the peacefulness of this Jersey!	Thy charms are so many and rare;
L’amour lé veurt, j’ai si envie dé m’en r’aller	Love wishes it so, I want so much to go back	For love finds a home 'mid each beauteous scene,
Èrvaie man chièr pétit pays.	to see my dear little country again.	My heart ever longs to be there.
[chorus]		
Man bieau p’tit Jèrri, la reine des îles,	My beautiful little Jersey, the queen of islands,	Beautiful Jersey, gem of the sea,
Lieu dé ma naîssance,	Place of my birth,	Ever my heart turns
tu m’pâsse bein près du tchoeu;	you're close to my heart;	in longing to thee;
Ô, tchi doux souv’nîn du bouôn temps qu’j’ai ieu,	Oh what a sweet memory of the good times I've had,	Bright are the mem'ries you waken for me,
Quand j’pense à Jèrri, la reine des îles	When I think of Jersey, the queen of islands!	Beautiful Jersey, gem of the sea.
[verse two]		
Jé connais touos tes charmes, et combein qu' j'en ai joui	I know all your charms, and how much I've enjoyed them	On thy shores I have wandered in glad days of yore,
auve eun-é chiéthe anmie, aut' fais!	with a sweetheart in the past!	With one who is dear to my heart.
Quand même qué pouor achteu jé n'sais pon tout près d'lyi,	Even though, for now, I'm nowhere near her,	And the love-links will bind us as one evermore,
N'y'a rein qu' Jèrri dans mes pensées.	there's nothing but Jersey in my thoughts.	Although for a while we must part.
Et pis, comme tout bouôn Jèrriais, dans l'fond d'man tchoeu	And so, like any good Jersey person, deep in my heart	And oft in my dreams do I see the dear place
J'ai grand envie dé m'en r'aller	I've a great desire to go back	The dear little Isle of the sea
Dans l'île tchi m'a donné	to the Island which has given me	And in fancy I gaze
tant d'amour et d'bonheu,	so much love and happiness,	on a sweet loving face,

Èrvaie ma chiéthe et man siez-mé	to see once again my sweetheart and my home.	The face that is dearest to me.

Table 1.
Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri/Beautiful Jersey' lyrics, comparison of Jèrriais, direct translation, and original English

Small acts of symbolic resistance to the occupation such as the singing of patriotic songs were not uncommon in Jersey (Carr et al., 2014), but what is striking about the lyrics of 'Beautiful Jersey' is the romantic reference to loss and distance from both the beloved country and a "chiéthe anmie" [*sweetheart*] in particular: "Quand même qué pouor achteu jé n' sais pon tout près d'lyi" [*Even though, for now, I'm nowhere near her*], there is a "grand envie dé m'en r'aller" [*great desire to go back*] to "Man bieau p'tit Jèrri" [*my beautiful little Jersey*]. When sung in the actual island at a formal ceremony today, this may seem a little odd, but in the context of occupation, where peace, normality, and especially Jersey identity were supplanted by an oppressive outsider, this longing makes more sense and provides added poignancy; not to mention the actual bereavements, evacuation, and deportations of the time. Who is this metaphorical 'chiéthe' [*darling*] if not peace and liberty personified?

There is also, perhaps, another dimension. As ideas of modernity progressed into the twentieth century, questions of 'traditional' Jersey came into focus. Local traditional lifeways, including language, were already being supplanted by the more powerful invasion of commercial and cultural outsiders. So, one can perhaps detect an additional subtext here: the song appeals to the Romanticised 'true' heart of a naturalised traditional pastoral Jersey ('old Jersey'), contributing to the process of 'existential memory work', as described by anthropologist David Sutton (Sutton, 2008). This is where communities coming to terms with the modern world negotiate their localised contemporary identity via constructions of tradition, which configure a particular "orientation toward the past" in the face of modernity (Sutton, 2008, p. 86). Such orientations can be embodied in everyday practices such as cooking (Lé Nièr Beurre, for example), as well as formal ceremony and song.

The nostalgic, idealised Jersey manifested in the song may have given it a patriotic association even before World War II. This is evidenced by the testimony of Sadie Le Sueur-Rennard, who was a local Connétable (municipal head of a parish) for many years, right up until her recent unfortunate passing. Connétable Le Sueur-Rennard will be sadly missed. She was a popular local figure who did much to popularise 'Beautiful Jersey' by singing it at public events, particularly Liberation Day. Connétable Le Sueur-Rennard also used to perform the

song “every year in June” (Jespersen, pers. comms. 2019) for surviving evacuees who spent the Occupation years as refugees in the UK. According to Connétable Le Sueur-Rennard, the evacuees have described the poignant moment St. Helier became visible again from their boat, as they returned in the late summer of 1945 (various journeys were made at this time):

> They said as they came back from the UK and rounded Noirmont Point that they all burst into song and sang Beautiful Jersey. (*Jersey Evening Post*, 2015b)

This spontaneity suggests ‘Beautiful Jersey’ was already widely known as a patriotic song, though with regards to Jèrriais, it is possible that these evacuees may only have heard the English version at this point. Walter Layzell provided me with a first-hand perspective on this story in a personal conversation nearly seventy-five years after the event, in January 2020. As one of the returning children on the first boat back (August 1945), Mr. Layzell told me that it was not just the people on his boat who were singing but also the crowds lining the shore on the pier and apparently all the way up to Mount Bingham, several hundred metres away. Whilst he does not explicitly remember ‘Beautiful Jersey’ being sung, he thinks it was likely.

In an email exchange, I asked Françouais Le Maistre, son of Jèrriais lyricist Dr. Frank Le Maistre, about the use of the song in the years following the war. According to Françouais, it was still sung at some community gatherings, thus maintaining its status as an important patriotic song. Françouais noted that the song was sometimes sung in Jèrriais at Jèrriais events but often in English elsewhere, for example, on occasions when it was accompanied by an organist at a local cinema. One of the most prominent post-war public performances of the song came in 1953 when the BBC gave a special five-minute broadcast from Jersey as part of its ‘Nation and Commonwealth’ programme in the final rehearsal prior to the coronation of Elizabeth II. It was broadcast to some three hundred million listeners, apparently including the Queen herself (*Jersey Evening Post*, 1953). As speeches were given paying homage to the young royal, the band of the Jersey Musical Union (now called the Band of the Island of Jersey) played ‘Beautiful Jersey’. A fifty-strong choir and the large crowd gathered at People’s Park sang along in the background:

> While the messages were being sent over the air and the speakers introduced by Mr. Frank Gilliard of the BBC on “Coronation Day Across the World”, the thousands on the

> Park were singing from their hearts the song, so familiar and well-loved, 'Beautiful Jersey'." *(Jersey Evening Post*, 1953)

In the ensuing festivities after the broadcast, "the joyous throng sang and sang again", enjoying a range of patriotic songs including 'Beautiful Jersey'. Whilst some spoken Jèrriais was featured in the broadcast, it is not reported that the Jèrriais version of the song was used, and the official lyric sheets only contained the English words to the chorus (*Jersey Evening Post*, 1953). Nevertheless, the status and social use of the song - "so familiar and well-loved" - is clear at this point in time.

'Beautiful Jersey' maintained this significance and use mostly informally between the 1950s and the 1990s, but the last few decades have seen such affection begin to crystallise into the more prestigious distinction of becoming a semi-official anthem of Jersey. The song has achieved this status in no small part because of its ritualised ceremonial performance on Liberation Day, beginning with Connétable Le Sueur-Rennard's celebrated version with the Band of the Island of Jersey at the 50th anniversary in 1995, and continuing every year since. The "huge celebrations" of the 50th anniversary entrenched and extended important changes to the form and ritual of Liberation Day (Carr, 2014, p. 224), shifting to a mode of celebration that emphasises the theme of liberation and freedom and re-locating the ceremony to the newly dedicated Liberation Square (including the Liberation Monument sculpture unveiled by Prince Charles in 1995). The particular performance style and musical arrangement of 'Beautiful Jersey' which was established in 1995 remain largely unchanged today. Indeed, the Band of the Island of Jersey and its precursor, the Jersey Musical Union, have been playing the song since at least 1953, if not earlier.

Between 1995 and 2015, and then again in 2020 (for the 75th anniversary), Connétable Le Sueur-Rennard performed 'Beautiful Jersey' during the Liberation Day celebrations. On each occasion, she dressed in a folkloric red Jersey bonnet and white apron, directly referencing the Jersey flag and notions of 'traditional Jersey'[39]. The Band of the Island of Jersey accompanied her solo voice, singing in an overtly emotive vocal style similar to popular female singers of the 40s era (e.g. Vera Lynn or Edith Piaf): extroverted, rhythmically

[39] According to Geraint Jennings (pers. comms., 2021), it is likely the traditional costume was initially practical clothing but became an aspect of 19th Century tourism in marketable constructions of rural Jersey imagery, appearing on postcards and such.

'straight' and employing a certain amount of vibrato[40]. Carr notes that the *Jersey Evening Post* described the 1995 celebrations as stirring "the deepest of emotions and the most powerful of feelings" (Carr 2014:224). According to Carr, the celebrations were seen as "a 'watershed', marking a transformation of the Occupation years from 'the stuff of memory to the stuff of history' as the occupation generation grew older and fewer" (Carr 2014:224). As official memory constructed by the state was eclipsing the vernacular public memory of occupation survivors, this combination of extremely elevated emotion and claim to historical authority illustrates just how high the cultural and political stakes are for Liberation Day. 'Beautiful Jersey' was, and remains, embedded into the official discourse, playing a role in constructing an identity narrative that ties memory and affect to the Churchillian paradigm of British triumph over occupation, and consequent celebration of liberation. A 2014 blog post by local resident Roy McCarthy notes the strength of feeling typically amongst the older generation in this moment. McCarthy directly links the song with waving the British flag: "the tears in the old people's eyes as they wave their Union flags and sing 'Beautiful Jersey' are very real" (McCarthy, 2014).

After 1995 the ceremonial style performance continued to be used as an anthem at other public events and so eventually gained its current general status as a kind of national anthem of Jersey. Indeed, many mistakenly believe it is the official anthem as it is still used at large-scale public events, e.g., sports competitions. 'Beautiful Jersey' is now very well-known and devotedly loved by many local people.

In 2008, ostensibly in an effort to avoid the 'uncertainty' of not having an official island anthem (see: Johnson, 2016b), the States of Jersey held a competition to formally establish an official anthem. Despite 'Beautiful Jersey' winning the popular vote, the winner was ultimately chosen by judges, including the Bailiff at the time, Sir Philip Bailhache, who was a driving force behind the competition. The judges' choice was a song entitled 'Island Home' by local musician Gerard Le Feuvre. As yet, however, no politician has brought a proposal to Jersey's parliament to ratify 'Island Home' as the official anthem. According to Deputy Montfort Tadier (who was at the time of this correspondence the Assistant Minister for Economic Development, Tourism, Sport and Culture, with responsibility for Culture), the

[40] In fact Connétable Le Sueur-Rennard was a passionate fan of Country music, apparently visiting Nashville every year; which may have contributed to the emotive tone of her singing style (*Jersey Evening Post*, 2015b).

main reason for this is likely to be because the song has not achieved widespread acceptance, popularity, or anything like the cultural significance of 'Beautiful Jersey' (Tadier, pers. comms., 2020). Tellingly, Deputy Tadier notes:

> For an anthem to stick, it needs to gain popularity organically, from the grassroots. The selection process for a new anthem was seen as politically led, by an elite group to manufacture a new anthem (and arguably an island identity), by bypassing the masses. Naturally, such a move was treated with contempt by ordinary islanders, who saw it for what it was. (Tadier, pers. comms., 2020)

Despite the ill-fated anthem competition, or indeed perhaps partly because of it (see: Johnson, 2016b, p. 107), 'Beautiful Jersey' continues to be used as an anthem for Jersey. For example, it featured at the 2015 International Island Games, which were hosted in the island. In an interview in 2015, Suzie Foster, the ceremonies manager for the event, told me that the organising committee came to the "unanimous decision" that 'Beautiful Jersey' should be used as Jersey's anthem for the games because "it's the song that sums up the island," it is connected to "memories of past events", and it was "something we all thought the island was proud of" (Foster, 2015, interview). Connétable Le Sueur-Rennard is on record in the States of Jersey parliamentary Hansard as claiming the song is "close to everybody's heart" (States of Jersey, 2019). This was also evidenced at the 150th anniversary gala celebrating the building of the Jersey Opera House, where 'Beautiful Jersey' served as the grand finale. Director Nick Carver told me via email:

> When I was approached to direct the Gala, the Jersey Opera House executive board asked that only three elements be included, one of which was Sadie Rennard singing Beautiful Jersey. The rest of the show was totally up to me. Because I had created a timeline of the history of the theatre woven with a story line of characters, I felt that we needed a finale that used the song to reflect the past, but also hint at the future which - this is why we re-arranged Beautiful Jersey to start with the traditional version and then move into a version that no-one had heard before… The use of Jerriais was important to give the project a uniqueness and an authenticity - the theatre has been part of the community for 150 years, and nothing encompasses the identity of the Island like Jèrriais. (Carver, 2019, pers. comms.)

In summary, we can see that 'Beautiful Jersey' has a long and well-established history, strong cultural significance, and a profound resonance with local identity as a conflux of cultural memory, nostalgia, and linguistic heritage. Consequently, I entered my ethnographic fieldwork feeling a certain weight of responsibility to engage with the song in a culturally sensitive and conscientious manner.

Finding a place for the choir on Liberation Day

I should mention that I did feel a certain political and ethical ambivalence about linking my applied research directly with Liberation Day, given the strident and problematic political character of the formal events (discussed in chapter one). But as things stand, apart from the Liberation Day performance and the occasional sports event or similar, 'Beautiful Jersey' is rarely heard outside of the Jèrriais community, so I knew the connection with Liberation Day would provide an added dimension of identity narrative to observe 'in action' amongst the non-Jèrriais speaking community. Liberation Day would happen with or without me, so in the end, I decided it was a justifiable opportunity I ought to take, despite my personal qualms.

As mentioned in chapter five, my agreement with the Liberation Day organisers was for the choir to participate in the informal entertainment during the afternoon rather than the formal ceremony in the morning. Whilst it could be argued that taking part in the formal ceremony may have provided a more meaningful, higher profile and thus potentially more memorable experience for the choir (and possibly the public), one advantage of taking part in this informal side of the day is that the atmosphere is much more relaxed. So there would perhaps be less pressure on young performers singing in an unfamiliar language. A bonus advantage was that I myself felt more comfortable in this environment, away from the politically problematic formalities. The children would also be able to enjoy performing more than one song, as we were given a fifteen-minute slot to fill. The informal entertainment happens at the Weighbridge, an adjacent area to Liberation Square. As mentioned, a stage, sound system, and large screens are set up, along with the chairs and picnic benches, and various temporary caterers, craft sellers, and children's activities. Several thousand people pass through this area during the afternoon and enjoy the celebrations into the early evening, entertained by various 1940s-themed music and dances. In order to get ready for such a public event, the choir needed to prepare.

The Jersey Music Service Liberation Choir: a journey towards togetherness

The choir rehearsals took place over the course of three weeks leading up to the final performance of 'Beautiful Jersey'. In terms of the children's language ideology and identification with Jèrriais, a key motif here is the *performance* of identity – its literal performativity – which began at the first rehearsal. The process of practising was not just a consolidation of learning, but a constructive performative display of it, a display of identity amongst strangers. It was also a journey towards becoming more than strangers: i.e. a cohesive social and musical unit with Jèrriais at its heart. Twenty-five children from my school project took part in the choir: thirteen from St. Peter, five from D'Auvergne, three from St. John, two from St. Martin, and just one from Trinity and Rouge Bouillon.

In preparation for the final performance, I was fortunate to be able to tap into the existing activities and infrastructure of the Jersey Music Service. This included a rehearsal room in a well-known location in St. Helier (Fort Regent Leisure Centre), two more staff members, and also a small group of five singers – a dwindling remnant from a couple of different Jersey Music Service children's choir initiatives – who still met every week to rehearse. Four of these were secondary school students, and one primary (from Janvrin School). They were led by musicians Margaret Picot and Hugh Lincé, who were very happy to accommodate the volunteers from my project and support the rehearsal process as well as the final performance on Liberation Day. All five new singers were keen to join the final group on Liberation Day, and learned 'Beautiful Jersey' despite having no prior familiarity with Jèrriais. Hugh Lincé was our pianist for the rehearsals and performance, and his skills, commitment, and knowledge of the repertoire were invaluable. That repertoire included 'Beautiful Jersey' of course, but also various popular songs that were well-known during World War II and have since become customary to sing on Liberation Day, including 'Run Rabbit Run', 'Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree', 'Red Red Robin', and 'White Cliffs of Dover'. This was very helpful because we ended up using these four songs as a prelude to 'Beautiful Jersey', making up the fifteen-minute performance.

With only three rehearsals planned, I knew the first meeting at Fort Regent would be important to establish a positive social atmosphere in this reasonably diverse group, so I tried to be as welcoming and relaxed as possible. Particularly for the two girls who were the only ones from their respective schools, it is likely to have been somewhat daunting to be

dropped off to this two-hour rehearsal with over thirty strangers, including much older children, and not much of an idea what was planned. So I took every opportunity to praise the children and build their confidence. No doubt, the intensity of the experience is partly what made it memorable, but I also wanted it to be as enjoyable as possible.

After an introduction, we began looking at the Jèrriais lyrics to 'Beautiful Jersey' and the younger children translated each line perfectly, without hesitation. I felt it was good that they could help teach the Jèrriais to the older children, with this performance of knowledge also serving as a form of identity performance. As I read out each line for the first time, a bunch of hands very quickly shot up. They all had a basic grasp of the pronunciation and melody within half an hour, so we moved on to the English songs. It took us quite a while to collectively choose which songs to do, partly as I was keen to involve the children in the decision making but also as I was keen to encourage songs that were not overly cliché or jingoistic (in other words, moving away from the Churchillian paradigm). I was pleased with the final selection of songs as their optimism is not triumphalist or militaristic; rather, they each have at least an oblique awareness of loss or potential loss, and a sense of hope deferred until a metaphorical 'tomorrow' of the future.[41] For example, 'Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree' requests fidelity "'til I come marching home"; 'Red Red Robin' refers to the hope that "there'll be no more sobbing"; 'White Cliffs of Dover' directly refers to the peace of "tomorrow – just you wait and see"; and even the exhortations of 'Run Rabbit Run' claim the threatening farmer will "get by without his rabbit pie".

Before taking a short break on day one, the first song we agreed on was 'White Cliffs of Dover', which immediately sounded mellifluous and affecting, with a quintessential bright and sweet children's choir sound. This was the first moment I felt that they sounded like a unit, cohesively and confidently performing the English words, which are quite emotive in meaning. Margaret, who was leading the singing at this point, declared, "Lovely" as they sang, and afterwards, "Well done. What a great bunch of singers you are. Fantastic."

During the short break, I was hoping to get a more thorough ethnographic picture of how the children were feeling and what they were thinking, either by observation or perhaps

[41] In fact, we did not finalise the setlist until the end of rehearsal two. Rejected songs included: 'We'll Meet Again' (too cliché), 'It's a Long Road to Tipperary' (also too cliché), 'Siegfried Line' (too militaristic), 'Quartermaster Stores' (apparently too much of a 'singalong' song rather than performance), 'Pack Up Your Troubles' (reference to smoking), and 'It's a Lovely Day Tomorrow' (too ambitious).

just via small talk, but Hugh and I needed to discuss some musical and logistical details. In any case, I found it quite hard to get to know the children more meaningfully in this context, which was not particularly conducive to 'deep hanging out' (Geertz, 1998). I found small talk to be a difficult thing to do in a natural way with these children, as it commonly is (Driessen and Jansen, 2013). Keeping the group occupied with the actual singing - with minimal 'down-time' between songs - may have functioned as a socially helpful focal point for those children who were feeling nervous or awkward at this early stage, giving them all a way of doing something together despite their lack of familiarity. But it also gave me less of a chance to pick up on much ethnographically, beyond their apparent enjoyment and engagement level. Nevertheless, the mood in the room was convivial, with the warm buzz of friendly chatter filling the space after we wrapped up for the day and parents began to arrive. Children near my audio recorder at the back of the room greeted it with a 'hello' and proceeded to casually discuss the stickers on my guitar case.

Meanwhile, Beatriz, a Portuguese-background student from D'Auvergne, proudly showed me the Portuguese version of 'Beautiful Jersey' she had independently written, with some help from her dad. All the staff were hugely impressed by this, and Hugh suggested it should be developed, published, and used publicly. Whilst it was not entirely sing-able in terms of scansion, the fact that Beatriz had taken it upon herself to produce a version in her 'heritage language' is significant in terms of her attachment to the song. Not only had she thoroughly learned the Jèrriais lyrics, but she grasped the meaning of each line well enough and held the song in high enough regard to be intrinsically motivated to write a version in her family's language. As Marsh has observed with immigrant children in Australia, music provides:

> …a means of developing forms of communication, a sense of belonging and empowerment, and a contribution to cultural maintenance, identity construction, emotional release, and integration within the host culture. (Marsh, 2013, p. 1)

Whilst Beatriz may be a second-generation immigrant, all the above could still hold true. Indeed, Minks has observed similar though more established and sophisticated trilingual forms of peer-directed socialisation into 'linguistic heterogeneity' in her ethnography of children's songs and games amongst Corn Island Miskitu children (Minks, 2013, p. 8). There, children spontaneously interweave Miskitu, Spanish, and Kriol English. Such intercultural

exchange is an intriguing prospect for Jersey, and may be beginning to evolve. The 2021-24 Jèrriais Language Strategy from L'Office du Jèrriais recognises that:

> A large percentage of the children choosing to take up Jèrriais lessons are of Polish and Portuguese heritage, demonstrating a desire among the migrant population to learn more about the Island they have chosen for a home. (L'Office du Jèrriais, 2021, p. 8)

As we were discussing this Portuguese translation, Georgia, from St. Peter, was collected by her mum, who said as they were going out the door, "Fantastic. Georgie's so chuffed to be here. We're Badlabecques fans, so you know, it's all good." I concluded the first rehearsal with the sense that whilst we had a certain amount of work yet to do for the performance, there were signs that the group were at least identifying with the song and having a good time. An increased positive association with Jèrriais was therefore likely to be following fairly naturally, with the experience of the language phenomenologically intertwined with the music as a simultaneously embodied, cognitive, affective, social and aesthetic experience.

The beginning of the second rehearsal revealed a certain level of social anxiety as Margaret decided to ask the children to arrange by gender (girl/boy/girl/boy etc). Some children clearly found it awkward to be moved next to others they did not know, with one boy pleading "Oh pleeease" before hesitantly obliging. Sensing the discomfort, I felt the need to encourage them 'to make new friends' by giving each other a high five, and thankfully this did produce a laugh and release some tension. After recapping the Jèrriais lyrics, we began to look at the original and somewhat sentimental English version of 'Beautiful Jersey'. We decided to sing both versions to to make the performance more substantial and meaningful for the audience on Liberation Day, using verse one and the chorus:

> There's a spot that I love that I ne'er can forget,
> Tho' far I may roam 'twill be dear.
> For its beauty will linger in memory yet,
> Where'er o'er the world I may steer.
> Dear Jersey, fair Isle, of the ocean the queen,
> Thy charms are so many and rare;

For love finds a home 'mid each beauteous scene,
My heart ever longs to be there.

Beautiful Jersey, gem of the sea,
Ever my heart turns in longing to thee;
Bright are the mem'ries you waken for me,
Beautiful Jersey, gem of the sea.

After some discussion of the archaic language, we sang it together for the first time. As we finished, I asked the choir, "Is anyone feeling warm and fuzzy about Jersey now after singing that?" Several children and adults responded with a slightly bashful 'yes' or 'yeah', along with a few giggles. I sensed that the introduction of the English lyrics had provided an additional moment of 'connection' in terms of cultural identity, and in terms of sharing this common 'Jerseyness' as a group. This was perhaps underlined again later in the rehearsal. During the final repeat of the song at the very end of the session, I noticed that as they switched from Jèrriais to English, the singing became more energetic and coherent. But then, by the time they returned to the Jèrriais after having sung the English, the energy level was almost as intense, as if perhaps the English had stirred their emotions a little. At the end of the rehearsal, as the parents arrived I asked them, along with the children, if it would be OK to film the final rehearsal, which they were all quite happy with in principle.

Our last rehearsal included several revealing moments that indicate an increasing level of social connection, positive affect, and a relaxed, congenial atmosphere. There was also a high level of enthusiasm, commitment, and an excited anticipation of the final performance, which was only six days away. One child had recently travelled by the Weighbridge and had seen the Liberation Day preparations underway, including the stage, which was standing prominently at one edge. When I confirmed that that was indeed the stage that they would be singing on, several children exchanged animated looks with each other.

The presence of a banjolele caused some delight too. Rather than just have live piano for 'Beautiful Jersey', we chose to use the same backing track as the video with Agent Cliémentinne. So I made an extended version and increased the association with the World War II theme by adding a George Formby-style banjolele to the mix. I asked for a volunteer to

use the banjolele to mime along with the record, providing a particular moment in the limelight during an eighteen-second banjolele solo. Nine children enthusiastically volunteered, with Isabelle from St. Martin's school getting the role and clearly enjoying herself.[42] I recorded this sixteen-bar passage as a brief musical break, and I knew it would provide an endearing and entertaining interlude, but it also produced an interesting side-effect in that it punctuated the children's mutual self-awareness. Those that had been 'glazed over', no doubt from singing a chorus they had repeated many times, and whose attention was perhaps somewhat self-absorbed, were brought back into the moment - the group dynamic - by the energy and humour of Isabelle's slightly self-conscious but joyful miming. As they reprised the chorus for a final time, the performance energy was lifted, more cohesive and spirited.

Early in the rehearsal, Maya, from D'Auvergne, had told us that Liberation Day is her mum's birthday and asked if we could sing 'Happy Birthday' to her. At an appropriate point in the session, I took this as an opportunity to teach everyone the Jèrriais version, which became another positive social and musical-linguistic moment. We took a break to get a drink, and soon I noticed some children sharing sweets around the room, handing them out randomly in a friendly, open way, totally independent of adult instruction. I was particularly impressed by this as an act of social bonding.

As this was going on, I began setting up my cameras to film. The difficulty was that whilst quite a few parents had returned consent forms (a good sign in itself), not all had, so we had to rearrange the children to keep some of them out of shot. This was disappointing for those that could not be filmed, which I took as another sign of their general enthusiasm and goodwill towards me. Thankfully, my announcement that they could all take home a Badlabecques CD was well-received: most of the children responded with a "Yeah!" while one raised two fists, and another threw his water bottle into the air. After one or two more rounds of each song, as we reached the end of the rehearsal, some children were clearly tired and restless, fiddling with their CDs or swinging legs and feet under their chairs. Nevertheless, their behaviour in terms of their effort and commitment to the singing was admirable. All the children had worked extremely hard over six hours (in total) of fairly intense rehearsal. They had begun to bond socially, they were sounding out that group unity

[42] We used Siri to generate a random number.

as a cohesive choir, and they were organically weaving Jèrriais into their ongoing identity narratives. I felt they were very much ready for Liberation Day.

Liberation Day 2018: the formal ceremony

As mentioned earlier, the weather was more or less ideal on the morning of the 9th of May, though there was a light but noticeable breeze, and a few vague clouds still hovered overhead. As all the usual discourses of coloniality unfolded, formless clouds of disquiet hovered in my mind too. The pomp and pageantry of militaristic social order marched another year's worth of ritualistic ideological conservative propaganda, complete with self-satisfied claims of 'freedom', across the public psyche. In his foreword to Bourdieu's *Language and Symbolic Power*, Thompson notes that "power is seldom exercised as overt physical force: instead, it is transmuted into a symbolic form, and thereby endowed with a kind of *legitimacy* that it would not otherwise have" (1991, p. 23, emphasis in original). On Liberation Day, more so than on any other day in Jersey's cultural calendar, Jersey identity is constructed within a frame of British nationalism, drawing on the Churchillian paradigm. Socio-political elites use the occasion to legitimise Jersey's social order as status quo, and reify the coloniality of neoliberal capitalist realism. Such notions are embedded into almost every aspect of the formal ceremony, where "customized codes of normative behavior are fundamentally underscored by the logic and ethics of the colonial system" (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243). Consolidated hierarchies of power are incorporated into the particular habitus constructed by the traditions of the day, imprinted on the body and in language via the corporeal 'hexis' (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 86), which overdetermines collective behaviour. This is exemplified in the airs and graces of the various authority figures leading the ceremony and solemnly framed by the militaristic grandeur. The construction of collective memory on Liberation Day is a very good example of what Climo *et al*. are referring to when they state that:

> Struggles over identity, political power, and legitimacy often revolve around memory sites and practices. Political elites and others in positions of power try to be "the master[s] of memory and forgetfulness" (LeGoff 1992, quoted in Brundage 2000:11) because to control memory is to control history and its interpretations of the past. (Climo and Cattell, 2002, p. 30)

It is also worth noting that unlike in France (via the French Revolution) or England (via the Common Law, land enclosures, and evolving labour relations), feudalism has never formally ended in Jersey. This has not only resulted in some peculiar legal legacies today (including rights still claimed by seigneurs), but arguably it may have contributed to the ideologically 'naturalised' sense of entitlement, superiority, and authoritarianism amongst elites at the top of Jersey's highly stratified social inequality.

As in previous years, before the ceremony in 2018, two parades led by military-style bands (one pipe, one brass) advanced from the Royal Square, where the parliament building sits, to Liberation Square. According to the official programme (States of Jersey 2018: 3), the parades consisted of: the members of the States Assembly, the Greffier and Deputy Greffier of the States, the Honorary Consuls and representatives of the Jewish and Islamic communities, the Cross Bearer, Heads of Faith and Rectors, the Mace and Seal Bearers, the Bailiff, His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor (representing the Queen), the Deputy Bailiff, the Commissioners and Jurats of the Royal Court, and the Crown Officers accompanied by members of the Jersey Field Squadron. In short, a representation of the *totality* of local officialdom covering political, legal, civic, religious, and military figures.

Once assembled at their destination, key dignitaries arranged themselves on a platform in front of the audience in accordance with the accepted hierarchy and tradition, emphasising their cultural authority.[43] A thousand people sat in rows of white plastic chairs in front of them, with several hundred more standing beyond, either on temporary scaffolded structures or just haphazardly in all available spaces. Various officials – all white and male in 2018, as is typical – led patriotic addresses and a Christian religious ceremony (a 'Service of Thanksgiving'). As ever, throughout the proceedings, the Churchillian paradigm was in full effect, eliciting nebulous nostalgia for the mythologised imperial nationalism embodied in the Churchill myth. The entire parade and ceremony were, as usual, a kind of drawn-out, self-legitimising performative act of jingoistic Britishness with a Jersey twist. The discourse was formal but highly emotive and full of patrician platitudes and exhortations, like this somewhat mawkish mixed metaphor from the Bailiff's welcome message in the official programme: "We should burn the torch of freedom into our hearts and into the very fabric of our being" (States of Jersey 2018: 1). As is typical on Liberation Day, such rhetoric elides the

[43] Some politicians were absent due to purdah rules as an election was due merely days later.

raw and sacred struggle for freedom from fascism bequeathed by the generation that liberated Jersey from Nazi occupation in 1945, and the sophisticated tax haven-style 'freedom' enjoyed by Jersey's current political hegemony under 21st Century neoliberalism. As discussed in chapter one, today's 'freedom' is unequally distributed, with globalised, financialised capitalism coercively perpetuating hardship and inequality both locally in Jersey and internationally. Loving freedom is not compatible with loving empire, yet, the rhetorical affectation persists: the short address from Bailiff Sir William Bailhache quoted Churchill and urged the mostly ageing conservative audience to vote in the upcoming elections, mentioning freedom nine times.[44]

The ritual performance of 'Beautiful Jersey' occurs just before the 're-enactment of liberation', described below. For 2018, eighteen-year-old soloist and local secondary school student Keira Melville took centre stage. Unlike Sadie Le Sueur-Rennard, Miss Melville wore the colours of the Jersey flag in the form of a more contemporary bright red dress and white suit jacket rather than a traditional Jersey bonnet and apron. She sang just the first verse in Jèrriais, accompanied by The Band of The Island of Jersey, and was then joined for an English verse and chorus by a children's choir, The Musical Originals Singers. Between them, they produced a highly conventional, sentimental, and nostalgic sound and performance, which was apposite given the context and lyrical content. Though still bright and clear, Miss Melville's vocal style was less affected than Sadie Le Sueur-Rennard's, producing an open, well-enunciated sound.

Whilst I have been unable to confirm the exact instrumentation of the band on the day, the standard lineup is: four solo cornets, one soprano cornet, one or two 2nd or 3rd cornets, one flugelhorn, two or three tenor horns, two euphoniums, one or two baritone horns, two tenor trombones, one bass trombone, and two E♭ tubas. From the opening bars, a well-rounded traditional brass band sound bathed the performance in an aura of British military gravity and modernist authority (see: Reily and Brucher, 2016, discussed below). They provided an undulating accompaniment that largely combined simple arpeggios with melodic support. Between vocal phrases, the arrangement introduced gentle counter-phrases to the melody on the higher-register instruments. These provided some momentum,

[44] Given the right-wing political career of Sir William Bailhaches' brother, ex-Bailiff Sir. Philip Bailhache, and given the brothers' local presence as a living embodiment of privilege, power, and hierarchical conservative values, there was no need for the Bailiff to tell the crowd who to vote for.

and led the dynamic development as well as the rhythm and changing meter of the performance. The song's melody is very long and meandering, falling into three sections: a verse and 'pre-chorus' in 4/4 time, and a chorus that traditionally shifts to 6/8 (see appendix). In this arrangement, a slight tension was built with the pre-chorus moving to the relative minor and using a *III* major chord instead of the natural median, drawing out the emotional ardour and yearning with a rallentando just before the chorus. Having shifted to 6/8 time, the protracted chorus peaked in both pitch and expressive fervour at the word 'Bright…', finally resolving on a perfect cadence and rallentando. Throughout the song, some older members of the seated audience sang along, and a few people waved the little Jersey and Union flags that were left on their chairs.

After 'Beautiful Jersey', another ritual called the 're-enactment of Liberation' began. Several military figures in period costume representing the 'Liberating Force' arrived in the square to ceremonially raise both Union and Jersey flags, mimicking the order of events as they happened in 1945, with the crowd being "warmly encouraged to cheer and applaud at the appropriate moments" (States of Jersey, 2018, p. 8). The British national anthem, 'God Save The Queen', was then sung, followed by the retiring procession of dignitaries and the final parade, signalling the end of formalities at noon sharp.

The formal Liberation Day ceremony and the ritual performance of 'Beautiful Jersey' raise some important issues. Returning to the key themes of my thesis, the first questions that arise regarding this performance are: what kind of an engagement with Jersey identity does this musical experience provide, and thus what contribution might it make to positive language beliefs about Jèrriais? Given the context, the overall aesthetic of the arrangement and performance clearly embodies a sentimental form of conservative, patriotic cultural identity and community spirit, articulated through musical and lyrical conventions of the pre-war/wartime era, in combination with the brass band style. The official programme states that the performers will "encapsulate the spirit of the Islanders by singing the popular song 'Beautiful Jersey' " (States of Jersey, 2018, p. 7). This phrase 'spirit of the Islanders' is a clear reference to the cultural narrative of the faithful, resilient, and proud character of Jersey residents during the occupation. Coming as it does just before the re-enactment ritual, the performance thus serves as an emotional and conceptual bridge to the past. Rigney describes the capacity of historical fiction to build "pontoons between mnemonic communities" (Rigney 2008: 92), mediating between those who remember by experience and those who

learn to remember by the imaginative narrative of remembrance inherent in the historical fiction itself. Though a different kind of cultural form or 'figure of memory' (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995, p. 129), music is functioning in a similar way to historical fiction in this instance. The embodied experience of hearing and perhaps joining in with the old song, sung in the old way, provides a unique moment of phenomenological connectedness to the 'the Islanders' of the 1940s. Assmann and Czaplicka discuss such figures of memory which form discreet 'islands of time' and exist in a kind of suspended temporality. In these encounters with collective memory, group consciousness is configured as "islands of time expand into memory spaces of 'retrospective contemplativeness'" (Assmann and Czaplicka, 1995, p. 129).

But whilst this moment may provide a powerful episode of imagined community, fictive kinship, and mnemonic synchronisation, the presence of Jèrriais at this point – occurring here and here alone in the entire ceremony – has an inevitable museumifying effect. DeNora describes the way that music, as a temporal medium heard over time, can become associated with particular moments and spaces:

> Music reheard and recalled provides a device for unfolding, for replaying, the temporal structure of that moment, its dynamism as emerging experience. (DeNora, 2000, p. 67)

The ritual performance frames itself in a comparable way to the Syrian Jewish pizmonim discussed by Kaufman Shelemay: it "literally sustains the memory of a sound from the past" (Kaufman Shelemay, 2006, p. 23) and thus constructs collective memory. Through the song, there is a sense in which the audience is momentarily *experiencing* the past in the present, briefly enraptured in the common 'retrospective contemplativeness' in which Jèrriais plays a role. An association between Jèrriais and 'the past' is thus unavoidable. Jèrriais is history.

For the forty-seven seconds it took Miss Mellville to sing the first verse of 'Beautiful Jersey' in Jèrriais (or even the roughly one minute and forty seconds when Sadie Le Sueur-Rennard used to sing both the verse and the chorus), the language is briefly at the centre of proceedings. One may be tempted to see this high-profile moment as making a particularly positive contribution to the status of Jèrriais, as a form of official endorsement and a prominent moment of cultural veneration. This may be true to some extent, but beyond the museumification effect I have just discussed, another danger is that this extremely short, symbolic 'post-vernacular' use of Jèrriais is not only very limited but that it becomes all we

ever get. As Sallabank notes: “there is a risk that performance may even take the place of day-to-day use, to the extent that performance is becoming a goal in itself” (Sallabank, 2013, p. 87). The fact that the most recognisable part of the song, the chorus, was actually cut from the Jèrriais part of the performance gives weight to the idea that its presence is no more than tokenistic. According to an email from Chris Le Maistre, musical director of the Band of the Island of Jersey, cutting the Jèrriais chorus was “at the request of the Bailiff” (Le Maistre, 2020, pers. comms), though I am yet to find out the rationale for this. Irrespective of the reasoning, however much cultural cachet these brief and somewhat abstract seconds of exposure may confer on Jèrriais, the capacity to contribute towards vernacular use in the audience members’ day-to-day life is constrained. It may make a contribution to metalinguistic community, but this kind of post-vernacular tokenism alone will never lead to language revitalisation. It is nevertheless worth noting that the experience of learning and performing the Jèrriais words was a positive experience for Miss Melville, who only moved to Jersey from Canada in 2015, and who describes herself as Chinese-Scottish Canadian. Keira Melville herself is not a Jèrriais speaker so learned the verse especially for the event. In an email exchange, Miss Melville told me how she enjoyed the process and recognised the significance of Jèrriais:

> I was very happy to sing the song in the local language, and I think the importance of doing so is not only to keep it alive every year for new audiences, but also to honour those who do still speak it. The Liberation Day celebration is likely most important to those older folk who lived through the occupation, and among those older folk, the bulk of Jèrriais speakers lie. (Melville, 2020, pers. comms.)

This favourable stance is indicative of a supportive language ideology that was perhaps enhanced in the process of learning the song. Miss Melville was already bilingual with English and French, with some knowledge of Spanish and Italian, so had an affinity with Latin-based languages. But as the sole performer of the Jèrriais part of the song, there was only one participant in this process, as opposed to the Liberation Choir of thirty drawn from two-hundred and eighty children. Whatever chance there may be of Miss Melville herself going on to learn Jèrriais on the basis of this experience, the overall contribution to language revitalisation is unlikely to be great.

Given the strident coloniality inherent in the militarised Churchillian paradigm of the formal ceremony, the ritualised version of 'Beautiful Jersey' is inevitably enclosed within such discourses. But as a musical-linguistic event, the performance also makes specific contributions of its own. These encompass explicitly language-related discourses as well as a more general discourse of modernist hierarchy and control, constructing a kind of musical hexis.

First, the evocation of a past traditional Jersey juxtaposes with the assumed superiority of contemporary Jersey. The backwards-looking museumification of Jèrriais in this process inevitably takes the total dominance of English for granted as the language of progress, which further embeds modernist linguistic imperialism. Indeed, the children's choir provide a ready symbolism here: they are 'the future', but they only join in with the English verse and chorus.

The symbolic tokenism of the brief appearance of Jèrriais also plays into the local form of 'neoliberal multiculturalism' (Hale, 2005), as discussed in relation to Jersey in chapter one. To recap, this is where Indigenous cultures are recognised and certain rights are acknowledged, but this is either confined to non-threatening domains or comes at the cost of accepting certain agendas, racial/cultural hierarchies, and neoliberal "entanglement in a grid of intelligibility" (Hale, 2005, p. 16). Limiting the presence of Jèrriais to this passing musical moment aligns with colonial/modernist bifurcations of music and language, and of colonial languages and minority languages. There is a parallel of hierarchies here, as noted by linguistic anthropologist David Samuels in his 2015 essay/book review relating to music and language revitalisation. These bifurcations are founded upon a dichotomy between rationality and affect, involving "perceived differences in the instrumentalities of language and of music, namely the 'pragmatic' aspects of language versus the 'expressive' aspects of music, a distinction seated deep in the rhetoric of colonial regimes" (Samuels, 2015, p. 347). Samuels continues, linking this with language ideologies:

> Yet the practical instrumentality of language—over music's imagined emotional expressivity—mirrors, in a sense, arguments about the practical instrumentality of majority languages over the imagined cultural identitarian nature of threatened minority languages. (Samuels, 2015, p. 347).

In this instance, colonial/modernist logic structures both hierarchies into this one ritual performance, segregating Jèrriais into a solitary affective and 'expressive' musical moment, enlisting both music and minority language in the service of the wider agenda of remembrance linked to the Churchillian paradigm.

As a product of nineteenth-century military evolution and colonial expansion, the brass band also plays an ideological role here, even if unintentional. I would like to emphasise that the following observation is by no means a personal criticism of the band members or suggestion that they knowingly and deliberately aim to reproduce local hierarchy and coloniality, or constrain Jèrrias in any way. I am simply making a connection between the discursive patrimony described by Reily and Brucher, below, and the corresponding semiotic resonances in Jersey. In the introduction to their edited volume *Brass Bands of the World: Militarism, Colonial Legacies, and Local Music Making*, which examines wind band cultures around the world, Reily and Brucher vividly depict the imperial template for this tradition. Drawing on Flaes (2000), Reily and Brucher describe the way in which the European military bands can be seen as a metaphor for European colonialism, used to impress and intimidate 'the natives':

> Their 'terrible beauty' was able to unite, in a single formula, a clear hierarchy and labour structure, an orderly portrayal of power and military might, and dazzling modern technology in the form of bright, indestructible instruments. In explicit 'rites of power', military bands paraded through the colonies, their spectacular public performances displaying European cultural, technological and military superiority. (2016, p. 11)

By participating in the 'rites of power' on Liberation Day in Jersey, the Band of the Island of Jersey, dressed in their impeccable military-style uniforms, draw on this legacy to create the 'island of time' that is the ritual performance. The (feminine) sentimentality of the singing lead by Miss Melville and the children's choir is dependent on and subservient to the rhythmic and dynamic leading of the (masculine) brass band, via rallentandos, the shift in feel to 6/8, rhetorical swells and diminuendos. In this way, the ritual performance supports and indeed embodies the formal ceremony's conventions, affectations, and ideologies, one aspect of which is a tacet modernist language ideology.

To summarise my considerations of this ritual performance with respect to its possible contribution to the revitalisation of Jèrriais, it seems clear that whilst the performance is probably more beneficial than no performance at all, its contribution is significantly constrained. The three main constraining issues are linguistic museumification, post-vernacular tokenism, and discourses of coloniality. As I discuss below, these issues still overshadow the Liberation Choir performance, but they are less overt.

Reactions to the Liberation Choir performance: excitement and good intentions

Shortly after the formal ceremony, the afternoon's informal celebrations began. As described in the opening vignette of this chapter, despite the awkward start with the stubborn backing track, the Liberation Choir's performance of 'Beautiful Jersey' went very well. By this point, the choir were relaxed, confident, and singing coherently as a group. The banjolele solo received an encouraging response, and the children seemed buoyed by the obvious enthusiasm of the audience, reciprocating with smiles and little sways and nods in time with the cheerful music. After the final applause, the choir left the stage in a visibly joyous mood, re-joining their parents with satisfied grins, laughter, and bubbling chatter. My observations of this performance gave me a certain amount of confidence that the children had had a positive experience and would most likely be identifying well with Jèrriais. But I was keen to try and gain some more direct testimony from them. I managed to gather nine choir members for an interview straight away. Having just come offstage after a successful performance, the children were still fairly excited and full of adrenaline, so all of their responses in the fifteen-minute discussion were understandably very enthusiastic, but they were also fairly thoughtful and reflective. As regards their emotional state, comments included "really happy", "excited", "proud", and "confident and inspired". Five of them intended to continue learning Jèrriais, including three who said they "really wanna" keep going, and this tentative commitment from Phoebe:

> I didn't know about Jèrriais before, but now I might like to take some lessons to help save it.

Six of them produced some kind of description of their journey from encounter to connection, including Lydia, who said:

> When I first heard this I said 'What is this strange man talking about? This isn't a real language, how could Jersey have its own language?' And then when I… now I'm feeling… er… confident and… er… inspired so I really wanna learn this language.

Lydia enjoyed the linguistic aspect of the performance:

> When I tried it out I was excited to try the new language, and going onstage it made me feel happy, because you got to speak in a different language which was exciting.

Samuel was keen to continue learning Jèrriais:

> When we first started I never knew about this language, but now that I've done it I'm really interested in it and I really want to do the classes.

He later asked me when he could attend classes and said he was moved by the plight of Jèrriais being endangered:

> That touched my heart and that's quite sad so we should help it.

Emily was also keen to help Jèrriais, though she had a slightly different take because she actually knew some Jèrriais beforehand and had performed in the Jersey Eisteddfod without realising it is endangered:

> I wasn't really aware that it was like, you know, running out of people who were doing it, so after the project I'm kinda feeling more aware that we need to get it back. So like, we need more people to learn it.

Chloe, one of the older singers in the group and who previously had no knowledge or particular connection with Jèrriais, said:

> It is a really nice language actually… it's really similar to French as well. So, it's nice to… to keep it alive, and I think the younger generation will carry that on.

While this was going on, Isaac (the oldest member of the choir, aged seventeen) was being interviewed live by BBC Radio Jersey, who had recorded the performance. Isaac picked up on the reporter's use of the word 'important':

Reporter I know there are so many people here today that thoroughly enjoyed your performance and who are so grateful that we're keeping this tradition alive. Just how important is it that we teach Jèrriais to the younger generation do you think?

Isaac I think it's very important cos it's one of the oldest languages that existed in Jersey and we can't just let it die. We have to make sure that we have these projects, like Kit, who go around our education… er… schools, teaching Jèrriais, 'cos it's such an important part of our culture that we can't let die.

Later that afternoon, I interviewed native Jèrriais speaker Jean Le Maistre, son of Dr. Frank Le Maistre, who wrote the Jèrriais lyric to Beautiful Jersey. Jean was in the audience for the choir's performance, which he described as "brilliant", in particular, because the children were having a positive experience:

> Clearly, the youngsters were enjoying it because you could tell it on their faces. They probably had a few nerves around, but they came over singing very confidently, enthusiastically, and they're obviously enjoying it. And er... in fact as we walked away there were a few comments from the youngsters saying 'oh that was fun' you know. And I think the future of Jèrriais will be secure if we continue to make things enjoyable and fun.

Jean also felt his father would have enjoyed the performance, and picked up on the choir's cultural diversity:

> He'd have been absolutely over the moon that it was being done in that way, in fact… you know, when he died in 2002… and if we had said to him in the 90s that we would have children, and Portuguese and other nationalities singing in Jèrriais he'd have said 'Never'.

Jean also responded to my comment about the danger that musical performances such as this one can be relatively tokenistic and thus are not enough to revitalise a language:

> No, but that shouldn't be a criticism of that activity. It's a recognition that that on its own won't get us there.

So, between these various sources, the responses show that as a performance, the Liberation Choir's version of 'Beautiful Jersey' was successful, and made a good impression on both choir and audience alike. Jèrriais was publicly valorised, and the children showed a significant

amount of enthusiasm and connection with the language. A deeper analysis of its effectiveness as language activism requires further discussion.

Evaluating the Liberation Choir performance as language revitalisation

In this section, I would like to consider the Liberation Choir's performance of 'Beautiful Jersey' strictly from a language revitalisation perspective. I have discussed how the ritual performance may have achieved its intentions as an act of remembrance, but in terms of language revitalisation, it was constrained by three factors: museumification, post-vernacular tokenism, and discourses of coloniality. So how did the Liberation Choir performance fare on these issues, and what kind of contributions did it make to language revitalisation?

To make a worthwhile critical judgement on this, it is important to consider the experiences of two groups: the audiences and the performers themselves. I argue that whilst there were clearly some encouraging aspects to the audience responses, the most promising developments occurred amongst the performers themselves. As mentioned, Keira Melville's experience with Jèrriais in the ritual performance was a solitary one, learning the words alone via some instruction from a Jèrriais speaker and then performing solo on the day. The fact that the Liberation Choir worked as a group profoundly changes the dynamics of the identity experience for these children, providing a powerfully formative social setting for identity construction over time. I will discuss this in more detail below.

Beginning with the audience's experience and dealing firstly with museumification, the theme of the informal celebration still centres on the 1940s, with the camouflaged stage, the giant Union Jack backdrop, and the Formby-esque accompaniment. But the purpose has shifted from remembrance to entertainment, from ceremonial ritual to recreational evocation. The context of the Liberation Choir performance is a theatrical indexing of the past in a celebratory present, rather than a performative, nostalgic re-enactment of the past in an earnest memorialised 'island of time'. The Liberation choir's version is indeed performative in the Austinian sense of creating a social reality (Austin, 1975), but its performativity produces the construction of current Jersey identity in the internal experience of the performers – the children – more significantly than any collective memory of occupation in the audience. There is still an inevitable association between Jèrriais and 'the past', but the lack of gravitas and formality does not configure the collective consciousness in the same way. Perhaps in a broad sense, the Liberation Choir performance made some

minimal contribution to collective memory (at least amongst the choir), however, there did not appear to be much 'retrospective contemplativeness' going on. Rather than experiencing the song as a synchronised act of remembering via the literal sound of the past, functioning as a pontoon between mnemonic communities, the audience is not remembering as such, but simply being casually present individuals. They are observing the performance whilst engaging in the festivities in other ways, with some perhaps more focussed but others simply chatting, sharing food, sipping cold drinks, taking part in craft activities and so on. This 'nowness' is also mediated by the contemporary technological construct of the backing track, the upbeat arrangement, and the children themselves, who symbolically represent the future.[45]

With regard to post-vernacular tokenism, once again, the same issue can be raised here: this was a one-off, symbolic public performance after all, with little connection to day-to-day language use. But from the audience's perspective, Jèrriais was much more deliberately centred and framed in a more vernacular way. My opening remark before announcing the choir was in Jèrriais (though it is very similar to French): "Bouônjour tout lé monde!" [*Hello everyone!*]. Emily then explicitly introduced the song, drawing attention to the language and giving it a revalorised context. The musical arrangement itself was in a cheery, vernacular style. Both the Jèrriais verse and chorus occur twice, opening and closing the song, and thus making more than a token appearance. 'Beautiful Jersey' was used as the finale of the choir's fifteen-minute performance. But this was also preceded by 'Bouôn Annivèrsaithe' and followed by my own closing remarks drumming up applause and using a few passing Jèrriais vernacular phrases like 'mèrcie bein des fais' [*thank you very much*]. Though they were arguably tokenistic in themselves, such everyday phrases potentially help break down the expressive/pragmatic distinction (I return to this notion in my conclusion, with respect to the 'Language Vitality Network Model'; Grenoble and Whaley, 2020). It is worth noting that the overall ambience of the informal entertainment event is precisely that – *informal* – thus much more of a quotidian experience, closer to everyday life. It lacks the extra-ordinary aggrandising effects of formal ritual. All aspects of the discourse in general, from planned aesthetics to spontaneous announcements, follow a relaxed vernacular.

[45] Arguably, the fact that Keira Melville was a young adult (aged eighteen) could have a similar symbolism, though I would contend that as a single young adult rather than a group of children this is less pronounced, especially when combined with the museumification of musical remembrance as a bridge to the past.

Audiences are simultaneously listening whilst eating, drinking, talking and generally being sociable in a laid-back manner. Amongst this, Jèrriais is present.

Discourses of coloniality were also enmeshed in the informal celebration to some extent, though in a less prominent way, so this is important to compare. Given the broader socio-political context in Jersey, this performance sits well within the confines of 'neoliberal multiculturalism' both as a musical-linguistic event and in terms of the diverse racial/cultural make-up of the choir (including white, black, Asian, and Mediterranean children). The militaristic theme and union flags were present, though principally for entertainment value. The light-hearted tone of the musical backing track (no uniforms in sight), complete with a jocular banjolele solo, provides a regular, undeviating 4/4 beat in support of the choir. This musical micro-community produces the cohesive, collective sound of thirty voices singing in unison, using more than twice as much Jèrrais (verse plus chorus times two) than the formal version. So, by being musically more unified and less hierarchical, as well as being less museumified and less tokenistic, the modernist differential dichotomies of old/new, traditional/modern, regressive/progressive, expressive/pragmatic, feminine/masculine, colonised/coloniser are not as prevalent. And simply by not being part of the formal ceremony, this performance was more removed from its domineering twenty-first-century rendition of the Churchillian paradigm.

Beyond the three challenges I have highlighted (museumification, tokenism, and coloniality), and the ways in which these issues are less present in the Liberation Choir's performance, there are also some directly positive aspects to the audience experience with regard to language revitalisation. It is important to recognise that there were several different groups within the wider audience. These included: those with no significant connection to Jèrriais, non-Jèrriais speaking relatives of Jèrriais speakers, Jèrriais speakers themselves, and the parents of the choir members. For those with no connection to Jèrriais, the performance may have served as a fun and accessible introduction (compare this with the 'blink-and-you'll-miss-it' ritual version). Non-Jèrriais speaking relatives of Jèrriais speakers may have been reminded of their cultural heritage in an affirming way and thus felt encouraged to either re-connect or at least become more of an ally via an enhanced identification with Jèrriais. Some would likely have been there together with their Jèrriais speaking parents or grandparents. As indicated by Jean Le Maistre, Jèrriais speakers themselves would have no doubt been pleased and encouraged to see young people singing

so well and enthusiastically in the language. Indeed, I played a video of the performance to Jèrriais author and poet Joan Tapley in September 2019, and she was delighted:

> Bloody marvellous that! It really is… You would never know that they weren't real Jèrriais speakers. It's the best I've ever heard. It is, really. Absolutely pure Jèrriais. (Tapley, 2019)

Finally, parents of choir members were an important audience, with the hope being that their language ideologies would be helpfully engaged, leading to positive outcomes, including an encouragement of their children on their journey with Jèrriais. Aside from the warm applause on the day, it is also worth noting that when featured on local radio and social media, the responses to the new arrangement were positive[46].

So the audience experiences were generally beneficial, but the children's experiences themselves are of particular interest. With reference to some relevant scholarship discussed in chapter one, we can make clear connections with the ethnographic evidence. Over the course of several months, from the school sessions to the choir rehearsals, to the final performance, 'Beautiful Jersey' has provided "powerful aesthetic experiences of commonality" (Hesmondhalgh, 2013, p. 108), enabling the children to place themselves in an 'imaginative cultural narrative' (Frith, 1996, p. 124) of Jersey identity. The embodied process of socialisation is a crucially formative dynamic. As Mickan puts it, "we live in relationships and learn in relationships" (Mickan, 2012, p. 32). Over a period of time, the choir became a musical and linguistic micro-community. Via the social experience of working as a group, each child's identity narrative is that of an emergent individual as a node in the collective. The EPMCs (empathy-promoting musical components; see: Rabinowitch et al., 2013) that I discussed in relation to the classroom communities in the schools were also in effect here, arguably to a greater extent. Such empathetic shared musicking enacts idealised collective subjectivities, and the music/language/identity nexus is at the heart of this experience, weaving Jèrriais into the children's evolving sense of self. The longevity and relative intensity

[46] BBC Radio Jersey featured the song, and an interview with me, during the Breakfast Show on the following day. One listener, 'Michael from First Tower' got in touch to say, "I was down there and it was just lovely to hear", whilst journalist Emma-Jane Blackman said, "They were absolutely fantastic" (BBC Radio Jersey, 2018). A Facebook video of the performance was liked and shared several times, with one comment of "Our native tongue" followed by a heart emoji; and the professionally produced YouTube video, which includes subtitles, has a comment of "I love this so muuuuuuch".

of this process are likely to make this experience memorable and influential, as shown in the children's post-performance comments, as well as the various moments of connection witnessed in my ethnographic observation. The heightened affect, psychological significance, and social excitement of the Liberation Day performance help crystallise these experiences into coherent structures of memory and identification, sealed by the final performative act.

Reflexive summary: internal journeys, recurring battles

In this chapter, I have traced the cultural journey of 'Beautiful Jersey' to its present status as the unofficial Jersey anthem. I have discussed the ritual function the song takes during the Liberation Day ceremony as an act of common remembrance that makes a limited contribution to the revalorisation of Jèrriais. I argued that this contribution is constrained by three negative aspects: museumification, post-vernacular tokenism, and discourses of coloniality which assume an inherent anglocentric modernist language ideology. My ethnography revealed some encouraging examples of apparent connection and identification with Jèrriais for various members of the Liberation choir who took part in the informal performance. I compared these two performances and considered some of the ways in which the choir's version is more likely to have produced some significant beneficial outcomes in terms of language revitalisation. Some of these may be found in the audiences, but I have argued that the more promising arena is the *internal* journey of the participants: the choir members themselves identifying with Jèrriais and becoming part of the wider metalinguistic community.

And yet, whatever the potential of applied ethnomusicological projects such as this, the limitations are also evident. These fall into two main areas: practical challenges and ideological risk. As with my research in schools, to fully realise the potential for eventual revernacularisation, it is important that the linguistic identification afforded by the musical activity is combined with other kinds of activities that emphasise or lead to language acquisition and everyday speech. Otherwise, opportunities to build on the most profound episodes of attachment and identity construction are lost. Enthusiasm wanes. This is something I was reminded of in June 2019, just over a year after the choir's performance, when I spoke to some of the children from the project at the 'Jersey Sings' event, mentioned in chapter five. It is worth reflecting here that even with the added engagement and intensity of the children's experiences with the Liberation Choir, there is not a great deal of evidence

to suggest that their sincere, positive feelings toward Jèrriais at the end of the project had converted into much committed, ongoing Jèrriais learning a year later. To give one specific example, I previously mentioned Phoebe, a choir member from St. Peter who said she "might like to take some lessons" when speaking immediately after the Liberation Day performance. However, she had not yet managed it a year later, though she did not say why. Nevertheless, Phoebe had been on a journey that began with no awareness of Jèrriais at all (initially perceiving it as "gibberish"), to a public performance (with good intentions of learning more), to a longer-term positive identification and language ideology more than a year later. So the evidence of genuine progress is there. In the previous chapter, I suggested that the chances of achieving longer-term and deeper engagement with Jèrriais could be improved by linking musical projects with other activities that provide regular opportunities for learning, enjoying, and using Jèrriais as a vernacular language. As formative as the Liberation Choir's experience may have been, the same practical challenge holds true here.

Concerning ideological risk, the pitfalls highlighted in my discussions of the performances - museumification, post-vernacular tokenism, and discourses of coloniality - are recurring issues that any applied ethnomusicological Jèrriais activism will need to bear in mind and mitigate against. For other languages in other places, these potential dangers will be contingent upon the specificities of the revitalisation context. But given that under modernity the vast majority of language endangerment is a consequence of inequitable power dynamics, it is likely they will be ubiquitous challenges. As Roche states, "language oppression is a global phenomenon, produced by a system of global colonialism" (Roche, 2019b, p. 5). I will engage with this issue further in my concluding chapter.

Notwithstanding the above, for all the children involved with this choir, their particular journey involved a highly memorable public performance of Jersey identity, heightened by the process of empathetic social bonding as a group, with both language and music phenomenologically intertwined throughout the experience. Jèrriais temporarily moved from the periphery to the centre both in terms of the children's consciousness and on the public stage, creating a well-received, positive moment of increased status for the language. Metalinguistic community was built and enacted. In this way, the song 'Beautiful Jersey' became a conduit not only of collective memory on Liberation Day, but of new linguistic identifications too.

7.

Miyeux Jours: Community engagement via The Jersey Song Project

Visions of possibility

After much anticipation, the big night has finally arrived. It's the 26th of September 2018, and the Jersey Song Project is now well underway. Warm applause fills the steeply raked auditorium of the Benjamin Meakin Theatre, followed by a swift hush into a moment of expectant silence. Here in the main performance space of the small but prestigious Jersey Arts Centre, about a hundred and eighty people are sitting, attention-wrapt, in theatrical darkness. A short, soft note sounds from the brightly lit grand piano – an A – and after a moment of dead air, seventeen-year-old Jess Donoghue springs gracefully into the first line of a song, anchored by her twin sister Mel's sustained piano chords: "I think I might have found it, found my missing piece…" There's an evocative yearning and an edge of melancholy to Jess's voice as the pair lead us into this story of self-discovery, the precarity of youth, angst, and eventually, hope. Behind Jess, backing singer Julia deftly adds a subtle but effective harmony as the song unfolds: "I am like a stowaway that hides between the games we play…" The last note hangs for a few beats, and the line is developed: "A castaway that cast away the pain and all the mistakes she made…" Again the music hangs, but this time three words in Jèrriais burst through the atmosphere as Jess dramatically shifts into a higher register, and on the fourth word, a crash cymbal and rumbling bass guitar launch us into the chorus: "La mémouaithe dé miyeux jours…" [*the memory of better days*].

At this point, most of the audience may not understand exactly what this young woman is saying or quite what this teenage band – Midriff – are expressing, but it is clear that it really means *something,* something important and heartfelt. "Ch'est ma jannèche" [*it's my youth*] Jess exclaims, as Julia's bass guitar and Tommy's drums steadily drive the rousing pop-rock song forwards. The chorus hook returns, "J'avais tant dé miyeux jours" [*I had so many better days…*], and Jess digs in further to the heightened pitch and emotion of the two key words that also form the song's title, 'miyeux jours' [*better days*]. Now the second verse evolves, introducing the momentum of a well-balanced groove, even as the English lyrics portray self-doubt: "I think I might have lost it, the truth all my efforts were for…" Yet a determination emerges: "I swear to myself I'll find it and move on." Briefly, the energy drops as the spacious pre-chorus returns, "I am like a stowaway…", but this sets us up for another strikingly effective Jèrriais chorus hook, now etched in our

> minds. No time is lost as we immediately advance to a middle section, and soaring over the same questing, unresolving chords of the chorus, Jess longingly draws out the 'jours' of the phrase 'Miyeux jooours!' The band's intensity continues to rise as Jess demands, "Will some come along? Miyeux jours…"; and concludes, "I'll just have to be strong. Miyeux jours…"
>
> It's a compelling performance in its own right, but the symbolism for Jèrriais is also not lost on me: after two centuries of oppression, prejudice, erasure, and neglect, perhaps if folks are committed, strong, and determined enough, our language and culture could see some *miyeux jours*. The fact that a group of teenagers are musically embodying this vision makes the moment all the more remarkable.

The central concept of The Jersey Song Project was to facilitate and curate collaborative songwriting between local musicians (who did not speak much Jèrriais, if any) and Jèrriais speakers. The songs could be on any theme and in any genre but had to include at least one word of Jèrriais in the lyrics. They would then be performed at a concluding public event at the Jersey Arts Centre. In terms of language ideologies and cultural identity, the sociolinguistic rationale for this was twofold, combining a prominent public engagement exercise with the specificities and intimacies of musical/social interaction in the songwriting process and eventual performance. The creative work – of developing an original song with a Jèrriais speaker, rehearsing the song, and finally performing the song at a special event – was also performative identity work, in which the language was uniquely experienced and valorised. The potential for new connections with Jèrriais culture, and indeed with the Jèrriais community in a very personal and direct sense, could begin to be realised through the musical/social activity. This highly interactive model echoes a well-established strategy in language revitalisation, known as the Master-Apprentice model (see: Hinton, 2013), where long-term one-to-one activity, entirely in the target language, builds conversational proficiency. This is also highly rewarding and beneficial for the native speakers, who are typically 'elders'. My ideal scenario would have been for the relationships between the Jèrriais speakers and musicians to continue and evolve into such partnerships. As it turns out, that did not happen, but overall, the project did achieve the main objectives described above.

In this chapter, I begin by reviewing the project as a whole, with its practical challenges and significant moments, drawing on a range of sources to enrich my own autoethnographic experience. These include my own video and audio recordings; personal communications via email, Facebook messenger, and WhatsApp; social media posts; local

media reports, including articles, radio broadcasts, and a regional television news report; and responses to two open-ended online questionnaires (audience and artists, respectively). This also informs my discussion of the public engagement objectives and outcomes with reference to the wider publicity that the project generated via local broadcast and print media, as well as online media. I then provide a summary of the songs and artists, which leads to two case studies: Steve McVay's performance of his song 'On a Night Like This', in which his artful showmanship elicited a lively call and response with the audience; and Midriff's pop-rock song 'Better Days', described in the opening vignette. I draw on Barthes' concepts of *pheno-song*, *geno-song*, and *signifiance* to consider the audience's experience of Midriff's performance, and how this might contribute to language beliefs and cultural identity narratives. I then consider the experience of Midriff themselves. I conclude by reflecting on the project as a whole, recognising the positive outcomes of the work with regards to cultural identity and language beliefs, whilst acknowledging how such outcomes might have been improved or strategically built upon. In particular, a more extensive and sustained songwriting process with greater levels of direct social interaction may have enhanced the linguistic experience of the musicians. At a broad societal level, a more direct connection between the project and a wider cultural movement or metalinguistic community – as yet still growing in Jersey – would help convert this project's successes in terms of Jèrriais status planning into more tangible results in relation to language acquisition and use. This question of cultural ecology is in common with previous projects.

Whilst there are a number of language-focused song competitions such as those at the Pan Celtic festival, Liet International, the Welsh Eisteddfod, and Irish Oireachtas, the original idea for this non-competitive event actually came from Jersey's sister Channel Island, Guernsey. Jo Dowding and James Dumbleton are the two Guernsey musicians and Guernesiais[47] activists who created and coordinated The Guernsey Song Project in 2014, using a similar model to my project (though with some differences, discussed below). I interviewed them as part of my MA study in 2015 and immediately recognised the potential for a similar project in Jersey.[48]

[47] The definitive spelling of Guernesiais is contested and can also be spelt Giernesiei, Dgernesiais, Guernésiais, or Djernezié. See: Marquis and Sallabank, 2017.

[48] I am grateful for James and Jo's creativity and generous advice, and was especially pleased when they attended the event in Jersey, giving me a chance to thank them publicly.

The ultimate performance of The Jersey Song Project took place in September 2018 in a professional venue, The Jersey Arts Centre, and formed the opening event of the Jersey Festival of Words. This is a well-established annual literary event that aims "to promote a love of the written and spoken word across the community and in a variety of styles and settings" (Jersey Festival of Words, 2020), attracting celebrity authors of some renown (previous authors include Richard Dawkins, Jeremy Paxman, Clare Balding, Michael Morpurgo, Joanna Trollope, Victoria Hislop, and Lemn Sissay amongst many others). I was aware that the festival organisers are always keen to include Jèrriais events, so I approached festival vice-chair Paul Bisson with the idea. Paul is also a musician and an old friend, so thankfully he embraced the project enthusiastically. Indeed, Paul really championed the project and was crucial to its success. Jèrriais poet and scholar Geraint Jennings was also extremely helpful, playing an essential linguistic role in developing or translating many of the songs. He did so with his typical enthusiasm and poetic style, for which I am most grateful.

In May 2018, we announced and advertised the project, mainly through a press release and consequent appearances on local radio stations, along with social media promotion. Over the five subsequent months, we organised for twelve local bands, duos, and solo artists to work with Jèrriais speakers and prepare a song for the final gig (though, unfortunately one artist, Sam Walwyn, was unwell on the day). We directly approached five of the acts to suggest they take part (indeed, one was Paul's own band), and the remaining seven responded to the publicity. The broad age range of the musicians, as well as the balance of genders and mix of amateur, semi-professional, and professional performers, was fortuitous, and worked well. I was hoping for more diversity in cultural background, but as far as I could tell, all of the artists were white and British (either Jersey-born or English). This was not unexpected given the majority white British population of Jersey; and it may well be the case that local minority groups whom I was hoping might be represented (such as the Portuguese, Polish, Asian and Black communities) already have enough of a multifaceted identity narrative to be particularly attracted to engaging with Jèrriais. This is an issue I discuss further in my thesis conclusion. The musical genres of the songs were largely guitar-based forms of rock, pop, and folk, though one song had more of a popular swing jazz style.

The range of lyrical themes, moods and musical dynamics was agreeably varied and made for an interesting and engaging show.

Before the event itself, I also organised a low-key 'warm-up gig' at The Blue Note Bar, a small local bar/music venue with an in-house PA system, basic stage, and lights. This was not advertised but was designed to be an opportunity for the artists to try out their song in a real but lower stakes performance setting, where the only audience would be each other, and a handful of friends and random bystanders. Particularly for the less experienced performers, playing at the Jersey Arts Centre was a fairly big step in itself, so singing in an unfamiliar language in this setting was an extra level of challenge that I wanted to prepare them for, as best I could. The warm-up gig was not only beneficial from that perspective, but the occasion allowed for some very positive social interaction and mutual encouragement, including casual conversations about Jèrriais. It also provided an opportunity to get a group photo which was then used by local press and social media, and gave BBC Radio Jersey presenter and journalist Ashlea Tracey a chance to interview some of the musicians to make a package for the radio.

Ashlea, who grew up in the Isle of Man, has hosted BBC Radio Jersey's flagship breakfast show for several years, and is a keen supporter of Jèrriais and local culture in general. I asked her to be my fellow co-host/compère at the final Jersey Song Project performance, and thankfully she was very happy to volunteer her time. Ashlea's helpful presence at the event gave it a boost of professionalism and positive energy, creating a welcoming and amiable atmosphere centred on promoting and enjoying Jèrriais. Additionally, Ashlea featured the project on BBC Radio Jersey via her breakfast show, which may have helped get the project mentioned as a local news item. These broadcasts provided some additional publicity and extended the reach of the live event, adding to the public profile of Jèrriais (discussed below).

By collaborating with the festival, I was able to access some financial and practical support from ArtHouse Jersey (the island's equivalent to an arts council), who then also had a stake in promoting and facilitating the event. Naturally, the event also benefited from the additional cultural cachet and publicity of the festival itself, which was advertised widely across the island. This meant that the project did not simply stand alone as a one-off event – which was one difference from the Guernsey Song Project – but instead was given additional status and legitimacy by being associated with the festival, and directly marketed to its

attendees and supporters. These festival-goers are typically drawn from a local demographic who are actively engaged with cultural activities as a performative aspect of their social identities, generally well-educated, and with high levels of cultural capital; thus, potentially influential allies and/or learners of Jèrriais[49].

There were also some differences in the songwriting process between The Jersey Song Project and the Guernsey equivalent. For the Guernsey Song Project, organisers tapped into a language support network called 'Ley Bohtis', and an established social event called 'Speed Patois', neither of which had a direct equivalent in Jersey. Ley Bohtis (a phonetic spelling of Les Bottis, (/leɪ bɔti/, meaning the buddies) is a database of Guernesiais speakers set up by the Guernsey Language Commission with the intention of introducing new speakers to the language and its community, and creating Master-Apprentice relationships. New connections are often informally made at the Speed Patois events (in Guernsey, 'patois' is not typically seen as a pejorative term and is often used simply to refer to Guernesiais). These are open social occasions usually held in a pub, involving language games, activities, and conversations, in which participants typically change places every fifteen minutes or so when a bell rings. For the Guernsey Song Project, local musicians met Guernesiais speakers via these networking events or via organisers putting Ley Bohtis to use. Consequently, some continuing social relationships could be established in a relatively natural way. A number of the songs that emerged were entirely new and original, as opposed to translations of English songs. One song is now used as a teaching resource in local primary school citizenship classes.

Without a local equivalent to Les Bohtis and Speed Patois, these desirable outcomes – the longer-term relationships, entirely original songs, consequent new teaching resources, or other ongoing uses of the songs – were less forthcoming in my context. Four new songs were written specifically for the project, and some of the artists have performed their songs in Jèrriais since. But it did prove logistically challenging to get the Jersey artists in the same room as Jèrriais speakers, and most songwriters either did not feel comfortable enough to write something from scratch or that they had enough time. So the remainder of the songs were all translations of English songs, or sections of songs, that the artists had already

[49] The festival also provided a stage-manager, Jo Olszewski, who was invaluable in ensuring the smooth running of an event with so many artists and variables.

written. Much of the creative translation process ended up being done remotely via email, Facebook, and WhatsApp. This included written text and audio pronunciation guides, and in two cases, a short demo of me singing the Jèrriais to show how it would scan with the melody. I generally had to rely on my own network and relationships with Jèrriais speakers to facilitate this songwriting/translation process, and the majority of these remote translations were done by Jèrriais poet and scholar Geraint Jennings, with some additional input from myself. I did encourage the artists to attend one of the weekly Jèrriais 'conversation sessions' in order to meet Jèrriais speakers (as described in chapter one, these are the unstructured open socials in cafés, and a pub). These sessions are the closest equivalent to Speed Patois in Guernsey, and I was hoping they might sow the seed for a more autonomous songwriting relationship to grow independently. But as far as I know, none of them did actually make it along[50]. I was able to 'matchmake' three songwriting sessions that involved one occasion of direct inter-personal interaction between artists and Jèrriais speakers respectively. One of these meetings, between Midriff and Joan Tapley, is described below. In the end, this necessarily pragmatic, bespoke approach of remote translation and direct matchmaking did get results. A significant amount of useful ethnographic material was generated, and overall the project did achieve some level of success in terms of both general public engagement and individual linguistic identifications amongst the artists. However, the artists' experience could have been more engaging, influential, and formative if they had had more of an opportunity to connect with Jèrriais speakers socially and musically over a period of time.

Public engagement via local media

Before the event, I had two practical objectives in my contact with local media. First, to help attract a range of artists to participate in the project and later, to advertise the gig itself to the potential audience. But I was also very aware of the more general contribution such publicity can make to local language beliefs and cultural identity narratives. As sociolinguists Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby state:

> Media and their power to transmit a positive image of an endangered language, of the speech community and the speakers (both native and new) also play an essential

[50] One artist, Peter Brookes, attended a session after the gig.

> role in strengthening people's positive attitudes toward the language… When a speech community's image transmitted to the world presents this community as full of life, new ideas and resistance, this may also contribute to changing language ideologies and attitudes and therefore also language practices. (Dołowy-Rybińska and Hornsby, 2021, p. 116)

The process of arranging and promoting this event received consistent positive coverage in established local media such as newspapers, radio, and TV, as well as the more fluid engagement that occurred online via social media. To illustrate the extent of this, I will list the most significant of these.

The Jersey Festival of Words have their own press officer who created two press releases, one several months before the event to encourage artists to apply, and the other just prior to the gig itself. These were both featured in all the main outlets we were aiming for as well as one I was not expecting: the in-flight magazine of commercial airline FlyBe. The first round of articles followed the press release quite closely, though with a few minor edits and their own headline. The island's only printed local newspaper, the *Jersey Evening Post* (with an average readership for quarter four of 2018 of 55,000), ran the headline 'Can the power of song be used to keep Jèrriais alive?' (*Jersey Evening Post*, 2018a). Online newspaper the *Bailiwick Express* (with 160,000 unique users per month) published a story with the headline 'Sing out to keep Jèrriais alive' (*Bailiwick Express*, 2018a). FlyBe's monthly magazine, *Flight Time*, was placed in every seat-back for their monthly 700,000 customers (Stream Publishing, 2020); and their article entitled 'Sing and save the island's language' almost filled a page in the 'Events, News and More' section, with a large photo of Badlabecques (Flybe, 2018).

We also gathered some publicity via radio. Both local radio stations, BBC Radio Jersey (with a typical listener reach of over 20,000) and commercial station Channel 103FM (with a typical listener reach of over 50,000), promoted the event via news bulletins and featured live interviews with me and festival co-chair Paul Bisson[51]. In June 2018, Channel 103FM presenter Peter Mac even invited me to co-host a breakfast show with him. Peter happens to be the husband of Gina McLinton, my colleague from the Jersey Music Service who helped

[51] Radio listener figures from RAJAR, 2020.

me immensely with my projects in schools and with the children's choir. Evidently, this serendipity was one benefit of researching in a small community such as Jersey. Peter regularly invites a local individual who fits his definition of a 'VIP' – a Very Interesting Person – to share an hour of the show, allowing for a free-flowing chat in which I was not only able to promote the Jersey Song Project but focus on getting a very clear language revitalisation message across to the station's broad working-age audience[52].

The day of the gig provided further press coverage. First, BBC Radio Jersey broadcast a package made by Ashlea Tracey for her breakfast show that featured an interview with the duo Foolish Things, who contributed a song to the project. Bailiwick Express ran another article, 'Fresh Jèrriais musique premieres tonight', in response to the second press release (*Bailiwick Express*, 2018b). ITV News also pushed a short online article on their Channel Islands social media outlets and featured a three-minute television interview with me on the 6pm Channel News programme, broadcast across the Channel Islands (up to 64,000 weekly viewers; Island Global Research, 2019). After the event, the Jersey Evening Post also published a very positive review of the gig, with the headline: 'Stunning performances showcase beauty of Island's native language' (*Jersey Evening Post*, 2018b). This is particularly significant because this article was not in response to a press release; rather the paper saw fit to send a reporter to cover the event, the outcome of which was overtly complimentary and approving of Jèrriais language and culture.

On social media, again, much of the activity was initiated by the Jersey Festival of Words, particularly via several posts on Facebook and Twitter. Festival co-chair Paul Bisson made a short video for Facebook, combining an explanation of the event from me with some performance and comments from one of the bands, Midriff, sharing some thoughts on their song and on Jèrriais (discussed in more detail below). Another artist, JerseyBob, found out about the event via one of the festival's Facebook posts, illustrating the practical importance of social media, as well as the language ideological function. The ability for supporters of the festival, allies of Jèrriais, and the artists themselves to interact with these posts with comments, likes, and shares helped amplify the message across the community both before and after the gig.

[52] Channel 103FM's core audience covers age groups between 25-54 (Bailiwick Broadcasting, 2019, p. 52).

Regarding language beliefs and cultural identity narratives, the performative effects of such positive engagement with mainstream established media and social media are not measurable. It is likely that there were some beneficial consequences, helping to bring Jèrriais from the periphery towards the centre of public attention and construct a revalorised, celebratory, and contemporary cultural narrative around Jèrriais, with which local people could identify (i.e., metalinguistic community). But there is also a potential danger lurking here. Media discourse may overplay the influence of music as an end in itself, centring singing as a special kind of cultural activity as if it is a sufficient response to the current endangered state of Jèrriais. Headlines that use phrases such as 'the power of song' that can 'save the island's language' may distract from the process of normalising Jèrriais use in everyday life and achieving a much wider public commitment to the slow process of learning to actually speak the language. Whilst metalinguistic community may be being built with such positive media coverage, it is also possible that some members of the public may get the impression that because the language is being 'saved' by other people, there is no need for them to take responsibility themselves. Given the Jèrriais programme's objective of revernacularisation, as Sallabank and King note, without clear aims and a shared understanding of what that really means, "we run the risk of losing a language through focusing only on symbolic activities" (Sallabank and King, 2021, p. 39). Thus, the Jersey Song Project proved to be interesting and attractive enough to garner the attention of a range of local media, but there is a certain potential ambivalence to the various outcomes of this. Nevertheless, the overall response from the media was as good as I could have realistically hoped for, and I did at least make sure that my own communications emphasised the further urgent need to revitalise the language in a general sense, beyond the singing of Jèrriais songs.

Summary of songs and artists

Whilst there are interesting aspects and potential insights that could be gained from every song in the project, there is not enough space here to discuss all of them in depth. But for the sake of clarity and to gain a perspective on the gig as a whole, I will briefly summarise the songs and artists involved. Four of the songs were performed by a solo voice and guitar. These included: eighteen-year-old KC Southers' pop-rock acoustic ballad, 'A Language They Call Their Own'; Rachael McVay's yearning pop ballad 'Takes the Blame'; The Pink Cowgirl's folksy lullaby 'Melodie d'la Mé' [*melody/song of the sea*]; and a dark folkloric rock song, 'Lé

Tchian du Bouôlay' [*the (black) dog of Bouley Bay*] by Jax Quenault, who was the youngest artist to perform, at age sixteen. Two duos augmented the solo acoustic sound with additional backing vocals and instruments. The first was Foolish Things, whose gritty mid-tempo blues-rock song 'Les Reintchivâles' [*the good-for-nothings/rogues*] featured a backing vocal and double bass, and was the only song in the project that was performed entirely in Jèrriais. Later, Kevin Pallot's lead vocals, acoustic guitar and stompbox were accompanied by Naomi West on flute and backing vocals. When Sam Walwyn dropped out due to illness, Kevin offered to sing two songs, titled 'We Made a Deal' and 'Home'. His Jèrriais lyrics raised a few eyebrows because not only did they contain two expletives, but Kevin proceeded to teach them to the audience and encourage them to sing along.

There were two video submissions for the event, both of which complemented the evening well. Peter Brookes' psychedelic rock ballad 'L'Heuthe et la Motion/Time and Motion' was visually accompanied by an evocative video of natural scenery and dramatic skies from around Jersey and beyond, including a local Neolithic dolmen. The second video was submitted from New Zealand by well-known Jersey folk singer/songwriter, JerseyBob. His video featured scenery from the tiny archipelago of Les Écréhous (part of Jersey territory, situated six miles to the northeast). This provided a setting for JerseyBob's song 'King of the Ecrehous', which is a vivid and moving tribute to eccentric Jerseyman Alphonse Le Gastelois (1914-2012), who lived alone on the archipelago for several years.

The remaining acts of the evening were full bands, including drums, bass, guitar and/or piano. Lauren Ivy and The Engine performed their stomping blues-rock track 'Old Joe', written by festival co-chair Paul Bisson (with Jèrriais by Geraint Jennings). As discussed below, Steve McVay's backing band also included brass instruments, rounding out his laid-back swing number, 'On a Night Like This'. I have already given an impression of 'Better Days' by pop-rock band Midriff in the above vignette, but I will discuss this song in more depth below. Finally, Badlabecques closed the event with three songs from our established repertoire. These were: 'Cocolîncheux!', 'With a Little Help from My Friends', and 'Jean Gros Jean', which is a traditional song recorded on our our first album.

Each artist contributed something unique to the evening, often drawing specifically on aspects of Jersey identity in their performance, especially local geography. The overall atmosphere was particularly buoyant and sociable, heightened by the sense that this was a truly special, one-off event. As compères, Ashlea Tracey and I maintained a jovial but

professional momentum, interjecting humour – including some Jèrriais – into the chatter between acts. Certainly, everyone had a good time, but from a language revitalisation perspective, it is important to consider what contributions this event may have made to the language beliefs and cultural identity narratives of the artists and audience. In order to explore this in some depth, I have chosen two case studies. These performances serve as exemplars of empathetic intersubjective identity work through musical settings of Jèrriais. The first is Steve McVay, whose showmanship elicited an outstanding moment of audience participation in Jèrriais. The second case study, Midriff, is another example of a compelling performance, but their journey also provides some insights into the songwriting process and how the whole experience may have affected lead singer Jess's language beliefs.

Case study one: 'On a Night Like This' by Steve McVay

To perform his song 'On a Night Like This', Steve McVay was joined on stage by some members of The Little Big Band, including Johnny Pearse (the drummer from Badlabecques), Nigel Arnett (bass), Paul Matthews (piano), Matt McManus (electric guitar), Leigh Saunter (tenor saxophone), and Julien Smythe (trumpet)[53]. The Little Big Band is a well-established local function band that performs, soul, blues and pop songs in an easy-listening swing jazz/big band style. Steve's charismatic showmanship, together with the dynamic sound and cohesive arrangement of the well-seasoned band, was an ideal way to close the first half of the show. This joyful, laid-back, mid-tempo love song became a vehicle for one of the most engaging and significant moments of collective musical/linguistic connection, and potential identification, in the whole evening.

Unlike most of the other songs, which took a verse/chorus form, this song has a tripartite 'ABC' structure. Section B describes a romantic appeal from the song's protagonist, sung in both English and Jèrrais, which ends with the title lyric, 'on such a night as this'. Table 2 shows the lyrics for section B of the song, including the original English words:

[53] See: Multimedia 8. A video clip of the songwriting session with Geraint Jennings, followed by some of Steve's performance can be viewed at: https://youtu.be/y2l9wdEjuIE

Original English	Jèrriais version	Literal translation
Take away the feeling	[*English sung here*]	
From deep down inside	…	
Open up the healing	…	
And maybe, maybe we'll fly	…	
Let's sail across the ocean	J'pouôrrais m'vailer	I could set sail
Fly across the sky	Par l'ciel êtailé	Across the starry sky
Open up emotion	Epis nos tchoeurs dêch'ler	And then unseal/reveal our hearts
To make it, make it seem right	Et l'èrgraie, l'èrgraie bein bein	And remake/repair it, remake/repair it really well
On such a night as this	Eune sethée comme dité	An evening such as this

Table 2. Section B of 'On a Night Like This' by Steve McVay; Jèrriais version by Geraint Jennings.

Section C then follows with a group vocal, sung by the audience, which repeats the line 'Eune sethée comme dité' four times in response to the lead vocal, creating the main musical hook of the song (Figure 1):

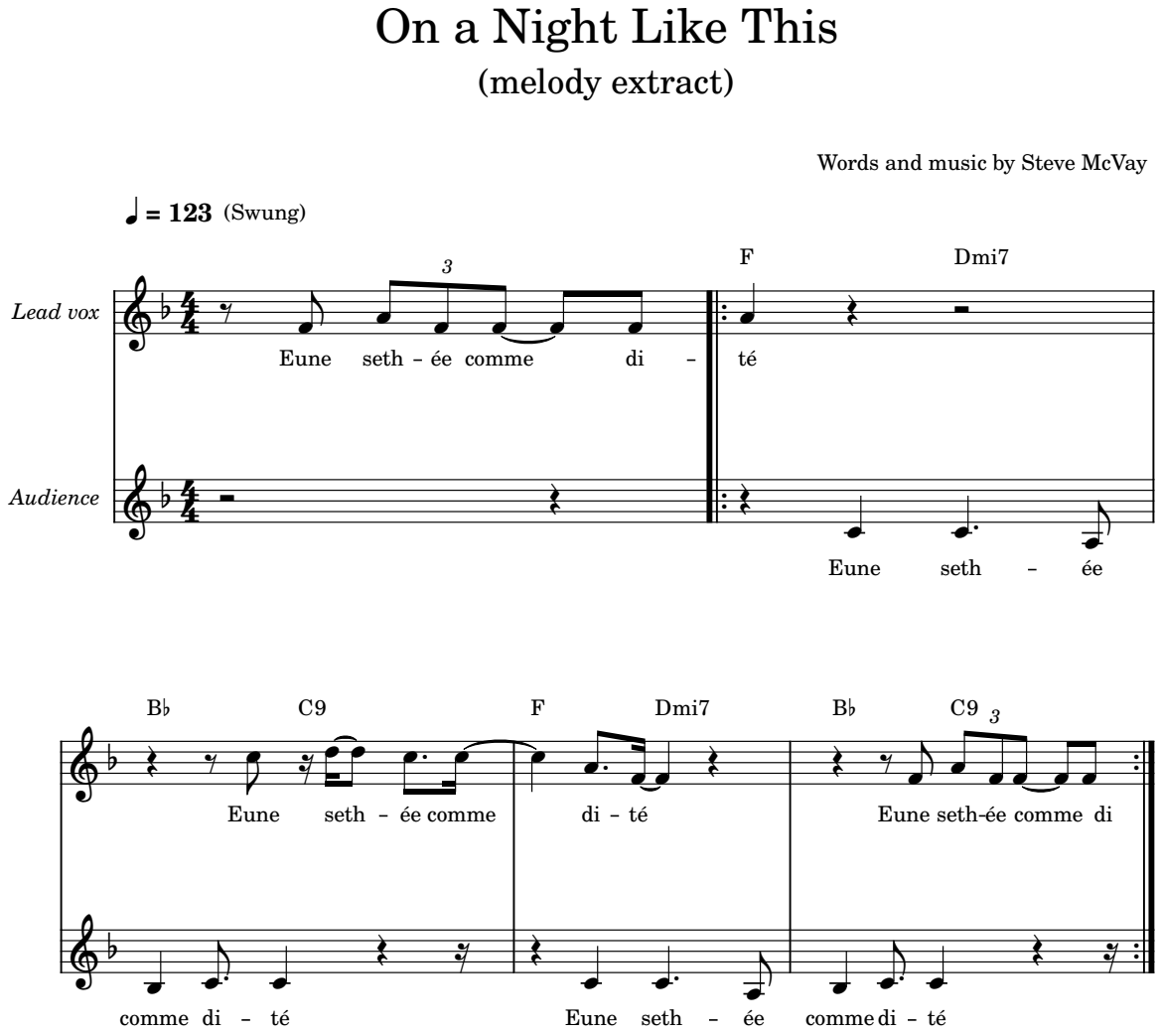

Figure 1.

Before the song began, Steve taught the line 'Eune sethée comme dité' to the audience, who willingly sang its simple melody in return, immediately boosting the atmosphere of playful conviviality. This short phrase was repeated thirty-two times throughout the song (shared equally between Steve and the audience via call and response), creating a pleasing and highly effective example of audience participation and intersubjective musicking.

Clarke considers the kinds of imitation, synchronisation, and complementation involved in the "controlled mimicry" of call and response (2019, p. 76). He draws on literature from psychology to establish the importance of both synchrony and mimicry (postural, facial, vocal, syntactical) in human behaviour, to affirm or establish social affiliation and empathy. In

my discussion of EPMCs amongst groups of children singing in Jèrriais, I described the way that the idealised, imagined collective subjectivity evoked in these moments of extended consciousness makes connections both within the immediate crowd and outwardly into the community, present and past. Through this musical sociality, everyone in the room could participate in a unified, joyful, experience of spontaneous communitas, *in Jèrriais*.

The lyric itself invited a mindful focus on the moment: "on such a night as this/eune sethée comme dité"; and even the English lyric could be said to symbolically offer a notion of possible revitalisation: "open up the healing and maybe, maybe we'll fly". Some audience members may have been uttering their first words of Jèrriais. Others who have spoken Jèrriais since childhood and have lived through prejudice were now surrounded by the harmonious sound of an intergenerational cross-section of voices from the community, collaboratively performing a public celebration of Jèrriais language and subjectivity. Perhaps this served as a passing, modest, but not insignificant moment of 'healing'. During the song's outro, Steve led the crowd in a synchronised arm wave, which Ashlea Tracey and I joined in with as we walked back onto the stage, singing along with everyone. Overall, this performance thus highlights the playful, joyful, life-affirming potential for such performative enactments of Jèrriais identification through music. The *Jersey Evening Post* explicitly mentioned this song as one of the evening's highlights in the review of the gig (*Jersey Evening Post*, 2018b). The fact that Steve is not Jersey-born but actually hails from the northeast of England also demonstrates the inclusive, anti-essentialist dimension of such musical language activism.

Case study two: 'Better Days' by Midriff

This first section of my second case study will describe the process of the song's development, with some consideration of the language revitalisation elements. The following section will take a closer look at the specifics of the performance by Midriff at the final Jersey Song Project event[54]. As mentioned in the opening vignette of this chapter, Midriff are a four-piece pop-rock band consisting of Jess Donoghue (lead vocals), Mel Donoghue (backing vocals, guitar, and piano), Julia Callander (bass and backing vocals), and Tommy Bisson

[54] See: Multimedia 9. A video clip of this session, followed by some of Midriff's performance can be viewed at: https://youtu.be/pwUSldyigsc

(drums). Earlier in 2018, I had been introduced to 17-year-old twins Jess and Mel by their mother, Gitte-Maj Donoghue, at a private party that Badlabecques were booked to play at. Gitte-Maj is a soprano soloist, singing teacher, and music coordinator in Jersey. At the time, Jess and Mel were A-level students with intentions to study music at university, so I was able to encourage them and give a little advice (they are both now studying music at Royal Holloway University). They ended up borrowing my guitar to perform a song at the party, and I was impressed by their musicianship and songwriting. Having seen an online video of the whole band, I was very keen to invite them to participate in The Jersey Song Project. They were immediately enthusiastic, and we eventually arranged to meet up with Jèrriais author and poet Joan Tapley one sunny Saturday in early August. In the meantime, Alice Le Feuvre, a friend of Jess and Mel who speaks some Jèrriais, had done an initial translation of the first four lines of the chorus to their song 'Better Days', the same song I had heard at the party in February.

I was keen to make sure the session had a relaxed atmosphere, so on the day of the meeting, I brought a picnic lunch with a range of buffet snacks, soft drinks, and for a Jèrriais twist, some traditional Jersey cider. As we were meeting at Jess and Mel's house with their mother present, I felt the alcohol was not inappropriate but signalled to them that they were being treated as adults. In fact, Gitte-Maj served a little cider at the end of the session once it had chilled in the fridge, which seemed to go down very well. We met at Jess and Mel's house in a quiet, picturesque corner of the western parish of St. Ouen. Their well-equipped music room – Gitte-Maj's teaching room, complete with piano, guitars, drum kit, and various guitar amplifiers – was an ideal creative environment. Tommy (drums) was not available, but Julia (bass and backing vocals) also joined Jess and Mel to work with Joan on the song.

I was able to film the meeting, and Paul Bisson also popped in to film a few clips for the Festival of Words online promotional video. It is worth beginning with the content of Paul's video as Jess and Mel discuss their intended meaning of the song, as well as the importance of Jèrriais as a language. It begins with Julia, Jess, and Mel introducing themselves, and after a clip of the trio performing 'Better Days', Jess describes what the song is about:

> Well it's kind of about being young, and just discovering who you are and what everything's about. And sometimes being young is kinda 'bigged up' to being an

> amazing thing, and sometimes it's not that great, so it's all about finding yourself, and what you can use to channel any negative feelings. (Donoghue, video dir. Bisson, 2018)

The clear implication here is that the song represents a real-life experience of self-discovery and the ambivalence of youth. Indeed, psychologists view identity formation as the central developmental task of adolescence (Arnett Jensen, 2003; Klimstra, 2013; Phinney, 1993), so the song's theme speaks to a critical issue for young people. Using Jèrriais to express the most meaningful section of the song, the chorus, emphasises its symbolic significance.

Furthermore, by describing the song as representing real-life experience, Jess is invoking a form of 'authenticity of expression' (Moore, 2002), tapping into a narrative of Romanticism present in popular music since the 'rockism' of the late 1960s (see: Keightley, 2001). In this mode, performers – particularly singers who have written their own songs, as is the case here – performatively elicit authentication from their audiences by presenting their music as a sincere, direct expression of their own inner life and genuine feelings. Indeed, as we shall see, both the songwriting technique and the ensemble performance engages this conceptual approach, along with other semiotic cues of rockism. Such heartfelt 'realness' and expressivity provide a compelling medium for the symbolic power of the Jèrriais element of the song in terms of language ideology. This is something I unpack below, but it is important to note this confirmation from Jess that the important theme and complex emotion of the song are meant to be taken at face value, as being earnest and meaningful.

A close-up shot of Alice Le Feuvre's original translation of part of the chorus then appears in the video, hand-written, with Jess's voice explaining that they decided to choose the song's chorus for the Jèrriais element. The image then cuts to Mel, commenting on Jèrriais:

> I think it's often, like, ignored by the younger people of Jersey because obviously they haven't really grown up in that environment where Jèrriais is used, so they're not very familiar with it. However, for the history of this island it is very important, 'cause we are individual from the UK and we have our own cultural differences. (Donoghue, video dir. Bisson, 2018)

Clearly, these comments are given in the context of these young people knowingly being interviewed for an online video, so Mel's description of Jèrriais as 'very important' is perhaps partly stated out of an awareness of the project's aims and what she feels she is 'supposed' to say, rather than a deeply held belief and dedication to Jèrriais revitalisation. But even so, this comment shows a commitment to support Jèrriais publicly, and there is a connection with identity and youth that resonates with the theme of self-discovery in the song. Despite local young people often ignoring Jèrriais, the reason Mel suggests it is important is because 'we', as in Jersey people, have 'cultural differences' with the United Kingdom.

Meeting with Joan was always likely to be a relatively friendly and enjoyable experience for Jess, Mel, and Julia, given Joan's warm, easy-going, and humorous character. Despite her age (eighty-two at the time) and a slightly croaky voice, Joan is remarkably vivacious and quick-witted. The fact that I have a long-standing positive relationship with her also helped establish a casual, amiable mood and ameliorate any awkwardness in the room. The four women sat fairly close together in a slightly curved row of chairs, with Mel and her guitar on one end, next to Jess, then Julia, and Joan on the other end, dictionary at the ready.

It did not take long to settle into the serious business of getting the song right. Alice Le Feuvre's initial translation was good and did make sense, but the scansion did not quite work musically, and the Jèrriais phrasing was a little unnatural linguistically. There were also two more lines to the chorus, which Midriff wanted to try in Jèrriais. As Joan began to consider these, the first hurdle she came across was the word 'incentive', for the lyric: '*Incentive is the only thing, the only thing we hide behind our eyes*'. After a confusing few minutes of Joan misunderstanding what the intended implication of the original English actually meant in the context of the song (initially suggesting 'racraître', to regrow/recreate), Julia eventually suggested the word 'intent', leading to the Jèrriais 'l'intention'. The group was happy with this as a close enough equivalent with three syllables. Next, Joan chose to interpret the 'we hide' as 'j'muchons', deliberately avoiding the alternative 'j'cachons' because, she says, "muchi is a better word than cachi". Though unclear, this preference may be because 'cachi' [*to hide*] is very similar to the French 'cacher' [*to hide*], and I have often found that where a choice exists between two such options in Jèrriais, the community instinctively tends towards the more unique, more 'Jèrriais-sounding' word in order to emphasise difference and demarcate a distinct linguistic identity.

Once happy with the linguistic aspects of a new translation, Joan walked through the pronunciation line by line, with Mel, Jess, and Julia repeating after her. Jess wrote her own phonetic guide next to the Jèrriais spelling (see Figure 2, below), and then spontaneously attempted to sing the first line, fitting it to the melody of the chorus. Stumbling, she chuckled at herself and prompted a reciprocal laugh from Mel and Julia, who commented "Not bad". Joan smiled and agreed before going on to ask about the syllable count needed for it to work better musically. A few small adjustments were then needed to tweak the words to fit the original melody more closely, but keep the same meaning. The issue was more to do with scansion than pitch or emphasis, for example 'Achteu j'sis fitchie auvec té [*now I'm stuck with you*] became 'Achteu fitchie auve té [*now stuck with you*], making use of 'auve', a common alternative spelling for 'with'. Another small edit produced a pronunciation challenge for Jess, in the form of contracting 'que j'muchons' (ke ʒmyʃo) to 'q'j'muchons' (kʒmyʃo). Whilst the syllable count worked better for the melody, the close connection of the 'q'j'm' (kʒm) and the general unfamiliarity of the whole phrase took several attempts to get to grips with, prompting much amusement in the group. Indeed, it is difficult to convey the chemistry in the room, but I felt that the fact that any mistakes and difficulties in pronouncing and singing the words provoked relaxed laughter rather than awkwardness or frustration, was a positive sign. At one point, Jess managed to get the 'q'j'muchons' line musically correct, but the pronunciation was off, and I noticed she and Joan shared a hearty laugh together with some friendly eye contact. In the midst of the linguistic and musical work, genuine identification with Jèrriais and the Jèrriais community can occur in these small moments of social connection. Joan was also very complimentary towards the song itself, as well as the performance of the three young women, constantly making positive and encouraging comments like "Mangnifique [*great*]. It's beautiful. It's lovely. It's really nice."

After more rehearsal together, the session came towards a natural break, and Joan spontaneously said, "Well that was really lovely doing it." I then asked the band if they felt they had enough "to take it away and practice it", which they affirmed, but Joan interpreted my question as being about whether or not there was enough Jèrriais in the song, prompting this short exchange:

Joan	Yes, it's not very… I think the best part really is that it doesn't go on and on.

Kit	Absolutely. It's a nice balance between the English and the Jèrriais.
Jess	Yeah.
Joan	You're better doing short, and good…
Mel and Jess	Yeah.
Joan	…than a load that goes on and on and everyone fidgets.
Mel and Jess	Yeah.
Mel	It loses engagement as well, from normal people, that don't speak Jèrriais.
Joan	[slight pause] I think that's lovely.

There is a clear agreement here about the need to be strategic and seek 'engagement' with non-Jèrriais speakers, who are assumed to be a kind of default, indicated by Mel's (slightly awkward) use of 'normal people'.

A few minutes later another interesting comment came from Joan, commenting on the song, "It's just very very nice to catch up with some modern-ey things, now. Mind you, it has made a difference to have four new teachers." It seems Joan is aware of the modernist construction of Jèrriais as 'traditional' and thus associated with the past, and she is happy to see Jèrriais become more 'modern-ey', in this case via music, but also via the recent recruitment of four relatively young teachers to L'Office du Jèrriais. Whilst the emphasis of this applied project was to encourage linguistic identifications with Jèrriais for non-Jèrriais speakers, it is also significant that the process of taking part in the project was positive for Joan. Music has facilitated a creative, socially rewarding, and culturally affirming experience which will likely encourage her to continue reaching out and participating in language activism. Joan herself hardly needs any encouragement, but it is important to acknowledge this aspect of what such projects can achieve in terms of keeping the minority language community involved and supportive of any such work. Jess, Mel, and Julia's cheerful demeanour and commitment to perfecting the song also support the notion that they had a positive experience working with Joan. I will discuss their overall response regarding language ideology below, but first, I will examine the song and the band's contribution to the final Jersey Song Project event at the Jersey Arts Centre.

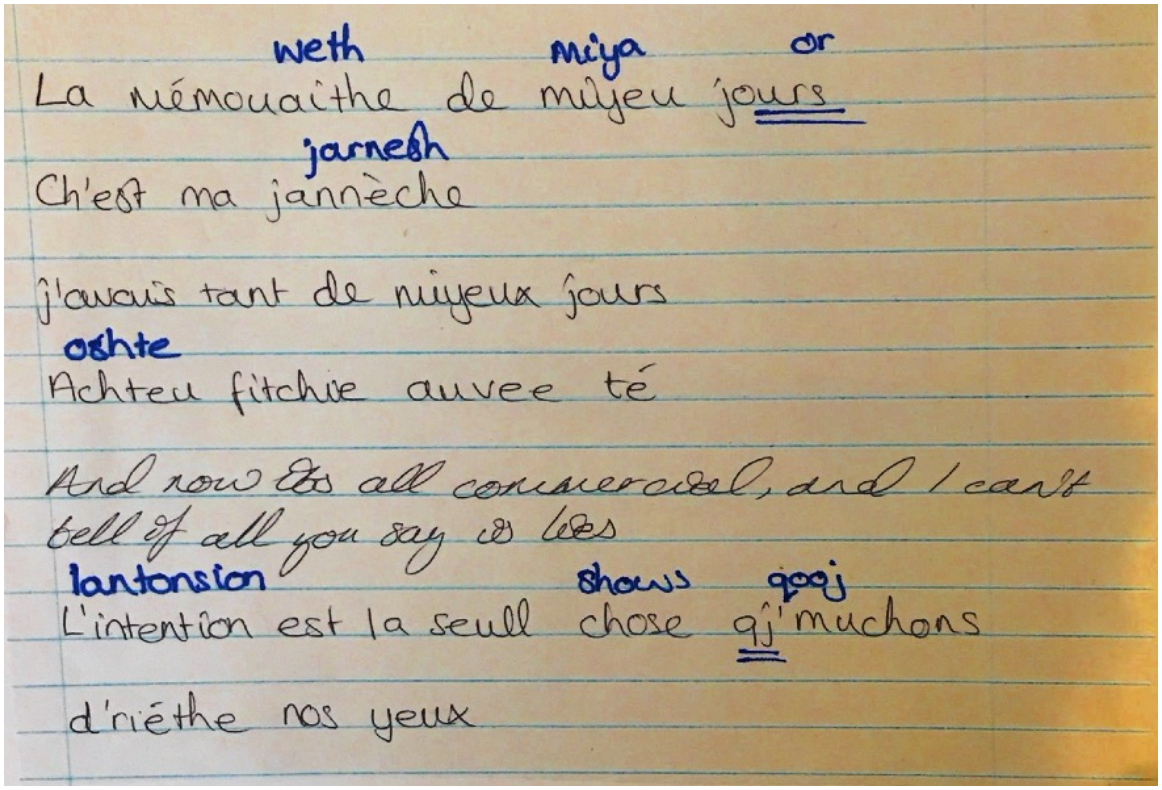

Figure 2. Handwritten chorus lyrics of 'Better Days', with Jess's phonetic guide next to the Jèrriais spelling.

Seeking *signifiance*: a more detailed look at Midriff's performance

It is fruitful to consider Midriff's performance of 'Better Days' from two perspectives: the audience, and the band themselves. I will deal with the audience first. I deliberately programmed Midriff's appearance to be the final new song of the evening, partly because I was confident that the band would give a reliably polished ensemble performance, serving as a fitting climax to the event, which would then be rounded out by a few songs from Badlabecques. But at a deeper level, it was also because I felt that this song, with its earnest theme of self-discovery, performed with such skill by such a young group of musicians, would embody an ideal vision of what a revitalised Jèrriais could look like, both symbolically and literally. This provides an additional dimension to the potential for linguistic identification inherent to the aesthetic experience. As described in chapter two, a key goal in language revitalisation is the restoration of intergenerational transmission (see: Fishman, 1991), which ideally occurs spontaneously in the home between parents and children. This was broken in Jersey prior to and during the Nazi occupation, and today there are few people under the age of sixty who regularly use the language. So the sight and sound of young people not only using Jèrriais in public but doing so in the process of engaging in an effective and meaningful

expressive and creative act that explicitly deals with working out their own identity, is a particularly compelling "imaginative cultural narrative" (Frith, 1996, p. 124) through which the audience can then potentially form their own identifications. The fact that the band are not Jèrriais speakers, and thus this performance at this event is highly contrived, is moot here; indeed, the framing of the event and the open acknowledgement of its unique construction provided a kind of performative authenticity via its own self-reflexivity, its "showing doing" (Albrecht, 2008, p. 380). The critical point is that this performance gave the audience an embodied musical experience of *what it would be like if our young people could confidently, seriously, and purposefully express themselves in Jèrriais*. This expands conceptual horizons and implicitly raises potentially inspiring questions about the prospect of revitalisation, and what kinds of cultural outcomes might be possible. It is worth pointing out here that my intention is not to perpetuate the ageism or youth obsession that contemporary consumer culture is often guilty of but to recognise the potent symbolism of young people performing in Jèrriais in this way, and the impact of that on the public imaginary.

Being a song, the affective and semiotic work is being done via the combination of words and music that are sonically and visually animated through the performance, so it is worth appreciating some of the detail of this. Of the twenty-eight questionnaire responses from the audience, four mentioned Midriff's performance as a highlight, as did the Jersey Evening Post review. However, only one response gave any further insight into their opinion, emphasising the affective impact of the song and the competence of the performance: "I loved Better Days. The song had real power and was brilliantly performed." Whilst we cannot know for sure what the audience what experiencing, as previously mentioned (in chapter one), Jersey audiences have been well enculturated to the cultural, ideological, and semiotic norms of Western popular music since at least the 1960s. Hence, it is likely that the effects and significations I describe here are largely how this particular audience will have received them.

As per my previous vignette, the song begins with a solo voice and piano entering the stillness of the auditorium. Indeed, the ritual significance and theatrical purposefulness of the collective musicking (Small, 2012) about to occur is already built into the design of the setting, with the hushed crowd sitting expectantly in the darkness, eyes fixed on the illuminated young musicians onstage. A single note anacrusis of the voice, a capella, strikes out alone against the silence before the first downbeat arrival of the opening piano chord. It

is an unstable F major, as the harmonic momentum is soon created by stepping through D minor to the tonic chord of A minor. The exposed vocal immediately evokes the Romantic 'rockist' notion of direct, authentic expression, dramatically centring the song's focus on Jess, the raw authenticity of the story she is telling, and its unfolding meaning carried by the undulating melody and grain of her voice.[55] I use *grain* here to indicate more than just timbre, but, following Barthes, the unique quality and friction inherent to the "encounter between a language and a voice" in song, brought forth in "the materiality of the body" (Barthes, 1987: 181-182, 185). Khesti, reflecting on Barthes, notes that "the 'grain of the voice' conveys the feel of the singing or performing body and represents the site of affective engagement between listener and performer" (Kheshti, 2008, p. 70). Not every singer makes use of the expressive potential of their grain persuasively, but in this case Jess, perhaps with a hint of influence from pop-soul singer Adele, augments her clear, mellifluous, unforced sound with some subtle glissando, melisma, and minimal enunciation that holds words closely in the mouth. This increases the effect of emotional intimacy, and the potential for an empathetic affective response. Jess's body language, a thoughtful face staring into the distance and a step forward accompanied by an open hand gesture complements the musical expressivity of these opening moments. A brooding, ruminating atmosphere is established by the single sustained strike of the resonant piano chords at the start of each bar, cycling through the four-bar, 4/4 sequence of F, D minor, and A minor tonic for two bars (including a bar rest). This is the context for the lyric, which introduces the first-person narrative, and a tentative sense of agency in the face of long-term lack:

> I think I might've found it, found my missing piece
> I have lived without it for so many years
> I think I might've found it, my key to reality
> The difference between you and me

Then a pre-chorus varies the chord pattern, now moving through F and A minor, to an unsettled G for two bars. Here the melody initially has less movement, but the latter half of

[55] In fact, I later found out that Jess was suffering from enlarged tonsils at the time, making this performance even more impressive.

the second line inflects some added emotion via an unexpected change of shape, which is then left to hang through the rest beats (Figure 3):

Figure 3.

The ambiguous lyric at this point references an emergent subjectivity, negotiating positionality:

> I am like a stowaway that
> hides between the games we play
> A castaway that cast away the
> pain and all the mistakes she made

The pensive pause of that rest artfully sets up the dramatic impact of the first line of the chorus which, as indicated earlier, creates a striking effect for the entrance of the Jèrriais element of the song into the hollow of the sonic space (Figure 4):

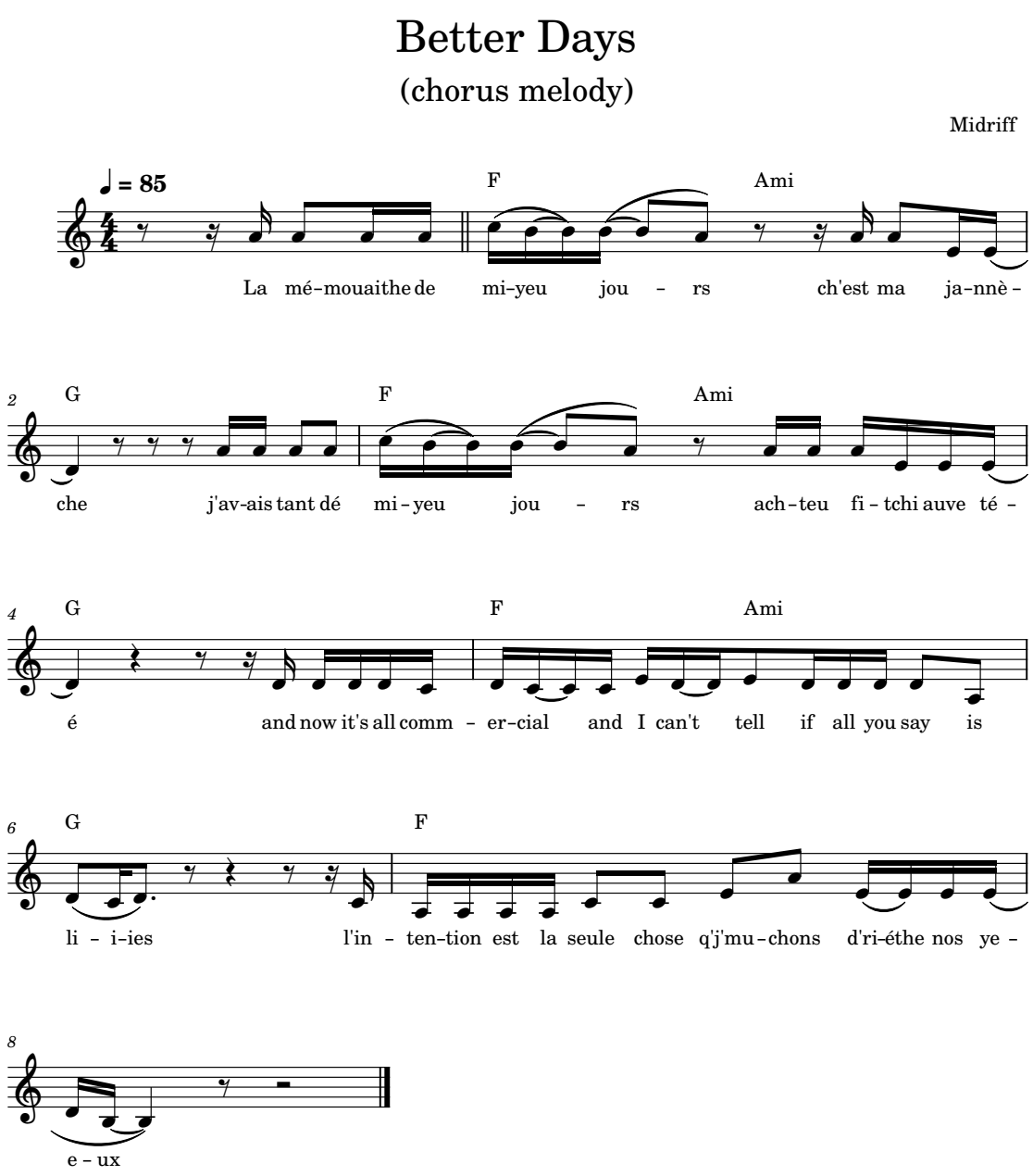

Figure 4.

The composition and performance have so far entirely conformed 'to type' in terms of being a well-crafted example of the particular *pheno-song* (Barthes, 1987, p. 182) associated with the genre 'pop-rock' (the presence of the piano shifts away from the typical rock sound of electric guitar, towards a broader sonic palette of contemporary pop). But now the song powerfully combines an expected *pheno-song* characteristic – the additional dynamism and sonic density of the bass and drums – with the unfamiliar, uncharacteristic switch from English to Jèrriais. The drama of this moment points to the special significance of

the words, sung with increased intensity at a higher pitch. This is clearly the chorus of the song, which according to the norms of popular music is the most important part of the architecture of the pop song, where the key message is crystallised and foregrounded. But for non-Jèrriais speakers[56] the lack of access to semantic meaning here (in terms of propositional content) leads the listener to seek the significance in the remaining *geno-song* (Barthes, 1987, p. 182): the materiality of the language as it is stretched across the melody, the "voluptuousness of its sounds-signifiers" (Barthes, 1987, p. 182) embedded in the grain of the voice at that moment. This is carried by the band, who are now in full flow, with a solid rock-pop backbeat at around 85bpm. Harmonically, the pattern loops around an unresolving four-bar phrase: a bar of F, a bar of A minor, and two bars of G, creating an unsettled mood, which supports the emotive sound of the yearning vocal.

The effect of all this is to emphasise the sheer *meaningfulness* of the Jèrriais sounds, irrespective of whether the listener can decode them semantically. Whilst it is commonplace in pop music to use expressive vocables that are devoid of semantic meaning in terms of propositional content – 'ooh', 'ah', 'doo', 'la' et cetera – here, the broad range of distinct phonemes tells the non-Jèrriais speaker that there *is* a semantic meaning, and the musicking context makes it clear that the propositional content is indeed full of significance. Out of the sonic lull of the pre-chorus, the Jèrriais words burst through (the translation is below but deliberately not included in the transcription in order to potentially evoke something of the listener's experience for the reader). Without direct access to the literal and symbolic elements of the semantic meaning, the non-Jèrriais speaker is left with the resonant *signifiance* of the *geno-song* in dialogue with the *pheno-song* at this moment, the grain of the voice sounding an unknown but evidently important signified. Again following Barthes, I use this term *signifiance* (which he borrowed from Kristeva, 1969) to refer to a process that is distinct from signification. It is a sensation – a form of *jouissance* – of grasping towards an elusive 'third meaning', an 'obtuse meaning' which extends beyond the 'obvious meaning' encoded in the informational and symbolic signified. For Barthes, the possibility of a singer's voice eliciting *signifiance* is offered by "the very friction between the music and something else, which something else is the particular language (and nowise the message)" (Barthes, 1987, p. 184). A temporary dissolution or loss of self is necessary in order to empathise and

[56] French speakers may be able to guess some of the words.

seek the *signifiance* of the vocal grain via affective identification with the signifier, the singer: "it is not the psychological 'subject' in me who is listening; the climactic pleasure hoped for is not going to reinforce - to express - that subject but, on the contrary, to lose it" (Barthes, 1987, p. 188).

Barthes does not expand on exactly what he means by this, but research on music and consciousness may help to support and extend the possibility he opens up. McGuiness and Overy (2011) draw on neuroscience to consider empathetic musical co-subjectivity, which is particularly evoked by the human voice; stating: "the self-versus-other distinction is precisely what we claim can be suspended in the experience of co-subjectivity" (McGuiness and Overy, 2011, p. 257). A vital aspect of this is the role of mirror neuron systems (MNS), which theoretically provides "a neural basis for affective, shared, musical experiences" (McGuiness and Overy, 2011, p. 249), though it is likely only one foundational part of a highly complex occurrence. In brief, mirror neuron systems are activated by both intentional actions and the perception of such actions when performed by others. We 'feel' such perceptions directly by engaging motor systems at a pre-conscious level, as opposed to deducing a person's intentions by conscious interpretation. Thus the brain is "not an isolated perception-action system, but is intimately connected with the body, and with the brains of other individuals" (McGuiness and Overy, 2011, p. 248). Alongside visual perception, MNS responds to sounds, especially the articulation of expressive vocal gestures, which contribute to the emotional response in the listener (McGuiness and Overy, 2011, p. 255). Indeed, Clarke discusses this in relation to vocal grain and empathy and observes, "the human voice acts as the primary significant medium of acoustically channelled empathy" (Clarke, 2019, p. 79). What is significant here is the involuntary directness of the MNS response, which likely occurs at a subpersonal level, on top of which functional and conscious phenomenological responses of intersubjectivity are then constructed (Clarke, 2019, p. 75). Perhaps Barthes' 'third' or 'obtuse' meaning of *signifiance* is really no meaning at all, but the profound *meaningfulness* of co-subjective empathetic intimacy; of communion, rather than communication.

The immediate, pre-reflective and affective basis for the emotional response to vocal gesture and grain helps explain the potency of certain musical experiences of *signifiance* where there is a lack of perceived semantic meaning. Kheshti (2008) has observed this phenomenon being strategically (and problematically) engaged by the 'world beat culture industry' in the form of anonymous vocal samples in non-Western languages incorporated

into the production of 'global pop'. The resultant "loss of the self" in sound via the combination of affective vocal *geno-song* and digitally produced *pheno-song* results in a form of *signifiance*, a "pleasure-through-listening" for Western consumers, irrespective of whether audiences can understand the propositional content of the lyrics (Kheshti, 2008, p. 76).

Szego explores similar territory in discussing performances of Hawaiian songs in the Kamehameha Schools' 'Song Contest' where both performers and audiences may have little to no understanding of the referential content of the texts, but nevertheless described a certain "feelingful engagement" (2003, p. 306). Szego's research unveils multiple levels of meaning-making across a range of language proficiency levels, but it is her analysis of "the sounds of sung language" (2003, p. 305) that resonates most strongly with my inquiry here about Jèrriais and *signifiance*:

> Listener references to the temporal and timbral characteristics of language sounds, such as flow and sweetness, actually point to gestalt experiences that fused language with musical sound. Sung utterances, then, can constitute meaningful sonic streams whether or not they achieve denotative resonance.

For these Hawaiian performers and audiences, it is important that they know there is indeed meaningful semantic content to the words – nonsense vocables will not suffice – because, after all, a central motivation for such musical activity is the enactment of Hawaiian identity after long periods of colonial oppression and erasure. But given this framing, even for those with limited linguistic fluency, significant amounts of affective/emotional response and/or "phonosthetic pleasure" (2003, p. 306) can be experienced through the performances. The parallels with 'Better Days' are clear.

Decelerating time further still, closely examining the first four lines of the chorus of 'Better Days' unveils additional detail of Jess's performance. The melody here places an emphasis on two words, 'miyeux jours', which consists of three syllables (mi-yeux-jours) but six phonemes (m-i-ɜ-ʒ-u-ɾ). This is more than an 'ooh' or 'la', thus indicating propositional content is present but inscrutable (at least to most monolingual English speakers). It is in the melodic, harmonic, and dynamic shift – or gesture – from the preceding three-word anacrusis 'La memouaithe dé…' into the affective release of '…miyeux jours' that the most compelling moment of *signifiance* is afforded. Entering into the space created by the rest beats, 'La memouaithe dé…' rhythmically sounds an unstable suspended second (an A) in the melody

above the ringing remainder of the sustained G chord, and in itself this A is a leap of a fifth from the preceding pre-chorus, allowing Jess to inject some performative gestural intensity and tension. 'The 'm' of 'miyeux jours' then springboards off of the first beat in the bar, acoustically buttressed by the crash of a cymbal and the low boom of the bass guitar and kick drum – the moment of release – with the 'i' phoneme moving higher in pitch again, to a satisfying perfect fifth (a C) over the F chord (see figure 4). But not only is the F chord not the tonic here, the melody then quickly focuses on a B – a sharpened fourth to the F chord – conjuring, to Western ears at least, a yearning Lydian instability as Jess draws out the '-yeux' and the first half of the 'jours'. Jess uses the buzz of the fricative pulmonic consonant 'ʒ' as a new launchpad to extend the 'u' of 'jours', still on the clashing melody note B. This phoneme then settles on a sweeter melodic note, A (the third of the F triad), just before the next bar, and a new chord, an A minor. Over this chord, Jess sings a lower, more resolved return phrase, which again is full of inscrutable meaning and potential *signifiance*: 'Ch'est ma jannèche'. The harmony then moves back to G, setting up a repeat of this whole musical passage (with slightly varied lyrics). The repetition of the key phrase 'miyeux jours' allows Jess to add further *signifiance* not only via the emphasis of repetition itself but in the nuances of a very slightly different inflection of the phrase, of diction, pitch, dynamic; in other words, the 'voluptuousness' of the sound-signifier. For clarity, here is a translation of these first few lines of the chorus, which is in fact very close to the original English (table 3):

Original English	Literal translation
I remember better days	The memory of better days
This is my youth	*It's my youth*
I had so many better days	*I had so many better days*
Now I'm stuck with you	*Now stuck with you*

Table 3. Section of 'Better Days' chorus lyrics, comparison of original English and translation of Jèrriais.

There is little to be gained from continuing the song analysis at this level of detail, but unpacking these few moments does begin to describe, or at least evoke, something of the ways in which *signifiance* is achieved by the grain of Jess's voice in concert with the band, in the context of this performance. Such *signifiance* requires a temporary suspension of subjectivity in the listener in order to affectively identify with the grain, the embodied *geno-*

song as it "works at the language" (Barthes, 1987, p. 182). Despite the inscrutability of the semantic content, the audience viscerally understands that all this means *something*, and whatever it means, its meaning is substantial and urgent for these young people who are expressing it so *meaningfully* through rock music and through Jèrriais. Consequently, audiences can briefly but vividly inhabit the aforementioned imaginative cultural narrative of 'what it would be like if our young people could confidently, seriously, and purposefully express themselves in Jèrriais'; in other words, they can have "a real experience of what the ideal could be" (Frith, 1996, p. 123). Moreover, the aesthetic reward, the jouissance of this momentary loss of self in phenomenological absorption offers forth the potential to make new identifications with the language, and restructure language beliefs as self-awareness shifts back and forth. Amidst the pleasurable destabilisation of prior subject positions, new connections can begin to form, particularly when the overall collective aesthetic experience is so persuasive. As Frith states regarding music's imaginative cultural narratives: "Such a fusion of imaginative fantasy and bodily practice marks also the integration of aesthetics and ethics" (Frith, 1996, p. 124), which in this case foregrounds Jèrriais revitalisation as its central feature.

In terms of cultural identity and language ideology, it is impossible to quantify just how influential the gig may have been for the audience, but responses to the gig as a whole were overwhelmingly enthusiastic, judging by their reactions at the event itself and their comments on the questionnaire. Whilst an inevitable self-selecting bias must be acknowledged, there was a clear pattern of enjoyment, engagement, and inspiration, with two questionnaire responses being particularly articulate and insightful. One respondent summed up the evening as follows, including a clear comment on language beliefs:

> All the participants gave it a genuine go, tried to incorporate Jèrriais in more than a token way – even if there was only a phrase, it was a pivotal one for the song. They all took it seriously, and the range of genres was a demonstration that, although it may be uncommon, there's nothing inherently odd about using Jèrriais in any situation.

Another respondent's answer included these thoughts on the atmosphere, identity, and the status of Jèrriais:

> I loved the variety and dynamic of the evening, and the feeling of diversity and inclusion: such a variety of genres of music and levels of experience of musicians. It really reformed for me the 'image' of Jerriais which admittedly I would often say "it's not spoken by many, and of those mainly the elderly and of those pretty rapidly decreasing". I feel more enthusiastic to lean [*sic*] now. It made it have a young and trendy feel, and learning through song is fun. Also a great sense of community and an increased sense of island identity…more of a substantial/wholesome identity [*ellipsis in original*]

All comments about the event were positive, though there was a certain amount of ambiguity and resignation about the future of Jèrriais and some critique of specific details from a few respondents (e.g., wanting translations, noticing some technical issues, and not being convinced by the more amateur performances)[57]. But the range of apparently authentic identifications with Jèrriais and the burgeoning metalinguistic community was evident.

Interpreting the experience of Jess and Midriff

In addition to the audience, the other important perspective is that of the musicians themselves. A key goal of this project was to encourage the possibility of new identifications with Jèrriais being made amongst the musicians in the process of writing, rehearsing, and performing the song. The primary evidence I have for Mel and Julia comes from their engagement with Joan in the songwriting session. Throughout the session, they maintained a respectful, attentive, relaxed and cheerful demeanour, as well as a generally positive stance on Jèrriais. However, there were no obvious behaviours that clearly pointed to a definitive shift or new connection occurring. One encounter is unlikely to result in a long-term change, though the possibility of at least some deeper level of identification, perhaps in the form of a

[57] Here are four more short examples of general comments on the event:

1) I loved it. Really varied music and all fantastic in their own way. Great to see some rising talent along with the veterans.
2) I love the concept and it makes Jerriais more available somehow. Hearing it in songs is a really good way to introduce the language to everyone.
3) It was a great night. Loved the variety. Felt part of something important.
4) I loved it - wonderful atmosphere and a really engaging way of connecting to the langauge! [*sic*] … I really hope we can revive the language and I want to be part of it!

seed planted for the future, is always there. Particularly when combined with the positive affect associated with the memory of a successful performance at the Jersey Arts Centre, there is a good chance the band will remain allies of Jèrriais at least, which may bear fruit in some way eventually. Thankfully, Jess provided a little more detail on her experience and consequent perspective on Jèrriais. She responded to the artist questionnaire shortly after the event, and I have also remained in touch with her via email. Jess also provided some practical insights and reflections on her current perspective on Jèrriais.

The first simple point to note from Jess's questionnaire relates to the question 'Why did you decide to get involved with the Jersey Song Project?' Jess's response was "Interesting opportunity", showing the attractive nature of the project and its potential to reach new people. The second point is regarding the technical challenge of reworking the song and learning how to sing it in Jèrriais, written as a reflection on the process leading up to the gig:

> Change the chorus to an already existing original song to Jerriais with the help of a local speaker. The letter combinations and vowel sounds were most difficult but it didn't take too long to figure out the placing of it in relation to the song.

Judging by this comment, the songwriting session, and the few slight pronunciation errors at the gig, whilst the audience may have been having a glimpse of an ideal, youthful vision of a revitalised Jèrriais, Jess herself was having to work hard at the language. It is impossible to know how alienating this was, but this is a potential obstacle to identification, which would only be resolved by more than a one-off encounter with the language.

Despite the kudos of knowing some Jèrriais ("being able to recite a few lines is cool"), the third, more ideological point is the almost inevitable rationalisation Jess makes regarding the future of the language:

> I think it's a definitive part of Jersey's culture but sadly unless there is more use or positive implications of learning the language I do think it will fall out of use. However, I think it is still important to recognize and acknowledge as an islander.

Jess accepts and supports the notion of Jèrriais as a 'definitive' aspect of Jersey identity. But she has no direct family links to Jèrriais and outside of this project had not previously had any real connection to it, so it is unsurprising that she has picked up on a lack of 'positive

implications for learning the language'. This could either refer to the absence of a strong social use and celebration of the language as a mode of expression and marker of identity, or a modernist language ideology that seeks 'rational' communicative applications (business et cetera), or perhaps both. This thoughtful, respectful, but practical and necessarily utilitarian logic is illuminated further by Jess's response to the question 'Would you be interested in learning to speak more Jèrriais?':

> No, to balance learning a new language that isn't really in use alongside other commitments would be too difficult realistically at the moment.

At the time, Jess was in the final year of her A-levels, with hopes of going on to study music at university, so this is a very understandable position, but there is also an implicit challenge to Jèrriais activists here: what would it take for the public to begin to think of Jèrriais as a language that is 'really in use'?

Two years later, amidst the COVID19 pandemic, and fully involved with a music degree in London, Jess provided some further insights via email in response to a question about her current connection to Jèrriais:

> Funnily enough, I still remember the general opening phonetics and words of the chorus translated to Jerriais so it stuck! I wouldn't say I feel a connection to the language as such but I found it fun to do and enjoyed learning a bit of it. I think if it was more widely taught in schools (e.g. clubs etc.) for free I might've pursued it further but I'm generally terrible at picking up languages, to be honest.

There are several helpful points here. First, the experience of taking part in the Jersey Song Project was evidently both memorable and pleasurable. Some of the language itself has 'stuck', and given Jess's previous recognition that Jèrriais is a 'definitive part of Jersey's culture', she clearly sees some value to having even this token 'bit of it'. Finally, whilst Jess does not particularly 'feel a connection' to Jèrriais, she points towards the broader context that might have made it more likely that a project such as this could have inspired further engagement with the language. If it were more 'widely taught' – and presumably if there were more 'positive implications of learning' Jèrriais – then the positive energy generated by activities like the Jersey Song Project could be channelled more productively. Jess's identity

narrative throughout and beyond the project did not result in committed language learning, but she remains an ally of Jèrriais, perhaps even a stronger one. Building on the potential indicated here requires incorporating lessons learned into society-wide, longer-term strategies.

Reflexive summary: all together now

Of course, Jess was not the only singer in the Jersey Song Project to have a limited understanding of Jèrriais. As mentioned, none of them had any real conversational skills or even knew more than a few words and phrases, and yet they all participated and in doing so enacted metalinguistic community through their performances and their interactions with Jèrriais speakers. There is some congruence here with Harasta's research with musicians taking part in Kan Rag Kernow (Forthcoming). In this context, "Cornish musicians – who, with few exceptions, cannot speak Kernewek – work closely with volunteer translators to produce songs for competitions for audiences who also rarely speak Kernewek" (Harasta, Forthcoming). Despite their lack of fluency, musicians were motivated by a desire to contribute to Cornish cultural revival, political autonomy, and a community of belonging. They wanted to represent Cornwall on stage "as a way to publicize and extend Cornish distinctiveness and national identity" (Harasta, Forthcoming). Notably, competition entries have incorporated a range of relocalised musical genres and styles well beyond the traditional Celtic sonic imaginary, including Cornish hip-hop, techno, opera, psych-rock, and electropop. Harasta also describes how the resulting ethnolinguistic infusion is directed toward a trifurcated community: Kernewek speakers; a more liminal, ethnically Cornish audience who may be part of the metalinguistic community without speaking Kernewek; and wider, non-Cornish audiences. Each of these more or less correlate with Fishman's 'Xmen via Xish', 'Xmen via Yish', and 'Ymen via Yish' (1991), with the key target for linguistic engagement being the middle, most liminal group. Ultimately, Kan Rag Kernow "creates excitement and a gateway to bring others into the language", and the translation services "lowered the bar for participation and built metalinguistic community by encouraging non-speakers to view the language as their own" (Harasta, Forthcoming). To compare this with Jersey Song Project, the trifurcated audiences at the event can be delineated in the same manner: Jèrriais speakers; the non-Jèrriais speaking local metalinguistic community, including the musicians; and outsiders of varying positionalities. Whilst the event itself did not have the

same sense of drama and jeopardy as a competition, perhaps its lack of competitiveness added its own form of conviviality. Cornwall's more established Celtic tradition, the greater scale in terms of population, and the more militant political outlook of the Cornish Revival movement all probably add to the excitement and interest Kan Rag Kernow can generate. But as a one-off experiment of applied ethnomusicology, the Jersey Song Project generated a significant amount of excitement and interest and achieved comparable ethnolinguistic infusion, helping construct and enact metalinguistic community.

In summary, the Jersey Song Project set out to facilitate collaborative songwriting between local musicians and Jèrriais speakers towards a final performance at a professional venue, and whilst the collaborative aspect was not as extensive and sustained as I had hoped, the project broadly accomplished its aims. There were two particular areas of research interest in terms of language activism throughout the project, both relating to status planning. First, the potential for positive public engagement, and second, the potential for new linguistic identifications amongst the musicians themselves.

Regarding public engagement, this can be divided between the wider publicity outside of the event and the audience's experience of the gig itself. I found that the project was able to generate a significant amount of positive exposure via established local media and social media, facilitated greatly by the Jersey Festival of Words. On the whole, this is had a beneficial effect on language beliefs and cultural identity, however, there is a danger that media discourse overplays the influence or 'power' of Jèrriais music and perhaps even presents it simply as an end in itself, as if it is a sufficient response to the endangerment of Jèrriais. If music has a 'power' in the context of applied ethnomusicological projects such as this one, it is in the transient moments of intersubjective aesthetic experience. Such moments may be compelling or even profound, and they can certainly build metalinguistic community, but on their own, they are not enough to revitalise a vernacular language, if that is the goal. As previously observed, boosting the status of a language does not automatically lead to widespread language acquisition and use. Whilst it may not be possible to prevent people's inclination towards settling for symbolic, post-vernacular tokenism entirely, my experience with this project emphasises the importance of proactive messaging about what language revitalisation requires in terms of deeper engagement with the language and culture. It also suggests that much like my other projects, such publicity would have greater impact when co-ordinated to be part of a wider strategy of language activism and revitalised

cultural ecology. This would help get the message across but also provide a range of other forms of engagement with the language, and lead towards learning and using spoken Jèrriais. Some such coordination did happen in this case, such as other Jèrriais events in the festival, but clearly, there is an ongoing need for as much long-term strategic action as possible, placing music events within a broad cultural movement.

The audience experience of the gig was undoubtedly favourable. Their various responses evidenced the creation of pleasant memories, constructive associations, positive affect and new or increased identifications with Jèrriais. The range of musical styles and performances was engaging and entertaining, providing a compelling collective aesthetic experience in which connections with the language were made or strengthened. Two particular performances stood out as examples here. Steve McVay's effective use of audience participation created a remarkably convivial musical sociality via one simple Jèrriais phrase. This provided a spontaneous experience of intersubjective communitas, forming a kind of 'third space' (Evans, 2014) in which the audience could performatively 'try on' (Frith 1996) an identification with Jèrriais. A different form of liminality was created via the moments of *signifiance* in Midriff's skilful performance. The process of empathetic affective identification with the grain of Jess Donoghue's voice, singing in Jèrriais in the context of the song, involves a pleasurable destabilisation of prior subject positions, a temporary loss of self, through which new subjectivities and positive linguistic connections can be made or remade. Moreover, Midriff's performance embodied an ideal vision, or imaginative cultural narrative, of what a revitalised Jèrriais could look like, both symbolically and literally.

The experiences of the musicians themselves were also favourable. Their communications throughout and beyond the project confirmed their enjoyment and positive regard towards the project. Whilst I had initially hoped the songwriting process would involve more interpersonal collaboration, perhaps leading to stronger identifications with Jèrriais and the Jèrriais community, there is certainly evidence of some encouraging developments. Each artist has performatively expressed their support for the language, in public, via their songs. In doing so, they directly identified with Jèrriais through their own music, becoming part of the metalinguistic community. Some may go on singing in Jèrriais and perhaps begin to learn to speak it. Others will remain allies of the language, with the seeds of interest sown for possible nurturing in the future. As with the public engagement aspect, a strategic combination of a music project like this being part of a broader cultural movement that

directly links to other language activities would help maximise the potential for ongoing pursuit of the language. Such a movement is still growing in Jersey, but perhaps there are some *miyeux jours* yet to come.

8.

‘Né fai pon d’mêché, ni vai la fliambe êmouochie’: Concluding discussion

Pouor châque mot tch’est satchi
La lueu picote lé ciel
D’êtînchelles êcliatchies:
Châque pathole - eune chandelle
Né fai pon d’mêché
Ni vai la fliambe êmouochie
V’là qu’Manman prêchait
Auve eune langue radouochie

[*For each word struck*
The glow speckles the sky
With spatters of sparks:
Every word a candle
Do no mischief
Nor see the flame snuffed out
That’s what Granny spoke
With a sweetened tongue]

(Jennings/Ashton, 2017, from ‘Ma Langue Êcliaithe Man Tchoeu’ by Badlabecques, 2017)

Back in 2012, well before any thoughts of academic research, I was given an opportunity to use my skills as a musician to try to help my home community safeguard and revitalise Jèrriais. At that time, it seemed obvious to me and others that music *could* help Jèrriais in some way, but exactly how, why, and to what extent this might be true was unknown. This dissertation has sought to explore this question in some depth, with academic rigour, and with reference to extant research and understanding. As outlined in chapter two, current scholarship underscores the global urgency for language revitalisation itself, as well as the need for research that can provide helpful insights. This is a matter of linguistic justice and humane concern. The literature also acknowledges that music can and does play a role in language revitalisation. Still, there is a clear lack of in-depth research that can inform a wider

theoretical understanding and practical strategy. This gap was the motivation for my doctoral research.

I engaged with the extant literature, having already been involved in language activism through music and having already completed a Master's dissertation on the subject of music and language revitalisation. Perspectives from sociolinguistics informed my understanding of the importance of 'status planning' in language revitalisation (relating to the social and political standing of the language), and the crucial influence of a community's language ideologies and cultural identity within this. Perspectives from music studies informed my view that musical experiences have the potential to influence language beliefs and remodel cultural identity in significant ways. In particular, Frith's approach to music and identity has been a constant reference, acknowledging the productive potential of the embodied experience of imaginative cultural narratives via the integration of aesthetics and ethics in music (Frith, 1996). This performative capacity of music engages with the socially constructed nature of identity, understood as processual and multifaceted. Scholarship from cultural studies, feminist theory, and psychology informs this anti-essentialist/constructivist perspective of identity, used throughout my dissertation.

The application of these concepts to language activism led me to my central thesis: that applied ethnomusicological interventions can be an integral part of language revitalisation strategies because they offer significant potential to contribute toward status planning, particularly by helping to shape language beliefs and reconstruct cultural identity. My autoethnographic applied ethnomusicological approach was designed to test my thesis and understand more about the process, and the potential for such work. I was also concerned with the limitations, dangers, and challenges of this kind of research-activism. Overall, I planned to consider how the lessons learned in Jersey may be helpful or relevant elsewhere, both in relation to language revitalisation and in terms of what the research may reveal about music. The originality of this work lies partly in the theoretical approach, of applying concepts relating to the performative potential of music to language revitalisation, and partly in the depth and scope of a long-term autoethnographic study. As such, the research aligns with and contributes to applied ethnomusicological research in two main ways: as a unique example of positive interdisciplinary praxis (connecting ethnomusicology and sociolinguistics); and in the broader applied sense of engaging with "concrete problems"

beyond “typical academic contexts” (Harrison, 2012, p. 30) through ethnomusicological scholar-activism.

Throughout these chapters, both in the course of the ethnographic description and the moments of reflective analysis, I have focussed on the relationship between the musical activity and the issue of status planning rather than corpus planning (language documentation, codification et cetera) or acquisition planning (language learning). Given that research has already established the usefulness of music and song in corpus and acquisition planning, I identified status planning as the crucial area of interest, with arguably a greater degree of untapped potential. With regard to the lesser-discussed and under-theorised issue of ‘use planning’ (increasing domains and instances of practical use), I have not focussed on this either. As discussed in chapter two, any instance of language usage within music constitutes a particular domain of social use, thus potentially contributing to use planning. However, in working towards developing regular vernacular speech, rather than purely symbolic post-vernacular use, music would typically have more of a strategic, precursive role via corpus, acquisition and status planning. I will return to this issue later.

At the heart of this work is the question of identity, and how the various inner workings of identities in flux – the processual affinities, affiliations, commonalities and identifications – can come to make new and meaningful connections with Jèrriais language and culture in the course of musical experiences. Positive language beliefs are an integral aspect of this process, whether they are a precursor or a consequence. Such musical work thus exemplifies and embodies an “integration of aesthetics and ethics” (Frith, 1996, p. 124). In the midst of pleasurable, accessible, engaging, memorable, and inspiring social experiences of music that incorporate the language, individual and collective identities and language ideologies can evolve. Once a community begins to revalorise and respect its heritage language as a part of its collective self-understanding and self-image, a driving motivation for revitalisation is established. Metalinguistic community is constructed, through which momentum for the sociocultural movement can grow. Music can thus feed into a virtuous cycle from early on.

This brings me to the specific issue of modernist language ideology and coloniality, which I will make a brief comment on here, before turning to the specific contributions of my four applied research projects. It is clear that Jèrriais music not only provides an opportunity for people in Jersey to develop their sense of local cultural identity and belonging (in various

ways, discussed below) but that this kind of experience inherently challenges the 'market logic' of modernist language ideology that marginalised Jèrriais as 'useless' in the first place. Valorising and engaging with our language as a significant feature of our culture and commonality necessarily fosters a form of language ideology that moves beyond the modernist hierarchies of market rationalism and coloniality. Celebrating Jèrriais language and culture as a uniquely local mode of participation in social life, with its own inherent expressive and experiential value and creative heritage, begins to expose modernist language ideology not only as insufficient and short-sighted but as distorted by the racist hierarchy of colonial difference. I will return to this issue later, in my discussion of future directions of musical language activism/research.

My four applied projects provided a rich range of ethnographic material that demonstrated a number of ways in which musical experiences facilitated positive identifications with Jèrriais. These arose through the differing forms of musical events and the particularities of the contexts in which they occurred. Whether experiencing live performances, studio recordings, or music videos by Badlabecques; singing in classroom workshops and school assemblies; rehearsing with the children's choir and performing on Liberation Day; or taking part in collaborative songwriting sessions and the final Jersey Song Project concert, participants engaged with Jèrriais through music, producing varied outcomes.

Chapter four described my journey with pop-folk band Badlabecques, and the production and release of our album *Cocolîncheux!*. I noted the ripple effects of the band's activity, moving outwards from the epicentre of the musical events. For example, the band members and fans of Badlabecques who attended the album launch co-created an intersubjective experience of musical and linguistic sociality, leading to memorable collective moments of joyful unisonance (Anderson, 2006) and energising communitas (Turner, 1969), which centred on Jèrriais. The process of making and promoting the album engaged the Jèrriais metalinguistic community and fans of the band, including crowdfunders. The final product itself has taken on a life of its own, being listened to and talked about in ongoing settings, including intimate family environments. Badlabecques' hybridised pop-folk aesthetic – including an inclusive, multicultural ethos – relocalises both current popular and traditional musical forms, and in doing so, revalorises Jèrriais as contemporary and meaningful, eliciting new identifications within the emergent cultural narrative.

The 'outer zone' of that ripple effect is also significant, even if the impact on cultural identity and language beliefs is less direct and not always musical in form. This includes beneficial publicity in the media, word of mouth, my own personal profile as a researcher and language activist, and even local government documents on culture mentioning Badlabecques as an exemplar; as well as other encounters with the music over time, for example, on the radio or in school classrooms, et cetera. All of these can contribute in their own ways to positive discourse about Jèrriais and thus its status. One significant limitation to this aspect of my research was common to the other projects: it is difficult to show strong causality between the project and long-term positive impact on language revitalisation. Nevertheless, the ethnographic evidence for the 'ripple effect' was clearly favourable. I discuss this issue further in the section on limitations and challenges below.

Chapter five detailed my work in Jersey primary schools, teaching the song 'Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri/Beautiful Jersey', with some help from Agent Cliémentinne. In the children's responses, I interpreted three general stages of identification: encounter, via process, to connection with Jèrriais, which I observed amongst the children throughout the project, from learning the song in class to performing it in an assembly. The use of entertaining and engaging online teaching videos became a helpful tool. The playfulness and imaginative approach of the videos, in combination with the upbeat arrangement of the song, created a liminal 'third space' (Hughes, 2014) in which children could 'try on' the language in a safe and enjoyable way, leading towards a new and expanded sense of self. Working within the 'relational network' of the classroom as a social community, in which learning is "an experience of identity" (Westerlund *et al*., 2017: 493), the song harnessed the group dynamic to positive effect. High levels of enthusiasm, commitment, and engagement were evident, including explicit verbal support for Jèrriais. However, whilst metalinguistic community was undoubtedly built, the 'green shoots of identification' did not automatically convert to widespread, ongoing language acquisition and use. This highlighted the practical need for such projects to be strategically coordinated with other elements that would increase the chances of enduring linguistic engagement. These could include: other attractive and creative projects, convenient and free Jèrriais classes, schools incorporating Jèrriais into their everyday habitus, and wider status planning work that can help mitigate the mixed attitudes and negative language ideologies that may be present in the children's home environments. I return to this matter below.

The Jersey Music Service Liberation Choir was the focus of chapter six, recounting their progress towards their performance on Liberation Day. I traced the history and cultural significance of the song 'Man Bieau P'tit Jèrri/Beautiful Jersey' and described its profound resonance with local identity as a conflux of cultural memory, nostalgia, and linguistic heritage. I compared the traditional ritualised performance of the song in the formal Liberation Day ceremony with the more upbeat Liberation Choir performance as part of the informal entertainment of the day. I noted three problematic ideological processes that may hinder the potential for language revitalisation in these performances: linguistic museumification, post-vernacular tokenism, and discourses of coloniality. But I also showed that in the Liberation Choir performance, these issues were less pronounced and were somewhat offset by other, more positive elements of the children's experience. I argued that it was this experience, more significantly than the audience experience or publicity, that held the most promising potential for transformative identifications with Jèrriais through music. Indeed, the ethnographic evidence suggested that it was the process – the journey, over and above the 'destination' of the final performance – that afforded the crucial performative identifications via the musical sociality and positive affect of the group dynamic. This culminated in a highly memorable public performance of Jersey identity, which perhaps crystallised the experience, but it was in the whole progression of events, centred on the music/language/identity nexus in the song, that the performative effects were realised. As with the schools project, I found that some of the good intentions to continue with Jèrriais became waning enthusiasm over time, thus reaffirming the need for greater strategic coordination with broader language planning activities. Despite this, the beneficial contribution to status planning and metalinguistic community was evident, helpfully developing identifications and language beliefs that can at least be understood as seeds sown for potential future growth.

The Jersey Song Project provided the ethnographic material for chapter seven, in which I considered various aspects of the run-up to the final performance, and the gig itself. Collaborative songwriting between local musicians and Jèrriais speakers was at the heart of the project's intentions, though the practicalities of this were challenging. The project generated a significant amount of favourable publicity, no doubt boosting the status of Jèrriais to some degree. However, I also raised concerns that media discourse may overplay the 'power' of music to 'save' Jèrriais, playing into unhelpful 'expert rhetorics' (Hill, 2002) and

positioning Jèrriais music as a sufficient response to the current endangered state of the language as a cultural practice. I described the final performance and drew out notable elements from the perspective of the audience, whose responses were overwhelmingly favourable. Two key examples were Steve McVay's simple but effective Jèrriais call-and-response audience participation, which generated joyful moments of communitas; and Midriff's evocative pop-rock performance, which elicited empathetic affective identification via the *signifiance* of their song's Jèrriais chorus and middle section. The experience of the musicians involved with the event was also an important concern. The evidence of their enjoyment and positive attitudes towards Jèrriais was clear, but it was less evident whether there had been many significant shifts in language beliefs or cultural identity. A greater level of interpersonal interaction with Jèrriais speakers in the songwriting process may have improved this, but nonetheless, there were some encouraging indications, and the public demonstrations of allyship and identification with the language at the final gig were constructive of metalinguistic community.

Limitations and challenges

It is essential to establish the limitations of this research and thus the claims I am able to make with confidence. It is also essential to be as clear as possible about what music can do for language revitalisation and what it cannot do. I will deal with these matters in turn. My research is, of course, limited to the geocultural context of Jersey. I will discuss some possibilities for applications and implications beyond Jersey in a later section.

Throughout this thesis, I have been cautious to emphasise the inevitable difficulty in demonstrating a direct causality between the applied ethnomusicology projects and any transformed subjectivities, including cultural identities and language beliefs. Indeed, even determining whether such changes have occurred can only be a matter of interpreting my ethnographic material and field experience in order to establish a justifiable degree of confidence. Furthermore, where there is some degree of certainty that people have been on a journey of some kind, the enduring impact of this on the programme of Jèrriais revitalisation is unmeasurable, certainly within the relatively short timescale of this doctoral study. I have shown that the evidence is overwhelmingly encouraging and indicative of a number of ways in which I can claim a significant level of confidence in my central thesis, but this also needs to be considered and critiqued in context.

As an autoethnographic study involving applied research conducted by a language activist in my home community, there will have been some level of partiality in my work. I have been transparent about this issue from the outset, and offer my interpretations for the reader to judge. I acknowledge that the 'ones that got away', the negative responses, apathetic shrugs, and silent sceptics are conspicuous by their absence. I found it consistently challenging to locate and document adverse evidence to include as part of the research findings. Such material would not have negated my central thesis, given the strength of the positive material I did find, but it may have been instructive, and it is perhaps a limitation of my methodology that I struggled here. A different approach, or indeed perhaps a research team with a range of personnel, may have been able to transcend my particular positionality and presence. Some claims here, such as the active role of *signifiance*, are theorised from a combination of my own experience, imagination, comparison, and analysis rather than large amounts of ethnographic evidence that I can 'observe' in others. This does not invalidate them, but it does necessitate a level of critical reflection from the reader.

There were many practical challenges too, of course. I have described the most relevant aspects of these in the previous chapters, so I will not repeat much detail here, but whether it was dealing with the consequences of copyright problems (Badlabecques), organising and working with children (schools and choir), or trying to get local musicians in the same room as Jèrriais speakers (Jersey Song Project), the changeable circumstances of fieldwork were demanding. Unsurprisingly for this kind of autoethnographic research, this has been a journey at the end of which I find myself a different researcher – a different person – looking back from this point. Thus in hindsight I might have strategised or responded to some of these things differently. Conducting these applied projects, which each took a great deal of energy and focus in themselves, as a combined project manager, musician, *and* conscious researcher was complex, ambitious, and arduous at times. This may have had some impact on the sensitivity of my attentiveness – I may literally have been too overwhelmed or tired to notice certain interesting moments – though this is not a substantial concern. Regarding theory, understanding the role of coloniality in language ideologies is an important area that evolved and then deepened relatively late in the research, partly through the fieldwork itself but also through additional reading. This would have informed my work had I had such perspectives earlier, perhaps focusing my attention at times or at least making me more conscious in my approach. But such is the nature of evolving scholarship.

I have already stated that this research is limited to the domain of status planning, rather than corpus planning or acquisition planning. But a recent paper by Grenoble and Whaley (2020), entitled 'Toward a new conceptualisation of language revitalisation', does prompt some interesting questions about the notion of use planning in relation to my thesis on the role of music, and the overall key findings and thematic connections in my research. I will unpack this shortly, but the first point to make here in relation to my research limitations is that Grenoble and Whaley's approach – the Language Vitality Network Model (henceforth LVNM) – emphasises use planning as a central objective, essentially the endgame, towards which all other revitalisation activities should contribute. It is also important to note that they are also interested in the "multifaceted, dynamic, and complex ways in which the ability to use a language (or set of languages) contributes to individual and social wellbeing" (Grenoble and Whaley, 2020, p. 4), which is a fundamental point I will return to later. But for now, the key aspect is their approach to use planning. Their model underscores a limitation of my research and resonates with the consistent finding that my projects would have benefitted from a greater strategic emplacement into a broader language planning programme to help the various new identifications with Jèrriais lead towards enduring language acquisition and, eventually, vernacular use. This is a limitation of my methodology, but it also points to the limit of what music itself can do. Granted, if this aspect of my research had been better designed, I may have gained additional insights and enhanced the impact on language revitalisation in Jersey. But ultimately, as compelling and inspiring as musical experiences may be, the constructed nature of identity and the complex evolution of language ideologies means that change can be reversed or mutated. Over time, progress can be undone, connections broken. To use a metaphor from cultural ecology, such growth must be nurtured and connected to a nourishing environment.

Key findings and thematic connections

As Grenoble and Whaley note, research suggests that "language revitalisation is not solely, or even in the first place, a matter of teaching competence in a linguistic code, but a matter of introducing (or reinforcing) language use, improving language attitudes, and bolstering self-confidence" (Grenoble and Whaley, 2020, p. 12). Grenoble and Whaley conceptualise each language as a feature of social interaction, a mode of engagement, which forms nodes in a complex system, or network, of interacting behaviours. Given that languages are used to do

things – and in multilingual contexts, different languages can be used to do different things but are often mixed or switched between – Grenoble and Whaley advocate a strategic (re)introduction or expansion of heritage language use into "existing socially meaningful activity" (2020, p. 13). Contextually significant activities and domains can be mapped and engaged with over time, be they "food-gathering, formal ceremonies, acts of religious devotion, manufacture of local products, or sporting activities" (Grenoble and Whaley, 2020, p. 13); or indeed, any number of other aspects of local social life, online or offline. With this in mind, we can frame the key findings of my research and the thematic connections between the preceding chapters.

Positive consequences from musical experiences that contribute towards increased language use in the manner described above can be divided into interior and exterior effects, that is, either occurring within the course of the music experience itself or outside it but connected in some way. I will deal with exterior contributions first. In simple terms, these are all the non-musical activities that surround the musical experience, which occur because of it. Music events can be the hub around which innumerable forms of discourse can arise, discourse in which the heritage language can be valorised and potentially even directly introduced (following LVNM). To use one of my projects as an example, the Jersey Song Project generated media publicity, a range of practical and logistical conversations, onstage banter (which definitely did use some Jèrriais), offstage chatter, and general public engagement via word-of-mouth, et cetera. Music is acting as a catalyst here, and of course, other forms of activity, say a drama or art project, could generate similar discourses. So what is special about music?

The first point to make here, in relation to LVNM, is that music does not have to be the primary focus of the social activity for it to make a meaningful contribution. Music can get (almost) everywhere; it can be used in countless ways and be present, adjacent, or ephemerally involved in a myriad of social scenarios. Again, to refer to a few examples from my fieldwork, music can bolster a convivial atmosphere during collective food preparation (Badlabecques at Lé Nièr Beurre [*Black Butter*]), help a father bond with his young child in the car on the way to school (the *Cocolîncheux!* album), evoke the past in a solemn ritual (the Liberation Day ceremony), or entertain a crowd of eaters and drinkers on a public holiday (the Liberation Choir). Of course, it can also be the main event, like at a concert (The Jersey Song Project). Thus, heritage language music (or indeed any appropriate music) could be

strategically introduced into the meaningful activities and domains that the LVNM schema advocates engaging with, alongside speech.

But music activities were the central focus of my projects, and as the uniqueness of music is my key concern, I will now consider some further detail of the positive effects interior to the musical experience. Whilst all the instances of Jèrriais singing are increasing language use to some extent, singing is generally a separate activity to vernacular speech, so, having already set corpus planning and acquisition planning to one side, from an LVNM perspective, my attention here is on status planning, leading towards vernacular use. Specifically, these reflections relate to the issues of cultural identity and language beliefs. Despite the breadth of the ethnographic material, it is possible to conceptualise a comparative scale of intensity on which all of the various music experiences lie, and consider similarities and common aspects between those making a beneficial contribution to the journey from 'encounter' via 'process' to 'connection' with Jèrriais (this loose schema I observed in the schools is also applicable generally). These range from the more superficial to the potentially profound.

'Sowing seeds' is a fairly common metaphor in language revitalisation literature, and the planting and nurturing of initial ideas about a language and its value are vital to status planning. Across my fieldwork, there have been many examples of people with little or no knowledge of Jèrriais having a positive musical experience and coming away from it not as a 'convert' but with a new perspective, a favourable memory or association, and a kernel of identification. Indeed, there are communicative, psychological, and affective aspects to this, in other words, music can both sow the seeds and till the soil. Though such small grains may lie dormant for a long time, they could be germinated when the conditions are right at a later point. The ubiquitous versatility of music makes it an excellent medium for sowing and nurturing far and wide, potentially providing attractive, accessible, engaging experiences that people can participate in according to their own capacity, at the level at which they are comfortable. In other words, music is a versatile medium of ethnolinguistic infusion, working toward growing metalinguistic community. Another aspect of this is that where language beliefs have been improved, even minimally, people are less likely to perpetuate harmful prejudice. This gradually helps improve the linguistic environment in general. This could be considered a form of public consciousness-raising, which Elliott (2011) has described:

> Awareness gathered over time, thought of as experience and memory, can be said to produce consciousness, especially historical, public, or political consciousness. (Elliott, 2011: 332)

Elliott considers this in relation to *nueva canción* in Latin America, and how music can 'send out a call' and interpellate imagined communities, raising forms of public consciousness. Musical language activism in Jersey seems to be working in similar ways, though on a smaller scale and with a very different set of political dynamics.

On the subject of consciousness, I would like to move up the spectrum of intensity and consider the shifting sense of self-understanding, self-awareness, and consciousness that can occur during co-subjective and intersubjective musical experiences. As noted in chapter two, the mechanics of this, in terms of consciousness studies, are extremely complex and a matter of ongoing interdisciplinary enquiry. However, several of my ethnographic examples provided insights into the transformative processes that can occur, contributing to language activism. Where perspectives from music studies (Frith, DeNora, and others) have established observations and theoretical frameworks for the performative effects of music in shaping identity construction, my ethnography observed nascent identifications with Jèrriais 'in action'. Research on music and consciousness studies illuminated critical moments of this, which has prompted my consideration of the various 'Es': the embodied, embedded, extended, enacted, as well as ecological and empathetic processes through which individual subjectivities can make connections with others and with language, via music.

The primary examples that this perspective informed are worth a brief mention here. These were: moments of communitas during Badlabecques' album launch and the Jersey Song Project, the intersubjective empathy-promoting musical components of the children's experiences in the schools and the choir, and the *signifiance* elicited by Midriff's performance. The physiological and psychological intensity of such collective experiences – perhaps prompted by mirror neuron systems, via vocal affect, musical gesture, entrainment, 'controlled mimicry', and other processes – generates empathy and destabilises self/other boundaries. Such liminal moments, or 'third spaces', are uniquely musical states of consciousness in which participants can become absorbed and take on new linguistic and cultural identifications in the course of the aesthetic experience.

I use the phrase 'uniquely musical' because attending to music aesthetically utilises a different kind of consciousness than attending to language (Zbikowski, 2011), though boundaries are not always clear given the aesthetic and arguably musical quality of some linguistic events. In short, Zbikowski argues that musical consciousness is more directed by the dynamic processes within the experience than any semantic content. Herbert (2011) proposes that both high and low arousal versions of such states of musical consciousness can be understood as musically afforded forms of trancing. Whether music is the main focus of attention, as in the more intense experiences I have mentioned, or more of an environmental factor of 'everyday trancing' (e.g., whilst travelling or doing chores), music can facilitate absorption (total focus) and dissociation (mental separation from self, surroundings, or activity). These are not discrete states, according to Herbert, but operate as a continuous, unpatterned, dynamic fluctuation, in which the key factors are: "changes in attentional focus, arousal, level of absorption, sensory awareness, experience of time and sense of self" (Herbert, 2011, p. 299). An aspect of this is 'imaginative involvement'. This can integrate both memory and fantasy and can be "triggered by extra-musical references in the music (words or non-musical sounds), or the social and cultural sources that the music specifies" (Herbert, 2011, p. 301).

Herbert's account helps illuminate the ebb and flow of subjectivity in these liminal states, and the way language and cultural identity can feature. Whether it may be via the intersubjective co-presence of live events or the mediated co-subjective affordances of recordings, these musical identifications have a dynamic, engaging character that tends towards an inherently trans-subjective experience. Indeed, the 'trans-' prefix here applies in two ways: both transitory and trans-personal. Such experience is affectively charged, involving the body and pre-reflective consciousness, but also aesthetically and imaginatively engaged, involving high-order reflective consciousness. The 'imagined subjectivities' (Clarke, 2019, p. 77) evoked by the music become placed within 'imaginative cultural narratives' (Frith, 1996, p. 125) that make meaningful connections with Jèrriais (or whichever language is present). Such empathetic identifications extend from those involved in the musical experience to the wider imagined linguistic and cultural community, contemporary and historical. In this way, music can facilitate 'worldmaking' (Krueger, 2019), intertwining the embodied, situated musical experience with this expanded story of self and society.

Thus, the uniqueness of music and its possible contribution to language status planning is not just found in its exterior effects, generating publicity, et cetera. Nor is it simply because it can be fun, interesting, and versatile. Rather, the most compelling aspect is that music has a particular and potentially profound capacity to performatively engender shared consciousness, affect, subjectivity, and identity. This is especially the case when combined with language via singing. Out of the various ways in which music can aid status planning, such enacted, empathetic identity work is most significant because cultural identity is so central to language beliefs and practices. Music offers an effective medium to create or enhance the collective sense of belonging, identity, and conviction necessary for viable language revitalisation.

The overall successes of my own applied ethnomusicological interventions in Jersey are suggestive of the benefits of nurturing cultural ecologies that weave music and language together in the most 'natural' possible ways, in the home, in schools, and in the wider community, as appropriate to the context. One fruitful example of cultural revitalisation that resonates particularly well with this is Manx in the Isle of Man, where music has been integral to the Manx revival movement. Whilst still far from secure, the Manx language revitalisation programme has progressed from a formally 'extinct' status and a largely negative language ideology caused by English coloniality, to an increasingly revived and 'healthy' state. According to the latest census in 2021, there were 2223 self-reported speakers of some level of proficiency (Isle of Man Government, 2022), and today Manx language and culture are largely celebrated as a key aspect of local cultural identity, supported by government, and enjoyed by a growing metalinguistic community (Whitehead, 2015). The *Bunscoill Ghaelgagh* immersion-style primary school has been a success, alongside other measures, and a cohort of young speakers is emerging.

There is no space here to fully unpack the political histories and sociocultural dynamics of the Isle of Man, but there are many striking parallels with Jersey: a small island (population 84,000); a British Crown Dependency with its own autochthonous language and culture, which was steadily denigrated and associated with 'backwardness' by the linguistic imperialism of English coloniality; this was then internalised into a negative language ideology amongst locals, consequently ending intergenerational transmission; an embrace of financial services and tax haven status also lead to substantial demographic and structural changes and a further consolidation of Anglocentric modernity; then, eventually, a concerted

revitalisation campaign got going, which, in this case, only really took hold after the last native speaker, Ned Maddrell, died in 1974 (Catte, 2015; Langmuir Thomson, 2016; Teare, 2019; Wilson, 2009; Woolley, 2003). Two key differences are notable: first, the Manx language revival was heavily influenced by and motivated by highly politicised and somewhat militant forms of nationalism centred around Manx identity; and second, the reconstruction and reassertion of Manx national identity was partially achieved through the, albeit less politicised, revival of Manx music and dance, broadly in the Celtic tradition (Catte, 2015; Langmuir Thomson, 2016; Teare, 2019; Wilson, 2009; Woolley, 2003). As Woolley puts it, "the music, language and dance revivals went 'hand in hand'" (2003). Festivals, competitions, dance groups, lively traditional and contemporary music scenes, local media, and music education all play their part in enacting a cultural ecology in which music – and song – is a highly significant aspect of Manx identity. Another sign of the prominence of music is that the state-funded heritage foundation, Culture Vannin, employs a Manx Music Development Officer, Dr. Chloe Woolley (whom I have just cited), whose remit is "to encourage a greater awareness of Manx music and culture within the Island and beyond" (Culture Vannin, n.d.).

There are, of course, many factors involved in the apparent success of the Manx language revitalisation programme thus far. But it was surely substantially boosted by the fact that it just happened to have at hand an immensely rich performance tradition, providing countless opportunities for powerful, collective, performative musical-linguistic identity-forming experiences (embodied, embedded, extended, enacted), all woven so naturally into the local cultural ecology, which itself also forms part of the broader movement of 'Celtic consciousness' (Lavin, 2011). If ever there was an 'imaginative cultural narrative' in which music has played a constitutive role in the construction of ethnolinguistic identity, this is undoubtedly a prime example. I will add one more, if slightly speculative, comment here. Drawing on my understanding of the political dynamics of Jersey as a similar offshore finance centre, I would not be surprised if the constraining dynamics of neoliberal multiculturalism also apply to the Isle of Man, where the government's embrace of Manx identity is also a useful foil to counter the tax haven image. What the ramifications of this may be for Manx culture in the long term is not something I can comment on, but it may be an issue that cultural activists will need to confront, depending on their political goals and perspectives.

Future directions for musical language activism and research

Given the diversity and flux of music's forms, functions, effects, and, indeed, ontologies across human cultures, it should go without saying that the specificities of its potential role in language revitalisation are entirely contingent upon the cultural ecologies in which they occur. But through exploring and illuminating some of the key issues in one context – Jèrriais in Jersey – my research does point towards wider implications and questions for other contexts and other possible research. With music, there are no true universals, but if there are some common patterns here that could be investigated elsewhere, they might be: the compelling, performative power of arousing, co-present, collective musical-linguistic experiences that generate communitas and empathetic intersubjective identifications; the particular forms of potential *signifiance* that will be unique to each language and musical context; and the range of 'imaginative cultural narratives' (Frith, 1996, p. 125) that music's versatility and ubiquity affords, and into which each language can be imbricated. With regards to engaging the crucial demographic of young people, it would be fruitful to research processes and practices of effectively relocalising appealing music genres, and consider possible tensions here between traditional lifeways and discourses of hybridity and globalisation. Related to this are the ideological questions that apply to each cultural context, including power dynamics and political motivations, critical questions of coloniality, nationalism, essentialism, exclusivity/inclusivity, ownership, agency, and the myriad ways music can be drawn into these discourses.

A fundamental implication of my research is that it strongly encourages scholars and language activists to seriously consider and appreciate music's performative, identity-shaping capabilities in their own contexts. Typically, language activists need no encouragement to engage with music. But more specifically, this could mean developing language revitalisation strategies that incorporate an ethnomusicologically-informed awareness into the enrichment of the given cultural ecology. From a research perspective, this suggests greater collaboration and cross-disciplinary work, potentially involving a range of disciplines from music studies, language studies, anthropology, and beyond. But at the very least, it would be promising to see sociolinguists reaching out to ethnomusicologists with a clearer recognition of the significance of music's role. Here I am echoing Grant's call for more proactive

interdisciplinary cooperation and collaboration (2018). Hopefully, my research points towards such potential.

However, the urgency of linguistic and cultural endangerment is such that future work should by no means be confined to academia; it should consist of 'real world' applied work. The global scale of the problem also suggests that the kind of developments I am envisioning for musical language activism would greatly benefit from the strengthening of diverse intercultural as well as inter-disciplinary collaborative epistemic communities of activists and scholars, sharing knowledge, labour, creativity, and solidarity. As Roche observes, "a *just transition* towards a world of greater linguistic justice is something that needs to be theorized, planned for, and worked at", and of course local struggles will differ in many ways: "there can be no single vision of linguistic justice" (2022, pp. 23-24). On a practical level, local, ethnomusicologically-informed interventions could focus on projects that create opportunities for collective singing and collaborative songwriting (ideally in the Master-Apprentice model), as appropriate to the context. Following LVNM, such work should engage with "existing socially meaningful activity" (Grenoble and Whaley, 2020, p. 13), whether it may be high profile public engagement or in more intimate settings, woven into everyday life. Creative collaborations between musical language activists and people with video and technology skills could also be fruitful, whether that may be in fairly obvious ways, such as making YouTube videos, or more cutting-edge work such as Sleeper's use of UTAUloid software (2018). Whatever the methods, it is crucial to embed such work into broader, ongoing cultural revitalisation strategies to maximise their benefits.

Virtually all language activism is grappling in one way or another with the usual cause of cultural endangerment: the discourses, structures, and ideologies of coloniality. Therefore, the central task in each context could be described as empathetic decolonial cultural revitalisation, of one form or another, and is thus a concrete political problem requiring local, transnational, and global responses. Furthermore, such endangerment can be understood as one manifestation of modernity/coloniality's domination and exploitation, which Escobar has described as a "systematic project of cultural, ecological, and economic reconversion" (Escobar, 2007, p. 198). In discussing decoloniality, Escobar raises "the need to build on practices of cultural, ecological, and economic difference for concrete projects of world transformation for worlds and knowledges otherwise" (Escobar, 2007, p. 198). In the context of the global climate emergency in 2022, the stakes are high. Therefore, such developments

in musical language revitalisation scholarship/activism, if they are to engage thoroughly with cultural ecologies, should also necessarily appreciate our deep ecological interconnectedness with the natural world, and thus break down modernity's exploitative 'great divide' between 'man and nature' (Blaser, 2013; Blaser and de la Cadena, 2018). Consequently, empathetic decolonial cultural revitalisation extends the goal of liberation globally, with compassion for all "earth others facing extinction in the so-called Anthropocene" (Firmino Castillo, 2016, p. 70). Escobar (2007) has also called for a holistic approach to this kind of praxis, acknowledging that such struggles need "to be seen as struggles for the defense of cultural, ecological, and economic difference. Ethno-ecological social movements are very clear about this. Here lies another type of critical border thinking that needs to be taken into account" (Escobar, 2007, p. 197). This raises questions of 'political ontology' (Blaser, 2013) which I will have to leave to one side for now, but music's inherently anti-essentialist, border-crossing, empathy-building, performative, world-making potential surely has a role to play.

Eune p'tite réflexion pèrsonnel

This research, and the process of writing this dissertation, have been as much a personal journey as an academic one. There is no doubt that it has thoroughly and profoundly shaped my own identity as a scholar/activist, musician, and Jèrriais person. I feel immensely more connected to my island, my heritage, my language, and my people. I am hugely grateful to have taken this journey, to all those I have already mentioned in my acknowledgements, and especially to the Jèrriais-speaking community. It has been a unique and precious privilege. I am proud of what this work has achieved in Jersey so far, of the small but significant difference it has made, and of the potential it holds forth.

Today, Jersey faces an identity crisis, grappling with the choice between revitalising and maintaining its own cultural distinctiveness, or the much easier slide towards being more like a generic seaside town of the south of England. Furthermore, even as the conditions for Jèrriais revitalisation advance, the intractable coloniality of Jersey's seemingly unassailable neoliberal socioeconomic structures presents an internal challenge, even amongst ostensible Jèrriais supporters. It remains to be seen whether the regrowth of Jèrriais will be stunted and limited to symbolic use in the service of the status quo – as a controlled identity narrative to rebrand the island and redouble Jersey's enmeshment in global financialised capitalism – or

whether its growth can be more organic, grassroots, decolonial and liberatory. It seems a certain degree of the former is inevitable, even if the latter possibility is to happen at all.

Whilst Hale and Millamán acknowledge the evident threats to cultural rights inherent to 'neoliberal multiculturalism' in Central America, they also observed productive responses by Indigenous groups to the opportunities it opened up. Limited cultural recognition and agency afforded some space to resist, subvert, and transgress boundaries to become something more than domesticated 'indios permitidos' [*permitted/redeemable indians*] (Hale and Millamán, 2006). Building on this, Hale and Millamán propose an assertion of cultural agency via a strategic 'return to the local', which is not a romanticised essentialism, but a focus on "an alternative logic of cultural-political struggle, grounded in modest affirmation of collective identity and belonging, a minimally decent standard of material well-being, and a vehement rejection of structural inequality and oppression" (Hale and Millamán, 2006, p. 302). Although the term 'Indigenous' does not apply to a distinct, stable Jèrriais ethnicity, and Jersey was not formally colonised in anything like a comparable manner, there is inspiration to be found here. The analytical term *indio permitido* deliberately reappropriates the pejorative slur 'indian' in a provocative conceptual manner, so in a similar spirit, is there perhaps room in Jersey for the opposite notion: for a progressive political contribution to emerge from an idealised Jèrriais 'paysan radica' [*radical peasant*] of a truly multicultural, intersectional kind?

If so, such activism would need to work *with* the Jèrriais community to find a way of telling a different kind of story, to enact an emergent reality that connects cultural, ecological, and economic realms. It will need to robustly resist essentialist ethnonationalism, and maintain empathetic inclusivity, engaging Jersey's large and transient minority groups who have strong cultural and linguistic links beyond our shores, particularly Portuguese and Polish communities. That is no mean feat. If Jèrriais is to contribute to social cohesion and genuinely improve both community *and* conviviality (Neal et al., 2019), such a movement would need to be authentically critical, inclusive, and progressive. By definition, this would need to give the actually existing Jèrriais community agency in the process of making our autochthonous language and culture a more active part of the shared heritage and identity of Jersey's whole society. Perhaps above all, there is still a long way to go to convert the undeniably improved status of Jèrriais into widespread public revernacularisation, and in

decisively breaking down monoglot modernist language ideology and rationality, with its creeping market logics, 'efficiency', and default towards anglicisation and anglocentrism.

But currently, there are reasons to be optimistic, as described at the end of chapter one. Overall, numbers for all ages of learners are up, the metalinguistic community is growing, significant amounts of positive energy and resources are being invested, and the Jèrriais Language Strategy 2022-25 sets out ambitious targets incorporating acquisition, status, corpus, and use planning (though it does acquiesce to a certain degree of capitalist realism). There is a real sense that a Jèrriais cultural revival is underway, and as my research shows, music provides a unique form of cultural interaction through which the communal negotiation of identity and language beliefs is occurring. My own work, I hope, will go on. But it is also encouraging that since my fieldwork, four music projects/events have independently incorporated some Jèrriais. I have mentioned Jersey Sings 2019, in which I lead local schoolchildren in singing the pop-rock anthem 'Lé Pouver en Mé' [*The Power in Me*] to large local audiences. Since 2018 the Jersey Eisteddfod has also added a singing category to its Jèrriais section. In 2020, death metal band Head of Helier released their eponymous album, drawing on Jèrriais folklore and language (*Jersey Evening Post*, 2020). And finally, mezzo-soprano Georgia Mae Bishop and composer Charles Mauleverer are currently developing a new Art Song cycle in Jèrriais (Bishop, 2021).

J'espèthe [*I hope*] that my applied research will continue to contribute to the revitalisation of Jèrriais, as well as be of use more broadly. Either way, j'espèthe that the Jèrriais revitalisation programme will achieve its progressive political potential, and qu'i né f'tha pon d'mêché, ni vèrra la fliambe êmouochie [*that it will do no mischief, nor see the flame snuffed out*]. Finally, j'espèthe that music will continue to ignite new flames of linguistic identification in Jersey, so that future generations will say 'ma langue êcliaithe man tchoeu' [*my language lights up my heart*].

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Appendix

Beautiful Jersey

(standard melody and indicative harmony)

Lindsay Lennox