Bro gozh ma zadoù: language variation in the performance of traditional Breton songs

Pierre Faure

5644690

Bachelor's Thesis under the supervision of prof. dr. Peter Schrijver

June 2019





Universiteit Utrecht

ABSTRACT — This Bachelor's thesis explores the phonemic differences (dialectal variation, singing style) and the phonetic differences (allophonic variation) in performances of traditional Breton song in comparison to spoken Breton. Four participants have provided at least one spoken sample and two recordings of songs, totaling to a corpus of about an hour worth of audio material. With a rough phonetic transcription of this material, a comparison is made per participant between their speech and the two songs they perform. The findings suggest that the conservative nature of the transmission of traditional song allows these differences to be preserved, but further research is needed to confirm this.

I would like to thank the following people:

Da gentañ, ret eo din trugarekaat ar re o deus kemeret perzh er studi-mañ, rak hepdoc'h n'am bije ket gallet labourat. Trugarez evit ho sikour, ho tisplegadennoù, ho pasianted ivez, ha trugarez evel-just evit hor c'haozeadennoù e brezhoneg am eus gallet pleustriñ warnañ a drugarez deoc'h.

Chams Bernard, for being of great help, and encouraging me at every step of the way,

Peter Schrijver, for trusting me to carry out research on a barely-studied subject,

Dimitri Boekhoorn, Mannaig Thomas, and Hervé le Bihan, for their correspondence via email and their suggestions for secondary literature,

Cédric Choplin, for his correspondences, and for his Breton courses at Rennes University,

Marieke, for her unending enthusiasm, love, and support.

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	7
A MAP OF THE BRETON DIALECTS	
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	9
3. METHOD	
4. PARTICIPANT #1	
BACKGROUND	23
Analysis	
SUMMARY	
IMAGES	
5. PARTICIPANT #2	
BACKGROUND	
Analysis	
SUMMARY	
IMAGES	
6. PARTICIPANT #3	
BACKGROUND	
Analysis	
SUMMARY	
IMAGES	
7. PARTICIPANT #4	
BACKGROUND	
Analysis	
SUMMARY	
IMAGES	
8. CONCLUSION	
9. SUMMARY	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
APPENDIX	
PERMISSION TO USE THE DATA	
PARTICIPANT #1	
Sample P1-A1: Participant #1 talking about the languages of Bri	
Sample P1-A2: Participant #1 talking about how she is doing	-
Sample P1-B: Participant #1 singing Du-hont àr ar mane	
Sample P1-C: Participant #1 singing Penglaouiged	
PARTICIPANT #2	
Sample P2-A: Participant #2 talking about a book she read in un	•
Emon	
Sample P2-B: Participant #2 singing Dislounk tan	
Sample P2-C: Participant #2 singing Ma bro a zo duhont	

PARTICIPANT #3	
Sample P3-A1: Participant #3 talking about music	
Sample P3-A2: Participant #3 telling a joke he heard in a bar in Morlaix	
Sample P3-B: Participant #3 singing Gwerz Penmarc'h	
Sample P3-C: Participant #3 singing E Garnison	100
PARTICIPANT #4	
Sample P4-A: Participant #4 responding to a few questions	102
Sample P4-B: Participant #4 singing Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz	108
Sample P4-C: Participant #4 singing Plaver	109

1. INTRODUCTION

Ask anyone in France what they think of when they hear *la Bretagne*: yes, the answer is *les galettes*, because we cannot forget local cuisine, but the second answer is probably something along the lines of Alan Stivell, Nolwenn Leroy, Tri Yann... In France, and to a lesser degree the rest of Europe, the Breton folk music revival has entered the modern musical landscape, with associations of a rough, barren landscape and regionalist singers, proud of their Breton heritage... For some, the sound of the *binioù* and *bombarde* is off-putting, but to some, including myself, the music sparked curiosity in the language and culture of the Bretons, which ultimately is the reason for this Bachelor's thesis.

It was during my stay abroad in Rennes that my friend Chams Bernard came to visit, and at the *Musée de Bretagne*, we both sat down in a rather dark booth, where a projector was quietly whirring, casting a video onto a black wall. The video was of a woman and her little son on her lap. She was being interviewed about her use of Breton at home, and whether she spoke it to her son. She responded with "I even sing to my little boy!", and then started to sing. Curiously, the word *mabig* 'little boy' was pronounced one way in her speech, and differently when she was singing.

Do people sing Breton differently than they speak it? This certainly seemed like the perception I encountered in personal communications: whenever I mentioned that 'people sing differently than they speak', all I received were responses in agreement.¹ The question is, however, whether this is only a perception based in wishful thinking, or whether the language in songs is demonstrably different from the spoken language.

This thesis primarily builds upon the findings in Chams Bernard's article, which I will discuss in the next chapter. In short, he discovered a dialect of Persian that is only preserved in the songs of Yazdi Zoroastrians, and which is different from the Persian dialect that they speak (although their mother tongue and most commonly used language is another one still, Gavruni). This is why this thesis focuses on traditional Breton songs: like the Yazdi Zoroastrian songs, they are passed down from generation to generation, have been sung for centuries, and could therefore preserve dialectal differences or archaisms.

¹ Personal communications with Hervé le Bihan, Dimitri Boekhoorn, Cédric Choplin, Paulus van Sluis, and of course my four informants and Chams Bernard.

In this thesis, I will try to answer the following research questions: when someone is singing a traditional song, does their Breton differ from when they are speaking? More specifically, do we find dialectal differences, archaisms, and singing styles (i.e. is the song performed with idiosyncrasies that are not dialectal or archaic, but must rather be classified as creative choices on the part of the performer)? And why might we find these differences? I will first present a theoretical background with the relevant literature on the subject, followed by the method and the analyses for each of the four participants. I will conclude with a discussion of all four of the informants' results, and finally, a short summary. The appendix, with the phonetic transcriptions and their (standardized) spelling in Breton, is available at the very end of the paper.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ALBB: Atlas linguistique de Basse-Bretagne

Br.: Breton

Bryth.: Brythonic, Proto-British

Ch.: *Chapter* (when referring to a chapter in this thesis)

Fr.: French

KLT: *Kerneveg*, *Leoneg*, *Tregerieg*: all Breton dialects except Vannetais.

L.: Latin

OBr.: Old Breton

PClt.: Proto-Celtic

P1-A1: Participant #1 talking about the languages of Brittany

P1-A2: *Participant #1 talking about how she is doing*

P1-B: *Participant #1 singing* Du-hont àr ar mane

P1-C: Participant #1 singing Penglaouiged

P2-A: *Participant #2 talking about a book she read in university,* Pevar mab Emon

P2-B: *Participant #2 singing* Dislounk tanP2-C: *Participant #2 singing* Ma bro a zo duhont

P3-A1: Participant #3 talking about music

P3-A2: *Participant #3 telling a joke he heard in a bar in Morlaix*

P3-B: *Participant #3 singing* Gwerz Penmarc'h

P3-C: Participant #3 singing E Garnsion

P4-A: Participant #4 responding to a few questions

P4-B: *Participant* #4 *singing* Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz

P4-C: Participant #4 singing Plaver

NALBB: Nouvel atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne

Pr.B.: Primitive Breton (in Jackson 1967)

v.: verb

V.: Vannetais

W.: Welsh

A map of the Breton dialects $^{2}\,$



A map of the Breton dialects (Jackson 1967: 16). Aside from the cardinal winds, the abbreviations are: K. *Cornouaillais*, T. *Trégorrois*, HV. *Haut-Vannetais*.

² I use the names of the regions (Cornouaille, Léon, Trégor, Vannetais) and the dialects (Cornouaillais, Léonard, Trégorrois, Vannetais) interchangeably. The map above also does not represent the repartition of Brittany in all sources: Favereau 1997 uses more abbreviations and names more specific regions.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

PREVIOUS AND CURRENT RESEARCH ON DIALECTAL LANGUAGE VARIATION IN SINGING PERFORMANCES

Past research on the subject of dialectal variation in the performance of songs is very scarce. Perhaps the most well-known example is a chapter³ in Trudgill's *On Dialect* (1983), in which he studies a number of British bands from the 1970's. That research was sociolinguistic in nature, and looked to explain in which situations these British bands would switch to an American accent. A follow-up study was carried out by Verhaar (2013), which focused on more contemporary material and across a bigger timespan. Both these authors have shown that some British artists (not all) would sing in a more American "hybrid" accent because the pop and rock music industry was biggest there:⁴ therefore, the language variation found in Trudgill and Verhaar is an entirely conscious, deliberate process with the prestige of American English being the main factor. Language variation in the performance of traditional song might also be a conscious process, but with a different motivation, namely 'because it was taught that way'.⁵

We should note that there are fundamental differences between Trudgill's and Verhaar's studies and mine: first, both these studies deal with songs that were sung by their authors, which means that the songs that they analyze have not been passed down like the majority of my corpus. Secondly, both authors are analyzing a switch between two specific dialects only, British English and American English, and give a sociolinguistic reason (class, prestige, creative choices) as to why they would choose to sing in a different accent. Rather, my research encompasses multiple dialects of Breton and looks to analyze what types of variation can be found. Why these types of variation exist will be discussed at the end of the thesis.

More recently, a forthcoming study by Chams Bernard uncovers that the people in Yazd that are of the Zoroastrian faith sing their songs in a different dialect than the one they speak; in fact, a dialect that is different from both Standard Persian and Yazd Persian.⁶ He concludes that this dialect survived as a sort of poetic language:

"This Persian dialect (or this mixture of Persian dialects), was probably already different from Standard Persian, and was consequently profoundly influenced by

³ Trudgill 1983: 140-61.

⁴ Trudgill 1983: 144.

⁵ As evidenced by personal communications with my informants (see the chapters on each participant).

⁶ Bernard (forthcoming).

Gavruni, and it possibly became the main Persian variety spoken by Zoroastrians. It was then used by Zoroastrian poets for literary works."⁷

This study is, alongside my own, unique in the regard that it deals with dialectal forms that are retained in traditional song (in the case of Bernard, he deals with a dialect which exhibits archaisms, in comparison to Modern Persian). This thesis differs from Bernard's paper, however, in the fact that my corpus consists of participants from multiple dialects, and that these participants sing songs with a variety of backgrounds: very or not particularly traditional, from west or east Brittany, passed down, or in the case of Participant #4 even written by themselves. The latter offers an interesting view into what may (or may not) happen in the performance of a song that is not passed down.

THE HISTORY AND ROLE OF TRADITIONAL BRETON SONG

The first texts of traditional songs come to us in the Middle Breton period, around 1350, but according to Malrieu, the nature of these texts and the language used in them indicates a far older tradition.⁸ We would have to wait until the eighteenth century, however, before we find any substantial documentation on popular Breton song with the *feuilles volantes* and until the nineteenth century for the collecting and transliteration of traditional songs by a number of dedicated individuals.⁹

With the popularity of the printing press came the aforementioned *feuilles volantes* 'flying papers', which were popular songs printed on single sheets of paper with the purpose of being distributed all over Lower Brittany.¹⁰ Traditional, however, they were not, and Malrieu's short comparison between the *feuilles volantes* and traditional Breton songs sheds some light on the most important differences between traditional and simply 'popular' song:

"Malgré son succès auprès du people, la chanson sur feuille volante présente des caractères différents de la chanson populaire traditionnelle [...] Et le fait que la chanson soit signée n'est pas l'élément le plus déterminant de cette différence. Œuvre

⁷ *ibid.* Bernard has a second hypothesis for the case of Zoroastrian Persian, which is that it "was merely a literary language, the language in which Zoroastrian bards composed their lyrics and poems." *(ibid.)* I, however, would like to focus on the first hypothesis as the second one is not applicable in my own study. I would like to thank Chams Bernard for sending me a revised version of his paper and for pointing out the developments in his conclusion.

⁸ Malrieu 1983: 12.

⁹ Malrieu 1983: 21. He nicely sums up the reason for this in the chapter before: "depuis quand les historiens s'occupent-ils de la vie du peuple de préférence à celle des princes ?" (Malrieu 1983 : 11) [since when do historians occupy themselves with the lives of the people instead of those of princes?] (PF)

¹⁰ Malrieu 1983: 22.

d'un seul homme en ce sens qu'elle n'a pas été remaniée par les générations et qu'elle est fixée par l'écriture, [...]^{"11}

[Despite its success with the people, the *chansons sur feuille volante* have other characteristics than popular traditional song [...] And the fact that the song is signed (by the author) is not the most determining factor of that difference. (They are) the work of a single person in the sense that they were not revised by (past and future) generations and that they are written down] (PF)

Therefore, according to Malrieu, the passing down of traditional songs from one generation to another, the lack of authorship, and the slight modifications at every step of the way are key elements of traditional song.

The *Barzaz Breiz* (1839-1867) by la Villemarqué is perhaps the most well-known collection of traditional Breton songs, but it is not without controversy: la Villemarqué took many liberties in the transcription of songs, sometimes modifying them to give them a more 'archaic' character, or in some instances fabricating them.¹² He did, however, inspire scholars¹³ to start collecting songs themselves, most notably François-Marie Luzel, whose work¹⁴ was far more objective: the songs were presented as they had been performed by the informants, sometimes even with multiple versions of the same song.¹⁵

The role of traditional Breton song in Breton society, by which I mean what kinds of songs are sung where and when, by whom and with or without company, is not completely clear from the literature in Malrieu (1983) and Constantine (1996). However, Malrieu's paragraph on *festoù-noz*¹⁶ 'night-parties', which I will discuss in more detail below, suggests that the singing of traditional songs was (and still is) a social activity foremost. Malrieu says¹⁷ that *festoù-noz* used to be confined to their towns until the mid-1950's, when they became more open to outsiders. We would think that songs were kept local as well until the change in nature of the *festoù-noz*, as they would only be sung at local festivities and not elsewhere. However, this is only conjecture.

¹¹ Malrieu 1983: 32.

¹² Malrieu 1983: 43.

¹³ Naturally, Luzel was not the only one to take up these endeavors: for a comprehensive list of collections and collectors, see Malrieu 1983: 52-73.

¹⁴ Chants et chansons populaires de la Basse-Bretagne - Gwerzioù (1868).

¹⁵ Malrieu 1983: 48.

¹⁶ Malrieu 1983: 82-3.

¹⁷ *ibid*.

ON THE TRANSMISSION OF TRADITIONAL BRETON SONG

Studies on Breton songs have very rarely touched upon the relationship between language and song, and what effect the medium of song may have on language transmission; the vast majority of these works focus on the literary aspect of things. In this section, I will sometimes allude to my conclusions, and the parallels there are between my findings on language transmission in traditional Breton songs and the existing literature which studies the transmission of other aspects in song, such as narratives and melodies.

The idea that the language used in traditional Breton songs is more conservative does come up from time to time, notably in a talk by Donatien Laurent, one of the most prominent Breton musicologists. He recounts a personal anecdote, in which a friend of his starts singing a song in the middle of a conversation:

"Elle m'arrête aussitôt, et, surprise elle-même, se met à m'en réciter une version très complète qu'elle tenait de sa grand-mère, monolingue, née en 1876 et morte lorsqu'elle avait une dizaine d'années : elle n'avait pas conscience du caractère exceptionnel de ce récit rimé, plus complet que toutes les versions recueillies auparavant, et dans une langue plus archaïque."¹⁸

[She immediately interrupts me, and, being surprised herself, starts reciting a very complete version of [the song] that she got from her grandmother, who was monolingual, born in 1876 and passed when she was about ten years old : she was not conscious of the exceptional nature of this rhyming recital, more complete than any collected version before, and in a more archaic language.] (PF)

As mentioned above, for most traditional songs, the authors are not known. The songs are passed down anonymously, effectively becoming part of a given person's repertoire. Ask any inhabitant of the Netherlands to sing *Sinterklaas kapoentje*, they gladly will, but the author is unknown and, ultimately, does not matter: it is just a song which they know how to sing. The view that traditional songs become the property of the speaker is shared by Constantine, as she says that the speakers "[derive] meaning from and [are] influenced by immediate and individual circumstances":¹⁹ in other words, people in a particular time will be influenced by the world that surrounds them and will (at least somewhat) relate a song to their own social and historical context. She concludes this from a literary and historical standpoint, but it holds true for this linguistic study, as well: people will try to copy a song, but they almost always overlay bits and

¹⁸ Laurent 2008: 448.

¹⁹ Constantine 1996: 40.

pieces of their own Breton dialect onto it. However, the story of transmission has two sides, which Constantine also admits:

"It is nonetheless evident that the tradition *was* deeply conservative, and that certain songs must have had a long period of relatively stable transmission before surfacing onto paper in the mid-nineteenth century. Even more importantly, a large part of the present meaning for these singers themselves lay (and still lies) precisely in their sense of the songs as pieces of their history."²⁰

Constantine also mentions the consistent passing-down of local historical events, and that local tradition was of "immense importance" to historical ballads.²¹ She does not mention, however, what happens to these historical ballads if they are passed down to a community elsewhere, where the local history plays no role.

Given this information, it would not be far-fetched to assume that along with the stories and the melodies, the dialects of the towns where the songs originated were also passed down, as dialects (and perhaps certain styles of singing?)²² are strong markers of local identity. With the spread of a song outside the dialect's limits, though, the question is what happens: is it assimilated into another speaker's dialect, or is it kept intact?

Why would a song spread out further than its area of origin? Of course, people travel in general, but that might not be the foremost reason. The answer might be the evolution of the *festoù-noz* 'night-parties' from a private, local festivity to a pan-Breton cultural phenomenon. Malrieu says the following on the *festoù-noz*:

"[...] le « fest-noz » d'autrefois était en fait la veillée concernant un village ou la nuit de joie après les grand travaux de l'été, généralement dans la maison ou la grange d'une personne qui recevait... A partir des années 1955, le fest-noz a perdu le caractère local de ses participants et est devenu plus ouvert, du fait de la voiture, du fait de la publicité faite autour de ces manifestations. [...] Progressivement, on a donc vu dans les festoù-noz de plus en plus de monde, de moins en moins de cohésion et de style, d'anciens et de chants à pause [...]²³

[Festoù-noz of times past were in fact wakes or joyous nights after a summer's hard work, generally in the house or the barn of some host... From 1955 onwards, festoù-

²⁰ *ibid*.

²¹ Constantine 1996: 54-5.

²² To know whether certain singing styles are more popular in one region than another would require further research and exceeds the scope of this thesis.

²³ Malrieu 1983: 82-3.

noz had lost the local character of its participants and became more open, because of (the availability of) cars, because of publicity around these festivities. [...] Progressively, we then saw more and more people coming to *festoù-noz*, less and less cohesion and style, elderly people and 'pause songs'] (PF)

Malrieu is talking about the traditional dances here, which according to him, the youngsters could not get quite right, which led to less cohesion in dancing styles. Perhaps the repertoire of songs at *festoù-noz* was influenced by the influx of younger outsiders as well: people from other regions would learn songs from the *fest-noz* they attend outside their home region, and take it home with them (and perhaps sing them at *festoù-noz* back home, too). Furthermore, in modern education, songs are sometimes passed on as part of the curriculum in language acquisition classes, and since the universities (Rennes and Brest) in particular attract people from all over Brittany, the students would be taught songs that are not from their home region.²⁴ In any case, the spread of traditional songs outside of their area of origin looks to be a rather recent development.

The literature above paints an adequate picture of the transmission of traditional Breton song, though it is not perfect: the actual language used in the traditional songs is about the only thing of which the transmission is not explicitly discussed in the literature. We must assume, however, that since the transmission of melodies and narratives is in fact conservative, the transmission of language through the same medium of traditional song is conservative, too.

Furthermore, even though the literature does not explicitly say it, the assumption is that the passing-down of traditional song outside of the region of origin is rather recent, at least on this large a scale with the growth of *festoù-noz* and with modern education. This would mean that traditional songs have only had a few generations to be influenced by dialects outside of their own, and therefore, the anticipated results are that when singing a traditional song, people adhere to the dialect of the song's region of origin.²⁵ As we will see in the results, this is indeed what I have found.

With all the information above, we might speculate on the results of this research: my impression is that in traditional songs, the language of the song (at least partly) is carried over

²⁴ I personally took part in a number of these courses at Rennes 2 University. I assume this is the case in (Diwan) schools as well, as my teacher (Cédric Choplin) used to teach Breton in secondary education and would sometimes mention that he taught a particular song when working there, as well. However, I do not know whether Diwan schools attract students from as diverse a number of backgrounds as do the universities.

²⁵ Given Bernard's findings, we would theoretically expect to be able to find archaisms as well, but in practice these are difficult to identify. I have therefore not been able to confidently conclude that archaisms were preserved in the transmission of the songs in my corpus.

from one singer to another; in other words, from the 'teacher', who sings the source material, to the 'student', who reproduces the source material. However, the 'student' might use some of their spoken Breton dialect in their performance of the song, which would result in imperfect reproduction of the source material.

In the next chapter, I will present the method and the further layout of the thesis.

3. Method

Firstly, it is important to note that the observations I make are based on a rather small corpus. For the scope of this thesis, it was important to limit the workload so that a meaningful analysis could be made within the accorded timespan. All in all, the informants produced about an hour of audio material in total, which is sufficient to support my conclusion, but not exhaustive.

For this study, I have personally gathered data to form a small-scale corpus. It consists of four young Breton speakers, three of which are native speakers and one of which speaks the language at an advanced level. The aim is to compare the spoken sample(s) with the sung samples on a phonetic level (does the speaker produce different phones when singing?), on a phonemic level (are phonemes substituted for another?), and on a morphological level (are there differences in mutation, in verbal endings?). Furthermore, the goal is also to categorize these differences (dialectal variation, archaisms, singing style, physical) so that we can speculate on the reason for each type of variation.

I have chosen to use data from four people and not more since I could not analyze more data due to time constraints, and not less, because one or two participants would not have allowed me to adequately compare the data between the participants.²⁶ Another reason I have not used less than four participants is to reduce the chances that all participants would exhibit the same differences (for example, only dialectal differences), which would have led me to a different and possibly erroneous conclusion. I am aware, however, that four people is still quite a small number, and that the above could just as well have occurred in my corpus.²⁷ Ultimately, choosing four people and aiming for an hour worth of material was an estimate on my part as to what was, on the one hand, the maximum amount of data I could realistically analyze in the time given to me to write this thesis, and on the other hand, what the minimum amount of data was that allowed me to observe generalities in language variation (for example, that all four informants show dialectal variation), and not be limited by the off chance that the informants exhibit the same types of variation by chance.

I have chosen to include younger people (between 20 and 30 years old) because this generation of Breton speakers generally is more open to speaking Breton with outsiders,

²⁶ Of course, if I had only gathered data from one participant, I would have written a case study and would therefore not have been able to observe any generalities shared by all participants.

²⁷ Fortunately, I did find more than one type of variation.

including Breton speakers from another dialect.²⁸ The choice of these four informants specifically was made with regard to their geographic origin, so that not all four participants would be from a single region. This means that they belong to the same generation, but have a different regional background; this ensures that I can base my conclusion on multiple dialects representing very different parts of Brittany and not on a single dialect, and on one of the most recent generations to which traditional songs have been passed down, which allows for very recent data (in contrast to what is available in the existing corpora such as *Dastum*).

The participants were contacted through Facebook because I am friends with one of the participants, and because she is friends with the other three participants. This first participant then started conversations through Facebook Messenger with the other three participants and myself, so communicating via that platform was the most efficient. I have had some correspondence by e-mail with the participants, as well, though this was only because some audio file types could not be saved onto my computer via Facebook Messenger.

Each participant was asked to provide a spoken sample of approximately five minutes. They were encouraged to speak naturally instead of reading or reciting an already existing text. All four provided enough data, three of the speakers even amounting to ten minutes of spoken Breton each. The participants were then asked individually to record themselves singing two songs. The only direction they were given was to choose two songs which they deemed different from one another, whether in geographic origin (is the song from *bro Gwened*, or from *bro Leon*?), in age (is it a very old song, or is it relatively new?), or for any other reason, so that there would be a greater chance of differences appearing in the performances of the two songs. All participants sang the songs by heart, so as not to be influenced by a text.²⁹ They were not told the aim of this study beforehand, so that the data might be as authentic as possible.

The samples were all transcribed in the International Phonetic Alphabet. I have chosen to give a rough phonetic transcription, so that both a phonemic and a very rudimentary phonetic analysis is possible. Because of the quality of the recordings, and because of time constraints, I am not able to give the most precise phonetic description possible. I have also provided a normalized spelling for the spoken samples, which I then had checked by the participants themselves so that there were no mistakes in my transliterations in written Breton: this, in turn,

²⁸ Case in point: Participant #1 knows all the other participants personally, two of which are from completely different parts of Brittany. Also, through (higher) education, young Breton speakers are very likely to interact with people from different regions. This is important because it greatly improves the chances that someone knows songs from a region other than their own.

²⁹ This does not necessarily mean that the participants are used to singing on the spot. Two of them are involved in music, but only Participant #4 is an actual singer. The other participants do not normally sing for an audience.

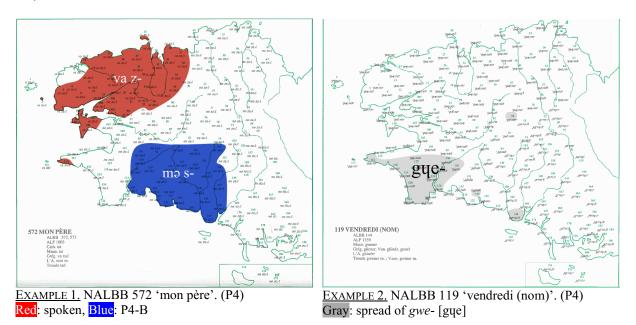
allowed for me to correct a few errors in my own phonetic transcription.³⁰ The participants did not correct anything in the IPA transcription, as it was not given to them. Furthermore, lyrics for the greater deal of the songs are available on the Internet, but the versions available there would sometimes lack a verse or have different verses than what the participant was singing, and therefore, I had difficulty understanding these sections. In such cases, I asked the participants to send me the lyrics of the version they were singing. I have not changed any lyrics to what I thought I was hearing; the only major change I have made to the lyrics available online is the order of some verses.

With these rough phonetic transcriptions, I will, individually for each participant, compare sample A (the spoken sample(s)) with sample B and sample C (the two songs individually). The following chapters will be on one participant each. In each of these chapters, I will begin with the speaker's background, including any personal communication on the subject (the conversations were held in Breton and French, so naturally a translation in English will follow the citation). Following this, I will analyze any phonetic differences in the samples: are there phones that appear in one of the samples but which the others lack? I will look at phonemic differences: do certain phonemes fall together, or become distinct? Are there any morphological differences in, for example, initial mutation, the inflection of verbs, prepositions, and past participles? Can we attribute those differences to dialectal variation, historical sound change, or some other factor? At the end of each chapter, there will be a brief summary.

I will support my observations with data from both the *Atlas linguistique de Basse-Bretagne* by Le Roux (1927) and the *Nouvel atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne* by Le Dû (2001). The former has data on flexional morphology that the latter does not, but the latter has many more places of inquiry. We should note, however, that we cannot perfectly equate the dialects shown in the atlases to the dialects that the participants speak: the *Atlas linguistique de Basse-Bretagne* is very old, and so were the informants at the time, which results in archaic data, and while the data from the *Nouvel linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne* is admittedly far more recent, the informants there are still much older than my participants. I will also consult Jackson's *Historical Phonology of Breton* (1967) and Deshayes' *Dictionnaire étymologique du breton* (2003) to offer a historical perspective, and Favereau's *Grammaire du Breton contemporain* (1997) for more insight on the modern-day dialects and on Standard Breton.

³⁰ There were sections of the samples in which I had difficulties distinguishing between words, or could not hear where a word began or ended, since I am not a native Breton speaker. Having a transliteration with the words I should be hearing helped tremendously in determining word boundaries (and words in general). All mistakes in the transliterations and the phonetic transcriptions remain my own, and any differences I may have missed due to my imperfect grasp of Breton also remain my own.

At the end of each chapter, under the heading IMAGES, the reader may find all maps from the linguistic atlases that I refer to in the analyses, with the differences between the samples plotted on the map.³¹ Each of these images shows one particular dialectal difference, and therefore does not represent the shift in dialect of the speaker as a whole, but rather represents one of the elements in that shift. I have plotted three different colors on these atlas maps: red, which represents the spoken sample(s), blue, which represents song n° 1, and gold, which represents song n° 2. I have also plotted gray areas on some maps: these represent the spread of a particular dialectal feature that is either not directly found in the song in question, but is used to explain one that is (for example, PARTICIPANT 1: lenited $d - > \delta$ -), or they represent a feature in the song that is represented somewhere on the dialect maps, but for which it is most unlikely that it truly represents the song's dialect of origin (for example, PARTICIPANT 4: initial *gwe*-[gye]). Pictured below are two examples:



In the case that a certain realization in a sample is not completely consistent, I will use the dominant, i.e. the most frequently used form: for example, Participant #2 mostly pronounces the indefinite article with initial [ø]-, while sometimes she uses [y]-. However, [ø]- is the most frequent form by far, and therefore I have chosen that form as the base form of the indefinite article in her speech, with [y]- as a variant realization. If there is no dominant form (multiple forms occur about equally frequently), all realizations from that sample will be plotted on the map: staying with the theme of the indefinite article, Participant #1 uses a number of different

³¹ Clicking while holding the CTRL key on the underlined text '<u>FIGURE N</u>' in the sections ANALYSIS will redirect the reader to the page where the appropriate figure is located. Once on this page, the reader may click on the underlined text '<u>FIGURE N</u>' to go back to the portion in the analysis where I refer to that figure.

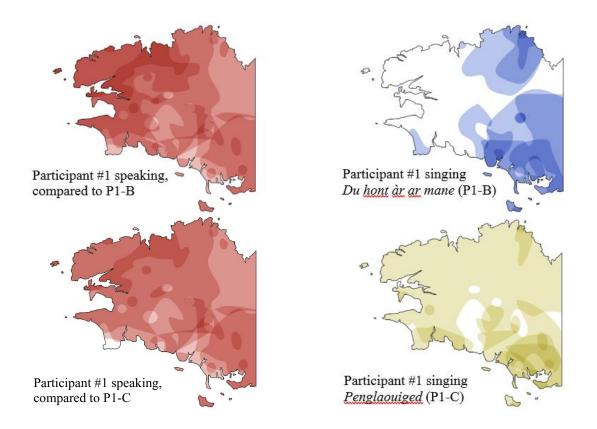
initial vowels when speaking, with none of these forms having the majority. Therefore, rather than having one clear base form of the article, the variety in initial vowels for the article is considered a feature of her speech. This also means that a change in consistency between samples, for example going from a few equally frequent realizations of the indefinite article when speaking to having one form be dominant when singing a song, is considered a significant difference.

In order to keep the workload at a reasonable level, I have chosen to only discuss data that could be compared across multiple samples. This means that certain traits, however interesting they may be, will not be discussed. For example, in *Ma bro a zo duhont* (P2-C), Participant #2 uses the Vannetais form *mem bro* instead of *ma bro* (both 'my land'), but since she does not use the personal pronoun *ma* in any other sample, I will not discuss this even though it is a great example of her using more Vannetais in that particular song than in other samples.

Furthermore, long and short vowels are quite easy to distinguish in speech, but in song, etymologically long and short vowels do not necessarily align with long and short notes respectively, and therefore, the notation for the songs will not contain length marks.

The analyses will not contain the entire phonetic transcription of each sample, but portions of the transcription along with the word or phrase in Breton; the full transcription is available in the appendix. The samples will be referred to by their short name, as they appear in the list of abbreviations and in the appendix. Any maps from the linguistic atlases will be presented at the very end of the chapter. In each of these maps, a single dialectal difference is shown, and for that one feature, the area is indicated to which the speaker adheres when speaking, when singing song n^o 1 (Sample B), and when singing song n^o 2 (Sample C). These maps represent one feature at a time, and not an entire dialect.

In some analyses, there will be tables which include ratios or percentages. Ratios will always be rounded to the third decimal, and percentages will be rounded to one decimal. Each analysis will be punctuated by a summary of the observations made. In the case of Participant #1 and Participant #2, this will be accompanied with a 'heatmap' of the discussed dialectal features all mapped together: the red heatmaps represent Sample(s) A, the blue represents Sample B, and the gold represents Sample C. This way, I hope to clearly visualize any shift in dialect per speaker per song. Pictured below are the heat maps for Participant #1, which the reader may also find at the end of that chapter:



The heatmaps are made as follows: all relevant images (from the linguistic atlases)³² have been consolidated into two pairs of maps. Each pair only comprises the dialectal differences that can be compared between the song in question and the participant's speech; since both songs do not show the same dialectal features, it is imperative to create one 'speech heatmap' per song to effectively represent the dialectal shift, and this is why I have not simply made three maps. This means that the first pair, only comparing samples A and B, will not show the spread

³² The relevant images are those on which I have plotted at least a red area, and either a blue or a gold area: in other words, any edited image where we can clearly see difference between at least the spoken sample(s) and one song. Sometimes, a grey area is plotted alongside a red area, and this means that the comparison is between something in speech and something which is represented on the dialect maps, but which is probably not a dialectal feature of the song, taking into consideration the origin of the song. Naturally, another explanation is given for these situations.

of dialectal features that are only used in the comparison of samples A and C, and that the second pair (comparing samples A and C) will not show those that are exclusively used in the comparison of samples A and B. Of course, there are features that exist in all three samples and which will therefore appear in all heatmaps. This was done because, should I have made only one heatmap of spoken Breton, this would have made comparison between the heatmaps impossible since we cannot see what layer represents which feature exactly, and with that, what layer in the map for spoken Breton would also be represented in which map for each song. The way it is presented now makes a one-to-one comparison within the heatmap pairs possible.³³

A single layer represents the spread of a particular dialectal feature. These layers are then laid on top of one another, which creates a gradient of color intensity. The darker the color, the more dialectal features are found in that area regarding the sample in question. Alongside these heatmaps is a table with the differences between the samples listed.

I must stress that the dialect maps and heatmaps do not represent the dialect of the speaker as a whole, but rather the dialectal features that are different in at least one other sample than their spoken Breton. In the analyses, I discuss variation between the samples, and not necessarily the overall dialect of each sample on its own. For example, if we were to look at the red heatmaps for Participant #1, she would appear to be most in concord with some places in Léon, but in reality the red maps group together a number of Standard and Léon Breton forms which appear in her speech (P1-A1 and P1-A2) and are replaced with typically Vannetais forms in P1-B (the blue map) and P1-C (the gold map). Her Breton across all samples, however, is clearly Vannetais Breton as is evidenced by the verbal forms she typically uses, her palatalization of /k/ and /g/, and more, but there is significantly less Standard or Léon Breton influence in the songs.

Phonetic and phonemic features which cannot be explained by dialectal differences do not appear on the heatmaps. This does not mean, however, that they are not important: the heatmaps should serve as a visualization only of dialectal shift, not of all differences. For example, the differences that Participant #3 exhibits most are not bound to dialect, but they are important for the conclusion of this thesis nonetheless. Participant #3 and Participant #4 do not show enough dialectal variation in their singing to warrant heatmaps, and therefore their chapters will only include a few dialect maps at the very end.

³³ This also results in two slightly different-looking red heatmaps per speaker, because the two red heatmaps do not represent exactly the same features.

4. PARTICIPANT #1

BACKGROUND

Participant #1 (F, 26) is from Vannes. She studied in Brest, and is currently pursuing a doctoral degree at an American university, where she teaches Breton. She is a native speaker and speaks in a Vannetais dialect. The two songs she sings are *Du hont àr ar mane* (P1-B) and *Penglaouiged* (P1-C). On *Penglaouiged*, she comments that the song is "*Pas trad et pas trop courte, et de mon pays*"³⁴ [not traditional and not too short, and from my *bro*] (PF). She does not say anything about *Du hont àr ar mane*, but did mention beforehand that she would sing at least one song which she deemed traditional. However, when asked again on the background of these songs, she responded: "*Penglaouiged ha du hont* (sic) *a zo kanet giz kozh ganin, hervez ar mod eo bet desket ganin gant tud kozh*"³⁵ [I sang *Penglaouiged* and *Du hont* in a traditional way, in the way that it was taught to me by older people] (PF). This is somewhat strange, considering that she said a few months before that *Penglaouiged* is 'not traditional'.

When debriefed on the study, Participant #1 responded in agreement with my hypothesis that people may sing differently than they speak: "*Je pense que la langue chanté* (sic) *est plus conservatrice, clairement*... [...] *On copie le rythme et l'élocution des vieux en chantant mais on fait nos rebelles en parlant*"³⁶ [I think sung language is more conservatory, evidently... [...] We copy the elderly's rhythm and pronunciation when singing but we're rebels when we speak] (PF).

³⁴ Personal communication, 17-02-2019.

³⁵ Personal communication, 30-05-2019.

³⁶ Personal communication, 17-02-2019.

FINAL -on

Participant #1's pronunciation of final -on in P1-A1, P1-A2 and P1-C, which appears in singular nouns as well as a form of the plural, is more often than not [$\tilde{0}$].³⁷ However, this is not completely stable. For example, we find *a-feson* [a fesõ] 'proper', *c'halon* [halõ] 'heart', *dasson* [dasõ] 'echo' (P1-A1), *studierion* [ftydīgjeʁjõ] 'students', *genelerion* [gɛnɛlɛʁjõ] 'teachers' (P1-A2), but *beurton* [bœʁtõn] 'Breton' (P1-A1) and *Roazhon* [ʁwejõn] 'Rennes' (P1-A2). In P1-C, we find the same word being pronounced differently in two instances: *danserion gae* [dãsɛʁjõn ge] 'jolly dancers', *mes danserion ha kanerion* [me dãsəʁjõ a kãnəʁjõn] 'but dancers and singers'. In verbal forms, Participant #1 does pronounce [$\tilde{0}$] for -ont in mont, dont in P1-A2, but she sometimes reduces it to [$\tilde{0}$] in P1-C: *veketont* [vədīʒətõ] (< *beketont*) '(they) peck' is sung four times, the other ten having final -[n]. Therefore, the pronunciation of -on(t) is also unstable in these samples.

In P1-B, however, the realization of *-on*, *-ont* is always [5n]. We find *ton* [t5n] 'song' (thrice), *c* 'halon [fal5n] 'heart', while *c* 'halon in the spoken sample is pronounced without the final -[n]; *duhont* [dy5n] 'over there', *dont* [d5n] 'come'. This song does not present as large a variety of forms as P1-A1, P1-A2 and P1-C, but the words are repeated consistently with -[5n] throughout the song, as opposed to P1-C where a repeated word ends in -[5] about a third of the time.

Jackson states that "[t]he reflex of Pr.B. final (but not intervocal) single *n* may cease to make consonantal contact in vocalic contexts likewise,³⁸ that is to say when not in a consonant group, with resulting nasalisation of the preceding vowel; but only in V[annetais] and only to a rather limited extent even there". This is only the case for Pr.B. *-*an*, *-*on*, and not any other vowel followed by n.³⁹ As illustrated by <u>FIGURE 1</u> and <u>FIGURE 2</u>, -[$\tilde{3}$] is the expected form in Vannes, and not -[$\tilde{3}n$]. In the Vannetais area where the plural for the words in <u>FIGURE 1</u> and <u>FIGURE 2</u> is -*ion*, the final [n] is dropped, and in the areas where the final [n] is retained, the

³⁷ The initial phone(me) of the following word has no influence on the realization being either [δ] or [δ n]. If it did, we would expect [n] to be kept when the next word starts with a vowel, which it is not: *ur rannvro a-feson eo* [ω K ω a fes δ e] 'it is its own region' (P1-A1); furthermore, *dasson* [das δ] 'echo' and *Roazhon* [κ Wej δ n]' (Rennes' both occur at the end of a sentence, after which Participant #1 takes a short breath, and we find both forms (with and without [n]).

 ³⁸ "Likewise" refers to the previous section in Jackson (1967), which is about *n* before sibilants and stops internally.
 ³⁹ Jackson 1967: 797-8.

vowel is not $[\tilde{3}]$; final - $[\tilde{3}n]$ instead of - $[\tilde{3}]$ is therefore unlikely to be a dialectal feature, but maybe rather an archaic one from a time when [n] was still pronounced.⁴⁰

INITIAL $\theta < d$ after the verbal particle *e* and after the participial particle *e*

In Modern Breton, the verbal particle e [e], [i] causes mixed mutation on the following word. In the case of initial d-, the expected mutated form is t- [t], and this is what Participant #1 produces in P1-A2: e miz Mae (e) tistroin (< distroin) [e mizmej tistsojn] 'in May I will go back', ar pezh e tesket (< desket) [as pex e tesket].⁴¹ However, in P1-C, the particle e causes a different kind of mutation: e tarnijont [i $\theta asni33(n)$] '(they) fly low', and so does the participial particle e (KLT o): e tarnijal (< darnijal) [i $\theta asni33$] 'flying low'.⁴²

The consistency with which $[\theta]$ is realized, and exactly in this context, is striking. It seems as though lenition-and-provection has taken place,⁴³ with $d > \delta > \theta$, but this has never been attested. Therefore, the historical explanation below is purely speculative.

What we find here bears resemblance to the Middle Breton lenition-and-provection of initial $b - > \beta - > f$ - caused by the verbal particle e, with [hw] as a variant in some northeastern dialects.⁴⁴ Schrijver writes, in his section on Middle Breton provection-and-lenition, "d > t (sic)",⁴⁵ as though to underline that this is not the expected Middle Breton mutated form alongside b > f and g > x < ch >.

Jackson says, on *t* in lenition-and-provection:

"The appearance of *t* instead of the seemingly logical θ from *d* is due to the fact that since the provecting particles ended in $-\theta$, $-\delta$, or -d the homorganic groups $-\theta \delta$ -, $-\delta \delta$ -, and $-d \delta$ - produced the de-lenited geminate *tt*."⁴⁶

⁴⁰ In the dialects, final -[5n] is mostly present in Trégor. However, it is probably not a Trégorrois Breton feature in P1-B, since the song is originally Vannetais.

⁴¹ In context, this means 'what you have learned'. However, the syntax here is unclear: we would at least expect a form of *bezañ*. *Desket* is the past participle, the infinitive of the verb is *deskiñ*.

⁴² In this sentence, *e* is the participial particle, as *é* is the expected form in Vannetais (KLT *o*, see Favereau 1997: 276), which causes mixed mutation in the standard language. Favereau also notes a variant [i] for *é*. This is the expected syntax, as the participial particle is used in conjunction with the infinitive of the verb: *bugaligoù divaskellek e tarnijal a varr da varr* 'little two-winged children flying low from branch to branch'. In the dialects, it can cause a variety of mutations, but in northern Vannetais, it appears to cause lenition-and-provection (Jackson 1967: 342-3).

⁴³ In Middle Breton, the verbal particle e(z) and the participial particle o(z) caused lenition-and-provection. In the modern standard language, they cause mixed mutation (Jackson 1967: 340).

⁴⁴ Jackson 1967: 337-8.

⁴⁵ Schrijver 2011: 387.

⁴⁶ Jackson 1967: 332.

Though this is true for most of the Breton dialects, it seems the homorganic groups mentioned above would not have produced de-lenited geminate *tt*, but perhaps $-\theta \theta$ -, in the dialect of P1-C:⁴⁷ since the final consonant of the word that causes provection is assimilated into the initial consonant of the following word, this is indeed the expected form if some dialects were to treat the homorganic groups the same as the rest of the consonants affected by lenition-and-provection.⁴⁸

In Modern Breton, z- [z] is the standard form of lenited d- or spiranted t-,⁴⁹ but a small number of dialects in northern Vannetais preserve [ð] instead (see FIGURE 3 and FIGURE 4). And, since Jackson mentions that in some northern Vannetais dialects, the participial particle causes lenition-and-provection, I suspect that there are few places in northern Vannetais that both preserve (a) dental fricative(s) and lenition-and-provection. However, we would then also have to assume that in some or all of that area $-\theta \delta$ -, $-\delta \delta$ -, and $-d \delta$ - did not give geminate tt, but something like $-\theta \theta$ -. Moreover, we would expect to find [θ]- as spiranted t- and [δ]- as lenited d- in P1-C if it is originally from a region that retains dental fricatives, but we do not find that simply because there is no spiranted t- or lenited d- in P1-C.

As we can see, a number of figurative stars need to align for this historical explanation to work. The song has to be from northern Vannetais, because dental fricatives need to be retained; it must also have kept lenition-and-provection, and additionally the lenition-and-provection must deviate from every single attested form we have. The theory cannot even be supported by $[\theta]$ -, $[\delta]$ - in other mutations because the song does not have any of those situations. These are simply too many prerequisites, and I therefore cannot classify the appearance of $[\theta]$ - as a mutated form of *d*- as an archaism.

Nonetheless, the fact that $[\theta]$ - is found so often and so consistently in *e tarnijont* '(they) fly low', *e tarnijal* 'flying low' is remarkable. While it exceeds the scope of this thesis, it would be interesting to find others who can sing *Penglaouiged* (here P1-C) by heart, and to see whether the realization $[\theta]$ appears in their singing, as well. With more than a single source, it would be possible to determine whether $[\theta]$ - for *t*- is an invention by Participant #1 or if it is a recurring realization across multiple people.

⁴⁷ Contra Jackson 1967: 332; however, only if this speculation were correct.

⁴⁸ For example, $-\theta \ b - > -\theta \ p - > -p \ p - (> -\emptyset \ p -)$, see Jackson 1967: 331. Therefore, after the verbal particle ez, I presume that some dialects could have undergone $-\delta \ \delta - > -\delta \ \theta - > -\theta \ \theta - (> -\emptyset \ \theta -)$.

⁴⁹ Favereau 1997: 146, 158.

REALIZATION OF *r*

In all samples except P1-B, *r* is realized as $[\varkappa]$. In P1-B, *r* is realized as [r] except in two words in the first verse: *verjelenn* [vɛʁʒe:lɛn] 'shepherdess' and *ur* [yʁ] 'a(n)'. Participant #1 only realizes *r* as [r] in the rest of the song. In some cases, /r/ is even elided, like in *ar roue* [a wej] '(of) the king' and *mor* [mo] 'sea', which never happens in speech or in P1-C.

Jackson says, on the phonetic character of r, that the original realization was apical [r], but that the uvular trill [R] (r 'grasséyé') was introduced under French influence in all of Brittany, with the Léon dialects holding on to apical [r] the longest.⁵⁰ Nowadays, as is evident from the data from all four of the informants, the typical pronunciation among the younger generation is the uvular fricative [κ].

As we can see in <u>FIGURE 5</u> and <u>FIGURE 6</u>, not only Léon retained apical [r], but also a large area of Vannetais, though not Vannes itself. However, this realization [r] is probably archaic rather than a form from the modern-day dialects: Participant #1 normally has the fricative [B] and not trilled [R] like in Vannes, and the informants for the *NALBB* are, of course, significantly older than my informants, who do not pronounce *r* as [r] or [R] in speech. I would classify this as allophonic variation between the samples, where [r] is an archaic realization.

REALIZATION OF THE PLURAL ENDING $-o\dot{u}$

Participant #1 pronounces the plural ending $-o\dot{u}$ in a number of different ways in P1-A1 and P1-A2: *yezhoù* [jɛħøy] (twice), [jɛħœy] 'languages' and *c'hentelioù* [hɛnteljow] 'lessons'. Therefore, she is not consistent in her pronunciation of $-o\dot{u}$ when speaking. However, in P1-C, $-o\dot{u}$ is pronounced [øy] almost without fail: *gouloù* [guløy] 'lights', *tachoù* [taʃøy] 'specks', *sailhigoù* [said͡ʒøy] 'little jumps', *bugaligoù* [bygalid͡ʒøy] 'little children', *evnidigoù* [evnidɪd͡ʒøy] 'little birds'. The only exception is *festoù* [fɛʃtaw] 'parties': see <u>FIGURE 7</u>. There no plurals in $-o\dot{u}$ in P1-B.

⁵⁰ Jackson 1967: 811.

[u] FOR PERSONAL PRONOUNS ho AND o, AND ACCENTED LONG [0]

In P1-A2, the pronoun *ho* 'your (2pl.)' is pronounced [o], as in *war ho penn* [vaß o pɛn] 'on your (2pl.) head'. We also do not find any realization of *o* 'their' as [u]. However, in both songs, we can find [u] for /o/: *o ton* [u tõn] 'your (2pl.) song', *O, na raktal* [u na raktal] 'Oh! immediately' (P1-B); in P1-C, we find *du-pod* [dy put] 'pot-black', *o geiz* [u gej] 'their play', the latter alongside the expected [o] like in *o pezh* [o pɛ] 'their piece'.

See <u>FIGURE 8</u> for a map of the personal pronoun o 'their'.⁵¹ Though the majority of Vannetais has [u], Participant #1 does not except when singing. For the long /o/ in *du-pod* 'pot-black', we can compare to <u>FIGURE 9</u>. [u] is not the realization for /o/ in *un nor* 'a door' in Vannes itself, but it is in a number of neighboring towns.

REALIZATION OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE *ur*, *ul*

Participant #1 uses the indefinite article with three different vowels when speaking: [y]-, $[\alpha]$ -, and $[\vartheta]$ -, with no actual dominant form. When singing, however, she only ever uses [y]-. Participant #2 has a similar contrast in the indefinite article, though she is not a hundred percent consistent. However, Participant #1's corpus is smaller than Participant #2's and the smaller amount of indefinite articles could have contributed to her consistency.

See <u>FIGURE 10</u> for the different realizations of the indefinite article. According to Jackson, the alternation between [y] and [α], [\emptyset] is not uncommon in Vannetais.⁵² However, this is only true for stressed syllables, and the article is unstressed. If we consider that schwa seems to be the vowel in Vannes instead of [y],⁵³ the realizations [α] and [\emptyset] may rather be allophones of schwa, which does not exist as a phone in French,⁵⁴ and which may influence her pronunciation somewhat. Another explanation is that, through exposure to other forms of Breton, she sometimes uses non-Vannetais forms.⁵⁵

⁵¹ There is no map of *ho* 'your (pl.)', but since *ho* (spelled *o*) appears as [u] as well as *o* 'their', and there is no difference in pronunciation between the two besides the mutation it causes, I think it is appropriate to refer to this map for the two pronouns.

⁵² Jackson 1967: 142.

⁵³ See FIGURE 10.

⁵⁴/ ∂ /does exist in French as a phoneme, but its realization is [ø], sometimes [α].

⁵⁵ See also Favereau 1997: 29. He does not mention [ø]- as a possible realization of the indefinite article, but he does mention [œ]-, which considering they are both allophones of schwa in French is not that unexpected.

PREPOSITIONS

In P1-C, Participant #1 uses the dialectal form ar instead of the standard⁵⁶ war. She sings ar ar mane [ar a manej] 'on the mountain', which stands in contrast with war ho penn [vaß o pɛn] 'on your (2pl.) head' in P1-A2. See <u>FIGURE 11</u> for the distribution of the form ar: it is a typically Vannetais trait, while war is common in the rest of Lower Brittany.

WORD-TO-WORD COMPARISONS

Both songs have at least one instance of *bugul* 'shepherd', *bugel* 'child'⁵⁷ or etymologically related words, but have a different vowel in the first syllable according to the song: P1-B has *bugulez* [bid3yle] 'shepherdess', while P1-C has *bugaligoù* [bygalid3øy] 'little children' and *bugel* [byd3ɛ1] 'child'. See <u>FIGURE 12</u> for the different forms of *bugale* 'children'. We find both forms with [y] and with [i] in different parts of Vannetais.

Kar 'because' can be found as [kɛʁ], [kaʁ] in P1-A1, while P1-B consistently has [kær]. In <u>FIGURE 13</u>, another monosyllabic word with /a/, we can see that some places have [æ] for *yar* 'chicken', but not in Vannetais. Jackson does mention that /a/ may become an open e [ɛ] in Vannetais when accented (like [kɛʁ]),⁵⁸ but we find [æ] and not [ɛ]. In fact, in monosyllabic words with /a/, I was not able to find [ɛ] at all in the NALBB.

⁵⁶ Favereau 1997: 423.

⁵⁷ Both have the same etymology, PClt. **boukolios*, and *bugel* 'child' is a variation of *bugul* 'shepherd'. This semantic shift happened because children usually were the ones tasked with herding the animals. (Deshayes 2003: 145).

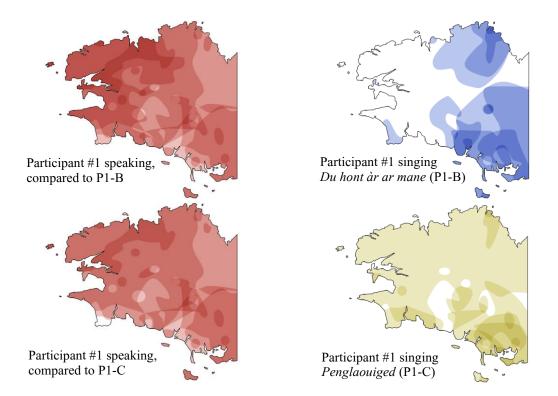
⁵⁸ Jackson 1967: 116.

SUMMARY

Participant #1 unmistakably speaks Vannetais Breton. However, she is not always consistent in her dialect when speaking. At times, she uses forms from other dialects (or from Standard Breton) to the point where no form is dominant, and therefore her speech is in concord with a much larger area in Lower Brittany than only Vannetais. For example, she realizes *o* 'their' and *ho* 'your' as [o] when speaking, but sometimes as [u] when singing, which is a much more localized dialectal trait. When she is singing, she is much more consistent in which dialectal forms she uses, and the Vannetais forms take the upper hand. At that point, the Breton she sings is far more stable and this can be seen in the images below.

As is the case for the other participants, which we will see at a later time, Participant #1's Breton is different between the two songs, as well, which is once again reflected in the heatmaps. From the two, P1-B has the most diverging dialectal features, as it veers more towards eastern Breton as a whole and abandons Léon and Cornouaillais Breton. As for P1-C, the language is also more like Vannetais on the whole, but less so than P1-B.

There are potential archaisms in the songs, the most notable being final -[$\tilde{o}n$] instead of -[\tilde{o}] in P1-B, and the apical realization of *r* [r], also in P1-B. The otherwise unattested [θ]- for *d*- after the verbal particle *e* and the participial particle *e* in P1-C cannot be considered an archaism, is otherwise unattested, and therefore remains unexplained.



Sample	P1-A1	P1-B	P1-C
Feature	P1-A2		
Final - <i>on</i>	[ɔ̃]	[õn]	[3]
	[õ n]		[õ n]
Plural - <i>où</i>	[øy] [œy]	59	[øy]
	[ow]	\nearrow	([aw])
ho 'your' and o 'their'	[0]	[u]	[u]
		[0]	[0]
Accented /ō/	[0]	[u]	[u]
		[0]	[o]
Indefinite article ur, ul	[y]	[y]	[y]
	[œ]		
	[ø]		
war 'on'	[war]	[ar]	[aĸ]
/y/ in the first syllable of	[y]	[i]	[y]
bugul 'shepherd', bugel			
'child' and derivations			

TABLE 1. An overview of dialectal variation between	1 P1-A1/P1-
A2, P1-B, and P1-C.	

⁵⁹ Insufficient data: P1-B does not have any plurals in -où.

IMAGES

Red indicates Participant #1's spoken samples (P1-A1, P1-A2), blue indicates Du hont àr ar mane (P1-B), and gold indicates Penglaouiged (P1-C).

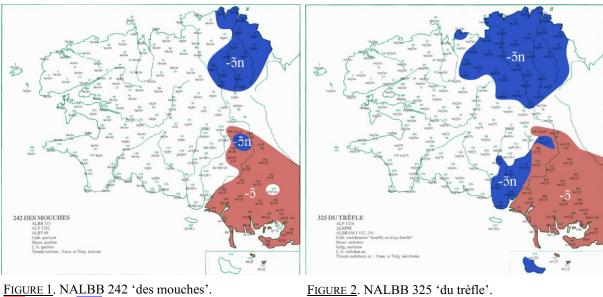
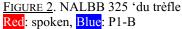


FIGURE 1. NALBB 242 'des mouches'. Red: spoken, Blue: P1-B



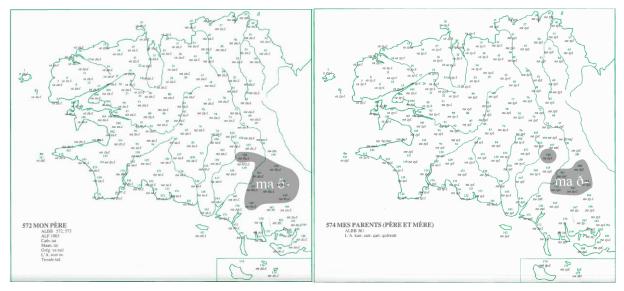


FIGURE 3. NALBB 572 'mon père'. Gray: spread of $t - \ge \delta$ - after ma 'my'

FIGURE 4. NALBB 574 'mes parents'. Gray: spread of $t - > \delta$ - after ma 'my'

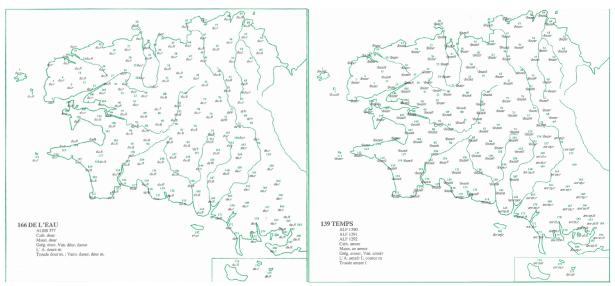


FIGURE 5. NALBB 166 'de l'eau'.

FIGURE 6. NALBB 139 'temps'.

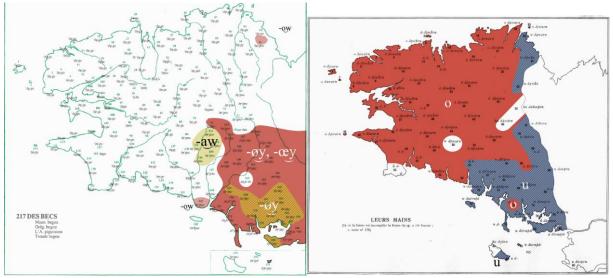


FIGURE 7. NALBB 217 'des becs'. Red: spoken, Gold: P1-C

FIGURE 8. ALBB 175 'leurs mains'. Red: spoken, Blue + Gold: P1-B + P1-C

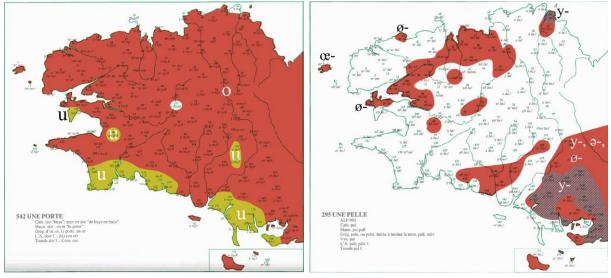


FIGURE 9. NALBB 542 'une porte'. Red: spoken, Gold: P1-C

FIGURE 10. NALBB 295 'une pelle'. Red: spoken, Blue: P1-B

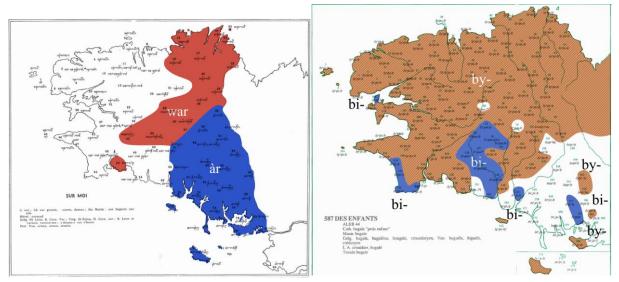


FIGURE 11. ALBB 596 'sur moi'. Red: spoken, <mark>Blue</mark>: P1-B

FIGURE 12. ALBB 587 'des enfants'. Red + Gold: spoken + P1-C, Blue: P1-C

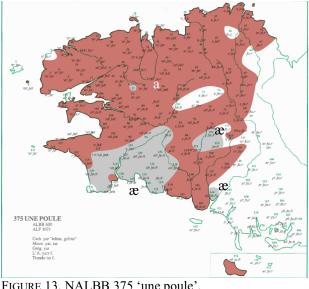


FIGURE 13. NALBB 375 'une poule'. Red: spoken, Gray: spread of /a/ [æ]

5. PARTICIPANT #2

BACKGROUND

Participant #2 (F, 23), is Participant #1's sister, and is also from Vannes. She has a far less strong Vannetais accent than her sister, rather speaking Standard Breton with some Vannetais mixed in, which she attributes to being younger and having picked up more of a standard accent later on: (on Participant #1 having studied in Brest) "(Sister) *ivez mes koshoc'h eo, neuze klevet he deus ma zad komz brezhoneg kalz muioc'h pa oa bihan d'am soñj, m'eus ket dalc'het soñj eus kalz traoù deus ar mare-se*"⁶⁰ [(Sister) too but she is older, so she heard my father speak Breton far more when she was little I think, I don't remember a lot from that time] (PF). She also mentions that she and her sister were taught Vannetais in school, and that Participant #1 adopted that variety because of personal preference: "*N'eo ket un aksan gwenedeg da vat on eus desket pa oemp bihan, mes gant ar skolaj on eus zesket ar gwenedeg ha hi a zalc'h gantañ peogwir he deus c'hoant*" ⁶¹ [We were not taught a proper Vannetais accent when we were little, but through school we were taught Vannetais and she stuck with it because she wanted to] (PF). This is probably why the two sisters speak different kinds of Breton.

Even before sending the audio files, Participant #2 asked whether she was supposed to sing in her own accent or in another: "*Tu veux l'accent naturel ? Parce qu'en fonction du contexte de la chanson je chante pas forcement* (sic) *avec le même accent*"⁶² [Do you want my natural accent? Because depending on the song I might not necessarily sing with the same accent] (PF). When asked about this remark, she responded "*ça dépend avec quel accent je l'ai appris*"⁶³ [it depends on the accent in which I learned it] (PF).

Participant #2 chose the two songs based on their difference in geographic origin: *Dislounk* tan (P2-B) is a Léon song, and *Ma bro a zo duhont* (P2-C) is Vannetais, her home region. She is conscious of the origins of *Dislounk tan*, as she hesitantly said "*Dislounk tan je sais pas parce* que les paroles imposent parfois une prononciation Léon je crois. Je sais pas si ça va" [I don't know about *Dislounk tan* because the lyrics sometimes impose a Léon pronunciation. I don't

⁶⁰ Personal communication, 05-05-2019.

⁶¹ Personal communication, 05-05-2019.

⁶² Personal communication, 17-02-2019.

⁶³ Personal communication, 17-02-2019.

know if that's OK] (PF).⁶⁴ She chose *Ma bro a zo duhont* for similar reasons, since she knew that her Breton would be different compared to the other song and to her spoken sample.

ANALYSIS

REALIZATION OF -*lc'h*

Though final *-lc'h* does not appear often in the samples, it is consistently pronounced differently in P2-B than in P2-A. In the spoken sample, we find *penaos a-walc'h*... [penos avax] 'how again...' and *pouezhus a-walc'h* [pwezys avay] 'quite important',⁶⁵ but in P2-B, final *-lc'h* is realized as [lx]: *kelc'h* [kɛlx] 'circle', *falc'h* [falx] 'scythe'.

See <u>FIGURE 14</u> and <u>FIGURE 15</u> for the realizations of *-lc'h*. As is evident from these maps, neither pronunciation is Vannetais. The realization /x/ for *-lc'h* in *a-walc'h* is quite common in Standard Breton, and considering the other tendencies Participant #2 shows when speaking (* θ [z] or \emptyset , lack of palatalization in /k/, /g/, see below), this is not out of the ordinary. The retention of /l/ in *-lc'h* in P2-B, however, is a typically Léon trait, which fits in with the geographic origin of the song. *A-walc'h* [a walx] 'enough' is not, however, the expected form in most of Léon Breton: most places have a vowel between /l/ and /x/. The length of this vowel varies: some places have [a walax], while others have [a wal³x] (with a very short vowel). Only three places in the whole of Brittany have [a walx]. However, the realization [falx] for *falc'h* is extremely common, in contrast with *a-walc'h*.

The maps for *a-walc'h* 'enough' and *falc'h* 'scythe' prove themselves rather difficult to use, as they are very different from each other. *A-walc'h* often has final *-lVx*, while *falc'h* has final *-lx* quite far into the east, and little to no forms with *-lVx* at all except in southern Cornouaille. From these two maps, we cannot deduce whether *-lx* is the expected form of < lc'h > in Léon.

The maps are so different from one another because etymologically, the final consonant clusters are different: Br. *a-walc'h* < **gwaly* < Bryth. **µal-g*,⁶⁶ (W. *gwala*, *gwaly*) but Br. *falc'h* < L. *falcem*.⁶⁷ Jackson points out that "Pr.B. *l*₃ [notation for *ly*] and *r*₃ [idem, *ry*] from Brit[ish] and Brit[ish]-Lat[in] absolute internal *-lg-* and *-rg-* eventually fell together with Pr.B. *lx* and

⁶⁴ Personal communication, 17-02-2019.

⁶⁵ The voicing in -*lc*'h here is due to the following word, which starts with *d*-.

⁶⁶ GPC Online, "gwala, gwaly".

⁶⁷ Deshayes 2003: 226.

rx",⁶⁸ but having this level of dialectal variation is quite unexpected if that were the case here. We should assume that *ly*, *ry* and *lx*, *rx* had not fallen together in Léon at the time that -*V*- was inserted in *a*-walc'h, and that therefore $*-ly > *-lV_y > -lV_x$ was kept separate from *-lx*.

Therefore, whether this is a dialectal difference cannot be said, since the word in P2-A (*a-walch*) etymologically has *-*ly* and the words in P2-B (*kelc'h*, *falc'h*) etymologically have -lx < *-lk.⁶⁹ There are indeed some places in Brittany that would have *a-walc'h* /awax/ and *falc'h* /falx/, but I am unsure whether that distinction has carried over to the Standard Breton that Participant #2 speaks. In the case that it did, then there is no dialectal difference that I can speak of.

To definitely know whether this is a dialectal difference, we would have to see how she realizes words with -lc'h < *-lx and not *-ly. However, she does not use these words in -lx in her spoken sample. This is one of the limitations of a small-scale corpus, and having more material per speaker for a future study could resolve this particular problem.

REALIZATION OF *- θ -, *- θ , *- $r\theta$

One of the most well-known differences between Vannetais Breton and the other dialects is the realizations of *zh*, a spelling created for the various dialectal outcomes of Middle Breton intervocalic *- θ -, final postvocalic *- θ , and * θ in the clusters * $r\theta$, * $l\theta$. Intervocalically, it is /z/ in Léon, /h/ in Vannetais, and it is elided in Cornouaille and Trégor; in final post-vocalic position, it stands for /h/ in Vannetais⁷⁰ and for /z/ in KLT;⁷¹ finally, * $r\theta$ is /rz/ in KLT and /rh/ in Vannetais.⁷² There are no examples of * $l\theta$ in any of Participant #2's samples.

It looks like the realizations of $*\theta$ are competing without much regard to the words they inhabit, because we find different realizations of the same word within the same sample: for example, in P2-A, *pezh* 'piece' occurs as both /pɛh/ [pɛɣ] and /pɛz/ [pɛz], [pɛs]. See <u>FIGURE 16</u> and <u>FIGURE 17</u> for maps of the realizations of *zh*, both intervocalically and in post-vocalic final position.

⁶⁸ Jackson 1967: 716.

⁶⁹ *Kelc'h* 'circle' < OBr. *circhl* < Vulgar L. *circlus* with metathesis of *-kl*- (Deshayes 2003: 380), and *falc'h* 'scythe', < L. *falcem* (Deshayes 2003: 226).

⁷⁰ It is sometimes elided in southeastern Vannetais: see FIGURE 17.

⁷¹ Jackson 1967: 525-9.

⁷² Jackson 1967: 529-30.

			[
Realization				
in P2-A				Total
Etymology	/z/	/h/	Ø	(etym.)
Intervocalic *-θ-	14	1	14	29
Final postvocalic	7	5	\searrow	12
*-0			\land	
Cluster $*r\theta$	2	\searrow	\searrow	2
		\land	\land	
Total (realization)	23	6	14	43
Realization				
in P2-B				Total
Etymology	/z/	/h/	Ø	(etym.)
Intervocalic *-θ-	2	3		5
			\nearrow	
Final postvocalic	9	1		10
*-0			\land	
Cluster * $r\theta$	1		\square	1
		\land	\land	
Total (realization)	12	4	0	16
Realization				
in P2-C				Total
Etymology	/z/	/h/	Ø	(etym.)
Intervocalic *-θ-		2	3	5
	\nearrow			
Final postvocalic		4	1	5
*-0				
Cluster * $r\theta$	2			2
		\square	\square	
Total (realization)	2	6	4	12

TABLE 2. Tally of the different realizations of Middle Breton intervocalic *- θ -, final postvocalic *- θ , and the cluster * $r\theta$. In **bold and dark grey** are the dominant forms.

As I discussed in Participant #2's background, she has some non-Vannetais tendencies in her speech, and her realization of *zh* is one of them. Across all three samples, we can identify three realizations: /z/[z] or [s], /h/[fi], [h], or [γ], or it is simply elided (Ø). In each sample, her overall tendencies are different (see TABLE 2 above). In P2-A, /z/ and Ø far outnumber /h/, and in P2-B, not a single *zh* is elided but /z/ still outnumbers /h/. However, in P2-C, /h/ and Ø are the dominant forms, which gives a strong Vannetais trait to the song. Across all samples, Participant #2 elides *zh* only once in final position, in *razh e glas* [κ a i glas] 'completely in green' in P2-C, and she always has /z/ in **r* θ regardless of the sample.

Looking deeper into the matter, we can also see that the different contexts with $*\theta$ have different tendencies in each sample. P2-A favors /z/ in each context, which makes it Léon-like, but it equally favors elision of intervocalic $*-\theta$ -, which is more like Cornouaillais and Trégorrois. Furthermore, the contest between /z/ and /h/ in postvocalic final position is quite a tight race. P2-A is therefore varied in the dialects to which it adheres.

P2-B is slightly odd in the regard that /h/ is the most common form for intervocalic *- θ -: like in the section on the indefinite article, this is a Vannetais realization in a Léon song. Otherwise, it is much more consistent than P2-A in the realization of postvocalic final *- θ , which is almost always /z/. There is also no elision at all, which makes it strongly more Léon and less Cornouaillais and Trégorrois than P2-A. There is still some Vannetais to be found, however.

P2-C never has /z/except in $*r\theta$, and only has /h/except or elision. All these realizations can be found in Vannetais, which makes it the most stable of all samples in this regard, as well as the most strongly Vannetais of all.

PALATALIZATION OF k, g before front vowels and in diminutive -ig

Participant #2 never palatalizes /k/, /g/ in P2-A or P2-B. However, in P2-C, she consistently produces palatalized /k/ and /g/ before front vowels and in the diminutive *-ig: e geol digor* [i $d\bar{3}$ ol $ded\bar{3}$ os] 'in (the) open mouth', *ket* [tʃøt] 'not', *kuzhet* [tʃyəd] 'hidden', *gwez* [$d\bar{3}$ ve] 'trees', *eostig* [østətʃ] 'nightingale', *ken* [tʃən] 'so'.⁷³ For comparison, we find *ket* [ke], [ket], [ked] 'not', *tammig* [tãmik] 'little bit', *digor* [digos] 'open' in P2-A and P2-B.

⁷³ In *kanal ken flour* 'sing so soft'.

The palatalization of /k/ and /g/ is typical of Vannetais Breton: for example, see <u>FIGURE 18</u> and <u>FIGURE 19</u>. The NALBB regularly notes [c], [J] for palatalized /k/, /g/, but we can also commonly hear [fJ], $[d_3]$, especially in younger speakers. Once again, P2-C shows far greater use of Vannetais traits than the other two samples.

REALIZATION OF THE PLURAL ENDING $-o\dot{u}$

In P2-A and P2-B, plurals in -*où* are almost always realized as -[u], the only exception being one instance of *levrioù* [lɛʁjo] 'books' in P2-A.⁷⁴ She does, however, pronounce plurals in -*ioù* in P2-A with a diphthong: *bloazhvezhioù* [blavejœw], [blavijow] 'years', *personelezhioù* [pɛʁzõnelezjœw] 'personalities'. In P2-B, -*où* and -*ioù* are pronounced [u], [ju] respectively: *a relegoù* [a ʁelegu] '(with) bones)', *ar ruioù* [aʁ ʁyju] 'the streets', *he zolioù* [e zolju] 'her slashes'.⁷⁵ In P2-C, the plurals in -*où* and -*ioù* are less stable, but are always pronounced as a diphthong, like the plural in -*ioù*: *bragoù* [bʁagøy] 'clothes', *eostoù* [ejʃtaw] 'nightingales', *maezioù* [mejøy] 'fields', *c'hroazioù* [xvejəw] 'crosses', *feunteunioù* [føtõnjow] 'fountains', *chapelioù* [ʃapəljœw] 'chapels', *bezioù* [pejœw] 'tombs',⁷⁶ yezhoù [jehœw] 'languages', *a-ziàr treuzoù* [ə zeoʁ tʁøzow] 'through'.

See <u>FIGURE 20</u> for a map of the plural $-o\dot{u}$. When she is speaking, Participant #2 opts for a Léon or Standard Breton⁷⁷ realization of $-o\dot{u}$ [u], but she uses the Vannetais diphthongized $-io\dot{u}$ [jœw], [jow].⁷⁸ Therefore, there is some competition between Standard Breton and Vannetais in her speech which does not exist when she is singing: in P2-B, she shifts entirely to the Léon realizations [u], [ju], and in P2-C, she only uses Vannetais forms.

PAST FORMS OF bezañ 'TO BE' AND kaout 'TO HAVE'

In P2-A and P2-B, Participant #2 mostly uses past forms of *bezañ* 'to be' (and *kaout* 'to have') in *oa*-: *oa* 'was (3sg.)', *oant* 'were', *en doa* 'he had'. However, we do find some forms in *oe*-, all but one being found in P2-A. The forms in *oa*- are always in the majority, but we cannot say that the forms of *bezañ* in Participant #2's spoken Breton are consistent in P2-A. In

⁷⁴ The context is *kalz a levrioù mod-se* [kals a levjo mose]. This part is said quite rapidly, and the realization of /u/as [o] might be an instance of vowel harmony with the following [o] in *mod-se*.

⁷⁵ Slashes of Death's scythe. I owe thanks to Cédric Choplin for this translation.

⁷⁶ The devoicing of initial b > p- here is by assimilation from the preceding -ft, not because of provection.

⁷⁷ Favereau 1997: 36.

⁷⁸ The fact that she uses one dialectal form for one ending and another for another ending is interesting, but I will not discuss it here since it is not within the scope of this paper to analyze the spoken material by itself.

P2-B, however, since all but one of the sixteen forms of *bezañ* are *oe*, I am inclined to consider the form in this song as consistent. In other words, P2-A has variation between *oa* and *oe*, and P2-B consistently has *oa*. There are no past forms of *bezañ* or *kaout* in P2-C.

See <u>FIGURE 21</u> for the distribution of *oa* and *oe*. The latter form, *oe*, is most current in Vannetais, and the form *oa* is present throughout most of the rest of Brittany. The fact that Participant #2 uses it more frequently in P2-B gives it a stronger Léon (or generally non-Vannetais) aspect.

Realization	Forms in	Forms in	Ratio	
Sample	oa	00	oa : oe	Total
P2-A	32	9	3.555 : 1	41
Р2-В	15	1	15:1	16

TABLE 3. Tally of the different past forms of *bezañ* 'to be' and *kaout* 'to have', and a ratio of *oa* to *oe*. In **bold and grey** are the dominant forms.

REALIZATION OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE *ur*, *ul*

In all of Participant #2's samples, the indefinite article is realized in a number of different ways: In P2-A, we find, in order of frequency, $[\emptyset B]$ (six times), [yB] (four times), $[\emptyset I]$ (thrice), $[\varpi B]$ (twice), and $[\exists I]$ (once): forms in $[\emptyset]$ - are clearly dominant. However, in P2-B, we find forms in [y]- far more frequently, with [yB] appearing ten times, and [y] twice. The remaining forms are $[\emptyset B]$, which is sung twice, and $[\varpi B]$, which is sung once. See the table below for an overview. Even though neither sample is completely consistent, we can observe that each sample has a different dominant vowel in the indefinite article. Furthermore, P2-B is more consistent in the realization of *ur*, *ul* in general. There are not enough instances of the indefinite article in P2-C for us to make a meaningful comparison.

Realization	[ø]-	[y]-	[œ]-	[ə]-	
Sample	([ør], [øl])	([yk], [yl], [y])	([œR])	([əl])	Total
P2-A	9	4	2	1	16
Р2-В	2	12	1	$\mathbf{\mathbf{X}}$	15

TABLE 4. Tally of the different realizations of the indefinite article *ur*, *ul*. In **bold and grey** are the dominant forms.

The fact that [y]- is the main realization in P2-B is unexpected: *Dislounk tan* is a Léonard song, so if any dialectal forms were to be used, we would maybe expect [ε]- (or [\emptyset]-) instead of the typically Vannetais [y]-.⁷⁹ However, Participant #2 uses [\emptyset]- very frequently in speech, and it is difficult to determine whether these forms in [\emptyset]- are truly dialectal, or an influence from Standard Breton, or even an allophone of schwa,⁸⁰ since her sister (Participant #1, see Ch. 4) also sometimes realizes [\emptyset]- despite having far less of an influence from Léon (or Standard) Breton. This is especially true in P2-B, where it is impossible to say whether the two instances of [\emptyset]- are examples of Participant #2 slipping back into her speaking tendencies, or that these two forms actually are dialectal Léon realizations.

See above in 4. PARTICIPANT #1 for another explanation of the variation in the vowel of ur, ul, and see <u>FIGURE 22</u> for a map of the indefinite article ur.

PREPOSITIONS

In P2-B, Participant #2 almost always uses the form *gant* [gõn] 'with' instead of *get* [gət], [gəd] like she does in P2-A and P2-C. See <u>FIGURE 23</u> for the distribution of the various forms of *gant*; in this case, conjugated to the third person masculine.⁸¹ *Gant* is the expected form in Léon, and *get* is the Vannetais form.

⁷⁹ See <u>FIGURE 22</u>: /ɛr bal/ is most common in Léon.

⁸⁰ Favereau 1997: 29. See also Ch. 4 (PARTICIPANT #1).

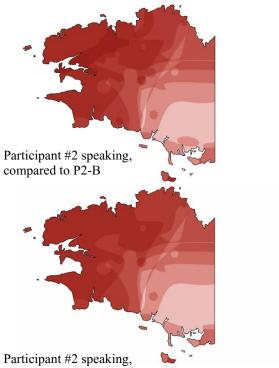
⁸¹ The -t- found in the conjugated forms would be elided in the unconjugated form gant.

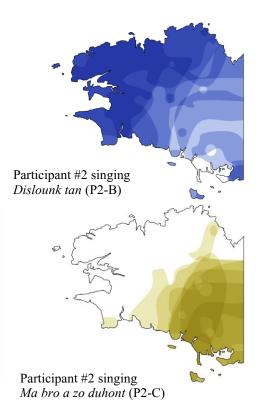
SUMMARY

Participant #2's spoken Breton is very close to the written standard, though she uses a number of Vannetais dialectal forms, notably the quite frequent use of /h/ for * θ , V. *get* instead of KLT *gant*, and the use of the Vannetais past tense *oe* of *bezañ* instead of *oa*. Therefore, the heatmaps of her speaking are very KLT-heavy, but not completely devoid of Vannetais. The heatmap for P2-B looks almost identical to her spoken Breton, except it is ever so slightly darker in Léon and it avoids some parts of the southern Vannetais region completely. Indeed, compared to P2-C, P2-B is the most similar to Participant #2's spoken Breton, though it does have its significant differences: the most notable Léon traits are the use of *gant*, a far more consistent use of [z] for final postvocalic *- θ , and a higher ratio of *oa*-forms in *bezañ* 'to be' and *kaout* 'to have'.

Puzzlingly, there are also two Vannetais traits in P2-B which are not found as frequently in P2-A: initial [y]- for the indefinite article, and /h/ for intervocalic *- θ -. These traits are possibly influence from her Vannetais background, or it perhaps was passed down to Participant #2 by someone whose Vannetais background influenced the performance of *Dislounk tan* (here P2-B).

The near-complete switch from Standard Breton to Vannetais in P2-C is remarkable. As is evident from the heatmap, Participant #2 sings this song in overwhelmingly Vannetais Breton, from the palatalization of velars to the diphthongized plurals and the absent realization [z] for $*-\theta$ - and $*-\theta$.





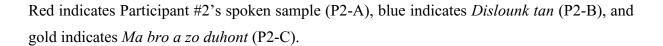
Participant #2 speaking,	
compared to P2-C	

Sample	P2-A	Р2-В	Р2-С
Feature			
Realization of intervocalic $*-\theta$ -	mostly /z/	mostly /h/	mostly Ø
	also Ø	also /z/	also /h/
Realization of postvocalic final	mostly /z/	mostly /z/	mostly /h/
*-0	also /h/	also /h/	also Ø
/k/, /g/ before front vowels and	[k], [g]	[k], [g]	[fʃ], [d͡ʒ]
/g/ in - <i>ig</i>			
Plural - <i>où</i>	[u]	[u]	[øy]
			[aw]
			[œw]
			[ow]
Past forms of <i>bezañ</i> 'to be'	oa	oa	82
	oe		
Indefinite article ur, ul	[ø]-	[y]-	83
Gant 'with'	/gət/	/gãn/	/gət/

TABLE 5. An overview of dialectal variation between P2-A, P2-B, and Р2-С.

⁸² Insufficient data. P2-C does not have any past forms of *bezañ* 'to be' or *kaout* 'to have'.
⁸³ Insufficient data. *Ur* appears only twice in P2-C: once as [ø]-, once as [y]-.

IMAGES



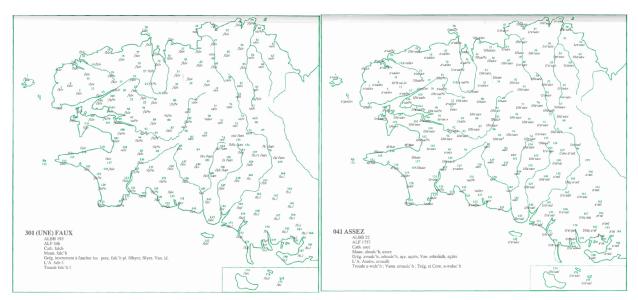
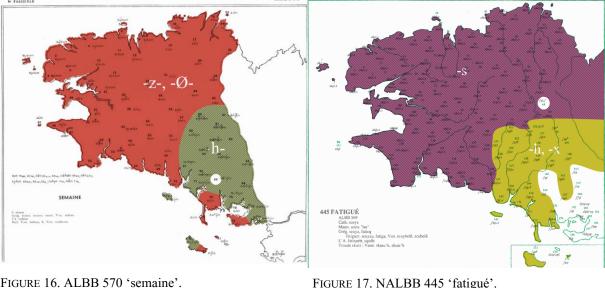
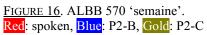


FIGURE 14. NALBB 301 '(une) faux'.

FIGURE 15. NALBB 041 'assez'.





<u>FIGURE 17</u>. NALBB 445 'fatigué'. Red + <mark>Blue</mark>: spoken + P2-B, <mark>Gold</mark>: P2-C

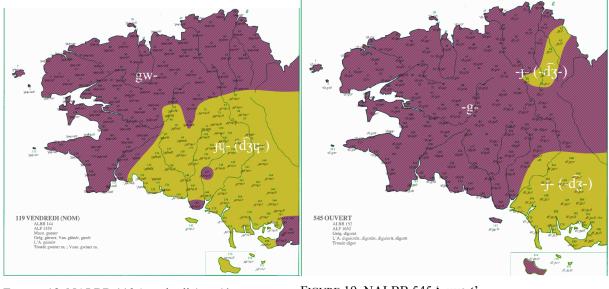


FIGURE 18. NALBB 119 'vendredi (nom)' Red + Blue: spoken + P2-B, Gold: P2-C

FIGURE 19. NALBB 545 'ouvert'. Red + Blue: spoken + P2-B, Gold: P2-C

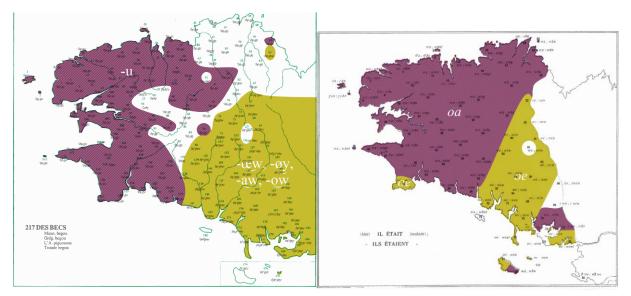


FIGURE 20. NALBB 217 'des becs'. Red + Blue: spoken + P2-B, Gold: P2-C

FIGURE 21. ALBB 055 'il était - ils étaient'. Red + Blue: spoken + P2-B, Gold: P2-C

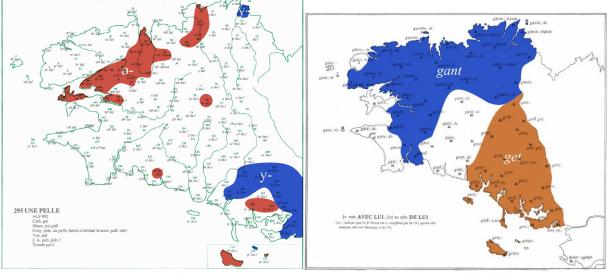


FIGURE 22. NALBB 295 'une pelle'. Red: spoken, Blue: P2-B <u>FIGURE 23</u>. ALBB 210 'avec lui, de lui'. Red + Gold: spoken + P2-C, Blue: P2-B

6. PARTICIPANT #3

BACKGROUND

Participant #3 (M, 28), is from Morlaix and currently residing in Brest. He learned Breton at a later age, and is currently also studying Breton at university. His Breton is not too easy to pinpoint, because it has northern, eastern, as well as southwestern Cornouaillais traits (see IMAGES). About his own Breton, he says the following:

"J'ai pas un accent vraiment léonard, ni vraiment trégorois (sic), ni vraiment cornouaillais [...] "L'erreur" ça a été de vouloir avoir une couleur "monts d'arrée" (sic) et de me rendre compte rapidement que c'était peine perdue, du coup j'tape à droite et à gauche en essayant de privilégier ce que je peux entendre du côté d'Huelgoat, Berrien, Poullaouen et compagnie, mais forcément les tournures, certains choix de mots, font que globalement j'ai du mal à me faire comprendre avec les natifs de ce coin là (sic)".⁸⁴

[I don't have a particularly Léon accent, nor is it really Trégorrois, or Cornouaillais [...] My 'mistake' was to want to have a 'Monts d'Arrée' accent and then quickly realize that it was a lost cause, so I take stuff from here and there, trying to favor whatever I hear in the area of Huelgoat, Berrien, Poullaouen et cetera, but of course the sentence structure and choice of words make it so that I have difficulty being understood by natives from that area]. (PF)

I will study his spoken dialect in-depth in the analysis below, rather than here. For reference, the Monts d'Arrée are just outside Carhaix, to the northwest.

The two songs he sings are *Gwerz Penmarc'h* (P3-B) and *E Garnison* (P3-C), and according to him the two songs come from different singing traditions. We will see below that the singing tradition is indeed the most important keyword in this chapter, but that there is some minor dialectal variation, as well.

When I commented to him that the way he sang was different to the way he spoke, he commented: *"Ya normal ! Disket 'm eus an tonioù en ur glevet un taol-mouezh disheñvel*"⁸⁵ [Yes, that's normal! I learned the songs by ear, in a different kind of language (lit. voice-strike)]

⁸⁴ Personal communication, 02-03-2019.

⁸⁵ Personal communication, 10-04-2019.

(PF). On the subject, Participant #3 also mentioned that some well-known artists sing differently than they speak: "Les soeurs goadec (sic) sont les championnes pour prononcer "eo" à la léonarde dans leurs chansons alors que quand tu les entends parler normalement t'auras que du 'è' "⁸⁶ [The Goadec sisters are the poster-children of pronouncing eo in a Léon way, but when you hear them speak normally you'll only find \dot{e}] (PF). He elaborated by saying:

"Après (Girlfriend) me disait que des fois t'es tellement habitué à entendre un morceau avec du tcheutcheu que même quand tu tcheutcheutes pas dans ton breton parlé, bah quand tu chantes cette chanson, y'a rien à faire, tu tcheutcheutes".⁸⁷

[(Girlfriend) told me that sometimes you're so used to hearing a song with *tcheutcheu*⁸⁸ that even if you don't *tcheutcheu* in your own Breton, well, when you sing that song, you can't do anything about it, you *tcheutcheu*] (PF).

ANALYSIS

IDENTIFYING PARTICIPANT #3'S SPOKEN DIALECT

While the other participants' spoken dialects are relatively easily to recognize, Participant #3's spoken dialect is quite obscure. By his own admission, Participant #3 feels that he speaks a mix of various dialects, but that he still tries to adopt the most 'Monts d'Arrée'-like dialect he can muster.

As we can see from the three dialect maps with red areas (FIGURE 29, FIGURE 30, FIGURE 31), the dialectal traits from Participant #3's Breton shown in these maps (indefinite article o,⁸⁹ first person possessive pronoun *ma* [ma]) can be found in various parts of Cornouaillais. While the map for the indefinite article matches with what he says about his own Breton, the map for *ma* does not.

Other examples are therefore important to identify his speaking dialect: the elision of intervocalic *- θ - and realization [z] for final postvocalic *- θ (mennozh [menoz], mennozhioù [menoju]), places him generally in Cornouaille or Trégor (and not Léon or Vannetais). In addition, he uses meump 'we have' for the first person plural of kaout 'to have': meump soñjet 'we have thought', meump enrollet 'we have recorded', which is a trait found in eastern

⁸⁶ Personal communication, 02-03-2019.

⁸⁷ Personal communication, 02-03-2019.

 $^{^{88}}$ An onomatopoeic name for the Vannetais palatalization of /k/ and /g/.

⁸⁹ See also Favereau 1997: 29.

Cornouaille and in Trégor.⁹⁰ He realizes *ivez* 'also' as [i(j)e], and this can be found in eastern Cornouaille, Léon and Trégor (see <u>FIGURE 24</u>). Furthermore, the form *n'ou(zo)n ket* [nunke] of *gouzout* 'to know' that he uses can notably be found in the Poullaouen region.⁹¹

Therefore, his assessment of his own Breton is about right: most of the dialectal forms he uses can be found in the Monts d'Arrée region. He does sometimes adopt forms from other parts in Cornouaille (from Morlaix or Quimper, for example, in his realization *ma* 'my' [ma]).

REALIZATION OF -*lc'h*

Participant #3 uses the expression *just-a-walc'h* 'precisely'⁹² a number of times in his speech. However, it is always slurred, to the point where the phrase once appears as just the vowel [a]. Nonetheless, in the instances where *just-a-walc'h* is realized as more than one phone, we never find /l/. More often than not, *-lc'h* is completely elided, except in two cases where a final /x/ (realized as [κ]) is retained: *just-a-walc'h* [so κ] and *just-a-walc'h*, *ar* [ʃsta κ a] A single other word can be found in his speech, *zalc'h* [zax] (< *dalc'h*) 'keep (v.)', where once again, there is no /l/.

In P3-B, final *-lc*'*h* appears twice in *a-walc*'*h* [awa], [awałɣ] 'enough' and twice in *zalc*'*h* [załɣ], [zalɣ]. We can see here that Participant #3 has the tendency to keep /l/ in *-lc*'*h* in this song, either as the velarized approximant [ł] or the regular [l]. In P3-C, like in speech, *-lc*'*h* has no /l/: *a-walc*'*h* [əwax]. He also produces voiced [ɣ] instead of voiceless [x] in P3-B, which he does not do in his other samples.

In <u>FIGURE 25</u> and <u>FIGURE 26</u>, we can see that Participant #3 aligns with most of Cornouaillais and Trégorrois in P3-A1, P3-A2 and P3-C.⁹³ However, the realizations [1γ] and [1γ] in P3-B are peculiar. The *NALBB* does not note [1], and [γ] is nowhere to be seen except in two or three dialects in Vannes. Therefore, this realization cannot be explained with data from the modern-day dialects.

As we have mentioned before, -lc'h can arise from older *-ly in words of British origin, as opposed to *lx < *lk in Latin loans: Br. *a-walc'h* < *gwaly < Bryth. *µal-g, Br. dalc'h < *daly.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Favereau 1997: 215.

⁹¹ Favereau 1997: 203.

⁹² We can better equate *just-a-walc'h* to the French interjection *justement*: for example, *justement*, *j'y vais* 'it just so happens I am going there'; *justement*, *c'est ça le but* 'well, see, that is just the point'.

⁹³ For the same reasons as in Ch. 5 (PARTICIPANT #2), I have chosen to include them as is, since the dialect maps do not sufficiently represent what is happening in the analysis.

⁹⁴ Jackson 1967: 716.

All the words in question here have etymological *ly. This means that the voiced [γ] in the cluster could be an archaic form, from before the merger of ly, ry and lx, rx. Jackson says this on the development of -lc'h:

"In certain areas the reflexes of postvocalic /lx/ are widely liable to become /x/ or /h/ when both consonants belong to the same syllable, though when they were syllabically divided as /l-x/, as when a termination beginning with a vowel was added to a word in final -lx, this seems much rarer. The reason is presumably that before [x] in the same syllable l is velarised and unvoiced, becoming a voiceless velar spirant $l[...]^{95}$

What seems to have happened in P3-B is that $[\gamma]$ was kept voiced. This is at least the case for *a-walc*'h [awały], which cannot be due to external sandhi, since it is at the end of a line. However, the two instances of *zalc*'h are followed by *gouloù-noz* [zały gu]- and [zaly gu]-, which makes voicing in anticipation of *g*- likely. Having $[\gamma]$ as voiced /x/ in P3-B is still different from his speaking tendencies, as Participant #3's voiced /x/ is the uvular fricative [κ] in speech. Therefore, if the realizations of *zalc*'h are not archaic, they at least show a phonetic difference, because they contain an allophone that is not found in Participant #3's speech.

As for the velarized [$\frac{1}{2}$], its existence could mean that *a-walc'h* [awały] and *zalc'h* [zały] are archaic forms, as Jackson suspected this could be the intermediary step for /l/ between lx > x, but which we find here in a weakened form of ly. However, it may also be an allophone of /l/ before a velar. Since the search for archaic forms has not been very fruitful, I am inclined to say that [$\frac{1}{2}$] is more likely to be an allophone. The final -[$\frac{1}{2}$] in *a-walc'h*, however, could be archaic.

REALIZATION OF r IN P3-B AND P3-C, AND RHOTACISM OF /d/ IN P3-C

Like the other speakers, Participant #3's pronunciation of *r* in speech is [κ]. In P3-B, however, *r* is realized either as [r] or [κ]. The latter realization is limited to the fifth verse, where *r* is consistently [κ], in *mor bras o ruziañ* [mum b κ az u κ yzj \tilde{a}] 'great sea reddening', *gristenien* [g κ istənj ϵ n] 'Christians'. The realization [r] also appears in P3-C, though only intervocalically, internally, and across word boundaries: *tistroio* [tistoro]⁹⁶ (< *distroio*) 'will return (3sg.)', *ar*

⁹⁵ Jackson 1967: 807.

⁹⁶ This is a remarkable form. *Ma tistroio* is sung twice (in one repeated line): once as [ma tistoro], and once as [ma tistoo]. It looks like the first form, [tistoro], has the metathesis of r and o either to avoid -/str/- or -/ojo/. The second realization [tistxoo] does have -/str/-, but still no -/ojo/. I do not find this wholly convincing, however, because -*VjV*- is allowed in the rest of the song: *Lannuan* [lãnyjãn] is sung in almost every line. I think it is due to the fast tempo of the song and that *tistroio* is simply slurred, rather than that the reason is to avoid certain sequences.

miliner e ve [as mininer e ve] '(of) the miller he would be',⁹⁷ O! da gomper [o ra gõmpes] 'Oh! as godfather',⁹⁸ war he bord [var i bost], [war i bost] 'on her side',⁹⁹ me oui a-walc'h 'ta miliner / e garnison [me wij əwax ta miliner i gasnizõn] 'I know enough, miller / in (the) garnison (of)'.

As we can see in *O*! *da gomper* [o ra gõmpeß] 'Oh! as godfather', /d/ has been rhotacized to [r] in the same position that [ß] is made into apical [r]. In the same song, we find another instance of /d/ being rhotacized, this time into [ß]: *e dad ne oar* [e ßad ne waß] 'his father, he does not know'. Though Jackson does not say anything on rhotacism of *d*, he does mention that some Cornouaillais dialects have [r] > [d]: "A [...] very easy change of one-flap apical *r* is that it becomes alveolar *d*, to which it is in any case acoustically very close".¹⁰⁰ Therefore, it is not completely out of the ordinary that *d* is rhotacized to [r], but changing it to [ß] is remarkable.

Should we look at <u>FIGURE 27</u> and <u>FIGURE 28</u>, we can see that the *r* grasséyé [\mathbb{R}] is found all over Brittany, mostly in Léon, Trégor, and central Cornouaille, with [r] being found almost equally as often. For a historical perspective of *r*, see the section in Ch. 4 (PARTICIPANT #1) above.

The fact that in P3-B, the allophone [R] for /r/ is contained to a single verse, is interesting. We would perhaps expect the variation to be found in more random places, or not be found at all, but [R] is consistently sung in that single verse. I think it is possible that Participant #3 bases his realization of this fifth verse on another performance than the other verses. The exact reason as to why he would do that is unclear, but perhaps he was taught the song multiple times, by people who sang the song differently from one another, and filled in any gaps in his knowledge of the song with reproductions of other performances than the first one he was taught. That, in turn, could result in a realization in one verse that does not exist in the rest of his performance of the song.

⁹⁷ The conditional form is used here to express a rumor.

⁹⁸ Literally O! da gomper me na yin ket 'Oh! to godfather I will not go', i.e. 'Oh! I will not be the godfather'.

⁹⁹ Not literally, because the miller then says *hag aon am eus e vefe tort* 'and I am worried it would be crooked'. Maybe this is a terrible excuse from the miller, which fits into the story, but maybe this means *war he bord* means something else: e.g. 'filled to the brim', 'at her limit'? This would certainly explain the previous line *kar ma milin zo war he boued* 'because my mill is on her food' (?).

¹⁰⁰ Jackson 1967: 814.

REALIZATION OF THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE *ur*

When speaking, and in P3-C, the indefinite article *ur* is almost always pronounced [o].¹⁰¹ This is typical of the Cornouaillais Breton which Participant #3 speaks. In P3-B, *ur* appears twice, and is pronounced [ør]. For a map of the indefinite article, see <u>FIGURE 29</u>. [ør] is a form more commonly found in southern and eastern Léon.

PERSONAL PRONOUN ma

Participant #3 uses the personal pronoun *ma* 'my', except in P3-B, where he uses *va*. This is the Léon variant of *ma*, as illustrated by <u>FIGURE 30</u> and <u>FIGURE 31</u>. In P3-C, he uses *ma*, but realized as [me], which also stands in contrast to the [ma] he uses in speech. [me] is a rather uncommon realization, as it only appears at point 38 in the ALBB, and since its spread is so limited, I am inclined not to see it as a dialectal difference.

I cannot exclude the possibility that [ma] is the Standard Breton pronunciation of ma^{102} rather than being dialectal, but *ma* does occur in Morlaix, where Participant #3 is from: see <u>FIGURE 32</u>. Nonetheless, the use of *va* in P3-B is a clear dialectal difference, whether *ma* itself is dialectal or not.

SUPRASEGMENTAL NASALIZATION AND INSERTION OF NASALS

In both songs, but especially in P3-C, Participant #3 has a tendency to change /d/, /l/ to [n], and /g/ specifically into [ŋ]. For example, we find /d/ as [n] in *oa aet an Aotrou* [wa en ən otʁu] 'the Sir went,¹⁰³ *e dad* [i nad] 'his father', *glas e lagad* [laz i lagan] 'blue his eyes', *m'hen dar'* [men ar] 'I suppose'¹⁰⁴, *diboñjour* [nibɔ̃ʒuʁ] 'Good day', *artizaned a zo* [aʁtizɑ̃nen a zo] 'there are artisans', *ket bet tad ha komper* [ket be tan a kõmpeʁ], [ke bedana kõmpeʁ] 'not been father and godfather'. The initial *g*- in *garnison* 'story' is found as [ŋ] a number of times, and as [ŋg] once. Furthermore, the *-l*- in *miliner* is found as [n] once: *ar miliner e ve* [aʁ mininɛr e ve] '(of) the miller he would be'. There are also instances where a nasal is inserted (and does not replace another consonant):, *tommañ he mab an terruplañ* [tomɑ̃n i mab ɑ̃n tɛʁypɑ̃n] 'keeping her worst

¹⁰¹ Reduced to schwa once in *ur paotr* [\exists pot] (P3-A1), and lowered to [\exists] in *ur familh* [\exists fāmi Λ] (P3-A2). P3-C only has *ur* [\eth].

¹⁰² Favereau 1997: 110-1.

¹⁰³ *Aet* is written with final *-t*, but we would expect the *-t* to be voiced to [d] under external sandhi rules in which final voiceless consonants are voiced when the following word starts with a vowel or a voiced consonant.

¹⁰⁴ Variant of *me n'ouzon dare*, something along the lines of 'I do not know well'. I once again thank Cédric Choplin for this translation.

son warm', *ket / i garnison* [ket ni ŋaʁnizɔ̃n] 'not / in (the) garnison (of)', *artizaned a zo* [aʁtizɑ̃nedna zo] 'there are artisans'. There also is a single example of an oral vowel being nasalized, *noz* [nõz] 'night', probably due to the preceding /n/.

In P3-B, we find the same process, albeit less prominently: *o devoe kavet avel* [o diwen kave navel] 'they had found wind', *o terc'hel gouloù-noz* [o tehøln gulu noz] 'keeping night-lights', *mor bras* [mum bRaz] 'great sea', *merc'hed Gwaien* [mefien gwajen] 'girls of Audierne' *O vont d'an aod beb a-unan* [o võn ũn afion beve ynən] 'every single one going to the shore'.

It looks like this nasalization occurs in a number of ways:

- 1. The substitution of a non-nasal consonant with a nasal consonant, where:
 - the nasal consonant is made in the same place as the original non-nasal consonant. The most common of these is that /d/ is substituted for /n/ (both alveolar), but there are other examples: /g/ may be substituted for /ŋ/ (both velar), and /l/ may be substituted for /n/ (both alveolar),
 - the nasal consonant is not made in the same place as the non-nasal consonant: /r/ > /m/ in *mor bras* [mum bRaz] 'great sea', where /r/ is alveolar, and /m/ is bilabial. /r/ becomes /m/ because of the following bilabial /b/. This could also be classified as assimilation to /b/.
- 2. The insertion of a nasal consonant. This happens:
 - word-finally both after oral and nasal vowels: *o devoe kavet* [o diwen kave] 'they had found', and *tommañ he mab* [tomãn i mab] 'warming her son',
 - between word boundaries, after a final consonant of one word and before the initial vowel of the next word, (C# #V > C# #NV): artizaned a zo [astizaned na zo] 'there are artisans', ket / e garnison [ket ni ŋasnizõn] 'not / in (the) garnison (of)',
 - between word boundaries, between two consonants (C# #C > CN# #C): o terc'hel gouloù-noz [o tehøln gulu noz] 'keeping night-lights',
 - before an initial non-nasal consonant: garnison [ŋgaĸnizõn].
- 3. The assimilation of a consonant to a preceding nasal consonant: in *m'hen dar'* [men ar]
 'I suppose', /d/ is assimilated into the final /n/ of *m'hen*.
- 4. The nasalization of an oral vowel: noz [noz] 'night'.

Since this nasalization does not only occur in segments adjacent to syllables with a nasal phoneme, but it may skip one or more syllables, we should classify this phenomenon as suprasegmental nasalization. /d/ > /n/ in spoken Modern Breton is attested, as the dialects do preserve remnants of a nasal mutation, which changes *d*- to *n*-.¹⁰⁵ Substitution of /n/ for /l/ and /ŋ/ for /g/ or anything similar is unattested in spoken Breton, to my knowledge.

While the insertion of *-n*- is attested in spoken Breton e.g. Br. *mintin* 'morning' < Fr. *matin* 'id.', Br. *rinkin* 'shark' < Fr. *requin* 'id.', nasals are not inserted to this degree in speech. The large amount of nasal consonants must rather be attributed to stylistic choice, in which the performer sings 'through the nose'.

Replacing and combining stops with resonants might also be done to enhance the flow of the song, especially in the case of P3-C, which is sung quite quickly. However, if that is truly the factor at play, one might wonder why the stops are specifically made into nasals; after all, there are other resonants in Breton. It instead looks like this type of variation has to do with the creativity of the performer; if not Participant #3, then the person from whom he learned the song. Therefore, it is much more likely that Participant #3's performance harks back to a certain style of singing than that it comes from a tendency which is already present in the spoken language.

To determine how this type of variation is passed down, a future study could have multiple people sing the same song (*E garnison*), to see if the nasalization happens exactly in the same places across multiple performances, or if the general process of nasalization is passed down, or perhaps that not everyone applies this suprasegmental nasalization.

¹⁰⁵ See Favereau 1997: 162-3 for examples. The standard language only preserves an nor (< dor) 'the door' (*ibid*.).

SUMMARY

Due to the rather meager amount of dialectal differences, this summary does not include heatmaps. However, we should note that the few dialectal differences that do occur are entirely consistent and quite clear. Participant #3's dialect aligns with the dialects of the Monts d'Arrée, i.e. just northwest of the Carhaix region. He adopts a few Léon traits that do not appear in his speech when singing P3-B; the first person possessive pronoun *va* instead of *ma* is probably the most notable of these.

What Participant #3's singing lacks in dialectal differences, however, it makes up for it in something else. The suprasegmental nasalization in both songs and rhotacism in P3-C are clearly not due to any historical change or adoption of another dialect. Rather, they seem to stem from a stylistic choice, which suggests that a creative process is applied to certain songs by the performer themselves. In which manner this type of variation might be passed down will require further research.

There is potentially an archaism in Participant #3's rendition of *Gwerz Penmarc'h* (P3-B): the voiced $[\chi]$ in *-lc'h*, where $[\chi]$ would be the original final consonant in *a-walc'h* from before the devoicing of final consonants. The other instances of $[!\chi]$, $[!\chi]$ in *zalc'h* rather are allophonic differences, where [!] is a velar allophone of /l/ and $[\chi]$ is a voiced allophone of /x/, both of which he does not produce in speech.

IMAGES

Red indicates Participant #3's spoken samples (P3-A1, P3-A2), blue indicates *Gwerz Penmarc'h* (P3-B), and gold indicates *E Garnison* (P1-C).

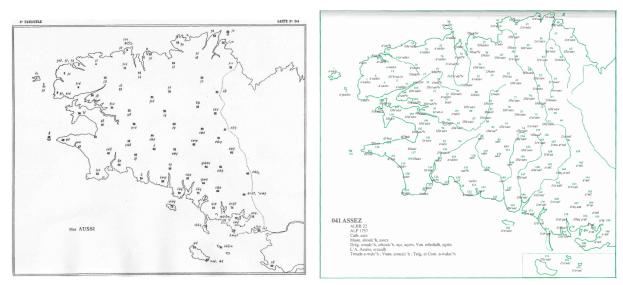


FIGURE 24. ALBB 344 'aussi'.

FIGURE 25. NALBB 041 'assez'.

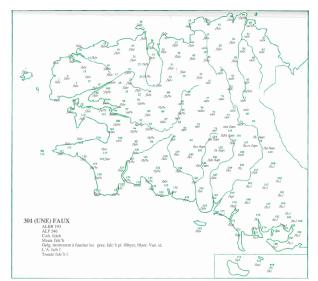


FIGURE 26. NALBB 301 '(une) faux'.

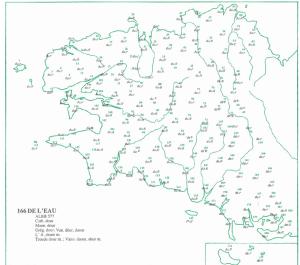
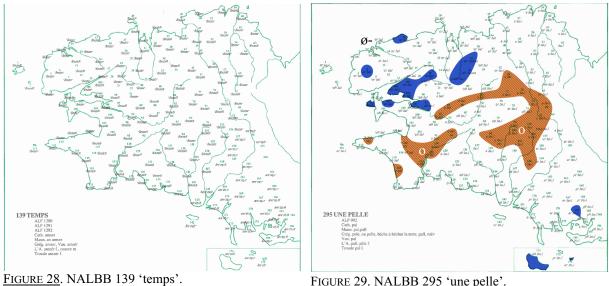


FIGURE 27. NALBB 166 'de l'eau'.





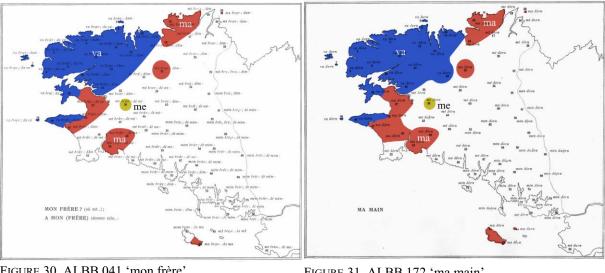


FIGURE 30. ALBB 041 'mon frère'. Red: spoken, Blue: P3-B, Gold: P3-C

FIGURE 31. ALBB 172 'ma main'. Red: spoken, Blue: P3-B, Gold: P3-C



FIGURE 32. NALBB 572 'mon père'.

7. PARTICIPANT #4

BACKGROUND

Participant #4 (M, 29), is from Nantes, and went to *Diwan* schools in Nantes, Vannes, and Carhaix. He is currently in Aberystwyth, pursuing a doctoral degree. In his spoken sample, he talks about how he learned Breton, and says that it is his mother tongue. He speaks it mostly with his father, and with friends and other students. His Breton is very close to the written standard. The two songs he sings are *Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz* and *Plaver*, the latter of which is his own composition. When told about the reason for the study, once he had provided all three of his samples, he had no particular comments to contribute.

The first song he sings, *Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz*, is a traditional song first made famous by Gweltaz ar Fur, and which was apparently originally written by Max ar Fur, Gweltaz's father.¹⁰⁶ We should note that Gweltaz ar Fur sings it entirely in his Hennebont dialect,¹⁰⁷ but that Participant #4 does not. I will refer to the Hennebont dialect a few times in the analysis. The second song Participant #4 sings is *Plaver*, which he wrote himself. Another way that Participant #4 distinguishes himself from the other participants is that he accompanies himself with guitar, playing chords while singing. He writes his own songs, and has recently released some of his own music.

¹⁰⁶ There was not much to be found on the origins of this song except this, in the French Wikipedia article on Gweltaz ar Fur.

¹⁰⁷ Hennebont is just east of Lorient, almost exactly at point 144 in the *Nouvel atlas linguistique de Basse-Bretagne*. It is not a typical Vannetais dialect, but it does have the palatalization of velar stops, for instance.

ANALYSIS

PAST FORMS OF bezañ 'TO BE'

When speaking, Participant #4 only uses past forms of $beza\tilde{n}$ 'to be' in oa-. However, in P4-B, he only uses oe, which occurs three times: once as [we], and twice as [wej]. See <u>FIGURE</u> <u>33</u> for the distribution of oa and oe. As mentioned before, oe is a form of the past tense that is most commonly found in Vannetais Breton.

In the last line of the first verse, *oe* is needed to rhyme with *arme* 'army', so to find the Vannetais form there is not surprising.¹⁰⁸ The first two, however, do not rhyme and could just as well have been *oa*; in fact, the Gwalarn¹⁰⁹ version has *oa*, with only the last instance as *oe* because of the end rhyme. Considering this, the use of *oe* is a clear dialectal marker, because unlike the cover by Gwalarn, Participant #4 keeps all the Vannetais past forms of *oe* that appear in the original by Gweltaz ar Fur.

PERSONAL PRONOUN ma AND LACK OF 'NEW LENITION'

Participant #4 consistently uses the Léon form *va* [va] 'me' when speaking, but in P4-B, he uses *ma* [mə]. See <u>FIGURE 34</u> and <u>FIGURE 35</u>. *Ma* is, of course, a very common form of the pronoun, even when realized with schwa instead of [a]. However, instead of [va zad] 'my father', Participant #4 sings [mə sat] in P4-B: the initial /z/ of *zad* is kept unvoiced, thus unaffected by new lenition.¹¹⁰ This is a much more localized trait, which can be found in southern Cornouaille, and in Hennebont, as shown in <u>FIGURE 36</u>.¹¹¹ Again, these realizations are also found in the original.

¹⁰⁸ Naturally, it rhymes in the Hennebont dialect of the original performance by Gweltaz ar Fur.

¹⁰⁹ *Gwalarn* are a popular Breton music group. Their cover of *Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz* is available online. ¹¹⁰ See Jackson 1967: 369-70.

¹¹¹ Maybe this has the same motivation behind it as Participant #1's realization e t- [i θ], in that this result of mutation is very localized or marked to the singer's ear, and that it is therefore more likely to be considered a 'special way' of singing a song. Again, this is speculation on my part and would require further research.

REALIZATION OF INITIAL gw-

Participant #4 normally pronounces initial gw- in one of three ways: [gw] before [a], [e], [gv] before [e], [ε], and [gq] before [i].¹¹² In P4-B, his pronunciation of gw- is uniformly [gq], where it occurs before [e], [ε], and [i]. In <u>FIGURE 37</u> and <u>FIGURE 38</u>, we can see that [gq] before [i] is slightly more common than [gq] before [e], but that both are absent from Léon.

Before we mark this down as a Vannetais form, since the original song was in that dialect and this is a form of palatalization, we should note that Vannetais has the tendency to raise /e/ to [i] after gw- (see also <u>FIGURE 39</u>), and that gw- would completely have been palatalized to $[d_3q]$. This means that the realization [gqe] is, at best, a very light step towards a more Vannetais pronunciation. If anything, [gqe] is much closer to what can be found in the *pays Bigouden* (southwest Cornouaille), as in the Hennebont area, the initial g- would be palatalized to $[d_3]$ -, as does Gweltaz ar Fur.

LOWERING OF [a] TO [a]

[a] does appear as an allophone for /a/ in Participant #4's speech, but only twice out of 428 instances of /a/. When he is singing, the ratio of lowered [a] is higher, with P4-B having 7 [a]'s and 63 [a]'s, and P4-C having 13 [a]'s and 119 [a]'s. Of course, [a] is still the dominant allophone in Participant #4's Breton overall, but the frequency with which [a] appears when singing is interesting nonetheless. The explanation might be that the vast majority of [a]'s in the songs are on long notes, and that singing a long back vowel causes less strain¹¹³ on the voice than a long front-central vowel.¹¹⁴ As far as I can see, no other factors seem to play a role in the larger number of instances of [a]. It is not a tendency which he has when speaking, as the two instances *ar* [aʁ] 'the' and *hag* [ak] 'and' are both short, unaccented vowels.

Realization	[a]	[ɑ]	Ratio	Freq. of long [a] (P4-A) and	
Sample			[a] : [ɑ]	[a] on long notes (P4-B, P4-C)	Total
P4-A	428	2	214:1	0/2 (0%)	430
P4-B	63	7	9:1	6/7 (85.7%)	70
P4-C	119	13	9.154 : 1	11/13 (84.6%)	132

TABLE 6. Tally of the allophone [a] of /a/, a ratio of [a] to [a], and the frequency of [a] in long notes.

¹¹² Therefore, there is variation before [e]. Both [gwe]- and [gue]- are found.

¹¹³ As far as I am aware, this is not fact. It is my impression, however, that it causes less strain because the mouth is opened wider when realizing [a]. (I have in fact tried it myself to make sure.)

¹¹⁴ Another cause may be, in the case of *ha* (a short foot) in *bihan ha bras* [biān a bkas], the proximity of nasal $[\tilde{a}]$, so as to sing $[\tilde{a}] - [a] - [a]$, which is obviously easier than $[\tilde{a}] - [a] - [a]$.

SUMMARY

Participant #4 shows, by far, the least amount of variation between the Breton he speaks and the Breton in which he sings. In the conclusion, I will enter into detail as to why this might be, but for now, I will address the differences that do occur in the songs he performs. As with Participant #3, the number of dialectal differences is not large enough to warrant heatmaps like Participant #1 and Participant #2.

Three differences occur in P4-B that we might ascribe to dialect: the first person singular pronoun ma [mə] 'my' instead of va, the lack of voicing in initial z- [mə sat] in $ma \ zad$ 'my father', and the past form oe of bezañ 'to be'. All three of these traits can be found in the dialect of Hennebont, and in the original performance by Gweltaz ar Fur. One other, quite small difference is the partial palatalization in initial gw-, which is at least a step towards Vannetais Breton without completely giving in to it.

In *Plaver*, the only actual difference I could find is the slightly higher frequency of back vowel [a], but as I have discussed, the only plausible cause for this is that [a] appears in long notes, where it is less straining on the voice to produce a back vowel than a front vowel. Otherwise, the Breton used in *Plaver* is identical to Participant #4's spoken Breton.

IMAGES

Red indicates Participant #4's spoken sample (P4-A), blue indicates *Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz* (P4-B), and gold indicates *Plaver* (P4-C); however, *Plaver* is not plotted onto these maps due to a lack of dialectal differences.

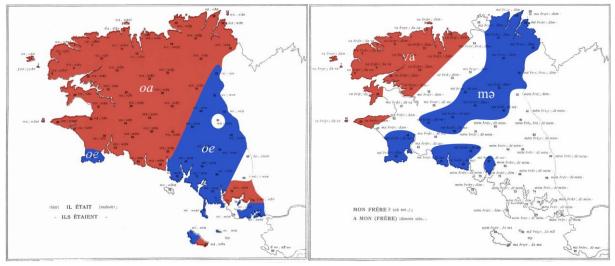


FIGURE 33. ALBB 055 'il était - ils étaient'. Red: spoken, Blue: P4-B

FIGURE 34. ALBB 041 'mon frère'. Red: spoken, Blue: P4-B

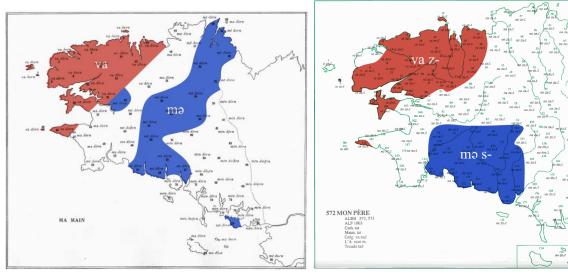
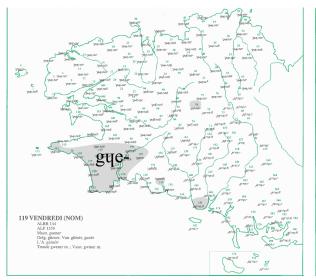


FIGURE 35. ALBB 172 'ma main'. Red: spoken, Blue: P4-B

FIGURE 36. NALBB 572 'mon père'. Red: spoken, <mark>Blue</mark>: P4-B



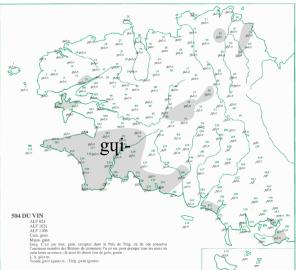


FIGURE 37. NALBB 119 'vendredi (nom)'. Gray: spread of *gwe*- [gye]

FIGURE 38. NALBB 504 'du vin'. Gray: spread of *gwi*- [gųi]

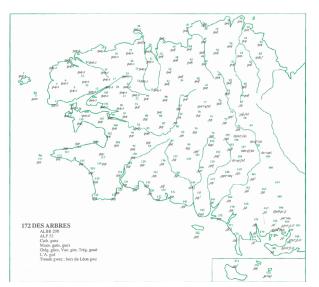


FIGURE 39. NALBB 172 'des arbres'.

8. CONCLUSION

All four participants' Breton is different whilst singing, in some way or another, from their spoken Breton. Therefore, the first research question can be answered positively: we do find differences between the spoken and sung Breton of a single speaker. One preliminary generalization can be made from the corpus: the opposition is not only between spoken Breton and sung Breton, but between spoken Breton, song n° 1, and song n° 2. This is especially apparent in Participant #2's singing.

The second question, which asked which types of variation we find, requires a longer answer, and so does the third question: why might we find these differences?

The foremost type of variation is dialectal: songs that are from another region than the speaker are sung with dialectal traits from the song's place of origin. Following that is the use of singing styles. Furthermore, there is allophonic variation, which can also be classified as historical variation (archaic forms) in the case of allophones for /r/, as physiological for the lowering of [a] to [a] by Participant #4, and as unexplained in some other cases. I will go into detail below, followed by as to why these differences might be preserved.

As said, the biggest factor for change overall is dialect. Everyone, though Participant #1 and Participant #2 in particular, uses dialectal forms that are not their own when singing traditional songs. For the most part, these dialectal forms are in concord with the region of origin of the song: when Participant #1 sings *Du hont àr ar mane* (P1-B) or when Participant #2 sings *Ma bro a zo duhont* (P2-C), their Breton is far more Vannetais than when they speak. Participant #3 uses Léon dialectal forms in *Gwerz Penmarc'h* (P3-B) which he does not use in speech, and Participant #4 specifically uses Hennebont dialectal forms when singing *Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz* (P4-B).

However, in two participants, we can find dialectal forms that are used which are not (or less consistently) used in speech, but which are not in agreement with the region of origin of the song, either. For example, Participant #2's Vannetais realizations [y]- for the indefinite article and /h/ for intervocalic *- θ - in a predominantly Léon song, and Participant #4's initial [gq]-, which is not his native pronunciation of gw-, and not the pronunciation in Hennebont either, but which is very common in the Bigouden area. This does not make sense from the perspective of dialect variation, and it must therefore have a different reason: I suspect that Participant #2 and Participant #4 have been taught the songs with those pronunciations. Why they were taught as such, however, is not entirely clear.

The second major type of variation I have encountered is the use of singing styles. Only Participant #3 exhibits this type of variation, but it is strongly present in his singing: in his case, he has a strong tendency to change non-nasals into nasals and to insert nasals. These changes cannot be explained by dialectal variation or by archaisms; rather, they are a conscious creative process by the performer. Which performer that is, however, is unclear: is Participant #3's performance a reproduction of what he has been taught? Or is he applying the concept of the 'nasal' singing style to the song in question? In other words, do Participant #3's nasalizing tendencies appear at exactly the same parts in the song as his source (which would imply reproduction) or do they not?

I have also found two to three minor types of variation. Firstly, phonological or allophonic variation, which Participants #1 and #3 exhibit: they both have a different realization of /r/ in song than when they are speaking (Participant #1 has [r], and Participant #3 has [r] and [R]), and Participant #3 also has [γ] as a voiced allophone of /x/ and velar [t] as an allophone of /l/ before [γ], neither of which he uses when speaking.

The fact that [R] for /r/ is only found in the fifth verse of P3-B raises an important question: why does /r/ not become [R] at any other point in the song? What does this say about the way that songs are transmitted and taken up into someone's repertoire? In the analysis, I speculated that it might have to do with filling in gaps (i.e. Participant #3 first learned the song without the fifth verse, but was then taught the fifth verse by someone else, which resulted in this verse with a different pronunciation being inserted into the version he first learned). Speculation is the key word, however, and it would require further research to truly understand how this fifth verse works.

Secondly, and this is why I speak of 'two or three minor types of variation', is that I might classify the allophonic variations above as also being archaic. In particular, the different realizations ([r], [R]) of /r/: they can all be found in the linguistic atlases, and they are therefore not unlikely to be passed down from a few generations past to the people in my corpus. I very carefully mention that final -[χ] in *a*-walc 'h in P3-B might also be archaic, but we would then be speaking of an archaic form much older than the variants of /r/, which seems doubtful to me considering the other archaism is relatively recent, and most importantly, actually attested in speech.

Thirdly, Participant #4 exhibits phonological variation between [a] and [a], but the reason cannot be transmission, simply because the song has not been passed down to him (it is his own composition). Rather, I believe this variation has a physiological motivation, namely that it is

easier to sing a long [a] than a long [a], seeing as [a] in P4-B and P4-C is almost always on a long note.

One example of variation remains unexplained, and that is $[\theta]$ for initial *t*- < *d*- when preceded by the verbal particle *e* and the participial particle *e*, which both caused lenition-and-provection in Middle Breton. I have given a historical explanation for this strange phenomenon, but all things considered, far too many assumptions must be made for it to work, not to mention that it has never been attested in the history of Breton. I could place it under stylistic choice, but $[\theta]$ simply does not exist in Modern Breton, so why it would be introduced into a song for creative purposes is just as difficult to explain. That being said, it would still help to know whether the realization $[\theta]$ is found in other performances of *Penglaouiged* (here P1-C), so that it could at least be determined whether it is an innovation by Participant #1 or that it is shared with other performances, and could indeed have been passed down.

Finally, it is important to consider what Participant #4's overall results mean for my study. He sings two songs of which we know the author, himself being one of them, and exhibits very little change when singing. In P4-B, he does use different dialectal forms which appear in the original performance by Gweltaz ar Fur, but compared to the other participants, they are very few and far between.

A possible explanation is that, in Participant #4's view, he is 'covering' *Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz* and not 'performing' it. What this essentially means is that, instead of singing the song in the way it is sung in the original version, he is paying tribute to it but making it his own. The few changes he does exhibit hark back to Gweltaz ar Fur's performance, especially with the forms in *oe* and unvoiced [s]- in *ma zad*, but he consistently avoids palatalizing his velar stops. This could be because this brings too strong of a Vannetais sound to the song.

Why, then, does this variation happen? These types of variation most likely have to do with the transmission of the song. Since the literature that is available to us does not study the transmission of the language of the songs, I must conclude purely based on the results of this thesis and on our knowledge of how transmission works in other aspects of song, such as narratives and melodies. As said before in the THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK, the transmissions of narratives and melodies both preserve the source material very well while allowing for minor changes each time a song is passed down from one generation to another. Considering the results from my analyses above, it seems to work the same way for the transmission of language: quite a few linguistic traits of the source material are preserved in the performances by our participants.

Or, at least, that is my assumption. The foremost aim of my thesis was to identify differences, and secondarily, to explain why they might happen. While the results are very promising, and they show that the participants do not simply sing in the same accent or dialect that they speak, my analyses do not systematically compare the performances to their source material, but to the speaking tendencies of the participants. This means that I cannot draw any definite conclusions on what the transmission of language is exactly like in these traditional songs. Even though the participants themselves are adamant that they are singing their songs just like they were taught by generations past, and that it seems very likely that they are right in that assessment, I cannot take these comments at face value. What I have effectively been able to prove is that variation exists, but not precisely why it exists.

The reason I do make this assumption is threefold: first, the fact that there are clear differences in dialectal forms between the two songs confirms that the participants are not simply putting on their 'singing voice' or an accent when it is time to sing: Participant #1, for example, sings two Vannetais songs with different dialectal traits, which suggests that she reproduces the source material for each song. Likewise, Participant #3's renditions of his two songs are both in a nasal singing style, but P3-C much more so than P3-B.

Second, Participant #4's performance of his own song, *Plaver* (P4-C), is sung entirely in his spoken dialect. The only difference is very probably physiological. This shows that there is a difference between the performances of one's own songs, and songs (taught) by other people, which also suggests that in the process of passing down a song to someone else, linguistic traits of the source material might be preserved.

Third, for Participant #4, I have in fact been able to compare and contrast his performance of *Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz* to the original performance, of which I concluded that some dialectal forms carried over from Gweltaz ar Fur's recording to Participant #4's performance. In this case, the original performance was recorded and made available to the greater public, but for songs like *Penglaouiged* (P1-C) and *Ma bro a zo duhont* (P2-C), it is not as easy as looking up a recording of the song in question and comparing it to the participant's performance, because to my knowledge, they are not available to us.

In future research, we should therefore try to find a way to compare the singing performance of a participant to the performance of the person that taught it to them (or from which they learned it).¹¹⁵ Ideally, this would mean that with more fieldwork, we could record

¹¹⁵ I suppose one is not taught a song by the likes of Alan Stivell and other popular folk singers, but that one learns the song through their performance of it.

multiple generations in a family singing the same song, where the grandchild was taught the song by their grandparents. Or, alternatively, have a group of students individually sing the same song, and have their teacher sing it as well.

Even if the original performance is lost to us (e.g. the person in question has passed away, or the participant does not recall by whom they were taught the song), a large-scale corpus consisting of one song sung by a large amount of people could potentially help us understand more about the linguistic traits of the traditional songs, as well. In particular, this would help us understand how singing styles are transmitted, and confirm whether strange realizations (for example, $[\theta]$ for *t*- < *d*-) come up in multiple performances.

My thesis is not exhaustive. It is based on a small corpus and had to be written in a limited timeframe, and it has little to no theoretical or literary background to fall back on. Still, I think that it may serve as a basis for further research on the performance of traditional (Breton) songs. A number of interesting new questions have come up as a result of this thesis, and I sincerely hope that it also instigates others to seek out answers to these questions.

9. SUMMARY

With a corpus of six spoken samples and eight songs, I have shown that there is variation between the participants' spoken Breton and the Breton in their performances of traditional songs. The most common type of variation is dialectal variation, followed by the use of singing styles, and finally allophonic variation. While I am able to confirm the existence of linguistic variation between speech and the performances of traditional song, I can only speculate on the reason why it exists: presumably, it has to do with the transmission of traditional song, in which linguistic traits are kept from the source performance to the next performance. However, this cannot be confirmed with my analyses and should be the subject of further research.

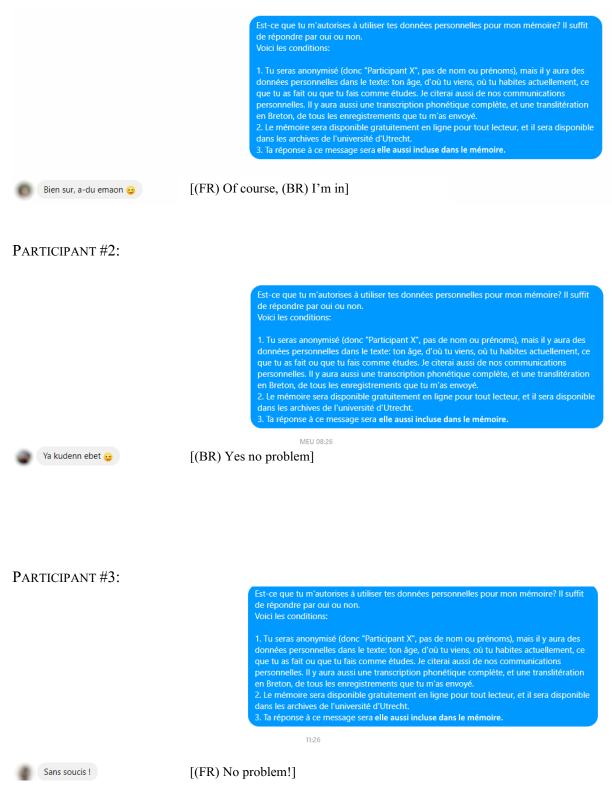
BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bernard, Chams, A newly discovered Persian dialect: the case of "Zoroastrian Persian" (forthcoming article)
- Constantine, Mary-Ann, Breton Ballads (Aberystwyth 1996).
- Deshayes, Albert, Dictionnaire étymologique du breton (Douarnenez 2003).
- Favereau, Francis, *Grammaire du breton contemporain*: Yezhadur ar brezhoneg a-vremañ (Morlaix 1997).
- GPC Online (Aberystwyth 2014–) http://www.geiriadur.ac.uk>.
- Jackson, Kenneth H., A Historical Phonology of Breton (Dublin 1967).
- Laurent, Donatien, 'Le rôle des marges linguistiques dans la transmission des chansons de tradition orale quelques remarques sur les version du "Roi Renaud" en Bretagne', *Port Acadie* 13-14-15 (2008) 447-455.
- Le Dû, Jean, Nouvel atlas linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne (Brest 2001).
- Le Roux, Pierre, Atlas linguistique de Basse-Bretagne (Rennes 1927).
- Malrieu, Patrick, Histoire de la chanson populaire bretonne (Rennes 1983).
- Schrijver, Peter, 'Middle and Early Modern Breton' in Ternes, Elmar [ed.], *Brythonic Celtic Britannisches Keltisch: from medieval British to Modern Breton, Münchner Forschungen zur historischen Sprachwissenschaft 11* (Bremen 2011) 359-429.
- Trudgill, Peter, On Dialect (Cambridge 1983) 141-60.
- Verhaar, Paul, 'Pop Goes American: A Study of Language Features and Motivations in British Pop Music' (BA thesis, Utrecht 2013).

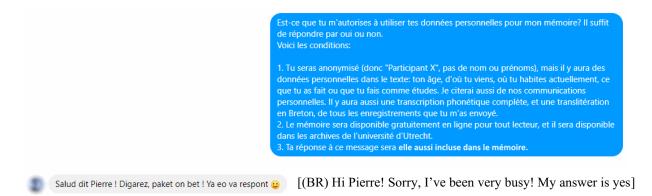
APPENDIX

PERMISSION TO USE THE DATA

PARTICIPANT #1:



PARTICIPANT #4:



PARTICIPANT #1

Sample P1-A1: Participant #1 talking about the languages of Brittany

International Phonetic Alphabet

Written Breton

demat do:x ma ãnozo (NAME) age ko3ãn pærtju be præhjuek nel a ne larat e ... e bæres øs prex ... letla ar prehened e so ær jɛh vĸaw ja œĸ jɛh bĸaw estõn ... ag ø: nœ ve fje korzed ged ær boja tyt nøwax ... ørm ... ko:39dve i prex e pre... prex a zo i pro lrge i kornod pro lrgs ad ø:u... ad ø ør rgunno a feső e ag œ blizad œr boja tyt... me: nø jəb... nø fed yr bofa tyt newah a wija jezdøz ar dar product ag e prex ezas digit iex prize (a) geluek a ve ko39d er reter ag ar préguek e vo kozed er xornok ag ø:... ar geluek ne... ne fjø ve fjø anavet bra:s gød øn dyt nøwax œm... dzvela vej dan dyt kozal geluek øye... bræðnek a galuek... a d $\overline{3}$ velə ve dən dyt kozal préžuek kar ar préžuek e zo œr jes sram ad œ:... dø mø 3y3 i ve ked ən dyt ko3al æk jehøy vinokelel... œ:... kek pø ve pø ve kolot øk jex i ve kola tudan tuaw e ja gøtā ag gøti ag œm... ag i ve kolə pøp tra kolə və a halõ kolə vən dasõ kolə vən dware da, də 3õ3al a sətsy dø mø ziz ima se dən dzyt zo kozal əs jehøy vinouelel ag œ... a dau... dexel gœd œu jehœy a ja jətjy ma gozədⁱ yr jex finorel kozəd nej

Demat deoc'h, ma anv zo (NAME), hag e kaozan 'beurton' pe brezhoneg evel e vez lâret e... e peurest eus Breizh... setu ar brezhoneg a zo ur yezh brav ya ur yezh brav-eston hag euh ne vez ket kaozet gant ur bochad tud newazh ... eum... kaozet 'vez e Breizh ha Brei-Breizh a zo e Bro-Frañs, e kornog Bro-Frañs hag eum... hag euh ur rannvro a-feson eo hag a blija d'ur bochad tud... met n'eo ket, n'eus ket ur bochad tud newazh a ouia ez deus ar brezhoneg hag e Breizh ez eus div yezh bout zo gallaoueg a vez kaozet er reter hag ar brezhoneg a vo kaozet er c'hornog hag euh... ar gallaoueg n'eo... n'eo ket anavezet bras gant an dud newazh eum... gwell e'vehe gant an dud kaozal gallaoueg ivez... brezhoneg ha gallaoueg... ha gwell 'vehe gant an dud kaozal brezhoneg kar an brezhoneg a zo ur yezh vrav hag euh... Da ma soñj e vehe ret d'an dud kaozeal ar yezhoù vinorelel... euh... kar pa vez, pa vez kollet ur yezh, e vez kollet tout an traoù e, ya, gantañ hag ganti hag eum... hag e vez kollet pep tra, kollet vez ar c'halon, kollet vez an dasson, kollet vez an doare da... da soñjal, ha setu da ma soñj emañ ret d'an dud kaozeal ar yezhoù vinorelel hag euh... a darderc'hel gant ar yezhoù ha ya setu ma kaozit ur yezh vinorel, kaozit anezhi

International Phonetic Alphabet

salyt tox pjer mon a ra... œ:... sœffy: kuled pwe gənɛ̃īn k^has y:n ɛnʁoladən ag œʁ pɛh ə larg θtlλi... iu oper a rg... ε... mig θe ris beh e õ sõsə lavə søtsy o kõte... gənein œ... məm bye ama en amerik... nø fəd yr bofa traw da gõtõin avid la: wad av dy is jõne... œ:... mad(sk) madəwah e ak vye... gein jein jɛ̃nsklaz ɛn amvɛĸ ne fʃø ne fʃə pliʒys bʁaːs... ag e vo i vo mãkəd ən nøye amzer gənžīn kejn ə fø nø fød a nøye amzik ama i kok mizmej... ag e mizmej tistuojn do vuex ag e brex e i kroga en:... en nã i: i mizmej səffy vo. huitet en nøve amzer pen dorben gongin a ne fæt plizys kar ema ar rolzad amzer o pliza dẽĩn ar myia... me bõ... tãmpix... isamar vye... œ:m... ſty mod akal œ: nəʃəd yk boʃa tka q9 laro... lapar zom lapar ol leiz... œ.... kroged møs dø dø genig brewneg ama e er skolvør a de gelen œ: ar jex. ne fjø fal dõn e ra prœm ar pragued dat ar am dag ar (tyd3jeri2 (tld r beh a gu qraza zo bli3a) dẽĩn... a gənəx nœze kõtıt dẽĩn œ: as pex a xwarve ə gənəx... œ:... kõtıt dõjn tud ar vye e rmejon ag ar bex e tesket ag æ ar genelerjo ə zo gənəx a tut ar henteljow e øljet tud ãn traw se a feləd dein gujet a klevət var o pen fety... bõ ba kasət kelu dõin... çenadəx

Written Breton

Salud deoc'h Pierre, mont a ra? euh... setu goulennet poa ganin kas un enrolladenn hag ar pezh a laran setu en ober a ran... eh... ouian ket re ar pezh ez on sañset laret setu e vo kontet ganin euh... mem buhez amañ en Amerik... n'eus ket ur bochad traoù da goñtein evit laret ar gwirionezh... euh... mat... mat a-walc'h eo ar vuhez... euh... yen yen sklas eo an amzer, n'eo ket, n'eo ket plijus bras... hag e vo, e vo mañket an nevez amzer ganin kar n'eus ket... n'eus ket a nevez amzer amañ a-raok miz Mae... hag e miz Mae e tistroin da Vreizh, hag e Breizh e... e kroga ... an hañv e, e miz Mae setu 'vo c'hwitet an nevez amzer penn dorr-benn ganin ha n'eo ket plijus kar emañ ar c'houlzad amzer a blija din ar muiañ... mais bon... tampic'h... Giz se emañ ar vuhez... eum... setu mod arall euh... n'eo ket ur bochad tra da laret... labour zo, labour e-leiz... euh... kroget 'meus da, da ginnig brezhoneg amañ e, er skol-veur, ha da gelenn euh... ar yezh. N'eo ket fall dont a ra brav ar brezhoneg gant ar... gant ar studierion setu ar pezh a, an dra-se zo plijus din... ha ganeoc'h, neuze, koñtit din euh... Ar pezh a c'hoarvezh euh ganeoc'h... euh... koñtit din tout ar vuhez e Roazhon, hag ar pezh e tesket hag euh... ar genelerion a zo ganeoc'h ha tout ar c'hentelioù e heuliet, tout an traou-se, a fell din gouiet ha klevet war ho penn, setu... boñ bah kasit keloù din... kenavo deoc'h

Sample P1-B: Participant #1 singing *Du-hont àr ar mane*

International Phonetic Alphabet	Lyrics in Breton
dyôn dyôn ar a manej i jyz y vɛʁʒelɛn d͡ʒo	Duhont, duhont, 'ar ar mane, ez eus ur
dyön dyön ar a manej i jyz y vergelen	verjelenn
dyôn dyôn ar a manej i ys y ver3elen	Berjelenn e ouarn he denved a sonas ur
beugelen i wan i dêvet a zonaz yu zonen	sonnenn
mabiff a wej i feləwej ag e zeløwe ma dzø	Mabig ar roue he selaoue, hag a selaoue mat
mabiff a rwej i feləwej ag e zeløwe ma ^t	
mabit f a rwej i zəlawej ag i zəlawe ma ^t	A del en fonestrukelen (es e nelez e ded
nadri ər frœnɛ∫tr y∪elã wej i palɛ∫ ti dat	A dal ar fenestr uhelan, 'oe e palez e dad.
sõnət sõnət berdzelenets kær me gav brow u	Sonit sonit, berjelennig, kar me gav brav ho
tõn d 3 0	ton
sõnət sõnət bɛrd͡ʒɛlenɛt͡ʃ kær me ga braw u tõn	
sõnət sõnət berdʒelenetʃ kær me ga braw u tõn	
u na raktal pœ e filevõn e røyi mø fialôn	O, na raktal pa' e c'hlevan, e rejoui ma
	c'halon.
nõpas nõpas dẽnə∫ jawãŋk mi nø gãnẽĩn t∫ə	Nompas nompas denig yaouank, me na ganin
ffən dzø	ket ken
nõpas nõpas dênəff jawank mi nø ganêin ffe	
fjən	
nõpas nõpas dēnətf jawāŋk mi nø gənēin tfə	
fjən	
kær me møs yr brør en arme ag $\mathfrak a$ ra d $\tilde{\epsilon in}$	Kar me m'eus ur breur en arme, hag a roa din
antʃən	anken
wiãn fʃəd mat pøųɛd er mor pe lafiəd in arme	Ouian ket mard e beuet er mor pe lazhet en
તેંરુ	arme
wiãn fʃəd mat pøųɛd e mo pe lahəd in arme	
wiãn fjəd mat pøyed er mo pe lahəd in arme	Marsen eman beuet er mor, pe lazhet en
masən ema pøyed er mor pe lahəd in arme	arme.

mard a ma brør a dãn en dro me vo me	Mard a ma breur ha dont en dro me vo-me
bid3yle d30	bugulez
mard ə ma brør ə dõn ɛn dro me vo me	
bid3yle	
mard a ma brør a dãn en dro me vo me	
bid3yle	
mard ə ma brør ə 35m en dør me vo me	Mard a ma breur ha chom en dour me vo-me
minore	minourez

Sample P1-C: Participant #1 singing Penglaouiged

International Phonetic Alphabet	Lyrics in Breton
ma daw guplat penglawid3ət i kwapetad aw	Ma daou gouplad penglaouiged e krapetat àr
mø ferən	ma ferenn
tasøy dy put tasøy mølen guløy lawen mə	Tachoù du-pod tachoù melen, gouloù laouen
ljərz lnət	ma liorzh louet
a saidīʒøy i vədīʒətõn a vaĸ də vaĸ i θaĸniʒõn	A sailhigoù e veketont, a varr da varr e
a saidīʒøy i vədīʒətõn a vaĸ də vaĸ i θaĸniʒõn	tarnijont
bygalid͡ʒøy diaʃelək i θaʁniʒal ə vaʁ də vaʁ	Bugaligoù divaskellek e tarnijal a varr da varr
safal ni3al yr vals dibar arvest digust a	Sailhal, nijal ur vals dibar, arvest digoust ha
pamdejɛk	pemdeiziek
a saidīʒøy i vədīʒətõn a vaĸ də vaĸ i θaĸniʒõn	A sailhigoù e veketont, a varr da varr e
a saidīgy i vədīgətõn a var də var i barnigõn	tarnijont
daserjon ge ar festaw de prof flam en ne dyn	Danserion gae ar festoù-deiz, prof flamm an
dwar têvel	nenv d'un douar tenval
wax a minwax iz yr byd3el na gui na bew	C'hoarzh ha minc'hoarzh giz ur bugel, na giv
bømu u gej	na bev bomoù o geiz
a anidaan i wadaatã a way da way i Orominão	A soilhisoù a valetant a vom de vom a
a saidīzøy i vədīzətõ a var də var i θarnizõn	A sailhigoù e veketont, a varr da varr e
a said3øy i vəd3ətõn a var də var i θarni3õn	tarnijont

døe bamde dikad syljek klaskærjö uwed me	Dezhe bemdez dilhad suliek, klaskerion
	voued mes danserion
dasəriş	
me dãsəʁjɔ̃ a kãnəʁjɔ̃n a gla dãsal ken byejək	mes danserion ha kanerion a glask dansal ken
	buheziek
a said͡ʒøy i vəd͡ʒətõn a vaʁ də vaʁ i θaʁniʒõn	A sailhigoù e veketont, a varr da varr e
a said͡ʒøy i vəd͡ʒətõn a vaʁ də vaʁ i θaʁniʒõn	tarnijont
mozar i ars dãsərjõ vjen o døs mãmət mør a	Mozart, e arz, danserion Vienne o deus bamet
empen	meur a empenn
pɛnglawid͡ʒəd ə mø ʒaʁdʁin a ∫tɑ̃k enɔ̃n kalɔ̃n	Pengalouiged a ma jardrin a stank ennon
liĸzin	kalon lirzhin
a said͡ʒøy i vəd͡ʒətõn a vaʁ də vaʁ i θaʁniʒõn	A sailhigoù e veketont, a varr da varr e
a said͡ʒøy i vəd͡ʒətõ a vaĸ də vaĸ i θaĸniʒõn	tarnijont
	2
a ven i ta ar gleludaw laka ma vas da vut	A ven e ta ar geiloudoù? Lakat ma fas da vout
dzvivox	gwivoc'h
-	Lakat ma souk da vout skanvoc'h o pezh
evnidid3øy	gelloud evnidigoù !
evindidijoj	genoud evindigou .
a said͡ʒøy i vəd͡ʒətɔ̃ a vaʁ də vaʁ i θaʁniʒɔ̃n	A sailhigoù e veketont, a varr da varr e
	-
a saidʒøy i vədʒətɔ̃n a vaʁ də vaʁ i θaʁniʒɔ̃n	tarnijont
	Orfe ushe wavin en dens he Lue ushe hellin
orfe vøe vivein an das a ly vøe lyhein lyfras	Orfe vehe vevin an dans ha Lug vehe luc'hin
	lufrans
valsəkjö vjen ke mø fekən meməs aven	Valserion Vienne, re ma ferenn memes awen,
meməs mamən	memes mammenn
a said3øy i vəd3ət3 a var də var i θarni33n	A sailhigoù e veketont, a varr da varr e
a saidīzøy i vədīzətõn a var də var i θarnizõn	tarnijont

Participant #2

Sample P2-A: Participant #2 talking about a book she read in university, Pevar mab Emon

International Phonetic Alphabet

dəma:t ø... hān də go:ʒal ən tāmi:k øs jaĸ yĸ lɛʊк møs lenət... mmm ja møs ke lenət k^ha:lz a leoĸju e bĸeõnɛk^j ... gųi:к e ... ske kalz a leoĸju e bĸeõnɛg ag m... ag ə zo dedenys ag ə zo pli:ʒys o len fɛ̃... pɛz møs lenɛt e bĸeõneg møs ke kavet ka:lz a... a lɛĸjo mose. øm...

me kavəd møs ør veh øl lew ag e va dedenystre ag en døs plizə dzin k^halz... øm... pøven er ø... er skolvør... ø... ag e øljen æ ør gentel lenegəz ø vrezõnək ... a:g ø... a zevezeg o ve guelet ø an ol leorjow ø leorjow ø pena a leneges brezõnək ... me bətra ag e we... puner... petra ag e we rəli:zjəl tre ag ə bliz... bli:zŋ ke re din len sært trow... ag øm... yr veh e koz ø syr øm... øl lev øm... anvøz byez a pøvar mab e:mõn... gø, gød ən a:no else e gre:d en e va... əl lev vel... vel byez ar zent... jupi!.. øm... byez ar pevar mab e:mõn byez... tⁱyd istorel mayse... wiən ket.

mez ø... gueled e bed ø al leoкze daк maкe (...) ma va bed ɛmbɑ̃:nət... vɛl øm... эк səкd bɛsselɛк ø... bɛsselɛк a maкe va. ɛm... sɛty peкak (...) kleuəd ɑ̃n dкa ze...

Written Breton

demat euh... ec'h an da gozeal un tammig eus ur, ul levr meus lennet... hm ya meus ket lennet kalz a levrioù e brezhonek... gwir eo, n'eus ket kalz a levrioù e brezhoneg hag eum... hag a zo dedennus, hag a zo plijus o lenn, fiñ... pezh meus lennet e brezhoneg meus ket kavet kalz a... a levrioù mod-se eum...

met kavet meus ur wezh ul levr ag e oa dedennus-tre ag en deus plijet din kalz... eum... pa oen er skol-veur... euh.... hag e heulien euh ur gentel lennegezh euh vrezhonek... hag euh.... aze veze g-, o vez gwelet euh an holl levrioù euh levrioù euh pennañ al lennegezh brezhonek.... met petra ag e oe... pouner... petra ag e oe relijiel-tre ag a blij... blijen ket re din lenn seurt traoù... hag eum... ur wezh e kaoz euh sur eum... ul levr euh... anvet Buhez ar Pevar Mab Emon, g-, gant an anv evel-se eo graet en e oa... ul levr evel... evel buhez ar sent... youpi! eum... Buhez ar Pevar Mab Emon buhez... tud istorel marteze... ouien ket.

mais euh... gwelet eo bet, euh, al levr-se d'ar mare (...) ma oa bet embannet... evel eum... ur seurt *best-seller* euh... *best-seller* ar mare oa. Eum... setu, perak (...) klevet an dra-se... wen i zõngal, pekak pa, gele kãn klask, ma se bed øk pesselek... dke ked e dedenys. øm... fy møs klaisket, veid en de, de vil ba ø... ba... døs av seavbese, og ø... kuid ön vor e ler ag e va ku:s tre alala... øm... gel gøt ø... gel get ar planejœw ø... tremenod o en el levrawer kwa... mes lene mən ənjã, ag ø... lenəd møs aneã ag ø... penar fin wa dedenystre, œr sort komãn a va benafin, øm... øk sot komãn isto:kel me... we dakvudu isto:kel weŋ ked øljet ø pendaben. we... troed en en... fiñ... ja, troed on dware ... ma plize da ... dar skuivanjer, fid larəd ar pes nos waxwain evit diskwez a pen waxwan, en on dwake... a, penos avax... ø sært dware ø... m... sært dwaße, wɛ, st pli:3ys, ya... dedenysch de lɛn, ged ar feign istorel adozo ne ar garnag istokel agəzo... we.

a niŋke gual ø... gualbi:ʒys... gualbi:ʒys... pœspət. ø, ja, øm... ſty byez as (...) pevas mab emõn zo sost leu azias ø... pevas mab emõn da lasede ø... as, ãn emõn ze a wa... ys sœst dʒyk, mãmøs sõʒ... mø sõʒ mad e wɛən dy:k ag ø... m... ag ə ua... m... ag ə hølje ø k^halezvøs... da uase kalezvøs, a øn dy:g pwezys əuaɣ das mase da vase kaslezvøs ag ø ølje ãn impalɛs... mɛs øm... e vsøs, bsøs øm... ãn dyg emõn, a ua ən den ɛk e ua ejnep, ãn ejnɛp dãn impalɛs... sety pesag e... ɛn øs kla:skəd ø t^hagã... bsezɛl wa etse ãn impalɛs ga ... ag oen è soñjal, perak pas, gellet 'ran klask, ma se bet ur best-seller... dre ret eo dedennus. Eum... setu 'm eus klasket, oed on da wel ba' euh... ba'... deus ar CRBC, hag euh... kouezhet on war ul levr hag e oa kozh-tre, ah là là... eum... gell gant ar bloavezhioù euh... tremenet en, el levraoueg kwa... mais lennet 'm eus anezhañ, hag euh... lennet meus anezhañ hag euh... penn-ar-fin oa dedennustre, ur seurt roman a oa benn-ar-fin, eum... ur sort roman istorel met... ouais darvoudoù istorel oent ket heuliet penn-da-benn. Ouais... troet en... fiñ... ya, troet un doare... ma blije da... d'ar skrivanier, 'vit laret ar pezh oa c'hoant evit diskouez ha penn oa c'hoant, en un doare... ah, penaos a-walc'h... euh, seurt doare euh... hm... seurt doare, ouais, setu plijus, ya... dedennusoc'h da lenn, gant ar fedoù istorel hag a zo bet, ar darvoud istorel hag a zo... ouais.

ha n'int ket gwall euh... gwalbijus... gwalblijus... berped. Euh, ya eum, setu Buhez ar... Pevar Mab Emon zo seurt levr a-ziàr euh... Pevar Mab Emon da laret eo euh... ar, an Emon-se a oa... ur seurt duk, ma meus soñj... ma soñj mat e oe un duk hag euh... hm... hag a oa... m... hag a heulie euh Karlez Veur... da vare Karlez Veur, ha un duk pouezhus a-walc'h d'ar mare, da vare Karlez Veur, hag euh heulie an impaler... mais eum... e vreur, breur eum... an duk Emon, a oa un den hag e oa enep, an enep an impaler, mais... setu perak euh... en eus klasket euh tagañ... brezel oa etre an impaler gant... hag ø... bkøk ø... än dyg e:môn. mez än dyg e:môn э wa etкe эn daw, petкa... feal e wa dãn impaler, mez... an oni al wa e vrør. e famik e va. ne hele ket mõn a enep ø... mõn a enep de vkøk, men hele kedn... ty al mõned enep dãn impales. sty prag we... djez deã as breizəlze, me... a benafin e soimed døs ty ən impaler, ep tagã e vrør, pez e a gõmpreni an impalek kək ø... a fāmik zo pweizys meməs tra. ak som a rej døs ty än impaler dawst ma we vrør enepja. pez e wa e... e ziskwe e fealət. m. mɛs a... nøze, øk bkeːzəl zo bed ø... ør preizel zo ped etre u daw, ag a peu a fin, e be trexət øm... brør emõn, ən øn dware ø, viltre, viltre ø... øzys a kriz e bet ø... bet lahət øm e vkøk ag e, e ol fãmik

ø mes øm... mezeked e bet øm... suda:»det fe... as zuda:»ded agəva fe:al tse da... da vsøs ø e:mõn... peγ va... gwalgs:s døs pesz ø... ãn impales. mes e:mõn a zo fomət meməs tsa døs e dy. øn nøbøt øm... (...) ãn ãmzes gu:de e m... (pe)nos ta... øm... nøze gu:de masv m... maso (...) as bsøs, (...) øn nøbøt ø blavijæw me gse:t gu:de, ma:b a... ãn dyg e:mõn ag ə wa pevas aneo, peva gət ø... peszõnelezjæw ø disãvəl øm... as mabe:nã ag ə wa n den ø... øn den ø... basek e pep tsa, ãn ejl əg ə wa øm... spesedək tse, ag øm... ãn tsede wa kalõ:nek me gse:d ak as peva:se wiãn ke ma:t nøs ke muj zõ:f euh... breur euh... an duk Emon. Mais an duk Emon a oa etre an daou, petra... feal a oa d'an impaler, mais... an hini all oa e vreur. E familh e oa. Ne c'helle ket mont a enep euh... mont a enep d'e vreur, met ne c'helle ket ('n)... tu all monet enep d'an impaler. Sety perak 'oe... diaez dezhañ ar brezel-se, met... a benn-a-fin e chomet deus tu an impaler, heb tagañ e vreur, pezh a gomprene an impaler kar euh... ar familh zo pouezhus memes tra. Hag chom a rei deus tu an impaler daoust ma oe vreur enep dezhañ. Pezh a oa a... a ziskoue e fealed. Hm... mais ah... neuze, ur brezel zo bet euh... ur brezel zo bet etre 'n daou, hag a benn-a-fin, eo bet trec'het eum... breur Emon, en un doare euh, vil-tre, vil-tre euh... euzhus ha kriz eo bet euh... bet lazhet eum e vreur hag e, e holl familh

euh mais eum... mezhekaet eo bet eum... soudarded fe-... ar soudarded ag a oa feal-tre da... da vreur Emon... pezh oa... gwall-gris deus perzh euh... an impaler. Mais Emon a zo chomet memes tra deus e du. Un neubeut eum... an amzer goude eo hm... penaos 'ta... eum... neuze goude marv hm, marv ar breur, un neubeut euh bloavezhioù me gred goude, mab a... an duk Emon hag a oa pevar anezho, pevar gant euh... personelezhioù euh disheñvel eum... ar mab enañ ag a oa un den euh, un den euh... barrek e pep tra, an eil ag a oa euh... speredek-tre, ag eum... an trede oa kalonek me gred hag ar pevare... ouian ket mat, n'eus ket mui soñj.

øm... nøze av pevav brørze øm... y:nãn aneo wa ø... ni gave ked ø... ni gave ke brow tõm ebet as pey va bet ksoe god on impales øm... dej ... de betka... a: dizõ3ət møz a gek... (...) de:õtk. nøs foks petka. ja, a ne gave ke bkaw pey zo be groe: deistr. øm... (...) fe... on... traw øzys mezaked e bed ar famik... gəd an dkaze... motse e zõze a... yinãn əs a... mibjən emõn. ag ak ke al a wa... azõze dke vak dak meməs tra mes... feal ə went ø... do thad a dãn ø... dãn impaler. mez a ben a fin ø... wiən petкa zo bøt... me... a ja... an impaleк nøs øm... nøs be xwãn ... lakad fãmiá ø... fãmiá ø... brør emõn da zenti utã ker... maru va pen ak fămik me som a ke e tsyd ek fămik, fom a ka, fom a ke e ... e ... e vi:bjɛn, i, e kwek, ag ə 35me ø... e hastel, ag war õn dwaru, war e dwarru, wor e zuarru, ag øm... sty peкak mwa xwãn ãn impalɛк ø... ta:ga aneã, lakad aneo da zenti utã, ag, øm...

eum... neuze ar pevar breur-se eum... unan anezho oa euh... ne gave ket euh... ne gave ket brav tamm ebet ar pezh oa bet kroet gant an impaler eum... de... de betra... ahh! disoñjet 'meus ar ger... de eontr. N'eus forzh petra. Ya, ha ne gave ket brav pezh zo bet groet de eontr. Eum... fiñ... an... traoù euzhus, mezhekaet eo bet ar familh... gant an dra-se... mod-se e soñje a... unan eus ar... mibien Emon. Hag ar re all a oa... a soñje, dre vras d'ar memes tra mais... feal e oent euh... d'o tad ha d'an euh... d'an impaler. Mais a benna-fin euh... ouien petra zo bet... mais... ah ya... an impaler en deus eum... en deus bet c'hoant... lakaat familh euh... familh euh... breur Emon da sentiñ outañ kar... marv oa penn ar familh met chom a rae e tud er familh, chom a ra, chom a re e... e vibien, e, e wreg, hag a chome euh... er c'hastel, hag war an douaroù, war e douaroù, war e zouaroù, hag eum... setu perak en doa c'hoant an impaler euh, tagañ anezhan, lakaat anezho da sentiñ outañ, hag eum...

vit kavid (...) än dwa:su evitä. fë ked evitä med ø... mestsönja än dwa:su. øm... sty pes:ak en ys glevət sæst tsaw ø... mibjen e:mön a zo bed me... føkət pesak ə helfe, pesag ə safe än impales sæst tsaw. e:mön ə zo... ə zo feal utä pesag safe än dsaze. mezeka:t... mui:ox. e... ən den ag ə zo... as feal... ken feal utä zo... (...) zo as fealä zo... ne ke bsaw. sty pesak ne blij

evit kaout (...) an douaroù evitañ. Fiñ ket evitañ met euh... mestroniañ... an douaroù. Eum... setu perak en ur glevet seurt traoù euh... mibien Emon a zo bet *mais*... feuket perak a helfe, perak a rafe an impaler seurt traoù? Emon a zo... a zo feal outañ, perak rafe an dra-se? Mezhekaet... muioc'h. Eh... an den hag a zo... ar feal... ken feal outañ zo... (...) zo ar fealañ zo... n'eo ket brav. Setu perak ne blij ke.. κed aκ vi:bjɛn ag ø... ag ø zivi:zõnt... mõn a enep do t^ha:d... evejd ακ fãmiλ.

keв p^høвez ав fãmiá wa eneb dãn impalɛв ged эв fezekaden zo bet. sty ревак øm... e zeõnt a eneb do t^ha:d ag e zeõn da velet øm... ma:b... ja... ø... вvek, a ma:b ø... bвøв e:mõn də ʒikuв aneo da... en em zi:fən enep dən ipalɛв... enep dãn impa:lɛв... ag ə bɛn ə fin wiɛn ke peno:z e... e eʃy ən dваze keв ø... ãn impaleв ə glask ø... atk^havud ав реvав (...) ma:bze... ag ə zo... ə zo teвykųit... wiən ke peвa:k... ə bɛn e fin e wi:õnt ja e... (...) impaleв a ga...

ак кеal a zo sweət рекак... penoz e hɛl øn dɛn ken, tyt ken baкeg vɛl aк pevaк mabze mõn a eneb dãn impalɛк... ne ke, ne ke noкmal. sty bɛкak ø... e кedõn kujit, ə za:võn ə hastɛl, ag ə zo bet t... ag ə zo t^ha:gət gəd ən dʒy:t, gət ty:d ãn impa:lɛк ø... wiɛn ke penoz e eʃy ãn dкaze me ø... ja øl lɛvк dedenystкe va ndkɑze. lɛvк dedenystke. œк sɔkt ko:mãn age bli:ʒa din k^hals men a mɛn a fin, ø... bɛn a fin e... nøs ked ebet eʃy, a ne ki domɑʃ, meda... ma gavãn al lɛɔкze ɛndĸo e eʃyin ãniã. ʃety ket... re d'ar vibien hag euh... hag a zivisont... mont a enep d'o tad... evit ar familh.

kar peurrest ar familh oa eneb d'an impaler get ar vezhekadenn zo bet. Setu perak eum... e zeont a enep d'o tad hag e zeont da welet eum... mab... ya... euh... wreg, ha mab euh... breur Emon da sikour anezho da... en em zifenn enep d'an impaler... enep d'an impaler... hag e benn ar fin ouien ket penaos eo... eo echu an dra-se kar euh... an impaler e glask euh... adkavout ar pevar mab-se... hag a zo... a zo terc'het kuit... ouien ket perak... abenn ar fin e ouiont ya eo... impaler ha ga...

ar re all a zo souezhet perak... penaos e c'hell un den ken, tud ken barrek 'vel ar pevar mabse mont a enep d'an impaler... n'eo ket, n'eo ket normal. Setu perak euh... e redont kuit, a savont ur c'hastell, hag a zo bet t-... ag a zo taget gant an dud, gant tud an impaler euh... ouien ket penaos eo echu an dra-se met euh... ya ul levr dedennus-tre oa 'n dra-se. Levr dedennus-tre. Ur seurt roman hag e blija din din kalz met a benn-a-fin, euh... benn-a-fin eo... n'eus ket ebet echu, ah, n'eo ket domaj, met ah... ma gavan al levr-se en-dro e echuin anezhañ. Setu International Phonetic Alphabet gwelõm gwelõm skyljõm delu aĸ bed ol zo ɛn e kãvu aĸ fĸãs spõtəd a stĸafəljət kleo aĸ pɛx ə zo xwaĸvezət

кєва рев døz ав maвtinik poвz moв brydət a pinvidik zo distвy3ət ol gət glaw tãn a glaw pвibeв o aв vəlkãn

daw ygən mil den pe uspen y had əs tyd ãn enezen daw ygən mil den pe uspen y had əs tyd ãn enezen

døs ∫iwas kavəd ak mako e kɛk wa vok a tko wakdko døs ∫iwas kavəd ak mako e kɛk wa vok a tko wakdko

abawe bøz vkaz ãn dily∫ nøs ke gweləd yk sækt distky∫ a biskwas bkɛx punɛk due ɛn døs koet kɛn didkue yk vko ol a zo distkyʒət gət ak glaw tãn a suf təzət vɛl gwe∫al gumək a sodəm põmpei ag ɛkkylanəm

a veb ãmzer ar martinik a zo bed yr vro rəzədik Lyrics in Breton

Gwelomp, gwelomp, skuilhomp daeloù Ar bed holl zo en e kanvoù, Ar Frans spontet ha strafuilhet Kleo ar pez a zo c'hoarvezet !

Kêr Sant Per, deus ar Martinik Porz-mor brudet ha pinvidik Zo distrujet holl gant glaou tañ Ha glao pri bero ar volkan !

Daou ugent mil den pe ouzhpenn Ur c'hard eus tud an enezenn Daou ugent mil den pe ouzhpenn Ur c'hard eus tud an enezenn

Deus siouazh kavet ar (o) maro E ker war vor ha tro war dro ! Deus siouazh kavet ar (o) maro E ker war vor ha tro war dro !

Abaoe beuz vras an diluj, Neus ket gwelet ur seurt distruj ; Ha biskoazh brec'h ponner Doue En deus skoet ken didruez ! Ur vro holl ha zo distrujet Gant ar glao-tañ ha soufr teuzet ! 'Vel gwechall Gomor ha Sodom, Pompeï ha Herculanum !

A veb amzer ar Martinik A zo bet ur vro reuzeudik, dismõtkət ∫iwaz a veb mak gãn gwalenu bkaz ãn duak

ăn duk ăn tăn ak mok zikol a hen duak ăn avel fol a skin waknezi bəp el tko ak spönt ăn dismäntk a mako i bkasa kek săn pek ə we yk gekig demøz ak bkava savəd en dko wak fokd ak mok evel œn äntek kelx digok

œк mãne ãnvɛd ак pəle naw hãn le bale ahane yк mãne hãnvɛd aк pəle naw hãn le bale ahane

i gwaskəde øz ãn avel pa hueze ãn uhel

i foкz moк wa daкɛmpкedət gət liʃtкi pevaк hoкn ak bət o võn o tõn gõn pkəz bɛmde kas a digas mahadukez

be wa ini tkegõn mil den en o mes kalz a fkāsizjen øs maksek bukdel ag o ve øz ak vkest ag õn ok nøve

gwe∫al volkãn mãne pole a dole tãn a vep maĸe mes pa we ãntɛк kãn vlwa so ãn ol a gкed e wa maĸo Dismantret siouaz! a vep mar gant gwalennoù braz an douar.

An dour, an tañ, ar mor diroll, Ar c'hen-douar, an avel fol, Ha skign wanezi bep eil tro Ar spount, an dismantr, ar maro ! He brassa kêr Sant Per e oa Ur gêrig demeuz ar brava Savet en dro war bord ar mor Evel un hanter kelc'h digor

Ur menez anvet "Ar Pele" Nao c'hart (nav c'hant?) leo bale ahane Ur menez anvet "Ar Pele" Nao c'hart (nav c'hant?) leo bale ahane

He goaskede eus an avel Pa c'houeze an huel

He fors-mor oa darempredet Gant listri pever c'horn ar bed O vont, ho tont gant prez bemdez Kas a digas marc'hadourez

Be oa hini tregont mil den En o mesk kalz a Fransisien Eus Marseille, Bourdel hag ivez Deus ar Vrest hag an Haur-Nevez.

Gwech-all volkan Mene Pele A daole tañ e vep mare Mez 'baoe hanter-kant vloa zo An holl a gred e oa maro en i flas ne wa ken bremã nemed yl len vraz a ledãn a keriz zəve de kifen gãn aðn a diner da burmen a keriz zəve de kifen eb aðn a dineh də burmen dar jaw bask tri devez gude war dro ejz ær døz ar børe o tra spöntys ma wa beskwaz lejn a mãne a sigoras

intκεjλu beko ãn duak a stκiŋk nak stkakal dãn eak kɛn a hogəl ãn enezɛn ol wak e fõs vɛl ɛn deljɛn

ân dwak a fawt a zigok ak vejn em vkyzyn ag ak mok gân ân dinekz de wa sklapət wak ne gis spen pem kân dkwalət

кев sãn рев a wa ken byãn golwejd dindãn ув тов a dãn a flam a vejn a bвi bево a dвaw tøzəd ag e bãno

ys keк ак moged al lədy ак ке øn nos tānval a dy skleкiʒənəd eb eāna gān aк flamu tān o kweza

ãn dyt trafyljət gəd ar spönt
a halub dymä a dyön
mes o la ränkom ∫om ∫iwaz
da hiliã e barz ar fon vraθ

En he flas ne oa ken breman Nemet ul lenn vras ha ledan, Ha kêriz zeue de kichen Gant aon ha dinerc'h da bourmen Ha kêriz zeue de kichen Heb aon ha dinerc'h da bourmen D'ar Iaou Bask tri devez goude War dro eiz eur deus ar beure O tra spountus ma oa biskoazh Lein ar mene a zigoraz!

Intrailloù bero an douar A strink 'n ar strakal d'an ear Ken ha chorgell an enezenn Holl war e fons 'vel un delien!

An douar a faout, a zigor Ar vein n'em vruzun, hag ar mor Gant an dinerz e oa sklapet Var he giz 'spen pemp kan troalet !

Ker Sant Per a oa ker buhan Goloet dindan ur mor a dañ A flam ; a vein ; a bri bero A draoù teuzet hag heb ano!

Uz kêr, ar moged, al ludu A re un noz tenval a du Sklerijennet heb ehana Gant ar flammoù tan o kouezhañ !

An dud strafuilhet gant ar spount A c'haloup du-mañ ha du-hont, Mez hol a renkont chom siouaz Da c'hilia ebarzh ar forn vras ! da⊮n a zøas da vod a⊮ mo⊮ sõʒal ma⊮te e kawt ∫iku⊮ mez emã ә wa e ynãn golwejd gət y⊮ vãntɛl a dãn

ак коdam nə hɛlas nɛm dɛn nemɛjd nak dkohi e ʃadɛn a nøk gɛkzət divœk djusty dke ves ka glaw tɑ̃n a lydy

pa zigweas e рэк kastкi naw œк gude i ne wa mui nãmed ук skød dy əb ãno waк e fšn dawzɛk kəкf maкo

pad аn amzɛк ze aк sy∫ət zə diкak haк gɛк zistкyʒət daw∫t a penoz helo to∫tad anehi gan gкwez an tantat

ак vкo ol ne hvas nemet tãn a gyz dehi beg ак volkãn a hosmol ag a sklap pəpкət təкʃadu flam tãn a mogət

kuskude i zyt kɛn a кys e кis kavid yк maкv əzys кe tкe vesk ãn tãn ag aк кwes vejt kals ʃikuк dãn dyt kes

mes e kɛʁ ʃiwaz ne wa mųi netкa ve o œк bet kɛn eni wa met bɛɛnow kɔвfu maкo e mesk ãn atвеʒu beвo Darn a zeuaz da vord ar mor Soñjal martreze kaout sikour! Mez hemañ ha oa e hunan Goloet gant ur vantel a dan!

Ar "RODAM" na c'hellas n'en denn Nemet 'n ar droc'hi e chadenn Ha 'n'ur gérzet diveur diouzhtu Dre vesk ar glao tan ha ludu.

Pa zigouezaz e Porz-Castri Nav eur goude hi ne oa mui Nemet ur skeud du heb ano War e font daouzek korf maro!

'Pad an amzer-se, ar "SUCHET" Zeu dirag er gêr distrujet Daout ha penaos c'hello tostaat, Anezhi gant grouez an tantat !

Ar vro holl n'eo choaz nemet tañ Hag uz dezhi beg ar volkan a c'hosmol hag a sklap bepred Torchadoù flamm, tan ha moged !

Gouskoude he zud kennaruz E risk kaout ur marv euzus Red dre vesk an tan hag ar vrouez Evit kas sikour d'an dud kez !

Mez, e ker, siouaz ne oa mui Netra veo ebet ken enhi, Oa 'met bernou korfou maro E mesk an atrejou bero ! ак куји ag ũn taſenu wa ol golwejd a kelegu kɛn dy vɛl pa viʒən bət devət di gũn gudkõn spikvət

biskwaz aк gwaləк nøs kohət kɛn ʃtaкd a kɛn kĸɛ̃ vaĸ aĸ bət biskwaz falx kaĸo ãn ãnku nøs koɛt kɛn stãnk e zolju

как tка estlamys pa zõʒɛк øs tкegõn mil dɛn wa e keк кak tкa estlamys pa sõʒɛк øs tкegõn mil dɛn wa e kɛк

nikyn ar bəd nən øs kalət tehel døs än tän miliət

øs pɛĥ wa kɛn yк geкig vкaw ni døs mi netкa en e zaw nøz anehi mɛd øк vкo zy goloed a hlaw a lydy

pebes kɛntɛl vʁas vid ān dyt peʁe na вɔ̃n mejt nɛm zispyt a nɛm zibвi waв aв bed mā vid mɔ̃n kɛn byɑ̃n anezã Ar ruiou hag an tachennoù Oa holl goloed a relegou Ken du evel pa vijen bet, Devet digant goudron birved !

Biskoazh ar goal-eur neus skoet, Ken start ha ken kreñv war ar bed. Biskoazh falc'h garo an Ankou Neus skoet ken stank he zolioù !

Rag tra estlamus pa zonjer Eus tregont mil den oa e kêr Rag tra estlamus pa zonjer Eus tregont mil den oa e kêr

Nikun ebet e neus gallet Tec'hel eus an tan milliget

Eus pezh oa ken ur gerig vrav Ne deus mui netra en e zav Neuz anezhi 'met ur vro zu Goloet a c'hlaou ha ludu

Pebeuz kentel vras 'vit an dud Pere na reont met n'em zisput He n'em zibri war ar bed-mañ Vit mont ken buhan anezhan.

International Phonetic Alphabet	Lyrics in Breton
məm bro ə zo dyэn i bɛn pɛlã ɛn dvar	Ma bro a zo duhont, e penn pellañ an douar,
i d͡ʒol ded͡ʒor ør mor dirol de a noz i kunar	E geol digor ur mor diroll, deiz ha noz é kounnar
məm bĸo ə zo dyõn mãntølø ĸa i glas ãn avəl bĸas doɣi bukɛ̃ĩn hag i paĸɛ̃ĩn i fas	Ma bro a zo duhont, mantellet razh e glas, An avel bras doh he bokiñ hag e pariñ he fas
məm bĸo ə zo dyõn lɛh mø tivisk bɛ̃mde ãn jol t ^j ɛn mõn di vele blot bкagøy i vкavite	Ma bro a zo duhont, 'lec'h ma tiwisk bemdez, An heol, kent mont d'e wele blod, bragoù e vraventez
məm bкo ə zo dyõn екεl у каg dilys	Ma bro a zo duhont, evel ur vag diluz,
i stle3 or pet kuh ar i lex ar vor dal faæltazi	E stlej ar bed kozh àr e lerc'h, àr vor ar faltazi
məm bro ə zo dyõn guɛɦjət a tərgejnət	Ma bro a zo duhont, gwazhiet ha torgennet,
golvejd ə gvejt golvejd ə xvɛh a ej∫taw alawĸət	Goloet a goad, goloet a frouezh, a eostoù alaouret
məm bĸo ə zo dyゔn ã a gujã i blɛ̃	Ma bro a zo duhont, hañv ha gouiañv e bleuñv,
ã a gujã en i syljek gə kɛвded aв mejøy	Hañv ha gouiañv en he sulieg, get kaerded ar maezioù
məm bко ə zo dyゔn disãval dox pəp bко	Ma bro a zo duhont, dishañval doc'h pep bro,
gət i xvejəw i føtãnjaw i sapəljæw distro	Get he c'hroazioù, he feunteunioù, he chapelioù distro
məm bro ə zo dyõn i lɛh mə vlɛ̃v bərpət	Ma bro a zo duhont, el lec'h ma vleuñv bepred,
a dreft pejœw a jehœw maro jeh nerzys ar geltət	A-dreist bezioù ar yezhioù marv, yezh nerzhus ar Gelted

məm bкo ə zo dyhэn hvãtət ol gət aк bət	Ma bro a zo duhont, c'hoantet holl get ar bed,
vejd nəвs kalõn i zyd jəvāk a kvātiz mɛвhjət	Evit nerzh-kalon he zud yaouank ha koantiz
	he merc'hed
məm рко ə zo dyэn ркен ө кек anøi	Ma bro a zo duhont, Breizh a raer anezhi,
di∫tag doxti nø helã tjøt filiməd õn døi	Distag doc'hti ne hellan ket, filimet on dezhi!
dyðn ima mø her ffyəd i mesk ar $d3$ ve	Duhont emañ ma c'hêr, kuzhet e-mesk ar
	gwez,
ag ə zear trøzow mə dur nə vejlā mejd ə njā	Hag a-ziàr treuzoù ma dor e welan 'met an
	neñv
diak tkøzow mə duk yn østətʃ ə gləvã	Diàr treuzoù ma dor, un eostig a glevan,
mə gaĸəhe kãnal tʃən fluĸ əĸ ʋĸo geĸ ə gaĸãn	Me 'garehe kanal ken flour ar vro gaer a
mə garəhe kānal f]ən flur ər vro ger ə garān	garan.

PARTICIPANT #3

Sample P3-A1: Participant #3 talking about music

International Phonetic Alphabet

Written Breton

bõ tebõ:ʒuʁ dit amã (NAME) ø sety hãn da gõta dit yn tãm istoʁ ma stʁo:lət dʲyʁ dabla e ã:no ø: a stʁoləd zo be kʁuət e daw vil sejs ... õn ke ba a stʁo:lad aʁ pwɛ̃ndzi me zo eʁyət e daw vil ỹnek ... ag ø ... aʁ menoz indãn ... penoz dindãn aʁ stʁoləd a wa lakat ... sõneʁez metal asãməz ga sõneʁes ø... ɛjngu:nəl ... mo:d pe vo:d kwa ... a da gɛnta tud wa be: ... wa be savet ag ɛmbãn to: ... on demo ... ag o ... on ø pe ije dõnk ø spɛʁɛd aʁ bʁoju ko:z ãno n ø pe ag ø ... daʁ pwen ze wa ... sõneʁez ø bʁo iwɛʁzõn dʁɛjstol a zõneʁes ø bʁo gɛmbʁe ie n tãm tãm tʁɑw døs bʁejz ie me wa sœʁtut ø we ... bʁo iwɛʁzõn ... gãn poʃu e ... e sõznɛk

boñ deboñjour dit, amañ (NAME), euh... setu ec'h an da gontañ dit un tamm istor ma strollad Dur Dabla eo e anv, euh... ar strollad zo bet krouet e 2007 ... 'oan ket ba'r strollad d'ar poent-se, me zo erruet e 2011 ... hag euh... ar mennozh dindan.. penaos, dindan ar strollad a oa lakaat ... sonerezh metal asambles ga' sonerezh euh... engounel ... mod pe vod kwa... ha da gentañ tout oa bet ... oa bet savet ag embannet (to) ... un demo ... hag un EP ivez: donc euh Spered ar Broioù Kozh eo anv an EP hag euh... d'ar poent-se oa... sonerezh euh bro Iwerzhon dreist-holl ha sonerezh euh bro Gembre ivez un tamm, tammoù traoù deus Breizh ivez met oa surtout euh ouais ... bro Iwerzhon... gant pozioù e... e saoznek.

hag euh... tamm ha tamm gant ar cheñchamant 'zo bet ba' ar strollad gant euh... tud nevez oc'h erruout gant... mennozhiou nevez ivez euh... meump soñjet boñ... martese 'vo... 'vo gweloc'h lakaat muioc'h eum... penaos... muioc'h a Vreizh ba'... ba' ar strollad ma karez, penaos... lezel un tamm euh... mojennoù hag istorioù... penaos euh... bro Gembre ha bro Iwerzhon a-gostez ha mont war-zu... mojenn Breizh, istor Breizh... hag euh... gant ar soñj-se meump enrollet ur bladən al e daw vil ø... m daw vil xwezɛk ma na guān ki kõneuju ... ø... ɛ̃vou ān avɛl ei hano... a ba... bau stuol- bau... penos... bau bladənze zo syutut ø... moʒīn buejs swa e ø... moʒən keuis moʒɛn a... a vagno:s moʒən ø... peta zo xwas ø... a xānje:səno:z ie: ... ag ø ān tõn uwijed m: ke... nin ke œ: nin ke iwɛuzõnək ue kwa he məm uʃta a guet o sœut fokyʃ wau ø... dwauju da zeuəl œ: tõnju mod buejz kwa

ag gude ak bladənze be wa... ø... tki den bak stkolad a wie bkező:nək a wie koze:l bkező:nək a nøm 35:zət bẽ mates ... kulz mõn wak mozenu ag istok bkejz ... mates vefe gwala ie lakad a poju en bkező:nəg ie... ag gõn ak 353 ze õn bet o zevel o bladən neve bwe ø... bwe dow vla ha... ag ø... ba... bez øs bejy gõn yn bak stkolad ma nynz nemed nø... dow vkezőnegek bak stkolad me ag ø makk.

a: ... na hi:nən ie zo... penoz ø... nœm som gwest da skʁi:vũ e bʁezõ:nɛg nøe... møm ʒõ:ȝț... ba sɛty bɛʁ zo... bɛʁ zo testenu a zo be skʁi:vəd diʒa blwaveju zo ø kũnveʒu wi lod ni ø... ə goz be skʁi:vəd bʁɑw skʁi:vət pʁɔp... a a zo penos ø... yl lo:dən døz istoʁ a je:z døz istoʁ aʁ vʁo ie ... m ʒõ:ʒət peʁak ... peta vife lakad ni ø... paʁzɔs... baʁz ɔʁ bla:dən... a sɛt ɛ ba... ũn aʁe zo be bladenn all e daou vil euh... 2016 ma 'lâran ket konerioù... Eñvor an Avel eo he anv... ha ba'... ba' ar strol- ba' ar... penaos... ba' ar bladenn-se 'z eus surtout euh... mojennoù breizh just-a-walc'h euh... mojenn Ker-Ys mojenn a... ar vag-noz mojenn euh... petra zo c'hoazh euh... ar c'hannerezed noz ivez... ag euh an tonioù ivez hmm n'int ket euh... n'int ket iwerzhonek re kwa, ase 'meump just-awalc'h graet ur seurt 'fokus' war euh... doareoù da sevel euh... tonioù mod Breizh kwa.

ha goude ar bladenn-se, bez e oa... euh... tri den ba ar strollad a ouie brezhoneg, a ouie kaozeal brezhoneg, ha neuze meum soñjet beñ marteze... koulz mont war mojenoù hag istor Breizh... marteze vefe gwelloc'h ivez lakaat ar pozioù en brezhoneg ivez... ha gant ar soñj-se omp bet o sevel ur bladenn nevez abaoe euh... abaoe daou vloaz ha... hag euh... bah... bez ez eus bet jeu gant unan ba' ar strollad neuze 'neus nemet daou vrezhoneger ba' ar strollad, me hag euh Mark.

ha... na eñ na me zo... penaos euh... en em gouest da skrivañ e brezhoneg neuze... meump soñjet... bah setu bez a zo... bez a zo testennoù a zo bet skrivet dija, bloavezhioù zo euh kanvezhioù evit lod anezhe euh... hag a zo bet skrivet brav, skrivet propr... a, a zo, penaos euh... ul lodenn deus istor ar yezh, deus istor ar vro ivez... ha meump soñjet perak... petra 'virfe lakaat anezhe euh... barzh hor bladenn... ha setu bah... an dra-se zo bet кке°t mæm dibabət nøbøt ø... vn nøbøt testenu skкivet ø... gãn ø... fẽ... nin ke be skki:vət gãn anatəl... pas anatəl ə bkaz gãn ø kakvakek me dastym e kẽnta... ag a vo ka:d ba... bak ba:кzəz bkejz ... møm dibabet vn nøbøt nɛkne bezo ak falxõn a zo istək peizãntəd bkejz ø... a nin ke kõntãn gãn ak pez ve gked gak vuki:zən a gãn a houn o kãnbko... ag ø sety bõ ale dɛmdãn ɛm gã:n timad timad bygale bkɛjz... e bezo ie boz ən eljãn... a gõnt ø... istək o fãmil ba eljãn ag ø... a glaha a zo døt (kə) de ø... pe o efiy:t a... ak vo:zən gãn tud ak ke vako

bezo i: Ø: djugãn gwenxlãn ... ſys istor yn djugãn ne ke... ne ked e:ze da zīsple:gã me be zo... beãn ø... beãn aruez ø... a gav din a zo dedenys tre kwa... ag a glod mad gãn ø... gãn peno:s... gãn ma gãnawən møm skri:vet. bezo ie distro... distro marzin... a nẽ veve... penoz... bar n desten mã ø... marzin sor o kõnta da lener petaz be... peta zo bede vye boe m...

bwe be fafet ak vko benəfin... gwefal ø... e wa enoked gan an ol ø... gwefal wa kweu bkejz ø... penos u pedi njan ø ag ø... bkeman ma ked əgi:s en taw... ag ø... mæm kavet graet meump dibabet neubeut euh... un neubeut testennoù skrivet euh... gant euh... fiñ... n'int ket bet skrivet gant Anatole... pas Anatole ar Braz, gant euh Kervarek met dastumet gantañ hag a vo kavet ba'... ba' ar Barzaz Breiz... neuze meum' dibabet un neubeut diane bez' zo Ar Falc'hon, a zo istor peizanted Breizh euh... ha n'int ket kontant gant ar pezh 'vez graet gant ar vourc'hizien gant ar c'hon en o c'horn-bro... hag euh setu boñ "ale dem d'an emgann", "timad timad bugale Breizh"... e bezo ivez Bosenn Elliant... a gont euh... istor ur familh ba' Elliant hag euh... ar glac'har a zo deut dezhe euh... p'eo erruet ar vosenn gant tout ar re varv.

bez 'zo ivez euh diougan Gwenc'hlan... just istor un diougan n'eo ket... n'eo ket aeset da zisplegañ met bez 'zo... ur bern euh... ur bern arouez euh... a gav din a zo dedennus-tre kwa... hag a glod mat gant euh... gant penaos... gant ar ganaouenn meump skrivet. Bez 'zo ivez distro... distro Marzin... hag en dra-se 'vez... penaos... ba' an destenn-se emañ euh... Marzin just-a-walc'h o kontañ d'al lenner petra zo bet... petra zo bet e vuhez abaoe

abaoe eo bet chañjet ar vro benn-a-fin... gwechall euh... e oa enoret gant an holl euh... gwechall oa roueoù Breizh euh... penaos... o pediñ anezhañ euh hag euh... bremañ n'emaint ket e-giz-se an traoù 'meump kavet wa dedenʒ impleʒut ɑ̃n destənze pik ø... klotad aĸa: gɑ̃n statyd aĸ je:z baĸ vĸo bĸɛmən... bezo tyd ø... avɛl a je:z vɛl vn da kolət vɛl vn da... maɔ n da vaĸo pa laĸmat... ag ø... ja... dedenys empliʒut sɑ̃ntesen... ag a mod al a vo ie ø... dju gɑ̃nawən be vo ø... engunəl a wɛʃma be vo ø... djūn waĸ a meni zo be nĸolɛt diʒa gɑ̃n ø jan fɑ̃ʃ kemenəĸ... waĸ ø... nøzgɛd diwɛĸsiɔ̃n døz ø... døs a gɑ̃nawɛnze... bezo vn gaĸ pjano ø... didje skibɑ̃n

ag ø... œn al nøz gre gõn ə pot a vro span a møs ke f5:3e5n... ag mœm 35:3əd b5 ba tjë demdə ə naha... a vo... a vo braw zo ar bar bladən... a bevo ie o... o gwers e gwers e gwers penmah... a gõn ø... istər a benmahi:z... ar zax gu:lu ba... en o ili:z vit ø... lakad... lakad a vatimõfu da... peno:z ø... dəx pēse wa õn ot... ag tud n trewze lakat ø... an il dœl gil a ro ftow... persõne:ləsn tõmə a gav din vit ar stro:lət pi ø... bezo pen strola3u ø... penoz a gemer ø tõnju... tõnju brejz tõnju ar vro ma pe rõn... med ø a gõnt istər ø... ket mø istər a galjõnet ø... vel n vel ma fia ø... eluvejti pe ø... strola3u a gis sə ... a me gav... e oa dedenus implijout an destenn-se pigur euh... klotaat a ra gant statud ar yezh ba' ar vro bremañ... bez' zo tud euh... a wel ar yezh, evel un dra kollet evel un dra marv - un dra varv, pa laran mat... hag euh... ya... dedennus implijout seurt testennoù. hag a mod all a vo ivez euh... div ganaouenn bez 'vo euh... engounel ar wech-mañ... bez 'vo euh... Duhont War ar Menez, a zo bet enrollet dija gant euh Yann-Fañch Kemener... war euh... 'neus graet div version deus euh... deus ar ganaouenn-se... bezo un gant ar piano hag euh... Didier Squiban

hag euh... un all 'neus graet gant ur paotr a vro-Spagn ha 'meus ket soñj eus e anv... ag meum soñjet boñ *bah tiens* deomp d'ober an dra-se... a vo... a vo brav sur-awalc'h ba'r bladenn... ha bez 'vo ivez ur ... ur ... gwerz, e gwerz, e gwerz Penmarc'h... a gont euh... istor ar Benmarc'hiz... a zalc'h gouloù ba'... en o iliz evit euh... lakaat... lakaat ar vatimañchoù da... penaos euh... d'ober peñse war an aod ha tout an traoù-se.. lakaet euh neil deuil 'gil a ro just-a-walc'h euh... personelezh un tamm, a gav din, evit ar strollad pigur euh... bez' zo ur bern strolladoù euh... penaos.. a gemer euh tonioù... tonioù Breizh tonioù ar vro m'az peus c'hoant... met euh a gont istor euh... n'ouzon ket me istor ar galianed euh... evel ma ra euh... Eluvetie pe euh... strolladoù a-giz-se euh... a me gav an dra-se... un tamm euh.. n'ouzon ket

doma3 e vn tām blām ø... benfin as galjāned gö3ed ket... bsezõnək tāmbet... ahe zo esyət diwetos ag ø... āndy3sa meska3 əliəz ag ø... hag ø e mømp klaskət sto ø... lakat tõnju tõnju engu:nəl... a tõnju tõnju neves saved jāmen me gān... ø leve3õn ø... leve3õn an tõnju egu:n³l... ag ø... me ga... fē... Jā:fo ked as 3ø ba... bet ig bed ø... as folk metal ẽ me ø... demnju a wa pwezys a ø... mõn dõnos ba bsejz benəfin ma he:lãn la:sə gis... me we ø... klask lakad ãn tsaw da glot... ma klotfe ø... fstasa pofu gãn an tõnju ag ø... as jez a tut fẽ... tudn tsaw zo ljãmet ag ø... we... împostãn e bsemã lakad bsezõneg bas 3ø...

domaj eo un tamm 'blam' euh... benn-a-fin ar galianed ne gaozent ket brezhoneg tamm ebet, an dra-se zo erruet diwetoc'h hag euh... an dud 'ra ar meskaj alies hag euh... hag ase meump klasket just-a-walc'h euh... lakaat tonioù, tonioù hengounel... hag euh tonioù nevez savet gamen, met gant levezon... levezon an tonioù hengounel ha me gav fiñ... cheñjo ket ar jeu ba'... bediP2-Bed ar folk metal heiñ met euh... demni a oa poezhus just-a-walc'h euh... mont donoc'h ba' Breizh benn-a-fin ma c'hellan laret e-giz-se... met ouais euh... klask lakaat an traoù da glot... ma klotfe just-a-walc'h ar pozioù gant an tonioù hag euh... ar yezh ha tout fiñ... tout an traoù zo liammet hag euh ouais... important eo bremañ lakaat brezhoneg ba'r jeu... setu, emichañs e blijo dit keno

Sample P3-A2: Participant #3 telling a joke he heard in a bar in Morlaix

International Phonetic Alphabet

bõ ø: meməs netka gwal întekesän da gönta kẽvək ma deves ø: me^j hãn də gönta di kento yn istok mœz be kle:d ba œ: tavakn än ti koz e mõntku:ləs sety œ: istok ə fāmi Λ a wa fõm ba p^hukin œ pukən emā ək letal kifən mõntku:ləs ag œ: än ol ba a fami Λ nejn kwän œ: hõn də mõntku:ləz dytfəkāmnex œ: la fwak ə^ət œ: ak fəkət e mõntkule:zək œ: bẽ^ywakvakne än tad ak vämgo:s a tki by:gəl œ: än ol ga a

Written Breton

Boñ euh me meus netra gwall interesant da gontañ e-keñver ma devezh euh... met ec'h an da gontañ dit kentoc'h un istor meus bet klevet ba' euh... tavarn An Ti Kozh e Montroulez. Setu, euh... istor ur familh a oa o chom ba Plourin euh... Plourin-Les-Morlaix, 'tal-kichen Montroulez hag euh... an holl ba' ar familh neuint c'hoant euh... d'hont da Montroulez evit Foar an Nec'h euh... la foire haute euh... 'ar foirot' e montroulezek euh... bez e oa ar vamm neuze, an tad, ar vammgozh, ha tri bugel. Euh... an holl gant ar кwãn da võn dar fwa:r me ø: wa ke med ən oto døsvo a nøe wa ke plas a war vit o xwer» a sty ak gwaz da laət divke^j ba me a ma mõm bo ahe^j zo võn waro:k a tepo ke me mõn œ: gã gã ən oto gar vygwal me nim hej war drwat ma se vo ejsor on tra vit nol ... ja larãn dit etke mõntku:ez a pluin zo sejs kilometka benekət a sety hẽ za vale fõnys mad ag ak vãmgoz a høyli hadis plejgət warog wai baz gis ag e skoi baz war dwar kalet mizeri tak tag se i baz tak tak a ksefox was o ez eyed ba mõntsu:les tak tak wa ə payju tak ksefox uka:s a səd ak gwa:z eky skyiz gã:n tkuzma da lau di vãm o fidãmdu: mamãm gled wa bedo memos tra lakat tãm kautjuk pen u paz pise ke gret kemen a dru:z ... a hõs wa fylor eni ne ø klejd naha spen doha haz vyz dej y bas fwas da skejz pen i mab na hy:3al a tej ma kas kas pep ma pefe la:ket tãm kautjuk pɛn da vaːz dit te ba bɛnəfīn mi∫əm gɛləd mõn tut sãməs bãn oto

c'hoant da vont d'ar foar met euh... oa ket 'met un oto... un *deux-chevaux*... ha neuze oa ket plas a walc'h evito o-c'hwec'h ha setu ar gwaz da laret d'e wreg : bah, me ha ma mamm baour ase zo 'vont war-raok ha te 'po ket met mont euh... gant - gant an oto ha gant ar vugale met nim 'hay war droad, 'mod-se 'vo aesoc'h an traoù 'vit an holl... Ya, laran dit, etre Montroulez ha Plourin zo seizh kilometrad benneket. Ha setu, hennezh a vale fonnus-mat hag ar vamm-gozh a heulie hardis, pleget war-raok war he bazh e-giz-se hag e skoe he bazh war douar kalet miz Here - TAK! TAK! 'rae he bazh ha kreñfoch c'hoazh ur wech erruet ba' Montroulez, TAK! TAK! War ar paveioù TAK! kreñfoc'h c'hoazh. ha setu ar gwaz erru skuizh gant an trouz-mañ, da lâr d'e vamm: "oh fidamdoue, ma mamm, gleet 'oa bet deoc'h memes tra lakaat 'n tamm kaoutchouk penn ho pazh, n'ho pije ket graet kement a drouz... ha honnezh 'oa fulor enni neuze o klevet an drase, ouzhpenn he doa hast-ruz da erruout ba'r foar da skeiñ ouzh penn e mab en ur huchal: ha te, makas karc'her-pebr ma pefe lakaet 'n tamm kaoutchouk e penn da vazh dit-te, bah... benn-ar-fin mijemp gellet mont tout asambles ba'n oto!

Sample P3-B: Participant #3 singing Gwerz Penmarc'h

International Phonetic Alphabet bøemã blaz er sãntes katel sortiəz ar flo døz ø vurdel sortiez ar flod døz ø vurdel

φa wãnt ery e tal pɛnma
o diwɛn kave navel awa
o diwɛn kave avel awały

peta huarvez gõn penmaĥis o tehøln gulu noz en o ilis o tehøln gulu nõz en o ilis

kri ɛr galõn ma ne welʒe i tal pɛnma neb ə viʒe i tal pɛnma neb ma viʒe

gwel en a mum braz u ryzjā gān øn gwad ān gristənjen enā gān ø gwad ān gristənjen enā

n^jeb a welfe mehen gwajen
o vôn ãn ahon beue ynan
o vôn ãn ahod beue ynan

sejz întăvez a sejz yjən o vôn dân aĥod en ør vândɛn o vôn dân ao en ør vândɛn

o hul ᾶn ejʎ igᾶn ebɛn nho høs ke kleve kelu va dɛn no yøs ke kleved kelu va dɛn Lyrics in Breton Bremañ bloaz, er Santez Katell Sortias ar flod eus a Vourdel

Pa (v)oent erru e-tal Penmarc'h O devoe kavet avel a-walc'h

Petra c'hoarvez gant Penmarc'hiz O terc'hel gouloù-noz 'n o iliz ?

Kriz a (er) galon ma ne ouelje E-tal Penmarc'h neb a vije E-tal Penmarc'h neb ma vije

Gwel en ar mor bras o ruziañ Gant (un?) gwad ar gristenien ennañ !

Neb a welfe merc'hed Gwaien O vont d'an aod beb a-unan

Seizh intañvez ha seizh-ugent O vont d'an aod en ur vandenn

O c'houl' an eil digant eben : - N'hoc'h eus ket klevet keloù va den ? kelu o tɛn a va hini e tal pɛnmaĥ emajnt o vəzi e tal pɛnmaĥ emajnt o vəzi Keloù ho ten ha va hini :E-tal Penmarc'h 'maint o veuziñ !

maloz maloz dar bɛnmahis fia zały gulu noz ɛn o ilis fia zaly gulu nõz en o ilis

Mallozh ! mallozh d'ar Benmarc'hiz A zalc'h gouloù-noz en o iliz

Sample P3-C: Participant #3 singing E Garnison

International Phonetic Alphabet	Lyrics in Breton
setek devez a trivex miz e garnizon lanyjan	Seitek devezh ha triwec'h miz e garnison
sejtek devez a triver miz e garnizõn lõnyjõn	Lannuan
wa en ən otku da bakis	Oa aet an Aotrou da bParis
e gaxnizõn digədõdõ e gaxnizõn lõnyjõn	e garnison digedañdoñ e garnison Lannuan
a ben ma tistoro dak gek e gaknizõn lõnyjõn	A-benn ma tistroio d'ar gêr
a ben ma tistroo dar ger e garnizõn lõnyjõn	
wa ∫ã∫amãn basz as mãnɛs	Oa chañchamant 'barzh ar maner
e gaĸnizõn digədãdõ e gaĸnizõn lãnyjãn	
Jãʃamãt so εκ mãneκmã e gaknizõn lãnyjãn	"Chañchamant zo er maner-mañ
Jãʃamãt so εκ mãneκmã e gaknizõn lãnyjãn	
a ma ĩntưỡn a pleư emũ	Ha ma Intron, a pelec'h emañ ?
e garniző digədãdő e garnizőn lânyjân	
~	
mã ys e kãm ãn yelã e garnizôn lãnyjãn	- 'Mañ 'us e kambr an uhellañ
mã ys i kãm ãn yjelã e garnizõn lãnyjãn	
tomãn i mab ãn terypãn	'Tommañ he mab an terriplañ
e garnizā digədādā e garnizān lānyjān	
11'' 1 '1 ' ' ~ 1~ '~	TT 411 1 1 1
o pod bijeŋ laz i lagan i ŋaʁnizɔ̃n lɑ̃nyjɑ̃n	Ur paotr bihan glas e lagad
o pod bijɛŋ laz i lagan i ŋaʁnizɔ̃n lɑ̃nyjɑ̃n	
ne waк ke pjw ez ew i nad	Ne oar ket piv ez eo e dad

i ŋaĸniző digədődő e gaĸnizőn lőnyjőn

e кad ne waк ke pi yz e i ŋaкnizõn lõnyjõn i dad ni waк ke pi yz e i ŋaкnizõn lõnyjõn	E dad ne oar ket piv ez eo
me nar ak mininer e ve i ŋaknizôn digədãdô e ŋaknizôn lãnyjãn	M'hen dar' ar miliner e ve
nibõzuk dak milinek lek e gaknizõn länyjän	« Diboñjour d'ar miliner ler
me zo død o gas da gõmpeĸ e ŋaĸnizõn digədãdõ e ŋaĸnizõn lãnyjãn	Me zo deut o glask da gomper
o ra gõmpes me na jin ket i ŋasnizõn lãnyjãn o da gõmpes mi na jin ket ni ŋasnizõn lãnyjãn	- O ! da gomper me na yin ket
kaĸ me milin zo war i bwet e ŋaĸnizõ digədãdõ e gaĸnizõn lãnyjãn	Kar ma milin zo war he boued
kar me milin zo var i bort i ngarnizõn lõnyjõn	Kar ma milin zo war he bord
kaк me milin zo war i boкt i gaknizõn lãnyjãn a ãn em øs e vefe toкt e ŋaknizõ digədãdõ e ŋaknizõn lãnyjãn	Hag aon am eus e vefe tort
aĸtizãnen a zo aĸ vĸo e gaĸnizゔn lãnyjãn aĸtizãnedna zo ɛĸ vĸo e gaĸnizゔn lãnyjãn	- artizaned a zo er vro
ma vefe tэкt ni na кеŋko e ŋaĸnizõ digədãdõ e ŋaĸnizõn lãnyjãn	Ma vefe tort-int a renko
me wij əwax ta miliner i gaʁnizɔ̃n lɑ̃nyjɑ̃n me wij əwax ta milinɛr i gaʁnizɔ̃n lɑ̃nyjɑ̃n	Ma oui a-walc'h 'ta miliner
befɛx ke be tan a kõmpeʁ i gaʁnizõ digədãdõ e ŋaʁnizõn lãnyjãn befɛx ke bedana kõmpeʁ i gaʁnizõ digədãdõ e ŋaʁnizõn lãnyjãn	befec'h ket bet tad ha komper
- Submitte angeadate e njapiniteni ranggan	

PARTICIPANT #4

Sample P4-A: Participant #4 responding to a few questions

International Phonetic Alphabet

Written Breton

salyd dit pjɛß (NAME) eo nøze bɛɛmã e sɛlān uz da hulɛn:u ag e klaskin ɛɛspān ø... djuz aɛ gʋɛl:ā. nøze gulɛn ynān pju ut øs pelɛh ut da skwɛɛ pesœɛt miʃɛɛ pøs. nøze pju ān... (NAME) e va āno, gānəd ān e nāānɛt a bɛɛm:ā ān stydiɛɛ, bedn... bez zo be gānin œɛ skwazjadɛn evid obɛɛ øn doktoɛɛlɛs nøze labuɛān waɛ al lɛn:eges ø... lɛn:eges kevɛɛjɛt vɛz lavaɛɛt labuɛān waɛ tɛstɛn:o øz aɛ gɛɛnāmzɛɛ... a pɛz a ɛān ɛɛ fin eo kēvɛɛjā ø testenow øm... øz ān evel ɛp maːɛe med e jezow a... disēʋɛl a skɛived e lɛxju disēʋɛl. nøze pez a ɛān ɛɛ maːɛe mā eo skɛivā (fɛ̃) va zezɛn nøze... emāān e kɛɛjs ø ān el blwaves

a nøze kevɛʁjān ø testenow ø... øs ān enislāndɛk pe ān ɛn nɔʁɛk vɛz lavaʁəd ive ø øs ā: aʁ xɛngembʁaɛk ag øz a xɛnxalɛk. sety. ø... penoz e... ne ke fal dija. ejl gulɛn, penoz eh øs desked bʁezɔ̃nɛg gān pju e kɔ̃mzes bʁezɔ̃nɛg a peguls. nøze deskɛd møs bʁezɔ̃nɛk ø... ɛm zi ʁag va zad nøs desked bʁezɔ̃nɛg a ʁok ø... ma vwɛn gɑ̃nɛt, øm... nøze va jez vɑ̃m fɛ̃ va jestad eo, kɔ̃mz a ʁɑ̃n dʁɛjstɔl gal:ɛk gɑ̃n va

Salud dit Pierre, (NAME) eo, neuze bremañ e sellan ouzh da c'houlennoù hag e klaskin respont euh... diouzh ar gwellañ. Neuze, goulenn unan: piv out, eus pelec'h out, da skouer, peseurt micher peus? Neuze piv on... (NAME) eo va anv, ganet on e Naoned ha bremañ on studier, bed 'n... bez zo bet ganin ur skoaziadenn evit ober un doktorelezh neuze e labouran war al lennegezh euh... lennegezh keñveriet 'vez lavaret... labouran war testennoù eus ar grenn-amzer... ha pezh a ran er fin eo keñveriañ euh testennoù eum... eus an hevelep mare met e yezhoù ah... disheñvel ha skrivet e lec'hioù disheñvel. Neuze pezh a ran er mare-mañ eo skrivañ, fiñ, va zezenn neuze... emaon e kreiz euh an eil bloavezh

ha neuze e keñverian euh testennoù euh... eus an henislandeg pe an hennorek 'vez lavaret ivez, euh eus... ar c'hrenngembraeg hag eus ar c'hrennc'halleg. Setu. Euh... penaos eo... n'eo ket fall dija. Eil goulenn, penaos ec'h eus desket brezhoneg, gant piv e komzez brezhoneg, ha pegoulz? Neuze, desket meus brezhoneg euh... em zi rak va zad neus desket brezhoneg a-raok euh... ma voen ganet, eum... neuze va yezh-vamm, fiñ, ma yezh-tad eo, komz a ran dreist-holl galleg gant va mãm, i døs desket kulskude... uspen deg vlwas so, met ne ked es kem:ã nøze kõmzãn gãn va zad drejstol a gãn kenejled din ø gude ø nøze bed õn er skol ø er skol diwãn e nãõnet e guenet ag e kares ø... gude ne møs ki ken dalhet re war stydju ar brezõnek me laburet møs

kkoet møs gän minonet æk gelawen ävet nidjat a zo эк gəlawen lenegel a nøze e kõmzãn gãn ør bern øz va xenejle e brezönek. øm... gan ty:d o laburad endro dar brezoneg ø... trombez da, da goms... en øn dwake keoljek gã... gã øn nebøt tyd memes tra brezõnek... sety. ø... nøze e kõmzõn a lavarfen en øn dware reoljek a walx nøze(k) wak lekx ket e gu:zut petka e o kõms da skwer e mare mã emãõn e kembre nøze e velãn ty:d a gõmz brezõnek, a en dale skrivan e... e ran flat gan va xerren nøze em bes tro da, da skrivan e brezonek, ag e labu:kãn evid va xelawen nøze... em bes tro memes tra da len, dãn nebøtãn da len brezonek bemde. marteze ked da goms øm ... else lakõm av mave mõn e, ne ked av... av memes tra. ø pa vezãn e brejs em bes tro øm... a herves e peleh emãôn, rag mar... bezãn o chõm e brest e vezãn o... sety... al leh ma stydi:ãn... ne gejãn ke dre ret ø... us tyt... a gõm brezõnek... e... emãõn e vezãn o... o laburad gãn va imboxjo a nøze ne... ne ke ə вet

mamm, he deus desket koulskoude... ouzhpenn dek vloaz 'zo, met n'eo ket aes kemmañ. Neuze, e komzan gant va zad dreist-holl a gant keneiled din, euh goude euh, neuze bet on er skol euh er skol Diwan e Naoned, e Gwened, hag e Karaez euh... goude n'em eus ket ken dalc'het re war studioù ar brezhoneg met labouret meus.

kroet 'meus gant mignoned euh ur gelaouenn anvet Nidiad a zo ur gelaouenn lennegel ha neuze e komzan gant ur bern va c'heneiled e brezhoneg. Eum... gant tud o labourat en-dro d'ar brezhoneg euh... tro 'm bez da, da gomz... en un doare reoliek gant... gant... gant un nebeut tud memes tra e brezhoneg... setu. Euh... neuze e komzan, a lavarfen, en un doare reoliek a-walc'h, neuze war-lerc'h ret eo gouzout petra eo o komz da skouer, er mare-mañ emaon e Kembre neuze e welan tud a gomz brezhoneg, ha hent all e skrivan e... e ran tchat gant va c'herent neuze em bez tro da, da skrivañ e brezhoneg, hag e labouran evit va c'helaouenn neuze... em bez tro memes tra da lenn, d'an nebeutañ da lenn brezhoneg bemdez. Marteze ket da gomz eum... evel-se, lakomp, er mare-mañ eo, n'eo ket ar... ar memes tra. Euh, pa vezan e Breizh em bez tro eum... a-hervez e pelec'h emaon, rag mar bezan o chom e Brest e vezan o... setu... al lec'h ma studian... ne gejan ke dre ret euh... ouzh tud... a gomz brezhoneg... e... emaon e vezan o... o labourat gant va imbourc'hioù ha neuze... n'eo ket ret

a hendal pa vezãn e nãõnet pez a zo marteze djaximek awalx, amã e velãn va zyt a nøze e komzãn gãnto. sety vid av bvəzõnek. penoz e ar vyiez dit premig betra bas dred e bad ar zizyn da skwɛʁ... ja, ma ø... øn tãm ø... ne ked gwal entãnys... djuz ar savbwen ø... djuz ar savbwen diaues. emõõn en aberəstwi θ e krejs ø bко gɛmbke, bed эn eno abawe... ø, øк miz bremia, a nøze emaon evid ober imboxjow diwarpen øn desten gкеngembкaek ø... emãõn o studiã. a zo øn istor øs preizel tro3a, troed e kempraek wardro ar pevarzekvet kãvet, betek a ... adskrivet betek an... triwervwet kanvet (...)... nøze e tremenan an dejs o... el levkaweg vkoadel, sety dke vka:s pez a kãn, a hendal e... ken laboura gan nidjat ag e kavãn a wefu tro də, dober sõneres rak sõnevõn øn tâm ive

ø petka al ø... wa ma ãn dibensizynmã em øs gweləd minõned din a zo o stydiã e... stydjekjõn õm ol e bkest, met in wa e... e deli, en iwekzõn a døet din beteg aberəstwiθ, a nøze õn øs tkemened ã... an dibensizyn a ge:vket. a endal nøs ke kals tkaw døkys da gõntã ø kak... labuk zo gõnin dkejstol a ke kalz ãmzek evid distãnã me dke ma pli3 din kals pez a kõn... ne ked ne ked œk gydən evidõn (...) sety. (...) nøze a ja bed õn en islãnd nøze penoz e bet... ø... makteze amãn e halõn kõmz øn tõm myjox ø

a hent all pa vezan e Naoned pez a zo marteze diac'hinek a-walc'h, amañ e welan va zud ha neuze e komzan ganto. Setu 'vit ar brezhoneg. Penaos eo ar vuhez dit bremañ, petra peus graet e-pad ar sizhun da skouer? (...) Ya, ma euh... un tamm euh... n'eo ket gwall entanus... diouzh ar savboent euh... diouzh ar savboent diavaez. Emaon en Aberystwyth e kreiz euh bro Gembre, bet on eno abaoe... euh, ur miz bremañ, ha neuze emaon eno evit ober imbourc'hioù diwarbenn un destenn grenn-gembraeg euh... emaon o studiañ... a zo un istor eus brezel Troja, troet e kembraeg war-dro ar pevarzekvet kantved, betek a... adskrivet betek an... triwec'hvet kantved (...) neuze e tremenan an deiz o euh... el levraoueg vroadel, setu dre vras pez a ran, a hent all e... ken labouran gant Nidiad hag e kavan awechoù tro da, d'ober sonerezh rak soner on un tamm ivez

euh petra all euh... ba, ma, an dibenn-sizhunmañ em eus gwelet mignoned din a zo o studiañ e... studierion omp oll e Brest, met int oa e... e Derry, en Iwerzhon ha deuet din betek Aberystwyth, ha neuze on eus tremenet an... an dibenn-sizhun a-gevret. A hent all n'eus ket kals traoù deurus da gontañ euh rak... labour zo ganin dreist-holl ha ket kalz amzer evit distanañ met dre ma plij din kalz pezh a ran... n'eo ket ur gudenn evidon setu. (...) Neuze, a ya, bet on en Island neuze penaos eo bet... euh... marteze amañ e c'hallan komz un tamm muioc'h eus va byes... eget ma møs gred beteken, øm... kroget møz dober stydiu war leneges ag war soznek, gred møs byän a byän war ø... em øs gret byän stydiu war brezinek dre skrit me se wa drejstol evit kowd än diplom øm... byän ive ø stydiu war ar præderories me se wa øn täm warxostes. pez møs gret drejstol zo ø... leneges, leneges këverjed drejstol, a nøze eryet e nejl blwaves mastær em øs kroget da vezä dørjet drejstol ø... gän ø... lenegez ar grenämzør

a nøze møs... kroget dober leneges keverjet ak gkenõmzek. pez a zo diez a walx ag e... e bво hal nøs ke kals tyd a gõms tва ebed al diwar gust ar galick, øm... pe marteze galick ag alamõneg evid ak gelenekjõn gosõ ø me gyiß e galek soznek a jezu al, ne ked anat tam ebet, nøze e wa traw dober, e wa kals traw dober amã, øm... a sõzed møs e fele din tremen guzer øn tgu en gianes øz ar nro ag islând am dærje evid ær bern, evid ær bern abegu, ø, øn abeg zo, eo, øk ø... eo bkaw ãn ejl eo pɛl, ãn tĸede o døz øl ljãm uz aĸ je:s, a zo... a zo dibaseg a walx, a zo as benik. ag a, pez a zo... døkys tke a (4)fit ak jezo øm... ak fet ar ljãm zo ar jez e... en islãnt zo o døs dar make ma wak an najntekvet kanvet ba pedo a ar Aroaqelaries ag ar romgutelaries e... eu øкора, o døs divizet kkei da... zistkеї...

va buhez... eget ma 'm eus graet betek-henn eum... kroget meus d'ober studioù war lennegezh hag war saozneg, graet meus buanha-buan war euh... em eus graet buan studioù war brezhoneg dre skrid met se oa dreist-holl evit kaout an diplom eum... buan ivez euh studioù war ar prederouriezh met se oa un tamm war ar c'hostez. Pezh meus graet dreist-holl zo euh... lennegezh, lennegezh keñveriet dreist-holl, ha neuze erruet en eil bloavezh master em eus kroget da vezañ deuriet dreist-holl euh... gant euh... lennegezh ar grenn-amzer

ha neuze meus... kroget d'ober lennegezh keñveriet ar grenn-amzer. Pez a zo diaes awalc'h hag e... e Bro-C'hall n'eus ket kalz tud a gomz tra ebet all diwar-goust ar galleg, eum... pe marteze galleg hag alamaneg evit ar gelennerion goshañ. Euh, met gwir eo galleg, saozneg ha yezhoù all, n'eo ket anat tamm ebet, neuze e oa traoù d'ober, e oa kalz traoù d'ober amañ, eum... ha soñjet meus e felle din tremen amzer un tamm en diavaez eus ar vro, hag Island am deurie evit ur bern, evit ur bern abegoù, euh, un abeg zo, eo, ur euh... eo brav, an eil, eo pell, an trede o deus ul liamm ouzh ar yezh, a zo... a zo dibarrek a-walc'h a zo ar bennik. Hag a, pezh a zo... deurus-tre a-fet ar yezhoù eum... a-fet al liamm zo ar yezh e... en Island zo o deus d'ar mare ma, war an naontekvet kantved pa, p'edo ar vroadelouriezh hag ar romantelouriezh e... en Europa, o deus divizet kreiñ da... zistreiñ...

dal lenegez ak gkenõmzek a wa puil en d'al lennegezh ar grenn-amzer a oa puilh en islãnt...

a da... akvekõn testenu koz evit sevel gekju neves. ag evel ma kleves syk a walx, e kõn gãn øk bekn gekju neves... ne kãn ke gãn øk реки декји... од ак дај:eg a gal... о... јарпкад ε nidjat a zo... zo ør skipaλik a... o døs ken labuked ebat bel gun breder ad a deuqar qu genlabukat gãn pkedek... a dãm zõ∫, øm... dre mem ar prezouek ør jes keltiek e... esox ober gan gerin keltiek ag e ne ke gan gerin gal:ek, pez da dalves ket eo eet pyead ae jes beuqapeu ag zoz ar peru derin dered a zo œr fors penoz ar jes, ø... gerju latin ive, me, pez a wa døkys ebaks ø pezh a ke islad eo o døs øm... o døz izined øn dwake dobek a wa disevel djuz pez a zo be gred da skwer e... nuzõn ke me da skwer en norgeek a zo ør jez ãnavezãn øn tãm ive, o døs int pe dãneg ive o døs kemerek gerju fors pegemen øz ar, øz ak latin øz ak kresjõneg agal

a me gav me, evid abegu a halfen displegã ø... da gever ø... øl lexwezaden al e halfon displegã dit va sav bwen diwarben ãn drase. nøze setu. a nøze sety me et da islânt ø em enskrived on en øn eil raklyn mastær, sety an ejl wa a dremenen, a wa õnvet vaikin æn mədi:vəł no:s stadi:z, nøze ø... stydiu øm... viking a nokek øz ak

Island...

ha da... arverañ testennoù kozh evit sevel gerioù nevez. Hag evel ma klevez sur awalc'h, e ran gant ur bern gerioù nevez... ne ran ket gant ur bern gerioù... eus ar galleg hag all... euh... labourat e Nidiad zo... zo ur skipailhig a... o deus ken labouret e-pad pell gant Preder hag a gendalc'h da genlabourat gant Preder... ha d'am soñj, eum... dre m'eo ar brezhoneg, ur yezh keltiek eo... aesoc'h ober gant gerioù keltiek hag eo, neke gant gerioù gallek, pezh na dalvez ket eo ret puraat ar yezh penn-da-benn hag ez eus ur bern gerioù galleg a zo ur forzh penaos ar yezh, euh... gerioù latin ivez, met, pezh a oa deurus P3-Barzh euh pezh a rae Island eo o deus eum... o deus ijinet un doare d'ober a oa disheñvel diouzh pezh a zo bet graet da skouer e... n'ouzon ket met da skouer en norgeeg a zo ur yezh a anavezan un tamm ivez, o deus int, pe daneg ivez o deus kemeret gerioù forzh pegement eus ar, eus ar latin, eus ar gresianeg hag all

ha me gav me, evit abegoù a c'hallfen displegañ euh... da geñver euh... ul lerc'hwezadenn all e c'hallfen displegañ dit, va sav boent diwar-benn an dra-se. Neuze setu. Ha neuze setu me aet da Island, euh... em enskrivet on en un eil Raklun master, setu an eil oa a dremenen, a oa anvet Viking and Mediaeval Norse Studies, neuze euh... studioù eum... viking ha norrek eus ar

grenamzer, a nøze møs desket hen norek, istor al lenegez ø island a skandinavja er grengmzer, ag em øs laburet ø... (...) møs kendalhet da labukat wak doden:u a leneges keveriet... oh ober liamo etre øm... lenegez hal:ek ak gkenãmzek leneges nokek a leneges ø sozneg av grenãmzer ive. sety øm... nøze plizet tre on bet gan islant, lakom gyir e ø... œк vкo a zo praw tre, ø... a zo pigu tre ive ag a zo... ag a zo iskis kenã, evidôm... ak øm... jen e än atläntel zo jen, es zo, epad œr... loden vras øz ar blwaves, øm...

dy e ves kals pad ar guã, me gred, etre kerzy a xwevrer e vez beger ærves æ geis' anin dejs, nøze ked e bezã øn tãm ø... sety ked e... кеd e kaкut pez a кеs med ø... øn tãm øn dwake ejl anes eo evidon bkemia. nøze by øk peru tram gu pele dar repel nz gu qware ma vev ãn islândis sag wân ked ø... wân ke sotpitil gãn ãn dwake ma vevôn, me dãn nebøtã ø... œr bern traw zo ljãmet uz ãn dow vlwaves se møs tremen eno. nøze ne møs ket tremenet dow vlwavez rik me kentox œr blwavez ãnter a pem mis møs tremed en nouge, e steun au vestuies se. sety sety sety evid as pwen ø... lavas din a mad e dit, a mas

grennamzer, ha neuze meus desket hennorreg, istor al lennegezh euh Island ha Skandinavia er grenn-amzer, hag em eus labouret euh... (...) meus kendalc'het da labourat war dodennoù al lennegezh keñveriet... oc'h ober liammoù etre eum... lennegezh c'hallek ar grenn-amzer, lennegezh norrek ha lennegezh euh saoznek ar grenn-amzer ivez. Setu eum... neuze plijettre on bet gant Island, lakomp gwir eo euh... ur vro a zo brav-tre, euh... a zo bihan-tre ivez hag a zo... hag a zo iskiz kenan, evidomp... hag eum... yen eo, an Atlantel zo yen, erc'h zo, e-pad eur... lodenn vras eus ar bloavezh, eum...

du e vez kalz pad ar goañv, me gred, etre Kerzu ha C'hwevrer e vez peder eurvezh euh deiz, gouloù-deiz, neuze ret eo bezañ un tamm... setu ret eo... ret eo karout pezh a rez met euh... un tamm un doare eil Annez eo evidon bremañ. Neuze (ez eus?) ur bern traoù am befe d'ar rebech ouzh an doare ma vev an Islandiz rak oan ket euh... oan ket sot-pitilh gant an doare ma vevont, met d'an nebeutañ euh... ur bern traoù zo liammet ouzh an daou vloavezh-se 'meus tremen eno. Neuze n'em eus ket tremenet daou vloavezh rik met kentoc'h ur bloazhvezh hanter ha pemp miz 'meus tremet en Norge, e stern ar vestriezhse. Setu setu! evit ar poent euh... lavar din ha mat eo dit, ha mar

byes nuzõn ked ø... gwal

fel dit kaut myjox a draw diwarben ø... va fell dit kaout muioc'h a draoù diwar-benn euh... va buhez n'ouzon ket euh... gwall zøkyz e, me mak fel dit, a, mak degaz dit zeurus eo, met mar fell dit, ah!, mar degas dit xentã

myjox a xulen:u, ø... kyden ebet. sety. ken a muioc'h a c'houlennoù, euh... kudenn ebet. Setu. Ken ar c'hentañ

Sample P4-B: Participant #4 singing Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz

International Phonetic Alphabet ar zndardeg a zo disked e ra din dilin dã o lưn dılın dã or zndardeg a zo disked e ra ar velejõn gyisked e dy

gyɛlũ sudaĸd a wej en aĸme din dilin dã o lın dılın dã gyɛlã sudaĸd a wej en aĸme sudard ar fyr ar fyr e we

ēj a lake de gamalat din dilin dã o din dilin dã ẽ a lake de gamalat greduu ked e narviu ervat

med ma varvau me kreiz ar prezel din dilin dã o din dilin dã ma varvgu me kreiz ar prezel intelit me e dwaß santel

a ma vakvõn me e ti mə sat din dilin dã o din dilin dã ma varvãn me e ti mə sat intelit me e bus fsizak

e pnr Ari30k kréls ar peret din dilin dã o din dilin dã

Lyrics in Breton Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz Din dilin da o din dilin da Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz Ar veleion gwisket e du

Gwellañ soudard a oa en arme Din dilin da o din dilin da Gwellañ soudard a oa en arme Soudard Ar Fur, Ar Fur e oa

Eñ a lâre d'e gamalad Din dilin da o din dilin da Eñ a lâre d'e gamalad 'Gredan ket e varvin ervat

Med ma varvan me 'kreiz ar brezel Din dilin da o din dilin da Ma varvan me 'kreiz ar brezel Intelit me e douar santel

Ma varvan me e ti ma zad Din dilin da o din dilin da Ma varvan-me e ti ma zad Intelit me e bourk vBrizak

E bourk vBrizak 'kreiz ar vered Din dilin da o din dilin da

e bus vsi3ak ksejz as beset œs zapin gye zo be plantet

œк zapin gye zo be plāntɛt din dilin dā o din dilin dā œк zapin gye zo be plāntɛt за̃mez deljɛn i døs māŋkɛt

med ak blwa mã ẽ zo kwezet din dilin dã o din dilin dã med ak blwa mã ẽ zo kwezet sudakd ak fyk a zo makvet

komãs ə ĸɛ ãn dwaĸ da xlebjā din dilin dã o din dilin dã komãs ə ĸɛ ãn dwaĸ da xlebjã gãn aĸ vĸetõnɛd o welã

aк zudaкdɛd a zo gyiskɛd e ку din dilin dã o lm dılm dã aк zudaкdɛd a zo gyiskɛd e ку aк velejõn gyiskɛd e dy E bourk vBrizak 'kreiz ar vered Ur sapin gwez zo bet plantet

Ur sapin gwez zo bet plantet Din dilin da o din dilin da Ur sapin gwez zo bet plantet James delienn n'he deus manket

Met ar bloaz-man eñ zo kouezhet Din dilin da o din dilin da Met ar bloaz-man eñ zo kouezhet Soudard Ar Fur a zo marvet

Komañs a rae an douar da c'hlebiañ Din dilin da o din dilin da Komañs a rae an douar da c'hlebiañ Gant ar Vretoned o ouelañ

Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz Din dilin da o din dilin da Ar soudarded a zo gwisket e ruz Ar veleion gwisket e du

Sample P4-C: Participant #4 singing Plaver

kumolen ebet truz ebet gulo pep tra

International Phonetic AlphabetLyrics in Bretonte niʒ a iz dãn eɔl abask a sedɛвTe 'nij a-is d'an heol, habask ha sedero plavã gãn ãn aʋɛl ahed ãn ãmzɛвO plavañ gant an avel a-hed an amzero tвøzi gʋeledvao melɛn вуz a glosO treuziñ gweledvaoù melen, ruz ha glaso kedã us рваdo a moвjo biãn a bвasO kejañ ouzh pradoù ha morioù, bihan ha
brasemawd dindãn ãn eɔl en wabl afвikaEmaout dindan an heol, en oabl Afrika

Emaout dindan an heol, en oabl Afrika Koumoulenn ebet, trouz ebet, goullo pep tra

ãn avel as kaz etkezeg ãn noks gven a jen	An avel a 'z kas etrezek an norzh gwenn ha
	yen
mõn a kes di peoguik ew se da hen	Mont a rez di peogwir eo se da hent

e kĸe ãn oabl adкøz aк bet etĸe ãn duaĸ ag aĸ steĸɛt o vezã kasət gãn ãn avɛl hɛpmiken o võn a zɛu o võn a glejs pa ve glaw ha pa ve eĸx o võn vaĸeøn dibowɛz ataw ə be pĸet

menel a sez difiv en nex efel œn delven dugəd gãn dãn avel hesvez as mase (o ...) a ys das xumul pa vez anezo pe o tisken was dy ãn duas diafo œs xevãndis gude øn al ag adase ol gwado a menezjo as bet fors peñini vent

hɛвzɛl a веz da zebвĩ pe da evã metso ez o kuskɛd en wabl ɛp eãnã

e kкez ũn oabl adкøz aк bet etкe ũn duak ag ak steket o vezũ kasət gũn ũn avel ɛpmiken o võn a zɛu o võn a glejs pa ve glaw ha pa ve ex o võn vakeøn dibowɛz ataw bepket bepket

a na gol ked ãmzek o kãntken wak ak menes lez ak pevak avel das kas pel dæk vko estken

te niʒ a iz dãn eɔl abask a sidɛк o plavã gãn ãn avɛl ahed ãn ãmzɛк o tкøzi gʋeledvao melɛn куz a glɑs yen Mont a rez di peogwir eo se da hent E kreiz an oabl, a-dreuz ar bed

Etre an douar hag ar stered O vezañ kaset gant an avel hepmuiken O vont a-zehou, o vont a-gleiz Pa ve glav ha pa ve erc'h O vont war-eeun dibaouez, atav ha bepred

Menel a rez difiñv en nec'h evel un delwenn Douget gant an avel hervez ar mare O pignat a-us d'ar c'houmoul pa vez anezho Pe o tiskenn war-du an douar diafo Ur c'hevandir goude un all hag adarre Holl goadoù ha menezioù ar bed, forzh pehini e vent Herzel a rez da zebriñ pe da evañ Met chom 'rez o kousket en oabl hep ehanañ

E kreiz an oabl, a-dreuz ar bed Etre an douar hag ar stered O vezañ kaset gant an avel hepmuiken O vont a-zehou, o vont a-gleiz Pa ve glav ha pa ve erc'h O vont war-eeun dibaouez, atav ha bepred

Ha na goll ket amzer o kantren war ar menez Lez ar pevar avel da 'z kas pell d'ur vro estren

Te 'nij a-is d'an heol, habask ha seder O plavañ gant an avel a-hed an amzer O treuziñ gweledvaoù melen, ruz ha glas

o kedã us pʁado a moʁjo biãn a bʁas	O kejañ ouzh pradoù ha morioù, bihan ha bras
e kĸez ãn oabl adĸøz aĸ bet	E kreiz an oabl, a-dreuz ar bed
etke õn duak ag ak steket	Etre an douar hag ar stered
o vezã kasət gãn ãn avel epmiken	O vezañ kaset gant an avel hepmuiken
o võn a zeu o võn a glejs	O vont a-zehou, o vont a-gleiz
pa ve glaw ha pa ve ex	Pa ve glav ha pa ve erc'h
o võn vakeøn dibowez ataw bepket	O vont war-eeun dibaouez, atav ha bepred
et	
a na gol ked ãmzer o kãntren war ar menes	Ha na goll ket amzer o kantren war ar menez
lez ak pevak auel das kas pel dæk vko estken	Lez ar pevar avel da 'z kas pell d'ur vro estren
εn	
a na gol ked ãmzer o kãntren war ar menes	Ha na goll ket amzer o kantren war ar menez
lez ak pevak auel das kas pel dæk v ko estken	Lez ar pevar avel da 'z kas pell d'ur vro estren
εn	