

BRO NEVEZ

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE BRETON LANGUAGE
NEWSLETTER OF THE U.S. BRANCH



see page 17

KUZUL ETREVROADEL EVIT KENDALC'H AR BREZHONEG

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Ideas expressed within this newsletter are those of the authors, and do not necessarily represent ICDBL philosophy or policy.

EDITORIAL

Lois Kuter

In the U.S. we have been given the impression that all of France closes down in July and August for vacations. Judging from the materials I have found for this issue of **Bro Nevez**, Brittany was certainly not dormant this summer.

And here in the U.S. the summer has not at all slowed down activities to support our own linguistic diversity. As the following letter for the Federation of American Cultural and Language Communities indicates, we need to act to insure that the cultural rights of our own country are given the protection they deserve.

On other pages of the newsletter you can read of the "celebration" of the Bicentennial of the French Revolution and of another less spectacular celebration which took place in our own capitol--the Festival of American Folklife, which included this year performers and craftsmen from Brittany. How fitting to celebrate the traditional arts of our country and the world in the two weeks preceeding the 4th of July celebration of American independence. In comparison it is sad to reflect upon the type of celebration France chose for her own celebration of independence this bicentennial year (see pages 12-14).

CULTURAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

A Letter from Walter J. Landry, President of the Federation of American Cultural and Language Communities (FACLC)

In April 1987, Senator John Breaux of Louisiana and Congressman Jimmy Hayes of Louisiana introduced the Cultural Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which would provide constitutional protection for cultural rights.

In April of this year, Senator Breaux reintroduced the Cultural Rights Amendment, a copy of which follows.

Congressman Jimmy Hayes is planning to introduce the Cultural Rights Amendment in the House of Representatives on or about September 15, 1987.

I write to ask that you contact your respective Congressmen in an attempt to get them to co-sponsor the Cultural Rights Amendment with Congressman Hayes.

We have reason to believe that the following Congressmen would be agreeable to co-sponsor if they are requested to do so by constituents. They are: Mervyn Dymally, D, CA; Joseph P. Kennedy, II, D, MA; Steven J. Solarez, D, NY; Benjamin A. Gilman, R, NY; and William H. Gray, D, PA. Congressman Billy Tauzin of Louisiana has already agreed to co-sponsor the amendment in September.

The person to contact in Congressman Hayes' office in Washington is Julie Cordell, telephone number 202-225-2031 and it is c/o Congressman Jimmy Hayes, House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Please make every effort to line up one or two co-sponsors to the proposed constitutional amendment. We would like to see at least 10 co-sponsors from a variety of ethnic backgrounds as co-sponsors.

S. J. RES. 97

To propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to protect the cultural rights of all Americans.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 7 (legislative day, JANUARY 3), 1989

Mr. BREAUX introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

JOINT RESOLUTION

To propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to protect the cultural rights of all Americans.

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled*
3 *(two-thirds of each House concurring therein),* That the fol-
4 lowing article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitu-
5 tion of the United States, which shall be valid as part of the
6 Constitution if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of
7 the several States within seven years after the date of its
8 submission:

2

1 "ARTICLE —

2 "SECTION 1. The right of the people to preserve, foster,
3 and promote their respective historic, linguistic, and cultural
4 origins is recognized. No person shall be denied the equal
5 protection of the laws because of culture or language.

6 "SECTION 2. The Congress shall have the power to en-
7 force this article by appropriate legislation."

Lizher Diwan

Diwan Letter

Youn Bodennec was elected president of Diwan at its annual meeting in November 1988. He is well prepared for this job with experience as Diwan's liaison to the National Education Ministry and government officials. Youn lives in Lesneven where he teaches high school math after nine years in farming. The youngest of his two daughters is in the Diwan school in Lesneven.

He opens the most recent issue of **Lizher Diwan** (Diwan Letter) which we have received. Also included in that Letter is an interesting interview profiling Diwan parents. For **Bro Nevez** readers I have translated both the opening words from Diwan's president and the interview--substituting the French version with my English translation - **Lois Kuter**

GER AR PREZIDANT

Keneiled Ker,

Hag ur bloavezh-skol all war an echu, m'eur krog da gempenn an hini all o tont, en ur lakaat er skolioù ar postoù ouzhpenn a vo ezhomm abenn degemer ur rummad all a vugale, a deui da greskiñ niver hon skolidi: c'hwec'h klas muioc'h er skolioù-mamm ha kentañ derez, ha tri gelenner all er skolaj gant ar pempvet klas o tigeriñ.

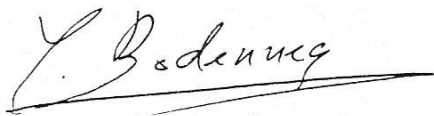
Kerkent ha miz Gwengolo a zeu ivez, e tilajo ar skolaj eus ar ranndi e lec'h m'edo er bloavezh-mañ da c'hedal e kreiz-ker Vrest, betek gwir lojamantoù-skol war gumun ar Releg-Kerc'horr, harp ouzh kêr Vrest atav. Ur skol en he fezh eo, ha plas enni, a vo lakaet etre daouarn Diwan gant kuzul departamant Penn-ar-Bed. Anv a zo da gas di sekretourva Diwan, ha da vodañ eno diwezhatoc'h ar c'hevredigezhioù hag an holl vodadoù-labour a ya da ober bed pedagogel Diwan.

Setu m'emañ Diwan o vont gant an hent en deus digoret. Da doullañ donoc'h emañ, ha n'eo ket lavaret e vije aesoc'h micher hiziv eget n'eo bet betek-hen. Gant an emglev a zo bet sinet warlene, bloaz'zo bremañ, ha daoust ma chome treut ennañ lodenn ar stad, e oa peadra da soñjal e vije bet kompesoc'h tachad dirazomp. Mes adarre en devez diegi ar Minister o toujañ d'an emglev-mañ, adarre e vez warnañ un tamm brav a imor o plantañ reier deomp a-dreuz an hent.

Ar reier-se ne vint ket ouzhpenn deomp, mes berroc'h a se e chomint da strobañ ma teu div-skolioù all d'hor sikour da gas anezho war ruilh diwar an hent.

Mard emañ Diwan hiziv e-giz m'emañ, eo abalamour d'e skoazellerien. Ganto, ha ganeoc'h-c'hwi, ez aio warc'hoazh betek penn e hent. Ho trugarekaat a ran en a-raok en anv ar gerent o deus fiziet deskadurezh o bugale en hor skolioù.

Youn BODENNEC



A WORD FROM THE PRESIDENT

Dear Friends,

A school year has gone by and here we are looking towards the next year to put into place supplementary posts that are needed for our forecasted growth: six new classes in the preschool and primary levels, and the opening of a 5th level in the high school which will require three teachers.

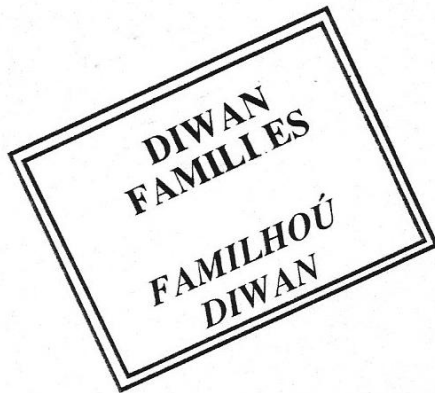
In September the high school will move from its provisional center-city Brest apartment to be established in buildings provided by the General Council of Finistère in the community of Relecq-Kerhuon, just next to Brest. This site will also be the location for Diwan's main offices and its commissions working on research and pedagogical development of Diwan.

Thus, Diwan continues to pursue the path it has opened for itself. We just have to keep moving forward, and this is not any easier today than it was yesterday. While the financial participation of the State has been fixed at an insufficiently low level, the contract we signed with the National Education a year ago allows us to foresee a period which is for the moment a little more serene. That is, unless the Ministry drags its feet excessively in finalizing the signed agreements, placing huge boulders once again in our path.

They will not discourage us, and we know how to twist around them so that the delays are as short as the support is large from our sympathizers.

It is thanks to the financial support of these sympathizers that Diwan is today what it is. Together with them and with you we will follow our path.

In the name of the parents who have entrusted us with their children's education, I thank you for your support.



Daouzek vloaz a zo eo bet krouet ar skolioù Diwan gant kerent c'hoant dezho da reiñ un deskadurezh vre-zhonek d'o bugale. Diwan a zo anezhañ, hiziv e Breizh, pimpatrom ur gelennoùiezh diazezet war ar soubidi-gezh-yezh abred, ha 275 tiegezh o deus fiziet 520 bugel ennañ. Pere eo an tiegezhioù o deus lakaet o fiziañs e Diwan ha pere eo ho mennadoù? Setu a c'helloc'h gouzout en ur ober anaoudegezh gant tri anezho.

*O chom e Plouider emañ Andre Ollivier ha Maryvonne Berthou. Stlennataer e Coopagri emañ Andre ha Maryvonne a zo bet stummet war an adde-
verezh. O tri mab, Saig, 8 vloaz, Jean-Marie, 5 bloaz, ha Gwenole, 3 bloaz, a vez e skol Lesneven.*

LD: *Penaos ha perak oc'h deuet da vezañ un tiegezh brezhonek?*

AO: *A-viskoazh on bet brezhoneger. Pa voe koulz din mont d'ar skol, ne ouien ken nemet brezhoneg. Er skollaj, da dreñ latin e galleg e soñjen e brezhoneg. Memes tra evit ar saozneg. Brezhoneger on a-holl-viskoazh ha reizh eo din komz brezhoneg da'm bugale. Din eo aes komz brezhoneg ha war ar maez ne vez ket a vec'h oc'h ober kement-se.*

MB: *Evidon-me, brezhoneg am eus komprenet a-viskoazh met e galleg on bet savet, ha darempredoù ken-garantez gant va bugale am eus gallet kaout er yezh-se. Mar bijen bet va-unan er c'houblad, e vije bet disheñvel moarvat. Ar vamm-gozh ne oa ket gwall droet da gomz brezhoneg ouzh ar vugale vihan, bre-mañ avat ne c'hell ket tremen hep ober gantañ.*

LD: *Aes-tre e oa deoc'h dibab Diwan?*

MB: *A-du gant hon dibab a oa an ardremez. Ma n'hor bije ket graet an dibab-se, piv en dije graet anezhañ? Hag ur skol lañs ganti a oa pemp kilometrad ac'haleñ.*

AO: *Gouzout mat a reomp eo ret ober berzh er skol d'ober berzh da c'houde. Ne soñj ket deomp ez afe hor bugale war-raok gwelloc'h en ur skol all. Ha pa vefe gant ur skol disheñvel ez omp tud evezhiant.*

The Diwan schools were born 12 years ago through the impetus of parents who wanted a Breton education for their children. Today Diwan is an exemplary case in Brittany of a pedagogy based on early linguistic immersion, with 275 families entrusting to it 520 children. What kind of families give Diwan this trust and what is their motivation? That is what we propose to discover in introducing you to three of them.

André Olivier and Maryvonne Berthou live in Plouider. André is a data entry worker ("informaticien") at the Coopagri in Landerneau, and Maryvonne has a training as a specialized educator. Their three sons--Saig, 8 years old, Jean-Marie, 5 years old, and Gwenole, 3 years old--go to the Lesneven school.

LD: Why and how did you become a Breton-speaking family?

AO: I was always a Breton speaker. Up to the age when I went to school all I knew was Breton. In high school, to translate Latin into French, I went through the medium of Breton. The same for English. I have always been a Breton speaker so it is natural for me to speak to my children in Breton. I am at ease with Breton and in a rural environment it is not difficult to do.

MB: For me who has always understood Breton but who was raised in French, I could relate to my children in the language. If I had been alone in the couple, then it would undoubtedly be different. The grandmother had been very reluctant to speak Breton to her grandchildren, but now she cannot do otherwise.

LD: Breton was always the clear choice for you?

MB: The choice was favored by our environment. If we had not made this kind of choice, then who would? And we had a school already well-established just five kilometers from our home.

AO: We know very well that it is necessary to succeed in school in order to succeed in later life. We don't think our kids would do better in any other school. Even with another school, we would be demanding parents.



La classe de Saig en plein effort
Klasad Saig a-vec'h da vat

Bremañ e Breizh n'eo ket stank an tiegezhoù a zesk brezhoneg o-unan d'o bugale: un emouestladur men-
net start a zo ret evit gwir, en ur bed galleg peurl-
vuiañ. Hiziv emañ Diwan o kas o strivoù pelloc'h.

Bez' emañ Jean-Jacques ha Muriel Le Bris o chom
e kreiz kêr Roazon. Kelenner eo Jean-Jacques ha
Muriel a zo kargiadez en ur gwazadur amaezel.
Marie, 17 vloaz, o merc'h henañ, n'eo ket bet biskoazh
e Diwan, neket evel he breur Pierre, 13 vloaz, hag he
c'hoar Elen, 3 bloaz hanter.

LD: Brezhoneger oc'h, Jean-Jacques. Abalamour da
se eo hoc'h eus dibabet Diwan?

JLB: Evit da'm tiegezh a-berzh tad bezañ brezhone-
ger on bet dedennet gant ar brezhoneg pelloc'h, goude
bezañ bet e Kernev-Veur. D'ar c'houlz-se eo bet re t
dibab evit Pierre p'edo Marie dija en ur skol all. Ken
gant ar brezhoneg ken gant niver bihan ar skolidi omp
bet lakaet d'ober hor menoz.

MLB: Evidon-me e oa kentoc'h niver ar skolidi hag
an tu d'en em reiñ a-zevri da zesevel Pierre.

LD: Un tamm kemm a zo bet en ho mennadoù diwar-
benn Elen?

JLB: Heñvel eo bet hor mennadoù, met e gwirionez
omp bet etre daou venoz rak dre hor skiant-prenet e
ouiemp ez a muioc'h a amzer gant Diwan eget gant ur
skoll all.

LD: Ha laouen oc'h gant ho tibaboù?

JLB: Ya, laouen omp, e Diwan e c'hellomp kaout
fiziañs vras diwar-benn an divyezhegezh abred hag a
ro tro da ziorren o spered d'hor bugale.

MLB: Ouzhpenn-se, framm ha doare Diwan a ro tu
d'ober diouzh personelezh ha kerzh ar bugel. Bez' e
c'hellomp ivez en em emellout eus an dibaboù kelen-
nouriezh. Anat-kaer eo deomp hor bez perzh e buhez-
skol hor bugale. Frouezhus eo deomp ha dezho
kement-ha-kement.



L'école de Rennes chez le boulanger
Skol Roazon e ti ar baraer

In Brittany today the number of families which transmit
Breton from one generation to the next is very small.
In an overwhelmingly Francophone environment, it is a
voluntary effort which requires strong motivation. Diwan
today relieves some of the effort.

Jean-Jacques and Muriel Le Bris live in center-city
Rennes. Jean-Jacques is a teacher and Muriel is a civil
servant in an administrative service. Their oldest
daughter Marie, 17 years old, has never been to a Diwan
school in contrast to their son Pierre, 13 years old,
and his sister Elen, 3½ years old.

LD: Jean-Jacques, are you a Breton speaker? Is that
why you chose Diwan?

JLB: While my paternal family is Breton-speaking, it
was not until later that I became interested in Breton--
after a stay in Cornwall. At that time, it was a choice
for Pierre, but Marie was already in another school.
It was as much the Breton language as it was the small
size of the school which decided it for us.

MLB: For me it was especially the small class sizes
and the possibility of having an active role in Pierre's
education.

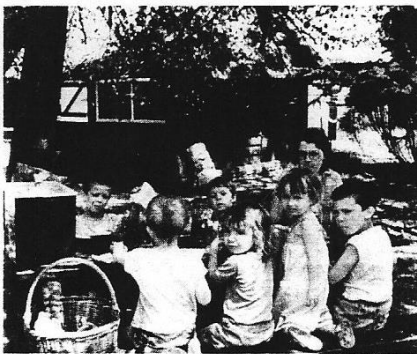
LD: Did other motivations evolve for Elen?

JLB: Our motivations were the same, but to be truthful,
we hesitated because we knew from experience that Diwan
demanded a larger investment of time than another school.

LD: Are you satisfied with your choices?

JLB: Yes, Diwan gives us greater guarantees of early
bilingualism which favors the intellectual development
of our children.

MLB: Let us add that the structure and spirit of Diwan
allows one to respect the individual personality and
rhythm of a child. We can also get involved in pedago-
gical choices. We have a strong awareness of participat-
ing in the school life of our children. This is enrich-
ing for us as well as for them.



Elen et l'école Diwan de Rennes en pique-nique
Elen ha skol Diwan Roazon gant o fred dindan an amzer

Da sevel o-unan o bugale e brezhoneg eo ret d'an daou bried gouzout ar yezh. Alies avat e vez brezhoneg gant unan anezho hepen hag a zibab, a-wechoù, komz anezhañ d'e vugale. Dre ar pried-se peurliesañ e vez dibabet Diwan gant an tiegezh.

E Komana emañ Michel Le Gretiet ha Monique Leon o chom. Stalier-pellgomzerezh eo Michel ha Monique a werzh traoù eus ar vro. Lysane, o merc'h heñañ, 5 bloaz, a vez e skol Komana. He c'hoar Bulle, 2 vloaz, a yelo di d'he zro ar bloaz a zeu.

LD: Penaos oc'h deuet war-dro Diwan?

MLG: Diwan eo a zere ar gwellañ ouzh ar vro-mañ, hag a zo divyezhek brezhoneg-galleg. War va meno eo reizh din kas va bugale di. Kentoc'h em bije goulenet: penaos e c'heller lakaat bugale en ur skol estreget hini Diwan, pa vezer o chom e Breizh, mard emañ-hi e-kichen ar gêr ha mard a pep tra en-dro a-zevri kaer enni.

ML: Ar brezhoneg a c'hellje bezañ bet va yezh c'henidik. Kement ha ma'm eus sonij, ha dre ma oan diwar ar maez, em eus bet klevet komz brezhoneg a-viskoazh, met, siwazh, n'eo ket bet desket ar yezh d'ar re yaouankañ eus an tiegezh. Ar skolaerezh a blije din, tost a oa ar skol, ne oa ket gwall ziaes dibab.

LD: Ha nec'het eo ar re n'ouzont ket brezhoneg e Diwan?

MLG: Pa'z on mennet a-walc'h da lakaat va bugale e Diwan e tlefen bezañ mennet da zeskiñ brezhoneg, hag emouez on ouzh va dislavarou un tammig. Kement-se avat n'en deus pouez ebet war ar vugale, ar pep penañ eo.

ML: E-barzh ar skol ne ra ket diaes din tamm ebet, e kendalc'hioù Diwan avat e rankan reiñ bec'h.

LD: Ha talvezout a ra ar boan?

MLG: Ma ne sonijfen ket evel-se pell'zo, ne vefe ket va bugale er skol Diwan ken. Anat eo e ran kement-se diouzh o spleit-int da gentañ-penn, ha pa welan anezho, ne'm bez nep arvar, e mod ebet, war va dibab. Ret eo lavaret avat n'eo Diwan na gwashoc'h na gwelloc'h eget nep skol all, ur skol vrezhoneg eo hepmuiken, hag a zalc'h stad, gant ur gelennoùeriezh bet arnodet, eus yezh istor ha douaroniezh ur vro evel m'emañ.

ML: Pa n'hellan ket deskiñ va-unan brezhoneg da'm bugale e kav din ez eo Diwan ar skol nemeti a ro an tu da vezañ divyezhek e Breizh. Biskoazh n'em eus kavet abeg en dibab-se. Laouen-bras a vez va bugale enni.



Lysane et ses amis fêtent un anniversaire
Lysane hag he mignoned o lidañ un deiz-ha-bloaz

To raise one's children in Breton it is necessary for both parents to know Breton. But often only one knows the language and thus chooses to speak it to his or her children. It is generally through this parent that Diwan is chosen by the family.

Michel Le Gretiet and Monique Leon live in Commana. Michel is a telephone worker and Monique sells regional products. Lysane, their oldest daughter, 5 years old, goes to the Commana Diwan school. Her sister, Bulle, two years old, will join her next year.

LD: How did you come to Diwan?

MLD: The Diwan school is better adapted to this area which is bilingual Breton-French. It seemed logical to take my children there. I would, in contrast, pose the question: how could one live in Brittany and place one's children in any school other than Diwan if Diwan is near one's home and merits such serious consideration?

ML: Breton should have been my mother tongue. As far back as I can remember, being of peasant stock, I always heard Breton spoken. But unfortunately the language was not transmitted to the youngest of the family. I think highly of the teacher in the Diwan school, and the school is close by--the choice wasn't very difficult.

LD: Does it bother you to not be a Breton speaker at Diwan?

MLG: If I am motivated enough to put my children in Diwan, then I should be just as motivated to learn Breton, but I feel some personal contradictions. But, this doesn't have any consequences on the children and that's what is essential.

MLG: In the school, that doesn't bother me at all, but at the annual Diwan congress I have to work hard.

LD: Is it worth the effort?

MLG: If I hadn't thought that for a long time, my children would no longer be at the Diwan school. I naturally place their interest above all, and when I see them, I have no second thoughts about my choice. But it's necessary to say that Diwan is not better or worse than any other school--it's simply a Breton school which takes the linguistic, historical, and geographical reality of the area into account with a proven pedagogy.

ML: Not being able myself to transmit the Breton language to my children, Diwan is the only school in Brittany today that gives them the chance to be bilingual. I would never put this choice into question. My children are very happy there.

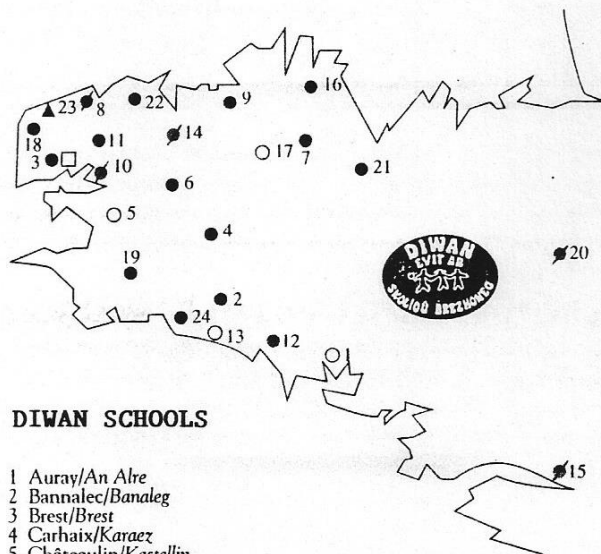
Ar braz eus an tiegezhioù nevez n'int ket brezhonek. Marteze e kompren unan eus ar priedoù e dud pe e dud-kozh e brezhoneg, pe mod-all eo aet da gentelioù brezhonek hep dont a-benn da beurzeskiñ ar yezh. Yezh an tiegezh eo ar galleg, met an emskiant ouzh e orinoù a zo kreñv hag a laka anezhañ da zibab Diwan. N'eo ket ret, forzh penaos, bezañ genidik eus Breizh a-benn dibab Diwan: un nebeut tiegezhioù, deuet da Vreizh da chom dre ma plije ar vro dezho, hag emskiantek ouzh splet un deskadurezh divyezhek, o deus dibabet ar skolioù Diwan.

An tiegezhioù a zo liesseurt eta o mennadoù hag o doug d'ar brezhoneg. E bodadegoù tud a zo e teu gant pep hini ar yezh bet dibabet gantañ, brezhoneg pe galleg. Ar pennadoù-komz e brezhoneg a vez troet gant jubennour an abadenn.

Hiziv, en e nerzh gant e skiant-prenet, e striv Diwan da reiñ da anavezout talvoudegezh e geleenouriezh: bezañ laouen o sammañ hêrezh ur sevenadur, bezañ digor e spered gant an divyezhegezh... A-benn degemer tiegezhioù all hag ober diouzh ma vezo naturelloc'h-naturel dibab Diwan gant an dud.

Most of the new Diwan families are not Breton speaking; maybe one of the spouses understand his or her parents or grandparents in Breton, or has followed a Breton class without mastering the language. French is the language of the family, but a sense of one's origins is strong and motivates the choice of Diwan. It is not, however, necessary to have Breton speaking ancestors to choose Diwan. Several families who have moved to Brittany have chosen Diwan because of their appreciation of the country and interest in bilingual education. Families thus have different motivations and different degrees of attachment to the Breton language. In some meetings of parents, each uses the language of his or her choice, Breton or French, and Breton is translated by the meeting's "translator".

Strengthened by its years of experience, Diwan is able to promote the advantages of its pedagogy--the satisfaction of taking on a cultural heritage and the opening of one's spirit that comes with bilingualism--to welcome new families and to make the choice of Diwan an ever more natural one.



DIWAN SCHOOLS

- 1 Auray/An Alre
- 2 Bannalec/Banaleg
- 3 Brest/Brest
- 4 Carhaix/Karaez
- 5 Châteaulin/Kastellin
- 6 Commana/Komana
- 7 Guingamp/Gwengamp
- 8 Lannilis/Laniliz
- 9 Lannion/Lanuon
- 10 Landerneau/Landerne
- 11 Lesneven/Lesneven
- 12 Lorient/An Oriant
- 13 Moëlan/Moëlan
- 14 Morlaix/Montroulez
- 15 Nantes/Naoned
- 16 Paimpol/Pempoull
- 17 Pedervec/Pederneg
- 18 Ploudalmézeau/Gwitalmeze
- 19 Quimper/Kemper
- 20 Rennes/Roazon
- 21 Saint-Brieuc/Sant-Brieg
- 22 Saint-Pol-de-Léon/Kastell-Paol
- 23 Tréglonou/Treglonou
- 24 Trégunc/Tregon

- ▲ Siège de Diwan / Ti-Diazez Diwan
- Collège / Skolaj / High School
- Primaire / Kentañ derez
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A MESSAGE TO DIWAN / KEMENN DA ZIWAN

This image shows a single page of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.

From: _____

Address:

BRETON SCHOOLS AND BILINGUALISM

Lois Kuter

Although there has not been a great deal of fanfare to announce the approval of a DEUG for Breton, this has in fact been done. A full university program for Breton is now possible which should make it easier for students to pursue university work in this language.

Training qualified teachers for Breton will not happen overnight, however. In the meantime parents continue to monitor the situation in the schools and make demands to the Ministry of Education and the Rectorat d'Académie in Brittany to improve the chances that their children can begin study of Breton or just simply continue in a bilingual program. The APEEB (Association des parents d'élèves pour l'enseignement du breton) met in July with the Recteur d'académie to discuss the upcoming school year. The following is a translation of an article from the daily newspaper Ouest-France reporting on this meeting and the problems still facing the establishment of bilingual education in Brittany.

"Teaching Breton--questions for school's reopening"
("Enseignement du breton--le point sur la rentrée" Ouest-France 28 juillet 1989)

LANNION--The Association des parents d'élèves pour l'enseignement du breton has just met with the Recteur d'académie. It was a question, of course, of the September startup of school.

For the secondary level: a certification of the pursuit of bilingual teaching. There have been students from the bilingual courses in the high schools now in Lannion, Rennes and Châteaulin. Bilingualism will be followed in Lannion and Rennes (3 hours of Breton, 3 hours of history and geography in Breton, and 2 hours of arts in Breton).

"The application of this accord rests conditionally on the availability of competent teachers. The Rectorat is ready to proceed in 89-90 with a survey of teaching potential and training needs. But, no solution has been found for the situation of students in Saint-Rivoal who arrive at the public high school of Châteaulin where after a bilingual schooling since preschool they can benefit from only a single hour of Breton per week."

The bilingual classes at the preschool and primary school levels which exist in Cavan, Lannion, Rostrenen, Pontivy, Lanester, Landerneau and Rennes will function normally with growing class sizes. A new class is envisioned in Trégastel.

The overall number of children in bilingual classes should pass the 400 mark. But in Saint-Rivoal two teaching posts have not yet been set up. In Douarnenez there has been no assurance for the requested opening of a bilingual class.* In Auray a class which has been requested for two years cannot be created due to the number of existant bilingual teaching positions.

To the parents these situation "show the need for a yearly Ministerial endowment specifically for bilingual teachers and the need for training. The DEUG is not sufficient; it is necessary to create a teachers college (école normale) in Brittany to train bilingual teachers."

* In another newspaper clipping reporting on a meeting of the Union des enseignants with the Rectorat, it is indicated that a bilingual class will be opened in Douarnenez.

When it comes to an introduction to the Breton language "some 6,000 children benefit from this in preschool and primary school. But there seems no improvement in Pont-Scorff" (where parents have been giving classes on Saturday mornings for two years).

In Finistère a traveling teaching post has been eliminated. In Côtes-du-Nord the retirement of a traveling teacher will leave several hundred children in fifty schools without Breton classes. This is the case of Trégor where Mr. Cojean has taught. The region he covered was Guingamp to Callac.

The Association of parents "calls on all elected officials of Brittany, Deputies, Regional Councillors and General Councillors to react quickly to resolve the existant problems".

* * *

In July the Union des Enseignants du Breton (Union of Breton Teachers) was also very active in underlining continuing problems in the schools and meeting with the Rectorat to try to resolve problems. The following news clippings report on some of this organization's activities this summer.

LA LIBERTÉ
DU MORBIHAN
08 VII 1989

Pour la défense de la langue bretonne

Les sections de Pontivy, Rostrenen et Carhaix de l'Union des enseignants de breton ont organisé le mardi 4 juillet une double manifestation escargot partant de Loudéac et Gouarec et se rejoignant à Mûr-de-Bretagne, afin de rappeler au ministère de l'Education nationale la nécessité de la publication prochaine au Journal Officiel de la création du DEUG de breton selon le contenu retenu par les experts.

Elles réclament la création des postes nécessaires pour répondre à la demande qui se développe dans le secondaire (plus de 16 % d'élèves supplémentaires cette année) au lieu du red-

éploiement des moyens prévus à Rennes, Auray, Brest, Pleumeur-Bodou. Le pouvoir montrera par là-même qu'il tient à assurer le développement de l'enseignement du breton dans ses établissements.

Elles demandent aussi l'ouverture de classes bilingues à Auray, Guéméné et Redon que justifie le nombre d'enfants inscrits pour suivre cet enseignement dans chacune de ces trois villes.

Enfin, les sections U.G.B. précitées appellent le ministère à négocier avec les dirigeants de leur Union, afin de définir une politique systématique et cohérente du breton pour les années à venir.

OUEST-FRANCE
24 VII 1989

Langue bretonne

Dialogue ouvert entre enseignants et rectorat de Rennes

VANNES. - L'union des enseignants de breton fait le point sur la situation des élèves et des maîtres après deux rencontres avec le recteur d'académie de Rennes. « Ces rencontres ont permis de résoudre certaines difficultés et d'ouvrir des perspectives pour d'autres. » L'Union des enseignants regrette que les relations avec l'académie de Nantes ne soient pas aussi bonnes : elle veut « se faire plus persuasive pour l'amener à la concertation ».

□ Les élèves. - Une classe bilingue a été ouverte à Douarnenez. Trois matières au lieu d'une ont été enseignées en breton à Rennes et Quimper. Une formation bilingue sera donnée à la rentrée en 6^e à Lannion. Le rectorat a promis de quantifier au mieux la demande en breton dans les établissements : cette demande a progressé de 16 % l'an dernier.

L'Union a demandé l'ouverture de classes bilingues à Auray, Guéméné-sur-Scorff, Redon et Rennes. Elle voudrait que les enfants de 2 à 3 ans puissent être accueillis dans des classes bilingues spécifiques.

L'Union demande l'extension à toutes les classes

bilingues du développement du nombre de matières enseignées en breton. Elle demande que les élèves des classes bilingues puissent passer les épreuves d'histoire et de géographie en breton au brevet des collèges. Enfin, elle demande l'assouplissement des règles pour l'admission du breton en langue vivante 2 et 3 dans l'académie.

□ Les enseignants. - Pour atteindre ces objectifs, il faut des maîtres formés en nombre suffisant dans la langue et dans les disciplines à enseigner en breton. Pour cela, l'Union des enseignants demande des mesures appropriées dans les Ecoles normales : mise en place de cours de breton dans les cinq E.N., stages de longue durée, ateliers de formation pédagogique.

Pour l'université, les enseignants demandent un nombre suffisant de postes au CAPES : « Cinq serait un nombre raisonnable. » Ils souhaitent que l'oral soit organisé à Rennes au lieu de Paris. Ils demandent la création du CAPES interne de breton comme dans les autres disciplines. Enfin, ils veulent que la note pédagogique obtenue en breton compte pour la promotion des professeurs.

Parents in Brittany are not afraid to get actively involved in more militant activity that is sometimes necessary to show the importance of bilingual education to Bretons. In the area of Auray an organization called Deskomp was founded to work for the creation of bilingual classes in this part of Brittany. In July twenty parents and their children occupied educational offices in Vannes to express their determination to fight for the creation of bilingual classes for their children.

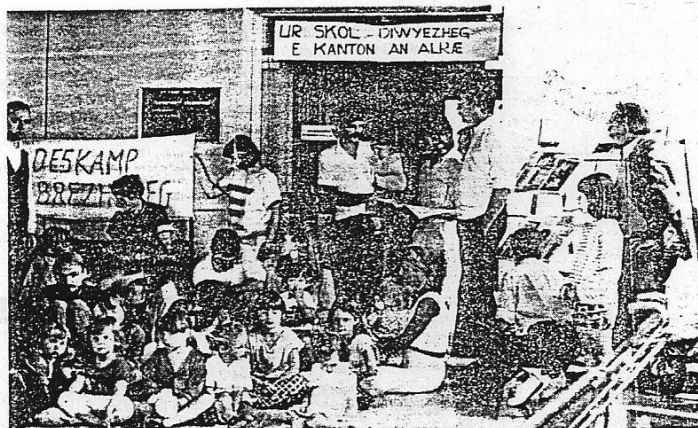
Association Deskomp Les parents se mobilisent pour l'ouverture d'une classe bilingue

Hier, une quinzaine de parents de la région d'Auray, accompagnés de leurs enfants, ont occupé les locaux de l'Inspection d'académie. Leur but : obtenir la création d'un poste d'instituteur bilingue breton-français à l'école primaire de Crach.

Voici deux ans depuis sa création que l'association Deskomp fait part de ses revendications à l'Inspection académique : créer une classe bilingue français-breton à l'école primaire de Crach où la municipalité a déjà donné son feu vert. Le projet concerne 31 enfants sur la région d'Auray : 19 d'âge maternel et 12 d'âge primaire. Une demande suffisante, selon les parents, pour justifier la création d'un poste d'instituteur bilingue dès la rentrée 90; poste indispensable à cet enseignement.

Suite au refus de l'Inspection d'académie, l'association a décidé de « déléguer » ses parents et... enfants, hier, dans les locaux de la cité administrative.

Il existe déjà une quinzaine de classes bilingues français-breton en Bretagne, notamment à Pontivy, à l'école de Quimvet et à l'école Jules Ferry depuis 1981 : le matin est consacré aux activités en breton et l'après-midi les enfants rejoignent leurs camarades du même âge dans les autres classes de l'école qui fonctionnent en français uniquement.



Parents et enfants ont occupé les locaux de l'Inspection d'académie de Vannes.

LE TELEGRAMME 07 VII 1989

Manifestation de parents à l'inspection académique de Vannes Pour une école en breton à Auray

Un pique-nique dans les couloirs de l'Inspection académique de Vannes... Jeudi à midi, une vingtaine de parents, avec leurs enfants, sortent sandwiches et gourdes de leurs paniers. Ils réclament une classe bilingue en breton et en français dans le canton d'Auray.

Nanou Bresmaïl donne le sein à sa petite-fille, Maodann.

A ses côtés, Jean-Yves s'occupe de leur fils, Kyan. Ils veulent que leurs enfants apprennent la culture et l'histoire bretonnes. « Si jamais la classe bilingue n'est pas créée, on ne les enverra pas

à l'école », affirme Nanou. Et pourtant, elle est belge... « C'est comme si chez moi on ne laissait pas les enfants apprendre le flamand ».

Les parents d'élèves font valoir que, si les enfants apprennent une langue dès trois ans, il leur sera facile d'en acquérir d'autres plus tard. « Nous voulons nous ouvrir aux autres, et non nous replier sur nous-mêmes », souligne Jean-Yves. Trente-et-un enfants attendent cette classe bilingue, « et d'autres les rejoindront quand la classe existera vraiment », estime Jean-Claude Leruyet, un parent. « Ils ne seront pas à l'écart, on veillera au contraire à ce qu'ils suivent les mêmes cours

en français que les autres élèves », ajoute-t-il.

Des classes bilingues fonctionnent déjà à Lanester et à Pontivy. Alors depuis deux ans, l'association Deskomp en réclame une à Auray ou à Brech.

Mais le secrétaire général de l'Inspection académique, Alain Boulanger, est septique : « Nous ne créerons cette classe bilingue que si le ministère de l'Éducation nationale nous en donne les moyens financiers. Et s'il spécifie que ces moyens sont destinés à payer un instituteur en breton. Sinon, nous avons d'autres priorités. Il y a des classes de trente-six élèves dans certaines écoles maternelles du Morbihan... ».

OUEST-FRANCE 07 VII 1989

The French Bicentennial and Brittany

Anne Underwood

On July 14, 1989, TV crews from around the world were on hand in Paris to observe the French Bicentennial. Anchormen enthusiastically reported the festivities on the Champs-Élysées as British citizens paraded under rain machines and a Soviet ballerina skated in a blizzard of artificial snow. It seemed that all of France had banded together for a joyful celebration, ending in a blaze of glory with fireworks over the Arc de Triomphe. But the reality was not so simple.

The actual storming of the Bastille 200 years ago was anticlimactic: there turned out to be only seven inmates incarcerated in the royal prison. Many French regarded the July commemoration as disappointing as well. And chief among the sceptics were the Bretons.

When the parade marched down the Champs-Élysées, it included a band of traditional musicians from every French region but Brittany. Not that the Bretons weren't invited. But when the invitation arrived from the Ministry of Culture, most either chucked the letter or sent their regrets. From the Breton departments of Finistère, Morbihan and Côtes-du-Nord, only three musicians agreed to perform in the extravaganza--and those three joked beforehand with gallows humor about the possibility of finding their homes firebombed when they returned.

The Bicentennial is a touchy subject in Brittany. Any cooperation with the central French government risks inciting Breton nationalists, who want nothing short of independence for their region. Two years ago when the musicians of Gwerz played in Paris for French President François Mitterrand, angry protestors cancelled the band's bookings back home.

But the Bicentennial aroused even greater emotions. For Brittany in particular, the Revolution marked the beginning of a period in which its autonomy and national identity came under sharp attack as administrative departments carved up the land and the central government tried forcibly to blend all the provinces into a giant melting pot. Beyond that, the blows to Brittany's economy were severe throughout the Revolutionary period. And, of course, there were numerous executions.

"The fundamental ideas of the Revolution may have been good," says Maryvonne Lucas of the Coop Breizh in Rennes. "But look at the way they were carried out." Some irreverent Bretons have jokingly proposed a special Bicentennial flag for the French Republic: a guillotine emblazoned on a red field.

If the Bicentennial were only a matter of history, some Bretons may have been willing to perform in the parade. But it also raised questions of the present. According to the French press, an extravagant \$280 million was spent on the July festivities. Yet when it comes to supporting the arts in Brittany, the government has "hedgehogs in its pockets," to paraphrase the French expression. "The amount they spend on the Pompidou Center of Modern Art in a single day is equivalent to the money they give to Brittany annually," says Jean-Jacques Henry, who works in the mayor's office of La Roche-Derrien.

The Breton boycotters also objected to the specific details of the parade's concept. Starting from the theme of the revolution's universality, creator Jean-Paul Goude decided to have traditional musicians from all over France play the same tune--a thousand bagpipes, violins, flutes and hurdy-gurdies all playing in unison. "Maybe I am naïve, maybe it is a total error," Goude told TRAD Magazine, explaining that he regards all the world's people as virtually interchangeable, "but to me there is no difference. These are all tribes situated at different points of the globe. I want to make them all play the same thing. I don't want to preserve our patrimony whatever the cost. There will be no 'real Alsacians' or 'real Bretons' here."

Real Bretons were not the only ones who regarded the idea as "not so Goude." "He may not want to preserve our heritage, but I do," says flutist Michel Sikiotakis, who plays in Paris with the traditional group Fubu. "Some musicians argued that at least we would get publicity out of it. Do you know what kind of publicity the traditional musicians got?" He empties a small envelope of clippings--a sentence from *Le Figaro*, a line or two from *Libération*, a passing mention from *Le Monde*.

The protestors obviously made their point. In solidarity with musicians who boycotted the evening parade, Bagad Lann-Bihoue, the naval pipe band from Brittany, also backed out of the morning's military parade at the last minute.

Breton musicians know their abstention will make little impression on the central government, but they felt it a point of honor to stay away. "It's not because of the Breton nationalists that I refused to participate" says Jean-Michel Veillon, flutist with the Barzaz Trio. "I simply don't believe what Goude claims: that people, traditions, and cultures everywhere are the same." Veillon sent a letter saying that he was unable to attend because of a concurrent celebration in his own town of Minihy-Tréguier--population: 790.

Bretons watched from afar as the general madness unfolded in Paris. The night before Bastille Day, the traditional outdoor dances around Paris were marked by even more firecracker injuries than usual. The total number of wounded came to 75, with 14 of them seriously burned. (The casualties came to be known cynically as "les quatorze de juillet.")

Instead of contributing to the chaos in Paris, Bretons marked the Bicentennial in their own quiet way. Exhibits in numerous towns--Pontivy, Josselin, Guingamp and Saint-Malo, to name only a few--described the ways in which the Revolution touched their regions. As many as one hundred books were issued on the subject of the Revolution in Brittany--everything from a novel to a booklet describing the hardships of the Bigouden sailors under the Revolution.

One particularly moving commemoration was a day-long series of readings in Côtes-du-Nord. Actors and audiences traveled around the countryside to a variety of symbolic destinations--a castle, a church, a dovecot (the right to keep doves was reserved to certain large landholders). Readings ranged from the writings of the Marquis de Sade and the letters of a Breton conscript to modern extracts from the Declaration of the Rights of the Child and pieces on women's rights and workers in Peru.

If the Bicentennial Commission failed to distinguish between positive and negative phases of the French Revolution, Bretons picked up the distinctions. An exhibit running through mid-December in Rennes reminds visitors that the ideas of the Revolution first took hold in Brittany, where the bourgeoisie began struggling against the nobility and high clergy as early as June 1788. The first blood of the Revolution was spilled in Brittany--on January 27, 1789, when two noblemen were killed in a clash on the Parliament Square in Rennes.

But the exhibition further reminds guests that the counter-revolution also began there. Dissatisfied with the sacking of churches, the doubling of taxes in three years, and an increasingly authoritarian central power, the Breton peasants needed only military conscription of 1793 to incite them to a rebellion that came to be known as the Chouannerie.

To be fair, the Bretons were not the only ones who looked with skepticism on the Bicentennial this year. A mammoth exposition in Paris's Jardin des Tuileries was virtually empty for months, forcing promoters to slash the price of entry. Booth after booth featuring every conceivable product--guillotine earrings, decks of cards without kings or queens, tricolored Bicentennial condoms ("from the folks with 200 years of experience")--stood idle until hordes of foreign tourists arrived to fill the coffers. The French were busy instead buying counter-Bicentennial tee-

shirts, showing the official Bicentennial symbol of three birds transformed into either three warplanes or three vultures.

Some went further than that. Citizens of the Vendée, the other principal region that rose in counter-revolution in 1793, announced that they would celebrate their own Bicentennial in 1993.

In the end, July 14 was not the Jour de Gloire that François Mitterrand was expecting. "The revolution is at the same time everywhere and nowhere," wrote the French magazine *Le Point*. "Everywhere, because it is exalted like a concert of Amnesty International, sold like laundry detergent, mediatized like a tennis tournament. And nowhere because, under the trappings of a votive celebration, the meaning of the event is disguised more than it is revealed."

In the final analysis, the French Bicentennial was more enthusiastically received abroad--in the United States, Ireland and India, for example--than on native turf. The French press dubbed the celebration not the "Bicentenaire" but the "Bidecentenaire." A "bide" in French is a failure.

* * *

CELEBRATING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Lois Kuter

I must admit that I was greatly mystified by news that unfolded in the pages of the Breton magazine *Musique Bretonne* during the Spring of 1989. This began with an editorial expressing dismay (to put it mildly) with the proposed extravaganza and was followed by dozens of letters from readers of that magazine--musicians and individuals active in the promotion of Breton culture. It took me quite a while to accept the fact that the described role for traditional musicians in the Bicentennial parade was not just a joke. It seemed incredible to me that the same French who sneered at Americans for our Disneylands and Hollywood worlds would be out-Hollywooding us with a parade that featured more special effects than a Spielberg science fiction movie.

Just when Bretons are starting to make some progress in protecting and creatively developing the unique cultural expressions of Brittany along comes a Parisian advertising wizard inviting them to participate in an event to celebrate the idea that we are all becoming indistinguishable cultural clones. How could one take such an invitation seriously?

Media coverage of the French Bicentennial has been quite interesting here in the U.S. Several long articles in the New York Times by James M. Markham presented the darker side of the Revolution to explain why people in France might have some mixed feelings about celebrating it. ("All French divided over how they'll party" NY Times, June 18, 1989, p. 5; and "A calm, ambivalent France looks back to 1789's fervor" NY Times, July 9, 1989, p. 1 & 14) In an article on the rekindling of bad memories in the Nantes area of Brittany and the Vendée, we are reminded that "...just as American Southerners have not altogether forgotten Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman's earth-scorching march, so, too, the people of the Vendée are not about to blot out the memory of Gen. Louis-Marie Turreau and Gen. François Westermann, who wildly killed men, women and children, or a sinister Jacobin hanging judge named Jean-Baptiste Carrier, who executed 13,000 people in Nantes, drowning many in the Loire in specially made boats." (James M. Markham, "Nantes Journal--In a corner of France, long live the Old Regime" NY Times, June 17, 1989, p. 2)

Does one need to ask why Bretons might not be enthusiastic about celebrating the French Revolution?

BRETON MUSICIANS IN THE U.S.

Lois Kuter

From June 23rd to July 4th Americans had the rare opportunity to host a group of Breton musicians in Washington D.C. for the Festival of American Folklife. I was fortunate to be one of the thousands of visitors to the festival and had the chance to hear some of the finest traditional singers, pipers and hurdy-gurdy players Brittany has to send to our shores. I apologize for not sending notice to ICDBL members within travelling distance of Washington, but I only learned of the Breton presence at the festival after the festival had been underway for several days. My thanks to John Hanly for alerting me in time so I was able to travel to Washington.

The American Folklife Festival has been held annually since 1967 by the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service on the Mall in Washington D.C. between the Capitol and the Washington Monument. Each year a different State of the U.S. is featured and several other world traditions also present music, dance and traditional crafts or sports which make them unique. This year Hawaii, the Caribbean and American Indians were featured. Breton musicians were part of a celebration of French-speaking traditions including performers from Normandy and the Poitou area of France, Quebec, New England, Louisiana, Missouri and North Dakota. Performances at the festival are spread out on many stages under the trees of the mall, and participants have the opportunity to exchange ideas with each other as well as with audiences. Performers are not in most cases professional musicians, but just people who have maintained their traditions--"national treasures" of their respective home countries who excel in their art. This was certainly the case for Brittany which sent us some of its best from the French-speaking tradition of Upper Brittany.

It gave me perhaps the greatest pleasure at the festival to hear **Albert Poulain**, a singer and storyteller from Pipriac who I had the honor of meeting in Brittany in 1978. At that time he was not at all enthusiastic about meeting an American anthropologist, but he seemed to warm up a bit after I was able to show that getting my hands muddy in a beet field was not beneath my dignity. I learned a lot from Albert Poulain by just keeping my mouth shut and listening. He is also an expert on the traditional rural and religious architecture of his country and has taken a very active role in promoting all aspects of the culture of the area of Redon and Pipriac. People like Albert Poulain are the "national treasures" of Brittany because they not only study and perform music, but also have a creative spark that inspires others to follow their example. Unfortunately, there are few recordings of Albert Poulain available, but he can be found singing and as an author in the documentation of **Dastum No. 8--Chants et traditions, Pays d'Oust et de Vilaine**, produced in 1984.

That recording also includes two members of a trio of singers who performed during the festival: **Gilbert Bourdin** and **Christian Dautel**. The third member of this trio, **Eric Marchand**, may be better known to Bro Nevez readers due to his participation in the group Gwerz, or his reknown as a singer in the Breton language traditon. At the festival he sang in Breton and demonstrated the art of the treujenn gaol (clarinet) in addition to performing response songs and ballads from the Gallo tradition. Neither Gilbert Bourdin nor Christian Dautel has become a household word in the U.S., but they are famous (and perhaps also infamous) in Gallo Morbihan for their singing and their sense of humor. They are performers I remember well from trips to Brittany in 1978 and 1982. Both are better than ever and it did my spirit good to dance to a bit of their singing in Washington. With Eric Marchand, Gilbert Bourdin and Christian Dautel have made two records which include many of the songs

performed in Washington: **Chants à danser de Haute-Bretagne** (Bourdin-Marchand-Dautel, Dastum 1986, a cassette) and **Chants à répondre de Haute-Bretagne** (Le Chasse-Marée SCM 011, 1988).

From an area further to the north (the region of Saint-Brieuc) the festival was fortunate to have two players of the vielle à roue, or hurdy-gurdy: **Jean Gauçon** and **Jospeh Quintin**. Now in their 60s these gentlemen have spent many years mastering this instrument and have performed at hundreds of weddings and dances. Today they often play together--Jean Gauçon accompanying songs of Joseph Quintin--just as they did in Washington. Like most performers at the festival, these two masters are not recording stars, but you can find them on a very beautifully documented album about the vielle à roue produced by Le Chasse-Marée: **Sonneurs de vielle traditionnelle en Bretagne** (Le Chasse Marée SCM 004).

Instruments represented at the festival also included the biniou koz (bagpipe) and bombarde--played by **Gilbert Hervieux** and **Olivier Glet** who also make these instruments (as well as other bagpipes, flutes and clarinets). They set up shop at the festival and displayed their excellent craftsmanship as well as musicianship. It was rare indeed to find either of them free of prospective customers testing their abilities with the English language. Unfortunately I can't think of any recordings where these two perform on the biniou and bombarde together, but Gilbert Hervieux can be found on the Dastum album featuring the Pays d'Oust et de Vilaine (cited above) leading a song for dance. I do have a catalog for these craftsmen if anyone is interested in a copy. They would welcome customers in the U.S.

Another craftsman and musician performing Breton music at the National Folklife Festival was **Thierry Bertrand** who sets up shop in the Vendée area of France to make the veuze--a bagpipe from the Loire River area of Brittany and the Vendée. From his performance at the festival it is hard to believe that this instrument was reborn in Brittany as recently ago as the 1970s. Thierry Bertrand has been a major figure in its renaissance as a fine musicians and as an equally skilled maker of the instrument. He can be heard on a record album documenting the veuze produced in 1987 by Le Chasse-Marée: **Sonneurs de veuze en Bretagne et marais breton vendéen** (Le Chasse-Marée SCM 010).

Introducing the Breton performers and accompanying the veuze and hurdy gurdy on fiddle during the festival was a musician who is not himself Breton, but certainly very much at home with Brittany and Breton music: **John Wright**. Along with **Catherine Perrier**, he has long experience in festival organization and the establishment of networks of musicians and ethnomusicologists, and has used this knowledge to help create the contacts necessary to bring the best of traditional music from France to the Festival of American Folklife. Besides this less visible role, both John Wright and Catherine Perrier showed remarkable skills as workshop and performance presenters as well as performers during the festival.

Two other members of the Breton contingent in Washington must also be mentioned. **Véronique Perrenou**, a staff member of Dastum, introduced musicians on stage and also had the thankless task of organizing performers so that they appeared at the right time and place on stage. She also took an active role in instigating dancing to the songs and instrumental tunes--an accompaniment that is obligatory in Brittany for dance music. Present among the dancers was another member of the Breton delegation, **Patrick Malrieu**, the director of Dastum. He claimed to have no job at the festival. Although he is an active participant in Breton music, indeed, I never saw him on stage during the festival. But, he did work during the festival--in the collections of the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress--to do a little research and "collection" of ideas for the Dastum archives. And like all the Bretons visiting the U.S. for the festival, he met with other participants and visitors like me to share some of Brittany with us for a few days.

Music and Wrestling

A review by Lois Kuter

Le Gouren dans la tradition populaire / Airs et chants de Gouren. Dastum et Fédération de Gouren, 1989. Cassette and booklet.

In conjunction with Dastum, the Fédération de Gouren (Breton wrestling) has produced a remarkable cassette and booklet documenting songs and melodies inspired by this ancient and still much loved sport of Brittany. Without even listening to the cassette, one can tell by the list of musicians in the notes that the 45 minutes of music will be memorable. Recordings for the cassette were made at two "veillées"--informal evening gatherings. One was held in the Vannetais town of Quistinic and the other in the town of Confort-Berhet in the Treger region. The performances on the cassette from these veillées capture beautifully the spirit in which such tunes and melodies have traditionally been composed and performed.

Paul Le Joncour, a wrestler and former president of the Fédération de Gouren, opens the cassette with the Breton oath which formally opens each wrestling tournament. Pledging to wrestle fairly not only for one's own honor but also that of one's community, wrestlers thus offer their hand to the opponent. François Hascoët accompanies this simple yet moving opening to the cassette on the harp with the religious cantique "Chapel Sant Kadou". Another cantique found on the cassette, "Kantik Sant Alan" (from Scaër) is performed by the Chorale du Bout du Monde. This hymn speaks of Christians as wrestlers for God facing the devil and his temptations. Other songs on the cassette describe famous wrestlers and their defense of the honor of their town or region. Sung by Pierre Capitaine, "Goureneu Hennebont" concerns a tournament held August 20, 1911, in Hennebont where a Breton wrestler defeats a Goliath-like opponent from the Midi region of France. In "Pichon a Lovedan" Jean-Paul Ruingo sings of the defeat of a wrestler during this same epoch after ten championships of Morbihan. Inspired by a more recent wrestling tournament, Edouard a Saoz sings "Sonnen Kalvez" which he composed in 1973 about wrestlers at a championship in Kergozlec'h. In a more literary style which nevertheless retains the theme of honor for one's country, Charles an Dreo performs a song called "War-sav gourenerien Breizh!" This entry for a 1933 contest for wrestling songs was composed by Jean Le Cam who was active in pioneering a renewal of Breton wrestling with Dr. Charles Le Cotonnec in the 1920s. Perhaps the most interesting song included on the cassette is a text from 17th or 18th century Treger in which a woman, Annaïg ar Rouzval, defends her honor by wrestling a nobleman, the seigneur de Ronangoff. She throws him down three times, forcing him to amend his oppressive ways. He offers marriage to the victor. This interesting text is given the remarkable performance it deserves by singer Iffig Troadeg who is accompanied by Bernard Lasbleiz on accordion and Jean-Michel Veillon on flute.

The cassette is paired with a 43-page booklet including the tunes and song texts performed (with some additional texts not found on the cassette). Guy Jaouen and Yves Le Clech who are responsible for the booklet can be congratulated for the very effective job it does to document the place of wrestling in the Breton oral tradition. Along with introductory notes prepared by Paul Le Joncour, Daniel Giraudon, Daniel an Doujet, Erwan Evennou and Philippe Cloarec is a long text in Breton and French describing a village festival and wrestling match in 1903. Fascinating photographs from the archives of Dastum and the Fédération de Gouren add yet another element to this extraordinary testimony to the important place of Breton wrestling in the cultural tradition of Brittany. This booklet and recording prepared by wrestlers and some of the finest musicians and singers of Brittany is a fitting tribute to the fact that wrestling remains a sport in which Bretons still honor their country today.

Breton Music on Compact Disc

Lois Kuter

Barzaz. Ec'honder. Escalibur. CD828. 1989.

"Here we are, at the tip of Western Europe, wondering what the future holds for us. Part of our space has been taken away from us, parts of our History have been hidden from us. All we can do is recreate in our dreams and our feasts, day and night, what we have lost. So what will become of us?

Space and time render our questions useless. But our small nation remains. We are part of it and this record is another attempt to let the world know about it."

So begin the notes to a new Breton recording by five musicians who have recreated a very lovely bit of Breton space in a unique blend of traditional and less traditional styles. "Ec'honder," the name of the album, means "space" in the vast celestial sense.

Breton music has long served as a very effective way of letting the world know about the existence of Brittany. For Bretons and for foreigners music has indeed revealed that this small nation does have a history, and a future seems insured by the creativity that is displayed in the music of Brittany today.

Barzaz draws on old traditional texts in Breton for dance songs and songs just for listening which express timeless emotions--whether they be the joy and sorrow of love or the misery of poverty. But, a highlight of the recording is a newer text written by Maodez Glanndour in 1949. Barzaz captures very well the reflective mood of this poem about falling snow. It is fitting that a text by this poet who loved and knew Breton music so well should be chosen by Barzaz for a recording called Ec'honder.

The musicians of Barzaz need not question their ability to successfully recreate Breton spaces for the world to notice. Such a talented group is not likely to pass through this world unnoticed. Although the group is newly formed, the individuals of Barzaz are already well known in Brittany. Anyone familiar with traditional song will need no introduction to Yann-Fanch Kemener who has recorded several excellent solo albums. I have to admit that I prefer his rich voice all by itself without the distraction of other instruments. The power of the traditional style of Breton song is often enhanced in this recording by the interplay with guitar and flute, but I can't help but to feel cheated at other moments when the voice seems stifled. But, Yann-Fanch Kemener is not a soloist to be "accompanied" on this album. He shares the music making with instrumentalists who deserve equal billing.

Many Americans who have discovered Brittany through its music already know about Jean-Michel Veillon, who played flute with Kornog when they toured in the U.S. Kornog no longer exists, but its musicians have happily moved on to other music-making. Jean-Michel helped instigate Barzaz and his flute playing is better than ever--for spirited dances as well as for slower melodies where he interacts with voice or the guitar of Gilles Le Bigot, the third member of what started as the "Barzaz Trio".

I cannot claim to be much of an enthusiast for guitar, but if a conversion is possible, this recording could do it. Gilles Le Bigot, who also toured in the U.S. with Kornog, shows what a good guitarist can do to convert non-believers. Especially remarkable is his work in the cut "N'eo ket en ho ti tavarnourez" where he responds to the beautiful vocal opening by Yann-Fanch Kemener to develop an elaborate solo. Adding to the power of this cut is a more subtle presence of the electric guitar played by Alain Genty. "Back-up" musicians in groups rarely get the recognition they deserve--also important in Barzaz is the work of David "Hopi" Hopkins with a variety of "percussive" instruments: congas, bodhran, didjeridu, mouth bow... And invited participation by Youenn Le Bihan with bombarde and J. Pol Huellou with sanza are happy additions as well.

Den. Just Around the Window. Escalibur CD830. 1989.

A sure sign that a musical tradition is alive and well is the steady infusion of newer compositions. This is an area where Bretons have shown a great deal of creativity and a generation marked by the "revival" of the 60s and 70s is now starting to produce some very interesting work. In the category of composition one can put many arrangements of traditional melodies and songs which take on a new life. And, one could argue also that each time a traditional singer or instrumentalist performs, he or she is composing something new--good musicians recreate music with each performance for the particular situation and people present to share the music. In all these ways Breton music is very much alive and well today in Brittany.

Den is a group of musicians with long experience in traditional styles and innovative arrangements of Breton music. "Just Around the Window," named from the first cut of their recording, is a collection of compositions by two of the members of this group: Jacky Molard and SoIg Sibéril. Their names are attached to the titles listed, but, in truth, all the musicians of Den are at work composing in the performances.

Jacky Molard--besides being a talented composer--is a fiddler who also uses bass guitar and mandoline in these compositions. You can find his name on a number of Breton albums (for example as a participant with Bleizi Ruz) and he is currently part of the group Gwerz--along with his brother Patrick Molard (who plays uilleann pipes and Scottish Highland pipes with Den) and SoIg Sibéril (on guitar). The presence of these three formidable musicians does not mean that Den produces just a variation on the music of the group Gwerz. The mood is altogether different and three other musicians in Den add to the creation of a unique sound: Jean-Michel Veillon (flute), Alain Rouquette (piano and keyboard), and Philippe Mobers (percussion). If one insisted on comparing Den to anything else, it might be Moving Hearts of Ireland with a touch of Dan ar Bras. But, Den stands on its own with a calm, reflective mood and a bit more of what might be called a "New Age" tone. This tone is perhaps its only weakness--one is able to put this music in the background of other activities. It deserves much more than that. Don't be deceived by the smoothness--Den is easy to listen to, but it should not be put in the category of "easy listening music". Listen to Den without the distraction of doing anything else; it grows better with each listen, and there is a lot to be heard in the compositions of these Bretons who are creating a future for music in Brittany.

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NEW RELEASES on Compact Disc, Cassette and LP

Bagad Kemper. War an Dachenn, Vol. 4. Keltia Musique M301, KMCD 05. (cassette and compact disc only). Prize winning performances from bagad competitions from 1986 through 1988.

Jean-Claude Jégat & Louis Yhuel. Bombarde et orgue. Arfolk 305-306. Rerelease of two records from the early 1970s on compact disc: Musique sacrée (cantiques), and Mélodies, marches et danses (drawn from Pays Vannetais). These musicians pioneered the pairing of the bombarde with organ.

Andrea ar Gouilh and Breizh Yaouank. Barzaz Breiz. Escalibur LP BUR 827, 17 CE 1827. 14 songs from the song collection the Barzaz Breiz sung a capella and with accompaniment by Celtic harp of Hervé and Pol Quefféléant.

An Nammediz. En Erge Vihan. (c/o Centre vannetais de culture bretonne, 21 rue des Tribunaux, 56000 Vannes). Cassette including recordings from the late 1960s and early 70s by a group which was a pioneer in the creation of a Breton "folk song" genre of arrangement.

CATALOGS

In past issues of Bro Nevez we have reviewed or noted many publications produced by the organization **Ar Falz**. Besides an excellent magazine called **Ar Falz**, this group to support the Breton language publishes books for Breton learners and books on Breton history and culture for use by high school students (and adults) through their pedagogical branch **Skol Vreizh**. They also publish a Breton language magazine called **Ar Planedenn**, hold Breton classes, and have organized a correspondence course for Breton. The Ar Falz catalog reproduced on the following pages presents these activities and publications. (My apologies for the relatively poor quality of this reproduction--the original copy of the catalog is produced with blue ink which does not photocopy well.)

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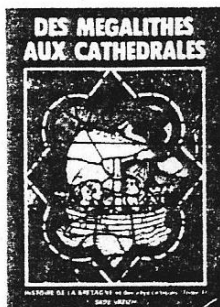
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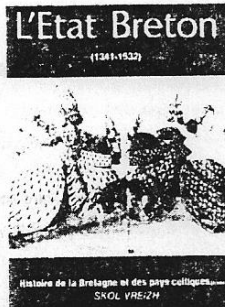
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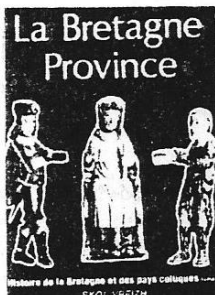
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1. AN ANTHOLOGY OF IRISH LITERATURE. Edited, with an introduction by David H. Greene. New York University Press, 1974, xxxvii, 602 pages, bib, index.
Nice copy. The two volumes: \$20.00
2. Ar C'Halán, Reun. KLEMMGAN BREIZH. Brest: Al Liamm, 1985, 79 pages, softbound
Numbered edition. Nicely printed book. \$12.50
3. Ar C'halán. LEVR AR BLANEDENN. Brest: Al Liamm, 1981, 141 pages, softbound.
On Arches paper. Another nicely made book from Al Liamm. \$13.50
4. Arnold, Matthew. ON THE STUDY OF CELTIC LITERATURE. London: Smith, Elder &
Co., 1867, xviii, 181 pages plus publisher's ads. Some puffiness to cloth
cover, foxing to front fly, very good copy. \$35.00
5. Bassin, Ethel. THE OLD SONGS OF SKYE. FRANCES TOLMIE AND HER CIRCLE. Edited
by Derek Bowman. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977, xxi, 227 pages, index
illustrations. Vg in dj. Frances Tolmie (1840-1926) was one of the foremost
Gaelic folklore and folksong experts. \$17.50
6. Berry, James. TALES OF THE WEST OF IRELAND. Edited by Gertrude M. Horgan.
Dublin: Dolmen Press, 1969, x, 217 pages. Very good in dj. \$17.50
7. BETHU PHATRAIC. THE TRIPARTITE LIFE OF PATRICK. Edited with translation and
indexes by Kathleen Mulchrone. I. Text and Sources. Dublin: Royal Irish
Academy, 1939, x, 158 pages. Volume II, the translation, was never published.
Very good. \$17.50
8. Betts, Clive. CULTURE IN CRISIS. THE FUTURE OF THE WELSH LANGUAGE. Merryside:
The Ffynnon Press, 1976, 243 pages, index, illus. Vg in dj. \$15.00
9. (Bible). LEABRAICHEAN AN T-SEANN TIOMNAIDH AGUS AN TIOMNAIDH NUAIDH. Revised
edition. Edinburgh: National Bible Society, 1953, 1155 pages, black cloth, all
edges gilt (nicely done). Protestant version in Scottish Gaelic. \$10.00
10. (Bible). Y BIBL CYSSERGR-LAN, SEF YR HEN DESTAMENT A'R NEWYDD. New York:
Bibl Gymdeithas Americanaidd, 1872, 939 pages. Bound in full leather with
tooling, little rubbed, very good condition. \$20.00
11. Brailsford, John. EARLY CELTIC MASTERPIECES FROM BRITAIN IN THE BRITISH
MUSEUM. London: British Museum, 1975, 103 pages, index, many illustrations.
Fine copy in dust jacket. \$18.50
12. Breeze, David J. (ed). STUDIES IN SCOTTISH HISTORY PRESENTED TO STEWART
CRUDEN. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984, xiii, 489p, illus, bib. As new in dust
jacket. (List \$70.) \$27.50
13. Brown, Peter Lancaster. MEGALITHS AND MASTERMINDS. NY: Charles Scribnersm
1979, 246 pages, bib, index, illus. \$10.00
14. Campbell, John Lorne. FR. ALLAN MCDONALD OF ERISKAY, 1859-1905. PRIEST, POET,
AND FOLKLORIST. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1954, 31 pages, Bib, photos, soft-
bound. Study on a great Scottish Gaelic folklorist by another. \$7.50
15. Craig, K.C. (ed). ORAIN LUAIDH MAIRI NIGHEAN ALASDAIR. Glasgow: Alasdair
Matheson for K.C. Craig, 1949, 124 pages. Waulking songs from the repertoire
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CORNISH

by Joseph O'Callahan

I

It is generally agreed that the Breton language derives from the dialects of British spoken in southwestern England in the fifth century. It was carried by groups of emigrants to Brittany, where it emerged as the linguistic expression of the society precipitated there out of the break-up of the Romano-Armorican polity. The question of the survival of the related Gaulish language and its possible influence on Breton continues to be debated, most often in relation to the Vannetais dialect.

Varieties of British continued to be spoken in what is now northwestern England and southwestern Scotland, in Wales, Cornwall, and in other smaller pockets in northern England. Pictish, whose relationship to British is not entirely clear, continued to be spoken in central and eastern Scotland. Only in Wales and Cornwall, however, did British societies survive into the modern period.

The language of the southeastern lowlands of Wales (east Glamorgan, and Gwent) exhibits some features that link it with the British of southwestern England, suggesting an ancient linguistic continuum extending through the intervening areas, but later submerged by Saxon settlement. British comes down to us, however, as three discrete languages: Welsh, Cornish, and Breton.

Old Welsh (up to the mid-12th century), Old Breton (to the 11th century), and Old Cornish (to the 12th century) are only weakly attested in the written record, and their remains--names and glosses--allow little to be said concerning grammar or morphology. They remain similar enough that it was until recently unclear as to whether certain evidence should be labeled, for instance, Breton as opposed to Welsh or Cornish.

Texts begin to survive from their middle periods. These make it clear that the various British dialects were by then pursuing a differentiated evolution. Cornish and Breton, though never identical, tended to agree against Welsh, and remained mutually intelligible to the end.

Premodern Cornish literature is comparable to Breton rather than to Irish or Welsh, and consists of popular religious works. The early disappearance of the native aristocracy and the hereditary learned families associated with them along with the obliteration of the native monastic tradition by the 11th century meant that literature, as such, ceased to be developed or preserved. The literate groups in society participated in wider English, French and Latin cultures, while ordinary people continued in their own complex Cornish and Breton oral tradition. This left only the domain of popular religious instruction for the vernacular literature.

Cornish literature consists of the following, chiefly late medieval, works:

"The Ordinalia" - a cycle of verse dramas on biblical themes,

"Passion agan Arluth" - a poem of 2,000 lines on the Passion,

"Bewnans Meriasek" - a play on a native saint,

another fragment of a religious play,

"Creation an Bys" - a play on the creation of the world,

a translation of a 16th century English didactic work,

"Jowan Chy an Horth" - a late folktale ("Youen Ty an Tourz" in Breton), and

miscellaneous songs, poems, proverbs and short prose pieces, mostly late.

II

Why did Cornish die? Or, it might be asked, why did Cornish survive as long as it did? Incorporated into the English state by the 10th century, ruled by a Saxon and then Norman nobility, possessed--unlike Wales--of very few institutions of its own, the culture might have been expected to go the way of other British enclaves.

It may be that the truncated kingdom of the Southwest had survived long enough under the Anglo-Saxon shadow so that its internal structures had solidified into such recognizably medieval forms that the eventual conquest meant little but the gradual replacement of Cornishmen by Saxons in the upper echelons of this society. A "Cornish" community existed everywhere on the ground.

Cornwall was marginal to England's concerns. In the days before the nation-state had solidified, it was as intimately linked to Brittany as to London. Fifteenth century port books, for example, suggest that the Breton trade far outdistanced any other. Bretons lived in Cornish port towns. In 1537 we glimpse a shipload of Cornish travelers to a Breton pardon, but only because they shanghaied an obnoxious customs agent. There must have been many other, less hasty, voyagers. Reinforced by this Breton connection, British consciousness lived on to the extent that an incautious French traveller was almost lynched for suggesting that King Arthur (still then the great British hero) might be truly dead, never to return to lead the Cornish!

But the culture did die. By around 1200, the quarter of the country east of the Bodmin moors had been swamped by English settlers. Central Cornwall, after passing through a bilingual stage during the 16th century was primarily English-speaking by 1600. Only for west Cornwall do we possess any literature or documentation of the language, thanks to a group of late local scholars.

The peasantry had disappeared in late medieval England and Cornwall, replaced by a society of yeoman farmers (specializing in market production) over against a declining subsistence/laboring group. The Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536 further encouraged investment in land and the reorientation towards market production. The focus of the important tin-mining industry shifted from eastern to western Cornwall, bringing hundreds of English-speaking workers into what had been strictly Cornish areas. The wars with Spain took Cornwall into England's front lines, with a consequent strengthening of the administrative machinery and a hardening of national boundaries. The nobility, formerly strongly localized, was brought into the wider English scene.

All these shifts upset the balance of forces within Cornish society, forcing re-adjustments, opening the possibility that new social configurations might not include the Cornish language. Popular rebellions in 1497, 1547, and a close call in 1537 suggest that Cornish society was under some pressure.

Where Andrew Boorde in 1534 ⁽¹⁾ had commented that many Cornishmen knew no English, and Sir William Godolphin, bringing tanners and wrestlers to London in 1532, had suggested the need for interpreters, by 1650 Cornish was confined as a living language to the far west. Even here, most could speak English when required. A determined search in 1808 turned up no speakers at all. The forces working against traditional society had meant its demise.

Cornish did not keel over and die all at once. It passed through various stages on the road towards its death, and these can be described, at least for the west.

Notes concerning the language of religious services suggest that the last monolingual Cornish generation was born circa 1580-1590. Given that the balance of new social forces weighed against Cornish, succeeding bilingual generations gradually shifted from a Cornish-dominant bilingualism to an English-dominant configuration.

Cornish became an increasingly passive capability. It lost its richness. Its speakers were no longer able to analyze their own speech into nouns, verbs, and so on. Cornish became a language for the poor and old-fashioned only--tanners and fisherman. It appears that by 1670-1680, Cornish had ceased to be the normal child-rearing language in the west. Dolly Pentreath, the reputed last speaker of the language, had been born in 1692; women ten years her junior had only a weak grasp of Cornish. As older, Cornish-dominant bilinguals died off, the language became unnecessary and gradually disused, despite the thousands of speakers still in the country. Younger, English-dominant speakers lost or did not develop their Cornish language ability. Cornish became a private language, confined to older people in traditional occupations. (William Bodinar, who survived Dolly Pentreath, learned Cornish as a young man, fishing along with his father and other old men.) All this 'hid' the language so effectively that it was considered to have utterly vanished by 1700. As reported in 1780--and this by a local scholar--it was a question of identifying scattered relic speakers. It was unlikely that there was anyone by 1800 who possessed an active ability in Cornish, though memories of numbers, rhymes, and proverbs lived on into the 19th century. In 1900 west Cornishmen spoke standard English, and not southwestern dialect. This, and some 30 words of Cornish origin in their speech, were the only clues that Cornwall had not always been English in speech.

The language thus did not neatly recede as a straightforward function of declining numbers of speakers. Rather, it passed past a series of structural metamorphoses. Arrest of its decline, as it moved through these thresholds, became less and less possible--despite what census takers would have identified as still substantial numbers of Cornish speakers.

When did Cornish die? With the likes of Dolly Pentreath? Was it when it had ceased to be recognized as the sole appropriate linguistic resource in a particular sphere (i.e., domestic, religious, etc.)? Was it when it was no longer a language of child-rearing? Was it when all its speakers had become bilingual in the language of the dominating society? Or was it when it had become the mark of a disadvantaged social groups within the southwest? It would be quite impossible to understand any of these processes outside of the continuum of which they formed a part, or outside of the evolution of a society in the southwest.

III

Cornish has been revived in this century. Modern interest originates with Henry Jenner (1848-1939). He published "A Handbook of the Cornish Language" in 1904. His students, R. M. Nance, and A.S.D. Smith followed with a series of grammars, dictionaries, and literary works. Kesva an Tavas Kernewek (the Cornish Language Board), founded in 1967, today oversees work on Cornish.

There are perhaps some 1,000 people with some knowledge of the language. Folk music has progressed from Richard Gendall and Brenda Wooton's 1973 "Crowdy Crawn" through groups like Bucca to currently available cassettes by An Gof, Ragmuffins, and Brian Webb. Radio has broadcast language lessons, and, just recently, a bilingual light entertainment program. There is a monthly magazine (An Gannas), a few other periodicals, a yearly language festival, and local conversation groups. Cornish is taught as an after-school option in a few secondary schools.

This is a very substantial achievement, but it is necessary to remain clear about what has been accomplished, what has not been accomplished, and what can be accomplished within the parameters of the current situation. Cornish remained until recently a written language. Its cultivation was, in practice, if not intention, an

antiquarian pursuit, and the language was rarely heard outside of 'liturgical' occasions. Cornish orthography had been varied enough so that the task of extracting a language out of the surviving texts was perhaps beyond the training of the early revivalists. Thus, the fact that some grammar and vocabulary are simply unattested in the manuscripts, and ignorance concerning the actual sound of the language, produced a standardized revived language whose relationship to actual Cornish was unclear and sometimes tenuous. It is probable that the revival would have remained an affair of late-night oil, but for the general renewal of interest in the 1970's in ethnic and rural concerns.

Interest is now shifting to the spoken language, and something of a battle is raging over its redefinition. It became clear with the publication of Ken George's thesis (2) that the early revived version of Cornish was both inaccurate and haphazard. The traditionalist' position became untenable.

George's revised grammar takes as its focus the language of the manuscripts. By means of computer analysis of the full corpus, he has been able to make probably a definitive statement on questions of grammar. Close attention to spelling patterns yields substantial information on the sounds of the language. George is aided in all this by a knowledge of Breton.

In the opposing camp is Richard Gendall and 'Living Cornish'. George is criticized here as being archaizing. Gendall would prefer a language more directly derived from recent Cornish experience, less 'ancient' and more 'of the people'. Living Cornish is itself based on Late Cornish--18th century--grammar, and on modern west Cornish English phonology. While these are important concerns, it is also true that Late Cornish has a number of difficulties. It is only very incompletely preserved so that it must be to a large extent a recreation rather than a resuscitation. As the late dialect of the far west, substantially penetrated by English, it may be neither more fully a possession of the Cornish people nor a suitable foundation for future linguistic developments. And it makes Breton literature inaccessible to its speakers--an important point for a language with so few resources of its own.

Kesva an Tavas Kernewek has formally adopted George's grammar. Supporters of Living Cornish seem unlikely at present to support this move. It may be that, over time, a practical reconciliation between these two forms of language may occur. A language with some 50 fluent speakers cannot afford to be split into warring camps.

Cornish is as yet a matter of scattered individuals, rather than communities, and is specific to a certain segment of Cornish society. Within these parameters, the language is advancing. It would be possible to predict its straightforward geometric growth and gradual ramification throughout Cornish society; yet, just as in dying, Cornish passed through certain discrete thresholds, so in reviving it will need to recognize the necessities of these differing stages through which it must progress. There are limits to the number of possible recruits in its current situation. And it is unclear that any assemblage of individual enthusiasts offers a solid basis for the future of Cornish as a true language.

It may be that in order to consolidate a position in contemporary Cornwall, the language movement must evolve a subculture vigorous and creative enough to both retain native-speaking children (of whom there are now a few), and to offer a vision of a worthwhile new society to Cornishmen in general. After all, two languages will never be found in a social context in which the one suffices, and English presently very adequately answers to the demands of contemporary southwestern society. It occupies all the linguistic ground in its society. It allows Cornish to function as merely a hobby or a symbol. The language, if it is not to remain a merely individual pursuit, must effectively create its own ground.

Implicit in the recognition of the values of local languages and cultures, and sustainable human-sized social organizations, is a vision of the world that must oppose itself to certain developments in modern society. It may be that only in developing the implications of this vision and putting it to work within the larger society that languages like Cornish (and Breton) might live on--not as words in a back room, but as the voice of an ancient people.

Notes

- (1) Borde, Andrew (1470?-1549) "The First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge..." 1547, or 1548. London.
- (2) George, Ken. The Pronunciation and Spelling of Revived Cornish. 1985.

* * * * *

CELTIC CONGRESS

Lesneven
July 24-29, 1989

Lois Kuter

As announced in earlier issues of Bro Nevez, the annual gathering of the Celtic Congress took place July 24-29--this year in the Breton town of Lesneven.

The Congress looked at the planned 1992 opening of borders in Europe and the opportunities this may present to the Celtic countries which have always been represented in the European community by delegates from larger countries--France or Great Britain. In Europe, some 35 languages other than official state languages such as French, German, English or Spanish, are spoken today by some 40 million people in a population of approximately 320 million.

As presented in the news clippings accompanying this brief report of the Celtic Congress, frank discussion of current problems facing the Celtic languages and cultures as well as plans to work in a more open European community were central themes in this week-long conference attended by some 350 people.

Judging from these news clippings, the exchange of ideas between Celts who have shared so much history, yet who today must work within different governments, was very fruitful.

Les motions

« Un jugement sévère
sur le traitement infligé
à la langue bretonne »

Ouest-
FRANCE
31-7-89



Le bureau international était présidé vendredi par la Galloise, Mme-Price.

L'assemblée générale, moment important du congrès, a tenu vendredi toutes les promesses. En effet, après une séance animée, quelques revendications importantes furent mises en forme sur le papier et officiellement déposées. Compte rendu et bilan d'un après-midi chargé.

« C'est incroyable que les Bretons doivent dépenser tant d'énergies pour qu'on leur accorde quelques concessions ! » s'exclama un universitaire gallois, après avoir écouté un conférencier narrer toutes les péripéties qui avaient conduit à l'accord du ministère de l'Éducation nationale pour un DEUG de breton. Le débat était ainsi lancé et les congressistes se penchèrent sur les perspectives offertes par l'Europe au niveau universitaire. Au point d'entendre la proposition d'un autre intervenant : « Puisque la France met tellement de mauvaise volonté à reconnaître aux étudiants le droit élémentaire de recevoir une formation correcte en breton, la solution serait qu'à l'avenir une université galloise prenne en charge cette formation. »

Bientôt avec le marché unique, le champ d'activité des universités de la Communauté européenne ne sera plus entravé par les frontières. Dès lors, il n'est pas insensé de penser que l'on puisse voir dans quelques années, des étudiants bretons aller suivre des études sous la houlette de l'université d'Abertystwyth au détriment de Brest ou de Rennes.

Après cette vive passe d'armes, l'on passa ensuite au vote des motions. L'une d'elles a trait justement au DEUG de breton et exprime sa satisfaction de voir le principe de sa création accepté par le ministère. Cela n'empêche pas le Congrès de porter un jugement sévère sur l'attitude de la France envers la langue bretonne. L'une des motions votées à l'unanimité déclare d'ailleurs ceci :

« Nous protestons contre l'État français pour son attitude envers l'enseignement de la langue bretonne. » Par ailleurs, une parité de traitement des langues bretonne et galloise à la télévision a aussi été exigée dans une autre motion.

Deux autres textes concernent la Cornouaille britannique. L'une demande que l'Europe reconnaisse le caractère de « Nation celtique » à ce pays, l'autre que le gouvernement britannique accorde à la langue cornique les mêmes possibilités d'enseignement qu'à la langue galloise.

Le congrès ayant fait halte en Bretagne, il en a profité pour préciser sa définition du territoire breton en demandant « à l'Europe de reconnaître la Bretagne dans ses limites historiques ; incluant la Loire-Atlantique. » En fin de séance, les congressistes ont procédé à l'élection de leur bureau international jusqu'au congrès de l'année prochaine de la façon suivante : présidente, Mme Price, Pays-de-Galles ; vice-président, M. Yann Gwilhamot de Quimper ; trésorier, Mme Guigons de l'île de Man ; secrétaire du mouvement, Ray Chubb. Le congrès de 1990 se tiendra à Swansea au Pays-de-Galles.

One interesting idea is the possibility that with the opening of European borders in 1992, Welsh universities could take an active role in training Breton teachers to meet the need in Britany—a role that the French government has not allowed Breton universities to fulfill. If solutions to the survival of Celtic languages were not miraculously found during the congress, a strengthening of inter-Celtic solidarities was certainly a tangible result that can be cited.

Congrès celtique

ouest-France 26-7-89

Per Denez : « Faire entendre la voix des minorités à l'échelle européenne »

On est rentré hier matin dans le vit du sujet avec l'intervention remarquée à la tribune de Per Denez, connu comme étant l'un des plus actifs défenseurs de la langue bretonne depuis près de 30 ans. Il a rappelé que les petites nations doivent absolument se faire entendre au niveau décisionnel.

« Nous avons les mêmes droits que les autres nations européennes, à nous de les revendiquer. » s'exclama-t-il avant de se lancer dans son intervention où il insista sur la difficulté qu'éprouvent les ethnies minoritaires à accéder au niveau national ou européen pour y développer leurs stratégies. Ramenant le débat à la Bretagne, Per Denez rappela le risque encouru par la région de se retrouver liée et à la merci d'un pouvoir national par nature centralisateur. En termes clairs, et exemple à l'appui, si les outils du développement technologique tel que le TGV sont aujourd'hui indispensables, il faudra toutefois aussi qu'au plan régional on en profite pour s'assumer complètement.

« Il y a des idées à lancer. Mieux encore, il faut s'ouvrir sur l'extérieur. L'erreur serait de se renfermer sur soi-même. Les Bretons doivent se sentir responsables. C'est absolument nécessaire. » Autrement dit, cela peut signifier aller, jusqu'à Bruxelles pour traiter d'égal à égal avec les autres Européens. On notera enfin qu'en conclusion, il fit une proposition invitant les peuples celtiques à s'organiser au sein d'organismes européens pour les nations sans état, mais aussi et surtout entre eux pour assurer l'épanouissement de la culture et des droits nationaux. Alors, à quand un congrès international celtique reconnue comme institution permanente ? En tous les cas, du côté du collège Saint-François on y pensait sérieusement mardi matin.

ILS ONT DIT. — En fin de matinée, une conférence fut consacrée à l'Irlande. C'est Tadgh Mac Dhonnagáin, producteur

d'émissions en irlandais à « Radio Telefís Éireann » et à « RTE », la télévision du pays, qui intervint. Il insista durant son allocution sur le fait que le sentiment d'appartenance celtique de beaucoup de ses compatriotes restait faible et trop sujet aux clichés. Cette reconnaissance, affirma-t-il, « de la dimension celtique, chez trop faible donnée à la langue dans la vie du pays. » Il est vrai que la langue anglaise, prépondérante en Irlande, a détourné de ses racines tout un peuple.

Tadgh Mac Dhonnagáin poursuivit alors en estimant que face à un tel état de chose, il serait très important d'élargir le domaine celtique à des relations intereuropéennes plus suivies entre les peuples minoritaires du marché commun. « Les peuples celtiques doivent s'inspirer de la dynamique de la Catalogne, très en

avance de ce côté là ». N'appelle-t-on pas cela une prise de conscience ?

Le congrès en bref. — ● Le thème retenu pour 1989 est : « Les pays celtiques face à l'Europe de 1992 ». Hier matin, celui-ci fut tour à tour présenté dans différentes langues. Riwanon Kervella, de Lesneven, intervint en breton et en anglais. Padrig An Habask en gallois et Morwenna Jenkin en cornique.

● Per Denez, en entamant les travaux, démontra qu'il maniait avec facilité aussi bien sa langue bretonne que celle de Shakespeare. Une performance longuement applaudie par l'assistance.

● Les observateurs présents constatèrent que chaque intervenant faisait l'objet d'un enregistrement audio. Ceci sans doute pour enrichir la mémoire du congrès.



Per Denez, qui intervient pour la Bretagne, est actuellement le président du conseil culturel de Bretagne.

« Sali Jenkins » : une mamie du tonnerre



Sali Jenkins, entourée de MM. Peter H. Griffiths, l'ancien maire de Carmarthen et Yann Jestin, président du comité de jumelage de Lesneven.

Alors que les congressistes convergent vers le hall du collège Saint-François pour se faire indiquer leur lieu d'hébergement, l'on apprend que parmi ceux-ci se trouvait la doyenne de la famille celtique. Renseignement pris nous l'avons retrouvée tranquillement assise dans la cour de l'établissement. Compte-rendu plein de fraîcheur au cœur d'une allée ombragée.

Entre Sali Jenkins, la Galloise, quatre-vingt-cinq printemps, cette année et le congrès celtique se poursuit une très longue histoire

d'amour qui débute juste après la seconde guerre mondiale et qui depuis ne s'est jamais démentie. En effet, ce petit bout de femme issue du village de Penrhyncoth a régulièrement défendu depuis plus de quarante ans très fermement la culture de son pays qu'elle aime par dessus tout, au point de lui avoir en partie consacré sa vie. Sali avec son âme de pionnière, n'hésita pas ainsi à se déplacer par-delà la mer et les frontières pour porter un peu partout sa bonne parole.

« Vous savez, j'ai enseigné

très tôt le gallois et encore aujourd'hui à l'école du dimanche, des jeunes viennent me voir pour apprendre la langue », affirme-t-elle très convaincue.

Toujours très active, elle entame cette semaine son quatorzième congrès avec la foi d'une débutante, pour affirmer l'identité de son pays : le Pays-de-Galles, et quand on lui demande un sentiment sur ses « cousins » de Bre-

tagne, la réponse fusa immédiatement : « Oh ! Ils sont très amicaux et j'ai hâte de les rencontrer pour faire connaissance. »

Insatiable Sali dont l'entrain fait plaisir à voir. A n'en pas douter par son dynamisme, elle devrait être l'une des vedettes du rassemblement de Lesneven.

Gwerzes, harpes et orgue au concert de ce soir

Le concert de ce soir sera donné dans la chapelle du collège Saint-François. L'on y retrouvera des musiciens irlandais. Un chanteur, Neil Kernö-Plummer, représentera la Cornouaille britannique. Mais la part principale du spectacle reviendra à la Bretagne, pays d'accueil du congrès celtique. La participation bretonne d'aujourd'hui sera fort différente du jazz-rock celtique présenté hier par le groupe Golvanig. Andréa Ar Gouilh, les frères Quefféléant et Michel Boédéc se sont réunis pour proposer un spectacle dans lequel les sources de la tradition sont préférées aux turbulences de la musique « moderne ».

Andréa Ar Gouilh puise la part principale de son inspiration dans les gwerzes de Bretagne et des pays celtiques. En cette année où l'on vient de commémorer le 150^e anniversaire de la parution du « Barzaz Breizh », elle interprétera quelques gwerzes du disque qu'elle vient de consacrer à l'ouvrage maîtresse de la Villemarqué, sous le titre justement, de « Barzaz Breizh ».

Au programme de ce soir, elle

proposera aussi quelques chansons de Youenn Gwernig, de Glemnor et de Bob Dylan.

Michel Boédéc et les frères Quefféléant assureront la partie musicale de la prestation bretonne. Michel Boédéc est un jeune organiste qui collabore avec des artistes d'horizons très divers pour la réalisation d'œuvres musicales et chorégraphiques. On lui doit notamment le « Poème de l'île de Seil » d'après Gérard Le Gouic et « l'endroit initial », présenté aux « Tombées de la nuit ». Il vient de créer une cantate, « la peste d'Éliant », présentée la semaine dernière au festival de Cornouailles.

Les harpes celtiques seront reines aussi, ce soir, avec Hervé et Paul Quefféléant, de An Triskell, l'un des groupes phare des années 70. Grâce à leur ténacité, les frères Quefféléant n'ont pas changé leurs objectifs : la promotion de la musique d'ici et celle de la harpe celtique, leur instrument de prédilection.

La soirée se poursuivra par du cabaret celtique au « Sulky » et au « Picardia ».

Congrès celtique

Peter Keelan

« Pour des assemblées régionales européennes »

Mercredi, après-midi, le Gallois Peter Keelan a analysé les perspectives d'avenir de son pays dans le contexte du marché unique européen de 1992, thème du congrès. Peter Keelan est l'un des jeunes loups de la politique galloise actuelle. Il était candidat du parti gallois Plaid Cymru aux dernières élections européennes.

Pour Peter Keelan, le Pays-de-Galles devra savoir surmonter avec courage les défis de l'intégration européenne. « Laissons les pleurs et les cris à notre voisine, l'Angleterre de Mme Thatcher, et adoptons une attitude d'adultes » dira-t-il en substance.

Pour lui, les années qui s'annoncent ne manqueront pas de situations insolites. Par exemple, à l'ouverture, des frontières intercommunautaires va aussi coïncider l'ouverture du tunnel sous la Manche qui va encore renforcer la puissance de la région londonienne en la reliant directement au croissant d'abondance de l'Europe, à cet axe qui s'étend du Bénélux au nord de l'Italie, en passant par la vallée du Rhin et la région parisienne. Pendant le même temps, les Gallois ne béné-

ficeront pas des aides auxquelles ils aspirent pour créer les moyens efficaces de communication avec l'Europe, par mer et par air.

Et de s'interroger sur le fait de savoir si l'aide massive accordée aux régions méditerranéennes ne va pas se faire au détriment de la périphérie celtique.

Parmi les défis évoqués par le conférencier, celui de la libre circulation des personnes qui pourrait s'avérer le plus difficile à maîtriser. Avec les marchandises et les biens, les citoyens de l'Europe de demain vont pouvoir circuler librement, s'installer très facilement là où leurs intérêts, ou leurs penchants ou les modes du moment vont les porter. Ce nouveau « droit » qui se profile pourrait fort bien avoir un goût amer dans des territoires comme les pays celtiques, fragiles en ce sens que leur caractère ethnique bien marqué est conditionné par un enracinement, une fidélité au pays. « Le va-et-vient perpétuel de population, le droit à la mobilité des uns n'a-t-il pas à l'encontre du droit à l'identité des autres jusqu'à entraîner des ruptures ? » s'interroge-t-il.

L'année 1992, c'est pour la conférence le début du XXII^e siècle et celle-ci pourrait être, pour des petits pays comme la Bretagne, l'Écosse ou le Pays-de-Galles, la porte d'entrée dans une Europe fédérale des peuples. A chacun d'entre eux de mener une campagne intense de mobilisation pour la création de ces « assemblées régionales européennes » pour lesquelles Peter Keelan a plaidé mercredi avec toute sa force de conviction.

Le congrès en bref

● Roisín Ní Shé, une sympathique amie irlandaise, connaît bien le congrès puisqu'elle le suit régulièrement depuis près de 40 ans, tout comme Sall Jenkins, récemment interviewée.

● Lors de la réception offerte par la municipalité aux congressistes, les jeunes Gallois en séjour à Lesneven arboraient un superbe tee-shirt vert : couleur dominante de cette première soirée de rencontre.

● Pour recevoir les médias, une permanence est ouverte chaque jour, au collège Saint-François. Les journalistes de passage peuvent ainsi y rencontrer Jorj Abheré Gweguen, investi, pour la durée du congrès, dans la fonction d'attaché de presse.

● Lors de la conférence de presse, mercredi, Roisín Ní Shé intervint dans un français impeccable, pour la plus grande joie des journalistes qui purent ainsi laisser souffler leur interprète.

● Ayant appris par la presse la tenue du congrès, deux journalistes indépendants allemands ont décidé, alors, de le couvrir pour une publication de Cologne : Europa Union.

● L'édition 1989 du congrès a bénéficié d'une subvention de la commission des communautés européennes dont le siège se trouve à Bruxelles. Une aide ap-

préciée par les organisateurs du mouvement, à sa juste valeur.

● D'ores et déjà, on pense au prochain congrès qui se tiendra en 1990 au Pays de Galles. Guto Ap Gwent, l'un des organisateurs, en a profité pour prendre contact avec les responsables locaux.

ouest-France 27-7-89

La famille celtique au grand complet

Les quelque 350 congressistes fraîchement arrivés de leurs pays avaient tous rendez-vous mardi soir, après une première journée de débats au collège Saint-François, pour une réception de bienvenue. A cette occasion, la municipalité de Lesneven, représentée par son maire, M. Jean Boulic, se chargea de les accueillir officiellement en terre bretonne. Dans son intervention, M. le maire dit sa joie

d'avoir pu obtenir la tenue d'un tel congrès dans sa ville. « Cette semaine sera, pour vous comme pour nous, un moyen de démontrer que la culture et la tradition font partie intégrante de notre vie » commenta-t-il, entouré de l'équipe dirigeante bretonne, maître d'œuvre d'un tel rassemblement, avant que de souhaiter à tous les participants, un agréable séjour dans le pays du Léon.

Témoignages d'Outre-Manche

La presse était conviée, hier matin, à participer à une discussion en compagnie des représentants de pays celtiques réunis tout spécialement pour la circonstance.

Jorj Abheré-Gweguen, chargé des relations avec les médias avait bien fait les choses puisque chaque pays déléguait sa personnalité éminente. Après un bref tour de table où chacun des intervenants déclina son identité, le débat s'engagea. Voici, en trois thèmes, quelques réflexions saisies au passage. Saisissant.

La représentation celtique dans chaque pays

Là-dessus, on a surtout noté l'intervention des deux Écossais invités. Pour le premier, M. MacLeod, il y a lieu de distinguer les gens qui parlent effectivement le gaélique (environ 1,7 % en Écosse) et ceux qui s'y intéressent, ces derniers étant largement plus nombreux. Pour lui, danse, culture et musique gaéliques connaissent aujourd'hui, un renouveau fantastique. Une prise de conscience s'instaure petit à petit. Son compatriote, M. MacIntosh, alla même plus loin en rappelant que la bourgeoisie essayait maintenant, elle aussi, de rattraper le temps perdu pour redécouvrir ses racines.

Quand on leur demanda alors d'expliquer le pourquoi de cet attrait soudain pour une langue jusque là déclinante, ils parlèrent de vogue ou, mieux encore, de redécouverte. Brenda Bridson, de l'île de Man, confirma, de son côté, cette prise de conscience qui semble s'opérer chez les minorités et insista sur le thème d'héritage culturel à sauvegarder. Enfin, l'un des Gallois présent se plaça sur un autre plan démontrant

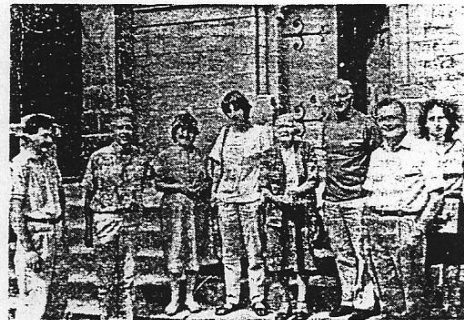


Photo-souvenir dans la cour du collège Saint-François.

qu'au contraire des autres pays, la langue galloise faisait partie de la vie de tous les jours. Un son de cloche qui n'est pas sans intérêt au regard des premières interventions.

Les pouvoirs publics face au gaélique.

Ce thème suscita des interventions plutôt controversées. En Écosse, par exemple, les autorités locales font déjà un effort certain pour former les enseignants. On apprit aussi que le gouvernement central semblait désormais intégrer cette donnée gaélique dans le cadre de programmes précis. Mais pour tous les autres pays, même si une aide existe, elle n'est encore qu'au stade embryonnaire. A un tout autre niveau, la communauté européenne est intervenue pour financer un projet de dictionnaire cornouaillais. Cependant, ce n'est qu'une goutte d'eau. Car l'idée sous-jacente dans l'esprit des minorités celtiques reste l'écoute recherchée à Strasbourg,

siège du parlement européen. Peuvent-elles y parvenir ?

L'éducation des enfants

Sur ce point, c'est l'Irlande et Roisín Ní Shé qui lancèrent la discussion. Pour elle, l'école maternelle doit rester le creuset duquel sortiront les jeunes Irlandais de demain, fiers de leur culture. Pour cela, ils doivent d'abord apprendre à aimer la langue. L'exigence de bons professeurs est alors primordiale. Un peu dans le même registre, le Pays de Galles réagit au problème posé par l'afflux d'Anglais sur le territoire, attirés souvent par le cadre enchanteur des lieux mais qui, expliqua l'intervenante, ne se fondent nullement dans la population locale. C'est un danger pour nous et notre culture. « Heureusement, le complexe gallois disparaît peu à peu, et l'on s'exprime désormais librement » précisa-t-il pour terminer. On le voit, la jeunesse est dans la bouche de toutes ces personnes. Cependant, peut-on réellement croire que l'avenir de pays celtiques se résumera uniquement à la nouvelle génération qui arrive ?

Dr Farquhar Macintosh : « L'Écosse et la langue gaélique à l'orée de 1992 »

Jeudi matin, une conférence a été consacrée à l'Écosse. Elle a été suivie d'un débat, le conférencier, le Dr Farquhar Macintosh, exerce des fonctions de responsabilité dans le système éducatif écossais et il est l'un des spécialistes de l'enseignement les plus connus de son pays.

Originaire de l'île de Skye, dans l'ouest de l'Écosse, le Dr Macintosh est bilingue gaélique-anglais. Il avait déjà participé, mardi, à l'enregistrement d'une émission en breton sur RBO en compagnie de quelques-uns de ses compatriotes : M. Macleod et deux musiciens du groupe Gleus. Tous les quatre s'exprimaient en gaélique et la traduction était assurée par M. Madeg.

Jeudi, le conférencier face aux congressistes a mis plus particulièrement l'accent sur la situation des Highlands et des îles adjacentes dans la perspective de 1992. L'Écosse est en effet très excentrée par rapport aux centres de décision européens, mais ces régions du nord et de l'ouest du pays le sont encore davantage, « or c'est là que se trouve le foyer de la particularité écossaise, c'est-à-dire la langue gaélique ».

« L'avenir de la langue, estimera le Dr Macintosh, est très lié aux possibilités d'emploi qui seront offertes. »

En effet, ces régions dont l'économie est handicapée par les difficultés de la communication ont depuis longtemps été saignées par l'émigration, en partie responsable du déclin de la langue.

« Va-t-on après 1992 assister à une aggravation de la situation, ou bien l'Europe va-t-elle donner des possibilités nouvelles ? »

Les instances européennes sont conscientes du problème. Elles ont d'ailleurs récemment décidé d'accorder une aide de 73 mil-

lions de livres sterling à l'Écosse au titre du soutien aux régions défavorisées. Cela devrait permettre de créer deux mille emplois.

« Mais jusqu'à quel point l'Europe est-elle prête à redynamiser sa périphérie ? », s'interrogera-t-il.

Il est un autre aspect qui retient particulièrement l'attention du Dr Macintosh, c'est l'influence de l'Europe en matière éducative. Déjà des programmes comme « Tes », « Erasme » et « Comète » s'emploient à harmoniser le système éducatif européen. De plus en plus de diplômés auront une valeur reconnue dans toute la communauté.

Au plan linguistique, l'Europe va investir des sommes considérables dans l'enseignement des langues. Le projet « lingua », à lui seul, représentera un investissement de 250 millions d'écus. « Le problème c'est que seules les langues bénéficiant d'un statut officiel risquent d'être concernées ». Les grandes langues, déjà omniprésentes, vont voir leur temps d'enseignement accru dans les écoles. Cela risque de marginaliser encore davantage les langues non-officielles.

« Il est indispensable, dira le conférencier, que le projet « lingua » intègre les petites langues européennes comme le breton ou le gaélique et permette ainsi des aides au niveau, par exemple, des écoles qui les pratiquent ou de la formation des adultes qui les apprennent. »



Dr Farquhar Macintosh.

Combien de « celtophones » ?

L'on connaît exactement la population des pays celtiques : 16 700 000 habitants, soit à peu près l'équivalent des pays scandinaves. La part de leur population pratiquant une langue celtique est par contre difficile à chiffrer.

En Bretagne, par exemple, les recensements n'intègrent jamais d'éléments linguistiques dans les questionnaires. Les « celtophones », c'est-à-dire ceux qui parlent une langue celtique sont environ un million et demi de personnes. Si l'on ajoute ceux qui ont une connaissance partielle d'une langue celtique, l'estimation avoisine les deux millions et demi.

Lorsque, au cours d'une conférence de presse tenue mercredi matin, la question fatidique a été posée : « Combien de personnes parlent-elles une langue celtique ? », on a pu noter plusieurs façons de répondre.

M. Macintosh et M. Macleod, les deux représentants de l'Écosse, ont courageusement donné le chiffre du dernier recensement : 80 000 personnes, soit exactement 1,7 % de la population écossaise.

C'est bien aussi ce que l'on déduisait de la réponse de l'ir-

landaise Roisin Ni Shé. Quand on lui posa la question : « Combien d'Irlandais parlent-ils l'irlandais ? », elle leva les yeux au ciel, donna des chiffres plutôt flous, puis elle s'éloigna bien vite de l'univers mathématique pour parler le langage du cœur.

Le Gallois Twm Morrys, par contre, était plus à l'aise pour parler chiffres, avec 500 000 galloisants au dernier recensement, soit 20 % de la population du pays. Cela ne l'empêcha pas de dissimuler la menace que fait peser sur la langue l'installation massive d'Anglais dans les régions galloisantes. Pour la Bretagne, faute de vraies statistiques, on mentionna le chiffre de 550 000 bretonnants, avancé récemment par Fanch Broudic, qui a longuement étudié cette question.

La Cornouailles britannique est-elle aussi dépourvue de données statistiques venant d'un recensement ? Loveday Jenkin, qui représentait la Cornouailles à la conférence de presse, estime que quelque centaines de personnes parlent couramment le cornique et que quelque milliers d'autres en ont une connaissance partielle. Elle avance le chiffre de 4 000.

De l'économie à la linguistique quatre conférences sur la Bretagne

La matinée de vendredi a été consacrée à la Bretagne. Quatre conférenciers sont intervenus, tous en breton, une traduction en anglais étant assurée.

Soigner le label « Bretagne »

Bernez Kloareg, chercheur spécialisé dans l'étude des algues et leur commercialisation, à l'institut de Roscoff, a montré à quel point l'aquaculture et l'utilisation croissante des algues dans l'alimentation est une activité porteuse en Bretagne. Selon lui, « il nous faut suivre l'exemple de la Norvège, pays pionnier en ce domaine, et surtout soigner l'image de marque « Bretagne » de nos produits en les reliant à une dynamique culturelle. C'est un élément déterminant de la conquête des marchés ».

Le DEUG de breton : un parcours du combattant »

Yann-Glaoda Morvan est en-

suite intervenu au nom de l'Union des enseignants de breton. Il a retracé les étapes de la campagne pour la création du DEUG de breton, finalement accordée en mars dernier.

Il fallut bien des actions, notamment bloquer le centre de Vannes, avec les véhicules de 200 manifestants, recommencer à Saint-Brieuc avec 500 manifestants, empêcher un avion transportant deux députés socialistes de décoller, pour commencer à infléchir la rigidité du ministère.

Six cents lettres personnelles furent envoyées par Per Danez dans le monde entier, jusqu'au jour où il fut possible de trouver un créneau pour en remettre une, de main à main, au président Mitterrand. L'affaire se dénoua alors par l'intervention du président, à l'occasion d'un Conseil des ministres.

La langue bretonne et le « sens de l'Histoire »

Le troisième conférencier est

bien connu au niveau local, puisqu'il s'agit d'un Lesnevien, Youn Bodennec, actuel président de Diwan.

« Douze ans d'existence de Diwan, c'est peu. Nous devons encore travailler dur pendant cinquante ans pour redonner une pleine vitalité à la langue bretonne », déclara d'entrée M. Bodennec.

L'impact de Diwan ne se mesure pas seulement au nombre d'enfants scolarisés. La création de ces écoles a permis de « positiver » la langue dans l'esprit de beaucoup de Bretons. En effet, jusqu'alors, elle était exclue des activités « sérieuses ».

Faire pression sur Paris par l'Europe

En fin de matinée, Anna-Vari Chapalain est intervenue à son tour. Elle est depuis quelques mois la nouvelle présidente du Bureau européen pour les langues les moins répandues, dont le centre se trouve à Dublin.

Cet organisme a été créé voici cinq ans, mais il a dû se calquer sur le schéma de la Communauté européenne, qui ne prend en compte que les États. Il y a deux représentants au bureau pour chacun des États membres comprenant des langues minorisées, soit neuf sur douze. L'Irlandais, petite langue de l'État irlandais est donc bien représenté par rapport aux sept langues de l'État français, qui doivent se partager deux représentants.

L'Europe compte 35 langues différentes des langues d'État. Celles-ci sont parlées par environ 40 millions de personnes sur une population totale de 320 millions.

L'organisme présidé par Anna-Vari Chapalain est un centre de coordination et d'élaboration de projets qui sont ensuite mis en place dans la Communauté. Que l'Europe s'engage de plus en plus dans la promotion des petites langues pratiquées par une partie de ses citoyens, tel est le but du bureau.

The following article translated from the Ouest-France report of the Wednesday morning session of the Celtic Congress on the theme of "Inter-Celtic Twinning" is good testimony to the strong links between the Celtic countries that the Congress encourages.

"A Morning of Inter-Celtic Twinning"
(Ouest-France 27 July 1989)

Wednesday morning was devoted to inter-Celtic twinning--which is in full development with 120 twinings now in effect. For example 20 localities in Cornwall are twinned with Breton communities--that's not a small matter in the life of this tiny country if one takes into account that Cornwall is not bigger than the Léon region of Brittany and has only 400,000 inhabitants.

Conference participants included: Mr. Jean Jestin, adjunct to the mayor of Lesneven and president of the Lesneven-Camarthen twinning committee; Peter Griffiths, well known to the people of Lesneven since he became mayor of Camarthen when it was being twinned; and Malcolm Jones, assistant director of a high school in Camarthen. At first glance one is tempted to think that exchanges from twinings concern primarily high school students. This is certainly a very important aspect, but during the discussion it became apparent that many areas are concerned by the exchanges that are generated through twinning. During the Lorient Festival, for example, soccer competitions take place each summer between teams of the Celtic countries. Wrestling tournaments have also played an important role for several decades. Mr. Jestin threw out an idea near and dear to him yesterday: it is time to establish rugby competitions--an idea that should seduce Celtic areas across the channel given their attachment to this sport.

The economy is also touched by twinings. To cite just a few examples, the members of an administrative council of a Breton banking establishment recently visited their counterparts in Wales. A group of Breton farmers affiliated with the FDSEA visited farmers of the Amaethwyr Cymru--a union of Welsh farmers.

One would be wrong to think that the Bretons are always following the Welsh--for example, the "Union des élus bretonnants" (Breton-speaking elected officials) which is active in the promotion of Breton in members' communities has inspired the Welsh to follow this model for the creation of their own movement of Welsh-speaking officials.

The linguistic dimension of twinings did not escape the consideration of the discussants, all ardent defenders of their Celtic languages. Four small communities in central Brittany were cited as an example. They united two years ago to organize a twinning with four small communities in the Gaeltacht--the region in Ireland where Irish is used as the everyday language. The Breton and Irish languages have played a fundamental role in the functioning of this exchange which is considered exemplary.

The conference participants are well aware of the ambiguity in speaking of linguistic exchanges when young Bretons, Welsh, Cornish or Irish participate in school exchanges--isn't the principal goal to improve their English or French? Isn't the place of Celtic languages non-existent in these exchanges? To this problem a response was made that young Bretons who went to Wales couldn't help but to notice that Welsh benefited from a much more favorable government statut than Breton. Since the two languages are about the same size in terms of numbers of speakers, that can lead young people to ask "Why doesn't Breton have the same benefits given to Welsh?"

The morning ended with the initiation of efforts to create a new association. "Brittany-Wales" and "Brittany-Ireland" associations already exist. A "Brittany-Cornwall" association will begin in the months to come.

* * * * *

WALES-BRITTANY ASSOCIATION

We have received the following letter and the second issue of a very interesting newsletter published in Welsh by the Wales-Brittany Association. Although we were not able to act on this letter in time to serve requests for information for summer activities, we will follow up to establish contact with the Wales-Brittany Association. Translations of the letter (from Breton) and an editorial from the newsletter which follows (from Welsh) have been provided by Jay O'Callahan. LK

"Cadfan"
4 Stafford Gardens
Ellesmere Port
South Wirral
England

Dear Friends,

I am sending you number 2 of "News of Brittany", the periodical of the Wales-Brittany Association. The aim of the periodical is to make known the struggle for the Breton language.

We are now working on number 3 which will be sold during the National Eisteddfod to be held this year in Llanrwst, and also at other festivals, such as the Celtic Congress.

I think it would be good to get something concerning the Bretons in America (since Welsh speakers from the U.S. also come to the Eisteddfod). I hope you are able to send me information concerning the Bretons over there--particularly concerning attempts to maintain the language, courses that are held, whether it is studied in universities, and also your work with "Bro-Nevez."

I don't write Breton well, although I read it well enough. I don't know French. I hope that you can send the information soon.

Sincerely,

Thank you,
Tecwyn Evans

The following is the editorial from **Newyddion Llydaw/Keleier Breizh** which gives a good idea of the 'raison d'être' of the Wales-Brittany Association.

I'd like to thank everyone who wrote announcing their support for the first edition of "News of Brittany". The response shows that there is a call for this sort of publication, but what purpose should it serve?

Considering the situation in Brittany today we see that refusing to recognize the existence of a language is an effective way to destroy it. Breton has been exiled from wide sections of the Bretons' daily life so that it can be described as a language that has no existence.

The language doesn't exist in the world of education. In the legal sector, the Breton does not have the right to defend himself in a court of law in Breton. It is rare that Breton is heard in local government committees or councils.

The language doesn't exist in the religious life of parishes although there is no doubt that there is a call for Breton services amongst the country people. Yet the bishops remain blind to their responsibility to the Breton-speaking minority.

Since the language doesn't officially exist, a language question does not figure in the census.

The existence and rights of the Breton speakers are ignored everywhere.

The most effective way that we can support the restoration of Breton is to testify that the language does exist. We can encourage and support activists by disseminating information about their activities in "News of Brittany."

I trust that working in this direction will receive the blessing and support of the members of the Welsh-Breton Association and aware Welshmen in general.

Other articles in the 12 pages of "News of Brittany" include:

- the Breton language festival in Carhaix,
- the French Revolution and Brittany,
- learning Breton through Welsh,
- the Celtic Congress and the town of Lesneven,
- a Welsh translation of a poem by Anjela Duval,
- a review of a book by Youenn Drezen,
- travel to Brittany,
- news of Breton courses (in Welsh) in four locations,
- a Breton course in Welsh to be held at Oaled Diwan in Treglonou.



Letter to the Editor

14 Meitheamh 1989

Dear Dr. Kuter,

My name is Ron Crow, and I have been happily receiving your ICDBL newsletter for a year or so now. It is very interesting to read about Brittany, and I am glad you produce your newsletter because I cannot imagine getting Breton news anywhere else in America. I am more than happy to renew both my membership in the ICDBL as well as my subscription to Bro Nevez.

I was pleased to see a number of Irish language articles in the May 1989 Bro Nevez. I myself have taught three basic Irish classes in Columbus, Ohio, in the past couple of years. Some friends and I formed a Gaelic League here in central Ohio, Craobh i lár Ohio, and I can testify to both your comments about 'Irish Studies' being Joyce and Yeats studies, on the one hand, and Dennis Clark's comments on the other. How right he is about "ad hoc groups brought together to study usually do not have the benefit of appropriate teaching materials, or at times, properly prepared teachers." How to the point he is about those expressing interest in Irish being confronted with negatives, as to how the language restoration movement has failed, how Irish-speaking areas are eroding, and about how the Irish people are preoccupied with economic development.

The situation is changing, however, or so I hope. The group An Teanga Mharthanach has been recently formed as an organization working not only for the preservation and promotion of Irish, but for the uniting of Irish speakers throughout the world, according to the group's literature. Irish needs a national organization here in America to help coordinate language resources and activities so that Irish can be provided to those who want it. And Irish needs a national organization here in America to organize Irish in our system of higher education, as a step toward getting out to its market. In other words, one of the reasons Joyce and Yeats are taught as they are, besides merely being interesting writers compared to so much else 20th century 'English' literature, is the fact that academia has all these educators with the background to teach the stuff in the first place. For instance, even though I can manage to teach a basic Irish course, I have a B.S. in journalism, not a M.A. in Modern Irish. And I cannot easily get a M.A. in Irish in America. That's the crunch. Without that status, Irish is reduced to the ad hoc groups Mr. Clark mentions, or as you mentioned in your Bro Nevez article "Irish Studies," the evening non-credit classes, individuals at Irish clubs or private instruction, (the latter two where, indeed, I have taught it myself).

We need Irish teachers as much as we need national promotion. The two go together. I would like to work with the Irish language movement toward both goals. Somewhat to that end, I am attending University College Galway's Irish summer course this year, for 6 credit hours. I have written to a number of people, especially Seosamh Mac Bhloscaidh of As An Nua, in Brooklyn. But I would be indebted to you for any contacts you could give me with Conradh na Gaeilge/Washington, as I have never received a response from them. (I understand they are very large and successful.) I would also like to know more about Dennis Clark's book Hibernia America.

Thank you again for your work with the ICDBL. Dr. Kuter. If you have occasion to pass through Columbus, our cradobh would be glad to meet you, and hear more about your work.

Sincerely,

Rágh Mac Conchrú
Ron Crow

AR GEGIN:

Learning to Make Crêpes While Living in Style

By Anne Underwood

Few culinary experiences are more frustrating than attempting to make crêpes, the wafer-thin Breton pancakes. The first try usually yields a thick glob. The rest of the batch is only slightly better, ending in shapes that resemble a Rorschach test. And the worst part of it is, a well-worn edition of Julia Child provides no answers.

But at last Loïs Le Coz has undertaken to help would-be cooks. For 23 years, his Institut de la Crêpe Bretonne has been offering courses to professionals. Last year he began offering classes to tourists, as well. For only 1,000 francs (\$155 at current exchange rates), visitors can spend a weekend at the institute, learning to make the basic types of crêpes while living in style in a modest château.

Naturally, in a single weekend one does not learn all the regional variations of the Breton crêpe; Le Coz counts some 40 different types of batter. The Bigouden dessert-crêpe recipe, for example, calls for more sugar per kilo of flour than the Trégorois version, which favors more egg yolks.

For those who are really serious about pursuing the subtleties, the weeklong course is the answer--a bargain at 3,000 francs for five full days of instruction. In addition to recipes and techniques, Le Coz gives advice on setting up shop, buying the best ingredients, and preparing a dossier for a bank loan.

Le Coz is an apt teacher. Now 41, he has been making crêpes since the age of 12. When he began, there were very few formal crêperies in Brittany. There were, however, farms where women cooked the pancakes over wood fires. Workers from the surrounding fields would come, bringing their own butter and silverware.

Since then, the number of crêperies in Brittany had mushroomed to 1,800. Quimper alone boasts 170--not bad for a city of 44,000 inhabitants.

Le Coz is a man of strong opinions when it comes to crêpes. According to him, crêpes suzette is an invention of major Western restaurants and has "nothing to do" with the authentic Breton product. The closer approximation that one finds in Parisian crêpe stands is "disgusting," he says, being too thick and made from an inferior batter. The Parisians also commit the unforgiveable error of using a batter for dessert crêpes with fillings for dinner crêpes.

Le Coz--who speaks Breton and is well versed in local history--is extremely knowledgeable, but he can be overbearing at times. One tires of hearing about his aunt the baroness and his esteemed forbearer, the corsaire Robert Surcouf. After the recitation of the origins of every piece of Louis XVI furniture in the château, one is almost afraid to sit down, let alone sleep on the bed.

But a weekend at the institute can provide an interesting addition to a Breton vacation. Prices for the program include elegant lodgings in the château, plus delicious meals provided by Le Coz's mother.

For reservations or further information, contact: Loïs Pourdieu Le Coz, Institut de la crêpe bretonne, Château de Pontgamp, 22150 Plouguenast. The telephone is 96.28.71.99. Le Coz will pick up visitors arriving by train at Lamballe or by plane at Saint-Brieuc. The tourists' course is available every weekend on demand, and the professionals' week is offered once a month.

BRO NEVEZ

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