LOCALISING JERSEY THROUGH SONG

Jèrriais, Heritage and Island Identity in a Festival Context[1]

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Abstract

This study is about the use of a local language in music. It shows how music is used in Jersey as a tool to propagate the local language, Jèrriais, to maintain heritage and to create culture and community. In this context, some island activists, and especially local institutions within the heritage industry, are campaigning for the survival of Jèrriais through social, cultural and political means. As a study that is grounded in the field of ethnomusicology, this research looks at the sources, methods and findings of studies of songs using Jèrriais. Within this framework, the sources of tradition are investigated, giving particular attention to a recently instigated (invented) tradition of a Norman fête held annually at a Norman location. The paper shows the use of a minority yet highly significant language in the realm of music making that has the aim of helping sustain cultural heritage in the contemporary age. Music is engaged with the language of the locale, and in contexts that are enmeshed with meanings relating to local heritage, Jèrriais is foregrounded through song as a way of maintaining and developing identity.

Keywords

Jersey, Jèrriais, language, song, La Fête Nouormande, identity.

Introduction

The island of Jersey is located in the Bay of Mont Saint Michel about 22 km from the north of France and 135 km south of the Great Britain (Figure 1). Geographically and politically it is one of the British Isles. Jersey is a Crown possession, yet it has a somewhat anomalous relationship with the United Kingdom as a self-governing British Crown Dependency and independent Bailiwick. Along with the other Channel Islands (Guernsey, Alderney, Sark and Herm)[2], it is not part of the UK, nor is it a colony or part of the European Union. As part of the Duchy of Normandy in the 10th Century, Jersey was included in the Anglo-Norman kingdom when William the Conqueror (1028-87) became the English ruler in 1066. Around a century and a half later in 1204, Normandy was lost to the King of France, Philippe-Auguste (1180-1223), but Jersey and the other Channel Islands maintained allegiance to the English crown. It was from that time that the island had special status as a Crown Dependency, being subject to the monarch in council and not to the British Parliament.[3]

While Jersey is a relatively small island it is the largest of the Channel Islands. Approximately 15 km by 8 km, the island can be walked around in one day. It boasts many attractive beaches and is a well-known and popular tourist resort. Its location in the English Channel as the most southerly of the British Isles gives it a mild climate that helps its agricultural and tourist industries. Its offshore location, geographically but also politically, has allowed it to develop over the last few decades as a major international finance centre. With a population of around 87,186 according to the 2001 census (States of Jersey Statistics Unit 2006: v), Jersey has a diverse population for such a geographically small island society. The ethnic make up of islanders has changed considerably since the end of World War II, when there was a rapid development of the tourist industry, and by the 1960s and 1970s the finance industry was booming and attracting many non-local (mainly UK) workers. Both industries, along with agriculture, brought many new residents, including people from the UK mainland, France and Portugal (including Madeira). Currently, according to 2006 statistics, the multicultural make up of Jersey comprises 52% of islanders seeing themselves as having a Jersey identity, 36% British, 7% Portuguese or Madeiran, 3% as other European and 3% from elsewhere (States of Jersey Statistics Unit 2006: 31).[4]

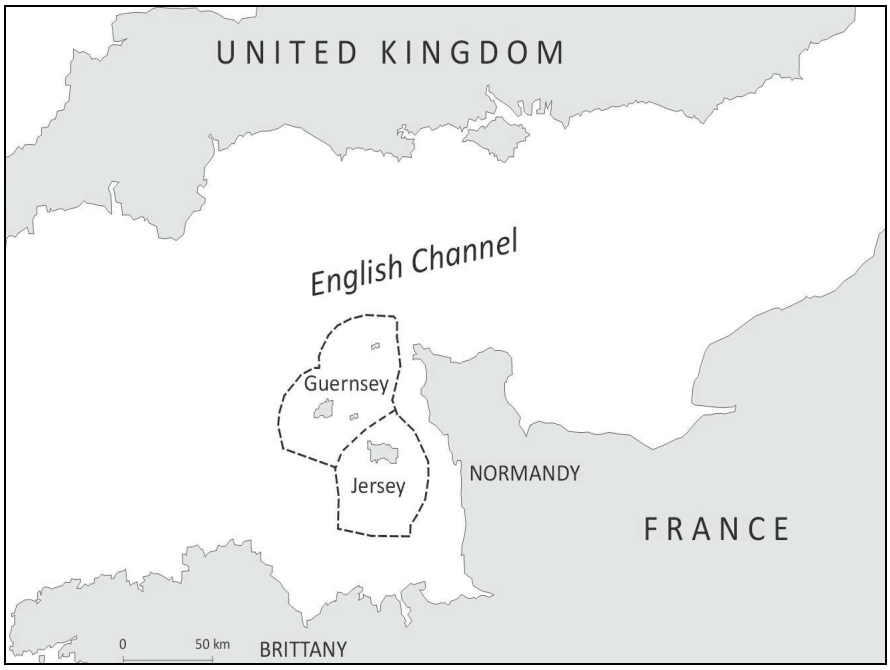

Figure 1 – Map of Jersey, the Channel Islands and adjacent French coast
(map: Christian Fleury, 2008)

Jersey has its own language, Jèrriais (or Jèrriaise), which is sometimes referred to in English as 'Jersey Norman-French' or patois (it is not a dialect of French)[5]. In a somewhat paradoxical way, what makes this language relevant in this research is that most islanders no longer speak it, although in the 19th Century and even in the early 20th Century most islanders did. In the mid-1980s there were around 7,000 to 10,000

Jèrriais speakers (Birt, 1985:1) but by 1989 the number had fallen to 5,720 (cf Sallabank, 2003), and in the census of 2001 just 2,874 people, or 3.2% of the population, sometimes spoke Jèrriais (Statistics Unit, 2002).[6]

Jèrriais "is no longer transmitted naturally through the family" (Torode, 2003: 233). As has been pointed out in a recent academic thesis on Jersey's cultural policy:

> *To most Jersey residents,* Jèrriais *has become a quaint symbol of Jersey's past.* Jèrriais *is nice to have in theory, but in practice, in a global environment of finance and commerce, it is all but dead. It is perhaps not what* Jèrriais *is as a language that these preservation groups are fighting for however, but what it means symbolically – losing a part of their accepted identity as a direct result of the impact from outsiders.* (Riddell 2005: 22; cf 2007)

For those who do speak Jèrriais, it is their second language, one that is used in settings that are specifically constructed to celebrate the language. It might also be used in an educational context, one that strives to maintain its usage in island culture (cf Jones 2001; Kuehl, 1997). Jèrriais is a "symbol of Jersey's past" that is gaining new meaning, and in this context music is being increasingly used as a vehicle to carry the language into a new century.[7] Jèrriais is very much a second and minority language, one that has been marginalised and is possibly under threat of extinction. In this context, some island activists, and especially local institutions within the heritage industry, are campaigning vigorously for the survival of Jèrriais through social, cultural and political means. Such activity is very much in line with UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) policy, which notes that as languages:

> *Are rooted in the life of a community, their survival may well depend on the value that the community attaches to their vitality and transmission… A language policy which favours the practice and transmission even of little-spoken languages helps to preserve the world's linguistic wealth and contributes to safeguarding cultural diversity.* (UNESCO, 2002a: online)[8]

This study is about the use of a local language in music. It shows how music is used by islanders as a tool to propagate Jèrriais, to maintain heritage, and to create culture and community. One of the first questions of any research is to look at what other research is available and what materials there are which might be utilised as part of the research process. As a study that is grounded in the field of ethnomusicology (the study of people making music), this particular paper looks at the sources, research methods and findings of studies of songs using Jèrriais.

Ethnomusicology has investigated the music-making activities of a plethora of communities and aspects of those communities the world over, and more recently has extended the context of study to include multi-sited investigation and paying particular attention to global cultural flows (King and Connell, 1999). Small islands, however they might be defined, have also featured prominently in ethnomusicological studies, to which this research is drawn (eg, Dawe, 2004; Hayward, 2001; 2002; 2006). So too has the interconnection between language and music been a focal point for ethnomusicology (eg, Merriam, 1964). However, rather than providing a specific ethnography, or ethnomusicology, of the music-making of a small island, group of people or individuals - and without assuming that culture on the island has some kind of

homogenous unifying aspect - this study is more interested in the fragmentation of culture where a minority language is used in music making to promote local heritage. Within this framework, the sources of tradition are investigated, giving particular attention to a recently instigated (invented) tradition of a Norman fête held annually at a Norman location.

Building on my earlier research on this theme (Johnson, 2005), this paper has two main parts: "Preserving Tradition"; and "New Traditions". The first section explores the ways music has been preserved through a selection of media, including folk tradition, printed, published and recorded materials and institutional intervention. This part has the aim of showing how songs in Jèrriais have been transmitted, preserved and invented. The second main part of the paper examines new traditions and the localisation of Jersey and Jèrriais through song. For an island that has undergone rapid change over the last century in terms of the ethnicity of its population base and external influences, one aspect of island culture that is visible as a symbol of heritage is the foregrounding of songs (old, borrowed and new) using Jèrriais in contexts that exhibit the past or celebrate heritage. It is here that new traditions have emerged, ones that draw on the past for emblems of identity yet simultaneously point to the future through cultural display (cf Russell & Atkinson, 2004).

While the island's mediascape provides evidence of the diversity of cultural events that actually take place, or are part of a wider local cultural policy that has intervention at its core, the place of traditional forms is contested in a space of ever-increasing tensions between local and non-local, and between what is perceived as traditional and what as contemporary:

> *Jersey's attempt to develop a cultural policy has been a struggle. It has been a struggle, it seems, because of the unique conditions imposed on it as a small island. The confrontation between the traditional and the contemporary, the internal and the external strongly influences Jersey's cultural identity.* (Riddell, 2005: 47)

As a case study on language and music, the research points out that tradition on Jersey may give the feeling that it is firmly established, when in actual fact it is quite fluid or contentious. There are many new traditions and change occurs frequently. Tradition is in flux and different viewers or listeners in this small island context perceive different things. In a somewhat contradictory way, Jèrriais gives Jersey residents a means through which to live and to imagine their cultural heritage and identity (cf Anderson 1991). It also gives islanders a means through which to convey symbols of local identity and heritage: "To exist, every people needs to convey a testimony of its daily life, to express its creative capacity and to preserve the traces of its history" (UNESCO 2002b: online). Moreover, heritage "embodies the symbolic value of cultural identities and constitutes a fundamental reference for structuring society" (ibid).

This article shows how language and music come together with the aim of maintaining heritage and cultural identity on Jersey. It looks at the dynamics of Jersey as a small island culture through Jèrriais and song. It shows the use of a minority yet highly significant language in the realm of music making that has the aim of helping sustain cultural heritage in the contemporary age. Music is engaged with the language of the locale, and in contexts that are enmeshed with meanings relating to local heritage, Jèrriais is foregrounded through song as a way of maintaining and developing identity.

Preserving Tradition

The primary sources available about songs in Jèrriais are very few. There are hardly any published or non-published texts, there is little in the way of recorded items; and actual performers are extremely scarce. What, one might ask, is the point of such a study when there is so little to draw upon? The answer to this question is relatively simple: that is, there are some particularly significant and publicly visible contexts in which Jèrriais is performed through song, which give it special importance in the sphere of cultural study on the island. The few sources can be pulled together, along with examples of public performance to show how Jèrriais has been used in song in the relatively recent past and how and why it is used in contemporary culture.

Of published materials available, the underlying themes seem to have been preservation or history relating to scholarly thought especially in the early to mid-20th Century when there was an obsession by folklorists and similar scholars to preserve traditions that were seen to be dying out (eg, Sharp, 1954 [1907]; cf McKay 1994). From the late 19th Century through at least half of the 20th Century, proponents of evolutionary theory saw progress in musical styles with folk music as one stage in cultural development. It is within this cultural milieu that some of the folk songs (not always sung in Jèrriais) of Jersey were collected, especially in the late 1950s and early 1960s; and some of these collections, the place of which is often contested, which have had an influence in nurturing a sense of a traditional past with their written and published form that acts as a repository of cultural heritage.

While not covering only songs sung in Jèrriais (including French and Norman-French too) but being sung by fluent Jèrriais speakers who knew the Jèrriais repertoire, the collections of Peter Kennedy (1922-2006) (1975: 246-92; 1980) provide one of the most comprehensive accounts of Jersey folk songs. Covering Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and Sark, Kennedy spent just a few weeks collecting songs in the islands in 1957 and 1960. The songs from Jersey in his book of 1975 are sung in French, Norman-French and Jèrriais, with some mixing of words from several of these languages (Appendix 1).[9] It is interesting that the songs of some islanders at the time Kennedy was collecting were borrowed from France, either Normandy or beyond (there are also some comparable songs in some of the other Channel Islands). Songs deemed to be traditional by locals, as well as by Kennedy as an outsider researcher, are made up of French, Norman-French and Jèrriais. These songs, some of which are adopted or borrowed from outside the island, comprise the core of a traditional repertoire, some of which continue to the present day. They are particularly interesting in contemporary reconstructions of Jersey folk music in that the performers nowadays usually foreground Jèrriais - sometimes French - as the reason for performing the songs in the first place. While outside researchers can do much to encourage, sustain and facilitate local culture, they may sometimes misrepresent local culture, although islanders can refer to such collections as resources for the rediscovery of music and the promotion of traditional song.

To place such collecting in the context of music research, in 1954, for example, the folk song collector Cecil Sharp (1859-1924) wrote that “in less than a decade… English folk-singing will be extinct” (Sharp 1954 [1907]: 119). Many folk song collectors (including the likes of Béla Bartók, 1881-1945 and Percy Grainger, 1882-1961), just like the early

folklorists, "saw themselves as the recorders of a dying form of culture" (Boyes, 1986: 9; cf Bohlman, 1988). "To a folklorist the uprooting and destruction of traditional cultures and the consequent grey-out or disappearance of the human variety presents as serious a threat to the future happiness of mankind as poverty, overpopulation, and even war" (Lomax, 1968: 4). For Kennedy, then, the folk songs of Jersey were perceived as dying out, so collecting them would provide a resource for their future use in music scholarship. However, while Kennedy's work can today be seen as truly reflecting a tradition in decline, music change has occurred in ways that have witnessed a new place for such folk music, a recontextualisation of song, and a foregrounding of language and heritage as emblems of what it means to come from or live on Jersey today.

As well as including song texts, music notation, commentary and a translation on a selection of songs from Jersey, often noting comparable versions and other sources, Kennedy also included a useful bibliography that notes earlier and related documentation concerning the songs. Kennedy recorded several amateur singers in Jersey, transcribing twenty-four songs (Kennedy, 1975). The transcriptions, which have been neatly packaged into an acceptable form with strict metre, rhythm, pitch and harmonic accompaniment indicated with chord symbols, provide an outline of actual performance practice, and Kennedy was perhaps writing them in such a way so that the readers of notation could learn a "tidy" form. Some of the songs were learned either in French, Norman-French or Jèrriais, and he provides three groups of songs (ibid: 249):

- Comparison with Norman songs (#97, 99, 100, 105, 109, 110, 111, 112, 118);

- Comparison with songs of Western France (# 98, 101, 113, 115, 117, 119, 120); &

- Comparison with French songs in general (# 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108, 114, 116).

Kennedy provides a useful historical overview of the songs, as well as commenting on their relationship with other songs from France. Although there is little analysis of the performance practice at the time of his research, he notes that the songs were not popular at the time:

> *These songs were handed down orally and were still popular till the turn of the present century. They were sung chiefly at family gatherings in the winter-time, and on occasions of revelry all the year round such as wedding feasts. At the end of the communal plough days, after the chief evening meal, the rest of the soirée was given to dancing and singing, followed by only a brief night's rest before returning to the plough at dawn the following day.* (ibid: 247).

While Kennedy notes that the songs "were still popular till the turn of the present century" (ibid: 247), one is inclined to assume that at the time of collecting the songs they were no longer performed on a regular basis. Nevertheless, they form a part of a traditional Norman-French culture of Jersey and, in particular, of his informants. During my field research with Joyce and Brian Gilbert and Amelia and Garnet Perchard, I was able to hear several songs they considered local (either using Jèrriais or French). My

informants were all keen to demonstrate their knowledge of songs in Jèrriais, and they recognised a need to use the language with more popular songs, although they also felt very proud of any Jèrriais songs that they had known since they were children. However, most of these informants did not know the majority of the songs found in Kennedy's work, and they confessed that many of these songs had either been lost, forgotten or were simply boring to the modern ear.

While Kennedy's work derives from an outsider researcher with little local knowledge, which perhaps helps explain the small number of songs in Jèrriais in his book (no matter where they originally came from), there are several other locally-produced publications and recordings that help show the promotion of Jèrriais through music. For example, there are five small booklets with accompanying cassettes edited by Frank Le Maitre entitled *The Jersey Language* (1979), published by Le Don Balleine in an attempt to promote the Jersey language (three of the pieces are the same as those in Kennedy). With translations into English, there is a variety of commentary ranging from discussion of traditional Jersey culture to the singing of folk songs and hymns. The contents of the first, third and fifth booklets are of particular interest, where they contain *cantiques* (hymns – translations of well-known English hymns) and *chansons* (folk songs).

There are also publications such as Tapley (nd) that is a set of translations of popular English and some French nursery rhymes into Jèrriais. "Baa baa nier mouton" ("Baa Baa Black Sheep") is given with music notation, which has some rhythms adapted to suit the Jersey language (ie, two vowels on "Oui Mousieur, Oui Mousieur" ("Yes Sir, Yes Sir"] receiving two notes instead of one in the English-language version). Joan Tapley's work is mainly for educational purposes, although, as she explained, the pieces can be (and are) used for concerts and presentations of Jèrriais. Her aim was to keep both the traditional songs that she knows (and continues to learn), and to bring Jèrriais into the 1980s (Tapley 1989). There is also the special issue of *Les Nouvelles Chroniques du Don Balleine* (2007), which is a short collection of song texts, notations, stories and games focussing on songs in Jèrriais. Although succinct, this collection does help place songs in Jèrriais in a contemporary context by aiming to produce an attractive booklet that is appealing to a range of readers.

One further source is Alfred Amy (1867-1936). Amy set several songs to classical music (arranged for piano and published as Amy [1988]), which was increasingly common practice among Western composers/arrangers at the time. Nine of the songs are in Jèrriais and the last one is in French. A note on the inside title page says that "the words of these songs in the Jersey language were written down about 100 years ago and were set to music in the early years of the 20th Century by Alfred Amy… a noted Jersey musician, for singing at the Annual Dinners of The Jersey Society in London".[10]

Institutional intervention and cultural policy play a major part in the performance of Jèrriais through song. While such events as the Jersey Eisteddfod (a competition that includes speech, presentation and music), which was first held in 1908 and since 1912 has held annual sections dedicated to Jèrriais, have helped institutionalise Jèrriais, more recent government decision-making is securing the place of the island's language after decades of decline.

In 2005, the Jersey government, the States of Jersey, approved a policy on cultural strategy, which has Jèrriais as one of its objectives:

> *Jersey almost lost its language in the 20th century. By 2001 there were less than 3,000 speakers of* Jèrriais*. In the 21st century strenuous efforts are being made to re-establish it. Le Don Balleine, funded by the States, is leading a programme in schools teaching Jèrriais. L'Assembliée d'Jèrriais promotes the language generally. Language brings distinctiveness, a sense of localness and a whole new set of skills all of which are important qualities in attracting the creative economy. It is fundamental to the Island's identity. This objective is to work with these organisations to help in the revival and status of the language.* (States of Jersey: Education, Sport and Culture Committee, 2005: online)

At the heart of this cultural policy is the survival of island heritage: the things that make the small island unique vis-à-vis UK, French or other influences. The perception of the decline of a so-called traditional culture is foregrounded in public discourse with the need to maintain the past in the present day:

> *Jersey's distinctive identity cannot be left to fend for itself. In the modern, global world it is constantly under threat… The ever present barrage of mass produced films, music, sports and television are supplanting local initiatives leading to armchair consumption rather than active participation. Local identity needs constant husbandry if it is to survive, far less flourish, in the face of this global threat.* (ibid)

To this end, the States passed a proposal that saw a top-down intervention that had one main aim: the preservation of Jèrriais:

> *Objective 1.9: To investigate the feasibility of adopting Jèrriais as the Island's official minority language and to work with the Société Jersiaise [founded in 1873], Le Don Balleine [founded in 1951] and L'Assembliée d'Jèrriais [founded in 1951] to revive the language of Jèrriais.* (ibid)

It is these organisations that have been especially influential in recent years concerning the promotion of Jèrriais and the construction of islandness.

While the Société Jersiaise is the largest local institution that serves island heritage,[11] along with one of its sections, La Section dé la Langue Jèrriaise (Jersey Language Section, founded in 1996), there are several other organisations or institutions that are important in helping maintain the local language.[12] These include, L´Assembliée d´Jèrriais, Le Don Balleine, L´Office du Jèrriais (at Highlands College), La Fête Nouormande (encompassing a pan-Norman collaboration), L'Association Jersey-Coutançais, the *Jersey Evening Post* (which has a weekly Jèrriais column) and BBC Radio Jersey (which has a weekly Jèrriais programme: *Lettre Jèrriaise*).[13] Each contributes in one way or another to the promotion of Jèrriais. Of these, L´Assembliée d´Jèrriais, La Section dé la Langue Jèrriaise and La Fête Nouormande are especially influential in helping promote Jèrriais through song (considered further later on).

La Section dé la Langue Jèrriaise is a committee of Société Jersiaise and focuses on culture and heritage. Songs using Jèrriais are part of the group's activities, especially carol singing in preparation for Lé Sèrvice Annuel dé l'Assembliée d'Jèrriaise, the annual Christmas service in Jersey Norman-French.[14] The Section usually has an annual traditional supper, which includes songs in Jèrriais (usually unaccompanied) and some

meetings or gatherings include, or are dedicated to, reading, recitation and singing. One of their Newsletters (1996) shows the importance of singing in Jèrriais (and French) with the inclusion of the words of several songs.[15]

The Carol Service of l'Assembliée d'Jèrriaise consists mostly of well-known Christian hymns with the words translated into Jèrriais as part of a localisation process that is relevant to the special purpose of the service. Torode (2003) provides a detailed account of the life and works of George Francis Le Feuvre (1891-1984), probably the most influential writer of Jèrriais in the 20th Century (under his pen name George d'la Forge). The book mentions some hymns, among other information on island life.

> *The report of a journey he* [Le Feuvre] *himself made to the Holy Land in 1951, which appears in three parts in different numbers of Lé Bulletîn d'Quart d'An dé L'Assembliée d'Jèrriais where his transpositions of hymns from Hymns Ancient and Modern into Jèrriais are also to be found. These hymns, which appeared in Lé Bulletîn at the rate of one or two in most years between 1961 and 1977, were prepared, as were translations of favourite Bible passages, for the annual Church Services in Jèrriais organised by L'Assembliée d'Jèrriais* [the 19 hymns are reproduced in Torode, 2003: 297-303]. (Torode, 2003: 161)

New Traditions

On of the most publicly visible contexts for the contemporary performance of songs in Jèrriais is La Fête Nouormande–La Fête des Rouaisouns (Norman Fête), hereafter 'the Fête', which is an annual celebration of Norman heritage and is held at a different centre each year. A relatively recent addition to the island's festival calendar, the Fête has been held since 1998:

1998 Montebourg (Basse-Normandie)
1999 Jersey
2000 Guernsey
2001 Coutanches (Basse-Normandie)
2002 Jersey
2003 Guernsey
2004 Bayeux (Basse-Normandie)
2005 Jersey
2006 Guernsey
2007 Bricquebec (Basse-Normandie)
2008 Jersey

This context is particularly significant in that the Fête is relatively new, it showcases a wider Norman heritage, and songs feature as a main part of the event by each of the Norman contributors (see also Johnson, 2005).

The study of music and festivals, particularly from an ethnomusicological perspective, has received increased attention in recent years (e, Cooley, 2005; Harnish, 2006; Hosokawa, 2005; Lau, 2004; Lindsey, 2004; cf Kirshenblatt–Gimblett, 1998). Festivals provide a context in which particular cultural traits are showcased or foregrounded as a means of representing culture. In the case of Jèrriais, the Fête allows this minority

language, alongside other Norman languages, to take centre stage for a few days each year, and song provides one of the ways through which the language is celebrated. Festive events "are very often an important forum for the expression of shared values and traditions of a community or society as a whole… They play a principal role in most societies as expressions of cultural identity" (UNESCO, 2002c: online). Indeed, the Fête gives islanders a forum that shows how they are reacting to cultural change: "Old forms [of music] renewed enable every society to react and adapt to the constraints, contradictions and realities of a changing world. This frequently results in the creation of novel acculturated styles" (ibid). But the Fête is also a setting that is creating tradition and culture. It is analogous to an invented tradition in that it represents heritage, even though much of its content is relatively new. This relates to Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) idea of inventing tradition, or even reinventing tradition, where traditions are formed relatively recently, but have an inherent element that relates them to a sense of heritage (cf Phillips and Schochet, 2004).

La Fête Nouormande might be viewed as a reaction to the marginalisation of Norman heritage within the Norman region. While wider French culture has had immense influence on northern France, and UK influence on the Channel Islands especially since the end of World War II has been immense, reaction to such influence is sometimes explained by the foregrounding of that which is being seen to be eroded. In the case of Jersey, the island's unique language is given new impetus through such festivals as La Fête Nouormande through the public display of something that culturally is relatively small, yet politically important. The ethnomusicologist Bruno Nettl (1978, 130) notes other relevant responses in connection with wider change relating to music: abandonment, impoverishment, preservation, diversification, consolidation, reintroduction, exaggeration, satire, syncretism, westernisation, modernisation (on music change see also Kartomi 1981; Kartomi and Blum 1994; and Nettl 1983, 345-54; 1985; 1996). Some of these notions help explain the place of music at the Fête, especially as a reaction to abandonment, the desire for preservation, the reintroduction of a local language into the mainstream, and the modernisation of both the content and context of music performance.

The Fête was literally invented in 1998:

> *La Fête des Rouaisouns a été conçue par le journaliste Jean Margueritte et l'association Montebourg-Guernesey en 1998.* ['The Festival of Rouaisouns [rogations] was conceived by the journalist Jean Margueritte and Montebourg-Guernesey association in 1998' [my translation.]
> (http://www.recherche.fr/encyclopedie/Fête_des_Rouaisouns)

Each year since 1998 it has been held in a different Norman location, to date being held in Jersey three times. As might be expected, the times when it has been located in Jersey have seen considerable Jèrriais input, although, as the outline of the various events from 1999 to 2005 below shows, the language and its mediation through song has been visible (audible) each year. A significant part of the Fête is the printing of an anthology that includes all (or at least most) of the texts of the Norman songs, poetry and verses performed. The anthology is intended for the audience to follow and is considered an important document of each Fête:

> *One of the traditions of the Fête des Rouaisouns is to have a "festive anthology" that people can buy so as to be able to follow the performances - and to have a fine souvenir of the Fête. Even if you are not familiar with Jèrriais, Dgèrnésiais or Norman, having the words of the songs, poems and stories in front of you will make the experience that much more accessible and enjoyable.*
> (http://www.societejersiaise.org/sdllj/fete2002/livret.html)

In 1999, the second year of the event, which was advertised as La Fête Normande (The Norman Fête – note the French spelling), the Fête was held in Jersey at Hamptonne Farm on Saturday 17 April.[16] At this Fête, songs in Jèrriais were included, ranging from well-known older pieces, including *J'ai pèrdu ma femme* ("I did lose my Wife"), *Jean, gros Jean* ("John, Big John"; 1997 version) and *Not' Île dé Jèrri* ("Our Island of Jersey"), to modern and borrowed pieces from folk or popular traditions: *Les mais du coucou* ("Cuckoo Months"; by Joan Tapley from a Welsh song), *Ô grâce immense* (a version of *Amazing Grace*), *Freunme la porte* ("Close the Door"; by Amelia Perchard from *World of Our Own* by The Seekers), *Tréjous nord* ("Always North"; by Amelia Perchard). The influence of pieces by Amelia Perchard is explained not only because she is particularly active in adapting well-known and popular pieces into Jèrriais (there are just a few active arrangers) but also because she was performing the songs at the event.

As a case study of older pieces, *J'ai pèrdu ma femme*, for example, is particularly well-known in Jersey among Jèrriais speakers. Featured in Kennedy (1975) and Le Maistre (1979), it is a representative example of a traditional Jersey piece of folk music. The first verse indexes the growing of greens (ie cabbages; possibly in a farming context), and as Kennedy (1975: 284) comments, "the allusion to kale or cabbage-growing is characteristic of the agricultural tradition of the Channel Islands":

> *J'ai pèrdu ma femme en pliantant des chours -*
> *J'ai pèrdu ma femme, vèrse dans man vèrre;*
> *J'ai pèrdu ma femme en pliantant des chours -*
> *É-en pliantant des chours*
>
> ['I did lose my wife as I was planting greens -
> did lose my wife, come fill up my glass;
> I did lose my wife as I was planting greens -
> As I was planting greens']

However, the roots of the song are complex in that it is known in other places too:

> *It has been sung in many parts of France. Especially in la Touraine where it is the same version as the Jersey one. In Lower Normandy it is known as "Lé mari brûlé". Other versions very much the same as the Jersey one are, or were, known in La Hague in Normandy. They do not seem to know anything of it in Guernsey. And yet, it must have been sung there formerly also.* (Le Maistre, 1979: 20-21).

In 2000 in Guernsey, the music from Jersey was featured with Tony Scott Warren's Choir performing five pieces in a twenty-minute set that emphasised the borrowing of music for the purpose of adapting the text to Jèrriais: *L'herbe chuchotant* (*Whispering Grass*), *Jé chantons dans la plyie* (*Singing in the Rain*), *La fille da la meunière* (*The*

Miller's Daughter), *Té seulement* (*Only You*) and *Cânchon d'amour* (*Chanson d'amour*). The 2001 Fête was held in Coutanches, France. The Jersey presentations were mostly poetry, but one song was included in the anthology, *Vos pliaît-i' du paîsson?* (*Cockles and Mussels*). With localised lyrics, including place names such as La Corbière (a point well-known for its lighthouse and treacherous seas), the song, which has an Irish origin, again helps show the use of popular songs as a means of carrying local language.

The 2002 Fête was held in Jersey, the second time on the island. This event witnessed the most songs in Jèrriais to date, which is understandable considering it was held at 'home' and had by now had several years to establish itself as a Norman/island tradition. The local daily newspaper, *The Jersey Evening Post*, reported on the event, noting that:

> *At the fair, organised by the umbrella group of Norman-French organisation, Le Congrès des Parlers Tchiques articl'yes entouor lé Jèrriais Normands et Jèrriais, more than 1,000 paying visitors came to see Norman-French poetry, recitations, dances and songs, at the biggest celebration of Norman language and culture to have come to Jersey*. (Unattributed, 2002: online)

A summary of song types follows:

Old/Well-Known Songs[17]
J'ai pèrdu ma femme ('I Did Lose My Wife')
Jean, gros Jean ('John, Big John')
Man bouonhomme est bein malade ('My Husband is Very Ill')
Tchi pétit homme ('What a Little Man')
Vive la compagnie ('Long Live the Gang')[18]

Recent Songs
Man bieau p'tit Jèrri ('My Beautiful Little Jersey')[19]

Songs Borrowed and/or Adapted from France[20]
Alouette ('The Skylark')
Ma Normandie ('My Normandy')
I'y avait eune bèrgère ('There was a Shepherdess')

Songs Borrowed and/or Adapted from the UK and Ireland
Dgieu sauve la Reine (*God Save the Queen*)
Not' bouon vieir temps (*Auld Lang Syne*)
Dans mes poummes dé tèrre ("In My Potatoes" - to the tune of *It's a Long Way to Tipperary*)
Jé chantons dans la plyie (*Singing in the Rain*)
Sus man pônîn (*Donkey Riding*)
Jean Grain-d'Orge (*John Barleycorn*)

Hymn Translations/Adaptations
La seule fondation d'l'Églyise (*The Church's One Foundation is Jesus Christ the Lord*)
La tèrre 'chîn-bas, dé mé en mé (*Jesus Shall Reign Where'er the Sun*)

> *Tan nom, Jésû, est doux à l'ouïe* (*How Sweet the Name of Jesus Sounds in a Believer's Ear*)
> *Né v'là acouothe un jour tchi s'pâsse* (*The Day Thou Gavest, Lord, is Ended*)

Ma Normandie has a nationalistic meaning in Jersey in that it is the island's anthem. It was written by the French composer Frédéric Bérat (1801-55) and is used officially by Jersey at, for example, the Commonwealth Games, Island Games and similar international events in order to distinguish territories that usually use *God Save the Queen*. What is interesting about the anthem is a reference to France, as found in the first verse: "Sous le beau ciel de notre France" ('Under the beautiful sky of our France'). A further anomalous text is found in *Dgieu sauve la Reine* ('God save the Queen"), when, in Jèrriais, the monarch is referred to as the "Duc" (ie Duke of Normandy).

Of the borrowed pieces performed at the 2002 Fête, *Not' bouon vieir temps* (literally "Our Good Old Times", to the tune of *Auld Lang Syne*) is a 19th Century Jèrriais version of this popular song, and *Dans mes poummes dé tèrre* (to the tune of *It's a Long Way to Tipperary*; Jèrriais by E. [Elie] J. Luce) has specific localised lyrics that mention Jersey place names such as St Ouennais (one of the island's twelve parishes) and Jèrri (Jersey), but also retains the original place names Piccadilly and Leicester Square. Also, *Jean Grain-d'Orge* (*John Barleycorn*) may be a borrowed song from the UK and Ireland, but in Jersey it was recently transmitted from Guernsey (George Métivier of Guernsey made a version of the song in the 19th Century). There is very little repetition of repertoire with the earlier Fêtes, with just two older pieces (*J'ai pèrdu ma femme* and *Jean, gros Jean*) and one borrowed piece (*Jé chantons dans la plyie*) being found in several of the festivals.

At the 2003 Fête held in Guernsey just two songs were performed in Jèrriais: *Donne du Solé* (*Bring Me Sunshine*) and *Sus man Vièr Chapé* (*All Around My Hat*). This eclectic mix of borrowed songs helps show how well-known and popular music can be recontextualised and localised. While not performed at earlier Fêtes, the songs emphasise the use of borrowed music as a vehicle for carrying Jèrriais into the 21st Century.

At the 2004 Fête at Bayeux in France, the Jèrriais songs included the well-known song *J'ai pèrdu ma femme*, the recently composed piece *Man bieau p'tit Jèrri*, the borrowed songs *T'en vas-tu à la faithe aniet?* (to the tune of *Are You Going To Scarborough Fair?*) and *Lé galvaûdeux* (*The Wild Rover*) and *Man viage*, ('My Journey') an original text by the Norman-based folk-rock band Magène. Magène also performed at the 2002 Fête and have established themselves as a Norman inspired contemporary folk group. They play various pieces that have a Norman origin, but perform in a popular folk-rock medium: "[We] use old and contemporary Norman lyrics written by local authors from Normandy and the Channel Islands. We write original music for them" (Magène, 2004: online).

In 2005 the event was again held in Jersey (the third time to date) from 3-9 June in a number of contexts including the streets of St Helier (Jersey's main commercial centre), the Arts Centre, Samarès Manor, La Société Jersiaise, Victoria Park, in the markets, shops and in St James (a former church). The songs performed in Jèrriais were very similar to the 2002 Fête that was also held in Jersey. Several songs were repeated from

previous years (shown below with an asterisk), especially the 2002 Jersey Fête, and some are additions (shown below with a plus sign):

Old/Well-Known Songs
**J'ai pèrdu ma femme*
**Jean, gros Jean*
**Tchi pétit homme*
**Vive La Compagnie*

Recent Songs
**Man bieau p'tit Jèrri* ('My Beautiful Little Jersey')
+*Lé r'tou dé Ph'lip dé Tèrreneuve* ('Ph'lip of Newfoundland')[21]

Songs Borrowed and/or Adapted from France
**Alouette*
*Ma Normandie
+*Bônsouair maît' dé chutte maîson* ('Good Evening Host')
+*Les garçons dé Grouville* ('The Boys of Grouville')[22]
+*Un p'tit bouonhomme* ('A Little Gentleman')

Songs Borrowed and/or Adapted from the UK and Ireland
**Dgieu sauve la Reine* (*God Save the Queen*)
**Not' bouon vieir temps* (*Auld Lang Syne*)
**Jé chantons dans la plyie* (*Singing in the Rain*)
**Sus man pônîn* (*Donkey Riding*)

Hymn Translations
+*Ta main, Seigneu, a dgidé* (Thy Hand, O God, Has Guided)
+*Dgide-mé, tu'es man grand rédempteux* (Guide Me, O Thou Great Redeemer)

The summary of the 2005 event on the Société Jersiaise's web pages notes that the patriotic favourites included *Ma Normandie*, *Man bieau p'tit Jèrri*, Sus la mé ('On the Sea') and *Sarnia chérie* ('Guernsey Dear') (http://www.societe-jersiaise.org/langsec/fete2005/english.html). Another element to the Fête was the invitation of the UK-based group La Sagesse Nouormande ('Norman Wisdom'[23]), which plays hurdy-gurdies, bagpipes and other traditional instruments. They featured at several events including a lunchtime concert at the Arts Centre, and have made several instrumental adaptations of Norman melodies. In connection with such non-local groups, local identity is partly constructed and celebrated by visiting musicians. At the Fête there was also *bachin* (pan) ringing. A bachin is a preserving pan, and it is sounded to make it ring, an action that announces mid-summer and to frighten away evil demons. Cord is tied across the pan and wet fingers are drawn across it in order to make it vibrate and sound (the tradition was revived by Geraint Jennings[24]). This is a highly audible and visible attraction that connects the Fête to the local and traditional agricultural industry that has become a regular event at the Fête Nouormande and other Jersey events over the past few years.

One parameter of the music displays at La Fête Nouormande is that the music is best understood as a style (or styles) that has been maintained, constructed, reconstructed

or invented primarily with the aim of language retention. Some of the styles may well be related to what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describes as a product of "transvaluation of the obsolete, the mistaken, the outmoded, the dead, and the defunct" (1995: 369), although the performances are living with an immediate emphasis on language. It would not be misleading to suggest that the music is perhaps not part of the everyday culture of most islanders, nor even most of the performers, but island culture has allowed language and music to be linked in such contexts to provide a new, living tradition linked to language, heritage, festivals and tourism. Indeed, it is the very foregrounding of such music-language interconnections in these sites that does much to reinforce the place of Jèrriais today and to display the political importance of its existence as an emblem of the past and a vehicle for present-day cultural and island celebration (cf Chapman, 1994).

It is the contradiction between that which is relatively small being displayed publicly to represent the whole that makes this new tradition of music performance particularly important in contemporary music research. There are specific language and music links that help shape meaning and relevance to performers and consumers alike, even though the music is far from being mainstream. This link helps evoke the island's Norman heritage and gives the music, whether old, borrowed or new, a unique Jersey aspect that helps support and perpetuate the place of the island in wider Norman culture and also the island's connection with France and the UK. Such connections between music and place are especially powerful cultural symbols. As Stokes explains, "the musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette or CD into a machine, evokes and organises collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity" (1994: 3). This is a point observed recently by Philip Hayward (2006) in connection with another (linked) small island culture, Norfolk Island and Pitcairn Island in the Pacific. In his research, Hayward notes a localisation process that is somewhat analogous to that of Jersey, although using original music:

> *One of the only perceptible differences between Norfolk/Pitcairn language compositions and local Standard English ones is that the former tend to express aspects of the multiple components of local heritage (cultural, agricultural, environmental etc.) in more concentrated forms. Here, specific Norfolk and Pitcairn terms both refer to other aspects of heritage and express and encapsulate them* through *specific words.* (2006: 225).

In the case of the localisation of Jersey and Jèrriais, when popular texts are translated into Jèrriais and carry with them not only the associations with the well-known original version(s), but also relative to the Jersey context, they convey deeply evocative meanings that are specific to the local context. They embody elements of what it means to be Jersey, a demarcation of "difference and social boundary" (Stokes, 1994: 3), and more specifically what it means to understand Jèrriais.

The transformation of song and the foregrounding of Jèrriais in the contemporary performance context are particularly noticeable in many songs that are currently sung as adaptations of songs that are well known in the singers' first language (ie, English in the case of Jèrriais speakers). In addition to the borrowed songs noted thus far, there are many other songs that have been appropriated with the aim of promoting Jèrriais in the contemporary context, one interesting example being *Les douze jours dé noué!* One

member of La Section dé la Langue Jèrriais, Geraint Jennings, sings, composes and arranges pieces in Jèrriais. At a December 1997 meeting of La Section dé la Langue Jèrriaise, for example, which was dedicated to practicing for the annual Christmas service, he sang a piece to the tune of the well-known traditional counting song *The Twelve Days of Christmas* but using words about the presents that might be given from each of the island's twelve parishes (a summary of the twelve themes is shown below, after Jennings, 1997):

Lé douzième jour dé Noué	On the twelfth day of Christmas
Man galant m'a donné	My true love gave to me
Douze messieurs d'Saint Pièrre	12 lords of St Peter
Onze darnes d'la Trin'té	11 ladies of Trinity
Dgiêx patates d'Saint Louothains	10 potatoes of St Lawrence
Neu tonmates d'Saint Sauveux	9 tomatoes of St Saviour
Huipt vaques d'Sainte Mathie	8 cows of St Mary
Sept cygnes d'Saint Cliément	7 swans of St Clement
Siêx pithots d'Saint Brélade	6 geese of St Brelade
Chîns bagues d'la Ville	5 rings of St Helier
Quat' pies d'Saint Martin	4 magpies of St Martin
Trais poules d'Saint Jean	3 hens of St John
Deux colombes d'Grouville	2 doves of Grouville
Et un perdrix Saint-Ouënnais!	And a partridge of St Ouen!

The practice of translating popular songs from English to Jèrriais shows a response by language activists against the dominant language currently spoken on the island (English). Evidence of the popularity of such songs is clear in that they are performed at various occasions that celebrate the island language. The singing of these songs provides an interesting contradiction by having one aspect of island heritage being carried through the medium of song that has recent and distinct origins in the dominant culture that actually helped lead to the decline of Jèrriais in the first place. While the dependence upon songs from elsewhere may symbolise a decline in original music composed by Jèrriais speakers from within the island, which is perhaps explained by number of Jèrriais speakers, it does however show an important creative aspect unique to the island that shows how new music culture is created in this context. For language activists, the borrowed tunes are aimed at leading the audience to Jèrriais through familiarity on the one hand and island uniqueness on the other (cf *Ethnologies* 2003; Feld and Fox, 1994; Rosenberg, 1993).

Conclusion

This paper has considered the connection between Jèrriais and contemporary music making on Jersey. It has shown that the songs that today make up the contemporary Jèrriais repertoire, or at least contribute to the gamut of songs using Jèrriais, provide evidence that the language is more often than not foregrounded in present-day performance practice in order to give emphasis to this aspect of island heritage. Indeed, Jèrriais is noticeably of prime importance for the singers, audience and the island heritage industry where the songs are mostly given public display in special contexts that are purposely intended for the celebration of local (ie Norman) heritage. While several genres may be isolated, such as old/well-known songs, recent compositions, borrowed and adapted songs, hymns, children's songs and art music, underlying each

is the current-day need to preserve and display the Jersey language. The significance of the Fête is that it provides the context for public display and celebration by locals and non-locals alike. It emphasises Norman heritage through such media as verses, poems, music and other traditional arts and crafts. Jèrriais is used in each of these arts, and song provides one medium through which it is performed and consumed.

What is evident from this research, therefore, is that language plays a pivotal role in some islanders' music making activities. In particular, Jèrriais, as an endangered or minority language, is maintained and promoted in part through singing various types of music, old and new, traditional and transformed, by locals and non-locals alike. This is reinforced through the activities of language activists, local organisations dedicated to promoting Jersey heritage and, more recently, through government cultural policy and intervention.

It is clear that for some islanders identity is created through the performance of song that uses Jèrriais, and that the revitalisation efforts pertaining to Jèrriais have a crucial role in constructing a sense of a collective identity and ethnicity, something that represents the island's heritage. While there are some key local singers, composers and arrangers, it is both individual creation and the support of local organisations that drives the promotion of Jèrriais through song. These heritage groups do much to help facilitate performance of songs in Jèrriais, which is undertaken by local amateur performers, except for the visiting performers at such events as the Fête, engendering a sense of authentic local heritage and, for the singers, of reconstructing and renegotiating their place in contemporary island life. Islanders are transforming tradition, maintaining heritage, creating culture, and, above all, reinforcing their Jersey cultural identity that is based on local islandness. But while local identity construction is within the confines of a relatively small island, that identity is socially constructed across different spheres of participation: those who perform the music, those who consume the music in one way or another, and those who mediate in the transformations. For this current paper, it is the island's geographical boundaries and its influences on music that have been of particular interest. The island is (necessarily) bounded by sea, and its people have diverse cultural backgrounds. Yet a sense of island heritage, real or imagined, individual or group, self-created or mediated, is maintained and constructed through and within contexts and media that include song.

In conclusion, this survey of the use of Jèrriais in Jersey music making has identified two main groups of song: those that are perceived as traditional, or at least old and well-known, and those that have been appropriated from a variety of sources from outside the island (eg folk and popular songs). What binds each together is their use of Jèrriais as a vehicle for maintaining and sustaining island heritage. This overview of songs that use Jèrriais has explored several different types of performance context and social meaning of song. It has shown that the contemporary heritage industry and individuals alike are currently doing much on Jersey to promote a minority language, and that song is an extremely important vehicle for the promotion of the language. It is this foregrounding of language that helps illustrate local aspects of music making, culture construction and, above all, identity building.

Jersey is a complex zone of sub-cultures and identities. Singers of songs in Jèrriais have simultaneous identities that are still evolving: as English-speaking islanders, and as Jèrriais-speaking performers. They combine each to help forge a new direction for local culture, one that uses hybrid forms as a way of celebrating the past, living in the present

and looking to the future. Such emphasis on a minority language is perhaps explained by the fact that it is a minority language. Over the last century Jèrriais has gone into rapid decline. From the 19th Century when most islanders spoke the language, to the present day, when it is rarely heard, its place is clearly defined through external influences that at first overshadowed its existence, but have now been part of a process that have helped in its revival, (re)discovery and invention. To this extent, Jèrriais itself has been localised in that while it was once the everyday language of most Jersey people, it now occupies a space of special status language within the dynamics of small island cultures. In this context, music and language intertwine to maintain, establish and develop local heritage, even though local identity is often constructed by and influenced from non-local imports in a somewhat paradoxical space; they provide focal points for the celebration of cultural identity; and they help to create culture and community.

Endnotes:

[1] This work would not have been possible without the help of several key informants and organisations, in particular Joyce and Brian Gilbert, Amelia and Garnet Perchard, Joan Tapley, Geraint Jennings, Roland Scales, L'Assembliée D'Jèrriais and La Société Jersiaise. I am particularly grateful to Tony Scott Warren, Geraint Jennings and Colin Ireson of Office de Jèrriais (Jersey Office) for their help with finding archive materials and for comments on the research and an earlier version of this article. Data has been collected over many years, with interviews with some key informants dating from 1988 and 1989. Born and raised on the island, I bring to the study local knowledge that helps in identifying sources essential for such research. This study, consequently, is a type of ethnomusicology at home, or insider research (cf. Jackson, 1987). However, while recognising that such knowledge may indeed distort the views I strive to portray, I take a critical and reflexive approach that will provide more of a neutral yet authoritative perspective of the topic under study. Lastly, I thank the anonymous reviewers and the editors of this journal for their particularly helpful comments and suggestions.

[2] There are several much smaller islands and rocks, the larger of which include Lihou, Jéthou and Brecqhou. Jersey also comprises several uninhabited islands. The island of Chausey, while geographically one of the Channel Islands but most closer to France, is under French jurisdiction.

[3] Jersey has its own government (known as the 'States of Jersey') of 53 elected members and autonomy over domestic affairs.

[4] See further http://www.gov.je/statistics

[5] Within Jersey itself there are several variations of Jèrriais. Some speakers refer to Jèrriais as Jersey Norman to avoid confusing it with French. In French, Jèrriais is called Jersiais or Normand de Jersey. The Norman-French of Sark, Sercquiais, is very close Jèrriais. Dgèrnésiais is a similar and related language spoken on Guernsey. Official French (or Jersey Legal French) is used for official purposes in, for example, laws, contracts, documents and oaths.

[6] It is very difficult to ascertain the levels of proficiency of these speakers as census data does not request this. A larger number of residents would have some knowledge of the language.

[7] There are a number of dictionaries on Jèrriais (eg Le Maistre, 1966; Liddicoat, 1994).

[8] In a world of 6,000 to 7,000 languages, 3,000 are in danger (UNESCO, 2002a: online).

[9] Kennedy's research included several published recordings, made in conjunction with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC): 23838 (1957a), 23849 (1957b), 23841 (1957c), 26235 (1960a) and 26236 (1960b). See also Kennedy's cassette tapes and CDs, which are reproduced from the original recordings, which include more songs than those reproduced in Kennedy (1975). The *BBC Sound Archive index* (5: 2-18) has an annotated entry of most of the songs collected. All the relevant data at the time of collection has been listed, which is basically the same as Kennedy (1975; 1980). The 1980 edition of Kennedy's work, which is an extrapolation of items from the Channel Islands from the longer work, was a local endorsement by Le Don Balleine (an organisation that seeks to preserve and promote the Jersey language). An acknowledgement endorses Kennedy's work by stating: "We believe it will provide much enjoyment and stimulate interest in this part of the heritage of Jersey and the other Channel Islands" (see Kennedy 1980: ii). A similar approval of this work has been shown in a review of it by the Société Jersiaise (see *Société Jersiaise Bulletin*, 1975: 423). The *Alphabetical Index to R P Permanent Library Catalogue*, Supplement 1, p. 456 (held in the National Sound Archive) lists only the second two of the recordings listed above. There is also a further recording that has one track on it recorded in Jersey. This was collected by Peter Kennedy and Alan Lomax, and the track from Jersey is "The Frog and the Mouse", sung by Adolphus Le Ruez, from Bonne Nuit (see *The folksongs of Britain*). Kennedy's trip to Jersey was during the last part of his work on the folk music of the British Isles. On Kennedy see further Gregory (2004). For another, albeit shorter, collection of Jersey folk songs and songs in Jèrriais see Le Maitre (1979). There are also booklets such as the one by Tapley (nd), which are intended for language classes, but include songs and nursery rhythms. Other written materials include the anthologies of the annual La Fête Nouormande (eg, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005). Lastly, the source of song texts available on the web pages of La Société Jersiaise and maintained by Geraint Jennings is especially valuable in providing up to date details on historical and contemporary materials (see http://www.societe-jersiaise.org/geraint/jerriais.html).

[10] The Jersey Society in London was founded in 1896. In connection with classical music and Jersey it is interesting to note that the British composer John Ireland (1879-1962) visited Jersey regularly from 1908-14 and even settled in Guernsey briefly in 1939 before the Nazi occupation. His orchestral prelude, *The Island Spell* (begun 1911-12), and *The Forgotten Spring* tried to capture Jersey's French influences (Richards, 2004).

[11] Société Jersiaise was formed in 1873 and is an established Jersey society that is dedicated to the preservation of all aspects of Jersey culture. The society has a library that includes some music materials. Several other key community organisations are pivotal in promoting local culture. These include Lé Don Balleine, which is a local publisher, and Highlands College, which runs evening classes in Jersey Norman-French.

[12] Details of La Section de la langue Jèrriaise can be found at:
http://www.societe-jersiaise.org/langsec/index.html

[13] See:http://www.societe-jersiaise.org/geraint/jerriais/;
http://www.bbc.co.uk/jersey/about_jersey/general_info/about_jerriais.shtml;
http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/multilingual/jerriais.shtml.

In addition to the Jersey government's committee that is pivotal in helping shape cultural policy (Education, Sport & Culture Committee), there are also organisations

such as The Jersey Arts Trust, The Jersey Arts Centre, The Jersey Opera House, Art in The Frame and The Jersey Heritage Trust, each of which helps in nurturing local culture.

[14] Carol singing in Jèrriais also takes place with literal translations of well-known songs such as *Jingle Bells*, *While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks by Night* and *God Rest You Merry Gentlemen* (see L'Office du Jèrriais, 2006 for a useful collection of such carols). See also www.societe-jersiaise.org/geraint/jerriais.html for a major web resource on songs in Jèrriais.

[15] The newsletter is accompanied by a request for members to share any Jérriais songs they might have.

[16] Hamptonne is run as a Country Life Museum by the Jersey Heritage Trust. It was restored by the Société Jersiaise.

[17] I use the term "old/well-known" in this instance as this is the term used in the 2002 bulletin of the Fête to describe such songs. The text 'Ma chifournie' ('My Hurdy-Gurdy') was read at this Fête, which has also been adapted to a musical setting by Amy (1988: 42-45), Magène (2001) and Sagesse Nouormande (Scales, 2004; 2005) (see Johnson, 2005).

[18] *Jean, gros Jean*, *Vive la compagnie* and *Man bouonhomme est bein malade* are also known in Guernsey, and the latter is known in Normandy too. On Kennedy (nd b; c) Adolphus Le Ruez, one of Kennedy's informants on Jersey, notes that he translated a recently composed song in Jersey from English into Jèrriais using the same tune as *Vive la compagnie*.

[19] Written by Dr Frank Le Maistre (1910-2002). See Le Maistre (1979).

[20] These categories have been devised here to show a difference in the song repertoire.

[21] Adapted in the 1869s by Nicholas Bott, who was from Alderney but wrote also in Jèrriais. He specified that the tune was *J'avais une maîtresse dans la Grand'rue St-Jean* ('I Have a Mistress in St John's Road'), but this has since been lost. The tune *Le petit jeune écolier* ('The Young School Boy') has been used instead.

[22] Grouville is one of Jersey's twelve parishes. This is a version of the Norman song *Gars de Senneville* ('The Lads of Senneville').

[23] Fans of British actor Norman Wisdom will understand the pun in the group's name.

[24] See further http://www.societe-jersiaise.org/langsec/fete2002/english.html

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Appendix 1

Transcriptions of Songs From Jersey Included in Kennedy (1975/1980)

No.	Song Title
97	*Au bord d'une fontaine* ('Twas There Beside a Spring')
98	*Au logis de mon pere* ('Twas at My Father's House')
99	*Belle Rose* ('Lovely Rosie')
100	*Bitchon-bitchette* ('Billy Goat/Nanny Goat')
101	*Le bon marain* ('The Good Seaman')
102	*La fille de l'avocat* ('The Advocate's Daughter')
103	*J'ai perdu ma femme* ('I've Lost My Wife')
104	*Jean, petit coq* ('John, Little Lad')
105	*Jean, petit Jean* ('John, Little John')
106	*Ma mere m'envoie-t-au marche* ('My Mother Sends Me to Market')
107	*Madeleine* ('Madeleine')
108	*Malbrouck* ('Marlborough')
109	*Marguerite* ('Marguerite')
110	*Man bouonhomme est bein malade* ('My Husband is Very Ill')
111	*Mon pere il me marie* ('My Father He Married Me Off')
112	*Mon pere m'a donne-z-un mari* ('My Father a Husband's Given Me')
113	*Le petit coururier* ('The Little Dressmaker')
114	*Le petit navire* ('The Little Ship')
115	*Si j 'avais les souliers* ('If I'd Only the Shoes')
116	*Les trois demoiselles et le cordonnier* ('The Three Young Ladies and the Cobbler')
117	*Les trois jeunes soldats* ('The Young Soldiers Three')
118	*Les trois jeunes tambours* ('The Young Drummers Three')
119	*Ver-du-ron, ver-du-ro-net'-o* (onomatopoeic sound of a hedge sparrow')
120	*Le vingt-cinquieme du mois d'October* ('The Twenty-fifth of October')