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GALLO-ROMAN DIALECT CLASSIFICATIONS

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Abstract

This paper provides a historical overview of Gallo-Roman dialect classifications. The Gallo-Roman language area is traditionally defined as the area where a Roman language characterized by elements originating in its Gallic and Germanic substrate developed from Latin, leading to the dialects of Oïl, Oc and Franco-Provençal. It covers France and parts of Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Spain (Val d'Aran), as well as the Channel Islands. The most important dialectological studies of Gallo-Roman are: Court de Gébelin (1778), Coquebert de Montbret (1812, 1831), Dauzat (1927) and Bec (1970-1971). Since the end of the 20th century, computer tools have enabled dialectometry (Goebel, 2002, 2003, 2012) to provide a renewed vision of classification of all Roman languages.

Keywords: dialect classification, ethnolinguistic classification, isoglotic dialectology, dialectometry, Gallo-Roman

Name: Gallo-Roman: [*galoromã*]

Language-Code: ISO 639-1: fr, ISO 639-2: fre (B) fra (T)

CLASSIFICACIONS DIALECTALS GAL-LOROMANES

Resum

Aquest article ofereix una visió històrica de les classificacions dialectals gal-loromanes. L'àrea de la llengua gal-loromana es defineix tradicionalment com la zona on es va desenvolupar, a partir del llatí,

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una llengua romana caracteritzada per elements originats en el seu substrat gal i germànic, i va donar lloc als dialectes de l'oïl, l'oc i el francoprovençal. Cobreix França i parts de Bèlgica, Suïssa, Itàlia i Espanya (Vall d'Aran), com també les Illes del Canal. Els estudis dialectològics més importants sobre el gal·loromà són de Court de Gébelin (1778), de Coquebert de Montbret (1812; 1831), de Dauzat (1927) i de Bec (1970-1971). Des de la fi del segle XX, les eines informàtiques han permès que la dialectometria (Goebel 2002, 2003, 2012) donés una visió renovada de la classificació de totes les llengües romàniques.

Paraules clau: classificació dialectal, classificació etnolingüística, dialectologia issoglòtica, dialectometria, Gal·loromània

CLASSIFICATION DES DIALECTES GALLO-ROMANS

Résumé

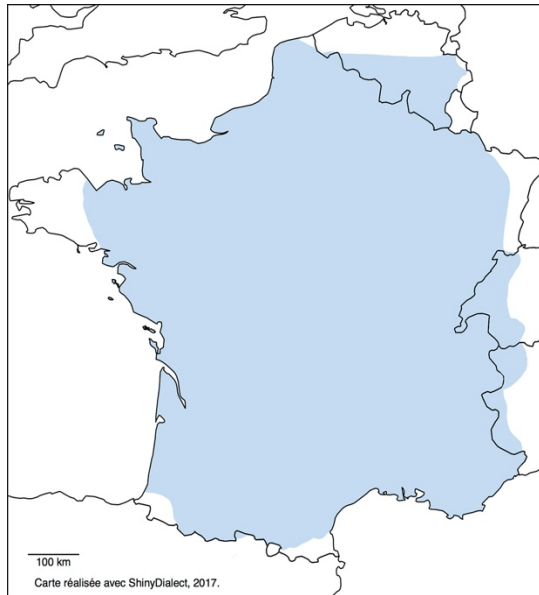
Ce article donne un aperçu historique des classifications des dialectes gallo-romains. Les recherches les plus importantes dans le domaine de la dialectologie isoglotique qui ont considéré le gallo-roman dans sa globalité sont au nombre de quatre: Court de Gébelin (1778), Coquebert de Montbret (1812; 1831), Dauzat (1927) et Bec (1970-1971). Depuis la fin du XXe siècle, les outils informatiques ont permis à la dialectométrie (Goebel, 2002, 2003, 2012) d'offrir une vision renouvelée de la classification de toutes les langues romanes.

Mots-clefs: classification dialectale, classification etholinguistique, dialectologie isoglotique, dialectométrie, gallo-roman

1. Introduction

The Gallo-Roman domain, which will be discussed here, is in geolinguistics traditionally defined as the area in which a Roman language, developed from Latin, is characterized by elements originating in its Gallic substrate and Germanic substrate, leading to the dialects of Oïl, Oc and Franco-Provençal.

The Gallo-Roman domain nowadays covers large parts of France and parts of Belgium, Switzerland, Italy and Spain (Val d'Aran), as well as the Channel Islands (Map 1).



Map 1. The Gallo-Roman domain (Source Brun-Trigaud)

Regarding the situation from a sociolinguistic point of view, it is difficult to give exact figures concerning the current and actual use of dialects, because no official survey concerning the whole field exists. However, as a first approximation, a survey carried out in 2020 by the Office Public de la Langue Occitane (OPLO) in the regions of Nouvelle Aquitaine and Occitanie, as well as in the Val d’Aran with a sample of 8,000 people, suggests that 7 % of respondents say they speak Occitan or understand it enough to hold a conversation (OPLO 2020: 25). This proportion is of course much lower in certain parts of the Gallo-Roman domain, particularly in the Oil area.

Its development and history have been the subject of many studies that will not be discussed here (cf. Bec 1970-1971). Nevertheless, concerning the tripartite division of the domain, several types of explanation have been put forward: 1) the influence of the dioceses (Morf 1911); 2) the influence of substrates (Brun 1936); 3) the influence of superstrates (Wartburg 1950); 4) the influence of the two waves of romanization (Müller 1974) and 5) the amalgamation of the various influences cited (Schmitt 1974).

This contribution aims to provide an overview of the classification hypotheses of all Gallo-Roman dialects from the beginning of the 19th century until today. As we can see, they continue to vary, with several constant elements found throughout (doubts concerning the Franco-Provençal dialects, the place of Gascon, etc.).

2. Dialect classifications

Overall, we have seven classifications that can be grouped under several major themes: a) the precursors (Court de Gébelin and Coquebert de Montbret); b) the discovery of Franco-Provençal and the *Croissant* (Gröber); c) the 20th century: new perspectives (Dauzat and Bec); d) new tools: Dialectometry (Goebel).

2.1 Antoine Court de Gébelin (1778)

Antoine Court de Gébelin, in his *etymological dictionary*, published in 1778, is, to our knowledge, the first to give a fairly complete enumeration of the dialects, for which the classification is implicitly given without being justified.

2.1.1 Framework: Ethnological classification

Properly speaking, Court de Gébelin did not make a classification of dialects. Rather, it was an enumeration of them. His approach was ethnological.

2.1.2 Classification of dialects

“The dialects or languages raised on the remains of the ancient Roman language are as numerous in a way as the provinces of the kingdom [...] the Walloon, II the Picard, III the Lorrain and IV the Burgundian, V the Franc-Comtois, VI the Valdois, VII the Bressan, VIII the Provençal, IX the Languedocien [...], X the Velayen, XI the Auvergnac [...], XII the Rouergas, XIII the Toulousain, XIV the Limousin, XV the Gascon, XVI the Béarnois, XVII the Catalan [...]. There are three other dialects: Poitevin, Angevin and Manceau, and Normand” (Court de Gébelin 1778: LXVIII-LXXIII).¹

¹ Les dialectes ou idiomes élevés sur les débris de l’ancienne langue romance sont aussi nombreux en quelque sorte que les provinces du royaume [...] I le Wallon, II le Picard, III le Lorrain et IV le Bourguignon, V le Franc-Comtois, VI le Valdois, VII Le Bressan, VIII Le Provençal, IX Le Languedocien [...], X le Velayen, XI l’Auvergnac [...], XII le Rouergas, XIII le Toulousain, XIV le Limousin, XV le Gascon, XVI le

This enumeration will be taken up with some additions in the famous *Rapport sur la nécessité et les moyens d'anéantir les patois...* by Abbé Grégoire (1794), written during the French Revolution:

There are only about fifteen departments of the interior where the French language is exclusively spoken. [...] We no longer have provinces, and we still have about thirty dialects which recall their names. Perhaps it is not useless to list them: Bas-Breton, Norman, Picard, Rouchi or Walloon, Flemish, Champenois, Messin, Lorrain, Franc-Comtois, Burgundian, Bressan, Lyonnais, Dauphinois, Auvergnat, Poitevin, Limousin, Picard [sic], Provençal, Languedocien, Velayen, Catalan, Bearnese, Basque, Rouergat and Gascon; the latter alone is spoken over an area of 60 leagues in all directions. Among the patois, we must also place the Italian of Corsica, the Alpes-Maritimes, and the German of the Haut and Bas-Rhin, because these two languages are very degenerate there.² (Grégoire 1794: 3-4).

Both give an enumeration of the languages spoken on French territory at the time, but without classification.

2.2 Coquebert de Montbret (1812)

Charles Étienne Coquebert de Montbret (1755-1831) was the French consul in Hamburg under the *Ancien Régime* and became, after the Revolution, professor of

Béarnois, XVII le Catalan [...]. Il existe trois autres dialectes : le Poitevin, l'Angevin et Manceau, et le Normand. (Court de Gébelin 1778: LXVIII-LXXIII).

² Il n'y a environ que quinze départements de l'intérieur où la langue française soit exclusivement parlée. [...] Nous n'avons plus de provinces, et nous avons encore environ trente patois qui en rappellent les noms. Peut-être n'est-il pas inutile d'en faire l'énumération : le bas-breton, le normand, le picard, le rouchi ou wallon, le flamand, le champenois, le messin, le lorrain, le franc-comtois, le bourguignon, le bressan, le lyonnais, le dauphinois, l'auvergnat, le poitevin, le limousin, le picard [sic], le provençal, le languedocien, le velayen, le catalan, le béarnais, le basque, le rouergat et le gascon ; ce dernier seul est parlé sur une surface de 60 lieues en tout sens. Au nombre des patois, on doit placer encore l'italien de la Corse, des Alpes-Maritimes, et l'allemand des Haut et Bas-Rhin, parce que ces deux idiomes y sont très-dégénérés. (Grégoire 1794: 3-4).

mining statistics at the *École des mines*. With his son, Eugène (1785-1847), an orientalist, he was charged by Napoleon with the census of languages spoken in France during the First Empire.

2.2.1 Framework: Ethnological classification

The correspondence survey, conducted by the Coquebert de Montbret, produced a report written in 1812 (cf. Brun-Trigaud 1990: 28-85). Based on the 350 dialect varieties collected from the Parable of the Prodigal Son in the vast domain of the Empire, Coquebert de Montbret identified four main classes for the languages spoken in the Empire: 1° the languages derived from Latin, 2° those of Germanic origin, 3° Bas-Breton and 4° Basque.

The “various languages derived from Latin” were grouped under four different sections, with a geographical distribution based on departments (Coquebert 1812: f°6-14) (Table 1):

Languages	Dialects
1. “French language strickly speaking” (Langue française proprement dite)	1. Walloon, 2. Picard, 3. Lorrain with Messin, 4. Franc-Comtois, 5. Savoyard, 6. Lyonnais, 7. Burgundian, 8. Poitevin, 9. Saintongeais Areas with no patois: Champagne, Ile-de-France, Normandie, Bretagne (in part), Maine, Anjou, Touraine, Orléanais, Berry
2. “Language of the Midi de la France” (Idiome du midi de la France)	1. Provençal with Niçard, 2. Dauphinois, ³ 3. Languedocien, 4. Limousin, 5. Perigourdin, 6. Auvergnat, 7. Catalan
3. Gascon 4. Italian	Bearnese

Table 1. Languages derived from Latin by Coquebert (1812: f° 6-14)

³ In the manuscript, Dauphinois was among the dialects of the French language, before being crossed out and placed next to the dialects of the south.

2.2.2 Classification of dialects

This is the first attempt to classify the different dialects spoken on French territory with a classification into several groups and sub-groups. We can immediately notice that the central area, close to Paris and including the Norman one, is reputed to have no dialect; it is the area which, moreover, provided the fewest dialect varieties of the Parable. On the other hand, Gascon is treated separately and Catalan is integrated into the “*idiome du midi*”. Finally, there is some hesitation about the classification of Dauphinois.

A few years later, Charles Coquebert de Montbret resumed this work in his *Essai d'un travail sur la géographie de la langue française* (Coquebert 1831) with some modifications: Gascon is part of the “*langue d'oc or Roman language*”, along with Dauphinois, but there is always some doubt as to the “*language of the departments of Ain, Rhône, and Loire*” (Coquebert 1831: 29) and he makes no mention of Auvergnat. As for the “*langue d'oïl*”, Saintongeais is nothing more than a variety of Poitevin.

Several philologists and geographers have taken up this classification, among them, J.F. Schnakenburg, in 1840, in his *Tableau synoptique et comparatif des idiomes populaires ou patois de la France*, wrote “*according to the best sources and observations made on the spot*”. This picks up the principal classifications given by the Coqueberts de Montbret, classifying Gascon separately, and it brings together the rest of the Occitan dialects under the generic name of “*Provençal*” including Dauphinois and Lyonnais (Schnakenburg 1840: 25-43). But his innovative contribution is a fairly precise description of the phonetic and grammatical differences that seem to him important for characterizing the dialects in his comparative study (Schnakenburg 1840: 44-102).

A cartographic illustration of this classification can be found in the *Physikalischer Atlas* by Berghaus published in 1845 (Map 2).



Map 2. Sprachkarte von Frankreich (Berghaus, 1845-1848) (CCO. Original source <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52509532g/f184.item>)

The dialects are numbered, delimited in red for the domain of oil and in blue for the domain of oc and listed in the legend (Table 2):

Languages	Dialects
A. Oil language (Langue d'oïl)	1. Franc-Comtois (a. Neuchatelois), 2. Burgundian, 3. Lorrain-Austrasien (a. Lorrain propre, b. Vosgien, c. Messin), 4. Walloon, 5. Picard, 6. Parisien, 7. Norman-Purinie, 8. Gallot, 9. Manceau, 10. Angevin, 11. Poitevin, 12. Saintongeais
B. Oc language (Langue d'oc)	1. Catalan, 2. Gascon (a. Bearnese), 3. "Périgourdain" [sic], 4. Limousin, 5. "Auvergnatain" [sic], 6. Languedocien (a. Cévennois, b. Nîmois, c. Bas-Languedocien, d. Tolosain, e. Rouergeois), 7. Provençal, 8. Dauphinois, 9. Savoyard, 10. Vaudois

Table 2. Distribution of dialects by Berghaus (1845-1848: f184)

2.3 Gustav Gröber (1888)

Gustav Gröber (1844-1911) was a German Roman philologist, professor in Breslau and at the University of Strassburg. His main work was in Roman literature and linguistics.

2.3.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

At the end of the 19th century, French philological studies, influenced by German works, began to take on a more institutional character and were polarized around two universities, those of Paris and Montpellier. The first brought together Gaston Paris, Paul Meyer and their students, the second Anatole Boucherie, Camille Chabaneau and some members of Félibrige, including Charles de Tourtoulon. They set up journals, *Romania* and the *Revue des Langues Romanes* respectively, through which they exchanged and argued on different questions, in particular about the classification and existence of dialects (Brun-Trigaud 1990: 158-208).

For the proponents of the “Parisian School”, dialects did not exist, because, according to them, the testimonies recorded in the field (rare at the time), only showed a continuum, where the chosen linguistic traits never overlapped. In fact, it was especially important for them not to validate the oc-oil fracture in a country which had just had part of its territory amputated after the defeat of 1870. The proponents of the “Montpellier School” did everything to demonstrate the opposite, in particular on the basis of fieldwork.

2.3.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Thus, two ‘discoveries’ made around 1873 upset the organization and classification of dialects that had been accepted until then: on the one hand, Francoprovençal, ‘revealed’ by G. Ascoli in 1874 (Ascoli 1874; Tuailon 1983) and the ‘sub-dialect-Marchois’ (= *Croissant*), by Ch. de Tourtoulon and O. Bringuier, following an on-site survey in 1873 to determine the Oc-Oil boundary (Tourtoulon & Bringuier

1876). Ascoli and Tourtoulon and Binguier relied on specific criteria to establish the boundaries of the new entities they uncovered: the conservation of final unaccented vowels (\neq oil / = oc) and the spontaneous diphthongization of stressed vowels in open syllables (\neq oc / = oil) for Franco-Provençal on the one hand, and the disappearance of final unaccented vowels (\neq oc / = oil) and the conservation of -a from -ARE or ATU (\neq oil / = oc) for the “sub-dialect-Marchois” on the other hand. From then on, we entered a new era which relied on linguistic facts to carry out classification, but the Parisian and Montpellier poles clashed over the purpose: the former sought to indicate on which area of land each linguistic feature reigned individually and denied the existence of dialects, the latter, on the contrary, sought to specify the limits of the dialects, and of Occitan in particular (Tourtoulon 1890).

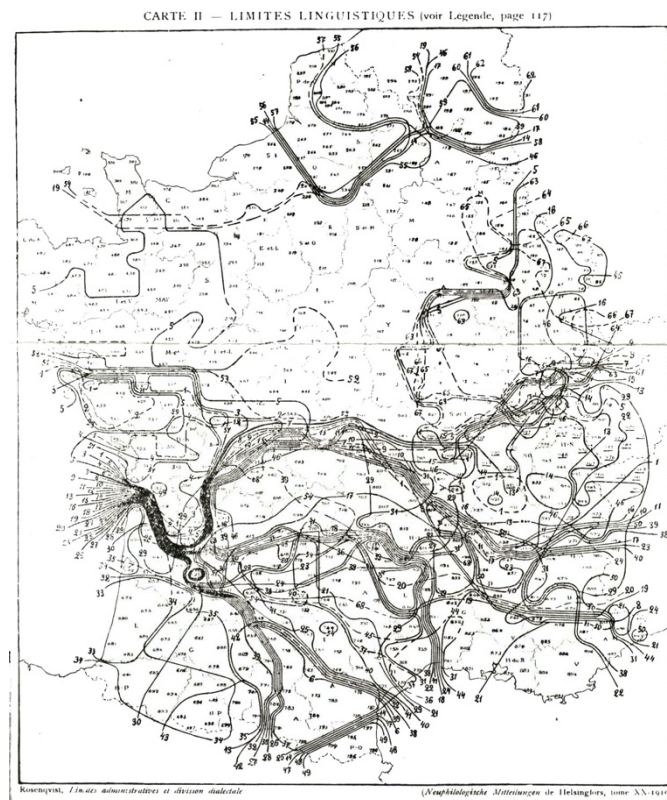
Moreover, the status of Franco-Provençal and the “sub-dialect Marchois” (= *Croissant*) has remained undecided for a long time in the various works dealing with the question of dialects, being alternately incorporated into the domains of Oc or Oil (Darmesteter 1891: 24-25 or Meyer 1889: 2).

However, from 1888 on, in one of the important works of the philology of the time, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Gröber published a general map of the Roman dialects of Europe in which Franco-provençal occupied a special place, while Gascon differed from the rest of the Provençal domain (= Occitan) and was graphically related to the Spanish domain by the same diagonal stripes (Gröber 1888). In this same work, a chapter entitled “Die Französische und Provenzalische Sprache und ihre Mundarten” written by H. Suchier, was accompanied by ten maps detailing the main linguistic features, in particular the treatment of “A libre” (Map 3) which served to differentiate the three areas (Suchier 1888).



Map 3. Ausbreitung der romanischen Sprachen in Europa (Gröber 1888: off-text map) (CC0 Original Source <https://archive.org/details/grundrissderroma13gruoft>)

At the same time, following Paris' appeal (Paris 1888), Parisian philologists tried to launch a vast project to obtain monographs in as many localities as possible with the help of local expert societies. However, this project was quickly abandoned: what was supposed to be a collective work became a work in duo, since it is J. Gilliéron and E. Edmont who, after four years of surveys in 639 localities throughout the Gallo-Roman area, published the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (ALF) (Gilliéron & Edmont 1902-1910). The ALF, which was supposed to be a masterly scientific demonstration of the very negation of the existence of dialects, turned out to be undeniable proof of the opposite, demonstrated by the presence of important bundles of isoglosses delimiting well-defined areas, as shown on the map by Rosenqvist's (1919) (Map 4) based on data from 75 phonetic and morphological maps in the ALF.



Map 4. Linguistic boundaries (Rosenqvist 1919: off-text map) (CC0)

2.4 Albert Dauzat (1927)

Albert Dauzat (1877-1955), a Doctor of Law and letters and a graduate of the *École pratique des hautes études*, played a leading role in the first half of the 20th century in toponymy and onomastics by drawing the attention of the academic world to these disciplines, which he popularized in works accessible to the general public.

2.4.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

The publication of the ALF seemed to put an end to the quarrel about the existence of dialects and to establish definitively the reality of a tripartition of the Gallo-Roman domain into Oc, Oïl and Franco-Provençal. From now on, the attention

became more focused on the distribution and number of dialects in the three domains.⁴

2.4.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Dauzat was one of the first French linguists to use the ALF materials, but with strong criticism. In his work, *Les Patois*, published in 1927 and republished several times, he established a map (Map 5) of the “current distribution of the main dialects”, the subdivisions of which were compared to all previous works (Table 3).

Languages	Dialects ⁵
Oil language (Langue d’oïl)	Wallon, <u>Hainuyer</u> & <u>Artesien</u> , Picard, Norman, Gallot & Angevin, Saintongeais, Poitevin & Berrichon & Bourbonnais & <u>Morvandiau</u> & <u>Bas-Burgundian</u> & <u>Charolais</u> & Franc-Comtois, Lorrain.
	“area of disappearance of patois”: Champagne, Ile-de-France, Maine, Touraine, Orléanais, a part of Berry
Oc language (Langue d’oc)	Gascon & Bearnese, Limousin, <u>Marchois</u> , <u>Bas-Auvergnat</u> , <u>Haut-Auvergnat</u> , <u>Causse-nard</u> , <u>Bas-Languedocien</u> , <u>Haut-Languedocien</u> & <u>Alpine Provençal</u> , Provençal
Franco-Provençal (with unnamed subdivisions)	

Table 3. Distribution of the main dialects by Dauzat (1927: map VI, 127)

⁴ For an overview of the classifications within the Occitan domain, see Sumien 2009).

⁵ The underlined names refer to new entities compared to the previous classifications and the “&” to the spaces without transition appearing on the map (Map 5).



CARTE VI.
 Répartition actuelle des principaux groupes de dialectes (d'après l'Atlas linguistique, les principaux travaux dialectologiques et des recherches personnelles)

Map 5. Distribution of major dialect groups (based on the linguistic atlas, major dialect studies and Dauzat's research) (Dauzat 1927: 127)

This map also appeared in his work *L'Europe linguistique*, published in 1940. It was undoubtedly this configuration that Dauzat had in mind when he launched the new survey campaign with the aim of producing the *Nouvel Atlas linguistique de la France* (Dauzat, 1939). Initially, twelve atlases were planned in the Gallo-Roman domain (Nord-Picardie, Champagne-Lorraine, Bourgogne-Franche-Comté-Nivernais, Ile-de-France-Orléanais-Berry, Normandie, Ouest, Poitou and Charentes, Limousin-Auvergne-Bourbonnais, Franco-Provençal, Provence and Nice, Languedoc, Guyenne, Gascogne), but ultimately the project led to the creation of eighteen atlases (Picard, Champagne, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Bourgogne, Centre, Ile-de-France and Orléanais, Normand, Bretagne Romane-Anjou-Maine, Ouest, Lyonnais, Jura and Alpes du Nord, Auvergne and Limousin, Massif Central, Provence, Languedoc Oriental,

Languedoc Occidental and Gascogne). Though the distribution of Oïl dialects was fairly well distributed in the respective domains of the atlases, the situation is more complex concerning Oc dialects, since Auvergne and Languedoc were spread over several atlases.

2.5 Pierre Bec (1963, 1970-1971)

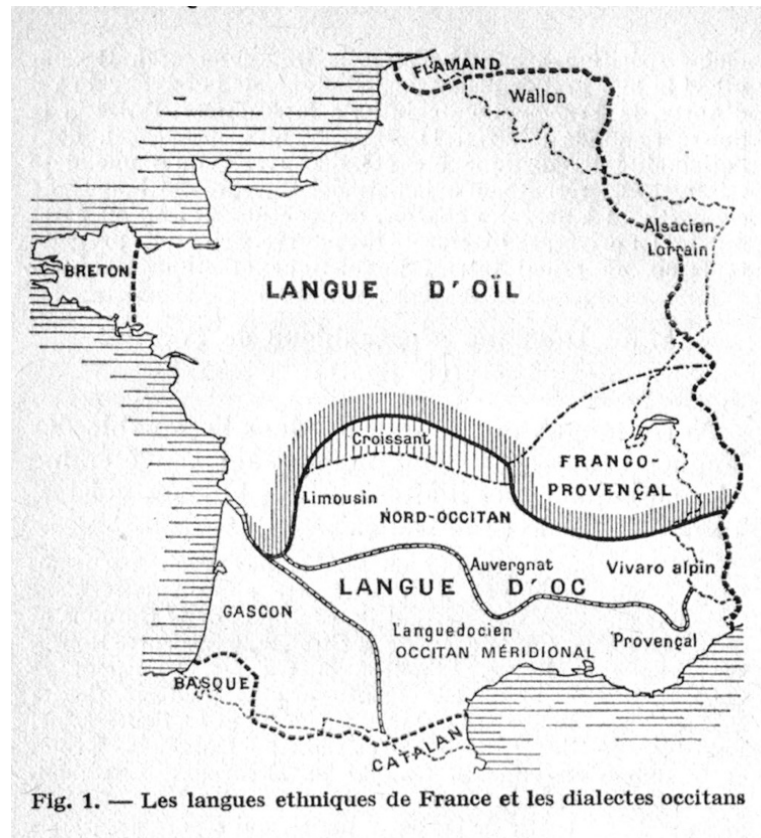
Pierre Bec (1921-2014) was a French linguist, professor at the University of Poitiers, specialist in Occitan literature and linguistics and Occitan-language poet.

2.5.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

Beyond the division into dialects, which is mainly based on the limits of the old French historical provinces, Bec showed that it was also possible to conceive a supradialectal division which goes beyond this traditional, administrative, classification. This conception of the language made it possible to partially decompartmentalize the dialects and to identify more general functions.

2.5.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

In 1963, Bec proposed, in *La langue occitane*, a new organization of Occitan dialects. It followed the classic representation of Occitan dialects in three groups (Map 6). It should be noted that Catalan appeared separately on the map, just like Basque, although its status was discussed under the section of the French dialects (Table 4).



Map 6. The ethnic languages of France and the Occitan dialects (Bec 1963, Fig. 1, 9)

Languages		Dialects	
Non-Gallo-Roman languages		Breton, Flemish, Alsatian-Lorraine, Catalan, Basque	
Northern Gallo-Roman or langue d'oïl		Norman, Picard, Walloon, Champenois, Lorrain, Franc-Comtois, Burgundian, Saintongeais, Poitevin, Angevin, Francien	
Gallo-roman		Franco-provençal	
Southern Gallo-Roman or langue d'oc		North-occitan	Limousin, Auvergnat, Vivaro-Alpin (Croissant)
		Southern Occitan	Languedocien, Provençal
		Gascon (Catalan)	

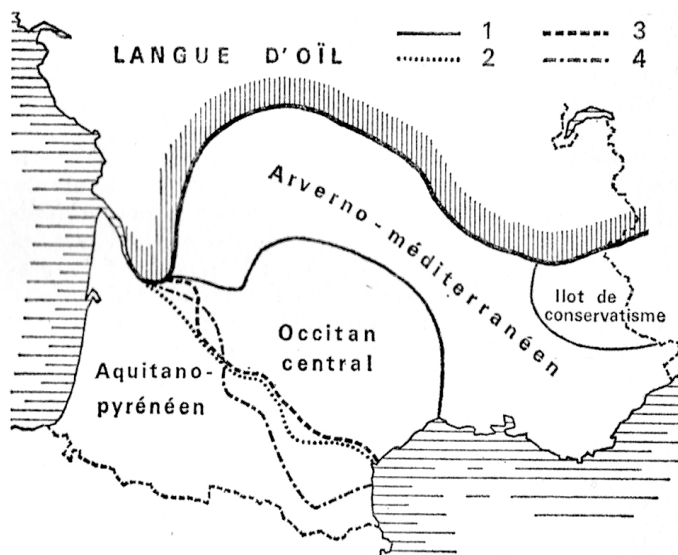
Table 4. The ethnic languages of France and the Occitan dialects by Bec (1963: 34-54, fig. 1 and 8-10)

It followed the presentation of the so-called supra-dialectal structuring: it allowed another organization of dialects with structural categories transcending the usual complexities to be shown: “the fragmentation of the langue d’oc [is] defined, no longer in relation to its dialects, but in relation to the entire Occitan identity” (Bec, 1963: 54)⁶. Occitan was divided into four parts (Table 5):

Languages	Dialects	
Occitan	Aquitano-Pyrénéen	Gascon and southern part of Languedocian
	Central Occitan	Most of Languedocian
	Averno-Méditerranéen	<i>Croissant</i> , Limousin, Auvergnat and Provençal
	“An island of conservatism”	Vivaro-Alpin

Table 5. Supra-dialectal structuring of Occitan by Bec (1963, fig. 2 and 54-58)

Based on four criteria, this first structuring served essentially to differentiate Aquitano-pyreanean from the rest of the Occitano-Roman dialects (Map 7).



Map 7. Supra-dialectal structuring of Occitan (1) by Bec (1963: Fig. 2, 38)

Legend: 1. labio-dental *v / b* (*vi(n) / bi(n)*), 2. treatment of *G + e, i > [j]* / [*dz, dʒ*] ([*jeta*] / [*dʒeta*]), 3. non palatalization of -CT- clusters (*fait/fach*), 4. inflection in [*ɛj*] of the protodiphthong [*aj*] (*fèit / fait*).

⁶ “la fragmentation de la langue d’oc [est] définie, non plus par rapport à ses dialectes, mais en fonction de l’identité occitane toute entière” (Bec 1963: 54).

Then he proposed a second, more complex map (Bec 1963: Fig. 3, 39), based on five features, which was closer to the classical distribution (Map 8), highlighting the specificity of Central Occitan. The discriminative criteria were only phonetic, and it should also be noted that there was no longer any distinction between Basque and Catalan in the French territory on these two maps. This oversight will be corrected in the *Manuel pratique d'occitan moderne* (1973: Carte n° 2).

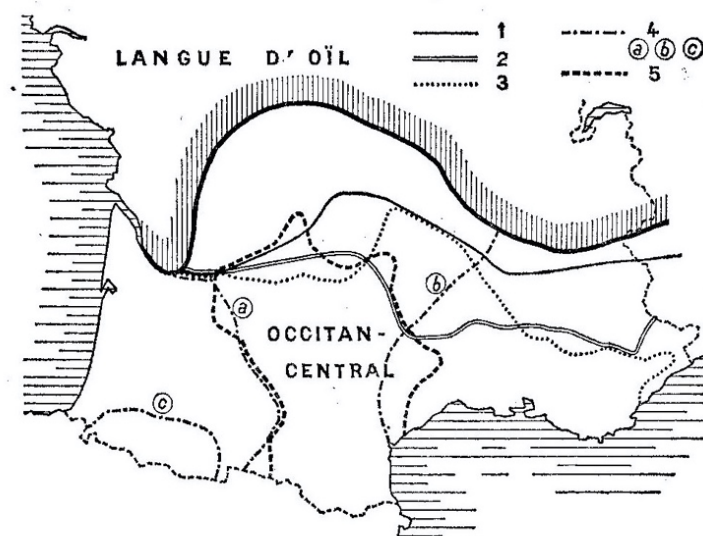


Fig. 3. — Structuration supra-dialectale de l'occitan
 1. pasta, escòla/pata, ecòla ; 2. cantar/chantar ; 3. susar/suar
 « suer » ; 4. pan/pa, a) gascon/langued., b) prov./langued., c) gascon/
 béarnais ; 5. sal/sau (sa).

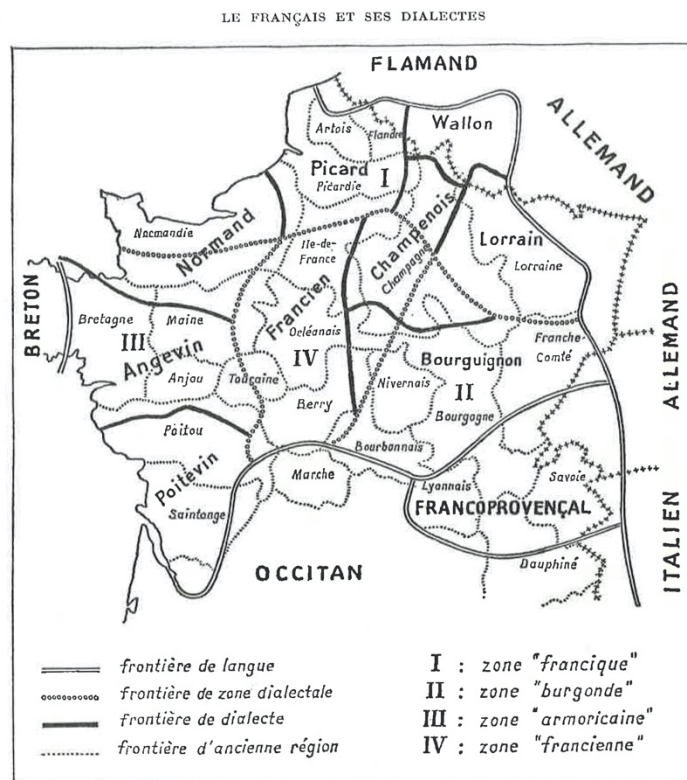
Map 8. Supra-dialectal structuring of Occitan (2) (Bec 1963: Fig. 3, 39)

This new structuring also appeared in the two volumes of the *Manuel pratique de philologie romane* (1970 Volume I (Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Occitan, Catalan, Gascon); 1971 Volume II (French [...], Franco-Provençal [...]) which, by its very title, validated the two-fold division of Occitan.

The same distribution was found for the Occitan dialects, including the new classification, along with the enumeration of French dialects (Normand, Picard, Wallon, Lorrain, Bourguignon, Franc-comtois, Champenois, Francien, Angevin, Poitevin, Saintongeais and Anglo-normand), we observe a supra-dialectal distribution in four large areas (cf. Map 9 and Table 6) which, according to Bec “simplifies the [previous] somewhat fragmented classification [...] by involving both linguistic criteria and large

areas of ethnic influence (substratum or superstratum) on a large scale” (Bec, 1970-1971/II: 8).⁷

If Franco-Provençal, subdivided into two parts, forms a distinct entity clearly separate from Occitan and French and its dialects, the status of Poitevin and Saintongeais remains unclear: on the map it seems to be in the “armoricaine” zone III, while in the text, Bec defines it as “an intermediate dialectal area, already announcing the languages of oc” (Bec 1970-1971/II: 9).⁸ However, this distribution will not be adopted in the work that will follow.



Map 9. Supra-dialectal structuring of dialects of French (Bec 1970-1971, I: Map 1)

⁷ « simplifie le classement [précédent] un peu morcelé [...] en faisant intervenir à grande échelle à la fois des critères linguistiques et des grandes zones d'influence ethnique (substrat ou superstrat) » (Bec 1970-1971/II: 8).

⁸ « une aire dialectale intermédiaire, annonçant déjà les parlers d'oc » (Bec 1970-1971/II: 9).

Languages	Dialects	Zone	
French Gallo-Roman or Oïl	French and dialects	I Frankish	Picard, Walloon, Lorrain, northern Norman, part of Champenois
		II Burgundian	Burgundian, Franc-Comtois
		III Armorican	Angevin, Gallo, Bas-Norman Anglo-Norman
		IV Francien	Francien, Orléanais, part of Champenois
		Poitevin	Poitevin, Saintongeais
	Franco-Provençal	Northern, Southern	

Table 6. “French and its dialects” by Bec (1970-1971, II: map 1 and 7-9, 362-364)

2.6 Bernard Cerquiglini (1999)

Bernard Cerquiglini (1947-) is professor of linguistics at the University of Paris VII - Diderot. He has been director of the *Institut national de la langue française*, vice-president of the *Conseil supérieur de la langue française*, and general delegate for the French language and the languages of France.

2.6.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

We must mention here the report submitted by Cerquiglini on *Les Langues de la France* (1999) concerning the ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which has still not been signed in France.⁹ “This report does not paint an objective sociolinguistic picture; it is a diplomatic instrument, and therefore a political display” (Cerquiglini 2020: 29-30).¹⁰

⁹ “En adhérant à la Charte, la France méconnaîtrait les principes constitutionnels d’indivisibilité de la République, d’égalité devant la loi, d’unicité du peuple français et d’usage officiel de la langue française.” Conseil d’état, décision n° 99-412 DC du 15 juin 1999. (By adhering to the Charter, France ignores the constitutional principles of indivisibility of the Republic, equality before the law, the uniqueness of the French people and the official use of the French language).

¹⁰ “Mon rapport ne peint pas un tableau sociolinguistique objectif ; il est un instrument diplomatique, et donc un affichage politique.” (Cerquiglini 2020: 29-30).

2.6.2 Classification of dialects

There is an enumeration of the languages spoken by French nationals on the territory of the Republic which could therefore benefit from the guarantees of the Charter, including Gallo-Roman varieties (Table 7) (1999: 6):

Languages	Dialects
1. Franco-provençal	
2. Occitan	(Gascon, Languedocien, Provençal, Auvergnat-Limousin, Alpin-Dauphinois)
3. Oil languages (Langues d'oïl)	Franc-Comtois, Wallon, Picard, Normand, Gallo, Poitevin-Saintongeais, Bourguignon-Morvandiau, Lorrain

Table 7. "Languages spoken by French nationals in the territory of the Republic" (Cerquiglioni, 1999: 6)

It goes without saying that the apparent uniqueness of Occitan contrasting with the plurality of "oil languages" and certain groupings such as "Poitevin-Saintongeais" have been the subject of a long reflection. We immediately see the scope of certain choices such as the exclusion of dialects such as Berry, Bourbonnais or Champagne and the presence of Walloon which occupies an extremely small area in France...

The cartographic illustration (Map 10) appears on the website of the Délégation Générale à la Langue Française et aux Langues de France (DGLFLF).¹¹

¹¹ <https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Langue-francaise-etlangues-de-France/Agir-pour-les-langues/Promouvoir-les-langues-de-France/Langues-regionales>.



Map 10. Languages of France (DGLFLF, 2022). ©DGLFLF/G. Brun-Trigaud/2022

2.7 Hans Goebel (2002, 2003, 2012)

The 1970s also saw the development of a new discipline, dialectometry, initiated by Séguy (1973)¹² and continued by Hans Goebel (VisualDialectoMetry, Salzburg School) and more recently by the Groningen School, around John Nerbonne and the Gabmap application. In both cases, the aim is to measure the linguistic distance between survey points using quantitative methods on the basis of large corpora.

2.7.1 Framework: Dialectometry

Goebel worked with a corpus based on the *Atlas Linguistique de la France* (Gilliéron & Edmont 1902-1910). Although the taxonomic analyses are initially carried out independently according to grammatical categories (lexicon, phonology, morpho-

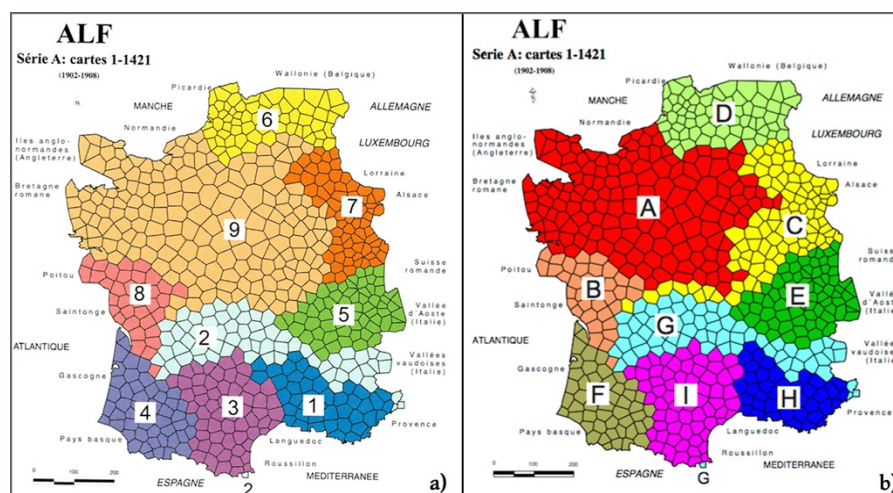
¹² Other dialectometric works have been carried out in the Gallo-Roman domain, but on more restricted areas (cf. Guiter, Philps, Jagueneau, Camps, etc.).

syntax), the results are often presented in a synthetic manner. The measurements are carried out using two indices, Relative and Weighted Identity Value, then grouped into a cluster in order to visualize them in the form of polygonal maps (cf. Goebel 2002, 2003, 2012, this issue for more details).

In the overall analyses, the variations in the choice of similarity index (IRI or IPI) (2002/2003) (Maps 11a/b), of the classification algorithm (Complete Linkage or Ward's Method) (2002), of the corpus (lexicon or phonetics) (2012), allowed him to show different distributions of dialects over the whole of the Gallo-Roman domain, However, the differences in the distribution patterns were small.

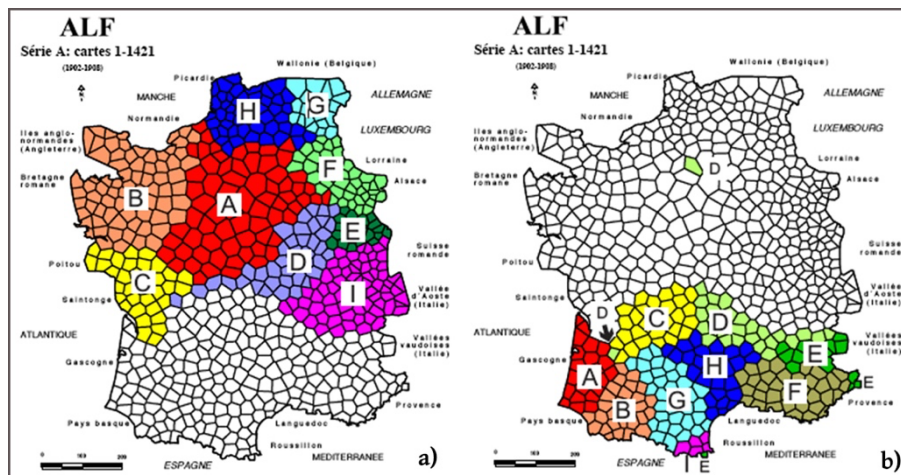
7.2.1 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Only a more detailed analysis (2003) of the corpus divided into two groups (Oil and Franco-Provençal vs. Occitan) (Maps 12a/b) shows a classification in line with the previous ones, but with less expected similarities (*Croissant* and Burgundian speakers) or splits (Gascon or Languedocian). Although the entities thus defined are categorized, they are not named.



Maps 11a/b. ALF data projections (1687 working maps). Ward's Method. a) Similarity index IRI (Goebel 2002: 63) and b) IPI (Goebel 2003: 116)

According to Goebel, the dialectometry of the Salzburg School is based on the existence of the basilectal management of space by homo loquens, whose manifestations obey general regularities or laws « qui ne peuvent être découvertes qu'à travers un certain nombre d'opérations *inductives* ou de *synthèse* » that must be visualized to be understood (Goebel 2016: 53).



Maps 12a/b. ALF data projections (1687 working maps). Ward's Method. Similarity index IPI. a) North 421 points. b) South 221 points (Goebel 2003: 118 and 120)

3. Discussion

As can be seen, since the end of the 18th century, the question of the number and classification of Gallo-Roman dialects has been the subject of several works, benefiting from the advances of philology and especially from the various survey campaigns carried out in the field (Table 7).

The work of pioneers, including Court de Gébelin (1778) and those of the Coquebert de Montbret who, beginning in 1812, were based on data collected locally, gave an important impetus to the classifications of Gallo-Roman dialects. They were followed by the discovery of Franco-Provençal and the dialects of the Crescent at the end of the 19th century which made it possible to stabilize the classification of the distribution, only the number of dialects and their internal organization called for discussions (Dauzat 1927, Bec 1970-1971, Cerquiglini 1999). In particular, as far as

Occitan is concerned, most specialists of Roman languages consider that Provençal, Languedocien, Limousin, Auvergnat and Vivaro-Alpine are all part of the same language, but the question of the place of Gascon within Occitan is hotly debated. However, there is currently a consensus that Gascon, while being closely related to other Occitan varieties, constitutes, when its genesis is considered, a distinct entity from Occitan proper. Since Gascon has evolved in contact and in symbiosis with Occitan for centuries, it is therefore generally considered to be a variety of Occitan, which is clearly shown by dialectometry (Goebel).

Year	Ethnological classification	Isoglottic Dialectology	Dialectometry
< 1800	Court de Gébelin (1778) Grégoire (1794)		
1800-1849	Coquebert de Montbret (1812, 1831) Schnakenburg (1840) Berghaus (1845)		
1850-1899		Gröber & Suchier (1888)	
1900-1949		Rosenqvist (1919) ² Dauzat (1927, 1940)	
1950-1999		Bec (1963, 1970-1971) Cerquiglini (1999)	
2000 >			Goebel (2002, 2003, 2012)

Table 7. Analysis of different theoretical frameworks in the Gallo-roman dialectology

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