

Essay Two – Representations of Brittany (HPCS6014) - Heidi Wyldewood (2100492)

How useful is it to view Brittany's culture through the lens of postcolonial theory. You should illustrate your answer with detailed analysis of at least two of the representations of Brittany studied.

Brittany has a rich culture, distinct within France historically. It is its Celtic heritage, and its retention of province status up until the French Revolution, which makes Brittany a candidate for the lens of postcolonial theory.¹ This paper primarily examines the transparently political poems by Anjela Duval, to find the Breton voice. Then the romantic stereotype is probed via the Brittany poems and attitude of Tristan Corbière. Then attention is briefly drawn to other Breton poets and the French the suppression of their native language. The findings conclude that whilst postcolonial theory has relevance to Breton culture, it cannot speak to the whole experience of these two individuals. However, albeit with limitations, the framework which it provides does spotlight the inequalities borne by the people of Brittany, as expressed within these writings. Prior to the main discussion is an overview of the history of Brittany and an outline of the theory to contextualise the writings of these Breton poets and to identify any relevant sentiments and recurring themes.

The Breton identity began to form between the sixth and seventh centuries as a 'hybrid population' of indigenous Armoricans and incoming Britons, who together adopted 'the Brittonic form of Celtic' and a decentralised form of Christianity.² By the eighth century a 'distinct people', opposed to subjugation by their 'Frank neighbours', lived in the remote region.³ This identity survived Viking interference and endured the conflicts between the English and the French in the centuries that followed.⁴ Louis XI of France deviously bought the 'right to the duchy' in 1480 and, after his death, a bitter struggle saw the Breton dukedom integrated into France in 1488, with official unity declared in 1532.⁵ During France's colonial empire, Brittany's ports and its hemp and linen trade flourished, but recession hit during the eighteenth century.⁶ Breton revolts against centralisation ensued, until the duchy of Brittany was finally abolished in 1789.⁷ The nineteenth century saw further economic decline; the increased loss of the Breton language; and mass emigration. The Celtic Revival strengthened Breton identity prior to the First World War, and after proportionally heavier losses than the rest of France, Breton nationalism rose.⁸ Unfortunately, the actions of the Breton National Party during the Second World War left the cause weakened, and Brittany did not economically recover after the war like other areas, although in 1956 the

¹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 'Brittany', *Britannica*, (2023)

<<https://www.britannica.com/place/Brittany-region-France>> [accessed 29th December 2023]. For the French Revolution 1789-1799, see Barry Cunliffe, *Bretons & Britons: The Fight For Identity*, (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2021), p. 337.

² Cunliffe, *Bretons & Britons*, pp. 232-233.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 233-235.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 243-282.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 283-284 and 290.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-295 and 307-312.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 340-341 and 349.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 399-405.

Region of Brittany was reinstated.⁹ Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century there was an aggressive suppression of the Breton language.¹⁰ The millennia-long erosion of identity and the continued struggle for economic equality and the retention of the language and cultural difference is that which posits postcolonial theory as useful concerning the Breton voices of Duval and Corbière.

Postcolonial theory emerged as the term 'Third World' faded from use within 'academic and political contexts' in the late 1980s.¹¹ It began as an attempt to acknowledge the struggles that not only take place between nations, but 'also within nations' between 'dominant and subaltern groups' or 'settler and indigenous populations'.¹² The moniker implies a movement beyond a certain point in history, and an examination of the past in the light of current thinking and newer developments.¹³ Obviously, throughout history there have been many periods of colonisation, and a colonising power may have once been a colony itself, but the framework stands to contextualise and interpret the impact of the subjugation of people in these various socio-political and cultural situations and is deemed helpful in the ongoing challenge to inequality and any reparative work.¹⁴ Colonialism has been summed up as 'the historical process whereby the 'West' attempts systematically to cancel or negate the cultural difference and value of the 'non-West'.¹⁵ Whilst the idea of the 'West' and 'non-West' have to apply theoretically to France and Brittany respectively here, it is the following aspects of post-colonial theory that are relevant to the discussion going forward: the deconstruction of dominant narratives and the amplification of marginalised voices; the awareness that economic disparity and cultural imposition or erasure may be a persistent legacy; the observation of new identities where two or more cultures form a hybrid; and that social justice and the dismantling of unhelpful power structures are sought in the continued struggle for political, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic autonomy and identity.¹⁶

Duval began to write her poems in 1961 at the age of fifty-six.¹⁷ At this time, the idea of Brittany as a 'colony' began to truly challenge France's myth of unity, although the term had

⁹ Jack E. Reece, *The Bretons Against France: Ethnic Minority Nationalism In Twentieth-Century Brittany*, (US: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), pp.182 and 204. See also Minority Rights Group International, 'Breton', *World Directory Of Minorities And Indigenous Peoples*, (2018), <<https://minorityrights.org/minorities/breton/>> [accessed 7th January 2024].

¹⁰ Endangered Language Alliance (ELA), 'Breton', *Endangered Language Alliance (ELA)*, (2024) <<https://www.elalliance.org/languages/breton>> [accessed 7th January 2024].

¹¹ Ella Shohat, 'Notes On The 'Post-Colonial'', *Social Text*, 31/32 (1992), 99-113 (p. 100) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/466220>> [accessed 27th December 2023].

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102. See also Peter Childs and R.J. Patrick Williams, *An Introduction To Post-Colonial Theory*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 10-11.

¹⁴ Childs and Williams, *An Introduction To Post-Colonial Theory*, pp. 1-2, 11 and 16.

¹⁵ Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*, (Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 1998), p. 15.

¹⁶ Childs and Williams, *An Introduction To Post-Colonial Theory*, pp. 2-4.

¹⁷ Diarmuid Johnson, 'Anjela Duval', *Anjela Duval: Articles*, (2015), <<https://www.anjela.org/oberenn/articles/?lang=en>> [accessed 4th January 2024].

been used as early as the 1930's.¹⁸ Duval, saw herself first and foremost as a peasant and farmer, but many of her poems, composed in her native tongue, 'deal with the repression of the Bretons by the French; the call to unity and action to dispel apathy and to throw off the yoke of oppression'.¹⁹ In her poem, 'The Sun's Eye', Duval draws attention, a comparison perhaps, to other colonised peoples.²⁰ The people of the 'West slept without a care on the grey ashes of its laurels', whilst the sun witnesses the horrors lived by others: the cold, the hunger, the dying, the despair, the killing, the bullets, and those 'under the yoke before returing to weep on Brittany's shore'.²¹ In another poem she refers to the fight for freedom by mentioning an active, paramilitary group who sought to restore Breton independence.²² It is clear that Duval viewed the Breton people as an ethnically and historically distinct 'race' from the French.²³ She links this race to the 'fearless and daring Celts', calling them 'Ancestors' and 'Heroes', begging them to awaken within spirit of the Bretons of her day so that 'Brittany may live eternally'.²⁴ Duval's grief is expressed too for the declining use of the Celtic language, and she referred to it as the 'magical language' of her 'race'.²⁵ Breton is the 'golden key' that was lost, and that the 'treasures' of her heritage, could not be opened with the imposed French language, the 'foreign key'.²⁶ These themes crop up in poems of fantasy and childhood, not just those making a political statement, indicating that these sentiments are ever present and ever nagging for Duval. For her too, the incoming technological advances were the colonising means of yet further loss of culture. This progress brought the French 'master' to Brittany, and overtook the Breton music, speech, art, and spiritual thinking, and 'imprisoned' all that had been familiar to her in a 'cage' or a 'jail'.²⁷ However, she also resisted the new for another reason.

Duval's expressed sorrow about the changes that had come to her 'Love' and her 'Life', the land itself, the 'bare earth'.²⁸ She railed against the razing of the hedgerow system in favour of 'agricultural modernization, intensification, and reallocation', methods which she viewed as a harmful 'dismantling of Brittany'.²⁹ Her earth trembled under the wicked 'terror' of the

¹⁸ Heather Williams, *Bringing Postcolonialism Home*, [Word doc.] HPCS6014: Representations Of Brittany. (University of Wales Trinity Saint David, 2023).

¹⁹ Lenora A. Timm, 'Preface', in Anjela Duval, *A Modern Breton Political Poet, Anjela Duval: A Biography And An Anthology*, ed. and trans. by Lenora A. Timm, (New York, USA: Lewiston, 1990), pp. ii-iii.

²⁰ Anjela Duval, 'The Sun's Eye / Lagad An Heol', *A Modern Breton Political Poet, Anjela Duval: A Biography And An Anthology*, ed. and trans. by Lenora A. Timm, (New York, USA: Lewiston, 1990), pp. 106-107.

²¹ Ibid.

²² For 'Freedom fighters of Brittany' translated from 'T.D.B, -ed Breizh-Izel' meaning 'The Liberation Front of Brittany', see Duval, 'Night Of The Souls / Noz an Anaon', *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 128-129.

²³ Duval, 'Misunderstanding / Digomprenusted', *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 42-45.

²⁴ Duval, 'In The Moonlight / Ouzh Skeud Al Loar' and 'The Golden Key /An Alc'chouez Aour', *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 126-127 and 90-91.

²⁵ Duval, 'Second Childhood / Eil Bugealeaj', *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 42-45.

²⁶ Duval, 'The Golden Key /An Alc'chouez Aour', *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 90-91.

²⁷ Duval, 'Imprison / Bac'han', *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 102-103.

²⁸ Duval, 'Misunderstanding / Digomprenusted', *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 42-45.

²⁹ Duval, 'Dismantling Of Brittany / Dismantroù Breizh', *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 250-251. For the replacement of the bocage system by industrial methods, see Agforward, 'Bocage Agroforestry In Brittany, France', *Agforward*, (2023) <<https://www.agforward.eu/bocage-agroforestry-in-brittany-france.html>> [accessed 5th January 2024].

‘science of Man’.³⁰ Certainly, when local environmental concerns are overridden in the implementation of ideas then it can be understood as a form of colonisation.³¹ She voiced too the anger of the rural people toward the ‘city-dwellers’ who benefitted from the agricultural sweat and blood ‘of generations of Bretons’, denying them equity and equality.³² Using the metaphor of an ‘old mare’, she illustrated how ‘exploited’ and ‘brutalized’ Brittany was in its ‘back-breaking work’ and ‘service’ to the ungrateful ‘French-God’.³³

This same outrage was also directed closer to home, not just towards the Parisienne centre. She talked of the ‘aristocracy’ and ‘the bigshots of the parish’ dominating ‘the little people who don’t have the right’.³⁴ This Breton upper class might not initially be seen as a problem of colonisation. As with many countries, Brittany has its own history of a self-serving elite, so some issues may not initially be perceived as those caused by external colonising forces, but these internal socio-economic imbalances are open to manipulation by invasive powers.³⁵ Vulnerability causes people to ‘side with the forces of control and exploitation’ and when the elite look to make deals with an incoming power against the betterment of their own people, collaboration can look like welcomed change rather than internalised colonialism or ‘complicit post-colonialism’.³⁶ Duval points to the ease with which the ‘The Conquerors’ are able to take advantage of the desperate, tempting the poor and powerless into collusion.³⁷ Duval’s ‘web’ has been observed to operate via the powers of inclusion just as much as exclusion, and the ‘net-like organisation’ succeeds because ‘individuals are like vehicles of power, not its points of application’.³⁸ It is this insidious tapping into the ‘longing of the colonised’, that Duval observed, and consequently called for Bretons to ‘wake up’ and to build Brittany’s ‘dream’, not that of France.³⁹ Therefore, this disservice from within, as the treatment of a subaltern group, still comes under the remit of postcolonial theory.⁴⁰

With Corbière’s writing there is another reach for the theory’s utility. His work was deliberately ‘anti-lyrical’, he made fun of ‘the Romantics’ and he juxtaposed ‘Breton culture

³⁰ Duval, ‘The Earth Trembles /An Douar A Gren’, *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 104-105.

³¹ Graham Huggan, ‘Postcolonial Ecocriticism And The Limits Of Green Romanticism’, *Journal Of Postcolonial Writing*, 45.1 (2009), 3-14, (p. 7)
<<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/17449850802636465?needAccess=true>> [accessed 5th January 2024].

³² Duval, ‘Misunderstanding / Digomprenusted’, *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 42-45.

³³ Duval, ‘The Old Mare / Ar Gazeg Kozh’ and ‘Elves / Korrikaned’, *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 126-127 and 238-239.

³⁴ Duval, ‘Red Anger / Kounnar Ruz’, *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 46-47.

³⁵ Cunliffe, *Bretons & Britons*, p. 297.

³⁶ Childs and Williams, *An Introduction To Post-Colonial Theory*, p 19.

³⁷ Duval, ‘The Conquerors /An Alouberien’, *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 142-145.

³⁸ Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*, p. 11. For the ‘net-like organisation’, see Michael Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. by Colin Gordon, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), p. 98.

³⁹ Duval, ‘In The Moonlight / Ouzh Skeud Al Loar’ and ‘Ker Avel’, *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 126-127 and 150-151.

⁴⁰ Shohat, ‘Notes On The ‘Post-Colonial’’, pp. 100-101. See also Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*, p. 14.

with the myth of the *poète maudit*'.⁴¹ His lived rebellion, against both the Brittany that he left and the Paris that he moved to, informed his written protestations against the stereotyping of Brittany and Breton culture, and his own 'hybridity', all of which offer a relevant postcolonial appraisal.⁴² Corbière lived during the Celtic Revival, which might initially seem positive, advancing the Breton cause, but beyond the themes of death and disability that dominated his writing, he subverted the emerging image of Brittany.⁴³ Instead of the jolly seaside he crafted storms, hinted at shipwrecks and cast 'penniless folk' as wreckers hoping for 'huge vessel' upon 'their shores'.⁴⁴ He scorned the 'leisure boating' of 'gentlemen sailors', and described his perfect boat as 'rough and ready for the roughest sea, deaf to the weather, oblivious of time'.⁴⁵ He refused to pretty up the dangerous life of the fishermen, so dear to Brittany's heart, heritage and livelihood, stating it to be 'nothing grand' just 'the bitter grimace of the struggling sailor'.⁴⁶ Instead of the quaint coiffured woman he portrayed her as death's accomplice in an 'Evil Landscape' full of decay and sadness.⁴⁷ His descriptions were very different from the picturesque narratives of other poets and full of disrupted clichés butting up against 'popular sayings and obscene jokes'.⁴⁸ His way of tackling themes through the use of irony, fusing a 'cynical Parisian voice with a naïve Breton voice', speak to his complex and nuanced search for a hybrid identity; his rejection of 'Celtomania' exhibited by other Breton and non-Breton creatives; and his dismantling of the romanticised ideal of Brittany which encouraged the outsider to escape into someone else's 'Nature'.⁴⁹ It could be argued that Corbière's words stemmed from his own struggle with self-acceptance and his disability, especially in poems like 'The Toad', but even though he is referring to himself, it is still the 'awful croak' that is the sound of the Breton 'moonlight', not the more romantic or poetic 'nightingale'.⁵⁰ His obsession with death might even be considered an alignment with

⁴¹ Albert Sonnenfeld, 'The Yellow Laugh Of Tristan Corbière', *Yale French Studies*, 23 (1959), 39-46 (p.40) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2929271>> [accessed 7th January 2024]. For *poète maudit*, see Katherine Lunn-Rockliffe, 'Introduction' in *Tristan Corbière: Oysters, Nightingales And Cooking Pots*, trans. by Christopher Pilling, ed. by Richard Hibbitt and Katherine Lunn-Rockliffe, (York, UK: White Rose University Press, 2018), p. viii.

⁴² Heather Williams, *Tristan Corbière (1845–75)*, [Word doc.] *HPCS6014: Representations Of Brittany*. (University of Wales Trinity Saint David, 2023).

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Tristan Corbière, 'Tristan Corbière: Selected Poems From 'Les Amours Jaunes: 'The Lighthouse / Le Phare'', trans. by A. S. Kline', *Poetry In Translation* (2024) <<https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/French/CorbiereSelectedPoems.php>> [accessed 4th January 2024]. For 'wreckers', see Tristan Corbière, Barcarolle Des Kerlouans Naufrageurs / The Kerlouan Wreckers' Barcarolle', *Tristan Corbière: Oysters, Nightingales And Cooking Pots*, pp. 154-155.

⁴⁵ Corbière, L'Americaine / The American Girl, *Oysters, Nightingales And Cooking Pots*, p. 59.

⁴⁶ Corbière, 'Tristan Corbière: Selected Poems From 'Les Amours Jaunes: 'The End / La Fin''.

⁴⁷ Tristan Corbière, 'Tristan Corbière: Selected Poems From 'Les Amours Jaunes: 'Evil Landscape / Paysage Mauvais''. For 'kannerez-noz' / The Washerwoman of the Night linked to the Ankou / Death see Heather Williams, *Death In Brittany*, [Word doc.] *HPCS6014: Representations Of Brittany*. (University of Wales Trinity Saint David, 2023).

⁴⁸ Katherine Lunn-Rockliffe, *Tristan Corbière And The Poetics Of Irony*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 53. See also Lunn-Rockliffe, 'Introduction' in *Tristan Corbière: Oysters, Nightingales And Cooking Pots*, p. viii.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 92. For Celtomania see, Heather Williams, 'Corbière Subverts The Brittany Of Poetry', [Word doc.] *HPCS6014: Representations Of Brittany*. (University of Wales Trinity Saint David, 2023).

⁵⁰ Corbière, 'Tristan Corbière: Selected Poems From 'Les Amours Jaunes: 'The Toad / Le Crapaud''.

Breton culture, and Brittany, which ultimately shines through as a solace, not an enemy for Corbière.⁵¹ Therefore his grim portrayal of his birthplace can be seen as resistance to external projection and prejudice. Duval agrees with Corbière, calling attention to the ‘many faces’ of Brittany, and that the ‘Immortal Brittany’ cannot be stereotyped and cherry-picked into pieces that fit in a ‘pocket’.⁵² Those who seek ‘solitude’ and ‘self-fulfilment’ in wild, beautiful places and ‘through contact with the ‘other’’, or those who look to protect and conserve their non-native areas, often fall foul of ‘postcolonial criticism’.⁵³

Other younger ‘poets of decolonisation’ such as ‘Paol Keineg, Christian Keginer, and Yann-Ber Pirioubegan’ added their voices to the cause alongside Duval in the 1960s and 1970s.⁵⁴ Like Corbière, they presented an unromantic view of Brittany, choosing instead to drawing attention to exploitation and colonisation.⁵⁵ They demonstrated solidarity with other colonised people elsewhere in the world and dedicated works to them.⁵⁶ Their writings point to another angle that cannot be ignored when critiquing colonialism: language and translation. Many of them composed in Breton, taking ‘the trouble of writing their poetry in a second language’, which they did not learn at school, only in ‘adulthood’.⁵⁷ This was a political move, shining an uncomfortable spotlight on their ‘mother tongue’, a heritage that had been denied their generation.⁵⁸ Breton was not only not taught, at the beginning of the century its use had been a punishable offence for pupils, and after the second world war it was discouraged by parents too, seeking the best for their children.⁵⁹ Pêr Bronost’s poem from 1902 talks of crying when he was given the ‘symbol for speaking Breton’, the language of his ‘Fathers’.⁶⁰ Translation, even self-translation, from Breton into French is considered by some a ‘kind of colonialism’, and an issue that is not easily disentangled.⁶¹ Is the use of postcolonial theory presumptive then, when the Breton language is still not legally recognised for example, and less than fifty thousand speakers use it every day, despite the

⁵¹ Albert Sonnenfeld, ‘Tristan Corbière: The Beatific Malediction’, *L'Esprit Créateur*, 9.1 (1969), 37-45 p. 41-43, <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26279716>> [accessed 4th January 2024].

⁵² Duval, ‘The Thousand Faces Of My Country / Mil Dremm Va Bro’ and ‘Breton! / Brezhoneg!’, *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 156-157 and 236-237.

⁵³ Armelle Blin-Roland, ‘A Breton Bande Dessinée? Graphic Mosaics Of Brittany’, *Nottingham French Studies*, 60.2 (2021), 254-271 Edinburgh University Press <<https://doi.org/10.3366/nfs.2021.0320>> [accessed 4th January 2024]. For postcolonial ecocriticism, see Huggan, ‘Postcolonial Ecocriticism And The Limits Of Green Romanticism’, pp. 4-7.

⁵⁴ Heather Williams, ‘Between French And Breton: The Politics Of Translation’, *Romance Studies*, 27.3 (2009), 223-233 (p. 225) <<https://www.wales.ac.uk/Resources/Documents/Research/ROSH HeatherWilliams.pdf>> [accessed 7th January 2024].

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp 225-227.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 226.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Lois Kuter, International Committee for the Defense of the Breton Language, ‘Breton – An Endangered Language Of Europe’, *Bro Nevez*, 90, (2004), p. 2 <<https://www.breizh.net/icdbl/saozg/Endangered.pdf>> [accessed 7th January 2024].

⁶⁰ Pêr Bronost, ‘E Skol Va Fearrez, 1902 / In My Parish School, 1902’, *The Turn Of The Ermine: An Anthology Of Breton Literature*, ed. and trans. by Jacqueline Gibson and Gwyn Griffiths, (London: Francis Boutle Publishers, 2006), pp. 434-435..

⁶¹ Williams, ‘Between French And Breton’, p. 229.

local push for bilingual schools?⁶² It should not be forgotten either, that up until 1993 it was illegal for Bretons to 'name their children with Breton names'.⁶³ It could be considered that colonisation remains and that there is nothing 'post' about it or that the legacy is still in the process of unfolding, not yet forgotten.⁶⁴ For Duval it was not over:

I have always been faithful to my motto

-I DO BATTLE ON EVERY FRONT-

My life has been a battle.

And at the end of my time

At the end of my strength

I sigh!⁶⁵

Within the works of Duval, Corbière, and other poets, postcolonial theory determines a call for official recognition and promotion of the Breton language; for full agency over the presentation of the identity of the region and people; and for the control of educational, administrative, ecological and agricultural matters. However, it is limited, not least because it continues to 'privilege colonisation' as the default whilst trying to gain an understanding of 'other people's histories'.⁶⁶ The paradox is that by using terms such as 'marginalised', 'decentralised' and 'subaltern' there is a centring yet again of the 'coloniser', and the theory undermines itself. Additionally, the complex nature of individual voices, such as Duval's experience as a woman and Corbière's outlook as a disabled man, are not addressed. There are many adjunct issues, such as the treatment of the natural environment, gender, race, and the socio-economically impoverished by capitalist, patriarchal, supremacist, or classist constructs that would benefit from an expansion of the main tenets of the postcolonial theory.

If economic exploitation, exertion of political control over a nation, and a systematic erosion of their language and culture are the indicators of colonialism, then postcolonial theory is useful tool to examine Brittany's culture and history. Certainly, within the Breton literature discussed here, grief loss, oppression, erosion of identity and tradition, and subaltern stereotypes are borne witness to. Despite limitations, postcolonial theory can be an ideal framework to spotlight the identity and experiences of suppressed voices; to dismantle the impact and structures of oppression; and to take reparative measures. The same mechanisms that occur during the colonisation of a country or a nation operate in other dynamics, therefore this one theory has many intersections which necessitate exploration, but its utility in the specific examination of Brittany and experience of Breton people in relation to and

⁶² Shohat, 'Notes On The 'Post-Colonial'', p. 103. For Breton language statistics, see Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning, *Breton: The Breton Language In Education In France*, 3rd edn. (Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning, 2019) p. 7-9. <<https://www.mercator-research.eu/en/regional-dossiers/>> [accessed 4th January 2024].

⁶³ Endangered Language Alliance (ELA), 'Breton'.

⁶⁴ Childs and Williams, *An Introduction To Post-Colonial Theory*, p. 17.

⁶⁵ Duval, 'Who / Piv', *A Modern Breton Political Poet*, pp. 38-39.

⁶⁶ Childs and Williams, *An Introduction To Post-Colonial Theory*, p. 19.

perception of French power, is highly valuable. Its true value though can only be measured by the impact upon the preservation of the Breton culture and language as it currently stands and the reclamation or revival of aspects considered lost.

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