

# Introduction

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This special double issue of *Multilingua* is intended to honour Professor Roland Willemyns (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Belgium) on the occasion of his emeritus status and 65<sup>th</sup> birthday. The intentionally ambiguous title ‘Changing standards in sociolinguistic research’ both reflects the contributors’ (and Willemyns’s) concern with the evolving form of (and attitudes towards) the various standard languages they focus on, as well as their ambition to explore new approaches to language variation and language history, beyond the classic paths of sociolinguistic research.

Willemyns started his research career in the mid 1960s as a dialectologist and philologist of Dutch at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel under the wings of Adolf Van Loey, one of the foremost scholars of Middle Dutch. Soon after succeeding his supervisor he expanded his research area to the budding field of sociolinguistics. As one of the pioneers of sociolinguistics in the Dutch language area, he made groundbreaking contributions to the study of the social stratification of dialect and standard in Flanders and the Netherlands, including authoritative work on dialect loss and changing attitudes to the standard and its norms. The perennial opposition between Dutch and French in Belgian history further provided him with one of the most fascinating case studies for research into the sociology of language. Both his work on the Germanic/Romance language border and the classic case of Brussels as a laboratory for language planning and language shift assured his connection with the international sociolinguistic community. Meanwhile, he continuously applied the newest developments in the field of sociolinguistics at large to the historical study of the development of Dutch, culminating in at least three state-of-the art ‘histories of Dutch’ that fundamentally changed the standards for any future research in that domain (Burger, de Vries & Willemyns 1993; Willemyns 2003; van der Sijs & Willemyns 2009). The urge to break away from *communis opinio* language historiography in favour of corpus-based historical sociolinguistics involving original doc-

uments from all layers of society also percolated into his most recent work on the historical sociolinguistics of 19<sup>th</sup> century Dutch. One can only eagerly look forward to the pending publication of his latest book *The story of Dutch*, the first comprehensive work in English on Dutch language history in almost thirty years (ever since Donaldson 1983).

Instead of compiling an umpteenth *liber amicorum* with a series of shorthand micro case studies for his *emeritate*, we chose to do justice to the ongoing inspiration of Roland's work with a colloquium in Bruges in 2009, exploring new and innovative approaches to a selection of his key research themes. The present collection of new articles brings together the most inspiring and thought-provoking presentations from that conference, complemented with a number of invited contributions. Long-time colleagues and friends of the celebrated emeritus team up with young voices in the field of sociolinguistics to address topics that border on Willemyns's main areas of expertise. Some contributors present a state-of-the art overview complementing Roland's earlier work, others fundamentally question or reshuffle 'commonly accepted linguistic truths'.

Ana Deumert (Cape Town) ventures into language standardisation theory and practice. Drawing on examples from isiXhosa in present day South Africa, she highlights the omnipresent ideological undertone in standardisation debates but also fundamentally questions the very viability of 'standard languages' as a meaningful category in both society and sociolinguistics. The decline of the ideology-laden 'grand narrative of standardisation' towards a 'zombie category' ('they are essentially dead, but continue to structure our actions and experiences because we (social scientists and society at large) treat them as if they were real') mirrors an ongoing discussion in the Dutch language area about the immanent/imminent death of Standard Dutch (Stroop 1998; van der Horst 2008) which was central in much of Willemyns's (2007) recent work. The issues of destandardisation intertwined in this discussion (both in isiXhosa and Dutch) open new horizons for fundamental discussion on the very nature of standardisation and destandardisation as both linguistic and social processes in the years to come.

Leigh Oakes (Queen Mary, University of London) presents new data on attitudes towards French and English among young French-speaking Canadians. Collected in March 2010 during fieldwork in 4 francophone universities in the province of Quebec, the questionnaire results provide a present-day complement to Willemyns's (1984, 1989, 1991) work on the sociolinguistic parallels between the multilingual situation in Canada and Belgium. The effectiveness of more than 30 years of massive language planning in Quebec has not affected the ongoing demand for measures protecting French, Oakes shows, nor has the influence of 'globali-

sed' English-centred economy. Attitudes towards 'dominant' English have shifted among youngsters, however, leaving behind the French-English conflict discourse of the 1970s and moving into a more complex and multi-layered identity debate with a designated place for English in the multicultural Quebec society of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Andrew Linn's (Sheffield) contribution shifts the scene to language norms and functions in the history of Norway, one of the few countries likely to rival Belgium when it comes to perennial language planning endeavours. Against the backdrop of an appeased 'cohabitation' between Bokmål and Nynorsk Linn pursues the idea of present-day 'parallelingualism' in business and university settings, 'the principle of using two languages in parallel with each other rather than automatically selecting one over the other'. The competing varieties at play in these domains are no longer the two standards for Norwegian but Norwegian and English, instead, a situation causing concern worldwide (including Belgium, cf. Willemyns 2001). Linn's passionate plea for academic agency in the struggle against the functional erosion of national languages is in itself another call for changing standards in (linguistic) research.

Richard Watts (Berne) re-explores the tension between language, dialect and national identity in Switzerland and in the UK, a theme on which Willemyns has published throughout his career in the Flemish context (Willemyns 1997, 2005). Applying Dennis Preston's (2010) notion of the linguistic attitudinal cognitorium – a speaker's set of beliefs about a specific variety – and Deumert's (this issue) aforementioned concept of standardisation as a zombie category to standard/dialect attitudes among the Swiss and the British, Watts illustrates the highly varying pervasiveness of standard ideology discourses between both countries. The British urge to spread a language history that had the polished and 'best' variety of English as an inevitable outcome was supported by processes of deliberate scholarly revisionism. It comes as no surprise that the very same mechanisms were also applied to some of the most original sources for 'pure' or 'natural' English: folk songs. Whether the actual performers (or, in language, the actual speakers) will have the last word, eventually, remains to be seen.

Apart from speaking in his own specialist voice as a scholar of language contact and conflict, Jeroen Darquennes' (Namur) contribution reveals the mature academic offspring of his former supervisor (and Willemyns's close academic ally and friend) Peter Nelde.

Starting out with a discussion of language conflict situations involving European language minorities, Darquennes presents a *tour d'horizon* of methodological concepts that have evolved from present-day contact linguistics over the past few decades. He detects the urgent need to support the ambitious EU programmes in the realms of language protection,

preservation and promotion with sound multi-disciplinary scholarly knowledge, the outcome of which should be ‘a comparative study of the sociology of corpus planning in the context of autochthonous European language minorities’. It comes as no surprise that Willemyns’s projects on the historical sociolinguistics of language contact in Belgium (Willemyns & Vandenbussche 2006) have been integrated in those plans as one of the models for comparative research across Europe.

Klaus Mattheier (Heidelberg) supplies a further ambitious historical counterpart to Darquennes’ desired research programme by foregrounding an encompassing study of the ‘social and cultural history of European languages’. Next to classic ‘historical grammar’ and historical pragmatics, this comparative European language history should include the history of language use, language contact and language awareness. Ambitious as this may seem, ever since the early 1980s various German scholars (including Mattheier) have carried out a series of sub-projects directly linked to this research programme, thus constructing the oft-neglected roots of historical sociolinguistics in the German *Forschung*. Mattheier’s (1998) work on social language stratification in Germany during the long 19<sup>th</sup> century also inspired Willemyns’s (2009) groundbreaking project series on language use and language variation in Flanders between 1794 and 1914, which became the very first research cluster in socio-historical linguistics in the Low Countries at large.

Joachim Gessinger’s (Potsdam) work and PhD research team in the early 1990s also provided inspiration for Willemyns’s first studies in historical sociolinguistics. His present contribution can qualify as an excursion into recent sociohistorical linguistics, tracking the perception of language varieties and language variation in the Berlin/Brandenburg area. Using both recordings from the 1960s and recent language data (50 years onwards) Gessinger suggests that his analyses may indicate that a new regional standard variety is currently developing in Brandenburg. Elements of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology once again play a central role in this contribution, which also ventures into the realm of destandardisation issues.

Hans Van de Velde, Mikhail Kissine, Evie Tops, Sander van der Harst and Roeland van Hout (Utrecht / Université Libre de Bruxelles) bring the standardisation debate home to Willemyns’s language area with an article on spoken standard Dutch in the Netherlands and Flanders. Willemyns published extensively on the language-external factors that shaped the pluricentric Dutch language territory (and continues to do so) and played an active role in the ‘integrationist’ efforts of the Dutch Language Union, the official language planning body supporting and promoting the Dutch language. Using both radio recordings spanning a 60-year period and present-day data from the northern and southern part of

the Dutch language area, the authors look into actual phonetic and/or phonological convergence or divergence between northern and southern Dutch. Their evidence indicates that although ‘two divergent pronunciation standards (are) developing on autonomous grounds’ there is no risk whatsoever of ending up with ‘two divorced standard languages’ any time soon.

The closing contribution to this issue presents the latest ‘offspring’ of Willemyns’s major research thread on the social history of 19<sup>th</sup> century Dutch. Rik Vosters (Vrije Universiteit Brussel) and Gijsbert Rutten (Leiden) tackle the myth of linguistic degeneration in the Southern Low Countries during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Contrary to what many reference works have claimed ever since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the ‘generally accepted truth’ of spelling chaos and lack of orthographic tradition in Flanders does not stand the test of archive research. Vosters and Rutten thus provide yet another case study that illustrates how the real standardisation of Dutch as observed in original documents was overshadowed by philological historiography driven by a standard language ideology. As such, the article does credit to both the ongoing inspiration of Willemyns’s work and the device of his academic alma mater in Brussels: *scientia vincere tenebras*, ‘to conquer darkness through science’.

As a guest editor I am extremely grateful to Richard Watts for welcoming this collection of articles in *Multilingua*. Dick, thank you very, very much for this gesture of academic respect and friendship to a man we both cherish and for the patience and understanding shown during the editorial procedure.

All contributors deserve a big thank you for sharing their engaging scholarship and for their punctual collaboration. I can only hope that one day I will be able to return some of their willingness ‘far beyond the call of duty’ to bend tight academic schedules, other deadlines and administrative burdens in order to make this issue possible in an extremely short time-frame.

Finally, in the name of all the contributors I wish to thank the intended recipient of this modest token of honour, friendship and respect for his inspiring work both in the past and in the many, many years to come. Roland, thank you for changing and raising the standard in your and our academic field, not in the least in what it means to be a true *Doktorvater*. *Da je ze nog vele meug meugen*.

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# ***Imbodela zamakhumsha* – Reflections on standardization and destandardization<sup>1</sup>**

ANA DEUMERT

## *Abstract*

*While the concept of standardization is well-established in linguistics, de-standardization is a more recent addition to linguistic terminology. Drawing on historiographic and ethnographic data from isiXhosa, one of South Africa's indigenous languages, this paper reflects on both of these concepts. Standardization is discussed as a modernist grand narrative whose continued application to linguistic thinking has outlived its usefulness, and standard languages as such (hegemonoc, prescriptive, etc.) might be assigned to Beck's (2002) zombie categories of modernity. Discussing the example of brandy-talk in isiXhosa from the perspective of ethnographic lexicography (Silverstein 2006), the paper argues for a linguistic perspective which focuses on the articulation and reproduction of social meaning as a central mechanism in the formation of linguistic conventions or ways of speaking. It advocates a recognition of the practices of speakers as they draw on standard and non-standard forms, as well as their associated meanings and ideologies (first/second order indexicality), in positioning themselves as social beings with identities, histories, aspirations, and ideological stances in everyday talk.*

*Keywords: standardization, destandardization, social meaning, isiXhosa, ethnographic lexicography*

In practice, the study of language is in some degree or other the concern of everyone. But a paradoxical consequence of this general interest is that no other subject has fostered more absurd notions, more prejudices, more illusions and more fantasies ... it is the primary task of the linguist to denounce them, and to eradicate them as completely as possible.  
(Ferdinand de Saussure, 1916 [1986: 7],  
*Course in General Linguistics*)



### 1. Introduction: Standardization and destandardization

Standardization is a well-established term in historical linguistics and sociolinguistics. It refers to the process by which *standard languages* – characterized by (relative) linguistic uniformity, codification, and ideological legitimization – are developed, or invented, through more or less planned activities by individuals and groups, and diffused through official channels of control, especially the education system (Weinreich 1954; on standardization as invention see Makoni & Pennycook 2007).

Standard languages are ubiquitous in today's world – one either lives in a society or community where a local language or variety thereof exists in a standardized form and functions as the main medium of communication in schools, public life as well as the domain of writing; or, alternatively, one lives in a society (typically post-colonial) where all or many of these functions are carried out by an imported (colonial) standard language. As noted by Silverstein (2003: 219), the presence of a standard language in a society inevitably leads to a situation of linguistic hegemony, a hierarchical ordering of language forms with the standard at the top:

Standard register in well-developed standard-language communities is, as we know, hegemonic in the sense that ideologically it constitutes the 'neutral' top-and-center of all variability that is thus around-and-below it. This hegemony of standard register differentially sweeps up people of different groups and categories into *an anxiety before the standard*.  
(my emphasis)

At the same time, it has been argued that many standard-language societies are currently witnessing the opposite process: *destandardization*, i.e. a weakening of the norm, a centrifugal movement which increases sociolinguistic heterogeneity (Lenz 2010). In the terminology of Pennycook & Makoni (2007), we are looking at the *disinvention* of the standard. However, unlike standardization, this counter-movement is not deliberately planned or co-ordinated by a recognized authority. Thus, standardization/invention and destandardization/disinvention reflect two fundamentally different modes of human agency: planned, deliberate intervention in the process of linguistic change vs. decentralized and diffuse grassroots forms of agency. These different forms of agency lead to the formation of different types of *linguistic norms*: the hegemonic, uniform, and codified norms of standard languages vs. the always emergent, variable, and never 'fixed' conventions of language.

Theoretically the argument put forward in this paper draws strongly on recent work in sociolinguistic theory which focuses on the emergence

and reproduction of *social meaning* in language (e.g., Silverstein 2003; Agha 2007; Coupland 2007; Eckert 2008, under review). Languages, including standard languages, are resources for the construction of meaning in everyday life, and it is in the combination of variables from different varieties (a repertoire of forms) that individuals index *voices* which mark distinct social personae and identities in social contexts (*enregisterment*, in Agha's [2007] terminology; *style* in Eckert's [2008]). Variation, rather than an impediment to effective communication and in violation of the uniformity maxim of standard languages, is thus the material which allows speakers to express and create social meaning, distinction, and identities.

The paper draws on historiographic and ethnographic data from isiXhosa, one of South Africa's indigenous Nguni languages, and is structured as follows: Section 2 provides a discussion of standardization as a modernist grand narrative which simultaneously offers a comprehensive understanding of the invention of standard languages in the past, as well as a model which guides the standardization of hitherto unstandardized languages. Section 3 describes the processes of standardization/invention and destandardization/disinvention in the history of isiXhosa. The empirical data comes from ongoing work on the sociolinguistic dynamics of isiXhosa, and focuses on one particular aspect of language standardization: the lexicon (usually referred to as *elaboration* and generally the most technocratic aspect of the standardization process). Section 4 concludes the argument by drawing on current sociological theory where destandardization has been used to describe general processes of social change in late modern societies, and the conceptual products of modernity have been dubbed 'zombie categories' (Beck 1995, 2002).

## 2. Standardization: A grand narrative of modernization

Standardization is a quintessentially modernist concept, based on an understanding of language as an autonomous and unitary system whose main function is the effective and precise transmission of information. As is well known, the rise of European standard languages was closely connected to a series of historical changes which are usually grouped under the heading of modernity – ranging from political changes such as the rise of nation states, centralization, and administrative expansion to socio-economic developments such as industrialization and capitalist accumulation; from the population movements associated with urbanization to socio-cultural developments such as print capitalism, universal education, mass literacy, the secularization of public life, and a system of social stratification based on class (ownership of capital) and status (marketable skills/education).

Modernity, however, is more than a cluster of socio-historical changes. It is also an intellectual project. Bauman & Briggs (2003) have drawn attention to the work of John Locke whose *Essay concerning human understanding* (1690: Book 3) was instrumental in making language ‘a cornerstone of modernity’, and provided a ‘charter for linguistic standardization’ (Bauman & Briggs 2003: 29, 49). According to Locke, the development of a unitary and autonomous norm would allow for the expression of truthful and rational thought, and thus make language ‘an instrument of maximally clear denotational communication’ (Silverstein 1996: 295). It is through deliberate intervention and the active participation of individuals – who would closely monitor their own language use and steer clear of what Locke called the ‘woeful abuse of words’ (mainly lexical variation and denotational imprecision) – that language could be developed and transformed from a *traditional* state of extensive variability, indeterminate meanings, and lexical limitations, to a decontextualized *modern* state of homogeneity, stability and lexical/terminological richness and precision.

Einar Haugen’s (1972, originally 1966) well-known four-step model of language standardization is a more recent reflection of such modernist thinking. Dividing the linguistic world into a binary of ‘developed’/standard and ‘undeveloped’/dialect, Haugen identifies ‘four aspects of language development ... as crucial features in taking the step from “dialect” to “language”, from vernacular to standard’ (p. 252). In its admirable simplicity it is a grand narrative, a universal recipe ‘from the nation-builder’s cookbook that can be reduced to a step by step formula’ (Wiley 2006: 135) of (norm) selection, codification, implementation, and elaboration (for an overview and critique of language planning theories see Ricento 2000, 2006).

It is within the area of terminology development that a strong modernist version of standardization remains most clearly articulated, especially by proponents of the so-called *General Theory of Terminology* (GTT; see Cabré Castellví (2003) for a critical overview and discussion). The GTT conceptualizes (lexical) elaboration as a deliberate, rational, expert-led process, and strongly discourages all forms of variation, including synonymy and polysemy. These are said to interfere with referential precision in language. ‘Referential cleanliness is indeed next to Godliness’ in terminology development (Silverstein 1996: 292).

Tried-and-tested ‘recipes’ for language modernization are particularly attractive in contexts where the former colonial language (English, French, Portuguese, or Spanish) continues to dominate in education and public life, and indigenous languages are marginalized in the various public discourses of modernity and science (with significant consequences for democracy and the dissemination of knowledge (see Djité

2008). In an article on the ‘language question’ in Africa, the Cameroonian scholar Sammy B. Chumbow expresses a strongly modernist ‘we-know-what-to-do-and-can-do-it’ perspective and urges linguists and politicians to act according to this ‘knowledge’:

All languages can be rapidly developed in terms of vocabulary by applying certain *language engineering techniques* ... [a]ll that is required to do this is *the will, the means and the know how* ... Once African languages have been recognized by policy and assigned some function *language standardization efforts can be initiated by the appropriate experts* to provide the language with an *orthography* (or a reform of an existing orthography) as well as undertake the *expansion of the lexicon* (by appropriate techniques) to make the language ready to assume the function allocated by government policy.

(Chumbow 2005: 176, my emphases).

Pronouncements of this type have a strong rhetorical quality. They create the impression that a solution is at hand, and firmly position language as an object which can be manipulated to perform whatever functions are deemed necessary. Yet, as noted by Makoni & Mashiri (2007: 63) in their discussion of the frequent failure of African language policies: ‘for language planning to succeed it has to reorient itself from assuming that it is dealing with real entities’, and shift its focus from the construction and manipulation of a fictitious language-thing to understanding and affirming the ground-level linguistic practices of speakers. *Critical historiography* is, according to Makoni & Mashiri, the intellectual tool which allows us to develop ‘alternative ways of framing and conceptualizing’ language in Africa and elsewhere’ (p. 64). Rethinking the dialectic between standardization/invention – the purposeful creation of discrete and unitary (national) languages – and destandardization/disinvention – the grassroots counter practices of speakers, reflecting the heterogeneity, fluidity, and meaningfulness of language in use – allows us to call into question many of the fundamental tenets (e.g., language as a fixed and fixable code, an independent system, a countable institution) which have informed the practice and study of language standardization (and linguistics in general; see Makoni & Pennycook 2007, for a summary). The following discussion is a contribution to this critical project.

### **3. A case study: IsiXhosa between invention and disinvention**

#### *3.1 Invention: Missionary and colonial linguistics*

The history of language in Africa has been shaped by what is referred to as missionary or colonial linguistics (cf. Fabian 1986; Errington 2008;

Irvine 2008). Irvine (2008: 324), discussing historical material from the Church Missionary Society in Sierra Leone (1824), argues that colonial linguistic inquiry reflected a strong standardization agenda ('to ascertain and fix the various languages and dialects'), coupled with the belief that the native speakers of these languages needed to be 'taught' how to speak their languages 'grammatically' ('the most promising of these Natives should not only retain, but grammatically learn, their own tongues'). For the missionaries in-depth language study was a necessary aspect of the goal of religious conversion. As literate citizens of European 'cultures of standardization', their work was shaped by the model of European national languages and 'projected onto potential converts' (Errington 2008: 17). In this process they created unitary 'written images of languages ... before "giving them back" to speakers in print-literate form' (Errington 2008: 16).

Missionaries arrived in the Eastern Cape, the amaXhosa heartland, in the early nineteenth century. In 1823, John Bennie, a Scottish missionary, published the first printed text in isiXhosa. Ten years later, the first grammar was published by William Boyce (*Grammar of the Kaffir language*, 1834), followed by John Appleyard's grammar in 1850 (*Kafir language*), and a full Bible translation in 1859. The first dictionary was published in 1846 by John Ayliff, followed by two further dictionaries in 1872 (W. J. Davis) and 1899 (A. Kropf; an early word list had been produced by the missionary Van Der Kemp in 1801; see Gilmour 2004, for an overview).

In the preface to the second edition of his grammar (1844), Boyce characterized his work as 'systematizing an African dialect' (p. vii). His main aim was to provide the necessary basis for missionaries and colonial officials to learn isiXhosa. This, in turn, would allow an optimization of colonial control and avoid reliance on interpreters. The authors and primary audiences of the early texts were thus second language speakers, not Africans. This is a common feature of language standardization in Africa: 'Invented African languages have their socio-genesis as second languages' (Makoni & Mashiri 2007: 73). We are thus looking at examples of 'other-directed' (*fremdbestimmte*) standardization, which do not represent anyone's mother tongue but an inventory of linguistic forms and rules compiled by non-native speakers. In the case of isiXhosa, the project of codification was framed in terms of Errington's notion of 'giving back the language' once it had been restored to a romantically evoked earlier state of cultivation and elevated through print literacy:

The Kafir language, although at present spoken by a race of people only just emerging from a state of complete barbarism, bears strong

internal evidence of having been used, at one time, by those who must have constituted a much more cultivated order of society.

(Appleyard 1850: 2)

In colonial Africa, the print monopoly of the mission frequently created a context where Africans were encouraged to be readers and consumers of mission-produced texts, not authors. This was not the case for isiXhosa, where African writers entered the domain of print literacy from early on and contributed regularly to (bilingual, English–isiXhosa) periodicals such as *Umshumayeli Wendaba* ('The Preacher of News', 1837–41), *Isibuto Samavo* ('A Collection of Stories', 1843–44), *Ikwezi* ('The Morning Star', 1844–45), *Isitunywa Sennyanga* ('The Monthly Messenger', 1850), *Indaba* ('News', 1862–65), and *Isigidimi samaXhosa* ('The AmaXhosa Telegram', 1870–88; replaced by *Iimvo Zabantsundu* 'African Opinion'). A lively community of native (adult) readers and writers – a writing and reading public – emerged in these contexts, and writing was seen as an important weapon in the fight against colonial oppression. In the words of the poet Isaac Williams Wauchope (1852–1919): *Ayemk' amalungelo, qubula usiba, nx'asha, nx'asha, nge inki, ... dubula ngo siba* ('There go your rights, grab a pen, load and reload it with ink, fire your pen', 1882; see Opland 1998: chapter 11, for a detailed discussion; also Jordan 1973: 53 ff., who classifies this period as 'literary stabilization').

However, isiXhosa newspapers declined in importance in the twentieth century, when White control of the language again became more entrenched, especially, following the advent of apartheid in 1948. Education departments, language boards, and those appointed as 'specialists' by the government took over from missionaries and controlled, yet again, both form and content of isiXhosa publications. A prominent example of this is the 1934 orthographic reform (led by William G. Bennie, Chief Inspector of Native Education). African writers (and readers) vehemently opposed the reform, linking it to imperialist motives:

We have been deprived of land, rights and even the dignity of our colour, and, to my discomfiture, we are now under the last cloud – the tragedy which finishes the whole game – the taking out the core of our language ... The whole secret is that the Europeans want to make our language simple for them to master, and thus deprive us of the privilege of being masters of our own language.

(H. S. Ndlela, *Umteteli*, 18/8/1934; cited in Opland 1998: 287)

Such protests notwithstanding, the new orthography – and other decisions taken by those appointed by the government as the language's

guardians – were implemented in the education system, and textbooks were produced which followed the top-down norms, articulated in committees where non-native speakers had the political power. The experience was repeated in the 1950s when the *Xhosa Language Committee* (chairman, Herbert W. Pahl) introduced the *Revised Standard Orthography* (1956). Opland (1998: chapter 13) shows how significant editorial changes – including ‘simplification and standardisation of vocabulary’ (p. 296) which made the texts ‘more correct, stiff and formal’ (p. 297) – were implemented by Bennie and later Pahl before books written by native isiXhosa speakers were deemed suitable for schools (which constituted a vital market segment for publishers).

The result of these historical processes has been a very strong disassociation and disjuncture of the formal standard of isiXhosa from the language used by native speakers in everyday life, and a deep sense of what Silverstein (see Section 1) called the ‘anxiety before the standard’. For most of the twentieth century, native speakers were certainly not considered ‘masters of their own language’. African languages were constituted as ‘other’ and the student as ‘deficient’, as someone who needs to learn and master the rules of their ‘(m)other tongue’ by rote, almost like a foreign language (see Prinsloo 2003 for a detailed discussion of the 1970s syllabus for African languages). Research post-1994 suggests that little has changed in African language classrooms (Barkhuizen 2001; also Rose Mantoa Smouse personal communication, February 2010). The written, school-taught isiXhosa standard norm is frequently described as archaic by native speakers, a form of language that was *locked in, a long time ago, maybe the time of the missionaries*. It is perceived as an unchanging artefact which stands in strong opposition to the vibrancy and innovation of the spoken language (Deumert, field notes). In addition, many urban isiXhosa speakers have limited exposure to the written norm of their language. In a recent study, which took place in Cape Town, over two-thirds of the surveyed isiXhosa-speaking teenagers were found to attend English or Afrikaans medium schools, where many of them do not even have the opportunity to study isiXhosa as a subject (Deumert 2010; see also Dyers 2009). As one respondent said when asked whether he likes reading isiXhosa books: *simmandi isiXhosa qha askwazi kusifunda* (‘isiXhosa is nice but we don’t know how to read it’; the respondent was fully literate in English; isiXhosa was the dominant spoken language of his peer group; on the importance of schools for the replication of the standard see Agha 2007: 219–223).

### 3.2 *Talk about talk: Folk language ideologies*

A history of other-directed standardization notwithstanding, speakers of isiXhosa constitute today a *linguistic community* in the sense of Sil-

verstein (1996), i.e., a group of speakers who ‘are united in adherence to the *idea of a norm* against which all other usages are measured’ (my emphasis). Since the written standard norm is historically based on the rural varieties of the Eastern Cape (the Ngqika and Gcaleka dialects), rural speech has become firmly associated in the minds of speakers with exemplary language use. This was clearly visible in a perceptual dialectology study (2007) where isiXhosa speaking students at the University of Cape Town were asked to indicate on an empty map of South Africa the place where the ‘best’ isiXhosa is spoken, as well as other varieties they can identify. The result is a folk dichotomy between urban and rural varieties of isiXhosa, with the ‘best’ isiXhosa spoken in the largely rural Eastern Cape:

The best Xhosa would be found predominately in the E. Cape. It is where it originates from so that is where you would find the best Xhosa.

In my opinion, Xhosa spoken in the former Transkei is the purest of all ... it has had the least influences from the ‘colonists’.

Xhosa deteriorates as we move further and further from the Eastern Cape. (Students’ written comments)

Urban varieties outside of the Eastern Cape (mainly Cape Town) were described as ‘simple’, ‘normal’, ‘easy’, ‘vague’, ‘weak’, ‘soft’, ‘mixed’, ‘light’, ‘casual’ and ‘watered-down’, characterized by ‘a lot of misdemeanors’. The influence of other languages (mixing) appears to be the most salient feature of urban isiXhosa (Thipa 1989). Eastern Cape varieties, on the other hand, were seen as indicators of tradition (‘original’, ‘deep’, ‘pure’, ‘genuine’, ‘real’, ‘core’), a superior standard to which one should aspire (‘right’, ‘proper’, ‘exact’, ‘dictionary’, ‘respectful’, ‘formal’, ‘model’, ‘best’, ‘beautiful’), and, at the same time, an inaccessible norm (‘intense’, ‘hardcore’, ‘hectic’). As noted by one female speaker in her mid-twenties (also 2007, focus group data):

Like from my understanding the rural Xhosa is like more pure, it’s like exact Xhosa that we are supposed to speak. And then, in town it’s like, it’s like more like, it’s vague ... they are mixing a lot, in terms of the Tsotsi language, Afrikaans and stuff here in Cape Town, but Eastern Cape ... it’s Xhosa at its purest cause they use like *amaqhalo nezaci* (‘proverbs and idioms’ which inscribe traditional/indigenous knowledge).

Speaking good isiXhosa is associated with a physical place (Eastern Cape) which in turn is a symbolic representation of ethnic identity and



origin. Knowledge of what is commonly referred to as ‘deep’ isiXhosa is as much a sign of distinction as being able to speak ‘brilliant’ English: the former indicates authenticity and amaXhosa roots, the latter education, social mobility, and cosmopolitanism. Commenting on a recently launched TV show (*Harembé*), a viewer commends one of the presenters for his linguistic skills:

This young xhosa native mixes deep xhosa then flips to brilliant english with his deep sexy voice!

(2/5/2010, <http://www.tvsa.co.za/default.asp?blogname=seasonallover&ArticleID=13653>;  
last accessed 14 May 2010)

The categories of standard/non-standard, rural/urban, traditional/modern, pure/mixed, etc. are coordinates of an important semiotic field onto which speakers of isiXhosa place themselves and others based on their language use (as well as cultural signs, such as dress and consumption patterns; see Hunter’s 1936; Mayer’s 1961; and Wilson & Mafeje’s 1963, classic studies, as well as Bank’s 2006, nuanced re-analysis).<sup>2</sup> The social personae who structure this field have a long history in isiXhosa social thought (going back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century), and are referred to as *amaqaba* (lit. ‘the smeared ones’, i.e., those who use traditional red ochre as a form of bodily adornment and follow traditional amaXhosa practices), and *amagqoboka* (lit. ‘the perforated/pierced ones’, i.e., those who have been influenced by contact with Europeans and have adopted European practices, especially Christianity, and who speak English). Although the structure of the field is dichotomous, this does not mean that speakers position themselves as either rural or urban, traditional or modern, *amaqaba* or *amagqoboka*, in a particular encounter, or that there exists an absolute and clear contrast between the two. These categories are not a modernist binary, but points of orientation or positionings. Thus, Gevisser (1996: 96) quotes Cawe Mahlati, a senior advocate who served on several parastatals as CEO post-1994, as follows:

Mahlati chooses to describe herself, to me, as a fusion of *amaqaba* and *amagqoboka* ... Deep down she confides, ‘I am a *qaba*, totally! It’s just the outside that’s *qgoboka*!’

Contemporary identities – whether in South Africa or elsewhere – are hybrid, complex, and often contradictory, shifting not only across contexts but also within conversational encounters, and interacting with other dimensions of identity, such as religion, life-styles, and class (which do not necessarily run parallel to the broad coordinates of traditional/

modern). Furthermore, speech forms, although associated with particular localities, are not restricted by place: mixed urban styles of speaking isiXhosa are, for example, popular in the rural areas where they function as symbols of distinction and aspiration; ‘deep’, rural variants may be used by contemporary urban hip hop artists, such as *Umyalezo* (‘the message’), to indicate authenticity and linguistic skill.

In the following section I will look at one lexical variable, the isiXhosa translation equivalent for a colonial innovation: brandy. It is an example of Haugen’s stage of elaboration: the naming of a new concept/thing, and thus the expansion/modernization of the language’s lexicon. However, brandy talk in isiXhosa is much more than an exercise in elaboration. It illustrates how speakers create words and meanings well beyond denotational necessity, and how everyday lexical choices serve to construct and co-construct identities, positionings, and ideological stances in conversation.

### 3.3 *Disinvention: Heterogeneity and social meaning*

Drinking alcohol is not usually a solitary and private endeavor. Alcohol is, as pointed out over forty years ago by Mandelbaum (1965), a cultural artefact, deeply embedded in the larger social order. This is also the case for the amaXhosa.

Traditionally maize beer (*utywala* or *umqombothi*) is brewed among the amaXhosa and consumed communally at festive, ceremonial, and religious occasions. The routine of dispensing traditional beer at a beer drink (*iintselo* or *iindywala*) is outlined by Soga (1931: 402–403; see McAllister 2004, for further details). It is a structured, ritualistic and public setting in which reciprocal relationships are affirmed, similar to Frake’s (1964) classic account of drinking *gasi* (‘beer’) in Subanum society. Women are in charge of the brewing process, which typically takes place outside, thus informing the community about the upcoming event. The beer drink is overseen by a master of ceremonies (*injoli*), who allocates seating places and, later, beer which is served in beakers of billycans which are referred to as *ibhekile* (< beaker, Afrik. *beker*). The first to be served are family and immediate neighbors (who have assisted with the brewing and are thus symbolically located within the domain of the homestead), followed by the chiefs (in order of rank and age, and greeted respectfully with the honorific *mhlekazi* ‘most beautiful one’), and finally the remaining visitors, who are seated according to the locality/area from which they originate (*ilali ngelali* ‘area by area’). Women have their own *ibhekile*, but may also partake in the *ibhekile* of the male group upon invitation. Maize beer is highly nutritious and classified as a ‘principal

food' by Soga (*utywala* lit. means 'fermented food' < *ukutya* 'food' and *igwele* 'yeast').

With the advent of colonialism new forms of alcohol were introduced to South Africa: ““With the Bible”, it was said, “comes the brandy bottle”” (Bradlow 1998: 14). Early isiXhosa-speaking writers and commentators ‘were painfully aware of the havoc wrought by the white man’s liquor’ within amaXhosa society where chiefs, in particular, were flattered, bribed, and manipulated by lavish gifts of liquor (Jordan 1973: 62; see also Mager 2004). Although brandy was considered evil and destructive by many (especially missionaries and early intellectuals who saw it as weakening the nation), it was also popular and quickly diffused through society. Today, brandy is an integral element to many cultural practices among the amaXhosa and serves to affirm an individual’s status as well as connection to family and the larger social group. Apart from being a special gift or kindness (*izinwe*) to the community and a salutation (*icamagu*) to the ancestors, it is required when paying one’s respect to the chief or when returning home after time away. Brandy is served at various traditional occasions (such as the return of initiates) as well as at *ukusul’ inyembezi* (‘after tears’) gatherings at funerals. It is also customary for the groom to provide brandy during marriage negotiations. In gifting contexts brandy is symbolically referred to as *uswazi* (lit. ‘the stick which drives the bride wealth cattle home’, indicating a gift to which the recipient has a rightful claim), or as *ihambidlane* (lit. ‘the thing that one has been eating on the journey’; see McAllister 1980: 219–225, for a discussion of the drinking ritual which follows the return of a migrant; see Mlisa 2009 on the use of brandy in the spiritual rituals of traditional healers).<sup>3</sup>

Brandy – unlike *umqombothi* which is obtained through communal practices of brewing<sup>4</sup> – needs to be purchased and is thus linked to socio-economic status and stratification in a cash-based, typically urban economy. As such, brandy and other forms of commercial liquor are an important expression of social status (reflecting privilege and distinction; *imbodela zamakhumsha* ‘the bottle of the educated ones’) as well as discourses of aspiration and desire (*ukuzingca kwabantu* ‘it’s showing-off by people’; from an informal Facebook discussion on the topic of the ‘white man’s liquor’; <http://www.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=2462736951&topic=12628&post=60833>). While the brewing of *umqombothi* is obligatory for a wide range of traditional ceremonies, brandy – usually several bottles if not cases – is something which is given by those who can afford it. It is a marker and indicator of success, and its absence can lead to a loss of face, a public admission of limited affluence (also McAllister 1980: 222).

*Umqombothi sikhula ibobona tywala bamakhaya, ibhulanti le izizinwe xa unako ukufikelela* ('*Umqombothi* we know was the real, traditional liquor [to be used in rituals], brandy is something that is a kindness if you can afford it'; a village headman, cited in Mlisa 2009: 273)

Whereas the *umqombothi* lexicon focuses mainly on the process of brewing and etiquette and has only few synonyms for the drink itself, brandy is known by many names. Similarly to Silverstein's (2006) discussion of wine-talk, brandy-talk indexes a range of socio-cultural positionings, life-styles, and consumer identities. However, unlike wine-talk which, as a middle class activity, draws largely on the standard language (and in South Africa, English), brandy-talk is a celebration of non-standard creativity and heterogeneity (a grassroots practice in the sense of Blommaert 2008; see also Zungu & Barnes 1997, about what they call *isithaveni*, the language of taverns/shebeens, in isiZulu).

STANDARD TERMS<sup>5</sup>

*ibranti* (< 'brandy', borrowing)  
*igrangqa* (indigenous term)

NON-STANDARD VARIANTS

*ibhulanti/ibhlanti* (< *ibranti*)

TERMS INDICATING ITS HISTORY AND STATUS

*utywala babeLungulbesiLungolbomLungo* ('white man's liquor')  
*iinyembezi zikaVitoliyalzenkosazana* ('the tears of Queen Victoria/the princess')<sup>6</sup>  
*amanzi kaMaqoma* ('the water of [Chief] Maqoma')<sup>7</sup>  
*imbodela zamakhumsha* ('the bottle of the educated people')

TERMS REFERRING TO CHARACTERISTICS

*istraight esibomvu* ('straight red')  
*ngumbon' obomvu* ('red maize', connecting it with, and distinguishing it from, traditional maize beer)  
*utywala obubomvu* ('red beer/liquor')  
*lanto ikrakrayo* ('that bitter thing')

TERMS INDICATING ITS EFFECTS

*isilo sikamhlola* ('a destructive person or thing')\*  
*inJabavu* ('being red from anger')\*  
*umti wotalaso* (lit. 'tottering tree')\*

METAPHORS

*intsimbi* ('iron, steel')  
*amalahle* ('coal')  
*unodyuwe* (lit. 'a girl who reaches puberty')\*  
*intombi entsundu* (lit. 'black girl')\*  
*ubisi lwengwe* (lit. 'leopard's milk')\*<sup>8</sup>

## TERMS REFERRING TO SERVING BRANDY

*ibhotilelimbodlela* ('the bottle', as opposed to *ibhekile*, <'beaker', in which beer is kept)

*itoti* (<'tot measure')

*incitshane* ('little nip')

*isigomfana* ('something small')

## TERMS REFERRING TO BRANDS

*ixhego* (lit. 'old man', referring to the local brand *Oude Meester* 'old master')

*oda'masi* (integrated borrowing, < *Oude Meester*)

*umkhosi kaBotha* (lit. 'Chief Botha', referring to the local brand *Commando Brandy*,

P. W. Botha was South Africa's prime minister in the 1980s)

*ivistolo* (partial borrowing/linguistic creation, referring to *Viceroy Brandy*)

## SLANG TERMS

*ugologo* (borrowed from isiZulu)

*iragadi* (township slang)

## TERMS INDICATING IS FUNCTION AS A 'GIFT'

*uswazi* (lit. 'the stick that drives the bride wealth cattle home')

*ihambidlane* ('the thing that one has been eating on the journey')

(Terms with a \* are listed in the second, 1915, edition of Kropf's isiXhosa dictionary, and are obsolete).

*Ibranti* and *igrangqa* occur consistently in official wordlists and dictionaries throughout the twentieth century and can be classified as standard terms. Although listed as synonyms, *ibranti* and *igrangqa* are heteroglossic, in the sense of Bakhtin, as they are used by speakers to articulate different and socially meaningful voices. This is reflected in the following extract from a focus group conducted in 2007 with young (urban) isiXhosa-speaking males.

(1)

- P1: When you're talking about brandy, for example, do you say *igrangqa* or do you say *ibranti*?  
*Uyabona ke, akasentyenziswa lamagama. Asetyenziswa uyaboana xa, umzekelo, ndiyaqond'uk'ba ndifun'uk'brag-a apha kuni* ('You see, these words [*igrangqa*] are not [usually] used. They are used, you see, when, for example, when I want to brag to you')
- P3: Ja, ja, you want to be proud!
- P2: *Ndiyayazi ukuba nina, akho niks eniyaziyo, ndifuna nindibuze litheth'uk'thini eligama* ('I know that you know nothing, I want you to ask me what the word means')
- P2: I only use that when I'm bragging about my language. *Ndithi, sithe kwedini xasifika pha ...* ('I say, you know, when we got there sonny ...')
- P3: *Ndihluthi yigrangqa* ('Full of brandy')
- P4 & P5: [laugh]
- P2: *Safika sabeth'ibotile mfondini, igrangqa!* ('and then we consumed a bottle my man, brandy!')
- P6: [laughs]
- P2: *So nina niqonde ukuba* ('and then you want to know') 'Yey! We want to know *yintoni igrangqa?*' ('what is *igrangqa?*')

- P3: Ja!  
 P2: So we only use those terms when we're bragging.  
 P3: And we only use these words, let's say, all of you are from the Eastern Cape but you stay in different places, now you're visiting me now, and then I buy alcohol for you, when we talk we don't really speak this language that is spoken here [in the city], most of the time we use words from back where we come from, yah. And I think that is connected with the memories. The same memories that we share from where we come from.

The indigenous coinage *igrangqa* is indexical at first and second order level (see Silverstein 2003, on orders of indexicality). *Igrangqa* indexes locality (rural) and origin ('where we come from'; first-order indexicality). At second-order level, that is, when people begin to use first-order correlations to express and perform identities, it signals knowledge of the 'deep', 'original', and 'pure' variant of the language, superiority over other (younger) speakers, and a claim to a true amaXhosa identity.

Choosing *igrangqa* over *ibranti* not only positions one within a traditional/modern, urban/rural, etc. space, but the use of *igrangqa* is also associated with those who enjoy their brandy (drinkers) as opposed to those who only touch the glass with their lips (*ukubeka inyeke* 'to put lip'; that is, the non-drinkers, typically church people). Hyperlexification of affectionate nicknames to refer to brandy is a further characteristic of drinker-talk (and links the study of brandy talk to the linguistics of desire in general; see Cameron & Kulick 2003). Non-drinkers, on the other hand, show a tendency to overgeneralize terms (e.g., to refer to various types of strong liquor, such as vodka, whiskey, and actual brandy, as *ibranti*). And finally, the drinking of liquor (and talking about it) is structured according to gender among the amaXhosa: males drink brandy (*utywala obubomvu*, 'red beer/liquor') whereas women drink gin or vodka (*utywala obumhlophe*, 'white beer/liquor'). Women have similar lists of affectionate nicknames for their preferred brands, and the gifting of 'white liquor' is practiced in many contexts (e.g., as part of the marriage negotiations a bottle, called *umtshakazi*, 'the bride', is customarily given to the women of the bride's family by the groom).

Symbolic identities are also associated with the standard/non-standard opposition of *ibranti* vs. *ibhulantilibhlanti*. The phoneme [r] does not occur in isiXhosa. It is approximated with alveolar [l] in rural varieties, typically indicating a low-status speaker with very limited education (Thipa 1989: 72–75). The non-standard form is nevertheless used by educated people, who know and speak English, in certain contexts:

There are [educated] people who would go for it [use *ibhulantilibhlanti*] when they want to make a point that they are amaXhosa, they know

isiXhosa and their roots even today ... in social gatherings such as *imiguyo* and *imigidi* where educated people are supposed to be more formal when they talk, they would use *ibhulanti* / *ibhlanti*. This perhaps means that the educated person tries to say that ‘I am still one of you’, ‘look I can even pronounce these the way you do’.

(email correspondence with Nkululeko Ndiki)

And again we see Silverstein’s orders of indexicality at work: at first-order level *ibhulanti* / *ibhlanti* signal locality (rural) and limited education; at second-order level, the variant evokes a claim to membership in the amaXhosa community, indicating education and social mobility even though the speaker still belongs to this particular cultural space.

The isiXhosa brandy lexicon shows linguistic creativity and heterogeneity which stand in direct opposition to the uniformity maxim that continues to inform applied approaches to terminology development within the context of language standardization. The multitude of terms in isiXhosa brandy-talk is not incidental or superfluous, nor a case of ‘referential uncleanness’ and ‘woeful abuse of words’, but functional and socio-culturally important. It allows for the expression of a wide range of social meanings in and through language. Brandy-talk takes place within a language-ideological field that talks back to and engages with the invented colonial standard norm by evoking a complex semiotic field which has sedimented around this norm.

#### 4. Linguistics meets social theory: Are standard languages zombies?

Destandardization, as a counter-point to standardization, is a term which is used not only by sociolinguists, but also by social theorists more generally. Beck (1992), for example, applies the term to changes in the world of work which took place in the late twentieth century and links it to large-scale *individualization* of lifestyles and biographical trajectories:

The employment system, which arose in the past century from fierce social and political conflicts and crises, is based on a high degree of standardization ... this system of *standardized full employment* is beginning to soften and fray at the margins into flexibilizations ... *boundaries between work and non-work* are becoming *fluid*.

(emphases in the original)

Tendencies towards destandardization are seen as a characteristic feature of what has been called ‘late’ (or ‘high’, ‘second’) modernity, that is, a social world brought about by far-reaching economic and social changes in the second half of the twentieth century. Instead of the strong stan-

dardization and homogenization imperative of modernity, late modernity is characterized by fragmentation, heterogeneity, and a general fluidity of boundaries (Bauman 2000). As noted by Coupland (2007: 29): 'modernity tended to keep people in their allotted places'; late modernity, on the other hand, offers 'release from social strictures ... detraditionalises and destabilises life'.

Beck (2002: Beck & Willms 2004) uses the evocative metaphor of zombies to refer to the institutions of the first modernity. Zombies, in popular folklore, are the living dead, soul-less shells which haunt those alive. According to Beck, sociological concepts such as class, marriage, and religion are akin to zombies: they are essentially dead, but continue to structure our actions and experiences because we (social scientists and society at large) treat them as if they were real:

Zombie categories are living dead categories, which blind the social sciences to the rapidly changing realities within the nation-state containers, and outside as well. (Beck 2002: 24)

Beck takes the zombie category seriously as a heuristic and lists three defining principles: (a) territorial bias (methodological nationalism), (b) collective bias, and (c) teleological bias ('west is best' as the guiding principle of modernization, as opposed to seeing social development as open-ended). Standard languages with their close association to nation states, collective (national, class) identities and teleological histories provide a close fit. And like other zombie categories the standard language haunts the minds of speakers (and those linguists who believe in languages as unitary, well-defined, and countable objects) and thus shapes and organizes the language-ideological field (inside and outside of academia, see Harris 2002).

If standard languages are indeed zombies, then we will need to find radically new ways of dealing with the applied fields of language planning and policy. As Beck reminds us:

Behind the zombie category ... lies a rich social reality ... there is a lively new reality that we are not seeing because our minds are haunted and clouded by dead ideas that make us look in the wrong places and miss what's new. (Beck & Willms 2004: 22, 52)

Heteroglossic practices of speakers on the ground are not limited to talk, but increasingly also occur in writing, the historical domain of the standard language (i.e., the practices and orthographies of new media, Deumert 2010). Linguistic forms associated with the standard are not obsolete in these contexts, yet they have largely lost their hegemonic



character, and have been integrated into a complex repertoire which allows speakers to index a wide range of social meanings. While standard languages in their totality might be zombies, standard forms are resources which are used by speakers and combined in creative and socially meaningful ways with all the other forms and words they know and need when talking, interacting, and being. In the terminology of Lytra & Jørgenson (2008: 5), speakers are *languagegers*, creating language forms, conventions, and meaning when engaging in the business of talk. They ‘use language, not a language, i.e., they use *features*’ which they combine to form situationally meaningful ways of speaking.

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## Notes

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2. The standard/non-standard, urban/rural, modern/traditional division is not unique to isiXhosa. Kamwendo (2004) reports similar divisions, discourses, and orderings (town/village, shallow/real, etc.) for Chitumbuka, a language of Malawi. On exemplary speech norms in societies with standard languages see Bloomfield (1927).
3. The incorporation of brandy into some of these contexts appears to have considerable time-depth. For example, the gifting of brandy during marriage negotiations is already mentioned in the 1915 edition of Kropf’s dictionary (first edition 1899; see also Raum & De Jager 1972: 45 for a discussion of what their informants call *isazi mzi*, ‘the battle of the brandy’, during marriage negotiations). Other contexts, such as the ‘after tears’ gatherings, are more recent (post 1970) in origin (Mager 2004: 743).
4. Sometimes *umqombothi* is brewed for sale in villages. If a homestead decides to brew for sale, they are required to distribute about a third of the beer free of charge to the community. Thus, commodification in the capitalist sense is restricted (see McAllister 2003). Brewing beer for sale is more common in towns. However, the beer sold in urban areas has a tradition of being ‘less well cooked than in the country, and, adulterated with tobacco, methylated spirits, and other things to give it a “kick”’ (Hunter 1936: 466). It is referred to colloquially as a ‘concoction’ (fieldnotes).
5. The list is work in progress. On-going fieldwork on brandy talk will doubtlessly elicit more terms.
6. There is evidence that Queen Victoria was considered to be a more sympathetic ruler than her successors (see Hunter 1936: 556). Some speakers suggested that the expression might refer to the tears she would have cried at the mistreatment of Africans (fieldnotes).

7. Chief Maqoma (1798–1873) fought fiercely against British colonization. According to the colonial record he enjoyed his drink and the praise poet at his funeral ‘while giving him genuine praise for his exploits, also refers to him as one “whose tracks are strewn with broken bottles”’ (Jordan 1973: 63).
8. Branford (1978: 255) lists *tiger’s milk* as a South African English expression referring to strong liquor (attested for 1939).

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# Lambs to the slaughter? Young francophones and the role of English in Quebec today<sup>1</sup>

LEIGH OAKES

## *Abstract*

*In recent years, there has been a resurgence of fears concerning the status of English in Quebec. Unlike in the past, many now claim that it is francophones themselves who risk undermining the achievements of 30 years of successful status planning. The finger is pointed in particular at young francophones, accused of adopting an unfettered bilingualism and overly positive attitudes towards the global lingua franca. In an attempt to explore the veracity of the accusations, the present study makes use of a questionnaire distributed amongst 463 francophone university students in Quebec. Far from revealing an uncritical stance towards English, the results expose the diversity and complexity of the relationships maintained with the language, which serve to distinguish young francophones today from previous generations.*

*Keywords: language attitudes, Quebec, English, francophones, bilingualism, language policy, language planning, identity*

## **1. Introduction**

Contrary to what one often believes and always says, I am convinced that it is francophones, including sovereigntists, who will in all likelihood pose an increasing problem regarding the relationship with English. More than Anglo-Quebecers; more than Quebecers of immigrant descent. (Dufour 2008: 13)

In his recent essay, *Les Québécois et l'anglais: Le retour du mouton* [Quebecers and English: The return of the sheep], Christian Dufour (2008) turns the debate about the language situation in Quebec somewhat on its head. For many years now, the future of French in Quebec has been

seen to lie predominantly with the growing number of immigrants and the linguistic behaviour they adopt on their arrival in Quebec (see Oakes & Warren 2007). Hence the recent criticism of the decision taken by the *Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles*, following the 2010 budget, to cut 30 French classes for new Quebecers in order to save five million dollars (e.g. Bolieau 2010; Dutrisac 2010a, 2010b). For Dufour, however, '[i]t is not immigrants who are going to save the Quebec people from themselves' (Dufour 2008: 117). The real threat to French, according to him, is the anglicisation of native francophones, whom he claims have become 'soft, docile and submissive' (Dufour 2008: 22), like the sheep who unquestioningly accompanies John the Baptist, the patron saint of French Canadians. In particular, he points the finger at the younger generation, whom he accuses of living in 'an artificial linguistic *Alice in wonderland* with no future' (Dufour 2008: 116). He dismisses as naive and overly idealistic the sense of security they claim to feel about the future of French, as evidenced by a recent qualitative study of the attitudes towards French of 93 young Quebecers (24–35 year-olds) of a variety of linguistic backgrounds conducted for the *Conseil supérieur de la langue française*. As the study explains:

These young people have only heard vague things about past troubles and the struggles of their predecessors for the survival of a people and their language. They did not experience the blatant economic inequalities between anglophones and francophones nor the minorisation that past generations of francophones suffered ... They were born into a "postmodern" Quebec, more diversified than ever and in which the French language is less and less the exclusive property of francophone Quebecers of French descent. (St-Laurent 2008: 4)

Dufour is not content to stop at seeing in such observations the result of three decades of successful language policy and planning. Instead, he claims that 'new political and identity dysfunctions, never completely resolved whatever one may say, have been transmitted to the new generations, amongst other things regarding the relationship with English' (Dufour 2008: 39). He highlights the inconsistency between the purported attachment to French amongst young francophones in Quebec, and their readiness in practice to resort to using English in an increasing number of domains. Young people are, according to Dufour, unwittingly contributing to the demise of their own future as francophone Quebecers. To continue with the metaphor, their unfettered bilingualism is leading them like lambs to the slaughter.

But what if the situation highlighted by Dufour is no inconsistency at all? It is generally agreed that language attitudes comprise three components: cognition (beliefs about language), affect (more deep-seated feelings about language), and behaviour (a readiness to act in a certain way with regard to language) (Garrett 2010: 23). For example, a mother may encourage her child to learn French (behaviour), believing that it will be important for his or her future career (cognition), yet all the while possibly loathing the language herself (affect) (Edwards 2009: 84). Such lack of harmony between the various components that are thought to make up attitudes is far from uncommon. To return to the topic at hand, it is thus completely natural that young francophone Quebecers might claim to have a stronger attachment to French than English (affect), while at the same time recognise the value of English in the modern world (belief) and want to learn and use it for reasons of geographical, social and economic mobility (behaviour).

Truly deep-seated feelings (affect) are very difficult to elicit (Baker 1992: 12). However, clearly what is more important to understand for the purposes of ensuring the future of French in Quebec are *beliefs* about language and linguistic *behaviour*, all the more so amongst the younger generation who will become tomorrow's policy-makers, business leaders, etc. The research on which this article is based sought to make a contribution in this respect, by complementing the above-mentioned qualitative study, focused predominantly on French, with a quantitative study designed to examine the beliefs specifically towards English amongst 463 students in four francophone universities in Quebec in March 2010. Before considering the methodology and findings of the research, it is worthwhile looking at some of the issues that have emerged in recent years concerning the role of English in Quebec today, many of which formed the basis for the content of the questionnaire used in the study.

## **2. Debating the role of English in Quebec today**

Dufour explains that one of the reasons he decided to write his essay about Quebecers, English and sheep was because of comments made by the leader of the Parti Québécois (PQ) in February 2008. In an interview with *Le Devoir*, Pauline Marois claimed that '[t]he real challenge we have is to have our children bilingual by the time they leave school' (cited in Dutrisac 2008). To her mind, the poor quality of English teaching in state schools leads to many Quebecers deciding to switch to English for their CEGEP studies, which are currently exempt from the provisions of the main language law, the Charter of the French language.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the number of students who chose to continue to study in French at CEGEP level dropped from 93.6 percent in 1995 to 91.3 percent in 2005, while



those who changed language to English rose from 5.8 percent in 1995 to 7.9 percent in 2005 (Office québécois de la langue française 2008: 86). Marois argued that the teaching of English from grade 1 of primary school, introduced by Jean Charest's Liberal government in 2006, was not giving young francophones the English skills they wanted or needed in the modern world. Instead, she suggested some form of intensive English teaching or immersion classes that involved teaching subjects such as history and geography in English from grade 5 of primary school and throughout secondary school (see Boivin 2008).

Former Premier Jacques Parizeau may have famously stated in 1992 that, in a future independent Quebec, he would 'boot the rear end of anyone who can't speak English. In our day and times, a small people like us must speak English' (Serrill & Parizeau 1992). But with the PQ having by 2008 put the idea of a third referendum on sovereignty indefinitely on hold, the language question had become the key issue of the nationalist cause, hence the wave of protests provoked by Marois' remarks. The writer and publisher Victor-Lévy Beaulieu (2008) accused her of 'treachery' for suggesting what he saw as a Trudeau-form of bilingualism for Quebec. Gérald Larose, former president of the Commission of the Estates-General on the Situation and Future of the French Language in Quebec, agreed, arguing that the fixation with bilingualism was the 'reflex of a colonised person' and that, in his opinion, '99.8 percent of the world's leaders speak nothing more than their mother tongue' (cited in Leduc 2008). Indeed, many hinted that Marois' proposals were inspired by her embarrassment over her own poor skills in English (e.g. Dufour 2008: 58).<sup>3</sup>

Together with PQ militant Yves Michaud, Larose also stressed that while individual bilingualism was desirable, more widespread societal bilingualism was not. In her response to the criticisms, Marois defended her original remarks, emphasising a similar distinction between personal and institutional bilingualism:

I wouldn't dream of making Quebec a bilingual state! ... I am witnessing a barrage of opposition from people who are confusing equal chances with struggles that we have had to engage in and must continue to engage in to protect our existence as francophones in America. ... [I]n the era in which we live, in the reality that globalisation plunges us, I wished that the world be open to all children of Quebec and that there be no limits to their aspirations. Not knowing a language is often a significant barrier. (Marois 2008)

It is unfortunate that this important distinction between individual and institutional bilingualism, which reflects two different types of language

planning (acquisition and status), was lost in what was seen as an overall retreat, on account of Marois recognising at the same time that the example of teaching history in English was perhaps not the best one to use (see, e.g., Macpherson 2008).

Another important conceptual distinction highlighted during the debate was that between 'bilingualism' and 'perfect bilingualism'. For instance, Christian Rioux (2008), *Le Devoir* correspondent in Paris, remarked on the lower expectations regarding competence in English that he had observed in Europe, according to which 'Quebecers are already amongst the most bilingual people in the world'. Premier Charest may be 'perfectly' bilingual (and bicultural), but do all Quebecers need to be?<sup>4</sup> Some young members in Charest's own party would seem to think so. At the *Commission-Jeunesse du Parti libéral du Québec* conference in August 2008, some claimed that 'perfect' bilingualism was necessary if Quebecers wished to play a leading role in the future. Although coming very close to voting in favour of English immersion for all primary school students in the francophone system, the delegates decided to limit their proposal to grade 6 (Lavoie 2008). As the President of the *Commission-Jeunesse*, François Beaudry, explained, Quebec's francophone status should not 'limit' Quebecers, nor hinder them from 'opening up to the world' (cited in Robitaille 2008).

The potential capacity of English to help francophone Quebecers 'open up to the world' was also alluded to a few months earlier by the Bouchard-Taylor Commission.

At a time of migratory agitation, the Internet and globalization, it is highly desirable for the greatest possible number of Quebecers to master English, in addition to French ... The English that we must learn and speak today is not the English that Lord Durham sought to impose on Lower Canada following the suppression of the rebellions. Instead, it is the English that affords access to all knowledge and to exchanges with all peoples of the world. Otherwise, what is the meaning of the well-known 'openness to the world' that has been celebrated in every possible way for the past 10 or 15 years? This question warrants the closest possible attention, otherwise a generation of young French-speakers risks being unfairly penalized.

(Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences 2008: 217)

Some have accused the commissioners of naivety with regard to the 'imperialistic aims behind the current offensive of English in the world' (Castonguay 2008: 112–113), adopting a cynicism reminiscent of those who equate the activities of cultural organisations in the English-speak-

ing world to a form of ‘linguistic imperialism’ (Phillipson 1992). Yet far from being an anglophone plot, globalisation and its linguistic ramifications have been seen to be welcomed by many who see in it upward socio-economic mobility (Edwards 2003: 41). Young francophone Quebecers desire to learn English for predominantly instrumental reasons, which assumes that they have a functional attitude to the language and specific social or economic goals (Gardner & Lambert 1972). This contrasts with integrative motivations, characterised by an individual’s aspiration to integrate into (or even assimilate to) the target community. As Quebec language planners know, instrumental motivations can often spill over into integrative ones. In this way, it was hoped that the efforts to improve the status of French, most notably with the Charter of the French language, would give rise to a new *génération 101* with a greater affinity to Quebec and the French language (Oakes & Warren 2007: 92). Whether or not instrumental motivations to learn English will similarly lead to an affinity with anglophone culture(s) remains to be seen, but it is worthwhile considering whether any integrative motivations for learning English already exist.

In a recent study of the cultural habits of 600 CEGEP students, 64 percent claimed to prefer listening to music in English (as opposed to only 6 percent for French), while 57 percent reported a preference for watching American movies (as opposed to a mere 8 percent for movies made in Quebec) (see Journet 2010). However, these results need not necessarily be interpreted as an obsession with anglophone culture *per se*:

In the 70s, to listen to a song by a group such as Harmonium was a way of perpetuating Quebec identity. We tended to glorify, even overglorify our culture. All that has disappeared. The relationship that young people have with language today has become defused, played down. It’s not that they voluntarily turn their backs on French. It’s just that French leaves them indifferent. They consume what they find good, irrespective of language.

(Jacques Beauchemin, cited in Journet 2010)

In a similar vein, former PQ minister Joseph Facal claims that for young Quebecers ‘language is not the expression of an identity and a culture, but a mere tool for communication detached from any power struggle or social context’ (Facal 2010: 90). Paradoxically, Dufour (2008: 18) argues that English is in fact ‘part of the identity of francophones themselves’. Amongst the reasons why, in his view, English is important for Quebec identity, he cites two which can be considered as potentially generative of instrumental motivations for learning the language (it is ‘the lingua franca of globalisation’ and ‘massively present on the North

American continent'), and two which might be thought of as being more associated with integrative motivations (it is the 'majority' language of 'this Canada less francophone than previously and which we are a part of' and a language of Quebec 'present on our territory for more than two and a half centuries') (Dufour 2008: 52). While it is difficult to imagine that young francophones would consider the historical argument important, the potential for integrative motivations for learning English is not implausible, especially in Montreal, where young people consider English as an important component of the city's complex multi-lingual identity (Lamarre *et al.* 2002).

With this complexity in mind, the well-known sovereigntist Jean-François Lisée stresses that

[t]o devise a language policy today without taking account of these important facts would be to turn one's back on reality, to condemn oneself to failure. To devise a unidimensional language policy would be to think in past century terms ... Quebec cannot nor should it seek to become 'as French as Ontario is English', as one sometimes hears. This would reflect neither who we are nor, for the majority, what we like and want to be. (Lisée 2007: 37–38)

For Lisée, the key lies in a policy of 'predominance of French' (Lisée 2007: 39–45) which also recognises that the desire to learn English is 'legitimate and must be satisfied' (Lisée 2007: 52). The challenge is thus for language planners in Quebec to find a balance between realistic status planning for French on the one hand, and effective acquisition planning concerning English on the other. The balancing act is made all the more difficult by the fact that many feel that the English-language school system, which exists alongside the French school system in Quebec, offers the perfect solution to teaching English.

Indeed the Charter of the French language, which requires that children of francophones and immigrants study in French until high school (if in the public system), has been contested on many occasions, including by francophones. In 2005, for example, the Supreme Court of Canada was called upon to settle a legal challenge made by a group of French-speaking families who demanded access to education in English for their children (see Oakes 2008). The Court rejected the claim, arguing that the right to education in English in Quebec granted by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, just like the right to education in French it provides for in the rest of Canada, was intended solely for members of the relevant linguistic minority, in this case Quebec's English-speaking minority (*Gosselin (Tutor of) v. A. G. (Québec)* [2005] 1 S.C.R. 238). Two years later, Quebec's own Court of Appeal declared

incompatible with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms an amendment to the Charter made in 2002 (known commonly as Bill 104), which closed a loophole whereby attendance of a private school not subsidised by the state, even for a short period, was enough to guarantee subsequent passage into the English-medium state-funded school system (*H.N. c. Québec (Ministre de l'Éducation)* 2007 QCCA 1111). While the Supreme Court of Canada upheld this ruling in October 2009, it nonetheless recognised the 'problem' of so-called 'bridging schools' which 'appear in some instances to be institutions created for the sole purpose of artificially qualifying children for admission to the publicly funded English-language school system' (*Nguyen v. Québec (Éducation, Recréation et Sports)*, 2009 SCC 47, [2009] 3 S.C.R. 208). It recommended suspension of the decision for a year to enable Quebec to review its language legislation, thus sparking a new round of debates to upset the *de facto* linguistic peace. The *Conseil supérieur de la langue française* (2010) advocated extending the Charter to English-medium private schools, thereby solving the problem by political means. In its Bill 103 (*Act to amend the Charter of the French language and other legislative provisions*) presented to the National Assembly on 2 June 2010, Charest's Liberal government instead preferred to assess requests to transfer to state-subsidised education in English on a case-by-case basis. Amongst the proposed criteria to be used is a requirement that pupils have spent at least three consecutive years in an approved private English-medium school (Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport 2010).

The 2009 Supreme Court decision has also reignited the debate over whether the Charter should be extended to include the currently exempt CEGEPs. Conrad Ouelton, President of the *Conseil supérieur de la langue française*, has argued that this would have little effect, basing his argument on findings which some have disputed (see Castonguay 2010). However, the idea has found favour amongst many in the PQ (see Robitaille 2009). Speaking out against the idea, one 17-year-old francophone CEGEP student noted that 'we of course need to protect our language and culture. But we cannot shut our eyes to daily expanding globalisation and the importance of English in our society' (Pélessier 2009).

Notwithstanding such views, the reality is that much of the support for the proposal has in fact come from *young* (albeit nationalist) Quebecers. As recently as April 2010, the *Mouvement des cégépiens et cégépiennes pour le français* was formed, adding its weight to other youth organisations who support the proposal to extend the Charter to CEGEPs, such as the *Forum jeunesse du Bloc québécois*, the *Mouvements étudiants pour le français de l'UQAM et de l'Université de Montréal* and the *Conseil jeunesse de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste* (Gervais 2010). The current

climate thus makes it all the more relevant to investigate the beliefs of young francophone Quebecers about English and the role it should play in Quebec society today.

### **3. Methods and participants**

The study made use of a direct quantitative method of inquiry in the form of a questionnaire (in French). A series of initial questions sought to gain information about the profile of respondents, including place of birth (city/town, province, country), mother tongue, parents' mother tongue and main language used in the home (*langue d'usage*). Also included were questions about competence in English (understanding, reading, speaking and writing), frequency of English use, and strength of identity (Quebec and Canadian), measured on 5-point Likert scales. The remainder of the questionnaire consisted of 30 statements concerning various aspects of the debates surrounding English as outlined above, towards which the respondents would be asked to express their degree of agreement or disagreement, again on a 5-point Likert scale. The content of the statements was refined following suggestions made by three Quebec academics working in relevant fields, and after a small pilot study conducted amongst young francophone Quebecers in London, UK.

Convenience sampling was used to recruit students in a variety of classes in four francophone universities: *Université de Montreal*, *Université du Québec à Montreal*, *Université Laval* and *Université de Sherbrooke*. In addition to the condition that competence in French be of sufficient level to undertake university studies in that language, two other selection criteria were used. First, since the study sought to examine the beliefs of young francophone adults, only the questionnaires of those respondents aged 35 and below were retained. While it may seem inappropriate to set the upper age limit so high, many studies have remarked on the tendency today for an extended youth. The present study followed St-Laurent (2008: 20), who similarly set the upper age limit at 35, justifying her decision in terms of the number of transitions characteristic of passage to adult life today compared to that made by 25-year-olds in 1971. The other selection criterion related to length of time spent in Quebec in the case of those born outside the province. Only the questionnaires of those who had spent at least five years in Quebec (i.e. arrival in 2005 or before) were retained so as to exclude foreign students and those who might not have had the time to form opinions 'from within' on the role of English in Quebec society.

Following the administration of the questionnaire in March 2010, the data were coded and inputted into the PASW Statistics software pack-

age. The use of the selection criteria above resulted in a total of 463 participants: 201 in Montreal, 172 in Quebec City and 90 in Sherbrooke. They ranged from 18 to 35 years old, with a mean age of 22.51 ( $SD = 3.20$ ). 436 (94.2 percent) were born in Canada, versus 27 (5.8 percent) born abroad.<sup>5</sup> Of those born in Canada, 430 (92.9 percent) were born in Quebec, 5 (1.1 percent) in Ontario and 1 in Manitoba (0.2 percent). Amongst those born in Quebec, 160 (34.6 percent) were born in Montreal's Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) as defined by Statistics Canada for 2006, versus 270 (58.3 percent) born elsewhere in Quebec.<sup>6</sup> Regarding mother tongue, 422 (91.1 percent) reported this to be French only, 23 (5.0 percent) a language other than French or English, 9 (1.9 percent) English only, 4 (0.9 percent) French and English, 4 French and a language other than English (0.9 percent), and 1 (0.2 percent) French, English and another language.<sup>7</sup> Grouping monolinguals, bilinguals and multilinguals together, 431 (93.1 percent) counted French as a mother tongue, versus 14 (3.0 percent) for English; 431 (93.1 percent) also had at least one parent with French as a mother tongue, compared with 16 (3.5 percent) for English. The figures for main language used in the home (*langue d'usage*) were not dissimilar to those for mother tongue: 422 (91.1 percent) reported their home language to be French only, 14 (3.0 percent) a language other than French or English, 10 (2.2 percent) French and English, 8 (1.7 percent) English only, 6 French and a language other than English (1.3 percent), and 3 (0.6 percent) English and a language other than French.<sup>8</sup>

The fact that three times as many females ( $n = 346$ ; 74.4 percent) as males ( $n = 115$ ; 24.8 percent) participated in the study is probably due to two factors. First, it is well known that more females than males attend university in Canada: according to the 2006 census, 60 percent of university graduates between 25 and 29 were women (Statistics Canada 2008). Second, the convenience sampling method used resulted in a large number of students undertaking arts and especially language-related degree programmes (e.g. secondary education training [French language], linguistics, literature, Hispanic studies, translation), which may attract higher proportions of female students. This slight distortion is not believed to have affected the findings, the results according to sex reflecting on the whole the overall results for the different degree programmes included.

Contrary to initial hopes, it was not possible to gain a systematic picture of degree programmes on account of inconsistencies in the reporting (e.g. some respondents simply mentioned 'Minor in Arts and Science'). Moreover, because the structure of many degree programmes allows students to take subjects outside their main field of study, it proved impossible to identify those participants who might have had a

higher sensitivity to language issues because of their studies. Unfortunately, the attempt to identify those students who were studying English (language or literature) failed. Poor wording led to some misinterpretations and the question that sought this information had to be abandoned on the grounds that it could not be expected to yield valid or consistent results.<sup>9</sup>

The main independent variable of interest related to the location where the questionnaire was distributed: Montreal, Quebec City and Sherbrooke. A series of Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests were performed to check the normality of the distribution of the responses in these locations. All but one of these tests proved significant, demonstrating the non-normality of the distributions:  $D(194) = .142-.428$  for Montreal;  $D(167) = .114-.448$  for Quebec City;  $D(194) = .189-.0475$  for Sherbrooke (all at  $p < .001$ ).<sup>10</sup> Consequently, a decision was made to use non-parametric tests instead of parametric ones, i.e. Kruskal-Wallis tests instead of ANOVAs for the initial analyses, and Mann-Whitney tests instead of t-tests for the post hoc comparisons. In order to reduce the possibility of a build-up of Type 1 errors for the latter, a Bonferroni correction was applied, bringing the critical value of significance for the post hoc comparisons down from the usual .05 to .02 (rounded from .0167). Two additional independent variables of interest were strength of Québécois and Canadian identity. As these were measured on a Likert scale, Spearman Rho analyses were performed to test for potential correlations with the beliefs about English, also measured on a Likert scale. Although non-parametric tests, unlike their parametric counterparts, do not make use of means, the latter proved most effective in making sense of the significant differences found and are thus used in the analysis of results below.

#### 4. Results of the study

##### 4.1 English competence and frequency of use

Regarding reported competence in English, respondents in all locations scored themselves fairly highly in terms of understanding, reading, speaking and writing (later conflated into an overall average) (see Table 1).

Table 1. *Reported competence in English (various aspects and conflated score). Means and standard deviations: 1 = perfectly, 2 = very well, 3 = quite well, 4 = a bit, 5 = not at all. Shading indicates significant cases.*

Location	Understand		Read		Speak		Write		Conflated	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Montreal	1.76	.77	1.86	.87	2.26	.91	2.32	.91	2.04	.79
Quebec City	2.46	.91	2.57	.93	3.03	.87	2.98	.93	2.76	.82
Sherbrooke	2.22	.92	2.33	1.07	2.66	1.00	2.72	1.04	2.48	.92



This is not to say that differences were not observed according to location, as revealed by the results of the Kruskal-Wallis tests:  $H(2) = 38.46-56.37$ , all at  $p < .001$ . The Mann-Whitney tests used to make post hoc comparisons showed that it was the high scores reported in Montreal that were noteworthy; for speaking, a significant difference was also found between respondents in Quebec City and Sherbrooke.<sup>11</sup> This resulted in a three-way distinction according to location for the conflated score, with respondents in Montreal reporting the highest competence in English, followed by those in Sherbrooke then those in Quebec City ( $U = 6566.50-9606.00$ ,  $z = -7.44 - -2.12$ ,  $p < .02$ ,  $r = -.39 - -.13$ ). This ordering is understandable considering the different degrees of exposure to English: Montreal is Quebec's economic centre and has the largest proportion of English speakers, Sherbrooke is close to the American border and has an anglophone history, while Quebec City has the least English-speaking presence.<sup>12</sup>

A similar tendency was observed with regard to frequency of English use, which respondents were asked to report on a 5-point scale: 1 = everyday, 2 = often, 3 = from time to time, 4 = rarely, 5 = never. The respondents in Montreal stood out on account of their significantly more frequent reported use of English as demonstrated by a mean of 2.13 ( $SD = .93$ ), compared with 2.72 ( $SD = 1.00$ ) in Sherbrooke and 3.02 ( $SD = .88$ ) in Quebec City ( $H(2) = 73.52$ ,  $p < .001$ ). As the post hoc comparison between the Sherbrooke and Quebec City results fell just short of the Bonferroni corrected critical value ( $U = 6566.50$ ,  $z = -2.12$ ,  $p = .34$ ,  $r = -.13$ ), the same Montreal-Sherbrooke-Quebec City hierarchy as observed for English competence can only be reported as a tendency.

#### 4.2 *Beliefs about English*

Considering the views of Dufour and others discussed in Section 2, the responses to the 30 statements concerning the various aspects of the debates surrounding English were often not as positive as one might have expected. Moreover, even when the mean scores on the Likert scales pointed towards positive attitudes towards English, closer inspection of the actual responses revealed that the participants were nonetheless divided on a great number of points. In order to do justice to their complexity, the results are presented in Table 2 both as means on the 5-point Likert scale and in terms of the percentages who agreed (completely or partially), disagreed (completely or partially) or were undecided.

The respondents were split on the issue of whether Quebecers, on the whole, already knew English sufficiently (V1). They were also fairly divided on the question of whether francophone Quebecers needed to be

perfectly bilingual (V2), with respondents in Montreal standing out as those who, on average, agreed most: mean = 2.61 compared to 2.91 in Quebec City and 3.09 in Sherbrooke ( $H(2) = 11.79, p < .01$ ). A resounding majority of participants believed that politicians in Quebec should master English (V3), those in Sherbrooke nonetheless agreeing slightly less than the others: mean = 1.62 as opposed to 1.36 in Montreal and 1.31 in Quebec City ( $H(2) = 13.36, p < .01$ ). Irrespective of whether Gérald Larose is correct or not in his observation concerning the majority of the world's leaders (see Section 2), the participants of the present study clearly felt that competence in English is necessary for such high-profile public responsibilities. On the issue of whether English was already too present in Quebec society (V4), the students were once again divided, with nearly equal numbers agreeing and disagreeing. The majority rejected the idea of Quebec becoming a bilingual province (V5), even if the on average less vehement rejection amongst the respondents in Montreal (mean = 3.25) was enough to distinguish them from those in Sherbrooke (mean = 3.81;  $U = 7074.00, z = -3.06, p < .01, r = -.18$ ). While the question of whether English threatened the survival of French in Quebec (V6) proved quite divisive as well, the majority agreed that English nonetheless did threaten the *predominance* of French (V7), even if the respondents in Quebec City, the most French-speaking of the cities, seemed more optimistic: mean = 2.68 compared with 2.37 in Montreal and 2.21 in Sherbrooke ( $H(2) = 9.58, p < .01$ ). A majority of respondents claimed that the use of English in public signage bothered them (V8). However, opinion was much more divided in Montreal, the resulting mean of 2.94 proving significantly different from that of 2.42 for Sherbrooke ( $U = 7348.50, z = -2.63, p < .01, r = -.15$ ). Although some claim that, as clients, young people 'do not demand to be served in French' (Facal 2010: 90), an overwhelming majority in the present study nonetheless stated that it bothered them when one insisted on serving them in English (V9), even if the respondents in Montreal agreed somewhat less than the others: mean = 2.00 compared to 1.47 in Quebec City and 1.26 in Sherbrooke ( $H(2) = 19.98, p < .001$ ).

Regarding the role of English in education, a majority agreed that the language should be taught more intensively in French schools (V10), with those in Montreal agreeing on average slightly more than those in Sherbrooke: mean = 2.30 as opposed to 2.82 ( $U = 6813.00, z = -4.05, p < .001, r = -.24$ ). However, the respondents in all locations categorically rejected Pauline Marois' proposal that one should try teaching certain subjects in English in French schools (V11). That said, they were overwhelmingly in favour of maintaining open access to English CEGEPs, even for francophones (V12). Just over half even favoured extending this access to English state schools in general (V13), while

Table 2. Beliefs about English. Means and standard deviations (1 = completely agree, 2 = partially agree, 3 = undecided, 4 = don't really agree, don't agree at all) and percentages of those who agreed (conflated), disagreed (conflated) or who were undecided.

Variable	N	Mean	SD	agree	disagree	undecided
V1 On the whole, Quebecers already know English sufficiently	462	2.96	1.10	44.6	42.2	13.2
V2 Francophone Quebecers need to be perfectly bilingual (French-English)	461	2.81	1.28	51.7	39.1	9.3
V3 Francophone politicians in Quebec should master English	462	1.39	.73	93.9	3.6	2.4
V4 English is already too present in Quebec society	461	2.98	1.21	40.5	40.8	18.7
V5 Quebec should be a bilingual (French-English) province	463	3.46	1.37	26.4	57.3	16.4
V6 English threatens the survival of French in Quebec	463	2.90	1.31	45.5	40.4	14.0
V7 English threatens the predominance of French in Quebec	463	2.45	1.31	62.2	27.9	9.9
V8 The use of English in public signage bothers me	463	2.76	1.52	55.3	37.4	7.3
V9 It bothers me when one insists on serving me in English	463	1.65	1.21	85.3	12.3	2.4
V10 English should be taught more intensively in French schools	462	2.47	1.19	59.5	25.1	15.4
V11 One should try teaching certain subjects (e.g. maths) in English in French schools	463	4.30	1.07	9.1	83.6	7.3
V12 Access to English CEGEPs should remain open to all, including francophones	462	1.91	1.21	78.2	13.4	8.4
V13 Access to English public school should be open to all, including francophones	463	2.64	1.51	54.0	32.4	13.6
V14 Knowledge of English helps one climb the socio-economic ladder	463	1.93	1.06	81.4	11.5	7.1
V15 One can succeed well in life without knowing English	463	2.46	1.28	60.0	27.2	12.7
V16 English gives access to an attractive culture for young people (music, cinema, etc.)	463	1.64	.75	90.7	3.0	6.3
V17 Young francophone Quebecers will be handicapped in tomorrow's working world if they don't know English sufficiently	463	2.17	1.03	76.4	16.7	6.9
V18 One should learn English because it is the language of globalisation	463	2.31	1.17	69.8	19.7	10.6
V19 One should learn English because it is the majority language in North America	463	2.93	1.29	49.7	41.7	8.6

V20	One should learn English because it is the majority language in Canada	463	3.29	1.29	34.5	54.0	11.4
V21	One should learn English because it is a Quebec language, present in Quebec soil for more than 250 years	463	3.40	1.26	30.2	55.3	14.5
V22	The more francophone Quebecers speak English, the more they risk being assimilated	463	3.30	1.24	31.7	53.2	15.1
V23	Francophone Quebecers who switch to English when they cannot make themselves understood in French are in a way rejecting their identity	463	3.48	1.32	30.4	59.2	10.4
V24	Francophone Quebecers who speak English amongst themselves to be "cool" are in a way rejecting their identity	462	2.95	1.44	46.1	42.8	11.0
V25	It is up to the state to manage the use of English in public life in Quebec	460	2.90	1.18	40.4	30.4	29.1
V26	The use of English in public life in Quebec should be a matter of individual choice	462	2.53	1.32	58.2	27.5	14.3
V27	Legislation (e.g. Bill 101) is necessary to protect French from English	463	1.72	1.02	83.4	6.9	9.7
V28	Stricter legal measures are needed to limit the presence of English in Quebec	462	2.83	1.25	43.3	32.7	24.0
V29	Official policy concerning English in Quebec tallies well with the aspirations of young francophone Quebecers	463	2.83	.82	31.3	15.7	52.9
V30	Official policy concerning English in Quebec is out of step with the realities of the 21 <sup>st</sup> century	463	3.10	1.00	23.1	29.8	47.1

around a third did not agree with this suggestion. If the idea of English immersion in Quebec did not enjoy the same degree of popularity as the very successful French-medium equivalent programmes across Canada (Conrick and Regan 2007: 107–130), perhaps the Quebec equivalent is to make use of the network of anglophone CEGEPs instead.

Statements V14–21 sought to investigate the participants' motivations for learning English. An overwhelming majority believed that knowledge of English helped one to climb the socio-economic ladder (V14), those in Montreal agreeing on average more than the others: mean = 1.79 as opposed to 2.02 in Quebec City and 2.06 in Sherbrooke ( $H(2) = 14.19$ ,  $p < .01$ ). While most agreed that one could succeed well in life without knowing English (V15), the higher proportion of Montreal participants who disagreed, presumably for instrumental reasons, once again distinguished them from the others: mean = 2.71 compared with 2.30 for Quebec City and 2.19 for Sherbrooke ( $H(2) = 13.13$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Corroborating the results of the recent survey of CEGEP students (see Section 2), the near totality of participants in the present study agreed that English provided access to an attractive culture for young people (V16). A substantial majority also thought that young francophone Quebecers would be handicapped in tomorrow's working world if they did not know English sufficiently (V17), with those in Montreal yet again agreeing on average significantly more than the others: mean = 1.88 as opposed to 2.36 for Sherbrooke and 2.42 for Quebec City ( $H(2) = 35.97$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The results of beliefs about statements V18–21 clearly reveal that, for the participants in all locations, the primary motivation for learning English is instrumental rather than integrative. While most believed that it should be learnt because it was the language of globalisation (V18), they were divided on whether it should be learnt because it was the majority language of North America (V20). Just over half rejected the idea that it should be learnt because it was the majority language in Canada (V19) or that it had a history of being used in Quebec (V21), but the third or so who agreed with Dufour that these constituted reasons for learning the language underscores the extent of divided opinion especially when more identity-related motivations are involved.

Regarding the consequences of learning English for one's identity, most respondents disagreed that the more francophone Quebecers speak English, the more they risk being assimilated (V22). Similarly, a majority spurned the idea that those francophone Quebecers who switch to English when they cannot make themselves understood in French are in a way rejecting their identity (V23). However, in both cases, a substantial proportion nonetheless agreed, while opinion was more or less divided, on whether francophone Quebecers who speak English amongst themselves to be 'cool' are in a way rejecting their identity (V24). Clearly, the

situation is much more complex than Facal (2010: 90) makes out when he sweepingly states that for young Quebecers, ‘language is not the expression of an identity and a culture’.

Finally, statements V25–30 sought to gauge beliefs about official language policy in Quebec with regard to English. Even if nearly a third of respondents disagreed and a near equal proportion claiming to be undecided, a small majority nonetheless believed that it was up to the state to manage the use of English in public life in Quebec (V25). This did not imply that *only* the state should be involved, and a more forceful majority agreed that the use of English in public life in Quebec should be a matter of individual choice (V26). On this latter point, it is interesting to note that respondents in Montreal differed significantly from their counterparts in Quebec City, not because they agreed *more*, but rather because they agreed somewhat *less*: mean = 2.76 versus 2.25 for Quebec City ( $U = 13955.50$ ,  $z = -3.24$ ,  $p < .01$ ,  $r = -.17$ ). Well over three quarters believed that legislation was necessary to protect French from English (V27), demonstrating support for the idea of the Charter amongst members of the younger generation of francophones. A small majority even favoured stricter legal measures to limit the presence of English in Quebec (V28). On average, the respondents also thought that official policy concerning English in Quebec tallied well with the aspirations of young francophone Quebecers (V29) and that it was not greatly out of step with the realities of the 21<sup>st</sup> century (V30). However, the substantial percentages of undecided responses for the latter two statements probably indicates that the details of official language policy were largely unknown by the respondents.

### 4.3 Identity and English

Despite their high reported rates of English competence and use, and the positive beliefs that many held about the language, the participants still claimed on average to feel very Québécois (see Table 3).

The results of the statistical analyses nonetheless showed that participants in Montreal felt somewhat less Québécois than those in the two

Table 3. *Reported strength of Québécois and Canadian identity. 1 = enormously, 2 = a lot, 3 = average, 4 = a bit, 5 = not at all. Shading indicates significant cases.*

Identity	Location							
	Montreal		Quebec City		Sherbrooke		Overall	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
I feel Québécois	2.00	1.16	1.54	.68	1.42	.79	1.71	.97
I feel Canadian	3.13	1.31	2.83	.95	3.21	1.07	3.03	1.15

Table 4. *Correlations between strength of identity (Québécois and Canadian), English competence and use, and beliefs about English.*

Variable	I feel	
	Québécois	Canadian
English competence (conflated)		
Frequency of English use	-.157**	.154**
V1 On the whole, Quebecers already know English sufficiently	-.165***	.153**
V2 Francophone Quebecers need to be perfectly bilingual (French-English)	.203**	-.097*
V3 Francophone politicians in Quebec should master English	-.226***	.187***
V4 English is already too present in Quebec society	-.151**	.194**
V5 Quebec should be a bilingual (French-English) province	.198***	-.297***
V6 English threatens the survival of French in Quebec	-.374***	.231***
V7 English threatens the predominance of French in Quebec	.217**	-.219**
V8 The use of English in public signage bothers me	.266***	-.224***
V9 It bothers me when one insists on serving me in English	.417***	-.201***
V10 English should be taught more intensively in French schools	.396**	-.274**
V11 One should try teaching certain subjects (e.g. maths) in English in French schools	-.223***	.186***
V12 Access to English CEGEPs should remain open to all, including francophones	-.164**	.171**
V13 Access to English public school should be open to all, including francophones	-.185***	.236***
V14 Knowledge of English helps one climb the socio-economic ladder	-.305***	.279***
V15 One can succeed well in life without knowing English	-.157**	.102*
V16 English gives access to an attractive culture for young people (music, cinema, etc.)	.220***	-.142**
V17 Young francophone Quebecers will be handicapped in the world of work of tomorrow if they don't know English sufficiently	-.106*	.099*
V18 One should learn English because it is the language of globalisation	-.235***	.094*
V19 One should learn English because it is the majority language in Canada	-.113*	.253***
V20 One should learn English because it is the majority language in North America	-.173***	.442***
V21 One should learn English because it is a Quebec language, present in Quebec soil for more than 250 years	-.128**	.284***
V22 The more francophone Quebecers speak English, the more they risk being assimilated	-.177***	.259***
V23 Francophone Quebecers who switch to English when they cannot make themselves understood in French are in a way rejecting their identity	.141**	-.200***
	.238***	-.210***

V24	Francophone Quebecers who speak English amongst themselves to be “cool” are in a way rejecting their identity	.246***	-.271***
V25	It is up to the state to manage the use of English in public life in Quebec	.123**	-.160**
V26	The use of English in public life in Quebec should be a matter of individual choice	-.144**	.219***
V27	Legislation (e.g. Bill 101) is necessary to protect French from English	.387***	-.274***
V28	Stricter legal measures are needed to limit the presence of English in Quebec	.372***	-.299***
V29	Official policy concerning English in Quebec tallies well with the aspirations of young francophone Quebecers	.208***	-.059
V30	Official policy concerning English in Quebec is out of step with the realities of the 21st century	-.287***	.176***

\*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .



other locations ( $H(2) = 24.89, p < .001$ ). While these results can be explained by the ethnic diversity of Montreal, what is more difficult to account for is the stronger sense of Canadian identity reported not in Montreal, but rather in Quebec City ( $H(2) = 9.48, p < .01$ ).

Perhaps the most noteworthy findings regarding identity and English stemmed from the Spearman's Rho analyses to examine potential correlations between Québécois and Canadian identity on the one hand, and English competence, frequency of use, and beliefs about the language on the other (see Table 4).

The more Québécois the participants felt, the lower competence in English and frequency of English use they reported. Conversely, the more Canadian they felt, the more they claimed to be competent in English and use the language frequently. In short, while English competence and use correlated negatively with Québécois identity, it correlated positively with Canadian identity. Remarkably, this same pattern was also observed with all but one of the analyses of correlations between the two types of identity and the respondents' beliefs about English. Wherever agreement with a statement concerning English could be seen as indicative of positive attitudes towards the language, this correlated negatively with strength of Québécois identity, but positively with strength of Canadian identity. Conversely, whenever agreement pointed to negative beliefs about English, this correlated positively with strength of Québécois identity, and negatively with strength of Canadian identity. Only with regard to V29 was the positive correlation with strength of Québécois identity observed not matched by a significant negative correlation with strength of Canadian identity. Not only do these results show that the link between language and identity is far from absent, they may also account for the divided opinions observed amongst the respondents on a great number of points concerning English (see Section 4.2). Although with correlations one can never make claims about cause and effect, the different political affiliations reflected in the differing strengths of Québécois and Canadian identities may well be behind the divided opinions concerning English. Unfortunately, it was judged too sensitive an issue to ask respondents about their political views; indeed, the questionnaire may not have passed the (at times excessive) ethics approval procedures in the four universities had a question to this effect been included. Yet such an explanation is more than plausible considering the correlations revealed in the media between political views and attitudes towards the role of English in education in Quebec (see Section 2).

## 5. Conclusions

Despite the complexity of the data, it is nonetheless possible to discern certain trends that lead to three main findings. First, Dufour and others

are right to claim that there are many positive beliefs about English amongst young francophone Quebecers. However, this is not to say that all beliefs are invariably positive, or always so manifestly positive; on a number of points, the respondents of the present study were more circumspect in the totality of their views regarding English. Second, on many occasions, the positive beliefs were particularly observable amongst the respondents in Montreal, a reasonable finding considering the higher degree of exposure the latter have to the language owing to the greater ethnic diversity and economic importance of their city. Third, in all locations, opinion on a large number of points concerning English was considerably divided, a phenomenon that may be explained by different political persuasions and reflected in the correlations found with strength of Québécois and Canadian identities. In the light of this and the previous finding, it would seem unwise to consider young Quebecers as a homogenous group, as Dufour, Facal and others are wont to do. The reality is that there is a great deal of diversity amongst young francophones regarding the role that English should play in their lives and in Quebec society at large, diversity which may be explained by a variety of factors including exposure to the language, contact with other cultures, proximity to economic activity and political affinity. Young francophones may no longer be of the same mindset as some members of the former generation who continue to regard English as the language of the coloniser. Yet as the results of the present study demonstrate, this hardly implies that their beliefs about English are leading them like lambs to the slaughter. On the contrary, the findings attest to the new and complex relationships that young francophone Quebecers entertain with English in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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## Notes

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2. CEGEPs (*collèges d'enseignement général et professionnel*, colleges of general and vocational education) are post-secondary schools that prepare students for university (2 years) and provide technical and other diplomas (3 years).
3. Just how competent in English Quebec politicians should be continues to be an object of debate, as evidenced more recently by comments made about the lan-

- guage skills of Louise Harel, who ran for Mayor of Montreal in the 2009 elections (Corriveau 2009).
4. Rioux (2009) later criticised Charest for addressing a largely French-speaking audience at an international conference on the environment in Brussels in an Ottawa-style bilingual mixture of English and French. Manitoban Premier Gary Doer was the only other person to use English, everyone else, including the Catalan delegation, using French.
  5. The other countries of birth reported were France (3 cases), Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Ukraine (2 cases each), Brazil, Burundi, China, Columbia, Congo, Costa Rica, Egypt, Haiti, Korea, Mauritius, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco, Peru, Russia, Serbia, Spain and Thailand (1 case each).
  6. The definition of Montreal CMA is available at: <http://www40.statcan.gc.ca/l01/cst01/defcmas-eng.htm?returnfile=demo05a-eng.htm>
  7. The other languages reported as mother tongues were Arabic and Spanish (6 cases each), Russian (3 cases), Greek, Portuguese and Serbo-Croatian (2 cases each), and Armenian, Italian, Kinyarwanda, Korean, Laotian, Ukrainian and Vietnamese (1 case each).
  8. The other languages reported as the main languages used in the home were Spanish (6 cases), Arabic and Russian (3 cases each), Creole, Greek and Serbo-Croatian (2 cases each), and Armenian, Kinyarwanda, Korean, Quebec Sign Language and Ukrainian (1 case each).
  9. For example, even though they were in an English literature class, some students responded negatively to the question on account of the fact that the study of English was not a *compulsory* part of their degree in history, translation, political science, etc.
  10. The one test that that did not prove significant nonetheless did so for the more powerful Shapiro-Wilk test of normality.
  11. Due to space constraints, it is not possible here to report the results of all of the post hoc comparisons, which are nonetheless available on request.
  12. Part of the Eastern townships, Sherbrooke was settled in 1793 by loyalists fleeing the American Revolution.

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# Can parallelingualism save Norwegian from extinction?

ANDREW R. LINN

## *Abstract*

*Language extinction is one of the most pressing issues in linguistics today, and the literature is full of discussion about how to combat it. Statements that Norwegian is amongst the languages that are already extinct are merely examples of a widespread tendency in the literature towards erroneous information about Norwegian. Nonetheless, there is clear evidence that Norwegian is undergoing a process of 'domain loss', and policies to address this form of language shift lie at the heart of the most recent developments in the history of language planning in Norway. A policy of parallelingualism is widely advocated, but without proper sanctions in higher education and in the business world for infringements of the parallelingual strategy, it is unlikely to have much effect.*

*Keywords:* Norwegian; domain loss; parallelingualism, reversing language shift; language extinction; language policy; language planning

## **1. Extinction**

According to an authoritative recent publication on the languages of the world, Norwegian is already extinct. The final volume of the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* includes a *List of languages* (Brown 2006: 143–487), and on page 373 of this list we learn that there are four varieties of Norwegian: Norwegian Sign Language with 4000 users; Bokmål which is 'extinct'; Nynorsk, 'extinct'; and Traveller Norwegian, also 'extinct'. Norwegian Sign Language (NSL) is in robust health. According to the 2008 government paper on the language situation in Norway (*Mål og mening* = Kultur- og kyrkjedepartementet 2008) there are in fact more like 16,500 NSL users, and indeed Sign Language has been one of the principal beneficiaries of *Mål og mening* which recognises NSL as an official language and enshrines its status in

law (Schrøder 2008). Traveller Norwegian is more correctly known as Rodi and is/was spoken by indigenous traveller people in Norway. *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009) reports its status as “active” as of 1997, but its current status is less sure, and it is not unreasonable for the encyclopedia to list it as extinct (in the absence of available evidence to the contrary), a casualty of the ongoing process of language extinction in the teeth of social and economic pressures on small language communities. The suggestion that Bokmål and Nynorsk are extinct is however plainly absurd. Bokmål is the majority written language of Norway, and even the less-used Nynorsk has around 600,000 users (Grepstad 2005).

The data behind the *List of languages* in Brown (2006) is taken from *Ethnologue*. The *Ethnologue* entry for Norwegian is slightly misleading as it treats the language as existing in two dialects, Bokmål and Nynorsk, when in fact these are written varieties used alongside the numerous spoken dialects. However, there is no evidence that Norwegian is extinct in *any* of its modern varieties, and in fact *Ethnologue* records the population of Norway as 4,640,000 and describes the language as ‘fully developed’. Not all residents of Norway are users of the Norwegian language, but the population continues to grow. According to *Statistics Norway* (<http://www.ssb.no>) the population stood at 4,858,200 on 1 January 2010 and by 1 April it had grown by a further 15,000, many of whom will acquire Norwegian as a first or second language. On the statistical evidence (and indeed on the evidence of common sense), there is no reason to believe that the key varieties of Norwegian are extinct or heading in that direction, and we have to assume that the statements in Brown (2006) are an unfortunate consequence of the reporting system used by *Ethnologue*. Whatever the reason, they are a striking example of the point made in detail by Engh (2006) that references to Norwegian (and by extension, one assumes, other less widely known languages) in the international linguistics literature are invariably wrong. The scant regard apparently paid to correct data by professional linguists does not give much hope to their ability to champion, support and protect those languages in an informed way.

Languages do die (or become extinct), of course, and the phenomenon is widely reported and discussed. I would go so far as to suggest that this is *the* key issue in linguistics today. Linguistics is a plastic discipline. Language is everywhere, so linguistics can go everywhere. Where it goes is dictated by what other disciplines are currently fashionable, which in turn is dictated by whatever issues are currently at the top of the agenda in society in general. It is no surprise therefore that linguistics is currently coloured by ecological debates. On 4 February 2010 *The Guardian* newspaper reported the death of Boa Sr, the last surviving fluent speaker of Aka-Bo, a language of the Northern group of the Great Andamanese

family (Watts 2010). The *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* reported this language in 2006, like Norwegian, as extinct, and now *Ethnologue* concurs. It is an emotive story, and the *Guardian* report is accompanied by a large photograph of Boa Sr under the heading 'Ancient tribal language becomes extinct as last speaker dies: Death of Boa Sr, last person fluent in the Bo language of the Andaman Islands, breaks link with 65,000-year-old culture'. K. David Harrison's 2007 book *When languages die* also contains pictures of some of the last speakers of languages from across the world, haunting pictures bringing life to human tragedies, where the disappearance of the languages is a side-effect of much more serious issues. Nettle & Romaine (2000) take the same approach: they look back and lament that 'about half the known languages of the world have vanished in the last five hundred years' (2000: 2). Harrison looks forward and predicts that 'at the current pace, we stand to lose a language about every 10 days for the foreseeable future' (Harrison 2007: 5). Readers of *Multilingua* do not need to be reminded of the statistics which form the backdrop to so much work in theoretical and applied language work at the moment. What may surprise readers, however, is the serious suggestion by Norway's most high-profile linguist that Norwegian may be on track to join Aka-Bo and that policies are required to prevent the inevitable. Indeed, it may seem arrogant and insensitive to suggest that the plight of Norwegian and its speakers might be comparable with that of Aka-Bo and Boa Sr, but there are genuine anxieties in Norway, and it has been politically expedient to marshal these anxieties under an ecological banner, as we shall see in the next section.

## 2. Language planning in Norway

Norwegian is literally the *textbook case* of a planned language, a language whose development has been deliberately directed by the authorities. The textbook in question is Haugen (1966), and Haugen invented the term *language planning* to describe the Norwegian situation (Haugen 1959), although the theory and practice of language planning have burgeoned exponentially over the past half century, and language planning is now felt to be more of an issue for developing countries than a European concern (but see the case studies in Kaplan & Baldauf 2005–2007). I have summarised the history of language planning in Norway elsewhere (e.g. Linn & Oakes 2007: 72–85), but there are two reasons for presenting some historical context here. Firstly, as Engh (2006: 3) writes:

Most astonishing ... is the *extent* of the deficient documentation of Norwegian. No sophisticated statistics is needed to detect a clear tendency: Of all the papers with Norwegian material written by foreign



theoretical linguists, more than two thirds contained errors. In most cases many errors. This inevitably raises the question as to the validity of the argumentation that the examples are meant to support ...

Researchers have an ethical responsibility to ensure that facts are reported as correctly as possible. Given the amount of (presumably unintentional) misinformation about Norwegian out there in the literature, there is an imperative for more accurate information to be spread more widely. The second reason for providing historical context to current debates around the projected extinction of Norwegian and the development of a policy to counteract this is that policy-making involves planning for the future based on past experiences. Policy-making is fundamentally retrospective, and to understand what is going on now we need to understand the past on which it builds.

After independence from Denmark in 1814, the continued use of the written language of the former colonial power was no longer politically desirable, and a number of proposals to remedy the situation were advanced. In 1885 parliament resolved that *Det norske Folkesprog* [the Norwegian folk language or *Landsmaal*], the variety associated with Ivar Aasen's dialect-based norm (Linn 1997), should be placed on an equal footing with *vort almindelige Skrift- og Bogsprog* [our common written and book language or *Dano-Norwegian*]. At this stage neither variety possessed an agreed standard, and what followed, i.e. the stuff of Haugen (1966), was an attempt to make sense of the 1885 resolution in practice.

In 1901 a modified version of Aasen's standard was agreed as the norm for *Landsmaal*, and a standard for *Dano-Norwegian* followed in 1907 (Haugen 1966: ch. 2). A status quo was consequently arrived at, whereby two written varieties existed side-by-side as a result of political and social developments in the previous century. The two written varieties were genetically and culturally discrete. *Dano-Norwegian* (renamed *Bokmål* in 1929) was derived from Danish and was associated with the towns and with the social elite. *Landsmaal* (now *Nynorsk*) on the other hand was derived from the dialects and from Old Norwegian and was associated with the rural western and central regions of the country, with the peasant classes and those politically opposed to the social elite. The next major reform came in 1917, and this is the point at which language planning can be said to have begun in earnest. From here onwards there is a new purpose in the development of the written language, namely the desire to 'put right' the historical problem generated by the politics of the past and bring the two written varieties together into one written form by gradually making the existing written varieties more and more

like each other. The plan, that of one day achieving a Common Norwegian [*Sammorsk*], was strengthened with the reform of 1938 (Haugen 1966: ch. 4), and a Language Commission [*språknemnd*] was established in 1952, which, amongst other things, was charged with continuing the rapprochement between the two varieties.

Conservative Bokmål users reacted very forcefully to the perceived threat to their language variety from these top-down interventions. The language-conservative pressure group, *Riksmålsforbundet* [the Riksmål association], had been founded in 1907 to lobby initially against Landsmaal/Nynorsk and later against the Common Norwegian policy, but its 'crowning years' [*kronårene*] were 1955–1960 (Langslet 1999: 251), when the battle against language planning was waged most aggressively. One founder member of the Language Commission reported to me that he was the victim of personal abuse at social events in the leafy suburbs of Oslo West because of his membership of the much despised *språknemnd*. Passions ran high. *Riksmålsforbundet* wasn't the only pressure group objecting to language policy, and, as Haugen notes (1966: 206), 'so far from quieting controversy, the creation of the Language Commission was a signal for intensified efforts on all sides'. The *Norwegian lesson* is clear: in a democracy, language users will not accept policy-driven changes to their language or how they use it if such changes are not in step with their preferred practices. There was no question in the 1950s any more than today that Norwegian was in danger of extinction. What Norwegians, Bokmål and Nynorsk users alike, were afraid of losing, however, was their traditional forms for written expression.

Following the unhappiness of the 1950s, policy began to change. Haugen's concluding words are:

The dilemma remains unresolved as to whether the values which are attributed to the two languages can in fact be preserved in some kind of intermediate language which will be the scion of both. So far all such mediating forms have won little support, since they seem to both sides a dilution and vulgarization of the traditional languages.

(Haugen 1966: 307)

To address the impasse a 'committee to evaluate the language situation' was established in January 1964. The committee, sometimes referred to as the 'Language Peace' Committee, reported in March 1966, and its findings resulted in two highly significant developments in terms of developing and implementing language policies. First of all, its sixth and final recommendation was:

The setting up of a council for language protection and language development with a free mandate and with representatives nominated by organizations and institutions ...

(*Kirke- og undervisningsdepartementet* 1966: 53)

This resulted in the Language Commission being disbanded and replaced by the Norwegian Language Council [*norsk språkråd*] from 1972. This was more than just a name change, it was a symbolic rejection of what the Language Commission had come to stand for. The second development which signalled a sea change in policy was the Bokmål reform of 1981. Under this reform certain traditional spellings (such as *frem* ['forward'], *bro* ['bridge'] and *sen* ['late']) which had been out of the standard since 1938, in the service of rendering Bokmål more like Nynorsk, were readmitted. Certain key morphological forms were also reintroduced as options, essentially admitting defeat for the Samnorsk agenda.

From here things began to unravel pretty quickly for traditional language planning (see Linn & Oakes 2007: 76–77 for more detail). The 1997 report on language use in public service formally proposed that the two written varieties should be left to develop autonomously. In the wake of this in 2002, the paragraph of the 1971 legislation concerning the Language Council stating that one of its roles was to work to bring the two varieties closer together was removed from the statute books. As 20 years previously, a new language-political era was heralded by a new language authority. Thus, in a process beginning in 2004 and culminating in 2006, the Norwegian Language Council mutated. It took on a new name, simply The Language Council [*språkrådet*]; it took occupancy of new premises, symbolically away from Oslo's government quarter and now abutting the National Library; it adopted new internal structures, a new logo, and a new director.

The new-look Language Council needed to be associated with the needs of ordinary language users rather than with the wishes of language policy-makers. Partly as a political move, therefore, the new director of the Language Council, Sylfest Lomheim, took up office with a rallying cry to all Norwegians to get behind the language. The battleground was no longer to be seen as a language-internal one, of Bokmål vs Nynorsk or of the established written standards versus the planners' dream of Samnorsk. The battleground was now one where Norwegian was fighting for its life against the threat from English. Statistics showing how Norwegian is increasingly squeezed out by English in certain key 'domains' are compelling. There have been surveys of language use in academic writing (e.g. Simonsen 2004) which demonstrate unambiguously that English has become the preferred language in this 'domain', and the expression 'domain loss' [*domenetap*] has become widespread in both

academic and popular writing to describe this shift. Shifts in language use in the business community are equally striking. In April 2010 the chief procurement officer for the Norwegian-owned multinational Statoil wrote to all the company's providers to inform them that from now on all contracts and invoices must be written in Norwegian only:

In order to reduce the costs of maintaining the use of two parallel languages in Norway, Statoil has an ambition to increase the use of English language. (<http://images.bt.no/btno/multimedia/archive/00642/Brev-fra-Statoil-an-642458a.pdf>)

*Mål og mening* describes domain loss as 'a weaker variant of language death' (*Kultur- og kyrkjedepartementet* 2008: 96), and it is here that fears about extinction arise. If Norwegian fails to thrive in certain limbs, is the whole body under threat? If Norwegians are happy to hand over the language in certain contexts, is this just the top of the slippery slope? The whole issue is a complex one, and there are too many factors to go into here (can a language be said to 'possess' discrete domains? How realistic is it that a decrease in academic writing in Norwegian could ultimately result in the loss of a language used by a major world economic power? Is it true that these domains are lost – do they not just mutate? etc.). But the fact remains that the threat of extinction has been raised as a serious issue by the most influential linguist in the land. For example, on taking up his new post in 2004, language director Lomheim wrote, as I have quoted elsewhere:

... the future of our mother tongue is not safe. ... There is no law of nature which states that written Norwegian will be going strong in 100 years. ... Does Norwegian have a chance? No. Not if the apathy demonstrated by some groups is the shape of things to come.  
(*Dagbladet*, 10 March 2004)

This is dramatic, rabble-rousing rhetoric. Historically, Norwegians have on the whole taken an unusually active interest in language questions, no doubt as a result of long exposure to language planning and the resulting reforms. It is striking that in more recent years contributions to the language-political debate in the media have tended to come from those professionally involved in those debates – academics, journalists, etc. – rather than from 'normal' people with impassioned views about their language, a fact which has not gone unnoticed:

A generation ago language was a key topic in political conflict, something other cultivated countries of Europe envied us. There are various

opinions about language conflict. Many longed for language peace in the 1960s and they got it. But peace also draped the cultivation of language with a cloak of indifference. (Forr 2005)

If the Language Council is to reposition itself as a plausible and relevant institution, this ‘cloak of indifference’ has to be thrown off, and Lomheim’s rhetoric was a very effective means to an end. His prognosis certainly generated debate, mostly from other academics disputing it (e.g. Mæhlum 2002; Kristoffersen 2005).

*Mål og mening* is quite clear that the ‘overarching goal’ for language politics in Norway ‘must be to secure the position of the Norwegian language’ vis-à-vis English (*Kultur- og kyrkjedepartementet* 2008: 14). In the rest of this paper we ask: 1) to what extent this is an example of *Reversing Language Shift* (RLS) (Fishman 1991); 2) what is the policy to deal with domain loss; 3) how are the key sectors (higher education and business) responding?; and finally, to address the question of the title, 4) ‘Can Parallelingualism save Norwegian from extinction?’.

### 3. Reversing Language Shift (RLS) and parallelingualism

Domain loss is an example of language shift, of the changing function of languages and language varieties with the passing of time. Language extinction is the most extreme form of language shift, a process which has been going on throughout linguistic history. As Fishman (2001a: 1) puts it:

... language illness and even language death *per se* [are] just examples of varying degrees of severity of hitherto uncontrolled (largely because misunderstood) changes in the number and kinds of social function for which particular languages are utilised at particular historical junctures.

Language shift is particularly painful in the wealthier, literate and more culturally protectionist countries of the world which have ‘had a love affair’ (Fishman 2001a: 2) with their own languages for over two hundred years. Fishman states that this love affair means that it is tempting ‘to overstate the importance of language in human social and cultural affairs’ (Fishman 2001a: 2). Thus, it may be regrettable that Norwegian is not the language of choice amongst Norwegian business people plying their trade in an international context, but those business people are able to engage with their international markets because they *have* a choice. They are able to choose another language when they wish to do a particular sort of activity. The lesson from the history of language planning

in Norway is precisely that policies begin to falter in a democracy when the right to choose becomes constrained. The proverb exists in various forms, but no matter which form you prefer, there is no point closing the barn door after the horse has bolted. English is here to stay.

The response in Norway has been more about minimising or 'pondering before doing' language shift, but even questioning the desirability of a shift towards English can be seen as reactionary and short-sighted, as evidenced by some of the blogging on Norwegian sites. Few in Norway would be so naïve as to think that the clock can be turned back completely, of course, and in Fishman's analysis, RLSers

... are committed to pursuing the goals of strengthening their own particular threatened language, culture and identity via peaceful political persuasion, advocacy of democratic cultural autonomy and self-initiated efforts to foster their own intergenerational continuity.

(Fishman 2001a: 6–7)

It is not an approach which is in step with the dominant current intellectual models in the West, and Fishman notes, referring back to Fishman (1972), that 'the RLS ethos is still very much a child of the age of ethno-nationalism ... it has pretty much run its course in the view of influential intellectuals in most European polities' (Fishman 2001a: 17–18).

He goes on to propose a formula for RLS, namely 'the *elevation of Th from n-P to P functions*' (2001a: 11), where *Th* = the threatened language, *P* = powerful functions (such as academic writing and business language) and *n-P* = non-powerful functions (e.g. family, neighbourhood, etc.) We have dwelt on Fishman's analysis of RLS in some detail because, on the basis of his detailed examination of a range of case studies from across the world, he seeks to answer a very similar question to the one we are asking in this article: can threatened languages be saved? His general conclusion, against which we will now measure Norwegian efforts in combating language shift, is this:

The complexity of human motives and identities is rarely better illustrated than via the RLS scene, where neither total triumph nor total resignation, neither total reason nor total irrationality are in the offing and where particularism and globalisation cohabit in a sometime [sic] antagonistic as well as in a sometime cooperative marriage. Human societies will just have to make room for both and, indeed, will have to do so increasingly, as migration and globalisation ('the free movement of populations and goods') both continue to advance during the next century

(Fishman 2001b: 480)

In Norway, the marriage guidance (to continue Fishman's metaphor) has been the development of the notion of *parallelingualism*.

Parallelingualism has become a key word in the rhetoric of current language planning. It first came to prominence in the early 2000s in Swedish language debates (Linn & Oakes 2007: 65) to describe the principle of using two languages in parallel with each other rather than automatically selecting one over the other. Attempts to define it in practice have proved rather slippery. In 2005 the Language Council in Norway defined it thus:

We will use the notion of domains where two or more languages are in use, and where one language, in our case Norwegian, will always be the preferred language choice when it is not necessary to use a foreign language. (Språkrådet 2005: 15)

In this definition it is a matter of positive discrimination in favour of Norwegian *in practice*. In Jahr *et al.* (2006) *parallellspråklegheit* is presented much more as a *principle*, indeed it is described as an 'overarching strategy' (23) which can then be put into practice in a range of different contexts, thus the existence of parallelingualism is determined by its realisation. The term remains a key one in the big government paper *Mål og meining*, and the more it becomes a mantra, the more one has to be anxious that the repetition of the term is somehow a substitute for action. In *Mål og meining* the term is in fact slightly different, now *parallellspråksbruk*, the parallel *use* of languages, emphasising the practice again (n.b. the work of the Copenhagen Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use, established in 2009). How is the strategy or practice or set of practices or idea to be implemented as a policy, and more importantly how is it going to be embedded and enforced?

#### **4. The response of higher education**

The problem of the relationship between English and Norwegian is particularly challenging in the higher education (HE) sector. On the one hand English represents an opportunity. By offering courses in English Norway can attract greater numbers of overseas students than might otherwise be the case. Overseas students are important for the economy, both the economy of the institutions where they register and also the economy of the towns and cities where they live and spend their time and money. Courses delivered in English help prepare Norwegian-speaking students for employment in an international market, and they also allow university teachers with other language backgrounds to work in Norway. Skjersli Brandt & Schwach (2005: 63) offer a detailed study of the use

of English in Norwegian higher education, and their somewhat cautious conclusion is that ‘to undergo an education in English doesn’t seem unproblematic as a matter of course either for academic staff or students’. *Mål og mening* is less concerned about the anglicisation of teaching as that of research and publication, noting that it is ‘particularly in the primary publication of scientific research that the Norwegian language has a weak position in respect to English’ (ibid.: 119). Statistics on academic publication are striking, and the extent to which research is published in English is set out in Heid (2004): in 2002 it was reported that over 94 percent of theses in Norway for the degrees of Doctor of Engineering, Doctor of Medicine and Doctor of Dentistry were written in English (Heid 2004: 194). *Mål og mening* concludes:

If we are going to realise our language-political goal of ensuring that Norwegian continues as a complete language, supporting society in Norway, work to counteract domain loss in the academic world must consequently stand at the forefront of national language politics. English can be used when it serves an end ... but we must avoid thoughtless and automatic use of English and letting the positive symbolic function English enjoys serve to displace the use of Norwegian even when this is the most natural and appropriate language choice.

(*Kultur- og kyrkjedepartementet* 2008: 121)

This goal is what Fishman referred to above as the cohabitation of ‘particularism and globalisation’. *Mål og mening* rather neatly sidesteps the practical implementation of the parallel use of Norwegian and English in HE by handing it over to the institutions themselves to work out, and we will look now very briefly at one of these institutional policies, that produced by the University of Oslo (Hveem *et al.* 2006). Other institutions have produced their own policies, and there is an overarching policy produced by *Universitets- og høyskolerådet* [Norwegian Association of Higher Education Institutions], and interestingly these predate *Mål og mening*, so while the government survey charts the landscape, it is not setting the agenda in all respects, a fact which reinforces our earlier point about language policy being retrospective.

The first recommendation of the Oslo report is that ‘Norwegian is the primary language at the University, and that the University has a responsibility to foster Norwegian as a language of science and scholarship’ (5; italics in the original text). At the same time the committee recommends ‘“parallel-lingualism” as an important principle’ (5). We have already established that parallelingualism is a notion in flux, one which is defined differently in different documents. At this point it is defined as ‘encouraging staff and students to attain high levels of profi-



ciency in foreign languages, while preserving Norwegian as the primary language' (5), so it is about competence rather than performance and is not seen as a straight bipolar English–Norwegian issue. Later on in the report it is defined rather differently, as denoting 'domains where two or more languages are in general use, and where one language, in this document Norwegian, will be the preferred language choice when it is not more appropriate to use a foreign language' (Hveem *et al.* 2006: 9, fn. 3). It is further recommended that researchers at the University be able to communicate in 'good English' and also that the University provide measures to support staff and students in 'basic proficiency in at least one other foreign language'.

This is all to be applauded, but the challenge remains the implementation of the policy. Realistically, the Oslo committee 'has determined that the research language, for publication and communication within the discipline, should be up to the individual' (5). In a 'pick-and-mix culture' and one aware of the *Norwegian lesson*, i.e. that language choice cannot be enforced in a democracy, this is a pragmatic solution, but it does not serve the goals which would later be articulated by *Mål og mening*. It is not a policy which will ensure the future robustness of the language across all domains. We will return to this in our final section below. For now, the remaining principles listed in the *Summary* of Hveem *et al.* (2006: 5–6) are:

- that the funding system and other incentive schemes must give equal status to publication in Norwegian and English or other foreign languages;
- that an obligation be introduced to prepare thorough and well written thesis summaries in Norwegian if the text of a thesis is in English or another foreign language, and vice versa, if the text is in Norwegian;
- that all specialities must take responsibility for helping to preserve and develop Norwegian specialist terminology in their fields;
- that, as a rule, there must be introductory textbooks or the equivalent teaching materials in Norwegian for use in the curriculum in all academic subjects;
- that the language used for disseminating research results and in administrative and information activities at the University is primarily Norwegian.

The text of the report goes into these issues in much more detail, and indeed the recommendations are all very welcome and very positive, but they remain recommendations, and without sanctions attached to them it is doubtful at the moment that they are going to make much of a

difference. As Jahr *et al.* (2006: 23) conclude in their proposal for a sector-wide policy:

The most important stage in the work on language-political strategy does not however lie in this report, but in the next stage: how the individual institutions and disciplines seize and work with the language-political challenges in practice.

## **5. The response of business**

The Language Council's 2005 report on the language, which formed the starting point of the process which led to *Mål og mening* in 2008, notes that 'business is, alongside education and research, that domain which is most susceptible to pressure from English'. The statistics here are striking too. 95 percent of import and export companies in Norway use English, and English is used in these companies' business when other languages would have been more natural and more economically beneficial (Hellekjær 2007: 6). English has traditionally been one of the keys to international trade in countries like Norway, but the tide is turning on attitudes towards English in language politics if not in the linguistic practices of the companies involved. Here again the challenge is to persuade companies to change their practice. In the absence of sanctions, this is very difficult.

The Language Council has collaborated with the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise, resulting in a set of language guidelines for the business community. These guidelines, like the recommendations produced by the HE sector, are entirely admirable. The title is *Use Norwegian when you can, and English when you have to*, shorthand for the parallelingualism principle, and the specific guidelines are clustered under three categories: 1) Norwegian is natural for Norwegian business; 2) different languages for different purposes; 3) language common sense is important for the company and for society. Some guidelines are idealistic, such as, 'Use Norwegian technical terms. That way you contribute to the development and maintenance of Norwegian technical language'. Others are entirely practical, such as 'Safety is best ensured in the language the employees best master'. This last observation should be enshrined in law, as effective communication self-evidently has an important role to play in ensuring the health and safety of employees at work. However, no matter how much we might admire this initiative and applaud the proposals, they are only intended to raise awareness. When they were launched on 13 July 2009, the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise boss, Finn Bergesen Jr, was quoted as saying that 'this is not a reprimand, but consciousness-raising' [*dette er ikke en korreks, men en*

*bevisstgjøring*], and in case this wasn't clear enough, he went on to reinforce the point that 'this isn't being done with a pointing finger or as an order' [*dette gjøres ikke med en pekefinger eller som et pålegg*] (<http://www.nho.no/forsiden/naeringslivets-spraakplakat-article21002-9.html>), which sounds like a pretty clear invitation to regard it as a bit of window-dressing and then ignore it.

## 6. The verdict

After nearly a century of painful top-down language planning, it became clear that there was little point in continuing to pursue a language policy which did not have the support of the people. The policy had been one of Reversing Language Shift, albeit a shift in the written language which government had itself created. The failure of the Samnorsk enterprise demonstrates that planning for the future based on the past rather than the present is highly problematic. Since the time of Haugen's pioneering treatment of language planning in Norway, language policy has moved away from *language-internal* planning to *language-external* planning, managing the position of Norwegian in regard to other languages, specifically English. The repositioning of language politics has in itself been a politically astute tactic by the Language Council in order to rehabilitate the whole issue of intervention in the development of the language. There are very real and well-founded concerns about the continued effectiveness of Norwegian in all 'domains', and the principle of *parallelingualism* has been enthusiastically embraced, if not adequately interrogated and understood, as a policy response to the issue of domain loss.

So, *can parallelingualism save Norwegian from extinction?* Well, as Mark Twain, although oft misquoted, famously wrote in May of 1897, 'the report of my death was an exaggeration'. Norwegian isn't extinct and nor is it likely to become extinct. Suggestions that this might be a possibility, although meant for rhetorical effect, do a disservice to those communities whose languages are truly dying or dead. Can parallelingualism do anything at all? The *Norwegian lesson* is that you can't force people to use forms other than those they wish to use, and this would be true of perhaps the majority of European citizens beyond school-age. This is even truer now than it was at the time of the so-called Language Peace Committee half a century ago. Norwegian sms language is a delirious mixture of the standard written varieties, new spellings and dialect, so can business or higher education, sectors made up of powerful, independent and ambitious people, really be forced to adopt a parallelingual approach to their use of language?

Yes, and they should. Researchers and business people already accept tight constraints on their professional practices. If we publish a journal

article, it is expected that we will conform with the practices of the journal to which we are submitting our article in terms of lay-out, referencing conventions and so on. There are well established research ethical codes to which we sign up when we accept research funding. We would be sanctioned if we failed to respect the integrity and dignity of our research subjects or if we falsified data or damaged historical artefacts. We university teachers and researchers are part of a profession with a code of conduct. We are paid for what we do, and the receipt of payment brings with it certain expectations on the part of the funder. If domain loss is truly something which higher education takes seriously, and Jahr *et al.* (2006: 5) write that 'it is reasonable that universities and colleges have a duty to be involved in securing national political and cultural entities', then there must be sanctions for failing to pursue the principles of parallelingualism. Responsible language use must be ranked alongside responsible research conduct of other sorts, and there must be penalties for failure to pursue it. If language use in research and teaching remains optional, the message is that it is not a serious matter, and domain loss and parallelingualism default to being just another irrelevant obsession of the language planners who, by association, are once again seen to be out of touch with reality.

The same is true of language use within business ethics. Business Ethics is a well-established theoretical and applied field (see such publications as the *Journal of Business Ethics* and *Business Ethics Quarterly* and the survey of the field in Henn 2009), and in their 2005 report on Norwegian in an age of globalisation, the Language Council (*Språkrådet* 2005: 107) takes precisely this view that language use is a matter of ethical and cultural responsibility for the business sector. The distancing rhetoric adopted by the Director General of the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise doesn't provide much cause for hope that parallelingualism is going to be deeply embedded in the business culture any time soon, by which time it might just be too late for Norwegian as a viable language of business and commerce. It must be emphasised that this is not like the Samnorsk ideal. This is an issue of professional practice.

The blunt message then has to be, either we take domain loss seriously and require professionals to act, or we simply accept the inevitability of Language Shift.

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# Using folk songs as a source for dialect change? The pervasive effects of attitudes<sup>1</sup>

RICHARD J. WATTS

## *Abstract*

*The present article argues that the social category of 'standardisation' has been instrumental in creating a Foucaultian discourse archive governing what may and what may not be stated on the subject of the history of English. It analyses the question of how language attitudes have been instrumental in creating the myths that have driven the discourse of Standard English since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but it goes further than this by showing how language performance, in the form of folk songs in England, has also come under this same archive of standardisation. However, in both cases, i.e. language and language performance, it is argued that a below-the-surface alternative discourse has now gained enough force to seriously challenge the doctrine of standardisation and to necessitate the formation of new discursive contents for a social concept that is in serious danger of becoming hollow and outdated.*

*Keywords: language attitudes, standardisation, folk songs, dominant discourse, discourse archives*

## **1. Introduction: A conflict that refuses to go away**

Back in 1988, when the redirection of *Multilingua* under my editorship had begun in Volume 6 of the journal and the board were anxiously worrying whether we would receive enough submissions to get it to work, I decided to contribute one of my own articles to Volume 7(3) entitled 'Language, dialect and national identity in Switzerland'. All three elements in the title, the relationship between the Swiss variety of Standard German and the Swiss German dialects, the unusually strong socio-cultural significance of the Swiss German dialects within the German-speaking part of Switzerland, and the relation of these issues to the question of whether or not one could posit the existence of a national

identity in Switzerland had been one of my major interests on first arriving in the country in 1969 and had deepened over the years.

At the time I wrote the article, there had been an unusual amount of pressure by the French-speaking media in Switzerland complaining about the 'unpatriotic' attitude of the German-speaking Swiss in not promoting Standard German more forcefully, and the data that I used to analyse this problem consisted of material from the media, including a heated discussion of the issue on the weekly television discussion programme *Zyschtigsklub* ('Tuesday club'). The programme was entitled, somewhat provocatively, 'Swiss German: a danger to the nation or a figment of the Romands' imagination'.<sup>2</sup>

My major conclusion in the 1988 article ran as follows:

The interaction clearly shows two very different attitudes towards dialects. The German-speaking Swiss are almost unique in regarding their dialects as precious guarantors of national independence and self-sufficiency and in cultivating them consciously not as a bulwark against French or Italian, but against other forms of German beyond their national boundaries ... They belong to a strong cultural heritage which is part of what it means to be Swiss ... The French-speaking Swiss ..., on the other hand, share the European francophone attitude that dialects are in an evaluative sense *substandard*, i.e. that they are markers of lower socio-economic and educational status. The interaction also provides evidence of feelings of socio-economic dominance on the part of the German-speaking Swiss and a consequent resentment on the part of the Romands, which reveals itself in a patronizing desire on the part of germanophone intellectuals, industrialists, educationalists, etc., to learn French. Set against the background of Swiss history, this can only be interpreted by the French-speaking Swiss as evidence of a subliminal desire for political dominance [on the part of the German-speaking Swiss; RJW], set this time within a linguistic framework. (1988: 330)

By and large, and with hindsight, I believe that this conclusion represents a correct analysis of the data, the major sociolinguistic point being the two distinct ways of conceptualising dialects as against a standardised 'norm'. The dialect vs. Standard German problem has remained an issue for the French-speaking Swiss since then (and probably always was an issue), but it was squeezed out of the media by the conflict over the introduction of English as the first foreign language in the cantonal education systems, only to re-emerge as a 'current' media topic towards the end of 2009, when it reappeared, spear-headed, as one would expect, by discontented French-speaking Swiss politicians. Once again, *Zyschtigs-*



*klub* devoted a programme to the topic and the same kinds of argument emerged as back in 1988.

However, this recurrent Swiss face-off between supporters of dialect (the German-speaking Swiss) and those still searching for 'le bon allemand' (the French-speaking Swiss) is not the topic of the current article. Pride of place here goes to an investigation into the enduring existence of language attitudes which appear to drive public discourses on language and perhaps also to prevent those discourses from breaking out of a somewhat senseless impasse. To this purpose I turn my attention here to similar attitudes in the history of English.

In the 1988 article I used the term 'attitude' somewhat loosely, and I take the problem of 'language attitude' much more seriously this time in order to see how attitudes circling around the problems of dialect vs. standard have been crucial in shaping dominant discourses (cf., e.g., Willemyns 1979), even Foucaultian discourse archives, such that the history of English has been canonically conceptualised as the history of Standard English in Britain since the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In order to do this, I follow a lead given by Preston (2010), who has explored paths mapped out in cognitive psychology to gain better insights into what he calls the study of *language regard*.<sup>3</sup> In section 2, I sketch out a cognitive approach to language attitudes which will include the useful notion of the *attitudinal cognitiorium*. In section 3, I demonstrate how dominant forms of discourse on language in Britain (and America) since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century have been shaped by a discourse archive which has privileged attitudes promoting standardisation and demoting non-standard varieties.

My argument in section 4 is that one recently promoted challenge to this archive is a full-scale attempt to look at language change from below, i.e. to see how language use in the lower echelons of the social hierarchy has been fundamental in combating the urge to standardise English. The source of language use that I shall focus on is what I call *language performance*, i.e. the creative use of language in forms of communal social practice. More specifically, the type of language performance that I am interested in here is folksong. However, rather than try to show what one cannot show, i.e. the forms of language that emerged in the performance of folksong, my aim is to show how this form of communal enjoyment has been unintentionally but nevertheless consistently erased in middle-class minds by language attitudes that

- (a) did not want to admit to its existence, and
- (b) if and when its existence was admitted, consistently treated it with contempt and disdain.<sup>4</sup>

From a sociolinguistic point of view, well-meaning folksong collectors from the last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century right up to the end of the 1930s edited the linguistic value of social folksong performance out of existence. In section 5, however, I argue that this process of erasing was carried out within the framework of the dominant discourse archive of standardisation.<sup>5</sup> What is left to us is the realisation that, however the songs were performed – and the twentieth century is not barren of authentic recordings of this kind of language performance – they were (and still are) a living challenge from below to the standardisation archive.

Throughout the paper, I argue, along with Deumert in her contribution to the current issue of *Multilingua*, that, following Ulrich Beck's thoughts on so-called 'zombie' social categories, standardisation in language has by now become one such category. For Beck, social categories that evolved in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries need to have their 'contents' readjusted and readapted to the late modern world. Deumert describes a 'zombie' category as follows:

Zombies, in popular folklore, are the living dead, soul-less shells which haunt those alive. According to Beck, sociological concepts such as class, marriage and religion are like zombies: they are essentially dead, but continue to structure our actions and experiences because we (social scientists and society at large) treat them as if they were real.

(Deumert, this issue: 259)

For her, a 'zombie' category is either empty or is filled consciously or unconsciously with bygone, outdated meaning. Since categories like 'standardisation', 'religion', 'social class', etc. are still with us and are unlikely to go away, I suggest that we need to work discursively to create a new discourse archive in which they correspond to the issues and problems of late modern, globalised societies. Folksongs, perhaps even other forms of communal social performance from below, were almost killed by the zombie category of standardisation – but only 'almost', which provides a silver lining to the cloud of standardisation.

## **2. Language attitudes and the attitudinal cognitorium**

Before going into Preston's discussion of language attitudes, it is useful to provide a little orientation to some of the basic concepts of cognitive linguistics. The reader needs to bear in mind that cognitive linguistics as such is a relatively disparate set of approaches towards the study of language which are tied together by a number of fundamental principles. These can be summarised briefly as follows:

1. The human language faculty is taken to be part of a general set of mental faculties (which we can call *cognition*) determining how human beings develop, structure and use knowledge of the environment into which they are born and within which they live their lives. In contrast to the generative approach to language, the language faculty itself is not taken to be an independent module of the mind.
2. Cognition is assumed to be an immensely complex set of interconnecting neural networks involving roughly 100 billion neurons and continual neural computation to find a best match between inputs and the current brain state (Feldman 2008: 5), which indicates that cognitive linguistics is ultimately neural linguistics.
3. For the sake of simplicity, we can call this complex neural system 'long-term memory' and the input stimuli, as they are processed in instances of social practice, 'short-term memory'.
4. Part of the job of 'short-term memory' is to filter out those relevant inputs in what Fauconnier & Turner (2002) call 'mental spaces' and to combine them into blended mental spaces ('blends') for the sake of understanding. The vast majority of these mental spaces are erased after use, but some may be transferred to long-term memory leading to subtle changes in the interconnections between neural circuits.
5. Again for the sake of simplicity, we bunch up and metaphorise related chunks of information into so-called schemata (action and image schemata), frames (semantic and experiential frames), plans and scripts (event scripts involving an order of sub-events in an event).

Language is obviously a part of this whole system; in fact, it is one of the most important parts.

The input for interlocutors in social practice consists of forms of semi-osis, including language, which provide clues to interpretation and understanding, and it is at this point that attitudes are important. Preston begins his argument in favour of taking on a cognitive approach to the question of language attitudes by quoting the following definition from Eagly & Chaiken (1993: 1):

... attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor ...

Unpacking this definition, we can conclude that an attitude is some form of semiotic stimulus, i.e. a mental space, by one interlocutor in social practice, which provides a prompt for an evaluation on the part of another interlocutor with respect to some 'entity' in the immediate environment, and the evaluation represents a positive or a negative orientation to that entity. Behaviourally, an attitude is always a part of the ongoing

interaction, and the evaluation displayed by the producer of the attitude is part of the schemata, frames and scripts in his/her long-term memory. Hence, as Preston stresses, an attitude is not an emotion nor is it a belief, but it is a link to and a prompt for the 'cognitive aspects of attitudes' in long-term memory. So what people say prompts for something from a large 'reservoir of beliefs and concepts'.

The next step is to consider what this reservoir could be, and here Preston refers to work by Bassili & Brown (2005). The presentation of the stimulus in one or more mental spaces is subject to the conditions in which the social practice is being carried out, the setting, the form of the stimulus (written, spoken or gestured, isolated or contextualised), the object/topic/concept to which the attitude is addressed, and whether that object is evaluated directly or indirectly, i.e. whether the attitude represents a new reaction which might very well be transferred to long-term memory or whether it is primed by prior experience and is thus well established in sets of neural circuits. The prompt in the addressee is to access what Bassili & Brown call the 'attitudinal cognitorium' which

... houses the beliefs and concepts that are crucial to the attitude formation process and is based on the idea of neural networks ... In such a model, the items within the network are completely interconnected, some with well-traveled and/or direct pathways, allowing stronger and quicker associations; others are more weakly or indirectly connected.  
(Preston 2010)

At this point we need to exercise extreme caution. Clearly, each individual will have a different attitudinal cognitorium, and each cognitorium is theoretically open to change and development. In point of fact, however, most cognitoria turn out to be remarkably change-resistant. This automatically opens pathways towards misunderstanding and conflict in social practice.

For the moment, however, consider a part of one hypothetical person's attitudinal cognitorium with respect to the object/topic/concept DIALECT.<sup>6</sup> The *hypothetical* network postulated below in figure 1, which comes relatively close to the cognitorium of someone who has been institutionally socialised into believing that dialects are a sign of inferiority and imperfection, represents a set of concepts related strongly or weakly to the concept DIALECT.

This *hypothetical* section of an attitudinal cognitorium comes close to the attitudes displayed by the French speakers in the 1988 *Zyschtigsklub* programme. It typically contains certain concepts which would be evaluated positively in other cognitive contexts (e.g. HONEST and SIMPLE). Indeed, in a situation such as the one described at the beginning of this

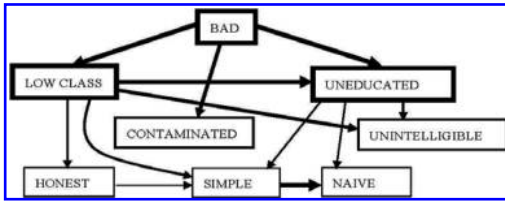


Figure 1. A hypothetical part of the attitudinal cognitorium of someone with a disfavoured evaluation of the concept DIALECT.

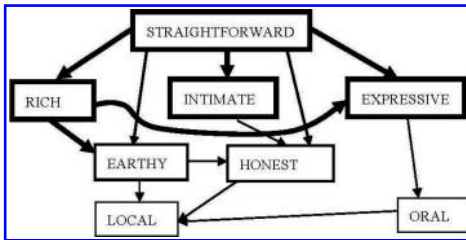


Figure 2. A hypothetical part of the attitudinal cognitorium of someone with a favourable evaluation of the concept DIALECT.

article between German- and French-speaking Swiss, the two concepts of HONESTY and SIMPLICITY did indeed arise but were used in radically different ways in the discussion. The thickly outlined concepts in Figure 1 are the strongly held features of the cognitorium, and wherever these surface in ongoing social practice in which the attitudinal object DIALECT is involved, they tend to block access to the positively evaluated concepts (cf., e.g., Willemyns 1997, 2000 & 2005).

Figure 2 above represents the *hypothetical* section of a cognitorium from a person who favours the concept DIALECT. The cognitive concepts characterising this *hypothetical* section of a cognitorium contain just one feature – HONEST – that appeared in the equivalent hypothetical section of the cognitorium of someone showing a disfavoured evaluation of dialect. Obviously, we are dealing with hypothetical rather than real cognitoria here, but a comparison between Figures 1 and 2 displays striking differences. I have not included any conceptualisation of social class differences in Figure 2, thus implying that this is likely to be from the cognitorium of a German-speaking Swiss dialect user. Swiss dialect speakers are unusual in preferring to speak – and sometimes even write – in their dialect<sup>7</sup> rather than in the Swiss variant of Standard German (cf. Watts 1999 for details). For dialect speakers in a context in which the standard variety of a language is highly valued, the social class concept would probably appear in the cognitorium.

The cognitorium section in Figure 1 is *negatively* characterised by concepts pertaining to level of education, social class, intelligibility, etc. whereas that in Figure 2 is *positively* characterised by concepts pertaining to richness/expressiveness, intimacy, directness, etc. My hypothesis is that in socio-cultural/socio-political contexts in which negatively characterised cognitoria dominate over positively characterised cognitoria, the former set of attitudes will be used to construct discourses in which the ideology of standardisation is at a priority. The following section exemplifies this hypothesis by looking at the canonical history of English as it has developed from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with an emphasis on the explicit stimuli produced by purveyors of this dominant discourse.

### 3. The dominant discourse of the history of English

At the basis of the dominant discourses on any language is a group of myths, or stories, which have attained the status of sets of ‘true’ statements by virtue of being continually and insistently propagated through institutionalised forms of discourse (family, school, politics, media, etc.) (cf. Watts 2011: chapter 1). The formation of a dominant discourse on English started in Britain in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>8</sup> gathered force throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century in equating ‘polite language’ (i.e. the language of the upper sections of British society) with ‘Standard English’,<sup>9</sup> and became thoroughly politicised in the final two decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the term ‘polite language’ was rather unsubtly mutated into the concept of ‘refined language’, in opposition to the ‘vulgar language’ language of the lower, underprivileged and politically powerless orders of society (Watts 2011: chapters 8 & 9).<sup>10</sup>

One of the results of this discursive formation was the development, in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, of a canonical way of presenting the history of English, starting with ‘Old English’, a term whose validity Milroy (2002: 19) has questioned:

The standard view of the transition from Old to Middle English is that, although it appears in the texts to be abrupt, it was actually gradual, and this of course backs up the idea of the ancient language and unbroken transmission. Old English, however, is structurally very unlike Modern English or most of Middle English in a number of ways. To show that it is the ‘same’ language on purely internal grounds requires some ingenuity. It is much easier to show that it is different. (2002: 19)

Taking Milroy’s view of Old English as our starting point, we then have the familiar periodisation of English into Middle English, Early Modern

English and Late Modern English, the end-product of the process inevitably being a focus on the modern standard language from the starting point of a range of varieties of Anglo-Saxon in the 5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> This perspective on the history of English can be conceptualised as a funnel, in which a number of varieties are poured in at the wide top of the funnel beginning just prior to the year 500 AD and Standard English comes out of the narrow neck around 1700 (cf. figure 3). The fate of the original varieties poured in at the top and others which may have arisen at a later stage are generally not taken into consideration in the canonical discourse of the history of English:<sup>12</sup>

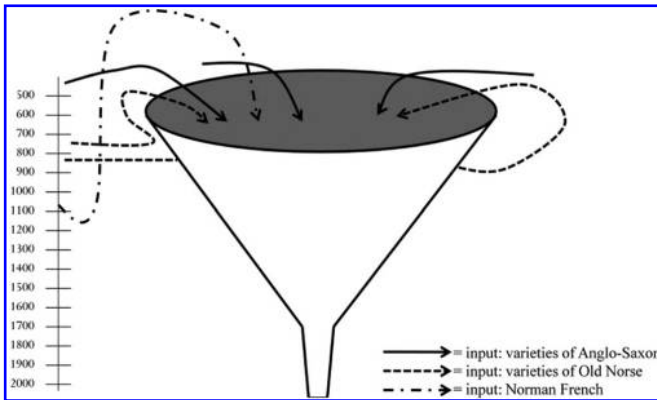


Figure 3. *The funnel view of the history of English.*

The funnel view constitutes a modern discourse archive of the history of English.<sup>13</sup> Foucault calls an archive '[t]he general system of the formation and transformation of statements' (1972: 127) or, alternatively, 'the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events ...' (1972: 129). The concept of the archive is of primary importance in understanding Foucault's 'archaeological' approach to discourse as becomes clear from the following quotation:

The never completed, never wholly achieved uncovering of the archive forms the general horizon to which the description of discursive formations, the analysis of positivities, the mapping of the enunciative field belong. The right of words – which is not that of the philologists – authorizes, therefore, the use of the term *archaeology* to describe all these searches. This term does not imply the search for a beginning; it does not relate analysis to geological excavation. It designates the general theme of a description that questions the already-

said at the level of its existence: of the enunciative function that operates within it, of the discursive formation, and the general archive system to which it belongs. Archaeology describes discourses as practices specified in the element of the archive. (Foucault 1972: 131)

By the ‘positivity’ of a discourse Foucault means ‘that which characterizes its particular unity throughout a particular discursive time’, so that the ‘positivity’ of a discourse is to be found in the archive to which that discourse belongs, i.e. to ‘the law of what can be said’. It is the archive that determines how certain statements can be grouped together to form an apparent unity and how certain statements appear to us as historical events. Blommaert (2005: 102) suggests that the archive consists of ‘the macro-sociological forces and formations that define and determine what can be said, expressed, heard, and understood in particular societies, particular milieux, particular historical periods’ (Blommaert 2005: 102). The following questions then emerge:

- (a) What kind of statements appear to be historical events, the ‘what-can-be-said’ of the discourse archive of the history of English?
- (b) What kind of attitudes do they suggest, i.e. is it possible to reconstruct a likely section from the attitudinal cognitorium of someone who is ‘governed’ by the discourse archive?
- (c) How do the statements and attitudes change over time given the fact that the average attitudinal cognitorium, even though it is governed by an orientation towards standards, must also change?

An example for point (c) is the failure of Margaret Thatcher’s Conservative government at the end of the 1980s to reintroduce rote grammatical parsing into the National Curriculum for English following the Kingman and Cox reports (cf. Watts 2011: chapter 10). Despite the fact that Conservative politicians and large sections of the print media were steeped in the old values of Standard English as against non-standard varieties, the ‘average attitudinal cognitorium’ with respect to concepts like STANDARD ENGLISH and DIALECT must have changed quite considerably since the 1950s to resist this kind of pressure.

I start this brief set of examples by quoting from Daniel Defoe’s *Essay upon Projects*, which we might reasonably place at the onset of the dominant discourse of standardisation in Britain. Defoe presents a project for setting up an authoritative body, akin to the French Académie Française, composed of educated men whose object

... should be to encourage polite learning, to polish and refine the English tongue, and advance the so much neglected faculty of correct



language, to establish purity and propriety of style, and to purge it from all the irregular additions that ignorance and affectation have introduced; and all those innovations in speech, if I may call them such, which some dogmatic writers have the confidence to foster upon their native language, as if their authority were sufficient to make their own fancy legitimate. (Defoe 1697, in Bredvold et al. 1932: 3, underlining mine)

Although Defoe's criticism is levelled at 'dogmatic writers' of English and not at members of the lower classes of society as such, his avowed aim is 'to polish and refine the English tongue'. It is thus equivalent to 'policing' the language.<sup>14</sup> In the quotation as a whole, Defoe indicates an attitude towards English that requires it to be 'refined' and 'polished' and reveals his opinion that it should be purged of the neglect of 'correctness' and made 'pure' and 'proper'. The language of the 'dogmatic writers' is thus contaminated (cf. one of the concepts in the section from the hypothetical attitudinal cognitorium presented in figure 1). The text displays an almost missionary zeal to purify the language.

In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Defoe's missionary zeal was transformed into legitimate forms of language, socially constructed and reproduced by members of polite society. As the century progressed, forms of legitimate language usage were conceptualised as prescriptive rules of language behaviour in a veritable flood of prescriptive grammars and presented as the rules of 'Standard English'. An early example of the attitudes of the 'refiners' and 'purifiers' of English can be found in Hugh Jones' 'grammar' of 1724, entitled *Accidence to the English tongue*, in which we read the following on p. 22:

... it is to be wished, that a Publick *Standard* were fix'd; as a *Touchstone* to true English, whereby it might be regulated, and proved, which alone might give License to *Person*, and *Occasion* to make *Addition*, or *Corrections*. (my underlining)

Jones apparently wants English to be 'fix'd' as a standard, which would then provide the means of assessing whether speakers/writers are actually using what he imagines to be 'true English'. The assessors are not mentioned explicitly, but it is abundantly clear throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century that the gentry and the aristocracy function as the arbiters of what is 'true', 'correct', 'refined', 'polished', etc. And if there is a 'true' English, then there must be a false English, and false English must be spoken and written by all those who do not belong to the ranks of the gentry and aristocracy, i.e. to the vast majority of the overall population.

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the standard language became the centre of a political effort to prevent the members of the lower classes, even of the middle classes, from participating politically in public life (cf. Smith 1984; Watts 2011: ch. 9). Smith presents us with an example of how petitioners to parliament from the lower orders were excluded from even having their petitions for political suffrage considered purely on the grounds of the language used. The nascent standard language became the model of ‘refined’ language in opposition to all other forms of language, which were henceforth labelled as ‘vulgar’. In 1793, groups of tradesmen and skilled workers from Sheffield and Nottingham presented a petition for male suffrage to parliament, part of the wording of which was as follows:

Your petitioners are lovers of peace, of liberty, and justice. They are in general tradesmen and artificers, unpossessed of freehold land, and consequently have no voice in choosing members to sit in parliament: – but though they may not be freeholders, they are men, and do not think themselves fairly used in being excluded the rights of citizens.

*The Parliamentary Debates of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803.* (Volume XXX, p. 776)

The petition was ruled invalid on the grounds that the language was ‘highly indecent and disrespectful’, but the only possible *linguistic* explanation for this evaluation lies in the phrase ‘in being excluded the rights of citizens’, in which the preposition *from* after the verb *excluded* has been omitted. Other attitudes must have been in operation which transformed the real reasons for rejecting the petition into linguistic issues. There is certainly little in the rest of the petition that could be interpreted, even in modern terms, as ‘indecent’. The language structures used by the lower orders of society were ultimately irrelevant in the socio-political discrimination applied by the upper orders of society, writers on language like James Harris and James Burnett (Lord Monboddo) offered a rich language discourse in which to embed the transformation. ‘Refined’ language was considered to be unavailable for any but those who had access to a classical education at the public and grammar schools, and the petitioners were ‘tradesmen and artificers’. This is an example of social discrimination ostensibly on the basis of written language usage, and the attitudes it evokes in the attitudinal cognitorium of so-called educated Standard English speakers is not only that non-standard forms of English are considered ‘disrespectful’, ‘indecent’, ‘uneducated’, but that the people who are assumed to speak ‘vulgar’, non-standard forms of English are also by extension considered to be ‘disrespectful’, ‘indecent’ and ‘uneducated’.<sup>15</sup>

The continual discursive repetition and reproduction of such attitudes throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century created a discourse of the legitimate form of English and the social and intellectual inferiority of all those who were deemed incapable of speaking it. When the history of English became a topic of linguistic interest in the latter half of the century, it was inevitable that it was constructed as the history of Standard English, i.e. that a funnel view of the history of the language was constructed (cf. figure 3). To illustrate that this form of dominant discourse had become a discourse archive by the 20<sup>th</sup> century, consider the following two quotations, one (A) from a school inspector in 1925 and the other (B) an argument put forward by Norman Tebbitt, a prominent member of Margaret Thatcher's cabinet, on Radio 4 in 1985 on the reasons for football hooliganism:

- (A) Come into a London elementary school and ... [y]ou will notice that the boys and girls are almost inarticulate. They can make noises, but they cannot speak ... listen to them as they 'play at schools'; you can barely recognise your native language.  
(quoted in J. Milroy 2007: 137)
- (B) ... the decline in the teaching of grammar had led directly to the rise in football hooliganism  
(Cox 1991: 34, summarising Tebbitt's argument)

The school inspector's attitudinal cognitorium includes concepts such as INARTICULATE and UNRECOGNISABLE AS A LANGUAGE, whereas Tebbitt's cognitorium appears to contain the concepts of VIOLENCE and HOOLIGANISM. Can the school inspector really have thought that the children had no language, and can Tebbitt really have believed in his argument that bad grammar (i.e. non-standard forms of English) leads causally to violence? One would wish to credit them with a little more commonsense, but what is written and what is recorded on a BBC Radio programme provides strong evidence not only of a set of negative attitudes towards non-standard varieties of English but also of the belief that those attitudes are felt to be acceptable as part of what can be said about language in a dominant discourse archive.<sup>16</sup>

One might imagine that linguists have a little more understanding of language than to project such beliefs. Unfortunately, however, that does not appear to be the case. Here is what Otto Jespersen has to say about dialects and dialect speakers in his 1933 book *Essentials of English grammar*:

In old [sic] times, when communication between various parts of the country was not easy and when the population was, on the whole,

very stationary, a great many local dialects arose which differed very considerably from one another; the divergencies naturally [sic] became greater among the uneducated than among the educated and richer classes, as the latter moved more about and had more intercourse with people from other parts of the country. In recent times the enormously increased facilities of communication have to a great extent counteracted the tendency towards the splitting up of the language into dialects – class dialects and local dialects. ... Our chief concern will be with the normal [sic] speech of the educated class, what may be called Standard English ...

According to Jespersen, the difference between dialects and the standard language is one of social class, in that dialect speakers are less well-off and consequently less well educated, whereas speakers of Standard English are seen as being ‘normal’ and members of ‘the educated class’. Dialects are seen as divisive elements (‘the splitting up of the language’) in that they impede communication, the ideal here being the creation of a ‘homogeneous’ language through which everyone can communicate with everyone else.

In justifying the use of the term ‘Received Standard’ to refer to oral Standard English, Wyld (1927<sup>3</sup>: 149) makes the following point:

It is proposed to use the term Received Standard for that form which I would probably agree in considering the best, that form which has the widest currency and is heard with practically no variation among speakers of the better class all over the country.

Speakers of the ‘Received Standard’ are automatically the ‘best’, and they are to be found ‘among speakers of the better class’, implicating that speakers of other varieties are the ‘worst’ and are to be found in the lower echelons of society. In Jespersen’s attitudinal cognitorium for the concept DIALECT we thus find a strong connection to concepts such as UNEDUCATED, POOR and ABNORMAL. Similarly, in Wyld’s cognitorium, DIALECT, or rather non-standard varieties, are strongly connected with the concept LOWER SOCIAL STANDING.

The evaluative distinction between standard and non-standard language is neatly summed up metaphorically as early as 1845 in Henry Welsford’s *On the origin and ramifications of the English language* (1845: 259):

The Sanskrit may be regarded as the pure fountainhead: the streams which flowed from it remained long in a troubled state from the turbulence of the middle ages, till, having found a more spacious and secure

channel, they have gradually deposited the dregs of the Frankish, the Anglo-Saxon, the Cimbric, and the Celtic and reappeared in the beautiful languages of Montesquieu and Racine, of Goete [sic.] and Schiller, of Byron and Scott.

Literary standard languages such as French, German and English are said to have emerged from the 'dregs' that have been deposited in this extended geological metaphor. Welsford may have meant this to be understood only in terms of the metaphor, but whether he did or not, it remains the case that the lexeme *dregs* in English has distinctly negative connotations, clearly implying that the standard languages arose out of and superseded the inferior and worthless non-standard varieties.

#### 4. Heterogeneity vs homogeneity: The case of folk songs

To counter the funnel view of language histories, we need to find data that will provide clues as to how other varieties of the language under study (in this case English) might be reconstructed and particularly how they changed, but, in doing so, we are at a distinct disadvantage when compared with the relatively copious (written and printed) material available to 'funnelers'. In addition, to challenge and break down the current discourse archives of language histories,<sup>17</sup> this kind of material is fundamentally important. We need evidence of language structure and the process of language change in non-standard varieties of language. Much work has already been carried out in historical sociolinguistics in unearthing, analysing and evaluating exemplars of language 'from below',<sup>18</sup> but the evidence is hampered, particularly in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, by an insecurity as to whether the writer was genuinely making an attempt to write in her/his dialect or was trying to fulfil what s/he felt to be the conventions of writing set up in the age of prescriptivism. In addition, much material has been edited by others, such that we may not in fact be accessing exemplars of the original writer's language. This is significant in studying letters written by schooled but uneducated writers<sup>19</sup> from the lower levels of social structure in England (cf. work by Fairman 2000, 2002).

One area of language from below which has received virtually no attention in the historical sociolinguistic literature is the folksong, a form of language performance which displays a wealth of forms of popular entertainment with historical depth and continuing popularity right down to the present day. The number of clubs and annual festivals at which traditional and newly created music are performed, re-enacted, enjoyed and transformed both musically and linguistically in the UK and elsewhere, and the fact that forms of folk music, both instrumental

and vocal, occupy a large portion of the recorded music industry are testimony to its continuing social significance. Wales (2006: 128), however, notes that

... it is a striking fact that present-day linguists, like present-day literary critics, have largely ignored, or at best underestimated, this vast and significant Northern literature, and other related genres as diverse as almanac and stage recitation ...

She is absolutely right in her assessment, and her specific reference to Northern vernacular literature is a reflection of the fact that her book focuses on a social and cultural history of Northern English. But her comment could quite easily be extended to refer to the rest of England, even to the whole of the English-speaking world.

It is not my purpose in this short article to assess the value of folk songs from a purely linguistic point of view. This will be done in greater length elsewhere (cf. also the brief analysis of the song *The Owdham Weaver* in Watts 2011: ch. 12). But a focus on comments made by folk song collectors covering the same period of time as the formation of the dominant standardisation discourse (i.e. roughly 1845 to the period immediately prior to the Second World War) is in itself revealing in terms of the attitudinal cognitoria accessed through the concept FOLK SONG, which is of course intimately connected to the concept DIALECT. What it shows is that middle class folklore enthusiasts, just like the early protagonists of the linguistic value of rural dialects (cf. Ellis [1869] 1968 and Wright 1896–1905), were convinced that both the dialects and traditional folklore were in grave danger of disappearing under the twin pressures of urbanisation and industrialisation, and that they should be collected and preserved for posterity, almost like archaeological exhibits. Unlike the dialectologists, however, folk song collectors also assumed the right to edit the songs both linguistically and musically to make them more ‘suitable’ for performance in middle class drawing-rooms and concert performances, thus exhibiting attitudes that strengthened rather than questioned the dominant standardisation discourse archive.

In 1840 the Percy Society was founded to continue the antiquarian efforts of Bishop Thomas Percy (1729–1811) in collecting and making more widely available for posterity rare poems, ballads and songs in his *Reliques of English poetry* (1765). Percy was one of a group of antiquarians interested in the folk traditions of the North of England<sup>20</sup> and the border country (including Joseph Ritson 1752–1803), although he apparently made no effort to track down the tunes of the ballads and songs he collected. The Percy Society itself largely consisted of middle class devotees of vernacular poetry, whose interests were not only to preserve

such ‘relics’ for posterity,<sup>21</sup> but also to make them available to middle class audiences, at first primarily to readers but later also to musical performers.<sup>22</sup> Hence, while within the context of 19<sup>th</sup> century England, antiquarians had an obvious sympathy for the artistic products of the working rural classes (or what they called, perhaps a little patronisingly, the ‘peasantry’), the process of preserving what they found effectively became an act of middle class cultural appropriation.

An early example of both feelings of sympathy and admiration for the working classes but, at the same time, the (possibly unconscious) desire to acquire the songs and make them available to middle class performers, is provided in James Henry Dixon’s *Ancient poems, ballads and songs of the peasantry of England* (1846), published specifically for the Percy Society, and its revision and extension in 1857 by Robert Bell, again for the Society, in *Ancient poems, ballads and songs of England*. In the preface to Dixon’s collection we read the following:

He who, in travelling through the rural districts of England, has made the road-side inn his resting-place, who has visited the lowly dwellings of the villagers and yeomanry, and been present at their feasts and festivals, must have observed that there are certain old poems, ballads, and songs, which are favourites with the masses, and have been said and sung from generation to generation.

(in Bell [1857] 2008: 1; my underlining)

The ‘old poems, ballads, and songs’, which came to be labelled ‘folk songs’ or ‘folk poetry’ towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, evoked concepts in Dixon’s attitudinal cognitorium such as RURAL, WORKING-CLASS, MASS CULTURE, LOWLY, all of which are also connected with positive concepts like WELL-KNOWN, LOVED, ANCIENT, etc. In the preface to Bell’s extended and revised collection in 1857, we read the following:

The present volume differs in many important particulars from the former, of the deficiencies of which Mr. Dixon makes so frank an avowal. It has not only undergone careful revision, but has received additions to an extent which renders it almost a new work. Many of these accessions are taken from extremely rare originals, and others are printed here for the first time ... Nearly forty songs, noted down from recitation, or gathered from sources not generally accessible, have been added to the former collection, illustrative, for the most part, of historical events, country pastimes, and local customs. ... The songs of a strictly rural character, having reference to the occupations and intercourse of the people, possess an interest which cannot be adequately measured by their poetical pretensions. The very defects of

which they are chargeable, constitute their highest claim to consideration as authentic specimens of country lore.

([1857] 2008: 34; my underlining)

Like Dixon, the attitudes towards folk songs in Bell's attitudinal cognitiorium appear to be

- a. that they are RURAL (cf. 'strictly rural', which implies that they are not to be found in urbanised, industrialised England),
- b. that they are in need of revision, which implies that, in middle class eyes, there is something DEFECTIVE about them, and
- c. that they are RARE specimens.

At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, these same attitudes towards folk song are accentuated in Sabine Baring-Gould and Fleetwood Sheppard's *Songs and ballads of the West* (1890), *A garland of country song* (1895), *English minstrelsie, 8 volumes* (1895–1897) and *Songs of the West* (1905), and the overall message conveyed was that folk songs were a treasure trove of rough artistic gems that *needed* to be polished and adapted to middle-class Victorian and Edwardian tastes to find favour with those audiences. In a posthumous selection of songs collected by Baring-Gould prepared by Hitchcock in 1974 with the title *Folk songs of the West Country*, Hitchcock gives the following quote from an introductory essay by Baring-Gould to one of the eight volumes of the *English minstrelsie*:

Our folk music is a veritable moraine of rolled and ground fragments from musical strata far away. It contains songs of many centuries, all thrown together in a confused heap. What are the origins of these songs? It is impossible to say but some are ballads that have been handed down by minstrels and troubadours of many continents; archaic melodies from before the Golden Age of Elizabeth.

(in Hitchcock 1974: 7; my underlining)

The first point to note is that Baring-Gould uses exactly the same geological metaphor to conceptualise the notion FOLK SONG as Welsford uses in 1845 to conceptualise LANGUAGE, thus indicating that the same discursive process was used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in constructing the discourse of standardisation, both in terms of language and folk song. Semiotic clues to Baring-Gould's attitudinal cognitiorium in relation to the concept FOLK SONG are the expressions 'thrown together' and 'a confused heap', which imply that artistic performance from below is UNINTENTIONAL, DISORGANISED and CONFUSED. The middle class appropriation of folk songs thus implies that the real purpose of collectors at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was not just to save the songs from disappearing, but



The image shows a musical score for the song 'The Outlandish Knight'. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has a vocal line on a treble clef staff and a piano accompaniment on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The tempo is marked 'Moderato'. The lyrics for the first system are: 'An out-land-ish knight came from the north lands, And he came woo-ing to me;..... He'. The second system continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics for the second system are: 'said he would take me to for- eign lands, And there he would mar-ry me. Go fetch me some of your'. The piano accompaniment is marked with 'p' and 'mf'. The entire score is enclosed in a blue rectangular border.

Figure 4. The first verse of 'The Outlandish Knight' edited and showing pianoforte accompaniment from Cecil Sharp & Charles L. Marson, eds. [1908] 1911. Folk Songs from Somerset, Fourth Series. London: Simpkin & Schott.

also, and more importantly, to raise them from these negative states, to purge them of any content classified in the world of Victorian morals as obscene and to polish them in order to enhance their assumed artistic value, i.e. to standardise and institutionalise them. Interestingly, Baring-Gould and Cecil Sharp published a selection of songs in 1906, suitably polished for use in the schools (*English folk songs for schools*).<sup>23</sup>

A significant aspect of the process of the class appropriation of folk songs – or if one wishes to express this differently, the process of making folk songs artistically respectable – was, in addition to the censure applied to the content of the songs, the 'correction' of many of Baring-Gould's 'archaic melodies' and the systematic addition of pianoforte accompaniment to allow them to be performed 'outside' their traditional loci of performance<sup>24</sup> in the drawing-rooms and concert-halls of Victorian and Edwardian England. The classical case of the kind of standardisation that took place in folk song collections is represented in the five volume collection of *Folk songs from Somerset* compiled by Cecil J. Sharp and his collaborator, the Rev. Charles L. Marson during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that Cecil Sharp was perhaps the most well-known folk song collector and supporter of folk songs in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I have chosen to illustrate how the songs are presented in *Folk songs from Somerset* by looking at one of the most popular and widespread ballads in the traditional repertoires of singers all over the British Isles, *The Outlandish Knight* (cf. figure 4). The piano forte accompaniment added by Sharp is

circled as is the Italian term ‘Moderato’ indicating the tempo that Sharp considers appropriate for the performance of the song.

Not only the text of the song, but also the melody and piano accompaniment, as well as the appropriate tempo at which the song should be performed have been standardised to suit middle class musical tastes. The song, in other words, has become homogenised. However, like the oral production of language in emergent social practice, songs such as *The Outlandish Knight* were, and still are, heterogeneous from one performance to the next and from one performer to the next. As Hitchcock (1974: 8) points out,

[n]either the words nor the melodies are sacrosanct. The transmission of these orally will inevitably lead to changes. This is a natural process *but the printed copy will remain for the coming generations.*

(my italics)

Like all folk songs, *The Outlandish Knight* is generally sung without accompaniment of any kind, although there is, of course, no reason why singers should not accompany themselves or be accompanied by others. The text is like the blueprint of a story that can be embellished and transformed in whatever way that suits the performer. A performance of the song recorded in 1974 from Shropshire singer Fred Jordan (1922–2002), which he says he acquired from a local gypsy family by the name of Locke, is sung to a different melody than that given by Sharp & Marson. The text of the song is essentially Standard English, but Jordan sings it with the phonology of his local Shropshire dialect.

The essence of a folk song performance is its emergent production. ‘Freezing’ the song to accord with the standardised, classical leanings of a middle-class audience, however much they were avowed devotees of the music of the people, may have been Sharp & Marson’s way of ‘preserving’ the song for posterity. But had collectors like Sharp & Marson and others in the period between the two world wars been prepared to seek out and join in the audiences of folk song performance throughout the country, they would have heard *The Outlandish Knight* performed in many different ways. Up until the 1960s there were still pubs throughout England in which folk song and folk music could be heard and appreciated, and the 1960s heralded a revival of interest in the setting up of folk clubs, many of them based in pubs, that have since been the backbone of folk music till the present. Like language, folk song – language in musical performance – remains heterogeneous and variable, and resists the urge to standardise. So it is rather odd to read Hitchcock, immediately after his statement about the heterogeneity and inevitability of change in folk song, maintaining the notion that ‘the printed copy will

remain for the coming generations'. It is even odder to read the final set of statements in his foreword:

There were many inaccuracies in the MS; verses which didn't fit melodies; both melodies and verses incomplete; lines that didn't scan properly. I have made the minimum of adjustment. Where the lines don't scan properly I have marked the beginning of bars or phrases, in some instances leaving the singer to make the adjustment himself [sic]. Where verses or lines were forgotten I have completed them and they are in brackets. (1974: 8; my underlining)

Whether the inaccuracies are the result of the process of transcription or are taken as being endemic to folk singing remains unclear, but the semi-otic clues 'inaccuracies', 'I have made the minimum of adjustment' and 'I have completed them' leads us to similar attitudinal concepts in Hitchcock's attitudinal cognitivism as those we have already seen, DEFECTIVE, DISORGANISED and CONFUSED, which are linked to concepts like WORKING-CLASS, MASS CULTURE, RURAL, etc. and are evidence of the tenacity of the dominant discourse archive of standardisation and homogeneity.

## **5. Conclusion: Using folksongs as evidence of change from below**

It has been my aim throughout this article to show that the attempt to access the cognitive cognitivism of writers on language and writers on folk song reveals discursive evidence of a strong all-embracing discourse archive governing what one can say about the history of a language and the nature of folk song. It is a discourse archive in which notions like homogeneity, correctness, uniformity, etc. are still at a premium despite all our efforts to argue that the archive does not and cannot correspond to the nature of either language or folk song. However, if speakers themselves and the performers of folk songs are the arbiters of what can and cannot be said about these important areas of culture and not official representatives of the archive itself, it is clear that the archive is built on what Deumert calls 'zombie categories', i.e. 'sociological concepts ... that are essentially dead, but continue to be discussed by sociologists and society at large as if they were socially real and meaningful'. Standardisation is just one such category.

There is a problem with this analysis, however. Surely standardised forms of language and musical performance are useful in allowing access to readers and musicians to what would otherwise be difficult to access. No-one, I assume, would doubt the validity of this statement, but it needs to be balanced against the dominant heterogeneity and variability of real-time language performance in emergent social practice, including

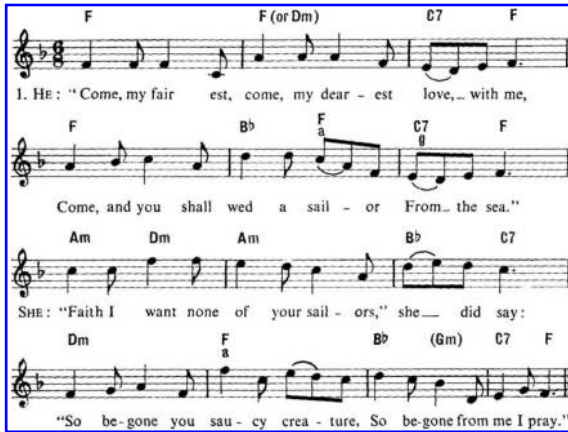
the performance of. The ‘zombie’ nature of a sociological category such as standardisation is to attribute to it conceptual features like those discussed during this article which are no longer socially real and meaningful – if ever they were socially real and meaningful in the first place.

The second question that has been tangentially raised is whether we can use folk songs as evidence of non-standard forms of language and language change. In the printed form in which they appear in folk song collections, there are few indications of non-standard varieties, and even in the real-time performances of singers like Fred Jordan, this remains the case (with the proviso that singers will tend to use the phonological structures of their own varieties of English). Baring-Gould himself provides evidence of this puzzling phenomenon in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. A large number of the songs he collected were taken down from the singing of an illiterate hedger and thatcher called James Parsons.<sup>25</sup> One example of a Parsons song is the well-known *Saucy Sailor*, still to be found all over England. The text given in Hitchcock does not display many non-standard features. My version of the song is sung to the following tune with an alternative text immediately below it, and my own text is given below the tune:

Come my fai - rest, come my dea - rest, Come and tell un - to \_ me, Will you mar - ry a poor  
sai-lor boy, who has just come \_ from sea?

1. “Come, me own one, come me fair one,  
Come now unto me.  
Could you fancy a poor sailor lad  
That has just come from sea?”
2. “You are ragged, love, and you’re dirty,  
love,  
And your clothes smell much of tar.  
So be gone, you saucy sailor lad  
So be gone, you Jack tar.”
3. “Well, if I’m ragged, love, and I’m dirty,  
love  
And me clothes smell much of tar.  
I have silver in me pockets,  
And gold in great store.”
4. And as she heard him say so  
On her bended knee she fell.  
“Could you marry a poor country lass,  
For I love a sailor lass so well?”
5. Do you think I am foolish?  
Do you think I am mad?  
For to marry a poor country lass  
There are no fortunes to be had.”
6. I will cross the briny ocean,  
I will whistle and will sing,  
And since you have refused me offer,  
love,  
Some other girl shall wear the ring.
7. I am frolicsome and I’m easy,  
Good-tempered and free  
And I don’t give a single penny, boys,  
What the world thinks of me.

It is clear from the very first verse that what I sing varies slightly from other modern versions (cf. the text under the tune). The text and tune taken down by Baring-Gould from Jim Parsons are as follows, in which Hitchcock has also included a set of suggested guitar chords, as well as altering the scansion of the second line in the fourth verse by changing the text:



The image shows a musical score for a folk song in 6/8 time. It consists of four staves of music. The first staff is the melody line with lyrics: "1. HE: 'Come, my fairest, come, my dearest love, with me, Come, and you shall wed a sailor from the sea.'" Above the staff are suggested guitar chords: F, F (or Dm), C7, and F. The second staff continues the melody with lyrics: "SHE: 'Faith I want none of your sailors,' she did say: 'So be gone you saucy creature, so be gone from me I pray.'" Above the staff are suggested guitar chords: F, Bb, F, C7, and F. The third staff continues the melody with lyrics: "SHE: 'Faith I want none of your sailors,' she did say: 'So be gone you saucy creature, so be gone from me I pray.'" Above the staff are suggested guitar chords: Am, Dm, Am, Bb, and C7. The fourth staff continues the melody with lyrics: "SHE: 'Faith I want none of your sailors,' she did say: 'So be gone you saucy creature, so be gone from me I pray.'" Above the staff are suggested guitar chords: Dm, F, Bb, (Gm), C7, and F.

1. HE: "Come my fairest, come my dearest love with me.  
Come and you shall wed a sailor from the sea."  
SHE: "Faith I want none of your sailors," she did say:  
"So be gone you saucy creature, so be gone from me I pray."
  2. SHE: "You are ragged, you are dirty, smell of tar.  
Get you gone to foreign countries from me far."  
HE: "If I'm ragged, if I'm dirty, of tar I smell,  
Yet there's silver in my pocket, and gold a store as well."
  3. BOTH: When she saw the shining silver, saw the gold,  
Down she kneeled and very humbly hands did fold,  
Staying, she did hear these words on her knees she fell,  
SHE: Saying, "Oh forgive me, love, for I like a sailor well."
  4. HE: Do you think that I am maz'd, that I am mad,  
Wed a maiden where's no fortune to be had?\*
- I will cross the raging ocean, or meadows greens,  
Since you have refused my offer, another maid shall wear my ring.
- Original runs, "For to wed a country maiden where no fortune's to be had."

Parsons helped Baring-Gould with the notation of the melodies, and he was apparently a hard task-master. In one instance Baring-Gould quotes him as announcing a song in the following way, 'Now, I'll gie you a purty old tune as lively as they be made', and when he looked over

Baring-Gould's musical notation, he made the following comment: 'Thicky wi'nt do. You've gotten that note not right. You mun know that I'm the master and you'm the scholar, and I wi'nt have no slurs or blunders. What's right is right, and what's wrong can never be right till the world's end.' This is Baring-Gould's conservative estimate of Parsons's dialect, but this is enough to show that what singers say and what they sing could be very different indeed. The degree to which non-standard forms are used in performance is thus very hard to judge, which is analogous to looking at a personal hand-written letter and assuming that the language produced will be a reflection of the writer's own oral style. In most cases, this assumption, unfortunately, is very far from the case.

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## Notes

1. As the editor of *Multilingua*, I felt at first that it would not quite be in order to include an article by me as a contribution to this special double issue in honour of Roland Willemyns on the occasion of his retirement. However, a number of factors have induced me to change my mind and my overall editorial policy on this occasion. The first factor is related to the colloquium held in Roland's honour in which I was invited to participate and at which I offered a talk on the Germanic–Romance language border that is so much a part of the country in which I have lived and worked for over forty years, and in which I have made my home. On reconsidering a recent breakout of a nasty linguistic rash that occurs at regular intervals in Switzerland between the French speakers and the German speakers, I began to reconsider the problem in the light of my socio-historical investigations into varieties of English. The second factor to induce me to contribute an article was a copy of the *Penguin Book of English Folk Songs* compiled by Ralph Vaughan Williams & A. L. Lloyd sent to me by Wim Vandebussche after clearing out the attic of his wife's parents' former home. Thank you so much, Wim. It neatly replaced my own copy, which had long fallen to pieces, and it induced me to turn to that other love of mine, English folk traditions. The third factor was, obviously, the most important. I wanted to make my own explicit contribution to honouring Roland on his retirement. Roland and I both retired at the same time from our respective universities and he, much more than I, has contributed so much to investigating into his own first language and its dialectal richness. I thank the reviewers of this article for their very perceptive and helpful comments on the first draft.
2. The term 'Romands' refers to speakers of French in the Swiss Confederation.
3. By the term 'language regard' Preston understands a whole range of research areas which include folk linguistics (perceptual dialectology, the social psychology of language, sociophonetics, the ethnography of language and language ideology).
4. I have put this point rather bluntly here, since it is an issue in the academic literature on English folk songs (cf., e.g., Harker 1985, Boyes 1993, Gammon 1986). Whether or not folk song collectors like Baring-Gould, Sharp, Kidson, Karpeles, Broadwood, etc. intended to erase folk songs is not the issue here. Clearly, they did not. However, taking over the songs as they were, in their rough and ready state, was not likely to appeal to the moral and artistic sensibilities of

Victorian and Edwardian middle class taste, and my major argument in this article is to show that the editing and evening out of the songs and providing them with piano forte accompaniment are closely connected with the urge to standardise both language and language performance. The collectors' fear was that the songs were in grave danger of dying out, in the same way that the rural dialects were said to be 'dying out'. It is not my wish here to suggest that their efforts were not magnificent. Far from it. But we still need to question whether early dialectologists and folk collectors were not reacting – although not on a conscious level of course – to the middle class desire to raise what was below the social belt to the assumed superiority of their way of seeing the world.

5. It is a discourse archive that I perceive to be currently undergoing a process of breakdown and transformation.
6. In effect, of course, the 'object' will be a semantic/experiential frame with evaluative concepts strongly or weakly associated with it.
7. There are an estimated 25 to 30 various Alemannic dialects of German in use in the country.
8. Cf. Daniel Defoe's advocacy in his *Essay upon projects* (1697) for the introduction of a society to regulate for 'polite' language in Britain on analogy with the French *Académie Française*.
9. The major linguistic movement in diffusing 'polite' or 'standard' language was prescriptivism, in which a sudden glut of grammars, dictionaries, pronouncing dictionaries, books on language etiquette, flooded the market from around 1760 till well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
10. The poignant aspect of this distinction between 'vulgar' or 'refined' language was that, from a demographic point of view, speakers of the former were rapidly beginning to outnumber speakers of the latter, a movement which continued to grow well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
11. Even in the period of 'Old English' there is also a tendency to assume that the literary West Saxon variety of the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries was a 'West Saxon' standard language, and this is all too often generalised to cover the whole geographical area in which forms of Anglo-Saxon were spoken.
12. Wim Vandebussche has suggested another interesting metaphor to me which might more accurately represent this situation. His idea is to consider a food processor in which all the ingredients are mixed into one 'homogeneous (or standard) mass'. The funnel would then be replaced by the image of a food processor. However, since it is beyond my meagre drawing talents to represent this in a diagram, I will simply leave the reader with the funnel diagram. However, this morally obliges me to have a go at creating a more appropriate diagram at some time in the future.
13. Foucault simply uses the term 'archive', but I use the term 'discourse archive' to prevent confusion with the lay understanding of an archive denoting a place where things are stored for posterity.
14. Willemyns (1996) has also worked on the 'policing' of Dutch in West Flanders in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.
15. The catalyst in constructing the identification of standard language with 'refined language' and non-standard varieties with 'vulgar language' was obviously the rise of the political ideology of the nation-state at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Anderson [1983] 2006; Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1990; Mattheier this volume; Watts 2011).
16. This set of connections is not restricted to non-standard varieties of English. Willemyns & Vandebussche (2007) deal with similar situations for Dutch.
17. I refer here to other 'national' languages in which the discourse archive of standardisation determines what can and cannot be said about language history.

18. Cf. work on Dutch by Willemyns (1995) and Vandenbussche (2004, 2007), on German by Elspaß (2005), and on English by Nevalainen & Raumolin Brunberg (2003), Wales (2006) and Fairman (2000, 2002), as well as the special double issue of *Multilingua* edited by Vandenbussche & Elspaß entitled *Lower class language use in the 19<sup>th</sup> century*.
19. The distinction between 'schooled' and 'educated' is particularly significant from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century on. An 'educated' person was one who had attended a public school or a grammar school (and often also one of the universities) to acquire a classical education in Greek and Latin, and was thus equivalent to a member of the gentry or the aristocracy, who had the means to give their children an expensive education. A 'schooled' person was one who had attended an elementary school for the purpose of acquiring the ability to manipulate rudimentary mathematics and to read and write. Most members of the middling orders had acquired this form of schooling by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.
20. Percy himself was born in Bridgnorth, Shropshire, and, at the time when he was collating the *Reliques*, was Bishop of Dromore in Ulster.
21. There was, in other words, a constant fear that folk traditions, like rural dialects, were under severe threat from increasing urbanisation and industrialisation in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
22. This is possibly underscored by the order in which both titles indicate the object of their antiquarian efforts. They are, first and foremost, poems. After that they are ballads (with no indication of whether or not they were meant for live performance). At the end of the list we learn that they include songs, which obviously implies that they were taken down from live performance, probably at second or third hand.
23. The 'polishing' consisted of the exclusion of songs with possible sexual content, the exclusion of melodies with a complex modal structure and a simplification of some of the melodies.
24. The 'traditional' places in which songs were sung and communally enjoyed were in pubs and inns, in gatherings of friends and family in working-class homes, at work, on festive occasions such as weddings, christenings, at Christmas, Easter and harvest-tide festivities, etc.
25. It is, of course, doubtful that Parsons really was illiterate as he seems to have been more than able to read music.

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# Language contact and language conflict in autochthonous language minority settings in the EU: A preliminary round-up of guiding principles and research desiderata

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## *Abstract*

*This contribution deals with language contact and language conflict in autochthonous language minority settings in the European Union. It rounds up a number of concepts that guide macro-socio-linguistic and macro-contact-linguistic research on language minorities. The description of these concepts results in a list of research desiderata.*

*Keywords: autochthonous language minorities, language contact, language conflict, language shift, language planning*

## **1. Introduction**

It is commonly known that the origins of systematic research on language contact and language conflict can be traced back to the 1950s and the publication of Einar Haugen's book on *The Norwegian language in America*, Uriel Weinreich's monograph on *Languages in contact* (1953) and Heinz Kloss' first version of *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1800 bis 1950* (1952). Due to the emergence of hyphenated linguistics in the early 1960s, the research findings and research desiderata expressed in these works were quickly picked up by a generation of university students pursuing their way to an academic career. A Belgian exponent of this generation is Roland Willemyns, to whom this contribution is dedicated on the occasion of his emeritate.

To a broad audience, Roland Willemyns is known as an authority on (the history of) the Dutch language. In international linguistic circles, he also counts as one of the founding fathers of historical sociolinguistics and as an all-rounder with a genuine interest in both the intra-linguistic study of dialect variation and the extra-linguistic study of language contact and language conflict phenomena in European and Canadian settings. Drawing upon a selection of Roland Willemyns' scientific output,

this contribution deals with language contact and language conflict in autochthonous language minority settings in the European Union. It rounds up a number of concepts that guide macro-socio-linguistic and macro-contact-linguistic research on language minorities. The prosaic description of these concepts results in a list of research desiderata. To start with, however, it seems appropriate to briefly sketch the EU's language mosaic.

## **2. The EU's language mosaic**

The present European Union counts about 500 million inhabitants that are asymmetrically divided over 27 member states. With the exception of Luxembourgish, all the national languages of the member states have the status of an official language at the level of the EU. Next to the official EU-languages, languages used by minority language groups further colour the European Union's language mosaic. The public and political discourse surrounding language minorities in Europe sports a rather general distinction between *allochthonous* (or 'new') minorities and *autochthonous* (or 'old') minorities. The 'new' minorities consist of migrant workers or asylum seekers who recently (i.e. in most cases in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century or later) settled in mostly urban regions within a European state. Examples are the Turks in Belgium, the Portuguese in Luxembourg or the Moroccans in Spain. The 'old' minorities consist of communities that have lived in their respective territories (in many cases in border areas) for centuries. Examples are the Aromanians in Greece, the Welsh in the UK, the Sami in Sweden, the Livonians in Latvia, and the Hungarians in Slovakia. As announced in both the title and the introduction, the focus here will be on the 'old' minorities.

## **3. Autochthonous language minorities: On numbers, *Abstand* and *Ausbau***

One of the pressing questions in almost any discussion on European autochthonous language minorities is that concerning their total number and size. While these figures are relatively easy to find in the (scientific) literature, individual scholars use different definitions for a 'language' and different sources to determine the size of a language community. As such, these figures tend to leave quite some margin for discussion. The European Commission (2008: 7), therefore, rather carefully estimates the current number of autochthonous minority languages at 'more than 60' and the number of minority language users at 'up to 50 million people'. Leaving the discussion on the size of minority language communities aside (cf. Kertzer & Arel 2001 for details) and concentrating on the 'language' problem, one touches upon one of the central basic questions in

sociolinguistics, namely the question concerning the criteria that allow us to label a set of varieties as belonging to the same language or not (cf. Berruto 2004: 190–191). The systematic approach to this question owes a great deal to Heinz Kloss, who introduced the notions of *Abstandsprache* and *Ausbausprache*.

Based on Kloss (1978: 25), one can describe an *Abstandsprache* ('language by distance') as a linguistic variety which is regarded as a separate language by reason of its linguistic distance from all other languages. The linguistic distance is measured on the basis of a comparison of structural (i.e. lexical, morpho-syntactic, phonological) features. An *Ausbausprache* is a variety that – from a linguistic point of view – would have to be considered as a dialect of a superposed language, yet constitutes a separate language for political, social, cultural and historical reasons that have advanced (or, as one might, argue, are in the process of advancing) its functional and corpus-related elaboration. *Ausbau* is thus linked to *Abstand* in that the functional and corpus-based elaboration have to be interpreted as processes that lend linguistic weight to the variety's politically, historically, etc. motivated status upgrade. They account for the variety's transition of linguistic heteronomy to linguistic autonomy, whereby heteronomy refers to the dependence and autonomy refers to the independence of one language variety on another language variety (see Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 10–14 as well as Trudgill 2004 for a more detailed discussion of heteronomy and autonomy based on Einar Haugen's work on standardisation processes in Norway).

A typical example of an *Ausbausprache* is Luxembourgish, which underwent processes of *Ausbau* in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, especially in the years following the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War (its legal recognition as a national language in 1984 counts as a hallmark in this respect). These *Ausbau* processes allowed Luxembourgish to transcend its former status as a dialect of German. In the other regions in which Luxembourgish is also used (i.e. in regions in Belgium, Germany and France that border the Grand Duchy), not only the legal status but also the limited functional range of Luxembourgish prevent it from surpassing the status of a German dialect (see Willemyns 1994: 6 and Darquennes 2005 on Luxembourgish in Belgium).

The Luxembourgish example perfectly illustrates the essential contribution of the *Abstand/Ausbau*-distinction to the study of language in society. Even though it is in need of further refinement as far as the criteria used to determine *Ausbau* and *Abstand* are concerned (cf. Kloss 1987), the distinction stresses the importance of extra-linguistic next to intra-linguistic factors in discussions on the status of a language variety as a dialect or a language. Furthermore, in combination with a distinction on heteronomy and autonomy, it certainly helps to analyse and

interpret the interplay between linguistic and other (political, historical, cultural, etc.) divides that surface in the context of (at times conflicting) identity formation processes. As Willemyns (2009) shows, these identity formation processes characterise many language contact situations in today's multilingual Europe, in which language is only one of the decisive elements. As it happens, language is also one of many factors that allow for the internal and/or external characterisation of a social group as an autochthonous language minority.

#### 4. Autochthonous language minorities: A definition

Especially in the 1970s and 1980s numerous volumes were devoted to the search for a definition of the notion of an 'autochthonous language minority' (at that time also frequently referred to as an 'ethnolinguistic minority'). Discussions in circles of sociolinguists and sociologists of language were enriched by input from neighbouring disciplines such as sociology, political science, anthropology and legal studies. The debate centred around a combination of such criteria as paternity, patrimony, self-categorisation, language and social power. At the beginning of the new millennium, the debate on the definition of an autochthonous language minority seems to have faded into the background. Among sociolinguists and contact linguists there now seems to be a consensus that the characteristics of an autochthonous language minority are mainly to be seen as a difference in terms of its linguistic and cultural distinctiveness, and the inequality concerning its social status and its position *vis-à-vis* the dominant majority (cf. Rindler Schjerve 2006: 108). In Section 1 of *Euromosaic I. The production and reproduction of minority language groups in the European Union*, Peter Nelde, Miquel Strubell & Glyn Williams (1996: 10–12) expound the link between differences in social status and power relations of the minority vs. the majority, on the one hand, and the role of the minority language as opposed to the majority language, on the other hand. Within a language sociological framework they convincingly argue that the differences in social status and power – as they exist between the minority and the majority – are reflected in the lower prestige, the lower status and the less developed (in some cases, poorly developed or even non-existing) legitimisation and institutionalisation of the minority language *vis-à-vis* the majority language. This is an approach that bears on Haugen's description of the direction of linguistic pressure – a description that is accompanied by the following scheme:  $A > Ab > AB > aB > B$  (where A/a stands for the minority language and b/B stands for the majority language, cf. Haugen 1953: 370–371). This influential scheme is still frequently used to explain societal language shift.

## 5. Societal language shift

In short, societal language shift in general implies that the use of the minority language in official, semi-official and/or private domains loses ground compared to the majority language. As Willemyns (1992) notes, societal language shift is generally motivated by a need for upward social mobility from a less prestigious to a more prestigious community (using a more prestigious language). Surely, societal language shift is to be considered as a gradual process, the extent and the course of which differ from case to case, as they depend on what Haugen (1972) has labelled the context-specific 'ecology of language'. However, most (if not all) of the autochthonous language minorities in the EU at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century face the challenge of preventing their minority language from losing ground *vis-à-vis* the majority language in the process of intergenerational minority language transmission. Since the ethnic revival in the 1970s (cf. Héraud 1987), myriads of language policy and planning initiatives have been taken to increase the vitality of the autochthonous minority languages. By the end of the 1970s, initiatives at the local, regional and national level were increasingly backed up by initiatives at the supranational level. The Council of Europe, for example, launched the *European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages* (1992) that came into force in 1998 and has the specific aim of advancing the preservation of minority languages in most of the aspects of the life of its speakers. The Charter holds an important position as a frame of reference in European discussions on the preservation of linguistic diversity (cf. Parayre 2008). It is also a clear example of the fact that decision-makers increasingly make use of (carefully selected parts of) language policy and planning theory to draft language policy and planning documents and/or to give shape to actual language planning measures.

## 6. Language planning

Language planning is usually subdivided into three branches: corpus, status and acquisition planning. Based on Hornberger (2006), it can be argued that the general interpretation of these notions still heavily depends on the writings of Haugen and Kloss and the complements provided by Robert Cooper (1989). Corpus planning mainly implies the standardisation and/or elaboration of the lexicon, grammar and the orthography of a given language. Status planning aims at changing the societal status and the functional range of a given language without necessarily aiming at an increase of the people actually using this language or language variety. The increase in the number of users of a given language is the primary goal of acquisition planning.



The three types of language planning are interrelated and even partially overlapping. Especially the line between status planning and acquisition planning is rather thin since, for example, efforts put into increasing the number of users of a given language will mostly lead to a change in status of that language. And since any codification and elaboration of an idiom is heavily intertwined with decisive social factors, it is obvious that the line between corpus planning and status planning is equally permeable. However, despite the fact that the three branches of language planning are closely intertwined, there seems to be a tendency in language minority settings to aim above all at status planning and acquisition planning. Status planning is often narrowed down to improving the legal embedding of the minority language on as many levels as possible, including the local, regional, national and European levels. Securing the legal status of a language is thought of as a means to increase the prestige of a minority language and/or as the necessary way to trigger off language use. Language minorities facing a situation in which the intergenerational continuity of the minority language is interrupted in home, family and neighbourhood settings, tend to focus strongly on acquisition planning in formal educational settings at the level of kindergarten and primary education, with a view to maintaining and/or increasing the number of minority language users.

As far as securing the legal status of a language is concerned, linguists have long come to the conclusion that language minorities with an extensive apparatus of laws at their disposal are sometimes worse off than language minorities who find themselves lacking a sound language legislation. Moreover, it has become clear that there is no causal relation between the legal recognition and the increased use of a language (see Willemys 1991). Merely providing a number of hours of minority language teaching is not likely to contribute much to intergenerational minority language continuity, either. In this respect, Hugo Baetens Beardsmore (1996) addresses the need to pay careful attention to the share of the minority language in the curriculum, the goals of minority language education, the methods chosen to pass on the minority language, the organisation of minority language teacher training, the continuity of minority language education on all school levels, the link between education and extra-curricular activities and the development of a total package of complementary language planning measures, only one part of which is acquisition planning in formal educational settings. The need for a total package is strongly emphasised in contemporary scientific literature dealing with language maintenance or reversing language shift. Scholarly literature on the topic, however, is strongly focused on total packages aimed at status and acquisition planning, whereas corpus planning issues receive far less attention (see Darquennes & Nelde 2005; Fish-

man 2006: x). This is regrettable since a neglect of corpus planning hampers the development of language policy and planning initiatives aimed at a raised status of both the minority language and the language minority as a whole (see Willemyns 1989: 123–124; Wölck 2006: 319–320). Besides, a careful consideration of corpus planning issues helps to explain the role of language in identity formation processes (i.e. strategies aiming at demarcation, on the one hand, and a quest for solidarity, on the other hand, see Haarmann 1996: 222) within language minorities. It also helps to reveal societal language conflict which – as Mattheier (1984) convincingly shows – is not limited to situations in which minority and majority groups are in contact.

## 7. Language conflict

Although language conflict already features in an embryonic way in the contact-linguistic literature of the 1950s and might even be traced back to the beginning of the century (see Epstein 1915), it takes until the late 1960s before language conflict is more prominently explored by linguists as, for example, in Haugen's volume on *Language conflict and language planning: The case of modern Norwegian*, the publication of Mackey's lectures on *Bilingualism as a world problem* (1967) and Rafael Ll. Ninyoles' work on language conflict in Valencia (Ninyoles 1969). In the 1980s sociologists (e.g. Raimondo Strassoldo and Giovanni Delli Zotti), psychologists (e.g. Richard Bourhis), political scientists (e.g. Kenneth D. McRae) and linguists (e.g. Klaus Mattheier, Colin H. Williams, Harald Haarmann, Louis-Jean Calvet and Peter Nelde) followed their example. Especially McRae, Haarmann and Nelde made major contributions to secure a prominent place for language conflict within linguistic research. McRae started a book series on *Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies* that currently counts three volumes: one on Switzerland (published in 1983), one on Belgium (published in 1986) and one on Finland (published in 1997). Haarmann (1986 and 1990) introduced a general theory of language conflict inspired by Einar Haugen's ideas on language planning and the ecology of language. Nelde, finally, started a series of world conferences on *Language Contact & Language Conflict* in 1981 and devoted 8 out of 30 volumes of his *Plurilingua*-series explicitly to the topic of language conflict.

Following Nelde (1987 and 1997), the link between language contact and language conflict in minority settings can be explained by pointing to the fact that language contact situations within which language minorities find themselves, are characterised by situations of asymmetrical rather than symmetrical multilingualism. As explained above, this means that the differences in social power, prestige and status as they exist

between the minority and the majority community are reflected in the lower prestige, the lower status and the less developed or even non-existing legitimisation and institutionalisation of the minority language *vis-à-vis* the majority language. As a consequence, a language very often develops into a manifest significant symbol of social conflict in minority settings, even when it may not be the direct cause of the conflict. In that sense, it is possible to characterise language conflicts as *umgeleitete Sozialkonflikte* ('redirected social conflicts') (Mattheier 1989: 1) that sometimes appear as open (i.e. manifest) conflicts (see Québec and Belgium in the 1960s), yet in other cases are to be considered as subcutaneous (or latent) conflicts that have the potential to evolve into manifest conflicts. The asymmetric nature of each language contact situation carries the potential of language conflict as a particular manifestation of social conflict; this is of prime importance to the further development and management of the European Union. With its interference of competing globalisation, nationalisation and regionalisation, on the one hand, and the management of societal multilingualism in language contact situations, on the other, it may very well appear that the possibility of language conflict is pre-programmed within the EU (see Willemys 2009: 60–61). As one can infer from Nelde (1997 and 2006) and Mac Giolla Chríost (2003), this calls for a careful consideration of the contribution of language policy and planning to language conflict neutralisation and/or prevention.

## 8. Research desiderata

1. As already mentioned in the previous section, there is a need for a closer investigation of the contribution of language policy and language planning to the neutralisation and/or the prevention of language conflict. Despite promising advances (especially in the 1980s), the field of conflict linguistics has remained highly heterogeneous, both from a theoretical and a methodological point of view (see Nelde 2006; Rindler Schjerve 2007). As such, the advancement of a more systematic study of language conflict in general and of the interplay between language conflict and language policy and planning in particular primarily calls for an indispensable initiative to take stock of the scattered existing theoretical and methodological ideas and perspectives, and to provide a concise synthesis of the insights gathered so far.

2. Of importance to the study of language conflict and language contact in general are a reappraisal of both of Kloss' concepts of *Abstand* and *Ausbau* and the concepts of autonomy and heteronomy as they feature in the work of Haugen (see Trudgill 2001). These criteria were much

debated and fine-tuned in the late 1980s (see the works by Haarmann 1980; Muljačić 1986; and Goebel 1989). The progress that has been made is, however, not yet reflected in current mainstream sociolinguistics and contact linguistics (a notable exception being Haarmann 2004 and some of the contributions in Tosco 2008). Still, especially in discussions on the language political manoeuvres in the context of the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, a more systematic consideration of *Abstand*, *Ausbau*, autonomy and heteronomy could help to disentangle the sometimes weary debates on whether the case of, for example, Ulster Scots, Valencian, Franco-Provencal and Limbourghish (in the Netherlands) have to be considered as cases of ‘language birth’ or rather fall under the category of what Hans Goebel (2002) – building on Kloss’ work – has labelled as ‘dream and ghost languages’.

3. The *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* is a good example of an international instrument, the application of which invites (different sorts of) linguists as well as legal and political scientists to reflect on the position of languages in European society at large. Publications dealing with the Charter most often highlight the need to create more synergies between different disciplines, yet in some cases effectively take first steps towards those synergies. Grin (2003) succeeds in building bridges between a sociolinguistic, a political and an economic approach to minority language maintenance. Ruiz Vieitez (2009) succeeds in integrating linguistic and legal perspectives in his analysis of the way in which languages are defined and approached both in the Charter and in constitutions. The works of Grin and Vieitez can serve as examples of how to enhance interdisciplinary approaches in the field of language minority studies.

4. Ruiz Vieitez’s approach (2009) is not only interesting from an interdisciplinary point of view. It is of further relevance because it focuses on the interplay of various ‘categories’ of languages (i.e. national language, autochthonous languages, allochthonous minority languages). There is an urgent need for linguists to take such an inclusive approach as the starting point for their reflections on (supra)national and regional language policy and planning initiatives in a European context. The documents produced in the realm of the Council of Europe’s language policy division could serve as an inspiration and example for further research in this respect (see Baetens Beardsmore 2009 for a description of the concepts used and the initiatives taken at the level of the Council of Europe).

5. Reading the documents produced by the Council of Europe's language policy division and its plea for plurilingualism and a plurilingual society, one almost automatically questions the value of the language (minority) typology (language majority vs. autochthonous language minority vs. allochthonous language minority) as it is still widely used today. Since the typology mainly dates back to scientific discussions in the 1970s and 1980s and European society has changed considerably over time, it seems more than appropriate to scrutinise the typology and the criteria on which it rests (see Rindler Schjerve 2006) and to look for new typological ways of approaching linguistic diversity in Europe at large and the European Union in particular (see Franceschini 2009).

6. Next to a theoretical approach to linguistic diversity and language policy, a more practical approach to linguistic diversity also deserves further attention. Especially the questions of *how* a society's goals regarding linguistic diversity can be reached and whether some ways of reaching them are preferable over others (see Grin 2003; Kymlicka & Grin 2003: 19–21) need much more consideration. In this respect, it is crucial that corpus planning issues receive equal attention as status and acquisition planning matters, and that the interplay between the various branches of language planning is explored in greater detail. Following Kloss's (1969: 82) call 40 years ago, there still is a dire need for more coherent research on corpus planning in European minority settings. This would improve our understanding of the processes guiding corpus planning (and those interfering with it) in general, and language standardisation issues in particular among European language minorities. A comparative study of the sociology of corpus planning in the context of autochthonous European language minorities is called for; this could be inspired by the approach taken in Michael Clyne's volume on *Undoing and redoing corpus planning* (1997) or Ana Deumert & Wim Vandenburg's volume on *Germanic standardisations* (2003).

Since they are listed in a rather loose and preliminary way, the desiderata addressed here obviously require a more thorough discussion in the sociolinguistic and contact-linguistic community. Next to the input of the 'younger' generation, comments, considerations and criticism of the 'older' generation would be much appreciated to give the desiderata listed a firmer footing. After all, scientific progress is at least partly a matter of dwarfs and shoulders to stand on, also in sociolinguistics and contact linguistics.

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# Is there a European language history?

KLAUS J. MATTHEIER

## *Abstract*

*The thoughts on a language history within a European context sketched out here represent an attempt to extend the concepts of regional and particularly national language history by adding a third dimension: transnational language history in Europe.*

*After a few general thoughts on the extended area of research, in which so-called external language history is linked to historical pragmatics and particularly to historical sociolinguistics, four research paradigms are outlined: the comparative sociolinguistic approach, the concept of the cycle of communication, the language contact approach and the socio-historical and cultural-historical approach.*

*Keywords: European language history, regional and transnational language history, language contact approach, comparative sociolinguistic approach*

## **Methodological considerations**

If we take the postulated concept of a ‘European’ language history in the title of this contribution seriously, i.e. if we understand the concept not just as a supernym to refer to all the national languages in Europe, we find ourselves confronted with somewhat fundamental problems with respect to a theory of language history. Some of the questions emerging from a conceptual release of language history from its apparently ‘natural’ framework of ‘the nation/the nation-state’ will be dealt with in this article.

The concept of a ‘national language history’ has dominated the view of what historical linguistics should be concerned with in relation to virtually all European languages, and continues to do so today. The theoretical starting point of this view – which at the very least needs to

be seriously questioned – is the thesis that the ‘standard’ language is the genuine teleological goal of any historical language development. And the path trodden by a speech community in developing a standard language, a unifying language, a literary language, at the same time represents the central content of language history. Most German language histories, but also the histories of other languages, are constructed along these lines. They represent a section of the historical journey, or even the whole journey, of a language towards a normed and unified standard form. As a side remark, this also results in the histories of individual languages losing sight of the real object of study, which becomes clear by looking at the ‘final chapters’ of language histories.

The justification for this approach, however, is given by the conceptualisation of connections between language, people and nation, which has crystallised since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as part of the development of ideologies of nationality in European societies. In cementing the national language ‘German’ as the language of the German speech community and the German ‘cultural’ nation at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we also find, in accordance with this conceptualisation, an ‘inner’ confirmation of the development that led to the foundation of the German Empire in 1871. In this context, we need go no further into the catastrophic implications for the following period of history of such formulae as ‘one people, hence one language’ or even ‘one language, hence one state’.

We need to ask ourselves the following question: Are there alternatives to this concept of ‘writing the history of the national language’? One alternative is undoubtedly represented by the concept of a ‘regional language history’, which, in the case of German, has been pursued for several decades, for example, in research centres on provincial history in Mainz, Bonn, Freiburg and Leipzig. The achievements and efficiency of these centres have become evident at the level of historical research in concepts such as ‘cultural area’ and ‘cultural flow’.

Parallel to the concept of a ‘regional’ language history, which begins, as it were, below the level of the national language in the sub-national area of research, the concept of a transnational history of language is also feasible. By using the term ‘transnational’ we can – among other things – refer to the area of ‘Europe’ as a space in which language histories unfold. The number of languages in Europe which have today – or even in earlier periods – reached degrees of sociolinguistic and linguistic codification and expansion is very large. There is no doubt about the fact that all the Indo-European languages used in Europe can be considered as ‘European’ languages. But non-Indo-European languages such as Basque or the Finno-Ugric group are also generally considered to be European when they are used within Europe. The more

problematic case concerns languages like Arabic or Turkish, which have been widespread in Europe for several centuries, but are not generally regarded as European languages.

For the time being, we can consider all those languages that have been developed as autonomous cultural and social phenomena within Europe to be European languages, even though some of them have had far-reaching and influential sociolinguistic and linguistic effects well beyond the borders of Europe. I shall not go into the problem here of how to define the 'borders of Europe', particularly in the East.

### **Some thoughts on the research areas arising from this conceptualisation of a social and cultural history of European languages**

Concentrating on the 'social and cultural history of European languages' implies a clear focus on the overall complex of potential areas of historical linguistic research, as they are presented in the present article. Structural history, i.e. historical phonology and grammar, both of which are in the forefront of research, retreats into the background. In the foreground are the central dimensions of the architecture of languages or even language varieties, e.g. the dimensions of geographical, social and generational variation. However, taking this model of structuring language, suggested by Coseriu, as the research focus of linguistic and sociolinguistic development in order to get to grips with the social and cultural history of European languages does not seem to me to be differentiated enough. It would seem more appropriate to break the area of research down into the following components: a complex of structural history – arranged in accordance with various levels of linguistic description – and at least four aspects of so-called 'externally motivated' language history, viz. the history of language use, historical pragmatics, the history of language contact and the history of language awareness.

The history of language use encompasses the spread and use of the different varieties that go to make up an individual language and styles of language and their change through time. At the same time, however, this includes the areal spread of different languages/individual languages or language varieties within Europe, independent of the national and political units to which they are assigned.

Language contact history, when applied to European languages, also takes as its starting point the concept of individual languages and presents the historical development of the cultural as well as the social contact between these individual languages.

Historical pragmatics accounts for the different areas of linguistic practice: speech acts, text types, the area of linguistic politeness, historical discourse analysis, historical conversation analysis, etc. Finally, the

history of language awareness encompasses, on the one hand, the everyday structures of language attitudes and language evaluation. On the other hand, it also includes the scientific research of and concern with language

I now wish to present a few selected research paradigms for a social and cultural history of European languages in accordance with the way this concept is understood in the present article. In doing this, the four areas of research outlined above reveal the areas of analysis for a social and cultural history of European languages, i.e. of languages that have been developed as autonomous cultural and social phenomena within Europe. And, in addition, specific research paradigms can now be located within the framework of which European languages have been, can be or should be investigated. I should like to propose four different paradigms: the comparative sociolinguistic approach; the language contact approach; the concept of the cycle of communication; and, finally, the socio-historical and cultural-historical approach.

#### *The comparative sociolinguistic approach*

The comparative sociolinguistic approach takes as its starting point the central linguistic and sociolinguistic processes of change that the European languages have undergone over past centuries and are, in part, still undergoing. At the centre of attention is a development that has hitherto also been pursued in the history of several national languages from a comparative perspective: the process of standardisation or rather the attempts to standardise European languages. As mentioned above, the normal type of language history consists in presenting the developments that have led to the formation of a standard language in the course of an externally (and internally) motivated language history. In the process, the concern is to work out by means of comparison the factors that have generally been active in this process.

Another example of a comparative sociolinguistic approach, as this concept is being developed here, is a transfer of the 'questione della lingua' problem from the history of Italian to the historical development of other languages. A comparative approach such as this could, for example, work out the character of a 'questione della lingua' constellation as a conflict of linguistic norms. In doing so, we might reveal that conflicts over linguistic norms are typical for a specific phase in the development of standard languages and furthermore that the kind of social and linguistic factors which collide with one another provide evidence for the political power relationships that are involved in the development of a standard. For example, in the development of different national languages in Europe, the factor of 'the linguistic norm of the central court

as a point of orientation' acquires a very different significance when France is compared to Germany.

There are already a number of developmental models for the rise of standard languages in Europe, one of which can be mentioned here, i.e. Haugen's model with its phases of the 'selection', 'elaboration', 'codification' and 'acceptance' of a norm appearing again and again in the same order.

But standardisation is only one sociolinguistic process that can be investigated from a comparative perspective in Europe. Other processes, in part developments intimately connected with standardisation, are the development of writing systems for the European languages, the spread of literacy through populations of speakers, the decay of dialects observable throughout Europe, but also more specific questions such as the problem of the opposition of the standard and regional varieties in various social institutions such as the school. The different ways in which multilingualism has been dealt with in the past and the present are also open to questions that should be investigated in European languages from a comparative perspective.

This leads us over to the question of language contact.

#### *The language contact approach*

If we talk about a 'European language history', we are certainly referring first and foremost to those linguistic and social areas in which different European languages have been in contact to the extent that they influence one another on the linguistic or even the sociolinguistic level. The first thing that springs to mind here in Europe is the great *linguae francae* Greek and Latin that have had a direct or an indirect influence on all European languages. Language contact, seen in the narrower sense as social contact, is applicable where two languages are in socio-historical or socio-cultural contact with one another. Socio-historical contact is particularly significant in areas in which languages border one another or in multilingual regions in which contact can be traced back to habitual bilingualism. Language contact as cultural contact is evident, for example, in the cultural dominance of France in the early modern era. In this latter case, there are most certainly studies on German–French linguistic contact. One only has to mention the famous volume 8.2 of Brunot's compendious language history to see that this is the case. One important field of study in the area of language contact research is also the reconstruction of how language borders arise, as Bellmann has illustrated for the German–Slavic border and Pfister & Haubrich for the German–Romance border.

*The concept of the cycle of communication*

In the case of the third concept for a social and cultural history of the European languages suggested here, I do not take the European paradigm as my starting point, but rather a paradigm that goes beyond the national limitation of historical linguistic research and takes on a transnational perspective. I am concerned here with a specific concept of the history of communication and the communities that display that history, i.e. a group of speakers/addressees in a specific socio-historical space who converge with respect to a shared communicative 'goal'. In doing so, they make use of a habitually anchored relationship of languages and language varieties against the background of communally shared conventions of language use and language evaluation. We can call this form of communicative group a 'cycle of communication'. One example of a 'cycle of communication' can be found in the Hanseatic community, in which we find, in the late medieval area of the Hanseatic League in north eastern Europe, a complex system of languages and language varieties shared differentially by the group members in accordance with their function in the community.

The individual speakers/addressees are then, as it were, located at the intersection of a set of 'cycles of communication' in which they are more or less centrally engaged. For example, a local Latvian writer in a Hanseatic office in Riga is directly concerned with the texts that he writes out. On the other hand, his private life, which is steeped in the local language variety, is only part of the Hanseatic 'cycle of communication' inasmuch as the orally used autochthonous language variety may be responsible, for instance, for mistakes in a Hanseatic ledger.

Writing transnational language histories is, in this sense, the reconstruction of the socio-pragmatic structure of such 'cycles of communication'. As such it is the job of the modern version of social or cultural history to isolate and interpret the central 'cycles of communication' for one period of history in a specific space.

Generally speaking, the local, everyday communities of practice are not accessible as historical source material. Depending on the degree to which this 'cycle of communication' in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries is nevertheless included in or dominated by the communicative values and norms of the political and medial public, and the standard language is used as a central means of expression – both of one's private life and at school – this 'cycle of communication' is also important for the overall development of communication

*The socio-historical and cultural-historical approach*

The approach that will provisionally be called the 'socio-historical and cultural-historical' approach here, does not take as its starting point lan-



guage history or communicative history, but rather the social and cultural history of Europe. In this case we need to begin with the fact that there have been a series of basic economic, social and cultural structures in European history over the last two hundred years. It is certainly the case that the social process of modernisation is at the centre of this development – at least that is how European socio-historical research sees things. This has been a process that, beginning with the formation of urban culture in the South and West of Europe, has gradually redefined all the regions of Europe from a historical and political point of view. Intimately connected with social modernisation are developments such as the urbanisation, industrialisation and the development of mass societies. But large migration movements and shifts in population are also associated with modernisation.

Other basic structures of European history are confessionism, the conflict between various Christian confessions, then the Enlightenment as a process of emancipation from the medieval world view. In addition, Europe – at least since the 16<sup>th</sup> century – has exported a ‘European’ culture and a social order through colonisation. From a politico-historical point of view Europe has been forged by a long succession of attempts to impose political hegemony over a wide variety of states and nations.

The urge to impose hegemony leads to linguistic and cultural contact. Colonialism expands the area of influence and the status of certain languages, and the Enlightenment leads to the elaboration of the structures of several languages.

In summary, we can say that the social-historical and cultural-historical approach attempts to find the processes that are released by general historical developments within the sociolinguistic and linguistic structures of European languages.

### **Summary**

These are a few thoughts on the research areas of a social and cultural history of European languages and the various possible approaches that may be taken in carrying out such research.

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# Language variation, language change and perceptual dialectology

JOACHIM GESSINGER

## *Abstract*

*Subjective and objective language data collected in a research project on language variation in north Germany not only reveal information on current linguistic trends in north Germany; they also show how language change in this region is represented in the consciousness of the speakers themselves and described in comments by them. This diachronic dimension is supported, in the case of Brandenburg, by means of lexicographical data and recordings that were made within the framework of the Brandenburg/Berlin Dictionary compiled around 1960. It becomes clear that the original area of Low German varieties in Brandenburg has, for a long time now, not been structured by distinct languages or the polarity between dialect and standard, but rather by certain varieties of spoken German (vsG) or 'Sprachlagen'<sup>1</sup> that display regional features alongside everyday linguistic forms and – at least this is my hypothesis – are developing into a regional standard variety.*

*Keywords: linguistic variation, perceptual dialectology, language change, regional standard variety, Brandenburg*

Die historische Soziolinguistik, für deren Aufschwung im letzten Jahrzehnt auch meine Brüsseler Forschungsgruppe ein bisschen mitverantwortlich ist ..., hat dafür gesorgt, dass Mattheiers ... kritische Bemerkung aus dem Jahre 1988 'Die Soziolinguistik ist auch heute noch fast ausschließlich eine gegenwartsbezogene Wissenschaft' nicht mehr ganz stimmt. Trotzdem neigen immer noch viele historische Linguisten, bzw. Sprachhistoriker, dazu, Variation, falls sie überhaupt zur Kenntnis genommen wird, nur als ein Merkmal der Gegenwartssprache zu betrachten. Doch ist es selbstverständlich, dass auch in der Vergangenheit die Sprache kein homogenes System darstellte, dass auch früher Variation vorhanden war und dass wir versuchen müssen, die

in der Vergangenheit aufgetretene Sprachveränderung und den Sprachwandel auch aufgrund der damals existierenden Variation zu deuten. (Willemyns 2010: 275)

[Historical sociolinguistics – and my Brussels research group has to some extent also been responsible for its popularity during the last decade ... – has made sure that Mattheier’s ... critical comment in 1988 to the effect that ‘sociolinguistics is still today almost exclusively a science rooted in the present’ is no longer quite accurate. Nevertheless, there are still many historical linguists, or language historians, who tend to think of variation, if it is considered at all, as being a feature of present-day language. But it is obvious that, even in the past, no language ever represented a homogeneous system, that variation was also a feature of language in earlier periods and that we have to try to interpret shifts in the structure of language and language change that took place in the past on the basis of the variation that existed in the past.]

In other words, variation should not simply be understood as a synchronic, but also, and at the same time, as a basically historical phenomenon. In a trivial sense, this is not only valid for the objective data of the language variety to be researched (after all, every variation has a time dimension to it), but also – and this will be significant for what follows – for the subjective factors that determine the linguistic behaviour of the speakers and, in conjunction with this, structure the area of the varieties. Put differently, linguistic shifts that occurred in the past and language change itself have left their traces in the recent consciousness of speakers. If we succeed in making those changes visible, we will know more about the inner mechanism of language change.

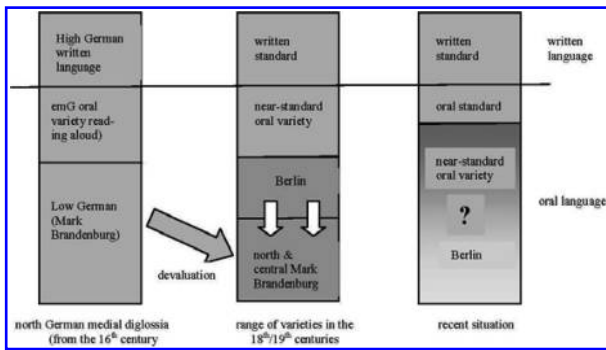
Within the framework of the DFG project ‘Sprachvariation in Norddeutschland’ (SiN – Linguistic variation in north Germany), which began in 2008, language data were collected throughout northern Germany in an attempt to gain insights into the ranges of language varieties in the various sections of the area under consideration.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the objective linguistic data obtained through different types of methodological procedure and the elicitation of linguistic knowledge and language attitudes obtained through specific testing methods, in which the purpose was to evaluate standard language features as to their salience, their contextual dependence and norm adequacy, the corpus also displays a large number of metalinguistic comments. Biographical questions put in the interview situation and, above all, the auditive stimuli of the tests led to commentative and evaluative utterances. But even outside data gathering situations, in spontaneous conversations with friends and

relations that were carried out privately and were at first used only to obtain linguistic data in informal contexts, the informants commented on what they had previously perceived and experienced in interaction with researchers.

Bringing these different forms of data together should now give us insights into the ways in which the ranges of language varieties in the language area of Berlin-Brandenburg are currently represented. In contrast to the other dialect areas, this language area is characterised less by diatopic than by diastratic and diaphasic dimensions. A ‘middle-of-the-road’ linguistic situation seems to be forming in the consciousness of the informants, one that they construct themselves and that in many ways gives us hints as to how to position it within the range of varieties of German. However, we still need to clarify the extent to which the data collected allow us to speak of the development of a regional standard variety.<sup>3</sup>

### 1. Language change in Brandenburg since the sixteenth century

Linguistic variation in the Brandenburg area displays the breakdown of the medial diglossia between spoken Low German and the East Middle German (emG) – ‘High German’ – written language so characteristic of the Low German language area. Schematically it can be represented as a trisection, as follows:



emG = east middle German

Figure 1. *Shift in the language varieties of Brandenburg.*

My first hypothesis is that the devaluation of the Low German oral language through the prestigious variety of Berlin has, with the exception of southern Brandenburg, resulted in a situation in which Brandenburg speakers today move within a varietal space that is not shaped by the polarity between the basic dialect and the standard language, but is

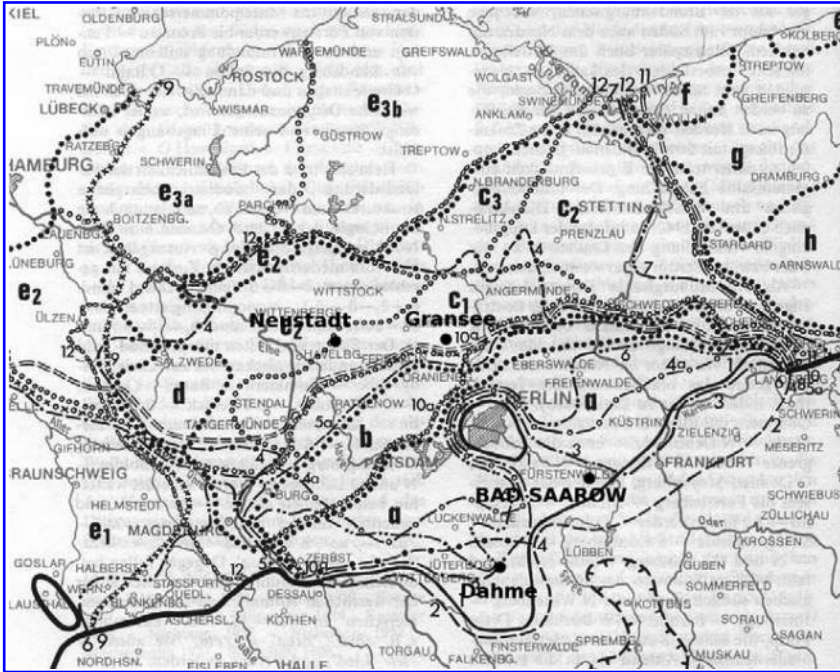


Figure 2. Data gathering locations in Brandenburg (map in Wiesinger 1983: 882).

structured as a continuum between a substandard (Berlin or a regional day-to-day language variety) and a near standard way of speaking. My second hypothesis is that if these shifts have left traces in the consciousness of the speakers, they should be recognisable in language attitudes, language evaluations and language knowledge and thus be operative as factors for language choice and also for language change. To check these two hypotheses, data from the SiN project will be brought together with empirical evidence from the material in the Brandenburg/Berlin Dictionary.

In the SiN project data were collected in various situations: spontaneous speech in the framework of family conversation without the presence of the researchers, utterances made in the interview situation, targeted near-standard speech (reading aloud) and speech that was distant from the standard (translation of Wenker's sentences). In addition, different reactions to linguistic stimuli (a test battery) and metalinguistic utterances in the form of comments were evaluated. Together with biographical data this yields individual profiles of the informants, which are bunched together as areal profiles to reveal regional differences in the

overall range of the variational spaces. In this contribution I am now concerned with the question of whether traces of language change are revealed in the objective and metalinguistic data as well as in the reactions to stimuli that might provide evidence of future developments in this region. This will be exemplified with a small selection of informants from two locations where data were gathered, Gransee to the north of Berlin and Bad Saarow to the southeast of the city (cf. figure 2).

## **2. Subjective language data**

The linguistic stimuli by which data concerning language attitude, language evaluation and language knowledge were elicited, comprised a set of linguistic features that deviated phonologically, lexically and syntactically from the oral standard. For the purpose of the questions under discussion here I consider only those linguistic features typical of the region where the data were gathered. These will be assessed with respect to salience,<sup>4</sup> their 'normativity' and their 'situativity'. The instructions were as follows:

### *Salience:*

You will now hear a series of sentences from the tape recorder. These sentences contain words or sentence structures that differ from High German as this is spoken by, for example, news readers. Please indicate where, in your opinion, these differences are to be found.

### *Situativity:*

In what situation would you not use a word as you now hear it? (stimuli: only the features previously perceived to be salient):

- a) in a formal situation, e.g. before a court of law
- b) in a semi-formal situation, e.g. in a travel agent's when served by an unknown person
- c) in an informal situation in the family
- d) neither/nor, I would not use it in any situation

### *Normativity:*

Imagine that your daughter/your son, ca. 20 years of age, receives an award in her/his club/association and is asked to say a few words about this in public at a celebration at which representatives of the regional press are present.

When you hear a practice run of the speech, you hear a few sentences that do not hang together well. Please tell us if you would correct your

daughter/your son and on the basis of which words or expressions. (stimuli: only the features previously perceived to be salient).

The following forms, embedded in short sentences, were then played to the informants (the stimuli are in italics):

<b>Regional Brandenburg features</b>	<b>Standard</b>
mein Freund kommt <i>och</i> mit	mein Freund kommt auch mit ( <i>my friend's coming too</i> )
<i>da</i> kann ich nun wirklich nichts <i>für</i>	dafür kann ich nun wirklich nichts ( <i>I can't do anything about it</i> )
<i>da</i> ist nichts <i>dranne</i>	<i>da</i> ist nichts dran ( <i>that doesn't mean a thing</i> )
so bin ich <i>ebent</i>	so bin ich eben ( <i>that's just the way I am</i> )
meine <i>Omma</i> wohnt im Altersheim	meine Oma wohnt im Altersheim ( <i>my grandma lives in an old people's home</i> )
meine Nachbarn sind <i>janz</i> nett	meine Nachbarn sind ganz nett ( <i>my neighbours are really nice</i> )
<i>das</i> werde ich <i>nie nicht</i> vergessen	<i>das</i> werde ich nie vergessen ( <i>I'll never forget that</i> )
warum hast du <i>keene</i> Lust mitzukommen	warum hast du keine Lust mitzukommen ( <i>why don't you feel like coming with us</i> )
<i>dit</i> ist mein Lieblingsbuch	<i>dies</i> ist mein Lieblingsbuch ( <i>this is my favourite book</i> )
mein <i>Bruda</i> ist verheiratet	mein Bruder ist verheiratet ( <i>my brother's married</i> )
ich sehe <i>dat</i> aber nicht so	ich sehe das aber nicht so ( <i>I don't see it that way at all</i> )

With reference to saliency and normativity the following evaluations were given by a 47-year-old civil servant who grew up in Berlin, completed her education there and has been living in Gransee since then (see figure 3).

Three forms were not salient (and were not used any further as a stimulus in the tests that followed). With all the other features the results corresponded to the expectation that these salient forms, had they been used by the daughter or son in the situation described above, would be seen as needing to be corrected, in other words as deviating from the norm.

But this picture changes when the parameter of 'situativity' is brought into play (see figure 4).

Forms that are evaluated as being deviant from the standard and as needing to be corrected are evaluated by the informant as being adequate in semi-formal or informal situations. These include *ooch*, *Omma*, *janz*, *keene*, *dit*. Clearly she interprets the fictional club/association situation as formal, as the values for normativity (deviant) correspond to the values for the formal situation ('I would not use it there').



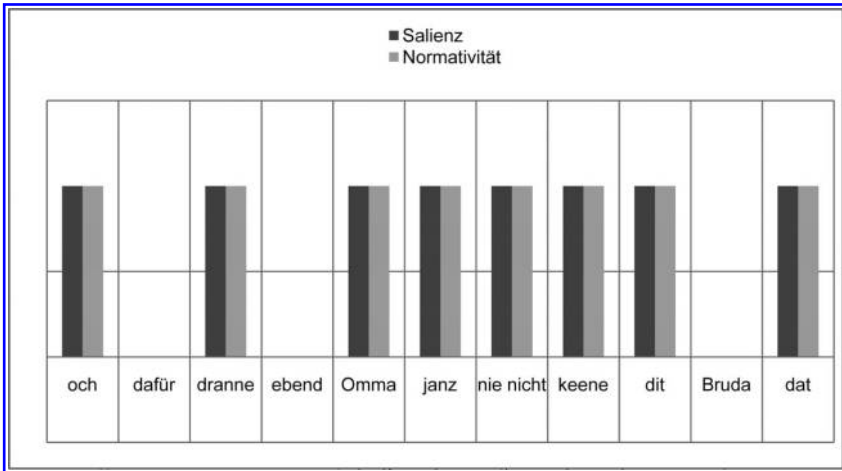


Figure 3. *Salience and normativity of regional features (female speaker from Gransee).*

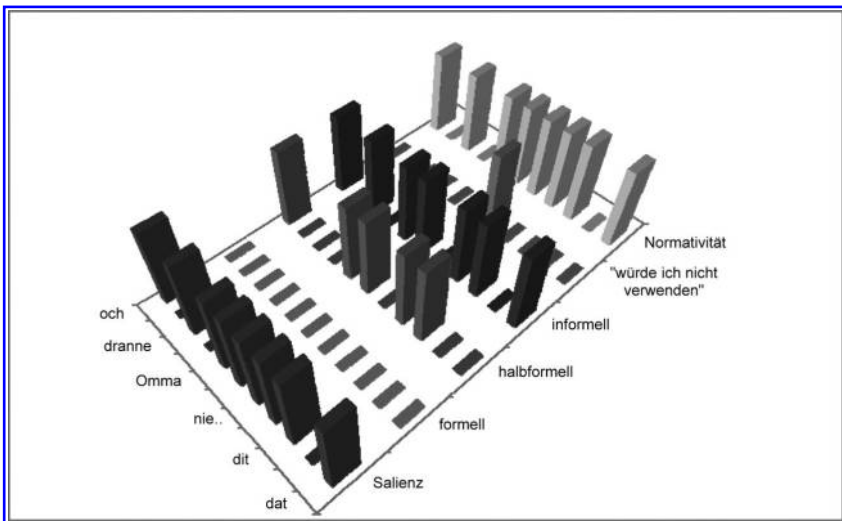


Figure 4. *Situative use of regional features (female speaker from Gransee).*

### 3. Data from the object language

The following transcript shows a section from the exploratory phase in which the same informant is asked to reproduce a few spoken and written High German Wenker-sentences in her regional variety. For other

areas covered by the project the variety elicited would be Low German or an areal variety close to a dialect (in this case the Berlin variety):

(1)

- 01 GP: aber dis is jetzt GAR nicht so EINFach;  
(‘but this isn’t at all easy now’)
- 02 I: NEE.  
(‘no’)
- 03 GP: NE,  
(‘no’)
- 04 I: NEE;  
(‘no’)
- 05 OK.
- 06 das ist dann auch vielleicht wirklich eher relevant bei leuten,  
(‘that’s perhaps also really more relevant than for people’)
- 07 die nun wirklich noch PLATT sprechen.=  
(‘who really do still speak Platt [Low German]’)
- 08 =also ich glaub zum beispiel in schleswig HOLstein, (.)  
(‘well for example I think that in Schleswig Holstein’)
- 09 die kollegen die treffen beSTIMMT noch auf leute die richtig PLATT  
(‘colleagues definitely still meet people who can still’)
- 10 (-) können.  
(‘speak Platt’)
- 11 und DIE können ja dann wirklich das auch– (.)  
(‘and then they really can do that–’)
- 12 GP: [ja? ]  
(‘yes?’)
- 13 I: [das ist] ja wie ne andere SPRACHE;  
(‘that really is like another language’)
- 14 GP: ja?  
(‘yes?’)
- 15 dann kann man das [überSETzen.]  
(‘then you can translate it’)
- 16 GP: [geNAU. ]  
(‘exactly’)
- 17 da sind die WÖRter auch ne ganz andere ne,  
(‘there the words are totally different, eh?’)
- 18 I: genau,  
(‘exactly’)
- 19 GP: ich sach mal äh wie gesagt (.) hier f:allen mir jetzt nur die wörter ICH ein;  
(‘so I say er as I said (.) here I can only think of the words “I”’)
- 20 und (.) NE,  
(‘and (.) “no”’)
- 21 und äh (.) AUCH=
- 22 =OOCH- (-)  
([pronounces it as “ooch”])
- 23 und NICHT-  
(‘and “not”’)

- 24 ne NÜSCHT- (-)  
(‘no [pronounces it as “nüscht”]’)
- 25 und so ne so ne EINZelnen Worte fallen mir ein bei diesen äh (.)  
(‘and like, like individual words come to mind with these er’)
- 26 sätzen;  
(‘sentences’)
- 27 aber dass ich direkt n satz UMformulieren kann ist schwierig für mich jetzt;  
(‘but asking me to reformulate a sentence directly that’s difficult for me now’)
- 28 I: ja,  
(‘yes’)
- 29 GP: bin jetzt ZU lange RAUS aus dem (.) ECHten berlinern.  
(‘I’ve been out of talking real Berlin for too long’)
- 30 I: klar es ist auch glaub ich blöd wenn man die SACHen so VOR sich  
(‘it’s also a bit daft if you can see the things’)
- 31 geSCHRIEBen sieht;  
(‘written down in front of you’)
- 32 dann das-  
(‘then that’s—’)
- 33 GP: JA,  
(‘yes’)
- 34 dann MÖCHT man sie gar nicht weil der satz ist ja dann so für mich ganz OK,  
(‘then you don’t want to do it ’cos the sentence looks OK to me as it is’)
- 35 I: genau;  
(‘exactly’)
- 36 dann will ich ihn ja auch gar nicht so unbedingt äh (-- ) Ändern ne,  
(‘then I don’t really want to absolutely er (–) change it’)
- 37 I: genau ja.  
(‘yes precisely’)
- 38 aber zum BEIspiel,  
(‘but for example’)
- 39 hier steht ja jetzt er ist vor vier oder sechs wochen geSTORben,  
(‘here it says “he died [gestorben] four or six weeks ago”’)
- 40 und was sie nicht gesagt haben ist zum beispiel jeSTORben;  
(‘and what you didn’t say was for example “died” [jestorben]’)
- 41 das würd man ja vielleicht in berlin so SAgen oder?  
(‘that’s the sort of thing they’d say in Berlin, isn’t it?’)
- 42 GP: äh äh AUSsprechen.  
(‘er er pronounce’)
- 43 I: HM,
- 44 GP: AUSsprechen.  
(‘pronounce’)
- 45 I: HM,
- 46 GP: geschrieben steht er SO,  
(‘you don’t see it written like that’)
- 47 aber AUSsprechen tut man den (.) jeSTORben;  
(‘but you do pronounce it (.) “jestorben”’)
- 48 jeNAU.  
(‘exactly’ [pronounces it “jenau”])
- 49 I: HM,
- 50 GP: HM,

- 51 I: jeNAU.  
 52 GP: jeNAU. ((lacht))  
 ('jenau' [laughs])  
 53 ja SO SO ne worte die äh (-- die sind dann immer noch (.)  
 ('yes words like that they er (-- they're still there (.))  
 54 die haften dann immer noch.  
 ('they still stick')  
 55 wie so (-) PECH.  
 ('like for example (-) tar')  
 56 I: ((lacht)) geNAU.  
 ([laughs] 'exactly' [pronounces it "genau"]  
 57 aber das sind dann nur so EINZelne.  
 ('but there are just a few like that')  
 58 GP: RICHTich.  
 ('that's right')  
 59 RICHTich.  
 ('that's right')

T1 NB-GRA01\_Int (GP = informant, I = interviewer)

Alongside the methodological problem of 'translating' from written standard into a regional spoken variety, it is also revealing to see how intensively the informant's linguistic biography is actualised through the task set by the interviewer, which for her is unusual: 'I've been out of talking real Berlin for too long' (T1, l. 29). In addition, the formal situation of data gathering and the near standard variety of the interviewer prevent her from taking on the task of 'translating into dialect'. With many other informants there are also hints in the commentaries they give that they are conscious of language change, for example, in this case the formulation that certain dialect words 'stick like tar' T1, ll. 53–55).

It is not particularly surprising that the picture changes in spontaneous, unobserved speech in the family and corresponds to the evaluation that the same informant made of the situational adequacy of salient forms:

(2)

- 01 GP: was IS=n=nu mit der serie;  
 ('so what's on now in the serial?')  
 02 habt ihr die donnerstach jeSEHen oder nich.  
 ('did you watch it on Thursday or not?')  
 03 X: nee ick hab POPstars ( ) geguckt.  
 ('no I watched ( ) popstars')  
 04 GP: aba (-) ick hab-  
 ('but (-) I have -')  
 05 Y: (( ...))  
 06 X: (( ...))  
 07 GP: aba in der in der in der VORschau;  
 ('but in the in the in the preview')

- 08 wo die wo die die beeden frauen äh interVIEWT haben.  
 ('where the where they where they interviewed the two women')
- 09 da war die toTAL HEFTisch. (-)  
 ('there she was completely worked up')
- 10 X: (( ...))
- 11 GP: die PSYchotante. (-)  
 ('the psycho aunt (-)')
- 12 da ha=ick jedacht dass das so n interessanter STOFF is für robert.  
 ('I thought that that's real interesting stuff for Robert')

T2 NB-GRA01\_FamG (GP, X, Y = family member)

In this short stretch of conversation the informant produces a large number of Berlin and substandard features: monophthongs (*beede* for *beide*), vocalisation of the word-final /r/ (*aba* for *aber*), palatalisation of the word-initial stop /g/ (spirantisation of the word-final /g/ (*heftich* for *heftig*), unshifted /k/ (*ick* for *ich*) and contraction (*ha=ick* for *hab ich*).

#### 4. Language change, linguistic knowledge and language consciousness

What do speakers actually know about language variation and language change? Alongside the activation of language-biographical memories we find lay theories (or folk theories) that flow into their own experiences and fragmentary knowledge of the language history of the region.

Two informants, friends from Bad Saarow to the southeast of Berlin, produced the following utterances in conversation with one another:

- (3)
- 01 GP1: aber ick denk ma SCHON dass unser dialekt trotzdem (--)  
 ('but I still think our dialect's')
- 02 sich verÄNdert. (-)  
 ('been changing in any case')
- 03 GP2: HM,
- 04 GP1: dass die (-) die LEUte,  
 ('the (-) the people')
- 05 die FRÜher jewohnt haben-  
 ('who lived here earlier-')
- 06 also so sag ick mal so (-) so um neunzehnHUNDert,  
 ('well let's say around (-) around nineteen hundred')
- 07 dass die noch wirklich ANders jesprochen ham.  
 ('that they really did speak differently')
- 08 GP2: ja dat is ja (.) auf jeden FALL.  
 ('yeah that's yeah (-) most definitely')
- 09 denk ick OOOCH.  
 ('I think so too')
- 10 (---)
- 11 GP1: denn- (---)  
 ('cos- (---)')

- 12 hier is et ja hin und wieder doch so dass viele (.)  
 ('here it's still the case from time to time that a lot of')
- 13 einflüsse aus anderen gebieten mit reinkommen.  
 ('influences have come in from other areas')
- 14 GP2: HM;
- 15 GP1: oder dass man auch ganz andere WÖRter verwendet heute.  
 ('or that we use completely different words today')
- 16 GP2: ja:-  
 ('yeah')
- 17 GP1: WÖRter,  
 ('words')
- 18 die wahrscheinlich die leute (-) früher gar nicht verSTANden hätten.  
 ('that probably folks (-) earlier wouldn't've understood at all')
- 19 wo sie den SINN nicht entziffern hätten können.  
 ('where they couldn't've worked out the meaning')
- 20 GP2: aber ick denk ooch WIRKlich dass et so n bisschen DAMit auch zu tun hat,  
 ('but I really do think that it's also got a bit to do with the fact')
- 21 dass man (.) zum EINen sach ick mal so wie ich MICH jetzt in berLIN  
 bewege,  
 ('that we (.) on the one hand I reckon like I move around in Berlin')
- 22 da sind ja auch vom STUdium her ooch VIEle leute,  
 ('and there are a lot of people as well, former students')
- 23 die irgendwo ANders herkommen,  
 ('that have come from somewhere else')
- 24 irgendwie schnappst du ja dann doch so beGRIFfe oder FLOSkeln mit uff, (-)  
 ('somehow you pick up all sorts of terms and sayings from them (-)')
- 25 und ick globe schon dass-  
 ('and I really think that-')
- 26 zum beispiel wenn ick die dann nach HAUse bringe, (-)  
 ('for example, if I take them home (.)')
- 27 so (.) dann übernimmt man die dann irgendwie so UNternander wieder;  
 ('then (.) well you take them on like and sort of exchange them')
- 28 und ick globe SCHON dass sich dit dadurch dolle verändert.  
 ('and I really think that in this way things change strongly')

T3 SB-BSA 04\_FamG (GP1, GP2)

This conversation between two informants after the test shows the extent to which the situation they have just experienced triggers off thoughts about language. They try to explain the language shift from Low German to Berlin German with lay theories about language variation, in particular processes of diffusion and levelling, and this is experienced by the two conversational partners as a process of temporal distancing. At the same time they produce not only features of the Berlin variety, but also a sprinkling of Low German forms like *dat*, that are typical for the variety in the north and centre of Mark Brandenburg, but not (any longer) for Berlin.

Bad Saarow, however, lies on the edge of the 'Berlin funnel', a confluence of isoglosses that marks off the area of transition between the dia-

lect areas of North Upper Saxony and southern and central Mark Brandenburg, and of Berlin (see figure 2). What appears as synchronic variation on the dialect maps is constructed in the consciousness of the speakers of this region as inter-temporal, generation-bound language change.

To learn more about the varieties of spoken German (vsG) used by people who ‘lived there earlier’ – in other words, to sound out the diachronic dimension of depth in the bringing to awareness of language change – I shall again take a look, only in exemplary fashion, at the linguistic data of the Brandenburg/Berlin Dictionary that were gathered in the form of audio recordings between 1960 and 1965. Three generations of informants were asked to give objective data in the form of free narration and ‘translation’. While the comments and corrections made by the informants were of no importance for the compilers of the dictionary if they did not interfere with the work of data gathering, they give us a revealing insight today into a period in which the language shift from Low German to a regional variety influenced by Berlin had already been completed in its essentials. Metalinguistic utterances and corrections at points when code-switching occurred are of particular interest for the structuring of the range of language situations and thus of the area of varieties in use:

(4)

- 01 I1: na FANgse doch an ( )  
(‘OK off you go ( )’)
- 02 I2: wo HAMse denn=n haus jebaut;  
(‘where did you build a house?’)
- 03 HIER in SAARow?  
(‘here in Saarow?’)
- 04 GP: A::ch wissen=se;=  
(‘oh:: well you know’)
- 05 =ick bin( )(--)ganz DEUtschland durchjereist.  
(‘I’ve travelled through the whole of Germany’)
- 06 I2: aber hier in SAARow doch ooch jebaut.  
(‘but you also had a house built here in Saarow’)
- 07 GP: na die HALbe (koll/koppel) (hinten).  
(‘well half the [enclosure] at the back’)
- 08 I1: (( ...))
- 09 I2: NA,  
(‘well’)
- 10 dann erZÄHlen=se doch hier von saarow;  
(‘then tell us about Saarow here’)
- 11 wie se da e:ns jeBAUT haben.  
(‘how you built one’)
- 12 GP: (2.0) HM. (5.0)
- 13 wie soll ick denn DET nu: hier so;  
(‘how should I tell it now here’)

- 14 PLATTdeutsch oder wie- (3.0)  
(‘Low German [Platt] or how- (3.0)’)
- 15 na es WAR (5.0) es WA:R (-) neunzehnhundertZEHN, (.)  
(‘well it was (5.0) it was (-) nineteen ten’)
- 16 da fing=s schon so=n BISSchen AN, (.)  
(‘that’s when it started a bit’)
- 17 da kamen die (SEElower) immer HIER, (.)  
(‘then the (Seelower) came here’)
- 18 nach de (PECHete), (.)  
(‘after the (pechet) (.)’)
- 19 u:nd (-) die (-) die kriechten denn die äh (.)  
(‘and (-) they (-) then they always got the er (.)’)
- 20 die die ersten Eier immer da; (--’)  
(‘the the first eggs there (--’)
- 21 die da KAmen; (--’)  
(‘the ones who came (--’)
- 22 von DEnen. (-)  
(‘of those (-)’)
- 23 (WIRT=DA).  
(‘landlord there’)
- 24 WIRT. (.)  
(‘landlord’)
- 25 JA;  
(‘yes’)
- 26 u:nd (3.0) und denn NEUNzehnhundertELF;  
(‘and (3.0) and then in nineteen eleven’)
- 27 WISsen=se,  
(‘you know’)
- 28 dann war die die (LÄNderbank), (--’)  
(‘then there was the the provincial bank (--’)
- 29 denn dann war ja ei=ei eine GRO::ße BAUjeschichte;  
(‘the then there was a a bi:g building boom’)
- 30 dann haben=se die (.) STRA:Ben alles jebaut nicht wahr,  
(‘then they built the (.) roads everything you see’)
- 31 da hat äh (.) ALT und JUNG dran jeARbeit nicht wahr,  
(‘then old-uns and young-uns worked on it you see’)
- 32 von FÜRschtenwalde und I:berall nicht WAHR,  
(‘from Fürstenwalde and everywhere, you see’)
- 33 JA;  
(‘yeah’)
- 34 und so HAT sich,  
(‘and so it’)
- 35 so HAT sich dit denn imma WEIter entwickelt,  
(‘so it developed more and more’)
- 36 sind die (--’ REIchen KAUFleute von BErlin jekommen,  
(‘the (--’ rich merchants from Berlin came’)
- 37 von Iberall un=die haben sich hier dann (.)  
(‘from everywhere then they’)
- 38 e:=e:ne sche:ne VILla jebaut.  
(‘built a a beautiful villa here’)



The oldest of the three informants, for whom we have no biographical details, clearly had difficulty in speaking Low German spontaneously. The forms he uses hover between near-standard speech as in *Kaufleute* (for Berlin *koofleute*) and dialect forms such as palatalised word-initial /g/ (*jebaut, jeschichte*), *ick* and *dit*. The frequent instances of vowel unrounding can be found partly in the central Mark Brandenburg and Berlin varieties (*scheene*); partly they are characteristic of eastern central and southern Mark Brandenburg German, as in *iberall*.

The 'free narration' of a middle-aged informant from Bad Saarow at first threatens not to yield the desired linguistic forms:

(5)

- 01 GP: WENN; (.)  
(‘when’)
- 02 die HOCHzeitskutschen; (.)  
(‘the wedding coaches (.)’)
- 03 geschMÜCKT nach HAUse fahren; (--)  
(‘came home decorated (2.0)’)
- 04 so SPANNten wir KINder, (2.0)  
(‘we children stretched (2.0)’)
- 05 eine SCHNUR; (.)  
(‘a rope’)
- 06 mit etwas äh (-- BUNtes ZEUCH behangen;  
(‘hung with er (-- some bright stuff’)
- 07 I1: PLATT-  
(‘Platt-’)
- 08 I2: <<flüsternd> PLATT->  
(‘<<whispering> Platt->’)
- 09 I1: aber fangen sie RUhig mit=m POLterabend an.  
(‘but just go ahead and start with the eve-of-the-wedding party’)
- 10 I1: FREI weg platt.  
(‘off you go with Platt’)
- 11 I2: FREI weg.  
(‘off you go’)
- 12 I1: (.) JA-  
(‘(.) yes’)
- 13 GP: of=m POLterabend; (3.0)  
(‘at the eve-of-the-wedding party (3.0)’)
- 14 WURde (---) GROßet jeSCHREI (3.0) veranstaltet. (5.0)  
(‘they set up (---) a great (3.0) racket (5.0)’)
- 15 VIlle OLle TEPpe (2.0) und all ollet jeSCHIRR; (2.0)  
(‘a lot of old pots (2.0) and all the old crockery (2.0)’)
- 16 wat zu HU:se nicht jeBRU:CHT wurde, (3.0)  
(‘and whatever they didn’t need at home (3.0)’)
- 17 WArfen=se (-- dem jungen BAare vor de DIere; (4.0)  
(‘they threw (-- at the young couple in front of the door’)
- 18 wir HAtten nächsten morgen STUndenlang (---) zu DUN,  
(‘we had to work hours the next morning (---)’)

- 19 (---) um den JANzen UNrat (--) weg zu reimen. (5.0)  
 ('to move all the old clobber out of the way (5.0)')
- 20 of=m HOCHzitsdach; (2.0)  
 ('on the wedding day (2.0)')
- 21 wenn se in de KIRche fuhren; (2.0)  
 ('when they went to the church (2.0)')
- 22 und daHEme fuhren; (2.0)  
 ('and then came home (2.0)')
- 23 denn war=n wei KINder; (2.0)  
 ('then we kids were (2.0)')
- 24 ALLe- (.)mit=ner SCHNUR beREIt, (2.0)  
 ('all ready with a length of rope (2.0)')
- 25 um uns n=paar Fennije- (.)  
 ('to earn (.)')
- 26 zu verDIENn. (2.0)  
 ('a few pennies (2.0)')
- 27 die BRU:Tkutsche; (.)  
 ('the bridal coach (.)')
- 28 MU:sste sich (--) FREI kofen; (---)  
 ('had (--) to buy itself free (---)')
- 29 sonst kemnten se NICH über die SCHNUR. (2.0)  
 ('otherwise they wouldn't get over the rope (2.0)')
- 30 I1: wer SAß denn da DRIN?  
 ('who was sitting in it?')
- 31 I2: << flüsternd > die BRU:Tkutsche hab ich (.)>  
 ('<<whispering> I have the bridal coach (.)>')
- 32 I1: wer saß da DRIN in der bru:tkutsche?  
 ('who was sitting in the bridal coach?')
- 33 GP: (5.0) die BRU:T, (.)  
 ('(5.0) the bride (.)')
- 34 und der MANN.  
 ('and the bridegroom')

T5 I1, I2, GP (Bad Saarow, ca. 1960, middle generation)

The informant had apparently misunderstood the task and, when asked to do so, tried to produce a dialectal language variety at a second attempt. In doing so, standard variants are mixed up with Berlin expressions (*freikofen*, *ville olle teppe*), Berlin and Mark Brandenburg features such as vowel unrounding that are also attested in the southern Mark Brandenburg variety (*kemnten* for *kämen*, *daheme* for *daheim*), southern forms typical for the Berlin funnel (*diere* for *Türe*) and hybrid constructions such as *hochzitsdach* (*Hochzeitstag*) and *jebruucht* (*gebraucht*) with non-diphthongised Low German forms (*bruut* for *Braut*) and southern Mark Brandenburg diphthongisation (*wei* for *wir*).

For the reading text that was meant to be produced in the dialect required, there are two recordings from Bad Saarow by informants of different ages:

(6)

- 01 GP: guten DACH.  
(‘good day’)
- 02 wie GEHT es dir.  
(‘how are you?’)
- 03 WAS macht dein junge. (.)  
(‘how is your boy? (.)’)
- 04 ICH habe gehört,=  
(‘I’ve heard’)
- 05 =dass er sich (.) das BEEN gebrochen hat.  
(‘that he’s broken his leg’)
- 06 so er darf schon (-) BALD wieder LAUFen, (.)  
(‘so he’ll very (-) soon be allowed to walk again’)
- 07 es muss ihm (-) doch aber SICHER sehr WEH getan haben;  
(‘but it must (-) have really hurt him’)
- 08 nicht WAHR?  
(‘didn’t it’)
- 09 am SONNabend haben wir meine SCHWESTER besucht.  
(‘on Sunday evening we visited my sister’)
- 10 sie ist OOOCH krank gewesen.  
(‘she’s also been ill’)
- 11 JETZT geht es ihr schon wieder besser. (.)  
(‘now she’s already feeling better again’)
- 12 ALS wir gestern abend zuRÜCKkamen, (-)  
(‘when we got back yesterday (-)’)
- 13 da lagen die anderen schon im BETte und sch=schließen FESTE. (-)  
(‘the others were already in bed sound asleep (-)’)
- 14 es WAR schon (-) RECHT spet. (2.0)  
(‘it was already (-) very late (2.0)’)
- 15 ein schlechtes WETter hatten wir auf dem HEIMweg.  
(‘we had bad weather on the way back home (-)’)
- 16 es HAT jeSCHNEIT. (-)  
(‘it snowed (-)’)
- 17 der schnee ist sogar DIEse NACHT (.) lieg- (3.0)  
(‘tonight the snow even (.) set- (3.0)’)
- 18 es hat (2.0) jeSCHNEET. (.)  
(‘it (2.0) snowed (.)’)
- 19 der schnee ist (-) sogar diese !NACHT! liegen=geblieben;  
(‘tonight the snow even (-) settled’)
- 20 und ist HEUTE (.) MORgen (.) jeSCHMOLzen.  
(‘and this (.) morning (.) it’s melted’)
- 21 am TAge (-) daut es noch IMMA wieder;  
(‘during the day (-) it keeps thawing’)
- 22 aber es (.) WIRD wohl einen HARTen WINter (.) jeben;  
(‘but it (-) will probably be (.) a hard winter’)
- 23 dieses JAHR;  
(‘this year’)

T6 GP (Bad Saarow, ca. 1960, youngest generation)

In reading the text aloud, this informant, the youngest in the whole set, produces a few Berlinisms (*juten dach, been, jetan, och*), southern Mark Brandenburg schwa-epithesis (*feste*), the southern Mark Brandenburg/Berlin hybrid form *jeschneet* (possibly also interpretable as a hypercorrection for the non-realised central Mark Brandenburg *schnei*) and central Mark Brandenburg *daut* for (*es*) *taut*. Forms such as *laufen* (in place of Berlin *loofen*) and High German *jahr* (in place of central Mark Brandenburg *joar*) show that we have a linguistic variety here that is oriented towards oral standard.

In contrast to this younger speaker, the speaker from the oldest generation clearly tries to produce a language variety close to the dialect:

(7)

- 01 GP: guten TACH. (2.5)  
 ('good day')
- 02 wie (.) JEHT (.) ET (.) DIR.  
 ('how are you?')
- 03 wie JEHT (.) ES DIR. (2.5)  
 ('how are you?')
- 04 wat macht dein BENGel.  
 ('how's your lad doing?')
- 05 ick HAbE jeHÖRT, (.)  
 ('I heard (.)')
- 06 de dass er sich das BEIN jebrochen hat. (.)  
 ('that he's broken his leg (.)')
- 07 s SO:,  
 ('so')
- 08 er KANN schon (.) WIEder Lofen. (3.0)  
 ('he's already (.) walking again (3.0)')
- 09 er KANN schon (-) BALD WIEder Lofen.  
 ('he'll soon (.) be able to walk again')
- 10 es muss ihm aber sicher sehr WEI (-) jetan ham.=  
 ('but it must've really (-) hurt him')
- 11 =HAM;  
 ('have')
- 12 HAM.  
 ('have')
- 13 nich WAHR?=  
 ('didn't it?')
- 14 =nich WOAR?  
 ('didn't it?')

T7 GP (Bad Saarow, ca. 1960, oldest generation)

In this case the corrections are revealing. Standard variants are substituted by dialectal forms (*nich wahr* > *nich woar*) and central/southern Mark Brandenburg forms by High German forms (such as *et dir* > *es dir*). At the same time the palatalisation of /g/ is retained throughout.

None of the speakers appears to have at her/his disposal distinct varieties although they do have different sets of variants at their disposal, each of them oriented towards the situation: the speakers either have a preference for High German or more of a preference for the 'Berlin/southern Mark Brandenburg mixed forms' typical of the region. In this sense the free narrative is, as we would expect, characterised more strongly by an orientation to regional forms and the read-aloud text more strongly to standard forms. The read-aloud text with the transformation from written standard into a projected oral dialect and the formal conversational situation repeatedly push the informants towards a set of near-standard variants.

The task set by the researchers to 'speak Platt' leads, primarily with older speakers, to insecurity, which is revealed not only in code-mixing but also in speaker pauses:

(8)

[ ... ]

- 10 I1: FREI weg platt.  
( 'off you go with Platt' )  
11 I2: FREI weg.  
( 'off you go' )  
12 I1: (.) JA-  
( '(.) yes' )  
13 GP: of=m POLterabend; (3.0)  
( 'at the eve-of-the-wedding party (3.0)' )  
14 WURde (---) GROßet jeSCHREI (3.0) veranstaltet. (5.0)  
( 'they set up (---) a great (3.0) racket (5.0)' )  
15 Ville OLle TEPpe (2.0) und all ollet jeSCHIRR; (2.0)  
( 'a lot of old pots (2.0) and all the old crockery (2.0)' )  
16 wat zu HU:se nicht jeBRU:CHT wurde, (3.0)  
( 'and whatever they didn't need at home (3.0)' )

[ ... ]

T5a I1, I2, GP (Bad Saarow, ca. 1960, middle generation)

Elliptical metalinguistic utterances clearly illustrate the kinds of difficulty this informant has with the task:

(9)

[ ... ]

- 12 GP: (2.0) HM. (5.0)  
13 wie soll ick denn DET nu: hier so;  
( 'how should I tell it now here' )  
14 PLATTdeutsch oder wie- (3.0)  
( 'Low German [Platt] or how- (3.0)' )

T4a GP (Bad Saarow, ca. 1960, oldest generation)

If the language recorded from three generations in the '60s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are interpreted as apparent-time evidence of a language change in Brandenburg, this change appears to be attested by real-time evidence in the subjective and objective language data collected in the SiN project. While the recordings for the Brandenburg/Berlin Dictionary indicate a progressive disappearance of the dialect pole, at least for the part of the region we are talking about, going back and comparing the recent data with the lexicographical material of the Brandenburg/Berlin Dictionary, with a time gap of several decades, yields hints as to how the Brandenburg area of linguistic varieties is being restructured.

### 5. Reconstruction of the diachronic dimension on the basis of lexicographical material

In the tests a few regionally specific features and lexemes that would have been used by many of the informants and were also judged as deviant from the oral norm were perceived as salient. If we take all the informants in Brandenburg, these stimuli were *och*, *keene*, *janz* and *dit*. My hypothesis is that these features, that is, Low German/Berlin monophthongs and the palatalisation of the word initial /g/, both possibly conditioned by certain lexemes, and the regional variant *dit* of the demonstrative pronoun *dieser(-e, -es)* can be assigned to the indicators of a stabilising regional standard variety.

In addition they must fill at least two further conditions: they must have ousted competing forms in the whole region of Brandenburg/Berlin, that is, in the northern Mark Brandenburg, central Mark Brandenburg and Berlin varieties, and the process of ousting them must show a his-

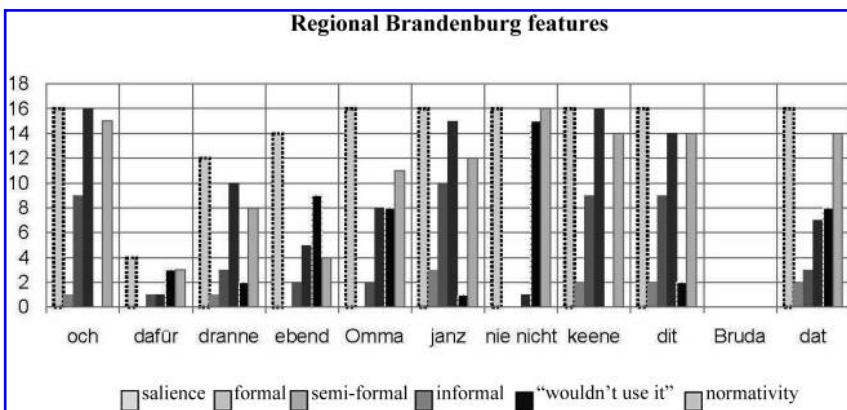


Figure 5. Results of the tests for salience, situativity and normativity (n = 16).

torical depth. Both conditions can be checked in accordance with the entries in the Brandenburg/Berlin Dictionary.

The variant *och* ('auch') was in competition with central and northern Mark Brandenburg *ok(e)* and *ook*. As early as 1781, in his dialect dictionary *Über den märkischen Dialekt. In Briefen*, Karl Philipp Moritz records the Berlin and Upper Saxon form 'ohch', in which the grapheme <h> is meant to be understood as a lengthening feature signifying a long vowel: '... *ooch* Lower Lausitz, Berlin and in the everyday city language, whence it is advancing into the rural dialect ...' (Brandenburg/Berlin Dictionary, vol. 1, p. 261). The palatalisation of word-initial /g/ was also common among Platt speakers in Brandenburg, as recordings from the 1960s show, although the Brandenburg/Berlin Dictionary notes the non-palatalised form above all in Low German material, such as 'he lacht œwert ganz Gesicht' (he's laughing over his whole face'). With the recession of Low German in Brandenburg *janz* has become the substandard variant everywhere. This is evident when we compare the language variants of the speaker from Gransee in the research interview (T1, 17, 34) with the speaker from Bad Saarow in the family conversation (T3, 15) or the dialect aimed at in T5, 19. Things look different with *keen(-e, -er)*, which is described by the Brandenburg/Berlin Dictionary for the whole area as being a variant of High German *kein(-e, -er)*. The old Berlin variant *dit* as the nominative/accusative singular neuter of the demonstrative pronoun *diese(r, s)* has in the meantime won out over the variants *dis, dises, diset*.<sup>5</sup>

## 6. Preliminary result

Overall the lexemes and features discussed show the real spread of Berlin forms in varying historic depths. The extent to which they are used beyond family or informal communication still has to be shown through the analysis of the object language data obtained from the conversations used in the research carried out in the SiN project.

There is a strong indication that we are looking not just at a convergence process from dialect to standard in Brandenburg; we are also dealing with a restructuring of the area of varieties in which the dialect pole no longer plays an orientational role. It is much more a question of situationally defined, not sharply distinguished sets of variants that overlie and are superimposed upon diatopic variance. Alongside allegro oral forms the informants produce oral features such as final /r/-deletion or /r/-vocalisation, vowel shortening (*übbër* for *über*), contractions (*krieng* for *kriegen*), assimilation (*anners* for *anders*), /t/-epithesis (*anderst* for *anders*), raising of the long monophthong (*Treener* for *Trainer*) and reduction of the affricate /pfl/ to a spirant (*Fosten* for *Pfosten*), features

that were seldom perceived as salient after the preparatory investigations prior to the SiN project even in other regions of north Germany.<sup>6</sup> A preliminary result may be expressed as follows: the Brandenburg informants orient towards a norm horizon of the orthoepy of German and at the same time produce – as the utterance below illustrates – a range of variants in everyday use that rather display broad features regionally that are perceived in the test situation to be deviant from the standard. In this language usage these features are used as adequate to the situation without any normative evaluation and could thus be elements of a regional standard variety in the process of construction.

As a reaction to the stimulus *keene*, one informant from Neustadt lying to the north of Berlin formulates this double orientation as follows: ‘Keene sagn wa imma. Könnte sein, dass mir dit auch vor Gericht rausrutscht, aba ... hm ... also bewusst sagen würd ick’s wahrscheinlich nich aber unbewusst denk ick mal schon ... und im alltäglichen Leben sowieso’ [‘We always say *keene*. Could be that I also let it slip out before a court, but ...hm ... well I probably wouldn’t say it consciously but unconsciously I think yes ... and in everyday life in any case’].

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## Notes

1. ‘Sprachlagen’ as a context-sensitive and situationally determined set of variants comprises all spoken varieties of German between the normative pronunciation, morphology, and syntax, as prescribed by the Duden pronunciation dictionary and the Duden grammar, and the traditional basic dialects of German such as Westphalian or Saxonian.
2. On the SiN project see Elmentaler *et al.* (2006); Schröder & Elmentaler (2009); Elmentaler, Gessinger & Wirrer (2010) and the website <http://sin.sign-lang.uni-hamburg.de/drupal/>
3. See, e.g., Spiekermann (2006, 2008); Auer, Hinskens & Kerswill (2005: 24–28).
4. See the contributions to ‘perceptual dialectology’ in Anders, Hundt & Lasch (2010).
5. On the older forms of the Low German demonstrative and relative pronouns in the Berlin variety see Lasch (1910: 316–319).
6. See Gessinger (2008); Elmentaler, Gessinger & Wirrer (2010: 115–129).

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# Will Dutch become Flemish? Autonomous developments in Belgian Dutch

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## *Abstract*

*In this paper a series of studies of standard Dutch pronunciation in Belgium and the Netherlands is presented. The research is based on two speech corpora: a diachronic corpus of radio speech (1935–1995) and a synchronic corpus of Belgian and Netherlandic standard Dutch from different regions at the turn of the millennium. It is shown that two divergent pronunciation standards have been developing, but it is argued that the divergence will not create two autonomous standard languages. As such, Dutch is not different from its two closest pluricentric neighbors, German and English.*

*Keywords: Dutch, pronunciation, standardization, pluricentric languages, phonological variation and change, real time study*

## **1. Introduction**

Dutch is an official language in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Surinam, but the variety of Dutch spoken in Surinam is seldom included in studies about variation in Dutch and in discussions on the pluricentric nature of the Dutch language. This paper fits into this tradition and is limited to Dutch spoken in the Low Countries (Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch).<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, its scope will be limited to phonological variation. The results of a series of studies of standard Dutch will be presented in light of the question as to whether the pronunciation of Belgian Dutch diverges from Netherlandic Dutch and whether it will result in an autonomous Belgian standard, enforcing – or ultimately, even threatening – the pluricentric nature of Dutch. All the studies presented in this paper are conducted by the authors and based on a diachronic corpus of radio speech covering a time span of 60 years, and on a synchronic corpus of regional variation in Belgian and Netherlandic standard Dutch at the turn of the millennium.

In Section 2 we will briefly explain why the official language in Flanders is Dutch and not Flemish. In Section 3 the two speech corpora will be introduced. The phonological variables are presented in Section 4. In Section 5 we will attempt to answer the question of whether Dutch has or will become Flemish in Belgium, an autonomous standard language with its own pronunciation patterns.

## **2. Why did Flemish become Dutch?**

Willemyns (2003a) provides an overview of the standardization history of Dutch in the Low Countries and its development as a pluricentric language (Clyne 1992). After the political split of the Dutch language territory in 1585, the standardization process of Dutch was almost completely stopped in Flanders and a codified variety of Dutch developed only in the Netherlands. The Dutch language lost many functions and domains in Flanders, and at the dawn of the Belgian nation (1830), it was no longer equipped to function as an official language. A process of rapid standardization was required, in which two conflicting views co-existed. The so-called particularists advocated their own Flemish standard based on the local regional varieties. The so-called integrationists opted for the northern model and wanted to use the existing standard variety of the Netherlands. The definition of the pronunciation standard was a recurrent theme at the Dutch Congresses on Language and Literature (1849–1912), but they did not result in concrete proposals or a consensus (Willemyns 2003b: 261). A rare 19<sup>th</sup> century exception was the unified spelling system, which was made compulsory by the Belgian government in 1864, even before it was officially accepted by the Dutch government.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it became clear that the integrationists had won the battle, but it should be noted that this discussion was completely irrelevant for the majority of the Flemish population (Willemyns 2003b: 288). The first wave of language planning efforts in the 19<sup>th</sup> century mainly changed attitudes. The first successful attempts to actually change language behavior date from the 1930s, but their success was still limited due to insufficient contact with language use from the Netherlands. An important impetus was given in the 1960s and 1970s by the popularization of radio and television and the fact that the Flemish media consistently tried to use standard Dutch in both speaking and writing. Furthermore, Flemish radio and television had a prime time program on correct standard language use, and most newspapers had a column to help Flemings gain proficiency in standard Dutch, which were mainly presented and/or written by established professional linguists and university professors (Willemyns 2003a: 110–111). In a few decades,

Flanders became familiarized with the standard variety of Dutch as it was spoken and written in the Netherlands, despite the absence of governmental backing:

Although there can be no doubt that the integrational policy enjoyed the moral support of almost the entire cultural establishment, there was but very little governmental backing and the main effort was performed through private initiative. There was substantial governmental action on the corpus planning level, though.

(Willemys 2003: 111)

Only in 1974 was it settled in a decree that the official language of Flanders is Dutch (Geerts 1989). The Belgian government has for a long time been hostile to the language of the majority of its population, and also the relationship with the Kingdom of the Netherlands remained problematic after Belgian independence in 1830. Only after the Second World War did the cultural relations between both countries become more intensive (Aspeslagh *et al.* 2000: 12). In 1980 Belgium and the Netherlands signed the Treaty of the Dutch Language Union, in which they agreed to pursue a common policy on the Dutch language.<sup>2</sup>

### **3. Speech corpora**

This paper is based on analyses of standard Dutch in a diachronic radio corpus (Diachronic Radio Dutch) and in an early 21<sup>st</sup> century corpus of teachers of Dutch (Variation Teacher Dutch). These two types of speakers are generally considered as competent speakers of the standard language in both the Netherlands and Belgium (Van de Velde & Houtermans 1999; Smakman 2006).

#### *3.1 DRD: Diachronic Radio Dutch*

Van de Velde (1996) conducted a real-time study of variation and change in the pronunciation of standard Dutch between 1935 and 1995 (see also Van de Velde, Van Hout & Gerritsen 1997).<sup>3</sup> For this reason, professional speakers of the standard language were selected: radio broadcasters. In the Dutch and Belgian radio archives spontaneous speech from broadcasters in two program types was collected: sports commentaries and royal reports. The broadcasters were all males, between 29 and 35 years of age at the moment of recording. As can be seen from Table 1,

50 broadcasters from the Netherlands, equally distributed over five periods, and 18 from Flanders, equally distributed over three periods, were selected:<sup>4</sup>

Table 1. *DRD: the sample of broadcasters, stratified for country, period and programme type (n = 68).*

		1935	1950	1965	1980	1995
The Netherlands	royal reports	5	5	5	5	5
	sports commentaries	5	5	5	5	5
Belgium	royal reports	3		3		3
	sports commentaries	3		3		3

### 3.2 *VTD: Variation Teacher Dutch*

In 1999, a follow-up study on the pronunciation of standard Dutch was started (Van Hout *et al.* 1999). Another type of professional speakers of the standard language was selected, teachers of Dutch at the secondary school level.<sup>5</sup> It was argued that these teachers would be representative speakers of the standard language, assuming that these teachers knew they were acting as pronunciation models for younger generations. Furthermore, it was expected that their speech would show more variation than that of broadcasters. Table 2 gives an overview of the research design. Speakers were selected from the Netherlands and from Flanders. Within each country four regions were targeted. Brabant (Flanders-Brabant: F-B) and Randstad (Netherlands Randstad: N-R) are the economic and cultural centers of Flanders and the Netherlands respectively, and the speech of these regions is known to have a strong influence on Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch. We also selected two geographically peripheral areas, which were expected to show clear regional variation. In the Netherlands, these were N-S in the south (Limburg) and N-N in the north (Groningen); in Flanders F-L (Limburg) in the east and F-W (West-Flanders) in the west. N-S and F-E constitute the Limburg dialect area, which crosses the state border. Between the core and the periphery, we also opted for an intermediate zone in the middle of the Netherlands (N-M) and in East-Flanders (F-E). Speakers were not selected from any of the big cities in their respective regions, but from middle-sized provincial towns. Speakers were only included if they had lived in the area they represented before the age of eight and spent at least eight years in the area before the age of 18. The 160 participants were stratified for sex (male and female) and age (22–40 and 45–60). The subjects were clearly

instructed about the aim of the research project as a study of standard Dutch pronunciation. The subjects had to perform several tasks during the interview. We will sketch the relevant tasks when we discuss the phonological variables:

Table 2. *VTD: the sample of Dutch language teachers, stratified for country, region, sex and age (n = 160).*

		core area	transition area	peripheral area 1	peripheral area 2
The Netherlands		Randstad N-R	Middle N-M	North N-N	South N-S
22–40	Male	5	5	5	5
	Female	5	5	5	5
45–60	Male	5	5	5	5
	Female	5	5	5	5
Belgium		Brabant F-B	East-Flanders F-E	West-Flanders F-W	Limburg F-L
22–40	Male	5	5	5	5
	Female	5	5	5	5
45–60	Male	5	5	5	5
	Female	5	5	5	5

#### 4. Phonological variables

In this section we present the results of a number of quantitative studies focusing on the phonological differences between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch, and on the regional variation patterns within both varieties. We will start in section 4.1 with a multivariate analysis of the general patterns in DRD. In section 4.2 we move to an analysis of loan words in VTD. From section 4.3 onwards data will be drawn from both corpora when discussing vowels (4.3), devoicing of fricatives (4.4), place of articulation of the back fricative (4.5), word final *n*-deletion (4.6) and the pronunciation of /r/ (4.7). The data in this paper have been published before or will be discussed in detail in forthcoming publications. For statistical analyses and a more detailed interpretation of the results, we refer to these publications. Here we will focus on finding an answer to our central research question concerning the rise of an autonomous standard language in Flanders. Most of the figures are new and adapted for this paper. For the sake of comparison of the DRD with the VTD data, index scores were reversed or variables were defined differently from the original publication.

#### 4.1 Phonetic divergence between Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch in DRD

Eleven phonological variables were analysed to obtain an adequate view of the most important changes in standard Dutch. The majority of these variables will be discussed in more detail in sections 4.3 to 4.7. The index scores of the 11 variables were used as an input for a multidimensional scaling analysis. Van de Velde, Van Hout & Gerritsen (1997: 378) present the two-dimensional solution as given in Figure 1. The dimension scores obtained for the 68 individual speakers are plotted, split up for period and Belgian vs. Netherlandic Dutch. The horizontal axis, dimension 1, represents change in standard Dutch. The vertical axis, dimension 2, is mainly linked to the place of articulation of /r/ and word final *n*-deletion (see also section 4.6 and 4.7). As we are interested in change, we will concentrate on the first dimension. The closer the distance between two speakers on the horizontal axis, the more similar their index scores are for the phonological variables indicating change in standard Dutch:

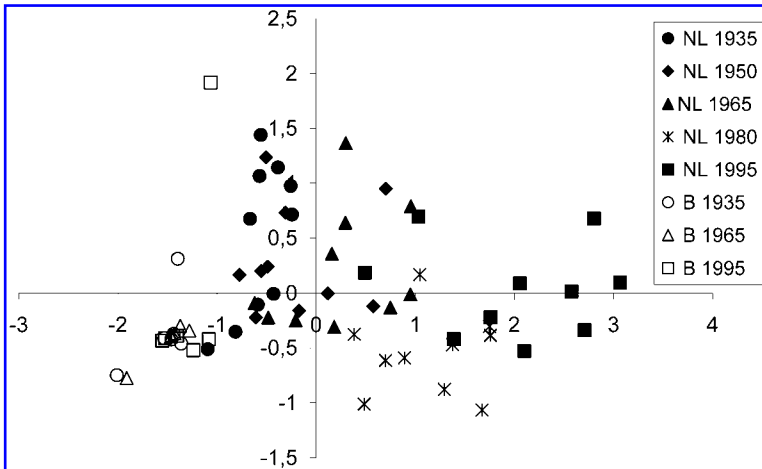


Figure 1. *Phonological variation and change in Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch between 1935 and 1995 (DRD). Multidimensional scaling analysis of 11 phonological variables.*

Figure 1 reveals a clear pattern of phonological divergence between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch. Netherlandic Dutch has gradually been changing over time (the more recent the period, the more it turns out to be located to the right of the horizontal axis), while Belgian Dutch has remained stable, showing little variation (to the left of the horizontal axis). Should this pattern be interpreted as an autonomous development of Belgian Dutch? There is no straightforward answer. On the one hand,

the answer is no, by arguing that a stable pattern is not a development; it is the Netherlandic standard that is moving away from the Belgian standard. On the other hand, the answer is yes, by arguing that no longer following the Netherlandic standard and keeping the original one shows that the Belgian standard has become independent from the (changing) Netherlandic one.

It should be noted that the Dutch and Flemish broadcasting corporations have conducted different language policies, but their language usage has nevertheless continued to reflect the language norms in the respective speech communities. The Dutch broadcasting corporations, which are located in the Randstad area, seem to play a crucial role in the transfer of colloquial Randstad speech characteristics to standard Dutch. The Flemish broadcasting corporation is linguistically much more conservative and tries to block the introduction of colloquial and regional non-standard features into the standard language. In section 2, we already pointed out that the Flemish broadcasting corporation played an important role in the language planning efforts by broadcasting language programmes of a normative and purist nature. Broadcasters had to pass tests to show that they fitted the standard pronunciation model.

#### 4.2 Loan words VTD

Loan words are excellent sources to trace patterns of language variation. They may function as markers of between-group differentiation as these words contain sounds in the donor language that are unknown in the host language, implying that they need to be adapted to the phonological system of the host language. Often, there are several options, and socio-geographic factors can play an important role in the linguistic choices. Almost all the words for which Heemskerk & Zonneveld (2000) – the most recent pronunciation dictionary of Dutch – list a specific Belgian Dutch pronunciation variant are loan words.

The interview with the teachers in VTD contained two word list tasks. Dutch words were presented one by one on a computer screen and the participant was asked to read the words. The word lists contain 318 words, 40 of which are loan words. We will focus on a subset of these loan words and group them into three variables (*tie*), (nasal) and (a).

- (a): Is the vowel in English loan words pronounced as [ɛ] or [a]? Seven words were selected: *plastic*, *racket*, *scanner*, *smash*, *snack*, *tandem*, and *tram*.
- (*tie*): Is the suffix *-tie* pronounced as [tsi] or [si]? Four words were selected: *ambitie* ‘ambition’, *frustratie* ‘frustration’, *natie* ‘nation’, and *politie* ‘police’.



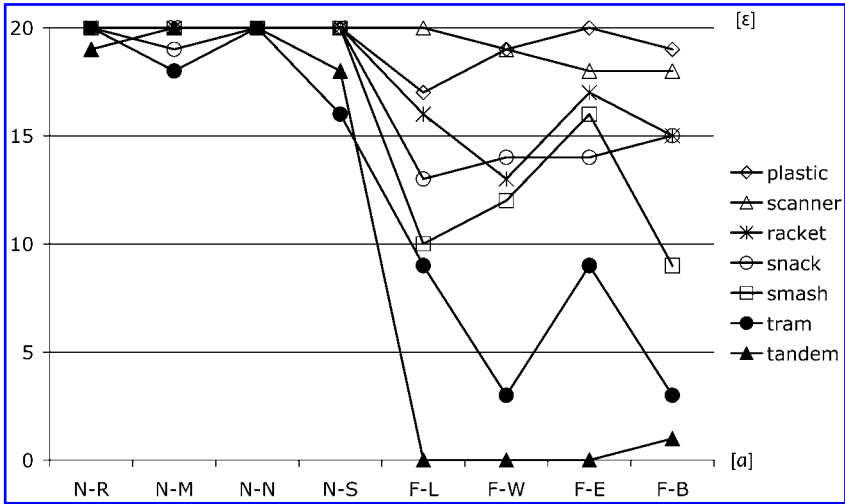


Figure 2. (a): the pronunciation of [ε] versus [a] split up by word and region (n = 160, k = 1120). For each region and word the maximal score is 20 (always [a], never [ε]), the minimal score is 0 (never [a], always [ε]).

- (nasal): Is the nasal vowel from the French source nasalized or not? Seven words, containing eight tokens of the variable, were selected: *branche* ‘branch’, *chanson* ‘song’, *croissant* ‘croissant’, *enquête* ‘poll’, *mannequin* ‘model’, *parfum* ‘perfume’, and *restaurant* ‘restaurant’.

A more elaborate presentation and interpretation of the results, including the statistical analyses, can be found in Van de Velde & Van Hout (2002). Figure 2 presents the results for (a). There are striking differences between Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch. In the Netherlands the picture is very homogeneous with an almost exclusive realization of (a) as [ε], which is the closest corresponding Dutch vowel to English [æ]. In Flanders, there are large differences between the words, but these differences are fairly consistent over regions. Most words have both pronunciations, with dominant [ε] in *plastic*, *scanner*, *racket*, and *snack*. *Tram* and *tandem* are most frequently pronounced with the [a] vowel. The results for (a) suggest that for this variable there are autonomous developments in Belgian Dutch, but due to the lack of a significant age effect, we cannot figure out whether this is a stable variable or language change in progress.<sup>6</sup>

Figure 3 presents the results for (*tie*). It is obvious that (*tie*) shows a different pattern from (a) in figure 2. All regions are very homogeneous,

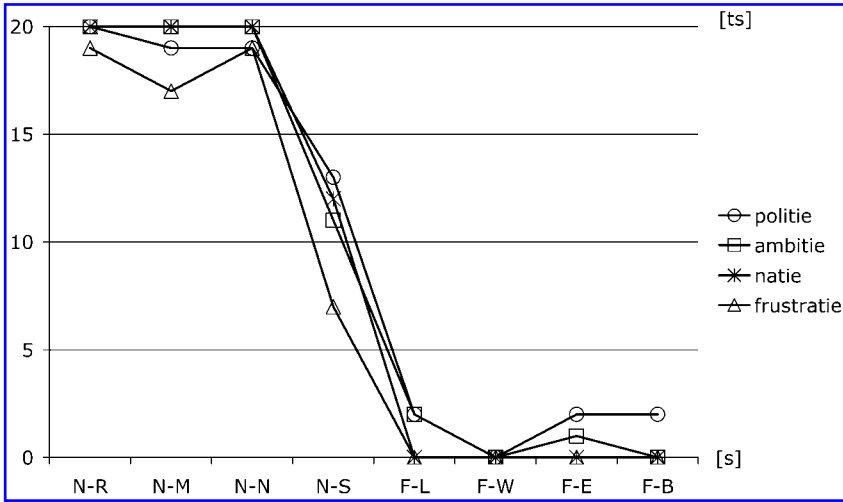


Figure 3. (*tie*): the pronunciation of [tsi] versus [si], split up by word and region (n = 160, k = 640). For each word and region the maximal score is 20 (always [ts], never [s]), the minimal score is 0 (never [ts], always [s]).

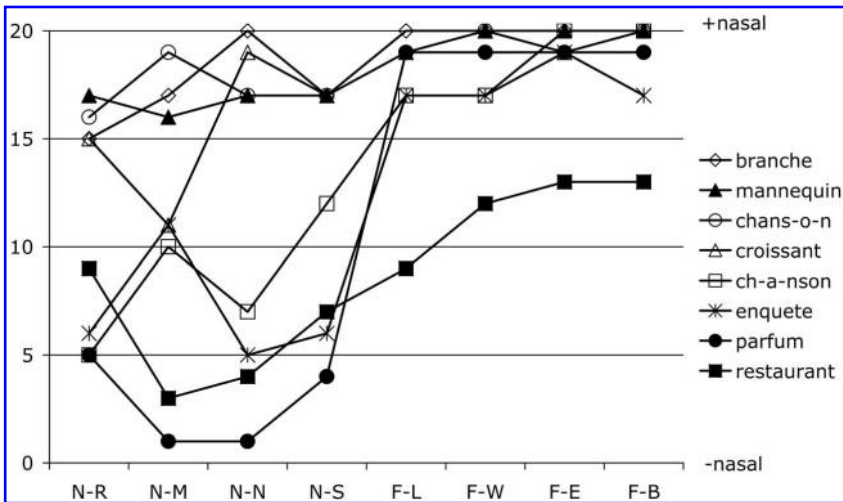


Figure 4. (*nasal*): the pronunciation of nasal versus oral vowels in seven words, split up by region (n = 160, k = 1280). For each region the maximal score is 20 (always nasal, never oral), the minimal score is 0 (never nasal, always oral).

showing almost no differences between words, and there is a sharp contrast between the four Belgian regions – almost exclusively [si] pronunci-

ation – and three of the Netherlandic regions – with almost exclusively [tsi]. N-S (in the South of the Netherlands) has an intermediate position and deviates from the homogeneous [si] pronunciation in the more northern regions in the Netherlands. The results for (*tie*) support the autonomy of the Belgian standard.

Figure 4 presents the results for (nasal). There are systematic differences between the Netherlands and Belgium, the latter having more nasal vowels (which is the original French pronunciation). Within the countries, however, there are no systematic differences between the regions. In Netherlandic Dutch, there is clear lexical diffusion, with words that are dominantly pronounced with a nasal vowel and others that have a more variable pronunciation. In Belgian Dutch it is mainly the word *restaurant* that shows variation and does not have the rather homogeneous pronunciation with a nasal vowel that is observed in the other French loan words. The results for (nasal) also support the autonomy of the Belgian standard.

### 4.3 *Vowel variation*

From the same word list data of VTD, fourteen words were selected that contained a stressed vowel followed by /s/. All Dutch full vowels were represented, except /y/, which does not occur before /s/ in Dutch words.<sup>7</sup> The words included in this study are *aas* /as/ ‘ace’, *gas* /ɣas/ ‘gas’, *zes* /zɛs/ ‘six’, *kies* /kis/ ‘molar’, *vis* /vis/ ‘fish’, *zus* /zys/ ‘sister’, *poes* /pus/ ‘cat’, *vos* /vɔs/ ‘fox’, *mees* /mes/ ‘tit’, *neus* /nøs/ ‘nose’, *boos* /bos/ ‘angry’, *ijs* /ɛis/ ‘ice’, *huis* /hœys/ ‘house’, and *kous* /kous/ ‘sock’. The F1 (open-close dimension) and F2 (front-back dimension) values of these values were measured by means of the Praat software (Boersma & Weenink 2010). A more elaborate discussion of the acoustic and statistical analyses, including the normalization (Lobanov) procedure, can be found in Van der Harst (i.p.).

Figure 5 presents the mean F1 and F2 values per region at the midpoint of the eight monophthongal vowels. At first sight the regional differences seem to be restricted, except for (i) and (ɛ). However, the statistical analyses show that there are systematic differences within each country for almost all monophthongal vowels. Table 3 gives an overview of the significant effects of the factors country and region for F1 and F2. The vowels are ordered in decreasing order of effect size (the strength of the effect). The only vowel that does not yield a significant difference between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch is (i). It should also be noted that only two weak effects (out of 16 possible ones) of the age factor show up, for F1 of (ɑ) and F2 of (ɔ). The conclusion is that the vowel

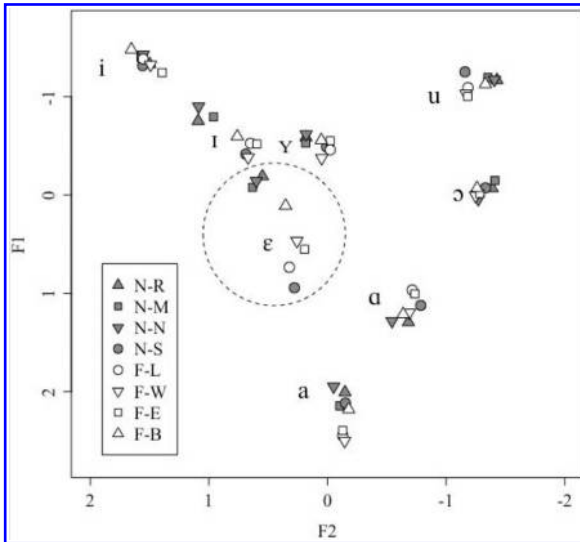


Figure 5. Mean values of normalized F1 and F2 of eight monophthongs in the word list data of VTD, split up per region. The means are calculated on the basis of the formant values at the vowels' midpoints (n = 160, k = 1280).

quality of the Belgian Dutch monophthongs differs from the Netherlandic ones in a systematic and stable way:

Table 3. Significant effects of a series of analyses of variance of the factors country and region (nested under country) for F1 and F2 of eight monophthongal vowels in VTD, measured at the midpoint. The vowels are ordered in decreasing order of effect size.

country F1	ε	a	ɪ	u	ʏ	ɑ
country F2	ɪ	ε	u	ʏ	ɔ	
region F1	ε	ɪ	ʏ	i		
region F2	ɪ	ε	u	ʏ	ɑ	i ɔ

Figure 6 presents the mean F1 and F2 values per region at the onset (25 percent) and offset (75 percent) of the three diphthongs. Systematic differences between the countries and regions show up, and are supported by the statistical analyses (Van der Harst i.p.). The most outspoken differences are found in the F1 values at the diphthong onset. Netherlandic diphthongs have a more open onset than the Belgian ones, with F-B being more similar to the N-R, N-M and N-N regions in the Netherlands, and N-S being more similar to the Belgian regions. Furthermore,

similar differences in the distances between the onset and offset are found, reflecting differences in the degree of diphthongization. Regions with a more open onset tend to show stronger diphthongization. Finally, there are some striking differences in the F2 of the offset of (œy). In N-R, N-M and N-S (œy) glides to a central vowel, in the other regions to a more front vowel. The results support the existence of an autonomous Belgian standard for the pronunciation of diphthongs, but they also question it. First, the diphthongs in the core area of standard language developments in Flanders (F-B) are rather similar to the realization in N-R, N-M and N-N, except for the offglide of (œy). Second, N-S clusters with the regions in Flanders, suggesting a north–south division (north and south of the so-called big rivers), instead of one between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch.

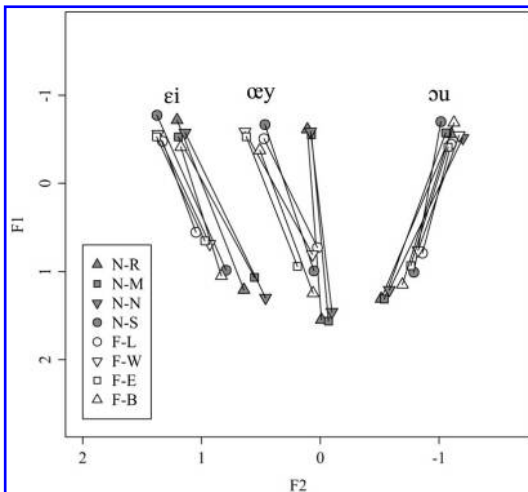


Figure 6. Mean values of normalized F1 and F2 at the onset and the offset of the diphthongs (ei), (œy) and (ou) in the word list data of VTD, split up per region ( $n = 160$ ,  $k = 480$ ).

Figure 7 presents the mean F1 and F2 values per region at the onset (25 percent) and offset (75 percent) of the three long mid vowels (e), (ø) and (o). A very sharp distinction between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch shows up, which is supported by the statistical analyses (Van der Harst i.p.). The long mid vowels are diphthongized (defined as a change on F1) in the Netherlands – with weaker diphthongization in N-S – but are monophthongs in Belgium.<sup>8</sup> This pattern is confirmed by the DRD data, the real time study of broadcasters' speech. Figure 8 presents a diphthongization index for the variables (e) and (o) in Belgian and Neth-

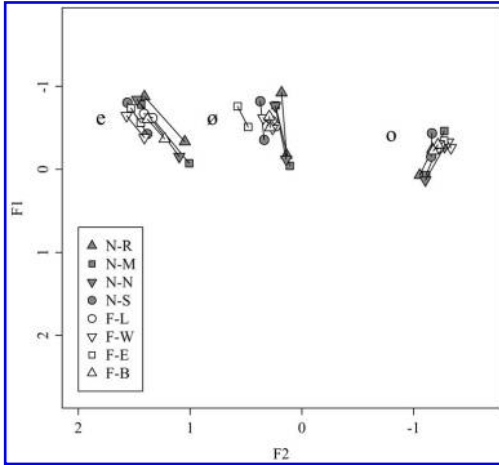


Figure 7. Mean values of normalized F1 and F2 at the onset and the offset of the long mid vowels (*e*), (*ø*) and (*o*) in the word list data of VTD, split up per region ( $n = 160$ ,  $k = 480$ ).

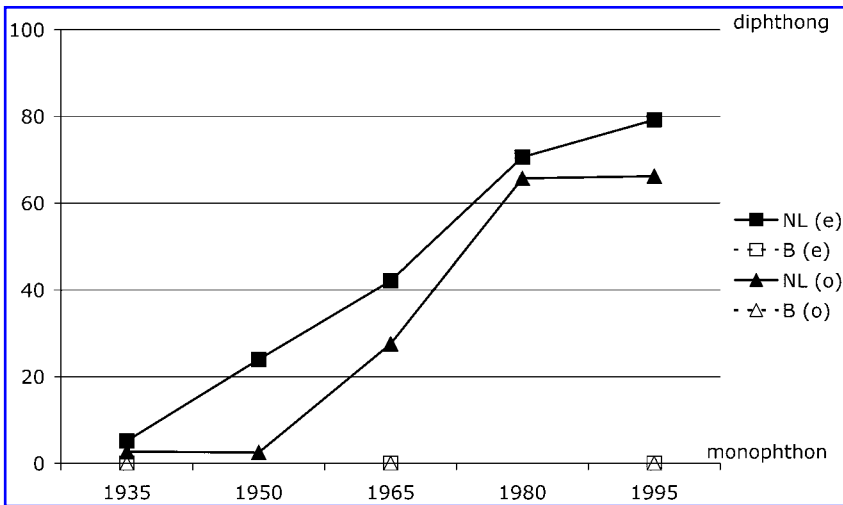


Figure 8. Pronunciation of the long mid vowels (*e*) and (*o*) in The Netherlands and Flanders between 1935 and 1995 (DRD). ( $n = 68$ ,  $k = 963$  for (*e*) and  $k = 919$  for (*o*)).

erlandic Dutch between 1935 and 1995 (Van de Velde 1996a, 1996b). Three variants were distinguished in an auditory transcription: monophthong – weak diphthong – moderate diphthong. A score of 0 indicates

that all realizations are monophthongal, which is the case for Belgian Dutch in all periods. The maximum score is 100. In Netherlandic Dutch, both (e) and (o) were still monophthongs in 1935. The diphthongization process starts with (e) in 1950 and is followed by (o) in 1965. It is a change in progress in Netherlandic Dutch, which did not spread to Belgian Dutch.

Systematic differences between the countries and/or regions were found in the acoustic analyses of all 14 vowels followed by /s/, but the overall structure of the vowel system is approximately the same.<sup>9</sup> The largest (and most salient) difference between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch is found in the long mid vowels. The other differences are much more subtle, and most of them appear to be Belgian–Netherlandic differences below the level of consciousness.

#### *4.4 Fricative devoicing*

Dutch has three voiced–voiceless fricative pairs /v/-/f/, /z/-/s/ and /ɣ/-/x/ and devoicing of the phonologically voiced ones is generally seen as a change in progress in Netherlandic Dutch. They belonged to the core variables in DRD. Figure 9 presents the index for (v), (z) and (g) in syllable initial position in a sonorant environment. On the basis of an auditory transcription (without visual inspection of the spectrum) three variants were distinguished: voiceless, partially voiced, and fully voiced. The index scores on the vertical axis range from 0 (all tokens are voiceless) to 100 (all tokens are fully voiced). The results are split up by period (horizontal axis), fricative (different symbols), and country (dotted line for Belgium, full line for the Netherlands). The voice characteristics of (g) yield a striking result. In both countries there is strong devoicing. In Belgian Dutch the patterns seem stable; in Netherlandic Dutch it looks as if the process of devoicing of the back fricative more or less reached completion in 1950. In the Netherlands, (v) and (z) show a similar pattern, with a breakthrough of the devoicing process after 1965. Surprisingly, devoicing of (v) and (z) also shows up in Belgian Dutch in 1995, but given an almost hostile attitude towards the Netherlandic pronunciation in Flanders since the 1980s, it is very unlikely that this is to be interpreted as an example of accommodation to the Netherlandic standard. For a more detailed discussion we refer to Van de Velde, Gertsens & Van Hout (1996). Nevertheless, the results for fricative devoicing called for more research in VTD.

Part of the VTD study aimed at eliciting the participant's 'best' realization of all word initial consonants. The participants were asked twice to read the 17 logatoms, covering the Dutch word initial consonants, in the same linguistic context, and presented one by one. The analyses are

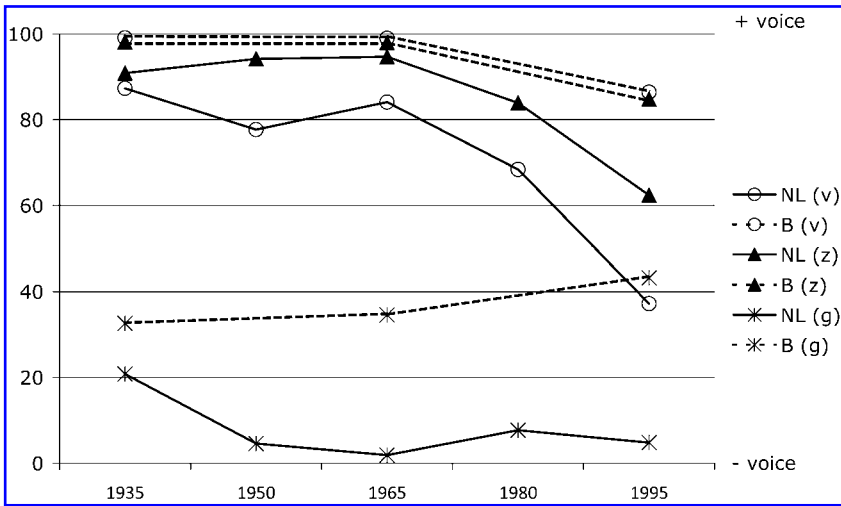


Figure 9. Devoicing of (v), (z) and (g) in Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch between 1935 and 1995 (DRD);  $n = 68$ ,  $k = 2676$  for (v),  $k = 2489$  for (z) and  $k = 2441$  for (g).

based on 960 tokens of (v), (z) and (g) (160 speakers  $\times$  3 variables  $\times$  2 realizations). Trained phoneticians made a consensus transcription on the basis of an auditory analysis and a visual interpretation of the spectrum. Three variants were distinguished again: voiceless, partially voiced, and fully voiced. The index scores range from 0 (all tokens are voiceless) to 100 (all tokens are fully voiced). More details on the methodology and an elaborate discussion of the results can be found in Van de Velde & Van Hout (2001). The results, split up by fricative and region, are presented in figure 10. For all variables, there were significant differences between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch. In all cases there is stronger devoicing in the Netherlands, but it should be noted that the devoicing of (v), (z) and (g) is prominently present in Belgian Dutch. The difference between the two varieties is the smallest for (g), with an index of 35.6 (B) vs. 26.9 (NL). Note that the index scores for the Netherlands are much higher than those in the spontaneous speech data presented in figure 9, but this difference might be due to the stylistic differences between both sets of speech data, as in the logatoms monitoring is extremely high and the focus of the speaker is on pronouncing a standard realization of the consonant.<sup>10</sup> The differences are larger between Netherlandic (53.1) and Belgian (67.5) (z) and are most outspoken for (v), with a mean score of 41.9 for the Netherlandic and 74.1 for the Belgian speakers. In the Netherlands, regional differences show up for



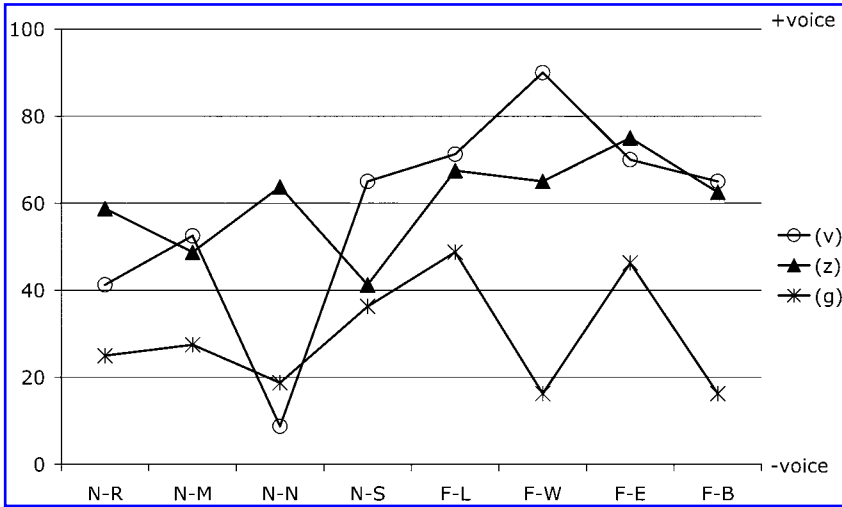


Figure 10. Voice characteristics of /v/, /z/ and /g/ uttered in a carrier sentence, split up by region ( $n = 160$ ,  $k = 960$ ).

/v/ and in Flanders for /g/ and /v/. In section 4.5 we will come back to other characteristics of the back fricatives. We focus here on /v/ and answer the question of whether the devoicing observed in Belgium and the Netherlands is, from a phonetic point of view, the same process. What is the acoustic implementation of the contrast between /v/ and /f/?<sup>11</sup>

Kissine, Van de Velde & Van Hout (2003, 2005) present detailed acoustic analyses of both /f/ and /v/ from the same data set. Tokens of the voiceless counterpart /f/ from the same logatom reading task were incorporated in the analysis. A comparison enables us to figure out whether the phonemic contrast between /v/ and /f/ is preserved and implemented in the same way in Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch and across their regional varieties. Figure 11 presents the results of the acoustic measurement of pitch (F0) of /v/ and /f/ ( $k = 320$  for both linguistic variables). The presence of periodicity was evaluated between the minimum and maximum pitch values of the speaker within the specific utterance and computed with intervals of 10 ms. To obtain a relative measurement of periodicity (voicing) expressed in a percentage, the number of samples with pitch was divided by the total number samples and multiplied by 100. Due to the presence of transitions to the preceding and following vowel, the /f/ realizations contain on average about 20 percent of voicing. There is no difference between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch. A phonetic transcription shows that this is not due to a voiced pronunciation of the fricatives (see Kissine *et al.* 2003, 2005). The acoustic mea-

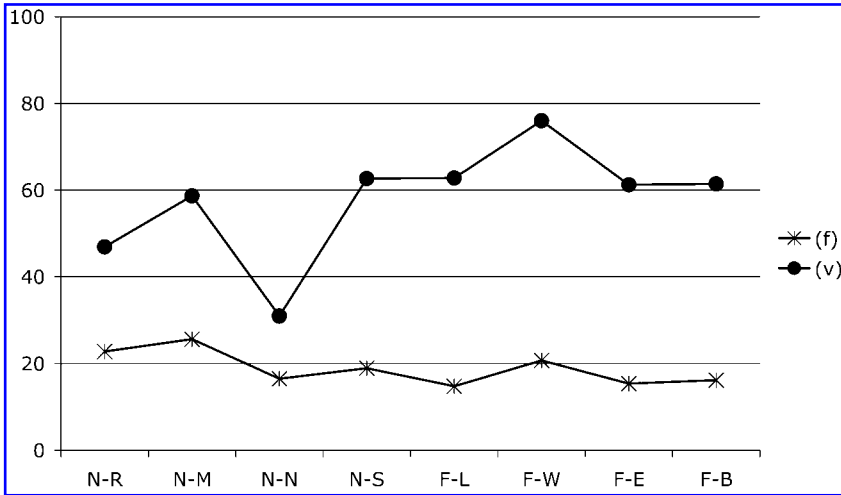


Figure 11. Percentage voicing (acoustic measurements of  $F_0$ ) in (f) and (s) in word initial position in the logatoms of VTD, split up by region ( $n = 160$ ,  $k = 640$ ).

measurements of (v) reveal the same differences as the phonetic transcription: more devoicing in the Netherlands (49.8 percent periodicity) than in Belgium (63.5 percent periodicity) and regional differences within each country. Figure 11 suggests that fricative devoicing will result in a merger of /v/ and /f/ in both Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch, which is nearly complete in N-R.

However, when we look at figure 12, which presents measurements of the duration of (f) and (v), we have to modify this view. One has to be careful with the overall durations, as they can be caused by regional differences in speech rate.<sup>12</sup> However, if one focuses on the differences in duration between (v) and (f) per region, one can normalize for this effect, as one might assume that both variables are affected in a similar way by regional speech rate differences. Overall, there are no significant differences for the duration of (v) between Belgian (138.5 ms) and Netherlandic Dutch (141.7 ms). However, Belgian Dutch (f) is significantly, and more than 20 ms., longer than Netherlandic Dutch (f): 186.4 ms vs. 165 ms. In other words, Belgian Dutch speakers play with the length distinction and seem to shorten /v/ and lengthen /f/ to preserve the contrast between the consonants, which at least suggests that an apparently similar change in both varieties follows different phonetic paths. Once more, N-S seems to be more similar to the Belgian regions than to the other Netherlandic ones. Kissine, Van de Velde & Van Hout (i.p.) discuss

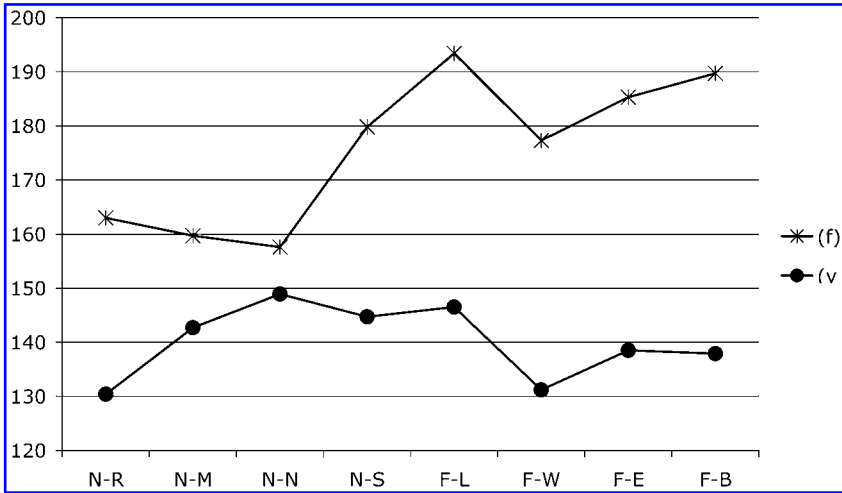


Figure 12. Duration in ms of /f/ and /s/ in word initial position in the logatoms of VTD, split up by region ( $N = 160$ ,  $k = 640$ ).

the regional differences in the implementation of the /v/–/f/ contrast in more detail.

Considering the strong devoicing of the fricatives in Belgian Dutch, it is strange that this has not been observed before – except for the back fricative (Debrock 1977, 1978) – either by language users or linguists. However, the phenomenon is confirmed on the basis of a phonetic analysis of other speakers of Belgian Dutch (Verhoeven & Hageman 2007).

#### 4.5 Place of articulation of the back fricative

The distinction between so-called hard and soft realizations of /ɣ/ and /x/ has often been claimed to be one of the most salient North–South differences in the pronunciation of both standard and non-standard Dutch. Nowadays, it has developed into a stereotype. Speakers from north of the big rivers are claimed to speak with a ‘hard g’, speakers from south of these rivers – Flanders and the southern provinces of the Netherlands – speak with a ‘soft g’. In section 3.4 it was shown that /ɣ/ is predominantly voiceless in Dutch. According to Van de Velde (2006) the difference between hard and soft is determined by place of articulation: uvular realizations are always considered hard, palato-velar and palatal realizations are always considered soft by Netherlandic listeners. Only in velar realizations does voicing play a role: voiced velar fricatives are mainly classified as soft, voiceless velar fricatives mainly as hard.

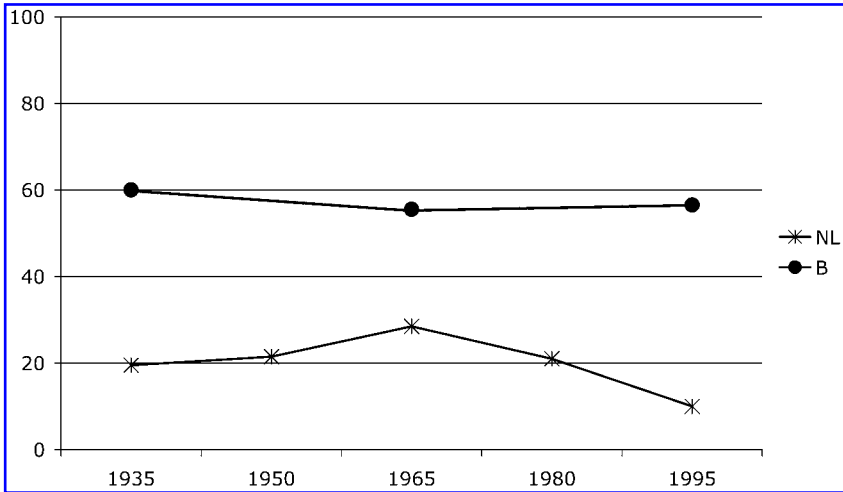


Figure 13. *Place of articulation of (g) in Belgian and Netherlandic standard Dutch, between 1935 and 1995 (DRD). The index scores range from 0 (uvular) to 100 (palato-velar) (n = 68, k = 2441).*

Figure 13 presents the index score for place of articulation of (g) in DRD ( $n = 68$ ,  $k = 2441$ ). Three variants were distinguished: uvular, velar and palato-velar. The index scores range between 0 (always uvular) and 100 (exclusively palato-velar), and are split up for period and country. Belgian Dutch has a more advanced front realization of (g) than Netherlandic Dutch and remains stable over time. Velars are by far the most frequent variants in Belgian Dutch; uvulars are rare. In Netherlandic Dutch we see a light decrease in the index score in 1995, which implies that uvular realizations are becoming more frequent than velar ones. Palato-velars are rare in Netherlandic Dutch (see Van de Velde 1996: 105). Once more, there is an obvious and systematic difference between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch. We can have a closer look at the present-day differences on the basis of the transcription of the place of the articulation of the (g) logatoms of VTD described in Section 4.4 ( $n = 160$ ,  $k = 320$ ).

Figure 14 presents the index scores, split up by region. The scores are calculated in the same way as those used for figure 13.

Figure 14 confirms the North–South split sketched above. N-S has much more of a front realization than the other Netherlandic regions, and is linked more to the Belgian regions, especially to F-L, with which it forms the Limburg dialect region and where almost exclusively velar and palato-velar realizations were noted. N-N and N-R are exclusively

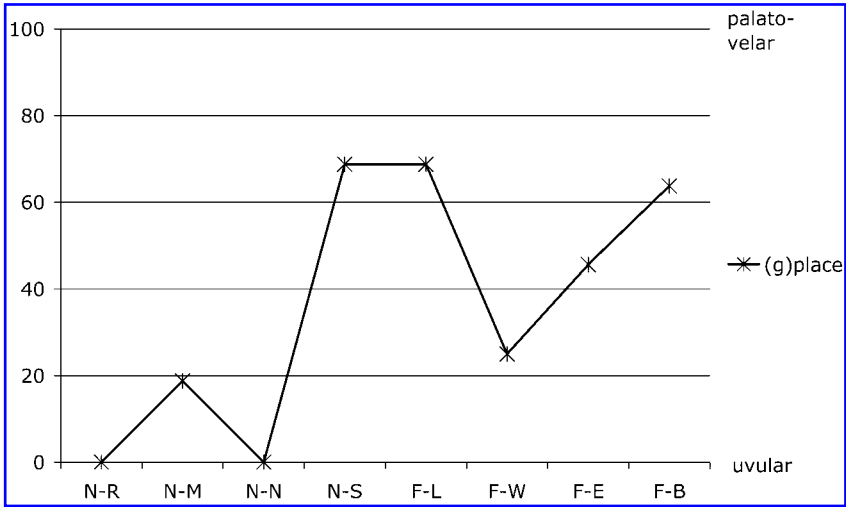


Figure 14. *Place of articulation of (g) in word initial position in the logatoms of VTD, split up by region. The index scores range from 0 (uvular) to 100 (palato-velar); n = 160, k = 320.*

uvular in the Netherlands; in N-M there is a mixture of uvular and velar realizations. Remarkable in Belgian Dutch are the lower index scores in F-E and F-W. Especially in the latter area a lot of uvular fricatives show up. These variants do not show up in the dialects, but they are used in standard Dutch as a strategy to avoid dialectal [h]. For more details we refer to Van der Harst & Van de Velde (2007). A first acoustic analysis of these data is presented in Van der Harst, Van de Velde & Schouten (2007).

#### 4.6 *Word final n-deletion*

The pronunciation of word final /ən/ has been widely discussed in phonologies and pronunciation guides of Dutch, but almost none of the claims in these works was based on systematic, quantitative research. In the normative literature it is often stated that /n/ should be deleted in standard Dutch pronunciation, except in prevocalic position. However, some authors are more tolerant and accept both [ə] and [ən] as standard pronunciations, pointing to the regional background of the speakers, the right hand environment and the morphological status of /ən/ as the main sources of variation. In his real time study of Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch Van de Velde (1996: 145–157) limited the variable (n) to the suffix *-en* in plural nouns, plural finite verb forms, and infinitives ( $n = 68$ ,

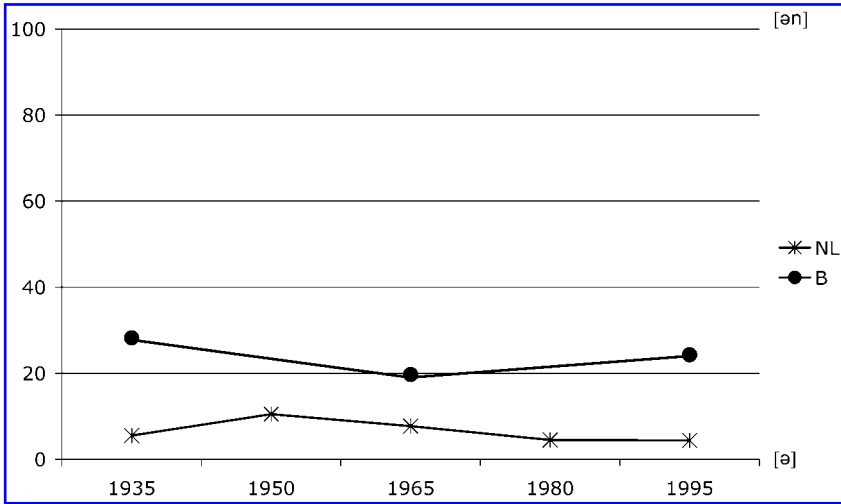


Figure 15. Word final (*n*) in Belgian and Netherlandic standard Dutch, between 1935 and 1995 (DRD). The index scores range from 0([ə]) to 100 ([ən]).

$k = 1978$ ). For the calculation of the index scores two variants were distinguished: with and without a nasal element. The index scores, split up by country and period, are presented in figure 15. An index score of 0 means that (*n*) is exclusively pronounced as [ə], an index score of 100 means that there is always a nasal element. There is a significant difference between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch, which is in line with the expectations. There is less nasal deletion by the Belgian broadcasters. It should also be noted that deletion rates are extremely high in these spontaneous speech data, especially in the Netherlands. However, there is no effect of period: (*n*) appears to be a stable variable over time.

Figure 16 presents the results from the study of *n*-deletion in two speech styles in the corpus of regional variation in contemporary standard Dutch. For the sake of comparison between the two speech styles, the study of (*n*) is limited to infinitives. The tokens for spontaneous speech were selected from an interview with the teachers about their job and everyday life ( $n = 160$ ,  $k = 9254$ ). Before, they had performed a reading task, which focused on *n*-deletion and schwa-insertion. The participants were unaware of these variables. The index scores are based on five observations per speaker of (*n*) in infinitives ( $n = 160$ ,  $k = 800$ ) and are calculated in the same way as for the data presented in figure 15. A more elaborate study of the role of linguistic factors in *n*-deletion in reading style is presented in Van de Velde & Van Hout (2001, 2003).

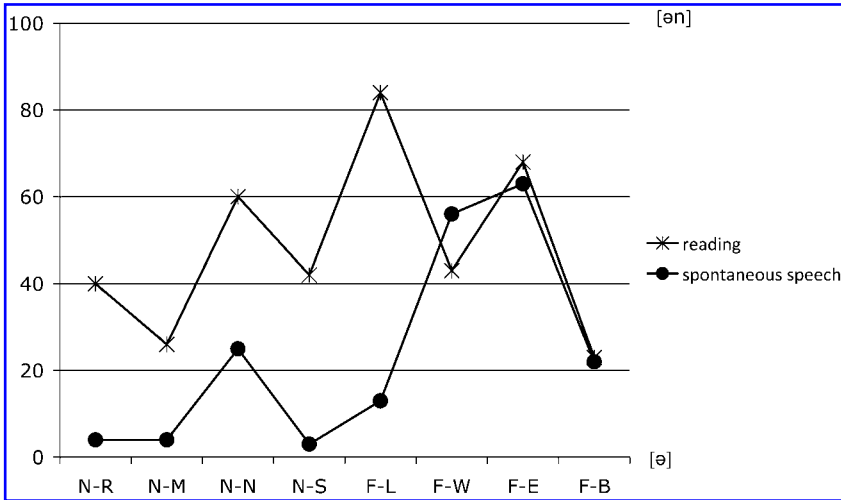


Figure 16. *Word final (n) in infinitives for Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch in VTD, split up by style and region. The index scores range from 0 ([ə]) to 100 ([ən]); n = 160, k = 800 for reading and k = 9254 for spontaneous speech.*

The spontaneous speech data refine the insights into *n*-deletion in standard Dutch. First, it should be noted that there are large regional differences in each national variety. These differences are in line with the expectations on the basis of dialect data: less *n*-deletion in N-N than in the other Netherlandic regions and less *n*-deletion in F-W and F-E than in the other Belgian regions. Second, the results confirm the differences observed between Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch, with on average much higher *n*-deletion rates (low index scores) in the Netherlands. Furthermore, Flemish regions (F-L and F-B) with high *n*-deletion rates (low index scores) still have higher scores than *n*-deleting regions in the Netherlands (N-N, N-M, and N-S). However, in reading style a very different and surprising picture shows up. In Netherlandic Dutch the nasal is realized much more in reading style than in spontaneous speech. In Flanders, this difference does not show up systematically: no difference between the styles in F-B and F-E, much more realization in F-L, and more deletion in F-W. This result contradicts the popular belief – also among linguists – that Belgian speakers of standard Dutch stick much more to spelling pronunciation than Netherlandic speakers. Departing from the idea that the Belgian teachers of Dutch – who were all trained in the pronunciation of standard Dutch during their study – speak most standard in the tasks with highest speech monitoring, the data suggest that there are two competing norms in Belgian standard

Dutch: [ə] in F-B and F-W, and [ən] in F-L and F-E. In F-B both the vernacular (in the sense of endogenous in the dialects) and standard realizations are [ə], hence there are no differences between the speech styles. In F-W the vernacular realization is [ən] and the speakers partially succeed in suppressing [n]. In F-E, with endogenous [ən], it looks as if the target standard realization is [ən], as it is clearly the case in F-L, where the endogenous form is [ə]. However, this interpretation is still speculative and more research into the linguistic conditioning of this process is necessary to disentangle the complex regional and stylistic patterns. Finally, it should be noted that F-B, the core area for Belgian Dutch, has the highest rate of *n*-deletion, and seems to converge most with Netherlandic Dutch.

#### 4.7 /r/

The /r/ is by far the most variable sound in Dutch, both between and within speakers, and the allophonic variation is determined by both internal and external factors. Furthermore, /r/ is involved in different changes in progress in Belgium and the Netherlands: the rise of uvular /r/ in colloquial Belgian Dutch (Tops 2009) and of approximant /r/ in Netherlandic Dutch (Van Bezooijen, Kroezen & Van den Berg 2002; Van Bezooijen 2005). The allophones of /r/ differ in both place and manner of articulation. We will focus our discussion on two dimensions: place of articulation (rfront) and degree of consonantality (rcons). For a more detailed discussion we refer to Van de Velde (1996) and Van de Velde & Van Hout (1999).

Figure 17 presents the results for postvocalic (r) in DRD. The index scores range from 0 (no front realizations) to 100 (only front realizations). There is a significant difference between Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch, the former variety having more back realizations. There are no significant changes over time in the standard spontaneous speech of broadcasters. The Belgian speakers all exclusively have front realizations, except for a 1935 speaker who mixes front and back realizations and a 1995 speaker who always speaks with a uvular.<sup>13</sup> In Netherlandic Dutch there is considerable inter- and intraspeaker variation. Furthermore, it should be noted that front realizations are dominant among Dutch broadcasters in all periods, contrary to several unsystematic observations in the literature. Figure 18 presents the index scores for consonantality. There is an obvious and significant difference between the two national varieties. In Belgian Dutch the index scores are 100 or very close to it: almost all realizations of (r) are consonantal. In Netherlandic Dutch the consonantality of (r) is much lower, as there are a lot of approximant and vocalic realizations. There is a significant decrease in



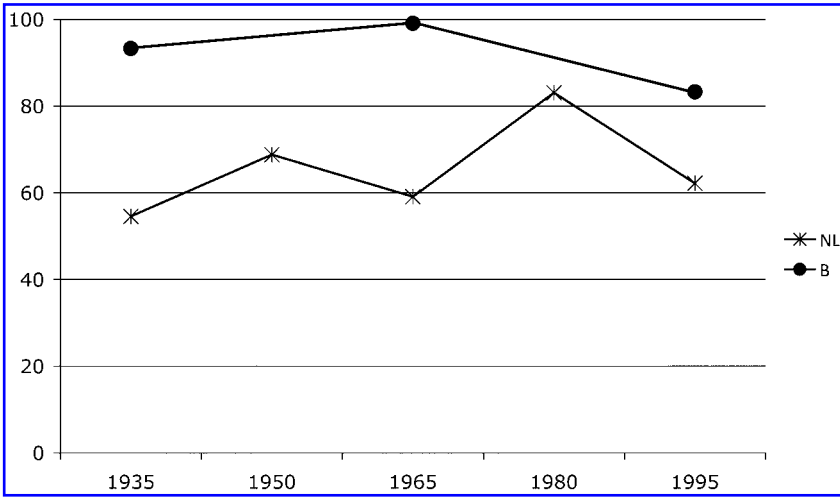


Figure 17. *Place of articulation of (r) in Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch between 1935 and 1995 (DRD). The index score ranges from 0 (back) to 100 (front); n = 68, k = 1304.*

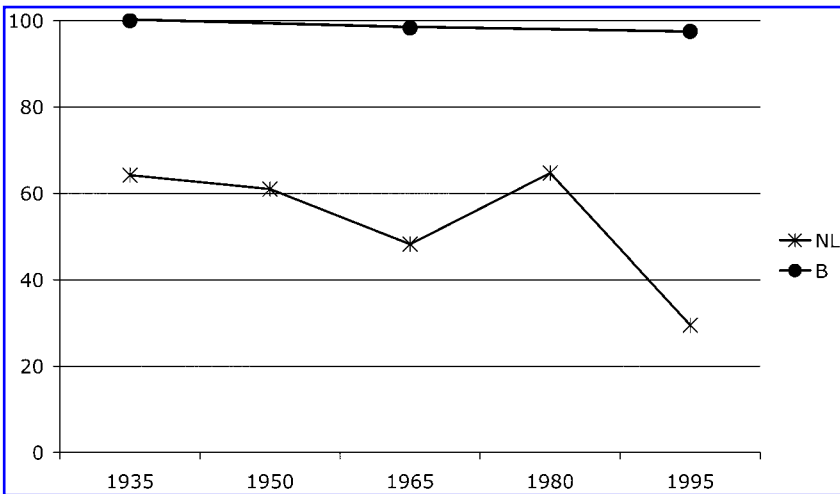


Figure 18. *Consonantality of (r) in Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch between 1935 and 1995 (DRD). The index score ranges from 0 (- consonantal) to 100 (+ consonantal); n = 68, k = 1304.*

consonantality of (r) in the last period. Belgian Dutch does not follow the developments in Netherlandic Dutch.

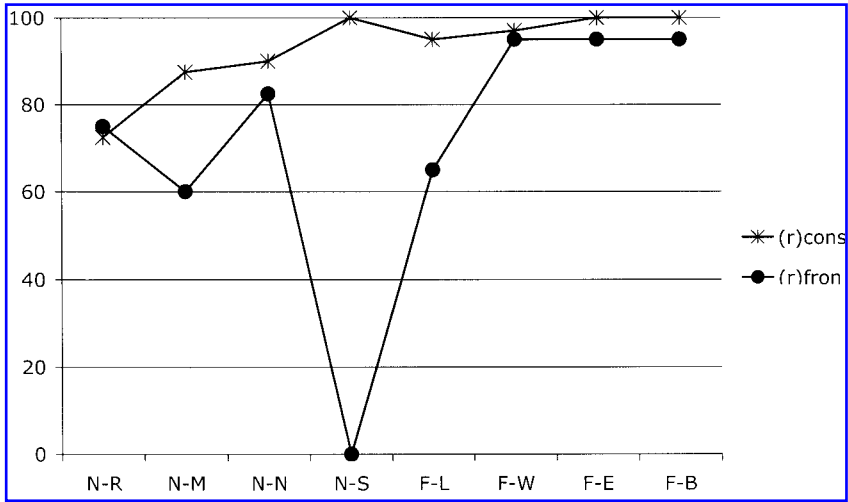


Figure 19. Place of articulation and consonantality of postvocalic (r) in logatoms in VTD, split up by region; n = 160, k = 320.

The index scores for place of articulation and consonantality of postvocalic (r) in VTD are presented in figure 19. The results for (r-front) confirm and refine the insights on the basis of DRD. Belgian Dutch has more front realizations than Netherlandic Dutch and front realizations are dominant, except in N-S, which has only back realizations of (r). The most similar cross-border region F-L also has the lowest score (i.e., the most back realizations) in Flanders. Tops (2009) showed that uvular realizations are no longer limited to the Limburg area, but are spreading rapidly in different parts of Flanders in colloquial speech.

In the Netherlands, the scores (r-cons) are very high in comparison with the 1995 results in DRD (figure 18). However, this does not mean that the change observed in DRD and in Van Bezooijen *et al.* (2002) is stopped or even reversed. The differences can be explained by the nature of the speech data. In DRD spontaneous speech was analysed, in VTD logatoms in which the speakers fully focused on the variable. In Belgium, F-L has a much lower score than the three other regions, due to a fairly large number of uvular approximants.

### 5. Has or will Dutch become Flemish?

Table 4 attempts to summarize the results presented in section 4. In the lefthand column one can find the phonological variables. For each variable the following questions are answered in four columns:

- (1) Is there a difference between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch in the real time corpus DRD?
- (2) Is there a difference between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch in the contemporary VTD corpus?
- (3) Is there a difference between N-S and F-L, the two neighboring Limburg provinces on both sides of the state border, in VTD?
- (4) Is there a difference between N-R and F-B, the two core areas in Belgium and the Netherlands, in VTD?

The answers, based on a combination of statistical testing and interpretation of the variation patterns, are coded as follows:

- = the varieties are similar / not different
- ≠ the varieties are different / not similar
- ≈ the varieties are different, but tend to be more similar than other combinations (only used for [3] and [4]).

In the column DRD B versus NL there are a number of empty cells for the variables that were not studied in the DRD corpus.

Positive answers to questions (1) and (2) might indicate divergence between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch. Table 4 shows this pattern for all phonological variables, except for (i) and (n)read. The pervasiveness of this pattern of dissimilarity provides strong evidence for autonomous development in both Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch. The main conclusion of the DRD study was that Netherlandic Dutch had changed a lot between 1935 and 1995 whereas Belgian Dutch had remained stable in the same period. We were able to show that an apparently similar change in devoicing the (v) in Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch is phonetically different by looking at the acoustic implementation of the v-f contrast.

There are an overwhelming number of differences between present-day Belgian and Netherlandic standard Dutch, but none of them leads to a different phoneme inventory. Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch share the same vowels and consonants. The phonetic differences observed are allophonic and most of them seem to act below the level of consciousness. This argument counterbalances overstatement of the strength of the autonomous developments in Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch. Other counterarguments against its strength are to be found in the answers to question (3). If Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch are completely autonomous, N-S and F-L, the neighboring Limburg provinces situated along the state border, which are covered under the umbrella of a different national variety, should be different too. However, for a large number of variables there are no differences between N-S and F-L or the two regions tend to be more similar than other regions. N-S and F-L speak-

Table 4. Summary of the country and region effects for phonological variables in DRD and VTD. The following differences are assessed: (i) Belgian vs. Netherlandic Dutch in DRD; (ii) Belgian vs. Netherlandic Dutch in VTD; (iii) N-S vs. F-L (the Limburg provinces across the state border); (iv) F-B vs. N-R (the two core regions in Belgium and the Netherlands). The following symbols are used: = (very similar), ≠ (very different) and ≈ (small difference, rather similar). If a cell is left empty the variable is not studied.

		DRD	VTD		
		B vs. NL	B vs. NL	N-S vs. F-L	F-B vs. N-R
loan words	(a)		≠	≠	≠
	(tie)		≠	≈	≠
	(nasal)		≠	≠	≠
vowels	(i)		=	=	≠
	(ɪ)		≠	=	≈
	(ɛ)		≠	=	≈
	(a)		≠	≠	=
	(ɑ)		≈	≠	=
	(ɔ)		≈	≈	≈
	(u)		≈	≈	=
	(ʏ)		≈	=	≈
	(ɛi)		≠	≈	≈
	(æy)		≠	=	≠
	(ɔu)			≠	=
	(e)	≠	≠	≈	≠
	(ø)		≠	≈	≠
	(o)	≠	≠	≈	≠
consonants	(v)	≠	≠	=	≠
	(z)	≠	≠	≠	=
	(g)	≠	≠	≈	=
	(v-f)F0		≠	=	≠
	(v-f)dur		≠	≈	≠
	g(place)	≠	≠	=	≠
	(n)spont	≠	≠	=	≈
	(n)read		=	≠	≠
	(r)front	≠	≠	≈	≠
	(r)cons	≠	≠	≠	≠

ers share the same dialect background, and this is also audible in their standard speech, at least for some variables. For other variables they seem to accommodate to the standard speech spoken in the other regions of their respective countries. The differences between N-S and F-L could also indicate a North–South distinction (below and above the big rivers) instead of Belgian vs. Netherlandic Dutch, but this is not the case for, for example, (g)place, (r)front, (n)spont, (i), (u) and (ɔ). Another counterargument for a definite autonomous development in Belgian Dutch is found in the answers to question (4), the similarities between F-B and N-R. If, of all the Flemish regions, its core area (Brabant) is closest

to the core area in the Netherlands (Randstad), this closeness must be interpreted as a straightforward indication of ongoing convergence between Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch. The standards maintain their old independent relationship. As the number of age effects is small in the data analyzed in VTD, further research on the basis of less monitored speech will be necessary to interpret the resemblances between F-B and N-R more accurately. However, it seems that most variables for which we find this resemblance act below the level of consciousness. For the most salient differences between Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch – the pronunciation of loan words, place of articulation of (g), r(cons) and diphthongization of (e), (ø) and (o) – clear differences between N-R and N-S show up, suggesting an autonomy of Belgian Dutch for variables above the level of consciousness.

The differences observed clearly mark the development of two divergent pronunciation standards, based on different linguistic (re)sources, but on the lexical level patterns of convergence are observed between Belgian and Netherlandic Dutch (Geeraerts, Grondelaers & Speelman 1999). The relationships and the connectivity between both varieties will remain strong, based on their shared linguistic history and shared language policy, but also because they are neighbors, shared infrastructure and economic links. As such, Dutch is not different from its two closest neighbors German and English. A shared linguistic repertoire is at the heart of pluricentric languages. Pluricentric powers will make sure that Flemish remains Dutch, although not Netherlandic.

We would like to give the final conclusion to Willemyns (2003: 119):

Predictions, therefore, are not very helpful, except for this one: the linguistic evolution of Dutch in the twenty-first century promises to be an exciting and thrilling affair, worthwhile to participate in and to be closely observed!

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## Notes

1. We will use the adjective Netherlandic to refer to the Netherlands, and Belgian to refer to Belgium and/or Flanders.
2. In 1993 Belgium became a fully-fledged federal state and all responsibilities concerning the Dutch language were transferred to the Flemish Community. In 2004 Surinam joined the Dutch Language Union as an associate member.
3. For convenience sake in the figures we use 1995 as the 5<sup>th</sup> period of the study, although the most recent recordings are from 1993. A new sample is to be collected in 2010.

4. The number of selected Belgian broadcasters is smaller, as there have always been far fewer Belgian (Flemish) broadcasters than Dutch ones. Furthermore, the Belgian radio archive is also much smaller than the Dutch national sound archive.
5. It should be noted that most of the Belgian teachers were trained in the tradition of the propagation of the Netherlandic standard language on the lexical and grammatical level. For pronunciation the speech of the broadcasters of the Belgian radio and television stations served as a role model, which is clearly different from the Netherlandic standard (see section 3.1).
6. In tasks with high monitoring, language variation is reduced. This might explain why age and sex differences do not frequently show up in our analyses of data from word lists and carrier sentences in the VTD corpus. However, significant differences between the Netherlands and Belgium and between regions within these countries show up frequently.
7. The combination /ys/ exists in a couple of proper names, but the length and quality of the vowel varies a lot in these names.
8. There are some spectral changes that drop over time in the Belgian Dutch long mid vowels, but these are mainly on the F2 dimension. The spectral changes for F1 are comparable to those found in other monophthongal vowels (see Van der Harst i.p.).
9. In some regions – both in the Netherlands and Flanders – /u/ is not the most back vowel in the system.
10. It is not clear how the differences in transcription technique might interfere. On the one hand, the visual inspection of the spectrum might lead to an increase of intermediate variants, as tokens with a short period of devoicing might auditorily pass as fully voiced but are now classified as partially voiced. On the other hand, the software enables us to isolate the variable much more easily from its linguistic environment than can be done with an audio tape, and will probably result in more voiceless classifications.
11. Note that the possible loss of the phonemic voicing contrast cannot be tested on the back pair /ɣ/-/x/, as the latter does not occur in prevocalic position, except in a couple of loan words and in the cluster /sx/.
12. See Quené (2008) for an analysis of the spontaneous speech of the same speakers, showing that the Belgian Dutch participants speak more slowly than the Dutch ones.
13. Note that the 1935 speaker with mixed /r/ was instructed by the Belgian broadcasting corporation to speak with an alveolar [r]. The 1995 speaker was not allowed to become a television journalist due to his uvular [ʀ] (Van de Velde 1996: 126).

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# Chaos and standards: Orthography in the Southern Netherlands (1720–1830)

GIJSBERT RUTTEN and RIK VOSTERS

## *Abstract*

*This paper discusses metalinguistic discourse and orthographical practice in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the southern Netherlands ('Flanders'). Whereas a lot is known about Dutch language standardization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, what happened after that, especially in the southern territories, is still partly uncharted territory. This contribution will examine and challenge the myths of language decline and linguistic chaos that are often associated with eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Flanders. The authors show that there was a vivid and coherent normative tradition, especially on the level of orthography, and that even a case of apparent orthographical disorder, such as the so-called accent spelling, can be counted as an instance of language standardization in the eighteenth-century southern Netherlands.*

*Keywords: historical sociolinguistics, history of linguistics, Dutch orthography, standardization, southern Netherlands*

## **1. Introduction**

In this paper, we discuss metalinguistic discourse and orthographical practice in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the southern Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> This period still continues to be somewhat of a *terra incognita*. Whereas a lot is known about the earlier periods of Dutch language standardization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, what happened after that is still partly uncharted territory. In section 2, we will elaborate on the historical-sociolinguistic background and describe in more detail the contrast of, on the one hand, language standardization, and on the other hand, the myths of language decline and linguistic chaos that are often associated with the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the southern Netherlands. In section 3, we will focus on

the importance of spelling in the sociolinguistic context of the time, in metalinguistic discourse and also as an identity marker for language users. In section 4, the myth of language decline in the southern Netherlands will then be demythologized. We will show that, alternatively, there was a vivid and coherent normative tradition, especially on the level of orthography. To demonstrate this, we will then present the case of the so-called accent spelling in section 5, as it has often been associated with the idea of spelling chaos and decline at the time. We will show that no such negative image is justified, and we will instead argue for standardization as an essential characteristic of the eighteenth-century linguistic situation in the southern Netherlands.

## **2. Historical-sociolinguistic background: Standardization and linguistic decline**

The Dutch language area is made up of two parts. The southern part roughly consists of the Dutch-speaking areas in Belgium, while the northern part approximately encompasses the present-day Netherlands. This political division is historically motivated. Following the northern revolt against Spanish rule from 1568 onward, the two areas developed into politically and religiously more or less separate entities. While the Northern Republic of the Seven United Provinces began its so-called Golden Age, the South remained under Spanish (and later Austrian) control. Linguists and historians generally agree on the importance of this division for the history of the Dutch language. De Vooys (1952: 66) emphasizes how the ‘cities of Holland took over the leading position from the declining South, also linguistically’ (our translation), and Burke (2005: 20) posits an ‘increasing cultural divergence between North and South in the seventeenth century’, suggesting that it ‘extended to language as well’. In the early nineteenth century, for a brief period of time (1815–1830), the southern and the northern part of the Netherlands were united again in the United Kingdom of the Netherlands under the reign of King William I. As a result of this temporary unification, the northern and southern writing traditions, which had been separated for centuries, came into close contact again.

The linguistic difference between North and South has often been conceptualized in the opposition between standardization and linguistic decline. Whereas the foundation of the later standard variety is supposedly laid in the northern provinces, especially in Holland, in the seventeenth century (cf., e.g., van der Wal 1995), the language situation in the South in the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth century has traditionally been characterized as deplorable: a long period of strong cultural and linguistic decline is assumed to have reached an absolute low after the

French invasion of the 1790s. Two aspects of this linguistic downfall are usually singled out. First, the importance of French restricted the use of Dutch in the official domain, which became especially problematic from the 1790s onwards. The French language carried social and political prestige, while the varieties of Dutch used were often assumed to have been isolated from the North, where a supra-regional variety of Dutch had already come into use (e.g., Deneckere 1954). Secondly, insofar as varieties of Dutch were used in the South at all, they seemed to be nothing more than a collection of mutually incomprehensible dialects at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Wils (1956: 530; cf. Wils 2001) mentions 'Flemish dialects and spellings' being used in written documents from the educational, judicial, and administrative domains. Deneckere (1954: 326) even claims that such administrative documents were not intelligible from one town to another. A sharp contrast is drawn up between North and South: standardization as opposed to linguistic decline, or, as Suffeleers (1979: 17) put it: 'As opposed to relative uniformity in writing in the North, absolute chaos ruled the South'.

However, the Dutch language was widely in use in the South as well, but southern writing traditions and emerging standardization have been largely neglected in most histories of the Dutch language. In spite of a considerable number of grammars and orthographies which were published in the southern Netherlands in the eighteenth century, many of these works have been disregarded because of their supposed lack of uniform, normative prescriptions (Smeyers 1959; Rutten & Vosters i.p.). In addition, although the status of the language at the time is fairly well studied, particularly concerning the opposition between Dutch and French (e.g., de Ridder 1999; van Goethem 1990; Vanhecke & de Groof 2007), much less is known about the actual form of Dutch in the South during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The image of especially the eighteenth-century southern linguistic situation as one of decline and chaos has recently been contested as a result of new corpus-based research into the original sources (van der Horst 2004; Rutten & Vosters i.p.). It appears that the idea of linguistic decay lacks empirical support. The fact that neither Deneckere nor Wils nor any of the other (language) historians dealing with the topic have performed any systematic corpus research on language material of the period may have contributed to their empirically flawed assumptions.<sup>2</sup>

In the sociolinguistic make-up of the time, spelling appears to have been highly important. Next, the image of the South being in decline seems to be a myth that had already been created in that period. Thus, in the remainder of this paper our focus will be on spelling and on the mythical ideas associated with it. We will first elaborate on the social importance of spelling as this can be deduced from contemporary meta-linguistic discourse and from processes of identity formation.

### 3. The importance of spelling

As noted above, there was a very large number of grammars and orthographies published in the southern Netherlands in the eighteenth century. In 1713, a short grammar appeared in which the author E. C. P. (= Gillis De Witte [1648–1721]) compared southern and northern features, thereby revealing that the linguistic unity of the North and the South had become problematic.<sup>3</sup> One year later, Andries Stéven (ca. 1676–1747) published the first edition of his schoolbook on ethics which contained a few chapters on spelling (Rutten 2009a). Especially from the 1750s onward, a steady stream of linguistic textbooks appeared, mainly written by schoolteachers and meant to be used in schools (Rutten 2009b, 2009c). The main issues dealt with were orthography, pronunciation, and vocabulary, the last mainly for the sake of purifying Dutch from French and Latin loan words. From des Roches' important *Nieuwe Nederduytsche spraek-konst* ('New Dutch grammar') (1761) onward, morphology and syntax became very significant ingredients of normative works. The linguistic domain which appears to be most prominent in metalinguistic discourse at the time, however, is orthography, to the extent that some commentators almost appear to equate spelling with language itself.<sup>4</sup>

In the period between 1815 and 1830 in the United Kingdom, spelling was still the central issue in most linguistic discussions. Whereas King William himself did not seem to mind what kind of Dutch was being used in the South, issues of variation and norms within Dutch were hotly debated in the private sphere. In various cities and towns, language amateurs gathered in newly-founded 'literary societies' where native and non-native speakers alike were stimulated to use the Dutch language creatively and proficiently.<sup>5</sup> Many of these societies were financially or otherwise supported by the government, and they were strongly in favor of adopting northern linguistic practices, even though there was no official need to do so. Many of these groups held lectures and essay competitions about language, in which authors frequently argued for the linguistic superiority of the North. The main focus of most essays was spelling.

The grammars and orthographies of the period in the United Kingdom showed the same tendency to focus on spelling issues. There was a large number of orthographical handbooks to begin with. Moreover, even publications that were presented as 'grammars' often almost exclusively dealt with spelling issues (e.g., ter Bruggen 1818). Linguistic differences between the North and the South were sometimes reduced to orthographical matters, and the difference between northern and southern spelling was felt to be so strong that northern school books were being 'rewritten' in southern orthography. Some schoolbooks presented north-

ern and southern spellings alongside one another, almost in a bilingual fashion.<sup>6</sup> Most interesting, perhaps, were little guidebooks discussing North–South differences in such a way that southerners could familiarize themselves with northern writing practices.<sup>7</sup> The most well-known of these how-to guides, meant to teach people about the northern spellings, was itself written according to southern spelling practices, so as not to make it too hard to access for its intended readership (Cannaert 1823; cf. Vosters & Rutten submitted).

Next, it appears that in the new and altered sociolinguistic context of the unified Netherlands, spelling had suddenly become a strong marker of someone's social, political, and sometimes also religious identity, so that small orthographical differences gained unexpected importance. Spelling was such a salient issue that political identities were often attached to spelling debates, linking political positions to orthographical preferences. Politically, the southern incorporation into the Netherlands as a whole in the period of the United Kingdom (1815–1830) became an important issue, resulting, at least theoretically, in the following two extreme positions: the so-called 'particularist' position claiming that the southern Netherlands should separate themselves from the northern Netherlands (as actually happened in 1830 with Belgian independence), and on the other side of the political spectrum the 'integrationists', who wanted the Netherlands to remain united. This political contrast was at least in part mirrored by the linguistic opposition of those who claimed that southern Dutch was a language in itself, or at least a variety fundamentally different from northern Dutch, and those who maintained that southern and northern Dutch were essentially the same (cf. Vosters 2009b). Thus, indexical meanings were often attached to spelling debates. As the southern incorporation into the Netherlands as a whole became an important issue in political debates, arguments pro and contra the new union also extended into the field of language. southern proponents of the unification (the integrationists) emphasized the union of the one Dutch language, thereby minimizing regional differences and quite readily sacrificing southern spelling variants in favor of northern alternatives.<sup>8</sup> The opponents of the regime (the particularists) repeatedly emphasized the singularity of southern Dutch varieties, and resisted the 'Hollandophile' tendencies of adversaries who too eagerly turned their gaze northwards. This opposition became more salient as the protest movement against the regime grew, and voices for a separate 'Flemish' language especially grew stronger after 1830, when the southern Netherlands separated themselves from the United Kingdom in the so-called Belgian revolution.<sup>9</sup> The social context of the United Kingdom thus extended beyond a simple North–South opposition, and a Flemish writer's

choice to opt for either a northern or a southern way of spelling must more often than not be seen as part of a process of identity formation.

It was not only political positions in the North–South debate that were indexed by spelling choices. There was also the social relevance of adopting the northern spelling norms. As mentioned above, there were private initiatives such as literary societies where northern spellings often found receptive ground. It also seems that complying with the northern norms facilitated upward social mobility. One particular example would be the case of Jan Frans Willems, the later ‘father of the Flemish movement’. His commitment to the Dutchification of the South was rewarded with considerable professional advancement, while at the same time, his spelling choices developed from typically southern (as in Willems 1818) to more northern (from his 1824 essay onwards).

Apart from political and social identities, religious identities came into play as well in the context of language use and orthography. When Pieter Behaegel, the later notorious particularist linguist, looked back on the period of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, he claimed that the supposed mutual incomprehensibility of northern and southern politicians was due to the irrepressible northern penchant for change: the Hollanders had strayed from the true language of their forefathers, just as they had digressed from the path of true Christianity in the past (Behaegel 1837: 34–35). In this line of thought, language change is associated with a shift in religion, and both are condemned. Another example comes from the grammar of a Roman Catholic priest, F. L. N. Henckel, who fiercely struggled against northern <de> instead of southern <den> as the masculine form of the definite article in the nominative case. In the South, <de> was reserved for feminine nouns, and thus, he argued, the northern practice of leaving out the <n> and writing *de paus* ‘the pope’ rather than *den paus* was a heresy, ‘attributing an unnatural gender to the Holy Father and causing disciples to stray’ (Henckel 1815: 135).<sup>10</sup>

Summing up, in metalinguistic discourse as well as in society as a whole, spelling was a highly important issue to which not only linguistic but also political, social, and religious meanings were attached. In the next section, we will discuss the issue of southern linguistic decline, thereby focusing on spelling.

#### **4. The myth of linguistic decline in the South**

As mentioned above (section 2), the image of the period under discussion has been negative for a very long time. The South has often been depicted as an area in decay, suffering from linguistic chaos and orthographical lawlessness, whereas the North had achieved a strong uniform-

ity in written language. In this section, we will first describe the image of the South in decay in more detail, and then proceed to discard this idea as a myth.

A telling example of the myth of southern linguistic and cultural decay is expressed by Elias (1963: 106; our translation), when he said the following about the southern Netherlands in the middle of the eighteenth century: ‘The intellectual life in the entire southern Netherlands ... around 1750 offers us a view of the most barren landscape one can imagine. There was simply nothing. There was the most complete silence in the deepest intellectual poverty.’<sup>11</sup> The historical image of the decline of the eighteenth century is linguistically paralleled by the so-called ‘myth of eighteenth-century language decay’ (van der Horst 2004). The basic idea is that southern Dutch, as opposed to northern Dutch, did not show standardization in this period, but rather *dialectization*, a regression towards locally defined varieties. It is claimed that ‘[b]y the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in the North, the colorful diversity in writing slowly yielded to a uniform written language, based on the good usage of the classic authors [...]. The language in the South had undergone a different development from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, [and] tended to regress to its purely local character’ (Wils 1958: 527–528; our translation).

This myth of eighteenth-century language decay can be traced back to contemporary comments on the state of the language. Especially during the early years of the United Kingdom, integrationist commentators had good cause to uphold the image of eighteenth-century Flanders as an intellectual wasteland. Consider Jan Frans Willems’ comments on the eighteenth-century linguistic situation (1819: 302):

Flemish spelling has not been fixed to the level of a general Flemish standard by anyone up to the present. ... [E]ach schoolteacher in the southern provinces ... considers himself qualified to teach the children whatever language rules his whim might have dictated him. Anarchy is a serious evil, both in spelling and in politics.<sup>12</sup>

The myth of eighteenth-century language decay can at least partly be explained by referring to its rhetorical function in nineteenth-century linguistic debates: ‘By emphasizing that the South had no tradition of its own, no basis, no language culture, nothing, they [i.e., the integrationists, GR & RV] strengthened their argument in favor of a closer connection to northern Dutch’ (van der Horst 2004: 73; our translation).

There are several sides to this myth of southern linguistic decline. First, there is the idea expressed, for example, in Willems’ quotation, that the South knew as many linguistic norms as there were grammarians and schoolteachers, or indeed as there were scribes, whereas the North



boasted a vivid and strong normative tradition. This is the so-called many norms myth.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, there is the idea of linguistic decline in practice: actual language use and especially spelling was chaotic, revealing local vowel systems rather than a supra-regional variety. This we call the orthographical chaos myth. A third element is the myth that northern language use was more or less uniform.

As stated before, the many norms myth can be traced back to Jan Frans Willems. He spent many years going through all the southern eighteenth-century books dealing with language and spelling, and his main conclusion can hardly be misunderstood: ‘there are no Flemish orthographies or grammars of any lasting authority.’<sup>14</sup> Needless to say, Willems did not consider the numerous grammars and orthographies to constitute a fully fledged normative tradition. Willems’ claims were still echoed many years later, e.g., by Sluys (1912: 53), who spoke about ‘the greatest possible confusion’ in normative publications, with every author adhering to a different spelling system. Concerning the work of des Roches, no doubt the most authoritative of the southern eighteenth-century grammarians, he even concluded that ‘[n]either his grammar nor his orthography were followed by anyone.’ De Vos (1939: 50–52) followed suit, using phrases such as ‘mind-numbing drudgery’ to describe most of the eighteenth century normative works. Even more balanced accounts such as Smeyers’ (1959: 112), who should certainly be praised for calling attention to the eighteenth-century codifiers and their grammars and orthographies, clearly stated that none of the pre-1815 grammarians ever strove for a uniform spelling, and that they all had different linguistic opinions depending on whichever dialect they spoke. After discussing a significant number of normative texts from the South, Smeyers concluded that most grammarians had done nothing to contribute to a way out of ‘the maze of orthographical lawlessness’, and that the only thing bringing them together was their obsession with purism and fighting off loan words (Smeyers 1959: 127–28). In sum, the idea is that the South lacked a proper grammatical tradition and that every grammarian constructed his own idiosyncratic spelling system.

It seems difficult to interpret these claims concerning a chaotic linguistic situation or language decline when at the same time there were certainly a large number of prints and reprints of grammars and spelling guides in the southern Netherlands. Nonetheless, a possibility would be to consider these works as lacking uniformity, with every grammarian sticking to his own system, never looking beyond his own local dialect. To investigate these claims, we looked very closely at all of the normative publications of especially the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the South, and our impression is that there definitely was a clear and coherent southern writing tradition. Normative publications were far

from being only focused on local or dialectal usage. In fact, nearly all of the authors of grammars and orthographies were very much aware of each other as well of the northern normative tradition, and many of them cite southern as well as northern grammarians and language authorities such as famous poets to back up their orthographical choices. Ironically, it is precisely from 1750 onwards – when Elias (1963) envisioned an intellectual wasteland – that several linguistic publications have come down to us. We will have a closer look at some of these works to illustrate our claims.

In the 1750s and 1760s, three Antwerp schoolteachers laid the foundation of the southern normative tradition of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These schoolteachers were Jan Domien Verpoorten (1706–1773), P. B. (?–?), and Jan Des Roches (ca. 1735–1787). In 1752, Verpoorten published the first edition of his *Woorden-schat, oft letter-konst* ('Vocabulary, or grammar'), which mostly dealt with loan words, but he also briefly discussed some spelling issues. Verpoorten's 'new manner of writing,' as he proudly called it, has to do, among other things, with getting rid of 'superfluous' consonants, consonant clusters representing only one sound such as:

[k] which is commonly spelled <ck> in auslaut and which should be spelled <k>

e.g., *ik* 'I' instead of *ick*;

[ɣ] which is commonly spelled <gh> in anlaut and which should be spelled <g>

e.g., *geven* 'give' instead of *gheven*.

These kinds of spelling proposals are not in any way related to the dialect of Antwerp. Instead, these were innovations already put forward in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century normative tradition in the North, as well as in the rare early eighteenth-century grammars from the South. Verpoorten was just linking up with and re-implementing common orthographical innovations. Similar orthographical proposals were put forward five years later by his fellow Antwerp schoolteacher P. B. in his *Fondamenten of te grond-regels der Neder-duytsche spel-konst* ('Foundations or basic rules of Dutch orthography') (1757). We cannot go into the details here, but it seems that P. B. and Verpoorten were competitors, linguistically as well as commercially on the schoolbook market. They took part in an implicit yet lively linguistic discussion that rapidly changed from fairly basic orthographical and lexical (purist) matters into a broader linguistic approach (Rutten 2009b).

This broader approach is further developed by the third Antwerp schoolteacher under discussion. In 1761, des Roches published the

*Nieuwe Nederduytsche spraek-konst* ('New Dutch grammar'). Contrary to his predecessors, des Roches did not limit himself to spelling and loanwords, but he wrote a full grammar of Dutch. Des Roches' grammar was the first southern grammar for decades and counts as one of the most important contributions to the codification of Dutch in the South throughout the eighteenth century (Rutten 2009c).

These three Antwerp schoolteachers in the 1750s and 1760s were aware of and reacted to each other's works. They proposed similar rules and presumably taught these rules in their classes. Furthermore, for our research concerning the period of the United Kingdom, it is important to remark that this southern normative tradition survived into the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as well (Rutten i.p.). There were many reprints of Verpoorten and especially P. B. and des Roches, well into the nineteenth century. In the last decades of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the normative tradition was even intensified. Dozens of works were published in the whole of the southern Netherlands, which were always concerned with orthography and pronunciation, and often also with other grammatical features. The potential spread of these works was wide, as we know that most primary schools in the later eighteenth century owned a grammar, along with reading matters and a catechism, and offered orthography as a separate subject (Put 1990: 202, 208).

However, the fact that there was a vivid normative tradition in itself does not imply that it was also coherent. Therefore, we tried to distill language norms from this vast body of normative works. We selected several recurrent features that time and again were discussed in the contemporary works, and we made an inventory of the prescribed use in the grammars. The choice of these features also depended on their importance in the nineteenth-century spelling debates when the government of the Belgian state demanded an official spelling regulation and asked well-known linguistic experts such as Jan Frans Willems to come up with a proposal. In the following debates, the two most important spelling options for every feature were often divided into a typically 'southern' and a typically 'northern' variant (Bormans 1841). The features we selected are the following:

- (1) dotted or undotted [ei], e.g. *wijn* or *wyn* 'wine';
- (2) the second element in the diphthongs [ei] and [æy], either <y> or <i>, e.g., *klein* or *kley*n 'small', and *bruin* or *bruyn*, 'brown';
- (3) vowel lengthening, either by adding an <e> or by doubling the original vowel, e.g., *zwaard* or *zwaerd* 'sword' (with [a:]), *zuur* or *zuer* 'sour' (with [y]);

- (4) the form of the definite and indefinite article in the nominative singular masculine form: spelled with or without a final <(e)n>, e.g., *de man* or *den man* ‘the man’, *een man* or *eenen man* ‘a man’;
- (5) the use of accent marks to distinguish the so-called soft-long  $\bar{e}$  and  $\bar{o}$  (< Wgm. short vowels), from the so-called sharp-long  $\hat{e}$  and  $\hat{o}$  (< Wgm. diphthongs), e.g., soft-long *geéft* ‘gives’ and *hoópt* ‘hopes’ from sharp-long *been* ‘leg’ and *droog* ‘dry’. Note that in the Hollandic center of the language area, as in the present-day standard, both [e:]’s and [o:]’s had merged by the seventeenth century, while the difference still exists in most of the southern dialects;
- (6) the ending of the second and third person singular present tense indicative forms of esp. verbs with a dental root, either <dt> or <d>, e.g., *wordt* ‘becomes’ or *word* ‘becomes’;
- (7) the so-called superfluous consonants: <g> or <gh> in anlaut, <k> or <ck> in auslaut, e.g., *ik* or *ick* ‘I’, and *gheven* or *geven* ‘give’.

In table 1, we present the prescribed use for the six features in a selection of late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century grammar books from the South. At the bottom, the 1804 officialized northern spelling norm is shown, which was codified by the Leiden professor Matthijs Siegenbeek (see table 1).

First of all, there clearly was a firm and coherent normative tradition in the South before the period of the United Kingdom, with almost complete general agreement on most features. Then, in the period of the United Kingdom (1815–1830), it is evident that southern and northern practice converge, with more and more northern features turning up in southern books, and southern practices thus giving way to the northern officialized norm of 1804. The northern 1804 orthographical prescriptions differ in all features from the common southern tradition. It should be noted that northern normative practice (let alone actual language use) was clearly not homogeneous (van der Wal 2007; Rutten 2008), but the southern perception appears to have been that normative uniformity ruled the North. Note also that the alternatives to the ‘superfluous’ letters, <g> and <k>, were generally accepted, and that every grammarian in North and South rejected <gh> and <ck>.

In sum, there appears to have been a vivid normative tradition in the South, as well as a very high degree of agreement on important orthographical issues. Admittedly, this is only one side of our research. Corpus studies into actual language use also suggest much more uniformity than the traditional view of the southern Netherlands as an intellectual wasteland, in severe decay, and suffering from total linguistics chaos (Vosters 2009a; Rutten & Vosters i.p.; Vosters, Rutten & Vanden-

Table 1: *Orthographical choices in the normative tradition in the South in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century as well as in the officialized northern spelling of 1804.*

Southern normative tradition before the United Kingdom of the Netherlands									
Feature		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Region	Author	Year	y	-y	V+e	-n	Accent	-d	gh- -ck
			ij	-i	V+V	-ø	marks	-dt	g- -k
Center	Verpoorten	1752	y	-y	V+e	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
	P. B.	1757	y	-y	V+e	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
	Des Roches	1761	y	-y	V+e	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
	Ballieu	1792	y	-y	V+e	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
	Van Aerschot	1807	y	-y	V+e	-n	yes	-dt	g- -k
West	E. C. P.	1713	ij	-y	V+V	-n	yes	-dt	g- -k
	Stéven	1734	y	-y	V+e	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
	Van Belleghem & W.	1773	y	-y	V+e	-n	no	-d	g- -k
	Janssens	1775	y	-i	V+e	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
	[Inleyding]	1785	y	-y	V+e	-n	no	-d	g- -k
	Van Boterdael	1785	y	-y	V+e	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
	Vaelande	1805	y	-y-	V+e	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
Southern normative tradition during the United Kingdom of the Netherlands									
Feature		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Region	Author	Year	y	-y	V+e	-n	Accent	-d	gh- -ck
			ij	-i	V+V	-ø	marks	-dt	g- -k
Center	[Grond-regels]	1817	y	-y	V+e	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
	Ter Bruggen	1822	y	-y	V+e	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
	Zilgens	1824	y	-y	V+e	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
	Willems	1824	y	-i	V+e	-ø	no	-dt	g- -k
West	De Neckere	1815	y	-y	V+e	-n	yes	-dt	g- -k
	Henckel	1815	ij	-i	V+e	-n	no	-d	g- -k
	[Cannaert]	1823	y/ij	-y	V+e/ V+V	-n/-ø	no	-dt	g- -k
	Moke	1823	ij	-i	V+V	-ø	yes	-dt	g- -k
	Behaegel	1824	y	-y	V+V	-n	yes	-d	g- -k
	De Simpel	1827	ij	-i	V+V	-ø	no	-dt	g- -k
	East	[Eerste beginselen]	1819	ij	-i	V+V	-ø	no	-dt
In	Van der Pijl	1815	ij	-i	V+V	-ø	no	-dt	g- -k
French	Meijer	1820	ij	-i	V+V	-ø	no	-dt	g- -k
Northern officialized norm									
Feature		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Region	Author	Year	y	-y	V+e	-n	Accent	-d	gh- -ck
			ij	-i	V+V	-ø	marks	-dt	g- -k
North	Siegenbeek	1804	ij	-i	V+V	-ø	no	-dt	g- -k

bussche i.p.; Vosters & Rutten submitted). In the next section, we will turn to the question of how this myth of multiple norms and spelling chaos came about.

### 5. Case study: The orthographical representation of different *e*'s and *o*'s

As stated above (section 4), many commentators in the late eighteenth and especially in the early nineteenth century had political and rhetorical reasons to paint a rather negative picture of the eighteenth-century linguistic situation in the South. They even upheld this view when referring to the contemporary metalinguistic discourse which, we have shown in section 4, was far from as chaotic as it was said to be. What, then, could possibly have been the empirical base for negative judgments of the eighteenth-century linguistic past? A possible explanation can be found in the use of accent marks for the orthographical representation of different *e*'s and *o*'s: the so-called accent spelling that we also briefly discussed in the previous section, and on which grammarians and schoolteachers seemed to agree least (cf. table 1). In this section, we will first discuss accent spelling as a possible source of the myth of spelling chaos, and then argue that, instead of a sign of chaos or decline, accent spelling should in fact be interpreted as a case of ongoing linguistic standardization in practice.<sup>15</sup>

First, the linguistic background of accent spelling should be explained. In present-day standard Dutch, historically different phonemes have merged. Nowadays, as well as in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, most northern varieties phonologically have the same vowel in *veel* 'much' (< Wgm. short vowel) and in *deel* 'part' (< Wgm. diphthong), whereas in most southern dialects the historical-phonological difference is maintained, usually by a diphthongized realization of the vowel originating from a Wgm. diphthong. The same with *oo*: in most northern varieties *hoop* 'hope' (< Wgm. short vowel) and *hoop* 'heap' (< Wgm. diphthong) have more or less the same pronunciation whereas a phonological difference exists in most southern dialects. In the Hollandic center of the language area both *e*'s and *o*'s had merged by the seventeenth century. Due to the merger of these phonemes in northern Dutch, where a strong normative tradition existed, they were usually written with the same letters: in closed syllables <ee> and <oo> respectively, for both the vowels out of Wgm. short vowels as those out of Wgm. diphthongs. In the eighteenth century in the South, however, spelling systems emerged in which the historical-phonologically distinct vowels were also written with the same letters, but at the same time distinguished by accent marks. The accent marks were often used to distinguish the so-called soft-long *e* and *o* (< Wgm. short vowels) from the so-called sharp-long *e* and *o* (< Wgm. diphthongs). Thus, soft-long *veël* 'much', *geëft*

‘gives’, *hoóp* ‘hope’ and *loóft* ‘praises’ were orthographically distinguished from sharp-long *deel* ‘part’, *been* ‘leg’, *hoop* ‘heap’ and *droog* ‘dry’.

In the orthographical tradition, then, two parameters were involved in the spelling of a specific vowel. First, its etymological origin; secondly, its position in either an open or a closed syllable. In total, that leaves four different positions for *ee* and *oo*. In table 2, the spelling choices of eighteenth-century grammarians from the South are given:

Table 2: *Orthographical representation of the different e’s and o’s in open and in closed syllables in the southern normative tradition of the eighteenth century.*

Feature			soft-long <i>e</i>		sharp-long <i>e</i>		soft-long <i>o</i>		sharp-long <i>o</i>	
Region	Author	Year	open	closed	open	closed	open	closed	open	closed
Center	Verpoorten	1752	e	eê	ee	ee	o	oô	oo	oo
	P. B.	1757	e	eé	ee	ee	o	oô	oo	oo
	Des Roches	1761	eé	eé	ee	ee	oó	oó	oo	oo
	Verpoorten	1767	e eé	eé	ee	ee	o oó	oó	oo	oo
West	E. C. P.	1713	e	ee	ee	ee	o ô	oo	oi	oi
	Stéven	1734	é	é êé	ee	ee	o	oo	oo	oo
	Van Bell. & W.	1773	e	ee	ee	ee	o	oo	oo	oo
	Janssens	1775	e	ee	eé	eé	—	—	—	—
	Van Boterdael	1785	eé	eé	ee	ee	oó	oó	oo	oo
	[Inleyding]	1785	e ee	ee	ee	ee	o	oo	oo	oo
	Ballieu	1792	eé	eé	ee	ee	oó	oó	oo	oo

In section 4, we only used the presence or absence of accent marks as a feature. Here, it becomes clear that many different proposals were linked to accent spellings. Acute accents as well as circumflexes were proposed, some in open, some in closed syllables, usually for one etymological type, but sometimes for the other. Some authors prescribed multiple spellings for one sound (where there are two lines),<sup>16</sup> one author changed his mind (Verpoorten), one author advocated one prescription while following another (Stéven), and there was one author who had a synchronic instead of a historical distribution for the *o*’s, but not for the *e*’s (Janssens). All in all, this could be interpreted as spelling chaos or orthographical lawlessness.

On closer inspection, however, we do not think this is chaos, but a fine example of standardization instead. Assuming that it is improbable that the relative success of accent spelling, which was in use as a serious

orthographical option well into the nineteenth century, originated from the rather simple booklet by Verpoorten (1752), we asked ourselves where accent spelling came from. Our hypothesis was that it must have originated in actual language practice and that it was codified only later on by grammarians such as Verpoorten (1752). Since all of the early accent spelling proposals, from the 1750s and the 1760s, were from grammar books published in Antwerp (Verpoorten, P. B., and des Roches), we decided to study all the books published between 1720 and 1760 with an Antwerp publisher that are kept in the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience in Antwerp, where they have the largest collection of old prints from the city of Antwerp. In total, we examined about 350 old prints, some 36 of which contained accent marks. As a result, we were able to trace the rise of the use of accent marks. We distinguish three stages which partly overlap each other:

- 1) *Deletions*: in this first stage, the accent mark is used as a sign that a sound is deleted. This is, of course, a practice well-known from medieval manuscripts and maintained in printing for centuries. The interesting thing is that it now and then also appeared in the context of the *e*'s and *o*'s. Consider: *dêes* 'this' and *vêel* 'much' where the circumflex compensates for the deleted schwa (< *dese* resp. *vele*). We also found, in one text, *ick hoôp* 'I hope' and *ick hope*, where again the schwa is deleted and compensated for by an accent mark.
- 2) In stage two, there is a lexically diffused spread of the use of accents to positions where no sound is deleted but where the vowel is similar to the vowels in stage one. So we find, for example, *scheên* 'appeared' and *verdweên* 'vanished', and *voôr* 'for' and *koôr* 'chose' in which there is no reason to assume any deletion, but where the vowels are similar to those in *dêes*, *vêel* and *hoôp*. So we have analogically based *lexical diffusion*.
- 3) In stage three, the use of accent marks is generalized to all the historically related and presumably similar sounding vowels. This is the stage of the *historical-phonologically conditioned accent spelling system*.

In table 3, the 36 books with accent marks can be seen on the left,<sup>17</sup> and the three stages are shown horizontally:

Table 3: *books with accent marks and the stage these represent (deletions, lexical diffusion or historical-phonologically conditioned).*

Author	Short title	Year	Deletions	Lexical diffusion	Historical-phonological
Storms	Vruchtbaeren boom	1708	x	x	
Vlaenderen	Nieuwe en oprechte	[1720]		x	
Bouvaert	Beschryvinge van den toren	1723			x



Table 3: (continued)

Author	Short title	Year	Deletions	Lexical diffusion	Historical-phonological
Roelands	Anathomia arithmetica	1724		x	
—	Twee-hondert en vyftigh-	1728	x	x	
Nakatenus	Hemelsch palm-hof	[1730]		x	
—	Het hemels palm-hof	[1732–1734]		x	
—	Beschryvinghe	[1732]		x	
—	De wonder bekeeringe	1735	x		
Wielens	Het leven van den glorieusen	1738		x	
Pontas	Geestelyke aenspraken	1738			x
—	Het leven der getrouwden	1741			
V. Wauwe	Het geestelyck maeghden-tuyltjen	1743	x	x	
—	Helden-sangh den lof der nature	1744	x	x	
—	De psalmen van David	1746		x	
—	Den spiegel des wreeden	[1748–?]	x	x	
Nakatenus	Het hemels-palm-hofken	[1748]		x	
—	Geboden ende uyt-geroepen	1750			x
[Op den Hooff]	Thimon den menschen-hater	1751	x		
—	Catalogue van den uytmntende	1752			x
Van der Linden	Heerlyke ende gelukkige reyze	[1753–1805]			x
J. B. V. L. P.	De klyne christelyke academie	[1753–1805]			x
Poirters	Het duyfken	[1753]		x	
—	Vasten-avonds vrolykheden	1755			x
—	Maniere om godvruchtiglyk	[1755]			x
—	Korte maer heylsame	[1755]			x
—	Hant-boecksken van teere	[1755]			x
Claus	Christelyke onderwijzing	1756			x
F. C. M. R.	Christelyke onderwijzing	[1756]		x	
—	Beschryvinge van de besonderste	[1756]			x
—	Den bloeyenden staet	1758			
Verpoorten	Het leven van den H. Donatus	1759			x
Joannes	Aenleydinge	1759		x	
—	Kort begryp	1759			x
—	Algemeyn jubilé	1759			x
Franciscus	Onderwys	[1760]			x

There is a clear general development from spelling practices related to deletions and lexically defined patterns, on the one hand, to eventually, fully fledged historical-phonological systems similar to those codified by Verpoorten (1752), P. B. (1757), and des Roches (1761), on the other hand. This development should be interpreted as standardization in practice: spelling practices are converging and becoming more and more systematic. Because there were such different spelling practices at the start, with all the different accent marks, etc., one has the impression of chaos, but on closer inspection, it turns out that in actual usage leveling of different practices is the case. Interestingly, we find spelling practices prescribed by grammarians first in actual usage and only years later in grammar books and spelling guides. Verpoorten's (1752) system was already in use in 1723 and in 1728, and in 1750 des Roches' (1761) system can already be found. In other words, the leveling of spelling practices, and the standardization of the system in actual usage preceded codification.

## 6. Conclusion

Much in the spirit of Roland Willemys' work on the history of Dutch, we have studied the sociolinguistic situation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the southern Netherlands, a period which used to be characterized as one of language decline and linguistic chaos. Our focus was on spelling, as this was probably the most debated linguistic issue at the time, and we indicated how spelling often indexed social identities. In the orthographical tradition, however, we did not encounter prescriptive chaos, but a vivid and coherent normative tradition, which paralleled the northern normative tradition, to which it gradually gave way in the period of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815–1830). We then concentrated on an orthographical case which may have contributed to the myth of spelling chaos: the representation of etymologically different *e*'s and *o*'s with the help of accent marks. Again, the general and regular development of this so-called accent spelling does not allow for an interpretation in terms of chaos, but clearly shows the ongoing leveling and standardization of actual language practices.

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## Notes

1. 'southern Netherlands' and 'the South' roughly refer to the Dutch-speaking part of present-day Belgium, nowadays also called Flanders. 'northern Netherlands' and 'the North' refer to the present-day Netherlands.

2. In this paper, we will not report on corpus research either. However, in Vosters (2009a), Rutten & Vosters (i.p. a), Vosters, Rutten & Vandebussche (i.p.), and Vosters & Rutten (submitted) we have discussed linguistic corpus results using a corpus of digitized manuscript text from the administrative and judicial domain.
3. On Gillis De Witte who used the pseudonym E. C. P. (Egidius Candidus Pastor) see Dibbets (2003).
4. For brief surveys of the most important publications see Smeyers (1959: 112–128), Willemyns (2003: 145–154) and Rutten (i.p.). The arguments in section 3 are explained in more detail in Vosters, Rutten & Vandebussche (i.p.).
5. See Blauwkuip (1920: 248–263) for an overview, De Clerck (1963) for a case study.
6. Delin & van de Gaer (1820) is a famous example of a grammar rewritten for the South. See also de Vos (1939: 73). An example of the ‘bilingual’ style would be the anonymous work from Kortryk (1823).
7. For example, Cannaert (1823) and de Simpel (1827).
8. This ‘integrationist’ underlining of one shared Dutch language remained particularly important during the rest of the nineteenth century, especially after Belgian independence in 1830. At a time when the Dutch language had again lost many of its official functions to French, the movement towards a joint Dutch spelling must be seen as part of a larger campaign for cultural emancipation of the Dutch speakers in Belgium (De Groof *et al.* 2006).
9. Concerning the situation in the later nineteenth century, Willemyns (1992) emphasizes that it would be incorrect to reduce the polemics to an extreme ‘integrationist’ and an extreme ‘particularist’ position. As has been argued in Vosters (2009b), this is also true for the period of the United Kingdom, when later ‘particularists’ such as Behaegel or de Foere still defended the unity of the Dutch language.
10. The Dutch original reads: ‘Niet *de* Paus, gelijk de Hollanders willen in den noemer van ‘t enkelvoud; want volgens onze grondregels ... zou men den Paus een oneigen geslacht toeschrijven, en den leerling leeren doolen’.
11. In the original ‘Het geestelijk leven van de ganse Zuidelijke Nederlanden – het Land van Luik inbegrepen – biedt ons, omstreeks 1750, het uitzicht van het meest dorre landschap dat men zich kan voorstellen. Er was eenvoudig niets. Het was de meest volslagen rust in de diepste geestelijke armoede’.
12. Cf. the original Dutch: ‘[D]e Vlaemsche spelling [is], tot heden toe, nog door niemand op vaste gronden van algemeenen Vlaemschen aerd gebracht is. ... [E]lke schoolmeester, in de Zuidelyke Provinciën, ... acht zich bevoegd om den kinderen alzulke taelwetten voorteschryven, als hem door het hoofd zyn gewaaid. Anarchie is een erg kwaed, zoowel in de spelling, als in de regering’.
13. In Rutten & Vosters (i.p. a), we discuss the many norms myth in more detail, and there we also show the lack of spelling chaos in actual language use (cf. the myth of orthographical chaos in practice).
14. Willems (1824: 301): ‘Er bestaen ... geene vlaemsche Spel- en Spraekkunsten van doorgaende gezag’.
15. A detailed account of the argument in section 5 is given in Rutten & Vosters (i.p. b).
16. Usually, the choice depended on morphology: a single letter if there was no analogy with a similar form (e.g., *regen* ‘rain’), a double letter if there was an analogical form (e.g., *geéven* ‘give’ 3pl, analogous to *geéft* ‘gives’ 3sg). For a detailed description, see Rutten & Vosters (i.p. b).
17. Here, we give short titles, the estimated year of publication and the author’s name (if known). For full bibliographical references, we refer to the online catalogue of the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience (<<http://stadsbibliotheek.antwerpen.be/>>).

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## Book reviews

Kurt Braunmüller and Juliane House (eds.). *Convergence and divergence in language contact situations*. 2009. Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism 9. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2009, viii + 241. ISBN 978 90 272 1928 2.

Though not explicitly advertised as such, this book has something of the feel of a conference proceedings volume. Earlier versions of most of the nine papers in this volume were presented at a symposium held at the Sonderfachbereich für Mehrsprachigkeit at the University of Hamburg in October 2007, and acknowledgment of funding made towards the production of this book by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft is duly made. A summary introduction to the collection by the first-named editor is followed by eight papers, which are presented in three unevenly-sized thematic sections.

The range of languages discussed in the chapters is fairly restricted, largely comprising Scandinavian ones, English, German, and Spanish and Catalan. Rather little is said in this volume about the interaction of European and non-European languages; even Östen Dahl's paper which is discussed below draws its salient data on the creation of structural 'buffer zones' as a means of mediating contact-induced change from his native Swedish. More attention to contact phenomena in languages spoken beyond the European Economic Area would doubtless have brought numerous contact phenomena to light which we do not find in European languages. The exception is Georg Bossong's deft paper (pp. 13–40) on the problems inherent in trying to conceive of all linguistic relationships as being explicable with reference to traditional family tree approaches, a discussion in which we find examples from (among others) Media Lengua, Quechua and Aymara, and Japanese and Korean. As to themes, the topics explored in detail in the papers are mostly structural ones, involving issues in clausal syntax and in phonology.

The observations in Braunmüller's introductory essay which serves to summarise the chapters (pp. 1–10), Georg Bossong's work on linguistic genealogy, typology and their not always smooth interaction mentioned above, and Östen Dahl's more generally oriented paper which looks at the impact of contact-induced change on the elaboration of complexity on languages which are thus affected (pp. 41–52), give the volume a strong start. These and other papers manifest on every page the solid knowledge of the developments of language contact theory by the authors, with the work of Carol Myers-Scotton (especially the Abstract Level model and its successor, the 4-M model discussed in Myers-Scot-



ton 2002) being especially warmly welcomed throughout the book as a whole.

Dahl's paper explores the increase in complexity in a language, and the rise of buffer zones where different sets of features interact, which is brought about by contact-induced change. An instance of such a 'buffer zone', whereby native and borrowed forms are given similar yet complementary roles in the newly-changed form of the language, is found in the competition between inherited *varda* and the Middle High German loan *bliva* for 'to become'. Some varieties of Swedish, though not Standard Swedish, have created a suppletive verb for 'to become' out of components of both *varda* and *bli(va)* which have been integrated into a single verbal paradigm.

Braunmüller's second paper in the volume (pp. 53–70) examines the processes of convergence among genetically (some prefer 'genealogically') related languages and what he sees as the inevitability of code-mixing in such situations, drawing on findings from a long-term project on multilingualism in the Faroe Islands.

The second set of four papers has a very broad remit, as it deals with convergence and divergence in different varieties in oral and written discourse. Given Hamburg's role as a Baltic port and a window to the north (and the university's role as a bastion of multilingualism studies) it is not surprising to see considerable coverage of language contact issues in Scandinavian languages here and elsewhere, principally involving Danish and Faroese, but also with some coverage of the interaction of Old Swedish with mediaeval Latin, this notably in a paper by Steffen Höder (pp. 73–100) which discusses the development of a range of relativization strategies through calquing (rather than borrowing) from Latin, which supplemented the means which Old Swedish had inherited but which were confined to the written language.

L2 production data from L1 speakers of various languages is understandably widely interrogated in this collection. A good example of this is the paper by Karoline H. Kühl & Hjalmar P. Petersen which examines structural features of the L2 Danish of L1 German speakers in South Schleswig, and also the L2 Danish of L1 speakers of Faroese in Tórshavn (pp. 101–124). Code-mixing here is not adduced *per se* as the means of introduction of these innovations, though such changes do manifest structural replication of one language's features into another, and there are cases where the meaning of an L2 Danish sentence which is calqued on a Faroese or German original has a rather different meaning from that which an L1 Danish speaker would give it: an especially startling instance on p. 118, *Ja, Pia åbner ham*, is intended to mean 'Yes, Pia opens it' by a German-speaker using Danish, but an L1 Danish speaker would construe it as 'Yes, Pia opens him up'.

The chapter by Viktor Becher, Juliane House & Svenja Kranich (pp. 125–152) examines a desk-bound kind of language contact without necessarily bringing about linguistic change, namely that of written technical English originals upon German *Sach- und Fachprosa* translations when expressing modality (not just in verb groups); quantitative analysis of the two case studies explored in the chapter makes it clear that the differences which users of the two languages employ in structuring such kinds of texts (for instance the plethora of modal particles in German which have no easy equivalents in English) have changed little in the space of almost three decades. Robert E. Vann's slightly cramped chapter (pp. 153–181) looks at spontaneous speech innovations in a corpus of Latin American Spanish, for example those induced by language contact with English or Catalan, though his discussion starts with a glance at the replacement of original Latin /f/ with /h/, which Vann suggests is an instance where Castilian came into contact with Basque. (Indeed it is, but Trask 1997, among other works, demolishes the idea that this sound change is a result of Castilian–Basque contact.) Vann's paper pays much understandable attention to the importance of archiving instances of spontaneous language change electronically, as a database for monitoring subsequent changes in languages.

The final section consists of two papers which deal with phonological matters. Susana Cortés, Conxita Lleó & Ariadna Benet's analysis (pp. 185–204) of the fate of older schwa in Barcelona Catalan (with formant and other evidence from several districts: Gràcia, Eixample, and Nou Barris), and its replacement with fuller vowels such as [a], shows the subtlety of the impact of Spanish (which lacks a schwa) on the original system. This study confirms my own non-instrumental observations of realization of etymologically central Catalan vowels which I made during a brief visit to Barcelona in August 2009. Meanwhile Conxita Lleó, writing a second chapter, this time with Javier Arias (pp. 205–233), discusses matters relating to Metrical Phonology and stress assignment on trochees and their near-reflections, iambic syllables on disyllabic words by monoglot learners of Spanish and German, and also by children who are being raised bilingually in Spanish and German. They show that very young German children construe iambic words as trochees preceded by unfooted syllables, while the Spanish children interpret them as quantity-insensitive iambs. What this chapter sadly lacks is phonetic transcriptional data which would allow the reader to see how the iambs are realised in all their details. References are placed at the end of each chapter (the method which I myself prefer); the volume is completed by indexes of authors and of subjects (pp. 235–251).

These papers, which are clearly and well written in good English (the first language of few of the contributors) and which are well-furnished

with examples, tables and diagrams, are best seen as microstudies, examinations of small topics or subfields of language contact and change. But this is as it should be, because contact-induced changes in languages occur at myriad points and are themselves the results of changes being first accepted into the structure of a language as one of several ways of ‘doing things’ and then coming to dominate that part of the language, as the major or only way of encoding a particular structure. If we want to understand what happens when language structures change as a result of coming under pressure from the linguistic behaviour of speakers of languages with more power or prestige or both, we need to see the finer details of such additive and eventually replacive changes as well as the broader picture. There are many further topics of this kind which call out for such fine-toothed treatment, and the essays in books such as this, which could be said to examine cases of contact-induced change under the microscope, will enable us to do precisely that.

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Neriko Musha Doerr (ed.), *The native speaker concept: Ethnographic investigations of native speaker effects*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009, 390 pp.

‘The native speaker is dead!’ exclaimed Paikeday some 25 years ago. So why is the concept still stronger than ever in hiring, teaching, and marketing practices? While the legitimacy of the ‘native speaker’ (NS) in second language acquisition (SLA) research has been under attack as the norm against which to measure the progress of language learners and as the linguistic and cultural ideal which they should strive to attain, the concept has not been studied as a social construct related to the history of standard languages. This book is a first attempt to place the NS controversy in relation with the politics of language standardization. Reframing the issue of native speakership as one of the aspects of the power struggle surrounding the creation, maintenance, and revitalization of a common standard language enables researchers for the first time to address the issue of perceived NS superiority from an historical, geopo-

litical, national, class, and race related angle that was not thinkable within a purely linguistic framework. What one takes away from reading this fascinating set of papers is that the NS ideology derives its tenacity from far more powerful forces than linguistic imperialism or purism. In this era of globalization, nothing less is at stake than the legitimacy and the future of national and other cultural communities.

As stated in the introduction, the book is not focused on the use of the term 'native speaker' as an analytical concept but on its use as a folk concept. How do speakers see themselves in relation to NSs? What effects do their representations of themselves have on the way they use or don't use their various languages? The book is divided into five parts, each with its separate preface. Part I sets the stage with two strong chapters by Noriko Doerr and Robert Train respectively. In the illuminating first chapter, Doerr examines three ideological premises of the NS concept: 'its link to nation states, an assumption of a homogeneous linguistic group, and an assumption of a "native speaker's" complete competence in his/her "native language."' (p. 17) Drawing on poststructuralist thinkers like Althusser, Foucault, Stuart Hall, Butler, and critical applied linguists like Rampton and Pennycook, she argues that the NS ideology gets imposed on individuals through schooling practices and gate-keeping in job markets; individuals in turn take advantage of this ideology to gain social status or to contest its exclusionary effects at school or in the workplace. In each case, NS status intersects with the institutional status of speakers of the (national) standard language, mastery of a standard literacy acquired in school, and a standard middle class habitus associated with citizenship in a nation-state. The originality of the book resides in juxtaposing both research fields: research on SLA, that studies relations of dominance between native and non-native speakers, and research on language standardization, that studies relations of inequality among native speakers. It thus shows how complex any attempt to relativize the NS concept is, precisely because this concept touches the sacred core of a community's sense of self.

The chapter by Robert Train, which traces the history of the notion of 'native (standard) speaker', is a fascinating, non-judgmental account of the positive and negative effects of language standardization in the emergence of the nation-state and its emancipation both from the tutelage of the Church and the social injustices of the aristocratic elite. By re-standardizing Latin as the language of administration, education and culture, Charlemagne paved the way for our present culture of textuality, universal communication, national language literacy, the relationship between good reading and writing skills and good Christian identity, and the link between literacy and morality. Train documents how the Christian ideal of the literate standard speaker later served in colonial educa-

tion 'to cajole the natives into becoming Christians and imperial subjects within a global web of inequalities' (p. 73). By illuminating the origins of the hegemonic ideologies surrounding language, standardness, and nativeness, Train shows how complex the educational issues, really are: on the one hand, one cannot dismiss the practices, ideologies, and textualities of nativeness and standardness that have made and still make up the national communities we live in; on the other hand, we have to move beyond standardizing practices and find 'more just, inclusive and compassionate practices of language education' (p. 77). This of course, is *the* challenge that every industrialized society is confronted with today in the face of economic and demographic globalization.

Part II illustrates the standardizing practices of one nation-state: Japan. Michiko Takato documents how the ideology of the NS operates in the lives of transnational Japanese migrants (*Nikkei*) from Okinawa to Latin America upon their return to Japan. The tension between the non-standard Okinawan that they speak and the standard Japanese imposed by the Japanese school, as well as between the Portuguese literacy they learned in Brazil and standard Japanese literacy is the object of constant negotiation. It raises the question of the limits of the tolerance of the nation state for multilingualism and for different forms of literacy. It problematizes the taken-for-granted relation between national language and national culture. Yuko Okubo's chapter examines a popularized model of multicultural education based on the tradition of minority education installed by the Americans in Japan after WWII. Not surprisingly, she finds that 'multicultural education that enables the participation of everyone is limited to an ideological discourse' (p. 103) that essentializes newcomers and further strengthens the tie between the native speaker status and the language that is regarded to be one's 'mother tongue' (p. 127).

Part III focuses on standardization processes in South Africa, Catalonia, and Japan/U.S. Victoria Baker's chapter on being multilingual in a South African township is a brilliant account of the tension between the more fluid linguistic boundaries brought about by the end of apartheid in the name of political harmonization and flexibility (the township brand of fluid 'multilingualism'), on the one hand, and the language standardization imposed by schools (e.g., South African English against Black South African English), on the other hand. Multilingualism, while an asset for communicating in daily life, becomes a kind of disability in institutionalized settings. Susan Frekko's chapter addresses the intriguing fact that in Catalonia, a country that has defined its language on the normative model of the Western European nations, Catalan-L1 speakers are perceived as less well educated, hence a less desirable model, than the Catalan-L2 speakers who have learned Catalan

in school by learning and reciting the rules and are thus perceived as belonging to a higher social class. Frekko shows how in the hierarchy of symbolic goods ‘L1 linguistic knowledge [is] undermined in favor of the performance of metalinguistic rules’ (p. 168).

Part IV illustrates vividly how native communicative competence intersects with sociocultural and political power to validate or marginalize native speakership. Whiteside gives a rich and nuanced ethnographic analysis of Yucatan Maya NSs and their negotiations of nativeness vis-à-vis Spanish and English speakers in the multilingual environment of San Francisco. Kubota describes in detail the intricate rationales given for hiring NNS rather than NS of Japanese at a U.S. American high school, a practice that gets replicated at the university level whenever the job requires research over teaching and teaching content courses rather than language courses. These two case studies complexify the multidimensional facets of symbolic power usually associated with native speakership. Miki Makihara’s sensitive ethnographic account of the Rapa Nui multilingual, ethnolinguistic minority community on Easter Island and the problems associated with the maintenance and revitalization of the local language offers dramatic insights into the local perceptions regarding the fluid language boundary between Rapa Nui and Spanish (linguistic syncretism) and the recent emergence of linguistic purism in the name of cultural integrity.

The multifaceted insights provided by the papers in this volume show the complexities facing educators and language policy makers in an era of global multicultural diversity. If, as Robert Train suggests, language standardization is not only to be seen as a linguistic and social straight-jacket, but is also to be credited with the benefits of textuality, literacy, morality, Christian identity, and national citizenship – the foundation of Western culture – then the ‘native standard speaker’ is a highly ambivalent concept for which Western civilization has not yet found any viable alternative. It is a pity, therefore, to see the concepts ‘native speaker’ and ‘standardization’ receive in some chapters a narrow, exclusively negative connotation, e.g., as in the expressions ‘*hegemonic standardization*’ (p. 207), ‘*standardization regimes*’ (p. 303), or relations of dominance that ‘*cannibalize language diversity*’ (ibidem). For example, the teaching of foreign languages (unlike the teaching of second languages) has traditionally been pegged not to the native speaker norm, but to the language standard (*contra* Shinji Sato in ch. 11) – thus enabling learners to love a foreign language and literature even though they might hate its speakers, if they happen to be the current national enemy. Standardization certainly has its exclusionary practices, but how are we to envision a de-regulated kind of literacy? The last chapter exhorts the reader to adopt ‘a critical orientation in second language edu-

cation' (p. 314) and, in the name of social justice, to 'encourage practices that eradicate hierarchy among people – both among "native speakers" and between "native" and "non-native speakers" – manifested and reproduced through the institutional and discursive regulation of language practices' (p. 316). At this stage in the development of late capitalism, it is to be feared that such a utopian agenda gets hijacked by a neo-liberal ideology of diversity that masquerades as emancipation only to reproduce in no less coercive ways other more subtle forms of hegemony and hierarchy.

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Maya Khemlani David, James McLellan, Shameem Rafik-Galea & Ain Nadzimah Abdullah (eds), *Code switching in Malaysia*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009, xvi + 230 pp.

The thirteen chapters in this volume discuss the phenomenon of code switching in the Malaysian context. Code switching or alternating languages is a common occurrence amongst multilingual speakers, and it is certainly not uncommon among multilingual Malaysians. This collection of studies demonstrates that code switching has become an entrenched code among the various ethnic groups in Malaysia. The editors are careful in explaining in the preface that the researchers in this collection of studies use a functional rather than a linguistic and grammatical approach in examining the phenomenon of code switching in different communicative contexts. The chapters are grouped into three sections each representing the various domains in which code switching takes place: namely in the family, educational and professional domains.

The first four chapters examine language use in the family domain, specifically code switching that occurs in Malay, Bidayuh, and Telegu homes. The first chapter, however, provides an interesting overview of studies of code switching in the three major ethnic groups in Malaysia. The authors present examples of code switching that occur in the Malay, Chinese, and Indian homes and discuss reasons for the use of a mixed code in the family domain. In the next chapter, Jariah Mohd Jan discusses how children in a Malay family code switch between two languages (Malay–English) for wielding power when playing games. She provides examples of the exchanges between siblings to show how code mixing serves a function in such a context. Next, in the article 'Lexical choice and 3-way code switching in Bau-Jagoi Bidayuh discourse' James McLellan & Rosalind Nojog describe a three-way code switching involv-

ing Bidayuh, Malay, and English in spoken and written communication in a Bidayuh family in Sarawak. They argue that code mixing, especially in minority communities such as the Bidayuh, may not necessarily signal impending language shift provided that the minority language is retained as the matrix language. In chapter four, Maya Khemlani David & Caesar Dealwis examine the pattern of language use in a small Telegu community and find that language shift has taken place in this community. They investigate the shifting pattern of code choice from the first to the present generations and conclude that the Telegus have lost their heritage language.

The following four chapters in this collection examine code switching in the educational domain. In her article 'The interaction of language, topic and speakers: Code switching in classroom discourse' Kamisah Ariffin provides examples of the functional use of code switching between teacher and students in the classroom setting. Her analysis reveals that classroom discourse is related to the pedagogical, discourse, and social motivations of the speakers. She observes that code switching is evidently employed by the instructor and students for effective teaching and learning, as strategies to achieve their communicative objectives and to enact social relationships between them. The next article in this section focuses on the language choice among Malaysian youths in and out of the classroom. The authors, Maya Khemlani David & Lim Chin Chye, present examples of the interactions between young people of different ethnicities. Their study describes and analyses language choices of Malaysian boys in a school setting. They find that language choice accommodation takes place when the Chinese and Indian youths switch to Malay when speaking to their Malay interlocutors. However, the youths maintain the use of English in intra-group settings and in interactions with each other. In the following article, Paramasivam Muthusamy and Rajentheran Muniandy investigate code switching among Indian undergraduates in formal and informal contexts. They discuss the multiplicity of reasons for code mixing and argue that the ability of the interlocutor to speak more than one language fluently plays an important role during interactions. This examination of code switching in the educational domain ends with Karen Kow Yip Cheng's argument in chapter 8. She argues that code switching can be a pedagogical strategy in teaching English in Malaysia. However, she cautions that there should be less reliance on code switching as a teaching and learning tool at the advanced or secondary level. She argues that 'teachers should always ensure that their final product is a competent L2 user and not a semilingual' (p. 131).

In the final section the editors group five studies that address code switching in the professional domain. The articles present an analysis of



language use in the Malaysian courtroom, eldercare, organizational email discourse, and newspaper headlines. In his article, Richard Powell discusses courtroom interactions not only in Malaysia but also in other African and Asian legal systems. He reveals that code switching and code mixing is a common feature in such multilingual societies. Focusing on the discourse of a residential home for the aged, Maya Khemlani David and David Yoong Soon Chye examine the interaction between the elders and their caregivers. They observe that with multilingual speakers such as in a residential home, the use of a mixed discourse is 'to express group solidarity, assert power, capture attention and to bridge the language barrier' (p. 165). They believe that code switching is essential for solidarity and for being understood when communicating with the elders, who enjoy differing levels of proficiency in different languages. The next chapter presents an analysis of written discourse in email exchanges in two Malaysian organizations. The investigators, Hadina Habil and Shameem Rafik-Galea, find that switching between two languages in email exchanges frequently occurs, and it fulfils various functions such as achieving solidarity, understanding, empowering, and establishing rapport between the employees. Another form of written discourse examined in this section is that of newspaper headlines. The four authors of this chapter examine the headlines in two major newspapers which appeared in 1957 and 2007. They surmise that the practice of code mixed headlines (Malay, Chinese, and Tamil codes) has become more frequent over the years. In the final chapter, McLellan presents an analysis of speeches made by Malaysian political leaders that appeared in Malay and English print and electronic media. He argues that compartmentalization of English occurs in contexts where there is an emotional and nationalistic attachment to the Malay language.

The contributors to this volume provide fascinating snapshots of communicative discourses between multilingual Malaysians in different contexts. The researchers are careful in transcribing and presenting authentic discourses especially between interlocutors in the family and educational domains. This allows readers to fully appreciate the phenomenon of code mixing and code switching in a multilingual community. As the editors point out, while this volume does not address the many linguistic and sociolinguistic issues in this field, it provides an interesting collection of studies for sociolinguists interested in language use among multilingual speakers in general and specifically in a multiethnic society such as Malaysia.

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## Publications received

Authors, editors, and publishers are invited to send their books for review or listing in *Multilingua*, care of the address on the title page of this issue. All publications will be listed.

- Bargiela-Chiappini, Francesca & Michael Haugh (eds.). 2009. *Face, communication and social interaction*. London: Equinox.
- Blackledge, Adrian & Angela J. Creese. 2009. *Multilingualism: A critical perspective*. London: Continuum.
- Clyne, Michael, Catrin Norrby & Jane Warren. 2009. *Language and human relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Collins, James, Stef Slembrouck & Mike Baynham (eds.). *Globalization and language in contact*. London: Continuum.
- Culpeper, Jonathan & Dániel Z. Kádár (eds.). 2010. *Historical (im)politeness*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
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- Hogan-Brun, Gabrielle, Clare Mar-Molinero & Patrick Stevenson (eds.). 2009. *Discourses on language and integration*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Martín Rojo, Luisa. 2010. *Constructing inequality in multilingual classrooms*. (LPSP 27). Berlin & New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Meyer, Bernd & Birgit Apfelbaum (eds.). *Multilingualism at work: From policies to practices in public, medical and business settings*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Norde, Muriel, Bob de Jonge & Cornelius Hasselblatt (eds.). *Language contact: New perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ogiermann, Eva. 2009. *On apologising in negative and positive politeness cultures*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Regan, Vera & Catriona Ní Chasaide (eds.). *Language practices and identity construction by multilingual speakers of French L2*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
- Schiffrin, Deborah, Anna De Fina & Anastasia Nyland (eds.). 2010. *Telling stories: Language, narrative, and social life*. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Stavroula, Tsiplakou, Marilena Karyolemou & Pavlos Pavlou (eds.). *Language variation: European perspectives II*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

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